UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CHICHESTER
An accredited college of the UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

School of Physical Education

OVERSEAS YOUTH EXPEDITIONS: OUTCOMES, ELEMENTS, PROCESSES

Simon Kennedy Beames

Doctor of Philosophy

November 2004

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

<u>ABSTRACT</u>

SCHOOL OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

<u>Doctor of Philosophy</u>

OVERSEAS YOUTH EXPEDITIONS: OUTCOMES, ELEMENTS, PROCESSES

by Simon Kennedy Beames

This case study examines the participant outcomes, critical elements, and processes of young people's experiences on a ten-week expedition to West Africa. A secondary aim was to explore how one expedition structure caters to the varied goals of the participants. The study's rationale lies in the limited research focusing on young people's accounts of their experiences and how outcomes in overseas youth expeditions are achieved.

Symbolic interactionism provides a framework for exploring the ways in which young people construct meaning and identity from their experiences. Mead's (1934) and Cooley's (1962; 1964) work illustrate how individuals develop their 'self' through interaction with expedition team-members. Blumer (1969) helps to understand how participants are influenced by their interpretations of the physical, social, and abstract objects with which they interact.

Principal data collection involved interviewing 14 young people before, during, and six months after the expedition. Secondary data were derived from informal discussion and participant observation. Interview transcripts were interpreted using a combination of phenomenology and thematic analysis. Verification relied on member checks, investigator triangulation, and peer review.

The data suggest that an overseas expedition is a highly subjective experience. People came for a wide range of reasons and took away learnings with personal relevance. The principal outcomes are improved relationships with one's self, with others, and with greater society. The critical elements of the experience are living with three different and diverse groups, being self-sufficient in an unfamiliar rural environment, and participating in activities perceived as challenging and worthwhile. Participants processed their experiences through reflection, one-to-one conversations with staff, and informal dialogue with their peers.

The thesis concludes that effective expeditions encourage each participant to determine their own learning. Groups comprised of people from varied backgrounds who interact in unfamiliar settings yield critical opportunities for individuals to re-examine and modify the attitudes that shape their actions. Finally, staff should ensure that participants have ample time to interpret their own experiences through unstructured reflection and informal conversation.

List of Contents

Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Southampton. The work is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree. Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University of Southampton.

Part of the research presented in this PhD thesis has also been published, or is under review, in the following papers:

Beames, S. (2002). The black box. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education, 14*(Autumn), 35.

Beames, S. (2003). Wrestling with development: Searching for the balance between give and take. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education, 15*(Winter), 33.

Beames, S. (2003). Overseas youth expeditions. In B. Humberstone & H. Brown & K. Richards (Eds.), *Whose Journeys?* (pp. 289-296). Penrith: Institute for Outdoor Learning.

Beames, S. (2004). Overseas youth expeditions with Raleigh International: A rite of passage? *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education, 8*(1), 29-36.

Beames, S. (in press). Critical elements of the expedition experience. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning.*

Beames, S. (in press). Expeditions and the social construction of the self. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education.*

Beames, S. (under review). Processing the expedition experience. *Journal of Experiential Education.*

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank...

the 14 young people whose stories I have interpreted. I am grateful for their openness and honesty.

my supervisors, Chris Laws and Liz Pike, for their guidance and for reading and commenting on countless drafts.

Pete, for his counsel and for being "the man".

my mum and dad, for all of their support.

Nancy, my favourite person, for sharing her love and strength with me.

Abbreviations

YDP   Youth Development Programme

Chapter One: Introduction

Raleigh International is a youth development charity based in London that exists "to inspire people from all backgrounds and nationalities to discover their full potential by working together on challenging community and environmental projects around the world" (Raleigh, 2003, para. 1). It is one of many organisations offering British youth a staggering variety of structured overseas experiences, which include working in hotels in the Canadian Rockies, teaching English in a Nepalese village, volunteering at an African Game Park, and building schools in Honduras.

Structured experiences can be considered in four main categories: courses and cultural exchanges, expeditions, volunteering, and work placements (Year Out Group, 2004). I consider a structured experience to be distinct from travelling independently, as it involves using the services of an organisation to coordinate the young people and the infrastructure they interact in, before leaving the UK and again in the host country. The majority of these organisations are registered charities where participants raise a set amount of money for the organisation. This money then goes towards administrative fees, in-country living expenses, and project materials.

