

Chapter 8:

Knowledge, Power and Control in Education:

Theoretical Perspectives

Introduction

Chapter 4 set the Stoneleigh Project in the wider context of ideas about the changing ways that youth transition is understood in UK society. These changes were thought to be emancipatory; that is a wider sector of society was understood to have received more of a share of power and resources. At the same time these changes were understood to be controlling as the power holders in society sought to ensure that their established values were adopted and upheld (Smith, 2000). Youth culture has been interpreted as both a resistance to this ‘oppression’ and a space that opens up a dialogue between the generations about the culture of the future at a time of rapid change (Helve and Bynner, 2007). Throughout these changes the concepts of youth and youth work had been developing. Chapter 5 discussed how youth work acted as a mediator between more socially mobile young people in transition to adulthood and the values of the established society. Throughout this young people have increasingly been regarded as their own locus of moral order and control. As the world of work has changed and the rate of this change has accelerated, young people have also increasingly been expected to construct an identity that was different from that of their social roots but in keeping with the established norms of the public world. Youth work was described as being increasingly responsible for helping those young people who were struggling with this task.

The Stoneleigh Group members were described in Chapter 2 as voluntary organisations engaged in this work. As is shown in Appendix 4, at the centre of their work is the task of addressing some of the current inequities in society. Whilst the individual member organisations are concerned with supporting young people in the transformation of their personal circumstances, Chapter 2 describes how the Stoneleigh Group did not want just to empower young people to restore themselves to constructive pathways of transition into adulthood. Its purpose was the radical objective of contributing to the transformation of the values and practices of society that are perceived as responsible for the inequities in the

first place. To do this it explicitly set out to support young people in becoming agents of social transformation. Some partners in the Stoneleigh Group described this as spiritual development.

The initial questions that this research asked about the Stoneleigh Group (p. 3–4) centred on the ways in which power and knowledge were managed at the micro level in the curriculum and pedagogy of the Stoneleigh Project and especially the retreats. Issues of power and knowledge were identified in the evaluation report as central to the curriculum of the Stoneleigh Project. Self-knowledge, knowledge of social problems, and knowledge of alternative values that could lead to different social conditions were at the heart of the Stoneleigh Project's programme. The way power was constructed in the programmes was also central to the pedagogic relationships between the adults and young people. This, it was thought, not only helped to create trusting relationships, it also provided a setting in which experiential and social knowledge could give voice to the meanings the young people found in their programme. Additionally, these pedagogic relationships were thought to model alternative strategies for social relations between the young people and other family, peer group, and community members. Such knowledge, it was hoped, would empower the young people to take action and through this bring about transformations in their communities. This research set out to examine these claims critically.

The Stoneleigh Group was also attempting to develop an educational initiative that it hoped would offer a different way of working with the power relations between young people, society, and youth work. This second area of interest for the research project emerged as the study was under way. It became concerned with exploring the macro level struggle for control of what was claimed by the Stoneleigh Group to be a radical approach to spiritual development supporting young people committed to social transformation. This part of the research focussed on the process by which knowledge about the programme was constructed. A significant discourse, that is discussions in which the partners in the Stoneleigh Group debated the meaning of the Stoneleigh Project, took place. This struggle to assert the dominant meaning and the control of this knowledge as it was disseminated and then used in advocacy work became the second focus of this research project. This allowed the research to explore a case study of the role of knowledge and power in the

politics of the relationships between society and the construction of pedagogies of what the Stoneleigh Group called informal education for young people.

This research started without developing a theoretical perspective on the educational processes of informal outdoor education. This was intentional. The aim was to pay attention to the narratives of the participants in the Stoneleigh Project rather than to collect evidence through pre-determined theoretical lenses. Later, theories of education from a critical sociological perspective helped me to address the questions posed by this research. Basil Bernstein (1971; 1975; 1996), an educational social analyst who has developed a theory of the sociology of education that critically examines pedagogy, power, and knowledge at both the macro and the micro levels provides a useful framework for the analysis of this research. Bernstein explored knowledge and power within education.

However, the Stoneleigh Project was centrally concerned with values as well as knowledge and also understood values to be significantly linked to power and transformation. The philosopher Joas (2000) provides an analysis of the development of values in a social context and from a critical perspective that I suggest is congruent with the approach of Bernstein. Later in this chapter I introduce his ideas in order to compliment Bernstein's conceptual tools and to extend the framework with which to analyse the Stoneleigh Project into the domain of values development.

Bernstein's and Joas' theories explore the issues of power, control, identity, and socialisation within education. Bernstein states that '(h)ow a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 202). He developed a theoretical model for the analysis of formal education in schools and universities based on a classification of knowledge. Its purpose was to help answer the question 'how are forms of experience, identity and relation evoked, maintained and changed by the formal transmission of educational knowledge ...?' (p. 203). His theory focuses on three 'message systems' (p. 203); curricula, pedagogy, and evaluation.

His early work was largely applied to formal educational institutions such as schools and universities. However, in his later work Bernstein (1996) states

I also want to make it very clear that my concept of pedagogic practice is somewhat wider than the relationships that go on in schools. Pedagogic practices would include the relationships between doctor and patient, the relationships between psychiatrist and the so-called mentally ill, the relationships between architects and planners. In other words, the notion of pedagogic practice that I shall be using will regard pedagogic practice as a fundamental social context through which cultural reproduction-production takes place.

(p. 17)

This indicates that Bernstein maintained his theories were of relevance to all pedagogic relationships including those of informal and outdoor education. This suggests that Bernstein would assert that his theories were relevant to informal education and so are applicable as a tool for analysis in this research. Joas understood his concept of values development to apply to all aspects of development in private, social and public spheres and including informal, non-formal and formal education.

Ord's work on the youth work curriculum explores many of the themes that are central to Bernstein's ideas. He analyses curriculum in terms of content, product and process and explores the themes of knowledge and power in the relationships between society, the youth worker and the young person (Ord, 2007). This provides further support for the relevance of Bernstein's and Joas' theories to this context.

