

Chapter 5:

Youth Development and Informal Education

Introduction

The introduction described the Stoneleigh Project as a combination of practices and beliefs that claim to draw on the traditions of voluntary youth work, informal education outdoors, and spiritual development. Voluntary youth organisations have a long history rooted in various emancipatory endeavours on behalf of young people, and social projects on behalf of society. This has created a history of practices and beliefs that have shaped the work of the members of the Stoneleigh Group and the context within which they operate. This chapter summarises this history paying attention to those aspects that relate to the aims of the Stoneleigh Group and the questions of this research.

Colonisation and Tradition

In the previous chapter I suggested that some of the shifts in society are understood by the cited authors to have placed the individual more centrally within the project of building an identity and choosing courses of action in life. The field of personal development through outdoor education has responded to these shifts. Glyptis (1991) suggests that these socio-economic changes affected the spaces people inhabited, the times during which people exercised degrees of freedom, and the resources they had to dispose of in pursuit of these goals. She describes how these had an embodied aspect in the physical freedoms such as the desire and the 'right to roam'. She also claims they had an affective aspect in the shifts of moral authority towards the individual and the 'improvement' of the working classes. In addition she argues there were also intellectual dimensions through 'education for leisure' and the 'broadening of horizons' as aspirations of a civilised society. All of these factors she claims were influenced extensively by social policies and the emerging and changing structures of the culture in which they reside.

The meanings and values attached to the organisations involved in these endeavours, state, private and voluntary, and the structures of the activities that were used as the content of their programmes, were specific to that culture in those times and places. However, the

organisations and activities have often persisted in some form and are involved in and used as vehicles for personal development today. Sometimes the meanings and values that they hold persist with them despite the cultural changes in the society within which they now operate. Sometimes the meanings and values change but the same activities are practised as tradition.

These may hold tacit understandings as a part of their structure that may not be perceived as constructive given their current use. However, the tacit nature of these underpinning values can leave them hidden from critical professional scrutiny. For example Loynes (2004a) describes the adoption of navigating using a map and compass as a central area of knowledge and skill in early youth movements such as the Scouts. These skills were first developed in young people working as soldiers to help them control their location in time and space on enemy terrain. Some of the early youth movements set out to prepare young men for war and these skills would have been directly relevant. However, over time this goal disappeared or was rejected. Nevertheless control in space and time by the use of map and compass as the established approach to navigating persisted. Good practice remains the control of a person's location in time and space and a spirit of self-reliance. A whole justification for this way of navigating has been constructed based on matters of safety and educational worth. Yet Loynes claims this is not the only way to navigate. Other approaches, such as mapless exploring without a predetermined destination and route or aural and narrative route descriptions, are based on different values and provide different outcomes that may be more suited to some modern educational purposes. Yet the use of map and compass is adopted largely uncritically as tradition.

Payne (2002) writes in a similar vein about white water kayaking in Australia where the activity is dislocated in space as well as time. He and Brookes (2002) argue that activities should evolve out of the context within which they are to be practised. These authors are writing in the context of modern Australia and from the perspective of education for sustainability. They describe this culture as suffering from an overbearing British imperialism on a people and landscape for which the practices of that culture are poorly suited. Whilst Loynes (2004a) supports their assertion that organisations and activities should be chosen with a critical awareness of their roots he does not propose that cultural

transfer from other times and other places should always be resisted. However, it does indicate the value of considering with care the interests of the colonising beliefs and practices before adopting them.

The Stoneleigh Group, as a result of its critical approach to pedagogy and evaluation, can be understood as a project seeking critical awareness of its roots whilst seeking to adopt, adapt, and create a diverse set of values and practices for a specific modern context. It can be understood as a project that wanted to resist the uncritical use of past practices, at the same time as seeking to influence current youth work practice and which, as a result, was also subject to colonising interests seeking to support or subvert its intentions.

These colonising pressures took place in what Williamson (1998) describes as the context of wider trends from agencies seeking to implement Government policy to involve the Youth Service in tackling what they perceived to be important social issues. Jeffs and Smith (2002) and Young (1999) comment on recent trends to co-opt youth work as a means to address social issues such as health, training, criminality and employment rather than providing a service with which to support young people experiencing these issues. Williamson (1998) also identifies this trend characterising the two forms of practice as 'person-centred and agenda-focussed approaches' (p. 2). He argues that, while the Youth Service should resist collusion and colonisation by other social institutions, it should not act on behalf of young people uncritically. He argues that it should be prepared to engage with these broader social agendas. He recognises that a democratic informal education must walk a tight rope in order to maintain the trust of young people whilst working to address these wider social concerns. The Stoneleigh Project was aiming to tackle just this dilemma by working with young people to help them to transform the social world into which they were moving as young adults.

Historical Influences

I discussed in Chapter 4 how Young (1960) suggests that during the Victorian period a profound change in British Christianity led to a moral revolution. This began a process that has seen the emergence of a moral diversity and the shift of the locus for the development of that morality from society to the individual. The aims of outdoor education indicate that

it has been engaged in this project of constructing the moral self though perhaps not always in support of the project.

The Emergence of Informal Education Out of Doors

Smith (1999) suggests that current practices in outdoor youth work owe their origins to the presence of the competing themes of conservative and radical, and liberating and oppressive trends that emerged during the early Victorian social reforms. He claims that these led to the emergence of informal education for young people. It was these Victorian reforms that first made use of the outdoors in their programmes.

Jeffs and Smith (1999) comment that informal education is most often defined by what it is not. It does not have a location such as a classroom or a curriculum for example. They claim that 'informal' is defined by the willingness of the adult to join in with an activity chosen by young people in an everyday setting, engage in conversation, and foster learning.

This informal learning, Jeffs and Smith believe, becomes 'education' when there is an intention to bring thoughts into the conscious world through activities that stimulate thinking in order to foster learning. This, they claim, works through direct conversation and they draw on Dewey (1995) to highlight the importance of the environment, both physical and social. Further, Jeffs and Smith claim that it becomes 'education' through commitment to a set of core values that they list as; respect for persons, the promotion of well being, truth, democracy and fairness, and equality. These they believe should inform both the content and the process of learning.

According to Jeffs and Smith (1999), under this definition, only some youth workers would describe themselves as informal educators. Others would claim to be informal educators some of the time. They might also use formal educational strategies and Jeffs and Smith see the relationship between these two as a continuum.

Various writers suggest that outdoor education can best be understood as an environment for learning. However, according to Barnes and Sharp (2004), Cooper (1998), Gair (1997) and Higgins (1996) it is an environment that can be thought of as a classroom and can have a curriculum. Thus it can also be seen as an environment for formal education. It might only become informal education, according to Jeffs and Smith, when the relationships with the young people take on the qualities they put forward and when these are embedded in an intention to support the process of learning within the framework of values they list.