In 1998, the Year Out Group was formed in response to the increase in organisations catering to young people seeking alternatives to formal education. Its principal aim is to promote models of good practice within the emerged industry of structured, year out programmes (Year Out Group, 2004). At the time of writing, there are 29 organisations offering such programmes. Every year more young people are going overseas with the assistance of organisations offering work placements, service projects, research projects and expeditions (Universities & Colleges Admissions Service, 2001). In 2002, more than 200,000 British youth travelled abroad for such a structured experience (Year Out Group, 2004).

The majority of the 29 registered year out programmes offer experiences in developing nations (Year Out Group, 2004). Developing nations, also known as low income or third world countries, are characterised by per capita incomes of less than $5000 US dollars (Ellwood, 1998). These countries provide settings for organisations offering volunteer and community service experiences, since poverty, hunger and illiteracy remain common in most of their rural communities (Ellwood, 1998). The few year out organisations that operate in North America and Europe offer predominantly professional work experience and language instruction (Year Out Group, 2004).

Most participants in year out programmes are taking time out before or after university, or later on in life as a "grown-up gapper" (Year Out Group, 2004). As a result, the demographics of the participants going overseas on structured experiences do not reflect the demographics of British society (Beames, 2003a). However, programmes offering subsidised places for young people who have experienced some form of social exclusion do exist (Year Out Group, 2004). Social exclusion can be defined as "what can happen when people or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown" (Social Exclusion Unit, 2004, p. 1). Raleigh International (Raleigh from now on) is one of the few year out organisations that has a branch of their programme dedicated to socially excluded youth. Out of the four categories of structured year out experiences, Raleigh ten-week adventures are a combination of two of these categories: service and expeditions.

1.1 Expeditions

This next section describes what an expedition actually is, and how Raleigh is positioned within the year out industry. Much of this discussion involves defining an expedition, so that matters pertaining to structured experiences of this nature can be explored more specifically.

1.1.1 What is an expedition?

It is helpful to discuss the universal features of expeditions as this permits a deeper discussion of the related outcomes and elements. I propose that expeditions consist of a journey, have purpose, have an uncertain outcome, and are self-sufficient.

A major defining feature of an expedition is that it is a journey (Allison, 2002; Drasdo, 1998), where "generally speaking, the longer or the more difficult the journey the better" (Drasdo, 1998, p. 21). With particular reference to young people, this journey can be seen as a physical exploration where they are encouraged to "travel with their eyes, ears, and noses (not to mention their minds!) firmly open" (Gair, 1988, p. 29). The importance of exploration was central to the early organisational objectives of the Public Schools Exploring Society (Levick, 1933). Expeditions can also be regarded as inner journeys, where travellers explore their feelings and attitudes (Mortlock, 1984). The use of outdoor challenges as metaphors for the challenges experienced in people's daily lives is well documented (Bacon, 1983; Gass, 1990). A Raleigh expedition involves a journey to the host country, and then travel within the country to the project sites, where further unsupported excursions may take place.

A second feature of expeditions is that they have purpose (Gair, 1988). For some expeditions the purpose might be to summit Everest, for some it might be to conduct scientific research, and for others it might be a service-oriented purpose such as building a school. This common purpose gives the members of the expedition a goal towards which they can strive together. This is true of a Raleigh expedition where each phase involves a different overall purpose, all of which are labelled as environmental, adventure, or community.

A criterion not only of expeditions but of any kind of adventure is that it has an uncertain outcome (Priest, 1990). When the outcomes of experiences become less predictable there is a heightened sense of *disequilibrium* or

adaptive dissonance, which has been identified as a critical antecedent to personal growth (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Walsh & Golins, 1976). Learning is less likely to occur without this state of internal conflict that results from old ways of thinking being challenged by new information (Nadler & Luckner, 1992). The loosely planned projects and uncertainty of living in a developing nation contribute to the unpredictable and organic nature of a Raleigh experience.

The fourth expedition criterion is self-sufficiency (Allison, 2002; Drasdo, 1998). Drasdo (1998) is clear that "in the ideal journey no outside support or assistance is available and no easy escape from commitment is possible" (p. 22). Whether one is attempting to cross a desert or camping at the bottom of a garden, this criterion of self-sufficiency is crucial to the participants feeling more in control of their experience. The concept of "locus of control" was introduced by Weiner (1979) and has been adopted by theorists in outdoor education (Priest & Gass, 1997; Schoel, Prouty, & Radcliffe, 1988) as an element of ensuring that participants feel they have the power to change the course of events. The Raleigh experience is hallmarked by venturers being highly self-sufficient, as they must manage and prepare all their food, and keep themselves and their campsite relatively clean, while living, working and sleeping outdoors with limited equipment.