This chapter introduces the theories of Bernstein and Joas and their relevance to this research. They consider questions of identity, socialisation, power and control within education in the context of society. In this research Bernstein's ideas are applied to the micro level of analysis necessary to interpret and analyse the practices of the Stoneleigh Project. In this way, the Stoneleigh Group's claim for a radical approach to informal education can be examined. At the same time, Bernstein's theories are applied to the macro

level of analysis needed to discuss the Stoneleigh Group's work in the context of trends in youth work, youth transition, and society.

Joas provides a development of Bernstein's ideas beyond knowledge construction and acquisition into the realm of values development. Part of the intention of the Stoneleigh Group was to provide a curriculum based on values development. In order to look at values development as a form of knowledge development the ideas of Joas (2000) have been applied. He explores the nature of the genesis of values arising from individual experience and how they might interact with the values of society.

The Underlying Principles of Bernstein's Theories

Bernstein's theories are founded on a set of three pedagogic rights; one each for the personal, social, and political domains of life. These are outlined in his last book (Bernstein, 1996) and discussed below. He developed these concepts to help analyse an education service that he thought was 'a public institution central to the production and reproduction of distributive injustices' (p. 5). He thought schools were failing in some measure to provide the egalitarian opportunities for all young people that underpin the principles of social democratic values enshrined in the Education Reform Act (Ministry of Reconstruction, 1956). Schools did not, he claimed, transform the circumstances of young people but reproduced a culture in which the dominant holders of power maintained and reproduced a society in which their power was upheld. He might be intrigued by the application of his theories to a youth service that claims to be committed to supporting those who are most marginalised by this educational system (Prince's Trust, 2004) and by a project that sought to support marginalised young people who might be prepared to challenge the established order.

Bernstein (1996) saw in education the potential for creating an effective democracy. In his view the citizens of the ideal democracy are in an active relationship with society both receiving goods from it and giving something to it. He argues:

... people must feel that they have a stake in society. Stake may be a bad metaphor, because by stake I mean that not only are people concerned to receive something but that they are also concerned to *give* something.

(p. 6).

Bernstein claimed that developing this sense of a 'stake' in society leads to a set of three pedagogic rights that are the responsibility of education to provide. The first is the right to individual enhancement. By this he means the opportunity to be socially mobile and for the education process to support this mobility. He thought that it was the role of education to confront the social, intellectual or personal constraints that inhibit mobility so that they are not experienced 'as prisons, or stereotypes' (p. 6). In Bernstein's view, developing people's critical understanding of their situation has the potential to create these 'new possibilities' (p. 6) or pathways. The Stoneleigh Project sought to help marginalised young people confront the constraints on their transitions to adulthood so that they could develop constructive pathways to adult identities. It sought to provide a second chance for young people who were thought of as having been disenfranchised by education so far.

The second right is 'to be included socially, intellectually, culturally and personally' (p. 7). Bernstein understands inclusion not as absorption into a group but as autonomy operating at the social level, as a respect for diversity. For Bernstein there was a quality of relationship between people that is one of universal respect and equality that transcends the structural divisions in society.

Bernstein (1996) used the term '*communitas*' (p. 7) to conceptualise this idea. However, he does not expand on its meaning at great length. Nevertheless, it is a useful concept in relation to the Stoneleigh Project as it can shed light on the retreat phase of the programme. Turner (1982), the theorist who has done much to apply the idea of *communitas* to sociological thought, argues that it refers to an underlying and generalised social bond between all human beings, and between them and the world. In this state he claims human beings relate to one another freely and as totalities. Turner understands this condition as one that is opposed to the social structures of position and identity but in a necessary and ideally balanced relationship with it. Rapport and Overing (2000) summarise Turner's

concept of '*communitas*' as 'a sense of heightened togetherness which people might feel with one another once the superficial clothing of age, status, occupation, gender and other differences had been removed' (p. 233). They go on to describe how Turner understood '*communitas*' to contribute to a social state of liminality, a space free of social structures and open to creativity and criticality. In Turner's view, they claim, this liminoidal state could be applied to 'a great variety of institutions, practices, movements, situations, roles and persons' (p. 233). They summarise Turner's sense of it as

... a condition of 'sacred marginality', ... characterized by something of the anti-structural, the transitional and processual, the creative and re-formative, the reversing, the resistant and rebellious, the communal and communing. They stripped themselves of normative everyday identities and refrained from normal practices in order to achieve vantage points from which the social structure could be critiqued and re-formed.

(p. 234).

This concept can be used as an analytic tool applied not only to the pedagogic practices of the retreats but also to the curriculum development of the Stoneleigh Project created in a space removed from the conventional practices of the partner organisations.

Rapport and Overing (2000) argue that '*communitas*' is an important aspect of the social world that is liberating and empowering and so an important condition that supports social mobility and personal transformation. They argue:

... individuals needed to alternate between the two experiential states. For, the creative power of *communitas* fashioned the being of individuals and communities in liberating, potentiating ways, while the routinization of this creative togetherness into norm-governed distinctions and relations afforded a stability conducive to taking stock and taking action.

(p. 36)

In other words, whilst a state of *communitas* can support personal and social transformation, for the individual to establish this new identity and for it to engage constructively with the world he or she must re-enter the normal, structured world. The Stoneleigh Project designers claimed that their programme spanned both a space in which the young people could re-consider their identities and a space where they could apply these identities in new ways in the social world. From this analysis of the programme it is possible to consider whether the claims of the Stoneleigh Group satisfy Bernstein's second right. The culture of positive regard and equality of worth that the Stoneleigh Project was seeking to develop with the help of the egalitarian principles of the retreat community at Camas could readily be likened to the ideas of '*communitas*' and liminality as set out above. This would certainly support the Stoneleigh Group's assumption that young people whose personal worth is valued by adults and who experience an egalitarian culture will develop in such a way as to encourage them to become creative actors of their lives and move towards realising their potentials.

The third right Bernstein proposed operates at the political level and is the right to participate. This, he made clear, is not, in his view, simply about discourse but about practice for which there are consequences; that is participation 'in the construction, maintenance and transformation of order' (Bernstein, 1996, p. 7). By 'order' he meant the social order influenced by the identities that young people construct in their transitions to adulthood. He thought the process of transition should not simply be about finding a path but, in some cases, should involve supporting young people in creating new pathways and so shifting the order of society.