According to Smith (1999) early forms of youth work were started by social reformers in the latter part of the 18th century. He describes the projects of various evangelical Christians who were responding to the physical and spiritual poverty they saw around them. He offers as examples the Sunday School movement, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides and the Boys Brigade. In the 19th century Smith describes how this work blossomed. Quoting Booton, Smith draws on the writings of Sweatman to illustrate the intentions of the time:

Sweatman's statement expresses a central idea, that the social condition of young people (mainly in this case, lads) warranted specific intervention with the aim of a general cultural improvement; that this need was urgent, and sufficiently extensive to require nothing less than a completely new type of social institution.

(p. 22)

These early evangelical programmes were joined in the latter part of the 19th century by more radical approaches that Jeffs and Smith (2002) claim sought to address the social and economic conditions of young people. These people 'shared a belief ... that the new economic and social order sponsored and sustained individualism thereby weakening civil society and organic community' (p. 44).

These included Emmeline Pethick who, in the 1890s introduced country holidays for girls as part of her work with girls and young women from London's West End 'where she won the affection of the high-spirited but frustrated girls by teaching them active games'

(Smith, 1997a). This could arguably be the first documented use of the outdoors for the purposes of the social education of young people in England. Smith believes Pethick's (1898) approach to be radical because he sees her work as seeking to influence the social context of the women through political action by herself and her colleagues and by the young women.

The conditions, not only of the home, but of the factory or workshop had to be taken into account. It became our business to study the industrial question as it affected the girls' employments, the hours, the wages, and the conditions. And we had also to give them a conscious part to take in the battle that is being fought for the workers, and will not be won until it is loyally fought by them.

(Smith, 1997a, p. 104).

The competing strands of radical and conservative educational approaches met in the work of two leading innovators of informal education for young people Ernest Thompson Seton and Robert Baden-Powell. Seton, who was English but brought up in the United States of America (USA), is described by Smith (2002) as developing the ideas of the Woodcraft Folk in the 1880s. They finally came to fruition with the first experimental camp in 1902. Smith states

... Seton came upon his Indian motif from two directions. First, he was concerned not merely to preserve resources for man's use, the reigning form of conservation, but also to defend the ecological balances of nature in the wild. The American Indian, he believed, had lived in harmony with those balances, whereas the white man destroyed them. Second, in reaction against his father, Seton exalted natural drives; this predisposition, combined with an interest in animal behaviour, led him to embrace Hall's instinct psychology and the idea of boyish savagery. Yet instead of seeing 'savagery' as merely a rung on the ladder to civilization the way Hall did, Seton came to value Indian life as an end in itself, until by 1915 he proposed a Red Lodge for men to learn the spirit of Indian religion.

The approach he proposed used camping out and various ceremonies, games and awards. Significantly, Ernest Thompson Seton did not follow the usual path of character builders by ensuing the preaching of conventional morality. Crucially, he made all offices elective and looked strongly to the associational life of the group ...

(p. 5)

Smith claims that Seton was a major influence on Baden-Powell and his development of the Boy Scout Movement (Smith, 1997c). According to Smith, Baden-Powell first came to be involved in informal education through the Boys Brigade. However Smith claims Seton became a critic of this movement and its emphasis on marching and drill. Baden-Powell's first experimental camp occurred in 1907 on Brownsea Island. This was followed by a lecture tour promoting his ideas to be found in his book 'Scouting for Boys' (Baden-Powell, 1908) Smith reports that Baden-Powell expressed a concern about the fitness of young men for war and their general physical and mental condition. He particularly emphasised physical deterioration and moral degeneracy. By 1908 over 10,000 boys and a number of girls, who had formed a parallel movement on a self-organising basis, attended the first conference for Boy Scouts.

Smith comments that Baden-Powell's ideas were strongly influenced by 19th century public school values of honour, loyalty and duty and the emphasis on activity and games as worthwhile. Despite these important conservative elements in Baden-Powell's approach Smith claims it would be simplistic to label him in this way. Baden-Powell was not solely concerned with duty. He quotes Baden-Powell (1909) as saying

Keep before your mind in all your teaching that the whole ulterior motive of this scheme is to form character in the boys - to make them manly, good citizens.... Aim for making each individual into a useful member of society, and the whole will automatically come on to a high standard.

(p. 361)

Smith suggests that Baden-Powell's notion of the good citizen involved self-reliance and unselfishness, which he sees as new departures in social education values. Although Smith does not believe Baden-Powell to have been a socialist he identifies some common beliefs between socialism and Baden-Powell mentioning in particular an opposition to the extremes of wealth and a dislike of the necessity of war. Smith points out that another central strand of Scouting is 'doing good'. This he understands as a notion of fellowship and mutuality perhaps reflecting the highly visible inequalities of the time.

Smith claims that both the conservative and more liberal values of Scouting echo the Greek ideas of citizens developing their *arete*, or virtuous life, through leisure and discipline. However, as Smith points out, there is a conflict between the idea of doing good which is central to *arete* and the notion of being correct which is embedded in the notions of duty. Smith claims the element of duty seems to be an addition of modern authoritarian and hierarchical times in which going to war and maybe dying for one's country were necessarily high values. These, he believes, could conflict with ideas of doing good with its implicit assertion that values would be derived from within the individual.

Smith adds a new theme to the pedagogy of informal education by recognising the associational aspects of Baden-Powell's and Seton's concepts. He understands association as a strong and recurring theme in informal education (Jeffs and Smith, 1999), an interpretation confirmed by Vanandruel, Amero, Stafseing and Tap (1996). For example, the landmark 1919 Report on Adult Education (Ministry of Reconstruction, 1919) looked to the educative power of social movements and voluntary associations. It saw the value of 'the imponderable influences which spring from association in study' and the significance of 'the informal educations which come from sharing in a common life'. Similarly, in 1960 the Albemarle Report famously declared that the primary aims of the youth service should be association, training and challenge (Ministry of Education, 1960, Smith, 2000).

However, Vanandruel *et al.* (1996), researching concepts of association in youth work across Europe in the early nineties found that, in the UK, 'association' had come to mean association for leisure and an opportunity to meet with friends, that is association within the social domains of life. They also report that their research identified an interest across

Europe amongst young people for more politically engaged ways of associating especially in relation to environmental issues. This suggests the possibility of an interesting reversal in which the moral purpose behind youth association is directed by young people rather than by policy makers or youth workers, an aspiration reflected in Young's (1999) vision of a values based youth work that respects and supports the development of emerging values within young people.

Baden-Powell is open to diverse interpretations. His concepts seem to some to be macho, imperialistic, sexist, authoritarian and militaristic. Cook's (1999) interpretation of him is as

... leading by example and rescuing 'working class' boys who 'loafed' on street corners and drifted towards 'bad citizenship'. He promoted the public school ideals of 'obedience, cleanliness, temperance and loyalty' by using tracking, trekking and camping, the modified forms of traditional upper class pursuits such as hunting and coursing, to redeem 'hooligans', street urchins and 'wastrels'.

(p. 160)

Yet he provides a framework that Smith (1997c) claims 'can in principle be self empowering, socially active, promoting of fellowship and experienced as transformative'.