The four expedition criteria of journey, purpose, uncertainty, and self-sufficiency have congruence with the features of a Raleigh expedition. The purpose of a Raleigh expedition is loosely defined as discovering one's full potential through participating in adventure and community service programmes (Raleigh, 2003). While the dates and locations of the expedition are fixed, what happens on the journey is uncertain and impossible to predict. Finally, all project teams are given for their three-week phase a fixed amount of food and equipment, with which they must forge a self-sufficient existence.

1.1.2 Why do people go on expeditions?

One piece of advice, given me by a friend who had recently completed a PhD, was to "not be afraid of asking the big questions". One big question that lurked in the background for this study was "Why do people go on expedition in the first place?". This question is of fundamental importance, as it enables a comparison between what participants are hoping to gain from the experience with what the expedition providers are hoping the participants will gain. Chapters Five and Six focus on these findings of hopes and outcomes, respectively, and how they relate to each other.

Operation Drake, the precursor to Raleigh, had growth for the young participants as its principle goal (Mitchell, 1986). Chapman (1986) describes the aims of Operation Drake as giving "young people a chance to re-awaken and commemorate that old Elizabethan spirit of challenge and adventure" (p. 10). This quotation presents a rationale for Raleigh's organisational existence that is not unlike other organisations, such as BSES Expeditions. Still, it seems apparent that Raleigh International has made two assumptions over the years. First, young people need programmes supplementary to traditional education to help them personally develop further. And second, adventurous overseas expeditions will help young people achieve this growth. From my understanding these assumptions go unchallenged, not least from the young people who go on expedition.

As only one piece of research on overseas expeditions from the UK has asked its participants about their reasons for going on an expedition (Beames, 2003a), the literature is mostly limited to opinions from academics, administrators, and field staff. Payne (n.d. cited in Ware, 1978) asserts that young people are embarking on expeditions out of "desire to take one's own life into one's own hands, to achieve some sort of personal goal and for a short time to have some say in one's own immediate destiny" (p. 4). Drasdo (1998) suggests that the goals of outdoor education are first to learn physical and technical skills, which is usually a pleasurable experience, and second, to

"make the student a better or more useful person" (p. 8). These two viewpoints are at odds with each other and highlight two perspectives that I have encountered through the research process. Drasdo's comment suggests that a society promoting outdoor education will influence young people in ways that are beneficial to itself, whereas Payne sees expeditions as providing young people with the power to shape their destiny. This dichotomy is an example of the tension that I will examine in Chapter Three, which outlines the theoretical framework of this thesis. The perspective that I have chosen for my analysis of expeditions views that humans have the power to shape the world in which they live, as it shapes them.

There are many examples of expedition providers stating the goals they have for participants even though there is limited literature examining the actual goals of the participants themselves. Based on my own survey of websites offering overseas youth expeditions, their aims vary from "self-discovery" (BSES Expeditions, 2003, para. 1) to "leadership, teamwork, and personal development" (World Challenge Expeditions, 2003, para. 1) to discovering a person's "full potential" (Raleigh, 2003, para. 1). Common to many organisations is the concept of personal gain through doing work for people in need. This has been explicitly stated by one organisation that offers opportunities to go overseas to work for international NGOs, national parks, scientific groups, wildlife departments, and schools, while boosting participants' curriculum vitae (Trekforce, 2004). Participants can then "display evidence of having used initiative, determination and teamwork" to prospective employers (Trekforce, 2003, para. 1). This illustrates my perception that people want to somehow better themselves through participation in an adventurous expedition, but they want to do this through programmes perceived as socially responsible. This "self-righteous" motivation for going on an expedition is discussed further in the next chapter.