It is against the quality of the provision of these three rights that Bernstein thought that an educational system should be evaluated. In Chapter 5 I discussed the changes affecting the work of the Youth Service in helping young people in transition to adulthood. I indicated that, as well as supporting a transition to work, a family and a home, that Hall, Coffey and Williamson (1999) suggest that transition today also involves supporting young people in becoming citizens in the normative sense with responsibilities as well as rights. The Stoneleigh Group, with its overtly political as well as personal and social educational aims of supporting young people to become agents of social change, can be understood as an

pilot programme seeking to support young people in becoming active citizens. This approach might fall into one of two of Ord's (2007) models of youth work, that is 'critical social education; or 'radical social change'. For Ord critical social education involves developing a critical position in relation to social relations in society whilst radical social change concerns efforts to challenge the structural factors underlying inequality. Bernstein's concepts, framed by his overarching interest in an education for democracy that supports young people in becoming active citizens, would seem appropriate in this context.

The Current Relevance of Bernstein's Ideas

In his early writings, Bernstein (1971) argued that power and control are arranged at that time as they have been historically. Bernstein suggested that the approach taken to education suited a nineteenth century industrial system that needed people who could fill well-defined roles and unquestioningly accept the values of society; 'a submissive and inflexible man' (p. 225). He believed this educational approach was not thought to be appropriate in the modern economic or cultural context. This is because, in his view, policy makers thought that knowledge was re-organising, labour needed to be more flexible, social order was changing and there were, within a more diverse society, problems of control. Society, it was claimed, now needed people to be considerably more flexible whilst still accepting its increasingly diverse values; 'a conforming but flexible man' (p. 225). This, Bernstein claimed, heralded some liberalisation of the educational system but not necessarily in a way or to an extent that moved it in a direction that would satisfy his views on the educational rights of young people.

Since then further changes in society have occurred and the pace of change has accelerated. In the preface to Bernstein's (1996) latest book Singh and Luke (1996) remark 'it would have been difficult in the 1950s and 1960s to anticipate the impact of trans-national capitalism on work, consumption and leisure at the end of the century' (p. xi) and later add that 'educators face a more volatile and complex social geography...' (p. xii). Whilst these social and economic changes have continued on the same trajectory as Bernstein discussed, the educational system has, Singh and Luke claim, remained unresponsive and so, from this perspective, much of Bernstein's early analysis can be said to still apply. Whilst there have been many changes in the educational system even since

1996, it can be argued that none of these make a significant difference to the way the established institutions maintain power and control. Identities remain structured around areas of knowledge imparted in a traditional curriculum structure and by unreformed pedagogic practices that support the knowledge claims of the educational hierarchy. Indeed, it has been argued that the educational practices that Bernstein understood to be counter to the values of a democracy have been extended into the university system (Humberstone, 2007). Universities, she claims, are increasingly in the business of constructing identities suited to the labour needs of a nation rather than developing active citizens for a democratic way of life.

Other authors have reviewed Bernstein's ideas in the light of recent trends. Evans and Davies (2004) setting the scene for their work on 'Body Knowledge and Control in Physical Education', a text that draws on Bernstein's theories, refer to Giddens' (1991) and Becks' (1992) ideas of the risk society of the western world. Evans and Davies present the problems of identity construction by claiming

we ... now seem to be faced with countless choices (over relationships, diet, procreation, looks, sexuality, etc.) where previously there were few, or none. Ironically, this has made life more uncertain and stressful, less comfortable psychologically.

(p. 36–37)

As was discussed in Chapter 4, young people are contending with fragmented social networks, the changing nature of employment and a renewed moral panic variously describing them as deviant or vulnerable and certainly problematic. Yet, as Singh and Luke (1996) point out, traditional approaches to education have 'proven surprisingly resilient' (p. xi).

Giddens (1999) argues that modern society is one that calls for 'less centralisation and a greater level of individual decision-making in everyday life' (p. 36) and 'the idea that human beings should be more autonomous and responsible ...' (p. 37). This would

suggest that, even from a pragmatic rather than an ideological point of view, educational systems are in need of transformation. This paradox between the traditional form of education and other understandings of what a more effective approach could be is further enhanced by the conclusions of Chapters 4 and 5. These suggest that young people are increasingly expected to become agents of their own transitions to adulthood and their own moral centres. Yet they are subjected to increasingly centralised formal and informal education.

Bernstein recognised this same dilemma. He argued that there are two competing trends attempting to influence educational practices. One he claimed was based on the idea of 'retrospective identities'. These he claimed would favour a return to the imaginary certainties of a society that was thought of as a monoculture. The other advocates were supporters of what he termed 'prospective identities'. They, he claimed, would argue for the possibility of a new social contract based around issues of difference and community' (Bernstein, 1996). Maintaining and even enhancing a strongly regulated system would seem to be counter to the needs of the society yet this is what Singh and Luke (1996) claim is happening.

Jeffs and Smith's (2002) claim that the Youth Service is not even maintaining its traditional emancipatory approach but has acquired a more strongly regulated and narrow curriculum under the Connexions Service brand than previously. They remark on the intrusion of the State into the purposes, curriculum, and pedagogy of youth work narrowing its ambitions to vocational training and the fixing of social ills. Evans and Davies (2004) draw on Ritzer (2004) when they refer to this narrowing of curricula within schools to skills and competences as a 'Macdonaldisation of society' (2004). I have argued previously (Loynes, 1998) that these trends identified by Evans and Davies (2004) are also occurring in outdoor education. The voluntary youth sector has, to some degree, been able to resist these trends although outcome-based government funding has led to practices in this sector focussed on specific groups, with specific strategies to fix certain social ills and lasting for prescribed periods of time (Elias et al., 2002). These influences are resisted by at least some partners in the Stoneleigh Group. This resistance is seen as significant

enough to be explicitly referred to on some of their web sites (Endeavour Training, 2006; Weston Spirit, 2006).