The Woodcraft Folk were not formally constituted as a voluntary organisation until after the 1st World War in 1925 (Woodcraft Folk, 2008). It was established as a deliberate alternative to the Scout Movement and recognised Seton as the inspiration for its philosophical roots. Key differences with the Scout Movement were that it was open to males and females, operated by democratic principles including full participation by young people in all decision making, focussed on living in and with the environment and overtly encouraged the values of equality, peace, social justice and cooperation. It also claimed to be explicitly not nationalist or religious. Like the Scout Movement it now has a global presence and advocates empowerment for young people by which it means that it helps 'young people to make decisions themselves and to take an active part in the world about them' (Woodcraft Folk, 2008).

As an organisation it played a significant role in Eastern Europe during the communist rule. Neuman (2000) describes how many east European countries sustained their cultures by retreating to rural areas during the summer away from central communist control. He describes how the Woodcraft Folk were one organisation active in supporting this in Czechoslovakia giving what Smith (2002) describes as Seton's idealistic social values a considerably more practical expression.

The Woodcraft Folk approach constructs nature (the woods in this case) as a space untrammelled by the social, political and religious divides of the time and where principles of equality, peace and justice can be lived out in practice between people and with nature. Nevertheless, the apparently idealistic and radical beliefs and practices of the organisation have found their way into the everyday worlds of members. Active citizenship was not confined to sustaining the cultures of overrun east European countries. The organisation claims that its members have been and are still politically active through environmental and peace movements as well locally and more informally in their communities (Woodcraft Folk, 2008). In addition the Woodcraft Folk is the British member of the international Falcon Movement, an umbrella organisation movement that focuses on work with and on behalf of young people. They claim that their political affiliation is with the international labour movement. Its work is widely associated with peace activism and issues of social justice for young people such as child labour and pornography (International Falcon Movement, 2008). Much as the Stoneleigh Group partners the Iona Community and Camas can claim to support its members as agents of social change, so can the Woodcraft Folk.

It is in the many and varied interpretations of the ideas and practices of Baden-Powell and Seton that future developments by voluntary organisations in education outdoors can be located. Some bear the marks of the imperialistic Baden-Powell or the indigenous Seton. Others appear to draw on the self-reliant Baden-Powell or the democratic Seton. Smith claims they provide a rich source of possibility for both conservative and radical interpretation.

Smith has shown how the ideas of association, nature as teacher, and the simple life, have been introduced into the pedagogy of citizenship. Also from Smith's analysis, despite the patriarchal aspects of Scouting and the legacy that this offers, there exists the potential for young people to emerge into the new idea of youth as creators of themselves and actors in their social worlds.

If the Stoneleigh Project turns out to be a form of informal education then the retreats will sit within the mode of work that Jeffs and Smith describe as 'more formal encounters' (Jeffs and Smith, 1999). These are characterised by the authors as involving individuals and groups doing projects that are focussed on learning and that are likely to have a curriculum. The form of education that the retreats take will be discussed further in Chapter 10. However, the mentoring before and after the retreats may involve what they describe as 'being around' and 'being there' and so belong to the less formal end of the spectrum. The aim of the Stoneleigh Group to develop agents of social change will also have more in common with the internally derived values behind 'doing good' than being dutiful.

Hahn and the Transformative Effect of World War Two

According to Smith (1997b) a 'moral imperative' was also the central idea of the next influential figure in the development of English informal outdoor education. Kurt Hahn had been experimenting in Germany with experiential approaches to education in a private boys' school. This included outdoor challenges and service activities as well as physical fitness. Similar experiments were taking place at the same time in several liberally minded English independent schools but it is the enormous influence of Hahn that outdoor educators remember. It is also his influence that carried pre-war values, organisations, and institutions beyond the Second World War.

Escaping Germany during the rise of the Nazi party he continued his experiments as head teacher at Gordonstoun School in Scotland. His aim was to provide the elite with a moral backbone through the discipline and challenge of his programme. During the 1930s he extended his ideas to the rest of society, in particular the rural youth of Morayshire, through the Moray Badge Scheme, the forerunner of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award

Scheme now popular throughout the world and embedded in the provision of many voluntary organisations.

Richards (1990) encapsulates Hahn's conception of education:

Its purpose was to develop a righteous man who is vigilant and an active citizen, who has a sense of duty to his fellow man and to God.

(p. 68)

Richards goes on to claim that Hahn's contribution to education was not in his purpose but in his methods that he believes verge on a philosophy. Active citizenship, Richards claims, lay at the heart of it all. Hahn, he states, 'believed that every child was born with innate "spiritual powers" as well as an innate faculty that enables him or her to make correct judgements about moral issues' (p. 69: original emphasis). This ability, Hahn claimed, was lost in adolescence because of a diseased society and the impulses of the adolescent. Whilst the former is redolent of a society still taking a collective responsibility for the situation young people find themselves in, the latter is reminiscent of Griffin's beliefs about the biological interpretation of youth locating the problem in the individual. It stands out as an optimistic statement in which young people are, for once, not causing the trouble though they are still thought of as in trouble. They are thought of as having the capacity for moral judgement but in need of the right values framework within which to make these judgements.

Hahn's perspective on education is reflected in the qualities he used to evaluate students in school reports. Richards lists these as 'public spirit, sense of justice, the faculty of precise evidence, the power to do things right in the face of dangers, imagination and the power of organisation' (p. 69). This can be compared with Cook's (1999) list of qualities expected by the public schools using outdoor activities at around the same time. She identifies 'courage, loyalty, endurance, a sense of honour, self-denial, fair play, public spirit and obedience' (p. 158). The differences might be subtle but Richards appears to give Hahn a sense of a greater respect for the individual's autonomy than Cook appears to give to the

other public schools. Despite the strong framework of values there is more a sense of 'doing good' than of 'being correct'.

Hahn had a specific set of social issues in mind that he thought education could correct. According to Richards (1990) Hahn understood the solution for the disease he thought that society was suffering from to be only possible through the education of the young. Hahn described this disease with a set of 'social declines'. They are summarised by Richards as:

Decline of fitness due to modern methods of locomotion.

Decline of initiative and enterprise due to the widespread disease of spectatoritis.

Decline of memory and imagination due to the confused restlessness of modern life.

Decline of skill and care due to the weakened tradition of craftsmanship.

Decline of self-discipline due to the ever-present availability of stimulants and tranquilisers.

Decline of compassion due to the unseemly haste with which modern life is conducted.

(p. 69)

Richards comments that, in his view, these six issues would not be out of place amongst those that were perceived to underpin the 'moral panics' of the 1980s. It would be easy to update this to what is sometimes called the 'noughties'. A 1960s Outward Bound School, as Richards points out, might have prided itself on its participants going home ten pounds heavier. The school of today might pride itself on the person being ten pounds lighter. However, the concern is the same concern for fitness as identified by Hahn.

Richards claims the solution to these six declines, as Hahn saw it, were present in the justifications for all of the programmes that have their origin with him. All these programmes are active today, which Richards believes validates their current relevance.