Considering early impressions is an important part of case study research (Stake, 1995). People's self-righteous motivations for going on an expedition was one of several impressions I formed through background research, before formal the data collection began. Another impression was the apparent assumption shared by the young people and their parents that taking part in a structured overseas experience will lead to increased worldliness, maturity, personal growth, leadership skills and self-confidence (Beames, 2003a). Little information is offered about the processes by which these possible outcomes come about. For example, in their promotional literature, organisations have little to say about how working on a three-week environmental project in Chile involving tracking and counting a rare type of deer will lead to a greater understanding of self or make one a better "team-player". Still, it is difficult to criticise these organisations for not explaining how overseas experiences lead to personal growth, as there is limited research conducted on this subject (Beames, 2003a).

1.1.3 The evolution of youth expeditions

The idea of British youth going overseas in search of adventure dates back to 1932, when Surgeon Commander Murray Levick formed what is now called BSES Expeditions. Originally known as the Public Schools Exploring Society, the young explorers participated in field projects in remote regions of the world with the ultimate aim of self-discovery (BSES Expeditions, 2003). For many years, they remained the sole organisation entirely dedicated to taking young people abroad to participate in adventurous activities, with the majority of their participants coming from public schools (Grey, 1984).

Two new organisations dedicated to taking young people abroad, Project Trust and Gap Activity Programme, were started in 1969 and 1970, respectively. Although these organisations did not offer expeditions as such, they coordinated 11-month overseas work placements in settings that were often remote and adventurous. In response to the growing number of young people who were undertaking their own adventures and expeditions, the

Young Explorers Trust was founded in association with the Royal Geographical Society in 1972. Since its inception, the Young Explorers Trust has served to advise, and in some cases fund, almost 600 youth expeditions (Grey, 1998).

The period from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s saw the British overseas youth expedition transform from a product exclusively for the socio-economically privileged one catering to a "much larger range of children of varying social backgrounds and academic abilities" (Grey, 1984, p. 17). An early example of these programmes was Kennedy's (1984) overland expeditions to the Sahara desert with inner city youth from Liverpool. The 1980s also marked the period when expedition research was born and when these experiences were becoming more accessible to youth from varied socio-economic backgrounds (Grey, 1984; Kennedy, 1984).

During the 1990s the Young Explorers Trust took measures to help ensure that the increasing number of overseas expeditions were as physically safe, environmentally friendly, and culturally sensitive as possible. They published two sets of guidelines: *Safe and responsible youth expeditions* (Young Explorers Trust, 1994a) and *Code of practice for youth expeditions* (Young Explorers Trust, 1994b). These booklets were made available to the public and served to inform and complement expedition providers' in-house standards of practice. The growing number of organisations offering overseas experiences prompted the Royal Geographical Society to organise conferences on expedition health and safety in 1999 and 2002. Both of these conferences addressed issues of risk management and "safeguarding" experiences for young people.

Along with the issues of health and safety highlighted in the 1990s, expeditions in the new millennium brought new areas of concern. Critics have identified several ills of the current state of youth expeditions (Allison & Higgins, 2002). Some of these include the questionable practices of

expedition providers (wearing offensive clothing or using high altitude acclimatisation drugs, for example), the high price of sending young people out of the UK, and the absence of a united approach to screen expeditions and school trips. Having discussed the nature of overseas expeditions, I will now specifically discuss Raleigh expeditions.

1.2 Raleigh International

The following section provides an overview of Raleigh's roots, with a critical examination of its organisational tensions. An understanding of organisational history and current issues will help the reader put this case into greater context.

1.2.1 Raleigh's roots

The organisation that is now Raleigh International has operated under two other names since its inception in 1978. Originally launched by HRH the Prince of Wales and Col. John Blashford-Snell as Operation Drake, its aim was to "develop young people by participating in adventure, scientific exploration and community service" (Raleigh, 2003, p. 3). In those days the expeditions were based on *The Eye of the Wind*, a tall ship that sailed all over the world. During Operation Drake's two-year existence, 414 people worked on projects in 16 countries (Raleigh, 2003). When news of Operation Drake's creation first surfaced in December 1977, the headquarters was inundated with over 58,000 application letters from all corners of the world (Mitchell, 1986). After an initial "weeding out" participants attended physically and mentally demanding selection weekends in 11 countries, including Nepal, New Guinea, and Iceland. Early tests included weighing a four metre long python and making a meal out of a live pigeon. Participants wore numbers to identify themselves and were observed by selection judges. These selection weekends no longer bear much resemblance to Raleigh's newly designed introductory days, which are, in essence, information sessions.