The Stoneleigh Project can be understood as an attempt to counter this tendency. The Stoneleigh Group partners were supporting in various ways marginalised young people struggling through the extended period of youth without a pedagogic handrail. They set out to help them to construct identities by challenging their fragmented social networks in a horizontal youth culture. However, this youth culture is one that is partly set on rejecting the values of society in order to create a space in which to achieve some autonomy and control and respond to the rapidly changing values and opportunities of the society around them. The Stoneleigh Project, according to its aspirations, sought to provide a new pedagogic response that also sustained something of this autonomy and control. The purpose of this was to allow for greater agency with which to choose values, potentially ones that were contrary to the mainstream values of society. Therefore, this was intended not only to provide a challenge to the trends in the statutory Youth Service identified by Jeffs and Smith (2002). It was meant to go beyond supporting marginalised young people into the adult world of work by encouraging them to confront the sources of the inequalities they had experienced within educational institutions.

Bernstein's theories can be utilised to support the interpretation and analysis of modern educational practices. His concerns for a democratic education and the trends that he identified that, he claimed, counter such an education are, Evans and Davies (2004) Jeffs and Smith (2002) and Humberstone (2007) suggest, still relevant. Bernstein's thinking can be applied to the Stoneleigh Group and its work in the context of the pedagogic debate about the role and methods of youth work and the nature of youth and young people in transition to adulthood. The next section discusses the ways in which Bernstein's theories help in an analysis of the Stoneleigh Group and its work.

Bernstein's Theories and the Stoneleigh Project

Bernstein's theories of education are helpful in analysing educational institutions at the macro and the micro levels. At the macro level they help with an understanding of how the distribution of power and resources in society are reproduced or transformed by

educational practices. At the micro level they support the analysis of relations between the transmitter (the teacher in Bernstein's terminology) and the acquirer (the student) of knowledge. This can reveal how power relations are maintained or changed in the pedagogic process. At the macro level Bernstein's ideas are applied to the analysis of the Stoneleigh Project and its relations with the voluntary youth organisations that created it, the Youth Service, and the society in which the Youth Service and young people are situated. At the micro level his models help in the analysis of the curriculum and pedagogy and are used to analyse the relations between the participants in the Stoneleigh Project and the beliefs of the Stoneleigh Group. It also enables the analysis of the way in which the intervention affected the lives of the participants.

Macro Level Applications

In his theory Bernstein (1971, p. 17-38) identified two types of curricula. He did this by considering the strength or weakness of the boundaries around the content of a curriculum. He believed that the contents of collection curricula are strongly insulated and bounded from each other. This, he suggested means they interact weakly or not at all with each other and with the everyday world of the pupil. The classic school curriculum is a good example with traditional subjects such as mathematics, physics and so on. The integrated curriculum would, Bernstein claims, have a weaker structuring of knowledge. Subjects would be more inclusive and draw on several traditional sources. The relatively new university subject of ecology is a good example drawing on the traditional fields of biology, geography and so on. Bernstein used two concepts to describe in more detail the boundaries of curriculum content. Classification (Bernstein, 1996, p. 19-21) refers to the degree of differentiation between the contents of each knowledge unit, for example subjects in school. In the case of a strong collection type, classification will, he stated, be strong with little knowledge allowed to cross a boundary into another knowledge area. In a strong integrated type, classification would be weak and knowledge from several areas may be combined and recombined. Changes in the curriculum are also more likely to occur in the integrated type.

Bernstein used the idea of framing (Bernstein, 1996, p. 26-28) to define the pedagogy; the nature of the relationship between teacher and taught. He did not mean by this simply the

style of teaching but the way in which the styles of teaching control what can and cannot be transmitted as knowledge. It 'refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received...' (Bernstein, 1996, p. 205). This concept of framing is applied to both the public knowledge transmitted within the school as well as to the everyday knowledge the teacher and pupil have of the world beyond school. The collection type of curriculum would have strong framing and the knowledge offered to students would be determined high in the educational hierarchy. The integrated type of curriculum would have weak framing and students would be able to negotiate what knowledge was relevant and what they understood it to mean.

The Collection Type of Curriculum

Bernstein's hypothetical application of his theory to the English educational system develops further his thoughts on identity, socialisation, power, and control. He thought that the collection type establishes a strong identity in pupils at an early stage in education in relation to both subject specialisation and level of ability. For him, identity is built around a subject. This creates access to a particular path in education and so into a career. This type, he claimed demands loyalty to the subject. Changing subject identity is not made easy. Socialisation occurs in a way that reproduces the values of society and maintains social order and control. Identity is built upon accepted and established roles with well-defined pathways and hurdles controlling entry, as also described by Furlong and Cartmel's (1997) railway journey of transition to adulthood discussed in Chapter 4. There is little room for negotiation over where different knowledge belongs. The rules by which these arrangements have been made are hidden from the student and, often, the teacher. However, Bernstein claimed it is very clear what to do. Selection is arranged by assessment and directs students down particular paths; sciences or humanities for example. The same process determines the level at which they leave education, further determining what knowledge they hold and what identities through further education or work are available to them. This makes it easy for those who are successful to socialise with others of similar identities but not to encounter those on other pathways.

Bernstein (1996) thought there were a number of features of the collection type of curriculum in its relationship with the social world that affected the ways in which knowledge was or was not transferred. He speculated that the strength of the boundary between educational knowledge and everyday knowledge results in everyday knowledge being left in the private world of the individual. This, he thought, has its advantages. In particular, he claimed it would allow for a range of ideologies to be held. In his view society is dominated at any one time by one ideology that is subject to being maintained or transformed by each generation. However, with the strong framing and classification of the collection type of curriculum, other ideologies could develop outside the public educational space. These he thought were beyond the control of the established power holders in society. However, private knowledge would be given considerably less significance in the public identity of the person. Bernstein claims that this is problematic with regard to young people for whom learning and ideological beliefs have been significantly influenced by experiences in the everyday world. He suggests that this was because school knowledge developed by a collection curriculum is esoteric and special. Non-school knowledge is thought of as ordinary and of less value. This, he thought, would have a particularly 'wounding' effect for those who are not successful within this educational system. They would not have the other sources of knowledge available to them valued by the processes of finding further training or work and so an identity.