The phrase that is most often attributed to Hahn is the notion of ‘impelling young people into experience’. Richards quotes a letter from Hahn to a commentator on Hahnian approaches, Skidelsky, in which he expands his original statement from which this phrase stems:

You and I would agree that indoctrination is of the devil and that it is a crime to force anybody into opinions but I, unlike you, consider it culpable neglect not to guide and even plunge the young into experiences which are likely to present opportunities for self discovery. If you spare the young such experiences, in deference to their wishes, you stunt their natural growth of basic human qualities which they will need for their own happiness and for service to their fellow men.

(Richards, 1990, p. 73)

It is perhaps worth noting that Skidelsky is American and so is steeped in a culture for which the pursuit of happiness alone is a founding value. Additionally Skidelsky derives from a cultural meritocracy and not an aristocracy. It is also worth noting that Hahn’s fear of indoctrination was well founded. The liberal educational values that influenced him as a child in Germany and later in England were also at the root of the use of the outdoors and residential camps to indoctrinate the Hitler youth. This commitment to ‘impelling’ and its apparently subtle distinction from compelling is, in this context, startling.

Sir Alec Clegg, in the preface to the second edition of Hogan’s book on the history of Outward Bound (Hogan, 2002) comments that the early Outward Bound School wardens, far from understanding Hahn’s ideas as a mandate to ‘toughen up’ young men, rather compared their roles with the educational philosophy of ‘the Hadow Report on the Primary School, which thought of education in terms of activity and experience, and also that of the Plowden Committee, whose conviction was that educationally “finding out is better than being told”’ (p. 5: original emphasis).

For Hahn however, the central philosophy of Outward Bound was not its pedagogy but the consequences of this approach. He understood Outward Bound essentially as a preparation

for service to society. In 1960, in a speech reflecting on the work of Outward Bound, he commented that impelling was not compulsion or persuasion of the young but attraction (Hahn, 1960). 'You are needed' he felt rarely failed as a way to motivate learning. Hahn thought that Outward Bound did 'not go deep enough - It is the beginning of a great promise – but this promise will not be fulfilled unless the follow-up problem is solved' (p. 10). He thought that society's role was to complete the promise by identifying relevant and valued tasks and making it plain to young people that they were needed in order to fulfil them.

The concern during the Depression for the moral fibre of men, and working class young men in particular, was heightened further by the possibility of war. Cook (1999) identifies that 'fitness for war' was still a major factor in the pre-war legislative acts that were intended to encourage the public and voluntary sectors to increase their provision for recreational, social, and physical training for the 14 to 20 age group. She describes how this provision was made a duty by the 1944 Education Act binding upon local education authorities through their schools and youth clubs including the voluntary sector. Whether Hahnian or public school in spirit, Cook identifies the influential figures that constructed these acts as public school in origin and set on perpetuating their ideas of a good system. However, in Cook's accounts there does seem to be a diversity of views about whether what was perceived as a social elite should continue to be trained as the war time leadership or whether the public school approach should be applied to all. Cook implies that the poor results of the old and public school educated military leadership in the early years of the war discredited the upper classes to a degree but not the system by which their leadership qualities were supposedly developed. It seems, she thinks, that outdoor training was seen as the answer to their needs and not the cause of the problem.

This belief in the methods of outdoor training produced another Hahn legacy. The Aberdovey Sea School in Wales was first established in 1940, as a direct result of the government concerns for character building (Arnold-Brown, 1962; Hogan, 2002). Its purpose was to apply Hahn's ideas about developing moral fibre to the drown-proofing of merchant sailors. Too many were losing their lives it was thought through a lack of resilience. A largely outdoor programme was developed by seconded naval officers to

toughen up sailors and prospective sailors. Cook notes that the documentation concerning this project is a rare example of girls being included on an equal footing with boys. She claims that both class and gender norms were breaking down in the circumstances of the war.

The Badge Scheme was also proposed as a structure for the uniformed youth services and schools to use as a preparation for military service. This was rejected, Cook believes, because the links with uniformed youth movements was a sensitive topic after the success of the Hitler Youth Movement in Germany.

As the war progressed, the pre-war public school influences of character building, the rescue of the working classes, and fitness for war were joined by other concerns. Cook (1999) reports concern for the overall health of young people, a desire for urban children to experience a better life in the country, a commitment to a health service that was not means tested, and the amelioration of social problems. Cook comments that, as the fortunes of war turned, so the Education Act was seen in a different light as a means to enable secondary education for all and outdoor education as a training for life with the aim of giving children a sense of well-being. The 'Camps Act' of 1939 (Board of Education, 1939) came to the forefront, legislating for the establishment of 50 camps, with the aims of providing 'an experience of living together and of widening ... horizons' (Cook, 1999).

The Second World War created a singular moment in English history at which there was a concerted desire for life to be 'better'. Cook (1999) describes how the advisory paper on The New Secondary Education (1947) attempted to set a very different agenda for outdoor education shifting the emphasis, she claims, from general character building to specific social purposes such as preventing juvenile delinquency. Living in community, picking up Smith's theme of association, was recommended. Residential experiences, journeys and expeditions are all mentioned as means by which to combat delinquency.

In the mid 1950s these approaches, Cook claims, were subverted by a return to character building and leadership. This she suggests was under the influence of three men with upper

class backgrounds; Hahn, again, Sir John Hunt who was the first director of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, and Jack Longland who founded the first local education authority centre at Whitehall in Derbyshire. The idea of leadership development began to replace character building as the term to describe the process of educating the ideal moral person. This change reflects further shifts in emphasis from something that is done to the individual to something for which the individual takes responsibility though the shift may be as subtle as the distinction between 'compelling' and 'impelling'.

Smith (1997b) claims it is the idea, developed by Powell and Hahn, of society through its agents the teaching profession, providing challenges to the growing child in the form of demanding and rigorous physical programmes, that provides the heart of the British approach to outdoor education. It became a 'moral equivalent to war' rather than a preparation for it.

Cook also acknowledges that the agenda, under its new nametag of leadership, may be familiar but that the intent in many projects was quite different. The wartime shift in thinking from educating an elite to the new utopian optimism for a better future for all resurfaced. Men such as Hogan, the director of the first Outward Bound School during the war and now working in further education, set out to provide an outdoor education that broke down barriers of class. He maintained that 'children (who) were involved in new situations ... could be judged on their present merits rather than have their social background or past behaviour prejudice opinions of them' [Hogan quoted in Cook (1999, p. 171)].