My informal discussions with full-time Raleigh staff suggest that in the 1980s venturer selection was incredibly rigorous, whereas today it is rare for any self-funder to be denied a place on expedition. It appears that over the last 25 years there has been a considerable shift from operating expeditions that are exclusive to those that are inclusive. In other words, there is now a greater focus on working with anybody who is interested in furthering their own personal development, whereas the emphasis used to be on working only with those people identified as already possessing "the right stuff" during the selection weekend. After this section I will examine this more recent ethos of development for youth from all backgrounds in relation to the development of the host communities on Raleigh expeditions.

The success of Operation Drake led to the creation of a more ambitious organisation: Operation Raleigh, which began in 1984. Operation Raleigh also based its expeditions from ships: the Sir Walter Raleigh, a utility ship that was renovated by young people in Hull, and Zebu, a brigantine. Again, this initiative proved a huge success as 4,000 venturers (participants on a Raleigh expedition) and 1,600 staff took part during its first four years. The programme demanded venturers who were "fit, compatible, spoke English and could swim 450 metres. They also needed to have a spark of leadership and a willingness to place service before self." (Blashford-Snell & Tweedy, 1988, p. 18). Although initially conceived as a four-year project, it was decided that Operation Raleigh would become a permanent organisation focused on land-based expeditions. As with Operation Drake, participants needed to possess certain personal characteristics to be selected to go on expedition. This is a stark contrast to today's Raleigh, which offers personal development opportunities to all, regardless of background or skills (Raleigh, 2003).

As the number of non-UK volunteers continued to increase over the years, Operation Raleigh changed its name to Raleigh International in 1992 (Raleigh, 2003). To date, over 28,000 people from 80 nations have been on

a Raleigh expedition, making it the UK's largest registered youth development charity (Raleigh, 2003). Having recounted Raleigh's history, I will now describe the structure of a Raleigh expedition.

1.2.2 Raleigh's expedition structure

Raleigh operates two expeditions a year to Chile, Ghana, Namibia, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and Malaysia. Once all the venturers meet in the host country for the first time they are split into nine or ten groups of 10 to 12 people. Each group has two or three volunteer staff members. After a week of induction training on camping and local customs, the volunteers are deployed on to the first of their three phases. Each venturer spends three weeks on each of their three projects – one community, one environmental conservation, and one adventure project.[1] Between each phase there is a two-day change-over, where all the volunteers gather at a central location and have some time to get relatively clean, have a cafeteria-style meal, possibly sleep on a bunk bed, and exchange stories with venturers from other projects. On the second day of change-over the Expedition Leader and Deputy Expedition Leader arrange the venturers into new groups for the next phase. Raleigh aims to ensure that there is a diverse mix of all four venturer categories within each project group (Raleigh, 2003).

The premises behind Raleigh's three-phase structure is an aspect of the experience I explore in this thesis. It is unclear whether Raleigh's three distinct phases of community, environmental and adventure exist to provide variety in the programme or because they yield different outcomes. Answering the questions of if and how the actual activities comprised in the phase elicit different outcomes is part of the second main aim of the investigation, which involves identifying the critical elements of the experience.

---

[1] Supplementary information on the country of Ghana and Raleigh's nine different projects is found in Appendices C and D, respectively.

On a Raleigh expedition there are four main categories of venturer. Approximately 40 percent of venturers are called self-funders, who have raised £3500 for the charity in order to come on the expedition. This money goes towards administration costs at London head office and the host country office, return airfare, and in-country project materials, equipment, ground transportation and food. Twenty percent of venturers are from Raleigh's Youth Development Programme (YDP) and have all experienced some form of social exclusion, such as long term homelessness, long term unemployment, substance abuse, or dropping out of school early. Although the YDP programme is fully subsidised through charitable donations and grants from bodies such as the European Social Fund and the National Charities Board, venturers must raise £800 to cover spending money, personal expedition equipment, and inoculations. Both self-funded and YDP venturers come from the UK. A further 20 percent of the venturers come from the host country itself. In this particular case, Barclay's Bank in Ghana covered the expedition costs for all host country venturers. The rest of the venturers are a mixture of international venturers from countries all over the world, as well as the UK and the host country.

Raleigh's youth development programme is supported by partnerships with youth charities, such as Active8 in Hull, and Motive8 in Newcastle, London, Glasgow, and Plymouth. Other youth get referred to Raleigh by the Probation Service, the Prince's Trust, Weston Spirit, job centres, and homeless hostels. For many YDP venturers, going on an expedition is part of a year-long journey that has been completed with active encouragement, support, and preparation from local youth development agencies.