Of those that do find an identity within the system only some [43% in England in 2006 (Department for Education and Skills, (2007))] reach university. Bernstein argued that knowledge is treated in a shallow way. By this he meant that knowledge is shared with students in a hierarchical manner. At the base of the process knowledge is offered as truth about the world. Critical thinking or diverse points of view are not encouraged by this approach. Only if they are successful in reaching the top of the system do students understand that knowledge is mutable; the frames are weakened and they are offered the chance to engage in creative thought. As he put it, it is only at this stage that the student is introduced to the 'ultimate mystery of the subject, (its) potential for creating new realities' (Bernstein, 1996, p. 213). For most people knowledge remains understood as fixed and unchanging. It is owned by the subject specialists and imparted cautiously on the achievement of certain well-established standards. The educational relationship is ordered and hierarchical and the pupil has few rights. Access to knowledge has to be earned.

Many, Bernstein suggested, do not succeed in establishing an identity by this means and so are judged to fail and so are 'wounded' by the system. As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 they then struggle in their process of identity building and socialisation.

The Integrated Type of Curriculum

The integrated type of curriculum is one in which Bernstein describes the contents as 'in open relation to one another' (Bernstein, 1996, p. 205). By weakening the boundaries of knowledge teachers are able to cross subject boundaries, that is weaker classification; and break down the boundaries between different school knowledge areas and between school and everyday knowledge, that is weaker framing. He believes that weaker boundaries allow for an emphasis to be placed on the process of education and not the content; a further example of weaker framing. As a result Bernstein thought that hierarchical relations break down, there is a shift in the balance of power between teacher and student, and curricula become negotiable between the student, the teacher, and the community. The authority and order bestowed by the strongly classified and framed subject has gone. Knowledge is discovered or co-constructed as well as imparted. Its relation to other knowledge as well as its meaning and value is negotiable.

Bernstein claimed that an integrated curriculum would require an idea that holds together the diverse elements of the content, a 'supra-content concept' (p. 217) as he called it. I would suggest that ecology is a good example of a new term that emerged to embrace a body of knowledge previously thought of as strongly bounded in different subject disciplines. Arguably, within the Stoneleigh Project, spirituality may be just such a concept. For this to be so, Bernstein argued, this concept would be conscious of and critical about the knowledges on which it draws. The partners in the Stoneleigh Group and the participants in the Stoneleigh Project openly widely and critically debated the meaning of the concept of spirituality. The value of different sources of knowledge, experiential or institutional, formed a strong thread in this discussion. It also became a theme that I was asked to explore through the evaluation study. This included a study of the curriculum of spirituality and the pedagogy that supported it. The findings of this co-operative inquiry were reported at both conferences and debated at one of the Stoneleigh Group forums. Bernstein argues that the understanding of knowledge starts with an analysis of its deep

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structure and includes the pupil in the process of developing and valuing knowledge. The underlying theory of learning would be group- or self-regulated rather than didactic. Teachers, he believed, would have to collaborate, changing the distribution of power between adults and making the process of teaching highly visible. The collaborative nature of the evaluative study, the explicit way spirituality was included in the retreat curriculum, and the participant-led experiential and social process of meaning making would suggest that spirituality within the context of the Stoneleigh Project fulfilled the criteria of a 'supra-content concept'.

Within an integrated curriculum, Bernstein believed that value is explicitly placed on the synthesis of knowledge. However, he thought that there are still rules guiding this synthesis but that these are implicit and take a good deal more effort to work out. Building identity and socialisation become harder tasks. Bernstein suggested that four conditions are necessary for the integrated type of curriculum to be successful. These are consensus about the integrating idea; explicit and coherent links established between this idea and the knowledge chosen for transmission; an egalitarian arrangement for managing the educational system; and an evaluation system that can embrace a diversity of outcomes and take the inner attributes of the student into account.

Bernstein believed the integrated type of curriculum leads to a tendency that reveals more of the private world of the individual to the public world; that is matters of values and attitudes. This, he suggested, creates new opportunities for control. Indeed, he thought this would have been the motive behind introducing this type of curriculum to students who are failing educationally within the collection type of curriculum. He feared that, just as students who have failed within the collection system defend themselves by distancing themselves from it, so they would defend themselves against the intrusiveness of the integrated curriculum.

According to Bernstein his theories support the concept that the collection curriculum maintains the established order as it facilitates little change. Power and control remain arranged as they have been. Bernstein speculated that society is experiencing a moral crisis in the structures of power and principles of control. The change needed cannot, Bernstein

believed, be easily achieved from a collection type curriculum that is designed to maintain the established order and authorities.

Bernstein saw these two curriculum types as a continuum. He thought that there was an encouraging trend in formal education towards a more integrated type of curriculum. However, as his studies continued into the late twentieth century he thought that this was complicated by a parallel trend to revert to collection types of curricula centrally controlled by the State.

Whilst it might seem counter to his arguments, Singh and Luke (1996) claim that Bernstein was critical of liberal education which he thought of as the driving force towards a more integrated model of education. He suggested it is a well-meaning ideology that has the effect of giving the appearance within an educational institution of egalitarianism but that, in effect, it acts to hide the reproduction of the dominant distribution of power. It can be argued that, for most of the young people involved, the Stoneleigh Project did uphold a myth of equality papering over the cracks of an educational form (Singh and Luke, 1996, p. xiii) that simply maintained or, at best, restored the situations of young people. However, for some of the young people involved in the Stoneleigh Project this seemed not to be the case. The situation appears more complex and there is evidence of a more radical outcome, at least for a small group. This is an important perspective to consider in the light of the Stoneleigh Group's claims for the Stoneleigh Project to be a radical and truly transformative approach to informal education. It will be returned to in Chapters 12 and 13.

The Stoneleigh Group's approach to informal education, on first acquaintance, would seem to be best described by the integrated curriculum model. The collaborative and equitable pedagogic practices that were reported and the diverse forms of knowledge that were involved in the programme fit well with an integrated model with weak boundaries between the 'subjects'. Additionally, the boundaries between the public world of education and the social and private worlds of the young people were also weak. Knowledge about the private and social worlds of the young people was accepted as valid within the programme and valued, albeit confidentially in many cases, especially within the retreats.