Hahn's approach matured with the major cultural shifts that took place after the war. His elitist pre-war character building was first seen to be of value to all in pre-war Britain and later gained a new perspective of broadening the horizons of the young in the post war optimism for the future. This was reflected in the development of the Outward Bound (OB) approach after the war. The OB programme now so widely replicated really stems from the second school, Eskdale. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, an OB trustee and mountaineer, persuaded the Outward Bound board to establish the second school in the Lake District mountains and not by the sea (Arnold-Brown, 1962, Hogan, 2002). As a result the staff

were a mixture of men with a naval background transferred from the Aberdovey Outward Bound Sea School and recruits from the world of mountaineering. Barton (1989) and Arnold- Brown (1962) both comment that managing the mix of the discipline of the navy and the anarchy of the mountaineers must have been one of the leadership tasks of the century. Tom Price, an early warden with a mountaineering background, nearly turned the job down believing the integration of the establishment ideas of education with the free spirit of adventure to be impossible (Hogan, 2002). He later described outdoor education as 'simple' adding 'that doesn't mean to say it's easy!' [Price quoted in Loynes (1990)].

Although Cook focuses on class as a significant factor in the evolution of outdoor education in the first half of the century it is perhaps a more complex story. The philanthropic efforts of late Victorians, as Smith points out, were not all patriarchal or militaristic. The romance and idealism of Seton's ideas persisted quietly as the Woodcraft Folk through all this time. Similarly the anarchic yet upper class mountaineers had a significant impact on post war provision alongside their more establishment and patriarchal peers (Barton, 1989). I would suggest that the idea of moulding the young was increasingly losing ground to the concept of the empowerment of young people to make their own moral and life choices.

What seems a unifying theme, perhaps with the exception of Seton, is that young people were seen, as Rogers (1997a) suggests they have always been, as unfit, idle, and at risk of moral decline and delinquency. What he believes remains disputed is whether this is an innate quality of being young, a failing in parenting and teaching, or the consequence of declines in society for which the young have an insufficient moral defence. During the 20th century, in Rogers' view, leisure time increasingly became the site where the morals of the young, or lack of them, were expressed or developed. The politics of whose morals were the right ones both within as well as between generations became, he claims, increasingly contested.

The class based, militaristic, and patriarchal backgrounds of some of the pre-war moral reformers led them to create rigorous, disciplined, and ordered programmes aimed at addressing 'problems' (as understood by sections of society) such as moral decline or

fitness for war. Yet within this framework there emerged an increasing emphasis present in the thinking of all the influential people described, of the importance of the individual making his, and increasingly her, own meanings of the experiences these programmes provided. It was the transformative practices of people like Hogan and many other unrecorded youth leaders that constantly attempted to resolve this dilemma of the agency of the individual within the changing social structures of society and the emerging structures of the programmes in many and varied ways.

Post War Trends

The trend towards empowerment gained new support from post war influences of a different kind of philanthropist. This, in its turn led to new issues of power and purpose and a new individualism arose to threaten those who believed in the value of community and association (Jeffs and Smith, 2002).

Philanthropy financed the early post war additions to outdoor provision. For example, Dybeck (1996) describes how Francis Scott, a self-made man and wealthy from the growth of the insurance industry, bought an estate in the Lake District called Brathay Hall. Its remit was to provide courses to expand the horizons of young people at work in the urban areas. Brathay provides an influential example of the post-war voluntary youth organisation. The month-long programmes were heavily influenced by the Outward Bound concept but, from the beginning, the creative arts and drama were also essential elements, sited as it was in the romantic movement's heartland of the south Lakes. Scott is described by Dybeck as an entrepreneur and autocrat. He epitomised the new post war self; independent, successful, and philanthropic with a special interest in young people; the key to the future.

Dybeck quotes Scott's aim as the 'opening (of) young people's minds to the possibilities of living adventurously in the world of physical activity as well as in the world of the spirit' (p. 23). This aspiration chimes with Hahn's 'spiritual powers' of self-realisation through moral equivalents to war. Indeed Scott acknowledges his debt to Outward Bound philosophies. However, Dybeck refers to an early warden who thought the only thing the

two organisations had in common was the length of the programme; a month in those days. Scott's sense of agency is more liberal than Hahn's duty-bound version.

Everard (1993) describes Brathay's influence on the field of what is now called Development Training as 'the pedagogical leader of the pack'. Early rhetoric about Brathay quoted by Dybeck refers to releasing hidden potential, the valuing of communal life, a sense of personal significance, building self-confidence, fitness, and an aesthetic appreciation. These objectives stand out for their personal nature compared with the pre-war values quoted above with their strong duty-bound service ethic and social context. Nor do they contain the elements of 'doing good' in society. Rather they speak of 'being somebody'; another significant step towards a self-centred outdoor education. This is not a surprising shift coming from a self-made businessman. It was this 'new money' and business leaders that influenced a number of national projects in the latter half of the century.

However, it was not just new projects that fashioned post war outdoor education. Despite Cook's fears, the 1947 recommendation for journeys and expeditions was not lost, far from it. They are of special relevance here for several reasons. The post war growth in youth expeditions was not only largely voluntary in nature, it was led, in part, by the founder of the Stoneleigh Group; Dick Allcock. It was also the birth of one of the Stoneleigh Group members; Endeavour Training, a voluntary organisation directed by Allcock for many years (Allcock, 2002).

In many ways the youth expedition field epitomises the struggles and transformations that occurred post war. Pre-war examples of youth expeditions were public school, heroic and imperialistic remnants of the explorers and adventurers of the British Empire (MacFarlane, 2003). Ogilvie and Keighley (1987) comment that the influences on the practice of the late 1960s were: 'the traditional forms of various traditional sports ... introduced in the traditional way and followed in their traditional wilderness settings' (p. 23). Ogilvie and Keighley claim that activities and programmes that trace their roots back before the war were sometimes adopted without any great thought to the value of these forms of practice to their new post war context. This is a similar point to that which I made earlier in this

chapter referring to a previous publication (Loynes, 2004a) concerning the influences of navigation.

Despite this the tradition of the youth expedition, an almost uniquely British idea, was transformed within the voluntary youth sector. Attempts were made to attach new meanings and values to old ways. These efforts were often problematic in that they could be steeped in the structures of outmoded practice (Allison, 2000). However, alongside those carrying the flag across the gulf of the Second World War, were new enterprises that were constructed differently and intentionally to reflect new values for new times.

John Hunt, steeped in those pre-war nationalistic mountaineering values, and fresh from climbing Everest for Great Britain in 1953, a success announced on the coronation day of Queen Elizabeth II, was another man passionate about young people as the future. He thought expeditions, and especially mountaineering ones, would be good for young people. He had the Hogan-like zeal for making such experiences available to all. Recognising that this might involve skills and knowledge he did not possess he was put in touch with a youth worker, Dick Allcock, used to working outdoors and who had similar ideas (Allcock, 2002; Cranfield, 2002). Both were working at national level on the promotion of the newly formed, Hahn-inspired, project of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. Just as Price was struggling to combine adventure with education in Eskdale, Hunt and Allcock set out to combine expeditions with youth work in Greenland. Both were benefiting from the supposed anarchy of mountaineers.