There is a considerable difference in the pre- and post-expedition programme delivered to the two categories of British venturer (YDP and self-funder). Once invited, self-funders are asked to attend the three-day Challenge Workshop before the expedition, and are not offered debriefing sessions upon their return to the UK. By contrast, once invited on the expedition, the

YDP venturers attend a six-day Development Week residential as well as the three-day Challenge Workshop, before going overseas. Several weeks after their return, the YDP venturers take part in a Follow-up Week, designed to help them debrief their experience and make a plan of action for their future. The two pre-expedition residentials are geared towards helping the young people become more comfortable with the concept of going to a different country with a group of strangers, learning about the host country, and getting to know each other. The post-expedition residential exists to help the young people process their experience and transfer their learnings from the expedition back into their day-to-day lives. This concept of preparing people before a challenge and helping them make sense of it afterwards is a widely accepted element of outdoor education programming (Gass, 1990; Greenaway, 1993; Schoel et al., 1988). My observations and informal discussions suggest that there is a tacit understanding that YDP venturers have a post-expedition programme because they need it more than the self-funders do.

Catering to the needs of self-funded and YDP venturers appears to present challenges to the organisation's programming. Although Raleigh's (2003) literature shows no evidence of different goals or expedition elements for the different categories of venturer, before my formal data collection began I became aware of clues that suggested otherwise. My observations and informal conversations at Raleigh head office and at Raleigh residentials suggested that self-funded venturers were looking for more of a service/international development experience, and saw Raleigh's primary goal as helping the host country. By contrast, the much greater attention paid to pre- and post-expedition programming for YDP venturers suggested that the primary goal for their programme was personal development. The notion of one expedition catering to not only two categories of UK venturer, but to one hundred different individuals, intrigued me greatly and became a secondary aim of the investigation. The next section outlines how the

outdoor education research environment provides the rationale for the aims of the investigation.

1.3 Study rationale and aims

1.3.1 The outdoor education research environment

Recent commentary on the state of research in outdoor education has highlighted the dominance of studies focused on the participant outcomes of these programmes (Hattie, Marsh, Neill, & Richards, 1997; McKenzie, 2000). A review of the articles in the principal outdoor and experiential education journals shows a field in the process of defining itself and justifying its worth to the rest of the educational community. Among this literature, summative results have been highlighted at the expense of investigating the formative processes (Hattie et al., 1997). Although Walsh and Golins (1976) wrote a paper exploring the Outward Bound process almost 30 years ago, little work has been done to challenge or refine this model (McKenzie, 2003).

Addressing the disproportionately high number of studies in outdoor education concentrating on participant outcomes, Ewert (1983) likened the elements and processes involved in outdoor education to a "black box", where "we know something works, but we don't know how or why" (p. 27). Part of my curiosity in expedition-based outdoor education lies in gaining a greater understanding of the key elements of an experience that yield given outcomes. In other words, I want to find out what is inside the black box. Similarly, Conrad and Hedin (1981) explain how "Little effort has been made to systematically test the assumptions underlying the endorsements or to investigate empirically which specific forms of experiential programs may be the most effective in realizing the hypothesized benefits" (p. 6). My interest in understanding the elements of programmes that elicit the outcomes is complicated by my conviction that one cannot come to know the critical elements of an education experience without understanding their

relationship to participant outcomes. This belief set me on a course to examine both elements and outcomes of a Raleigh expedition.

In the field of outdoor education there is growing support for needing to understand young people's outdoor experiences by listening to their personal accounts (Barret & Greenaway, 1995). After years of methodologically weak studies using positivist methods to understand experiences that were highly personal and subjective in nature, a move towards more naturalistic and phenomenological research is advocated (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000; Barret & Greenaway, 1995; McKenzie, 2000).

I had thousands of post-expedition questionnaires available to me at Raleigh's head office. The three examples I have included in Appendix G show that while the information may appear useful, it has little depth. Knowing that participants felt they were better team-players or leaders does little to help the organisation or the field improve their practices. Academics who have reviewed and critiqued the entire body of research done in outdoor education have been critical of the "happy sheets" often given to exhausted participants before they board the bus or plane home (Barret & Greenaway, 1995; McKenzie, 2000; Neill & Richards, 1998). Barret & Greenaway's (1995) survey of research in outdoor education stated that "Young people's accounts of their outdoor adventure experiences and their views about what influenced their learning and development are almost entirely absent from the literature reviewed in this Review" (p. 7).