The meaning and value attached to the constructed and re-constructed self and social knowledge held by the young people was student-centred and individualised leading to changes in the lives of the young people largely understood as controlled by them. However, using these same criteria, it can also be considered to be founded on a liberal ideology in keeping with the liberal educational values of the educational charities involved as partners in the Stoneleigh Group (Leadership Trust, 2007; Rank Foundation, 2006; Wrekin Trust, 2005). The programme is then open to the critique of liberal education that Bernstein presents.

Nevertheless, following Bernstein's theories, an integrated programme would create several potential sites for the transformation, rather than the reproduction, of knowledge and values. The first is the process by which knowledge and values are acquired from the everyday world and are re-interpreted by the facilitators within the curriculum of the Stoneleigh Project. This process is discussed further below. Second is the discourse between the participants in which meaning is constructed and negotiated, and certain voices are given authority by the social learning process and others not. This could involve knowledge and values acquired from experience or abstract knowledge and values introduced by participants. A third site is created by the choices made by the young people in their communities as they act on the transformed knowledge and values they hold of themselves and the world they are in. The fourth potential site of transformation is the Stoneleigh Group's transmission of knowledge and values about its practices as an organisation to its partners and the institutions of youth work.

Each of these locations either reproduced or transformed what knowledge and values were available, what knowledge and values were valued, and what meaning these were given leading to a potentially different understanding of the self, the world the self was in, or the programme and the way it worked. At each of these points the meaning constructed had the potential to empower or constrain the participants or the programme. Paying attention to these sites of potential reproduction or transformation in the analysis will help address this research project's questions about the way knowledge, values and power worked within the pedagogic practices of the case study. The degree to which this liberal education project achieved its goals or 'papered over the cracks' is considered in Chapters 13.

The Construction of a Pedagogic Device

Bernstein describes the task of creating a new educational programme as the creation of a new space in which knowledge and meaning can be negotiated. As discussed at greater length below, he thought that knowledge is recontextualised when it is disembedded from the real world context and located within an educational initiative. He cites the difference between carpentry and woodwork as an example (Bernstein, 1996, p. 47). Bernstein thought that this creates a space in which a discourse can occur about what knowledge is of value and what it might mean. The Stoneleigh Group deliberately created the Stoneleigh Project to provide a location for such a discourse to occur. The themes around which they set out to hold this discussion were the contribution of outdoor education to spiritual development, the nature of spiritual development in youth work, the role of spiritual development in enhancing the agency of young people, and the potential for educational programmes to support young people as agents of social change.

Bernstein pointed out that this discourse creates a space in which new understandings of knowledge and power can arise. For Bernstein discourse was not the content of the discussion but the process (Bernstein, 1996, p. 46-48). Students and teachers involved in the process of developing new educational initiatives have the potential to develop radical programmes that transform the understanding they have of the world. This he described as realising the impossible or in other words bringing new concepts of the self and the world into a person's consciousness so that it opens up new possibilities. The Stoneleigh Group set out to create a programme in which marginalised young people would transform their concepts of themselves and the world that they were in so that they could consider new possibilities for themselves and for that world. However, the individual partners in the Stoneleigh Group also reinterpreted the intentions of the Stoneleigh Project to be congruent with their particular understandings of their work with young people. In some cases these reinterpretations limited or countered the transformative aspirations of the Stoneleigh Group.

Bernstein points out that, if these pedagogical spaces of discourse have the potential he claims for them then, as these reinterpretations by the partners in the Stoneleigh Group would indicate, the control of such spaces will be contested. The pedagogues of the

Stoneleigh Project struggled to sustain the radical intentions of the programme from the recognised holders of power attempting to subvert or close the programme down so that the established order could be maintained rather than challenged. As described above, the Stoneleigh Group faced internal struggles over the interpretation of the work of the programme and further struggles occurred over its value during the advocacy work with the development of the national frameworks for a youth service curriculum. These struggles over the meaning and value of the Stoneleigh Project are discussed in Chapter 14.

Micro Level Applications

Bernstein's theories extend to models and concepts that help with understanding the development of pedagogic practices and the analysis of relations between what Bernstein termed the acquirers (the students) and the transmitters (the teachers) of knowledge.

Authentic Knowledge and the Construction of Curricula

Bernstein understood knowledge, whether the esoteric knowledge of abstract ideas or the everyday knowledge of personal and social life, as authentic when it is embedded in the skills and values associated with practice (Bernstein, 1996, p. 46). He understands these two aspects to be inseparable. Any skill, he holds, is embedded in and governed by regulative values. He gives the example of carpentry to illustrate his point describing how the functions of the tools are embedded in a discipline of values about how to look after and treat them (Bernstein, 1996, p. 47). However, when an educator disembeds this knowledge from the real world and reconstructs them in new relationships in what Bernstein calls the imaginary world of pedagogic knowledge, in this case the teaching of woodwork, a site is created in which the reproduction or transformation of the skills and values occurs. A further opportunity for change exists when the context in which this knowledge is to be applied is chosen. An example would be if woodwork were to change from a subject preparing a student for a career to one helping the student take up 'DIY' as a hobby.

An illustration from outdoor education would be the disembedding of climbing knowledge as a pedagogic approach from the real world of recreational climbing. Whilst much

remains the same, a number of skills and values change such as single pitch climbing only, no leading, mandatory wearing of helmets, and other rules. The knowledge is transformed again when climbing is used in the context of personal and social education. Instead of learning to climb the activity becomes a means to develop attributes that have an application in the personal and social world of the student who may never climb again. In these changes the transmission of the rules of climbing that maintain established power relations might be reproduced, reinforced, or countered. One example might be the change in who it is that takes the role of securing the safety systems. The instructor will often rig the climb prior to the climbing session. The induction of a novice recreational climber into the skills and responsibilities of providing for the safety of the climbers is lost as the instructor assumes all the responsibility for this aspect of the experience. Another related example is the loss of the task of leading the climb. The novices in the educational context will rarely if ever experience the moment when they are judged competent to lead. What exactly takes place then will, Bernstein claims, depend on the ideology of the people undertaking the selection of knowledge and the development of the practice, in this case the instructor's views concerning acceptable levels of risk and where the responsibility for this risk lies.