Allcock (2002) was transforming a science- and adventure-based project with the youth worker's faith in young people. However, instead of simply making young people's development the central purpose, and science and adventure a vehicle, he set out to achieve good science, high adventure, and personal development. The young recruits are reported by Allcock to have come from all social backgrounds and were mixed sex. The second and all subsequent expeditions also included community service and young participants from the host country. Expeditions, already in part transformed from imperialist leftovers by scientists and adventurers, were now adapted for the widening of the cultural horizons of young people (Cranfield, 2002). Although imperialist tendencies still pervaded some of

these projects many of those run by the voluntary youth sector took their definition from this early collaboration.

The New Individualism and Outdoor and Informal Education

The youth service, both public and voluntary, increasingly targeted what were variously called marginalised, delinquent, excluded, or disaffected young people post-16. This was partly due to a continuing reformist agenda amongst what were often Christian-based organisations. However, it was also led by the increasing amounts of funding available from the government and from charities for projects willing to work with these individuals. In the 1970s Intermediate Treatment programmes were devised to address delinquent and criminal behaviour amongst young people under 16 (Hunt, 1989). Run by Social Services and voluntary organisations, residential outdoor courses became popular with this sector. This was partly due to the influence of the, now, Lord Hunt (Cranfield, 2002) who campaigned for disadvantaged young people from his seat in the House of Lords. Increasingly informal education, often using the outdoors, was being tasked to help young people in the increasingly private task of finding a constructive identity, particularly work, in the adult world.

According to Davies (1999) the Youth Service diversified during this period in response to this diversification. In content terms sport, outdoor education, arts and global education were added to its activities whilst in process terms the themes of empowerment, participation, active citizenship and peer education emerged.

In the late 1970s and 1980s Margaret Thatcher completed the shift in the 'moral panic' of that time from delinquency to unemployment. The Youth Opportunities Programme and then the compulsory Youth Training Scheme provided programmes for young unemployed people and the latter included compulsory outdoor residential courses with the aim of personal and social development. Again, voluntary organisations were able to support the provision for these programmes (Hunt, 1989). Towards the end of the 80's mainstream education had begun to catch up with the growing demand for post-16 provision. This, coupled with rising employment, led to a downturn in funding for these kinds of schemes.

Davies (1999) comments that Thatcherism, and the belief in the market as the solution to providing employment, led to the beginnings of a shift in the focus and role of youth work. He describes how, in the late 80's youth work funding was increasingly targeted at the unemployed. This was followed by encouragement to work with some of the consequences of unemployment such as poverty, homelessness, offending and health. As a result Davies suggests that a universal right to youth work services was steadily replaced by a selective youth service with targets determined by the state and a purpose that changed from a liberal education to rescue.

A growing involvement by the state in the purposes and outcomes of youth work led to proposals being made in 1989 for a core curriculum (Davies, 1999). Early discussions focussed on attempts to identify priority groups and the skills, experiences and opportunities they needed. Davies claims that this continued the development of the idea of youth work as an education oriented and targeted service. Dissent between those in the youth service that were consulted on the curriculum and the civil servants managing the 'curriculum debate' led to a bold draft statement of purpose declaring that youth work was not only concerned with education but was also 'committed to promoting equality of opportunity and participative and empowering forms of practice' (p. 134).

Davies claims that 'in applying these broad purposes, it also set the service the task of challenging oppressions such as racism and sexism and supporting young people to act on the political and other issues affecting their lives' (p. 134). Davies indicates that this was not popular with the government and further attempts to establish a core curriculum faded. However, he points out that the draft statement was widely used by youth organisations, local services and projects as a statement of youth work values. Ord (2007) comments that the outcome of this process "was an acceptance by youth workers of the task of articulating their work in terms of curriculum – 'on their terms'" (p. 4, original emphasis). In Davies' view, it, in effect, overrode the older values of a universal service concerned with 'individual development and self-realisation' (p. 136) and replaced them with ones oriented towards social, cultural and political matters thereby drawing youth work into the social sphere. This, in turn, underpinned demands for an accountable service targeted on specific groups and issues and tasked with achieving specific outcomes a view endorsed by

Young (1999) who comments that in the late 90's these targets were increasingly determined by government concerns.

These approaches to young people increasingly constructed the individual young person as the location for any action that would address these problems. As Williamson (1998) points out this trend set out to address social problems on behalf of the wider society rather than on behalf of the young people themselves. Continuing the trends noted above, Williamson (1997) cites criminality and employment along with homelessness as major social concerns leading to performance driven projects in the early 90s encroaching into the youth service from more powerful and established agencies.

Young people were being constructed as both the cause of and the answer to certain sets of social issues such as employment, health, training and criminality. Williamson (1997) claims that the trend was a '... recasting of public issues as private troubles - for individual enterprise and resolution. Social disadvantage and marginality (was) increasingly presented as pathological, but with no "medical" model or "social" attribution to cushion individuals from personal blame and responsibility' (p. 190: original emphasis). The structural boundaries around the young person narrowed considerably as programmes were tasked to deliver good citizens in education or employment. National competency frameworks such as 'key skills' were developed in order to provide both a curriculum and a basis for auditing the outcomes of these programmes (Huskins, 1996). A curriculum for informal education in the youth service was emerging, driven by government policy makers and advocated by those seeking to sustain funding streams for an increasingly under-funded youth service. It focussed on personal and social development, capability and competence (Hunt, 1989), exactly the concerns that Evans and Heinz (1995) concluded should be the focus of interventions for marginalised young people. The definition shifted from process to outcome as funders became increasingly interested in auditing the benefit gained from their investments. Outdoor and adventurous activities became a popular means by which to achieve these outcomes.

These changes in youth policy were not without their critics. Williamson (1997) states that 'despite the rhetoric of choice and opportunity for young people and incessant political

claims that “young people are our future, in whom we must invest”, the reality is much more to do with the subordination of young people to wider labour market and law and order imperatives’ (p. 190: original emphasis). Coleman remarks that ‘ One of the most striking features of much ... youth policy is that it seems to be constructed more to meet the needs of adults than of young people’ (p. 25).

In 1996 I commented from an outdoor education perspective on the commodification of outdoor education (Loynes, 1996) and, in a later paper, discussed the pervading influence of algorithmic approaches to outdoor education provision aimed at delivering what were described as predetermined outcomes with pre-set programmes (Loynes, 2002b). Jeffs and Smith (1999) attacked the trends in informal education:

These trends provide informal educators with a number of challenges. Fostering democratic processes involves questioning common sense views. Ideas about the naturalness of markets, the right to private gain, and the inevitability of hierarchical structures are woven into daily life. In conversation informal educators have to keep asking, for example, what right do ‘managers have to manage,’ experts to decide what is best for others, and employers to control work, training and education? There is a lot of pressure on informal educators to ‘behave’ themselves, to be ‘responsible’. More and more funding for their work is short term and from unaccountable bodies such as lottery boards and health trusts. There is pressure – seen and unseen – to tone down questioning and to quieten those they work with.

Many reading this will be deeply unhappy with this state of affairs.

(p. 38–39: original emphasis)

Some approaches maintained a pedagogic freedom but much of outdoor and informal education was entrained in the construction of the good citizen and worker and in addressing the social problems of those who deviated from these paths.