By being with the young people in Ghana and hearing their stories before, during, and after the expedition, I hoped to better understand the experience from their points of view. By using naturalistic methods and hearing young people's stories, I have taken a very subjective approach, focusing on the individuals and the meanings they have constructed during their expedition experience. These two themes are reflected throughout the thesis.

One assertion made in Raleigh's mission statement is that participants will discover their full potential by working on challenging projects all over the world with people from diverse backgrounds (Raleigh, 2003). This assertion comprises two assumptions that provide additional rationale for this investigation. The first assumption is that participants will discover their full potential while on expedition. While this notion is very ambiguous it contends that participating in a Raleigh programme will lead to some kind of personal growth, or certainly more growth than a participant would have had, had he or she not gone on a Raleigh expedition.

The second assumption is that this personal growth will come about by working on community and environmental projects, by being overseas, and by being with a diverse group of people. The two principal aims of understanding the outcomes and elements of Raleigh expeditions are closely related to the two assumptions in Raleigh's mission statement. The outcomes of a Raleigh experience that I seek to understand are effectively the specific, personalised manifestations of what discovering one's full potential means for each individual participant. Similarly, learning about the critical elements of a Raleigh expedition necessitates a deep exploration of what precisely it is about "working on challenging projects all over the world with people from diverse backgrounds" (Raleigh, 2003, para. 1) that elicits the outcomes.

In educational circles, I frequently hear the terms "growth" and "development" being used interchangeably. Furthermore, during my interaction with Raleigh staff from the head office, and venturers and volunteer staff in the field, I have heard these two terms being used synonymously with Raleigh's goal of discovering one's full potential. I am intrigued by the meaning of these terms, as they appear too vague to be useful in specific contexts. Dewey (1973) writes extensively on growth, but seems unable to articulate succinctly what it is. One of his more helpful claims is that growth must create conditions for further growth. This is a

useful criterion for growth and for development as it implies the acquisition of new, non-specific learning that may lead to further learning.

The term "further learning" is distinct from "learning" on its own. For example, it is unlikely that memorising a complex mathematical formula, such as the quadratic equation, will lead to further learning throughout one's life. However, it is conceivable that building one's self-confidence through repeated successes in progressively challenging conditions may lead to a lifetime of seeking new experiences, and perhaps further learning. Whitehead (1929) was particularly wary of what he labelled "inert ideas" as they were "merely received into the mind without being utilised, or tested, or thrown into fresh combinations" (p. 1). I believe that growth and development are defined by a potential, or capacity, for further learning, not by learning inert ideas or knowledge. It appears that Raleigh's notion of discovering one's full potential is akin to personal growth and development, and for the purposes of this thesis I have assumed this is the case. With the reasons for undertaking this research outlined, I will now state the aims of the investigation.

1.3.2 Aims of the investigation

The first aim of this investigation was to understand the outcome of discovering one's full potential by exploring how young people were influenced by a ten-week expedition in Ghana, West Africa. During my pre-expedition interviews I could not ask participants how they had been influenced by their experience: therefore, I asked them how they hoped the expedition would influence them. These conversations yielded the findings in Chapter Five: Hopes. Chapter Six: Outcomes, examines how participants felt they had been influenced by their expedition experience, and what they are able to do now that they were not able to do before the expedition.

The second aim was to identify the critical elements of this experience that accounted for the participant outcomes. As much research in outdoor

education has focused specifically on programme outcomes, this inquiry finds part of its rationale in recent recommendations to examine how these outcomes are achieved (McKenzie, 2000). These findings are outlined and discussed in Chapter Seven: Elements.

I believe that it is unhelpful to examine outcomes and elements of experiences in isolation; they are inseparable and must be considered together. As an expedition is a kind of social life, I draw support from Cooley's (1962) view that social life is an organic, complex system of interrelations, where one part affects all the rest. In order to understand the outcomes or the elements of an expedition, one must take an holistic approach and view it as a living organism with inter-dependent features. After almost two years of study, I realised a hugely organic, human aspect of the expedition experience was being neglected and merited examination: how people processed their experiences. The ways in which people came to know how their experiences influenced their lives is discussed in Chapter Eight: Processes.