For Bernstein an important aspect of the relationship between the educator and the student is that it should be a discourse (Bernstein, 1996, p. 46-48). The meaning and value of knowledge can be more or less questioned or transformed in the process by the teacher and by the student. It is also here that Bernstein believes the potential for change exists, that is whether a pedagogic practice reproduces or transforms the dominant power relations in society. In the example of climbing Bernstein's ideal could involve the students being invited to choose the climbs they would like to attempt and the people who hold their ropes and offer them advice and encouragement. Also what constitutes success could be negotiated. This is a useful concept with which to examine the pedagogic relationships within the Stoneleigh Project and the ways in which they maintained or transformed established relations of power and control.

The Recognition and Realisation of Knowledge

Bernstein's theories provide a framework for describing some of the problems to be encountered in the discourse between educator and student. Some, even many, students may recognise the knowledge as relevant or interesting to them; what Bernstein calls 'recognition rules'. Others do not. For example my own education at a boys-only school offered woodwork in which I was not interested and performed badly. I was transferred to cookery which, in the context of being brought up primarily by my mother who was a homemaker, I enjoyed and developed as a strong subject area. I recognised cookery but not woodwork as interesting, relevant, or comprehensible.

However, if students do not have the necessary realisation rules this knowledge may remain mute. By 'realisation' Bernstein means the competency or the inclination to apply this knowledge in the construction of a public identity by the choices of study and work that students make. Despite my interest in cookery at school, taking this knowledge forward into higher levels of education or thinking of it as a career never occurred to my teachers or me. Bernstein claimed that recognition and realisation rules determine whether and how we put meanings together and how we make them public. In other words, Bernstein is claiming that students may not have access to a body of knowledge for personal, social or intellectual reasons. Alternatively they may have a body of knowledge but they may not be able to give it a legitimate voice or text; some form of public expression. It is useful to note that Bernstein understands voice or text as any expression, posture, or movement, as well as words or images, that 'attracts evaluation' (p. 32).

Bernstein suggests that pedagogic practices can have a significant effect on the number of students who recognise the knowledge gained through an educational intervention. However, even if an effective pedagogic practice reaches more rather than less of the students despite the recognition rules they hold, the knowledge they gain may still be inexpressible within the educational context because of the realisation rules that affect them. Alternatively, it may be understood as knowledge of relevance only within educational life and not to the private, social, or public world in which the students live their everyday lives. This may provide an explanation for one of the dilemmas of outdoor education. Outdoor education offers novel experiences that, it could be argued, sometimes

bypass established recognition rules and so reach more students that understand it as offering an education of meaning and relevance. The truancy prevention programme that is mentioned in Appendix 3 might be a good example of this. However, outdoor education's acknowledged problems with transfer back to educational normality and everyday life (Rickinson et al., 2004) might stem from the strong sense of the experiences being beyond the normal everyday world. However, the truancy prevention programme provides anecdotal evidence that certain pedagogic practices can also have an influence on the realisation of knowledge in other areas, for example the ability to pass public examinations in English that were previously thought of as beyond the ability of the truanting students.

Bernstein suggests that evaluation rules, applied by the student, the educator, or society, may allow or disallow the student's emerging texts of the educational experiences and the growing identities these help to construct. By evaluation Bernstein meant the way in which the emerging identities of young people are valued and so endorsed or supported. This may be at personal, social, or public levels. He thinks that how well a voice is realised or given expression will depend on how congruent it is with the dominant ideology. The Stoneleigh Group set out to confront aspects of the dominant ideology as it was to be found in the communities of the young people. Bernstein points out that those who uphold the dominant ideology will contest sites of transformation such as this. The transfer of learning from the retreats to the voluntary work and beyond into the lives of the young people was indeed contested when it challenged the accepted conventions of the Stoneleigh Group partners and, in particular, through the advocacy role of the Stoneleigh Group, the institutions of youth work. The degree of congruence between the intentions of the young people after the Stoneleigh Project and the hopes of the Stoneleigh Group is explored in Chapter 13.

The Genesis of Values

Bernstein is concerned with the way in which knowledge and power interact in the formal education system. The Stoneleigh Group are concerned with values development in an informal educational context with older youth. Joas (2000) offers a theory of values development that, I argue, can complement Bernstein's theory.

Joas (2000) summarises his theory of values formation by stating that 'values originate in experiences of self-formation and self-transcendence' (p. 145). Joas understands values as 'goods', that is values that the person considers to be positive and that an individual identifies through experience. He claims they form the basis for a personal ethic. Joas thinks this process is critical for identity formation. He also recognises that individuals are situated in a cultural setting of an established 'right' set of values however this is defined or whoever legitimates this. Joas suggests this creates a struggle of '... relationship between experience of value and experience of the Ought, between values and norms, between the good and the right, between the individual as an autonomous being and the person offering solidarity to the collective' (p. 145).

Joas offers a resolution to this conflict between social order and the autonomous individual. He proposes that individuals do not need to do the good or the right thing. He takes a pragmatic view by suggesting they need to reconcile tensions between these two positions and find a way that works. This, he suggests, may later be rationalised by reference to goods or rights.

In a world in which identity is much more mutable and mobile than in the past, Joas suggests that situations increase in which people have to make pragmatic decisions that are self created and not defined by their allegiances. His ideas suggest that individuals need a deep knowledge of the 'good', as derived from experience by the self, and the 'right', as defined by the culture in which the individual is immersed, in order to make pragmatic decisions. They cannot act from a handed down rulebook, as particular situations do not always correspond to normative situations. This would be especially so for marginalised individuals who are excluded from the established means by which experiences of the 'right' are provided within the boundaries of normative identities. From an educational stand point, and drawing on Bernstein's models of curricula, the need for a deep knowledge of both the 'right' and the 'good' implies that values development in this context would work best in an integrated curriculum.