Surprisingly, according to Jeffs and Smith (2002), despite the growing concern for the breakdown in associative life, government policy re-branded ‘...youth work as a form of individualised case-management, and youth workers as specialists blessed with skills or personalities uniquely fitting them to control, monitor, distract, “develop” and oversee “troublesome” young people’ (p. 55: original emphasis). This, they believe, has reached a crisis for youth work in the statutory sector with the establishment of ‘Connexions’ and the young person as client, especially the problematic young person, typically a male. Young (1999) comments that the impact of these trends was twofold, encouraging many other workers to respond to the ‘needs’ of youth and for responses to be increasingly determined by external funding and the agendas of those funders. Jeffs and Smith (2002) describe this as a practice of surveillance and control, case management rather than education, and individualised rather than group ways of working that withdraws resources from the substantial majority of young people and is counter to the central tenets of youth work as Jeffs and Smith believe them to be. It could also have the effect of drawing interventions away from an informal educational approach to a more formal one.

Vanamdruel, Amerio, Stafseng and Tap (1996) confirm the view of Jeffs and Smith (2002) that traditional associative life in the UK is in decline and lacks government support commenting that ‘the result is a step backwards towards “charity-style” operations’ (p. 293, original emphasis). However, they also comment that, from the perspective of young people associative life is still very active, informally through families and peer groups, and formally through leisure clubs.

Ord (2007) offers a rather different view suggesting that the traditional approach of the youth worker remained intact through the 90’s and that the introduction of a ‘curriculum’ simply made explicit what was widely practiced before. He understands the practice of youth work remaining quite distinct from although overlapping with formal education.

Within outdoor education, an approach utilised by both formal education and youth work, Loynes (2002b) argues that the ‘discipline of the naval vessel’ was being re-asserted over ‘the anarchic slopes of the mountain’. Loynes draws on Ringer’s (2002) term ‘algorithmic’ to describe the sequential and linear forms of ‘experiential’ education that have arisen from

this development breaking away from what many regarded as a delicate but highly constructive balance between informal person centred and formal agenda dominated approaches, perhaps the outdoor education equivalent of Williamson's (1998) tight rope mentioned above rather than Ord's (2007) concept of overlapping spheres. Ord refers to what I understand as the same issue within experiential learning as '*techne* – the analogy of learning as a production line' (p. 71, original emphasis). He puts the emergence of this approach down to the emphasis on 'product' within the youth work curriculum, a focus he understands as problematic highlighting the emphasis it places on training rather than education. He also comments that, whilst the emphasis on outcomes can be apparently constructively needs driven, it is not necessarily the needs of young people that are being met.

Williamson (1998) argues that, whilst it was important for youth work to hold on to its traditional democratic values, this was not necessarily mutually exclusive to a service that could tackle social issues on behalf of young people. The outdoor residential organised by a youth organisation, away from home and understood as an aspect of a young person's leisure time, could arguably offer a space in which to engage with adults who put young people first (Tucker, 2003) but who could also discuss problems and offer solutions. These messages were often packaged in the carefully constructed and interpreted outdoor activities adapted from corporate outdoor training's team building and leadership training programmes (Dybeck, 1996, Hunt, 1989). Ord's useful distinction between process and product highlights the emphasis within outdoor learning on a youth work process understood as a student centred co-construction of meaning and knowledge within an informal approach to outdoor education. It is not understood as curriculum free, simply curriculum negotiable. This form of practice should be more appropriately called non-formal rather than informal. However, as explained in Chapter 1, this thesis is following the practice of the Stoneleigh Group (and many practitioners of 'informal' outdoor learning) in misusing the term 'informal' education in order to maintain some clarity for the reader.

These trends had an impact on the voluntary as well as the statutory sector. By the end of the 1990's outdoor education was again being promulgated as one of several strategies for

providing a handrail post-16 (Brown and Humberstone, 2003). This new provision, initially piloted in 2000 as the Summer Activities Initiative and later called the Summer Activities Programme (Thom, 2003), put more government funding into outdoor education than ever before. Yet again, the voluntary sector, as part of consortia, was able to contribute to this provision. The idea behind funding being given to consortia was to encourage innovative approaches from the interaction of agencies that did not normally collaborate.

Within these schemes ‘projects’ such as outdoor residential experiences still worked through groups. However, the curriculum and leadership of the courses as described by Brown (2002) (‘... ideally enabling young people to have some role or choice in the design ...’ p. 27) or Kirby (2002) (‘... the activities ... were used to try and teach people about themselves, and teach them about working with others ...’ p. 36) takes this work even further towards the formal education end of Jeffs and Smith’s (1999) formal/informal continuum. Despite the apparent shifts towards ‘control, monitoring, distraction, ‘development’ and overseeing’ feared by Jeffs and Smith, Festeu (2002) shows how informal education practice remained critical to success in these programmes as understood by the young people. However he claims, like Tucker (2003), that the informal pedagogy valued by traditional youth work was hidden in the interstices between the activity programme, the curriculum and the overt outcomes that justified funding.

Davies (2005) broadens this concern. Commenting on the colonisation of youth work by other agencies such as offending teams, the Health Service, Social Services, the Careers Service and schools he wonders if

the scent of adaptable methods can ... be attractive, not least for those policy makers and managers with strong territorial instincts. When the chase is over, some of the most easily digestible parts of youth work may have survived. But again the question has to be asked: will these filleted extracts still be recognisable and effective as *youth work*?

(p. 5-6: original emphasis).

These comments allude to the interest of other agencies in the effectiveness of youth work as a strategy for achieving their goals as opposed to the goals of the youth service which, in Davies' view, should be defined in part by their person centred approach. Davies adds that, in his view, it is the targets that can be achieved by these means that are of interest to other agencies. Indeed, he suggests that these colonising activities are largely frustrated with the youth work process that seems to them, he suggests, to be never ending and staff intensive.

Throughout the 80's and 90's the longer standing voluntary youth organisations such as Endeavour Training were joined by an increasing number of new bodies. A number were inspired by ex-military personnel. For example the Prince's Trust, a Stoneleigh Group partner discussed in more detail in chapters 2 and 9, was started by Prince Charles after completing his military service in 1976 in order to address the needs of 'disadvantaged young people' (Prince's Trust, 2006). Fairbridge and Venture Scotland began as spin offs from the Drake Voyage (1978) in which a reconstruction of Drake's ship repeated his circumnavigation crewed by young people. The project was the idea of explorer Colonel John Blashford-Snell who set up the Scientific Exploration Society and the voyage as one of its major projects. They describe how returning voyagers were determined and encouraged to set up projects that made available significant outdoor experiences for those unable to afford or imagine a berth on a round the world voyage (Scientific Exploration Society, 2008). Fairbridge, the largest descendent of these projects, aims to support 'NEETS' (not in education, employment or training) (Fairbridge, 2008). Weston Spirit, another Stoneleigh Group partner set up by Falklands war veteran Simon Weston and 2 friends in 1988, aims to help 'disadvantaged inner city youth' (Weston Spirit, 2006). Youth at Risk, breaking with the military trend, was established in 1992 by a lawyer in an attempt to reach 'disaffected repeat young offenders' (Youth at Risk, 2006).