I suggest that making value judgements is doubly harder for the marginalised. They have experienced violent, as Joas characterises it, or wounding, as Bernstein described it, ways

of identity construction. This happens, Joas suggests, in two ways. In the first instance an increasing number of young people are denied experiences of who they can be as they fail at the established hurdles of the institutions that provide a way of constructing an identity. Of relevance to this case study would be the family, school, further and higher education, religious institutions, and work. At the same time society offers a rejection based on the norms of what a person should be like that the individual has just failed. They are defined by what they are not; an experience that Joas considers to be one of violence perpetrated on the individual by society. This, he claims, occurs when the definition of identity by what one is not is out of proportion with definitions of what one is; that is young people experience themselves as misfits who are not wanted.

Joas (2000) applies his theory to organisations in society as well as individuals. The experiences of an organisation, he believes, help it to construct a set of collective social values that interact with cultural norms just as those of an individual would. This application of his theory is utilised when analysing the relationship of the Stoneleigh Group partners with each other and the relationship of the Stoneleigh Group with the wider world of youth work. Joas does not suggest what might happen when the cultural norms are perceived as wrong or bad and in need of revision. The Stoneleigh Group set out to tackle this very issue by seeking to create agents of change who would challenge the norms of society that are responsible for what the young people understand to be social and environmental injustices.

Joas identifies a dilemma that Bernstein also recognised; the degree to which public life should engage with the private world of the individual. Joas discusses Rorty's ideas that a coherent identity with a sustained set of values is only necessary in the public world and then only in relation to a minimal set of human values such as doing no harm to another (Rorty, 1989). In the private world, Rorty suggests, the individual should be liberated from social expectations of rights and goods. Instead of identity struggling to become coherent in relation to an increasingly diverse set of influences, it should, instead, seek to liberate itself from these expectations and celebrate the full range of beliefs and desires it is drawn to, constructing and reconstructing the self in different situations and over time. Whereas Bernstein seems to share Rorty's concerns for the public world entering the private space,

Joas (2000) suggests that the intersection of these two worlds is much messier than Bernstein's rather clear-cut distinction. Indeed he proposes that 'goods' arrived at in the private sphere of life of necessity interact with the norms of the public sphere of life in the resolution of particular actions. It is in this creative act, Joas believes, that the individual develops, and constantly develops, his or her identity.

By private and everyday Bernstein (1971) means the non-school world. For young people not in formal education part of this non-school world is a social and public space. This is especially true for the young people in the Stoneleigh Project who are engaged in social enterprises and the world of work as well as informal education. They are not in the same world as the school child. This creates the possibility of exploring values in a public space beyond the school and also of leaving the private world private.

In addition, from the point of view of young people in the Stoneleigh Project, the family can dominate their world. It is possible that social norms are less influential. Transforming dominant power relations and emerging from systems of control was highly significant to some of the young people but the source of the power and control that concerns them, and that was experienced as oppressive, was the family. Even the limited opportunities offered by the education, youth, or adult worlds to a marginalised young person without a strong emerging identity may be understood as a step forward on Furlong and Cartmel's (1997) car journey metaphor referred to in Chapter 4.

Joas (2000) makes the distinction between the processes of developing values with the processes of helping students to act on their values. His view is that people need experiences through which to develop a transformative and transcendent sense of identity through encountering the other; people and nature. This he thinks leads towards a universal notion of values based on the human condition. People, Joas claims, then also need opportunities to apply these values to the everyday situations of their own culture and their own social worlds. These actions lead to interpretations of values that are particular and diverse. This Joas understands as essential in the process of building and maintaining an identity that is sustained in space and time.

In Joas' language then the task of the Stoneleigh Project can be examined as an attempt to develop the values of young people or as an attempt to clarify and pragmatically recognise, realise, apply, and justify their values. From the point of view of Bernstein it can be examined as a task of helping young people to either recognise and realise their values or to express them in their personal, social and public lives. These potential sites for personal or social transformation are at the centre of the pedagogic practice of the Stoneleigh Project and can be examined with Bernstein's models to consider whether or not this potential was realised.

Conclusion

Youth work has always operated within the everyday world of people's personal and social lives and not in the educational world of what Bernstein refers to as esoteric knowledge. Nevertheless Bernstein's theories can still be relevant to the analysis of the Stoneleigh Project. As Bernstein (1996) states he thinks it is a theory that is helpful in exploring matters of power and control in all pedagogic relationships at micro and macro levels.

As argued in Chapter 5 the ideology of informal education has been one of the personal and social transformation of young people and this chapter suggests that this can be understood as Bernstein's integrated curriculum with weak frames and boundaries.

As also discussed in Chapter 5 Davies (1999) and Jeffs and Smith (2002) argue that the ideology of the Youth Service has been compromised. Through the Connexions Service it has been shifting towards a provision in which the boundaries are stronger and a curriculum and pedagogy are centrally established. This locates the Youth Service more readily within the collection system of education identified by Bernstein. As Bernstein suggests happened with schools in the 1970's this leaves integrated approaches as a means to work with marginalised youth, a task more readily performed by voluntary organisations outside of the state system, as this would avoid any conflict between the two approaches.

On the other hand outdoor education, which is also a pedagogic source of ideas for the Stoneleigh Project, would seem to offer a wider range of ideologies with both collection

and integrated systems of knowledge. Collection systems are developed around specific activities and environments providing strong classifications and frames and so providing alternative ways to socialise and find an identity outside of school and work as well as effective ways to reproduce the norms of society. Physical education approaches to outdoor activity with a strong emphasis on the discipline of the sport would belong to this type. So might the didactic application of behavioural psychology proposed in Priest and Gass's (1997) adventure programming.

Integrated systems of outdoor education are also available, especially those that focus on personal and social development and student-centred experiential learning. Mortlock's (1984) ideas about the role of adventure and Hodgkin's (1976) concerns with the roles of playing and exploring would belong to this type. They emphasise present experience over historical reproduction, negotiate curricula and pedagogy; the teacher becomes a facilitator and less powerful and authoritarian. Meaning-making and knowledge construction are emphasised over the transmission of knowledge.

In Chapters 10–14 I draw upon Bernstein's theories of education to examine the ideas that underpinned the development of the Stoneleigh Project. They will also provide a framework for examining how these ideas were realised in practice and what the consequences of this approach were for the young people and their private and social worlds. Lastly Bernstein's theories enable a discussion of the struggle for the understanding of the Stoneleigh Project and the use of this knowledge in the advocacy work of the Stoneleigh Group.