In every case these voluntary organisations followed the trend commented on by Jeff and Smith (2002) and Young (1999) to respond to the needs of marginalised 'problem' youth by addressing personal development needs in order to help them back into education or on to employment. In other words it could be argued that, they have to some degree, been

colonised, as Davies (2005) suggests, by other agencies with other agendas. Walther (2003) comments on the increasing recognition amongst policy makers of ‘informal learning’ as a major contributor to vocational training. In this context by ‘informal learning’ Walther means learning that occurs as a consequence of private and social life experience and including, in his view, ‘non-formal learning’ that he defines as more deliberate interventions often made by youth services. This suggests that the ‘colonisation’ is even more widespread.

This new wave of voluntary youth organisations are based in the communities of the young people that they support and, as their youth and social work expertise has developed, they have diversified their practices from outdoor activities and residential experiences with the use of a wide range of interventions including outreach work and mentoring. The focus of the work of these new voluntary youth organisations has also evolved as each project in each urban area has sought to address the particular unfunded or unsupported ‘problem’ groups of that place. In many cases local concerns and regional and national funding initiatives rather than young people themselves define the groups who receive resources through these organisations. In a few cases, such as a number of the Prince’s Trust initiatives, young people respond to opportunities for support for their needs and ideas. The Prince’s Trust, Youth at Risk, Weston Spirit and Fairbridge place a significant weight on diagnosis and a planned trajectory to education and employment whilst the remaining partners in the Stoneleigh Group typically take a more person-centred approach.

The Ladder Project, a more recent (1997 – 2002) youth work intervention in Wales, developed a different concept for their activities that understood the area as the problem and young people as part of the solution. Like the Stoneleigh Group, they set out to work with young people to help them transform the fortunes of their neighbourhoods. This they describe as being achieved by working with marginalised young people on an individual basis in order to address their needs and help them back into education, training and employment (Dunmore and Lloyd-Jones, 2003). This work would, it was thought, help in the development of the region as unskilled young people became competent to take on professional jobs. The project set out to train one group of young people as outreach youth workers and then, through them, address the needs of other young people in the area. Over

the life of the project they claim to have reached 1361 of the 'hardest to reach young adults'. Like the Stoneleigh Group, this project set out to reach 18 to 25 year olds. More than half of this group took part in activities and volunteering including outdoor activities though the role these activities took is unclear. Nearly half re-engaged with educational or training programmes and all nine of the young youth workers completed their training.

The last 20 years, then, have seen trends that have shifted the practices of informal education in youth work, including those within outdoor education, towards a more formal approach. The goals of this work have also narrowed from the broader post war aims of developing the individual. They now focus largely on the development of skills and attitudes leading to employability for those unsuccessful at school or in the job market or provide programmes of distraction or correction from socially deviant behaviours.

Conclusion

The authors cited above claim that the values and practices of informal education have their roots in the social reformers of late Victorian Britain. These reformers were, they believe, motivated in various ways to tackle the perceived problem of young working class people. Concerns were believed to range from a moral panic about their values, concern for their working and home lives, and a concern for the fitness of young men who might be recruited into the military.

Analyses of this early practice suggest that from the start the approach taken was one in which young people were supported in the process of transforming their circumstances through formal education, improved work conditions, and informal education. It is claimed the latter is underpinned by the values of enhancing wellbeing, a belief in the importance of truth, democracy, fairness, and equality and respect for all persons. Practices that are thought to define these early approaches to informal education include the idea of mutual support through association and collective endeavour, activity that was chosen by the young person, and conversation with intention that transformed leisure into learning.

These authors believe that the early reformers had a clear position. They think they were acting on behalf of society to bring about cultural improvement. The authors claim the reformers were countering what was thought to be an emerging individualism from which civil society was seen as under threat. However, they claim that as well as differences between the various projects in what the moral concerns were and how they might be improved, there were also differences in how the relationship between the young person and society was understood. Some analyses suggest that the key difference of relevance to the later practice of informal education was the way in which some reformers understood the task as helping young people to do good whilst others sought to instil a sense of duty.

Analysis suggests that many of these values, beliefs and practices of the past have persisted into the modern versions of these Victorian voluntary organisations. Some of these traditions, it is suggested, have been transformed by changes in social and economic influences between the wars whilst others have not. In either case it is thought these changes in voluntary organisations have largely been undergone uncritically.

It is considered that after the Second World War further social and economic changes transformed the values and practices of informal education. Leisure it is claimed (Rogers, 1997a) a preferred site of moral development and the voluntary nature of informal education placed it within this aspect of social life. A post war vision to broaden horizons, it is thought (Glyptis, 1991) saw a shift away from doing good or being correct on behalf of others to one of realising potential on behalf of the self (Evans and Heinz, 1995). It would seem individualism was no longer understood as a threat. In response to these trends character building became leadership.

Later still in the 1980's, moral panics concerning young people resumed. This it is believed led to a narrowing of the informal education curriculum by an increasingly dominant State influence (Jeffs and Smith, 2002). Arguably this led to an emphasis on employability and correct behaviour. The critics of current approaches to youth work such as Jeffs (2002) and Young (1999) claim that the core values and practices of informal education have been challenged and a sense of surveillance has crept in.

During the 1980's outdoor education became one of several informal education strategies aimed at problematic youth. It is the only strategy mentioned specifically in European policy documents (as a solution to young male aggression) (IARD, 2001). In this document the problems of young people are listed as unemployment, violence, disability, gender, and race and it is claimed that they all lead to social exclusion. Chapter 2 shows that many of the Stoneleigh Group members are at the forefront of the provision of these strategies.

Voluntary youth organisations have adopted outdoor education as a form of informal education and as a means of addressing what are understood as the personal development and social problems of young people. These are defined differently at different points in history. At each point new organisations together with the values and activities they adopt, join those already in place. Most of these organisations have persisted to the present day; their values and approaches variously transformed for a new context or rooted in a past that may or may not have relevance. As the different institutions of adventure, young people, youth work, education, and social reform interact with each other in evolving cultural contexts new curricula and pedagogic approaches emerge. The Stoneleigh Project provides a case study of one such programme that draws on these various roots through the different histories of the partner organisations.

A central theme of all of these institutions is the way in which power and control are understood and exercised. This operates across many dynamics; adult and young person, gender, race and class differences, the agency of individuals and the structures of society, professional and personal roles, and policy and practice. Outdoor education has been variously constructed as liberation, diversion and suppression. Young people are currently understood as exercising more agency in a longer and more complex transition to adulthood than ever before. Policy makers are expressing concern and making interventions in the 'problem' and 'problems' of young people as they have always done. In Chapters 10–13 the evidence collected from the participants in the Stoneleigh Project will be examined in the context of the cultural influences on these evolving shifts in the power relations and forms of knowledge within youth work.