1.3.3 Organisational tensions: Two secondary aims

Through my interaction with Raleigh over a two and a half year period, I have identified two tension-filled relationships that pertain directly to how young people may experience their expedition. By introducing these two areas of tension, I hope to sensitise readers to some of the underlying struggles faced by the organisation. These tensions also represent secondary areas of research.

The first area of organisational tension relates to the question of who stands to gain from the experience. While the goals of adventure education are entirely focused on personal growth (Priest, 1990; Priest & Gass, 1997), service learning programmes aim to yield growth for the participant while providing some kind of benefit for the host or recipient (Jacoby, 1996; Jakubowski, 2003). Informal conversations with Raleigh recruitment staff

and venturers and a pilot study (Beames, 2003a) point to Raleigh's apparent ability to cater to those looking for an adventure involving outdoor pursuits (for example, paddling, climbing, trekking) as well as to those looking for an international development experience (for example, building latrines). Further discussion and observation suggests that although Raleigh is a registered youth development charity there is confusion regarding what participants are expecting on their expedition. This confusion surrounds the question of whether the development pertains to the young participants' personal growth or to the nature of the activities on expedition. Therefore, the first sub-aim of the study is to investigate this relationship between development for the participants and development for the host community, in order to understand its connection to the outcomes and elements of expeditions.

The second area of organisational tension exists with the four categories of venturers: self-funded and YDP venturers from the UK, host country venturers from the country the expedition is based in, and international venturers who come from all over the world. As Raleigh does not prescribe any aims more specific than discovering one's full potential, each venturer appears to have the freedom to determine what discovering one's full potential means for them, personally. It is perplexing to consider how Raleigh staff coordinate a programme where so many people of varied ages, cultures, socio-economic backgrounds, and education are looking for their own personal kind of growth – growth that will help them once they leave the expedition. The second sub-aim of the investigation is to understand how Raleigh offers one product that caters to one hundred individual venturers. Now that I have explained the rationale and aims, the following section of the chapter serves to locate my personal position within the context of the research.

1.3.4 Locating the author

I feel it is appropriate to give some background on my relationship with Raleigh and University College Chichester (UCC), as well as on my own personal history with outdoor education. Prior to beginning this project I had no affiliation with Raleigh or UCC, but had learned of a PhD studentship on offer that involved research on the expedition experience with Raleigh. I applied for this position in March of 2001 and eight months later moved with my wife to England from Hong Kong, where we had lived for several years.

Once I moved to England, I met with Raleigh staff and talked to them about what kind of research would be most useful to them. They replied that they knew their product "worked" and they did not need anybody to prove that to them. What they wanted to know was how expeditions worked. Raleigh staff believed that if they understood how their clientele was influenced by their expeditions, they could design experiences that were more educational and meaningful. Over the last two years I have visited the Raleigh head office in London every month to keep people there informed of my progress and to stay abreast of current happenings. Much of the data collection took place during a three-month expedition to Ghana, which was financed by Raleigh, in the autumn of 2002.

My own interest in outdoor education can be traced back to when, as a ten year-old, I went to a Scout camp for a week. Camp Jackson Dodds is an hour's drive north of Montreal and represented another world: one with rudimentary living conditions, no TV, lots of unfamiliar physical challenges, and being outside almost all of the time. When I was 13 years old my school class went on a five-day trip, concentrating on rock climbing, camping, and white-water rafting. Although this trip and the week at Scout camp were positive experiences, my leisure time was happily filled with suburban mainstream sports such as tennis, ice hockey, rugby, soccer, and swimming. My fleeting interest in adventurous outdoor pursuits lay dormant until my university days.

During my last year of undergraduate study I elected to take several courses in outdoor education, one of which was a seven-day canoe trip. It was on this trip that I had an epiphany of sorts, as I experienced several powerful events very close together. First, I was in awe of being in such a physically beautiful place, a place of lakes and islands with beautiful, big old trees. I was in awe because I had time to sit back and behold it, rather than seeing it on a television screen or driving through on a motorway at 60 miles an hour. Second, I was with a small group of eight people that relied on each other for all decisions and actions, all of which had immediate concrete consequences, such as burning the macaroni and cheese and us not eating supper. Not only were we placed in groups with people we did not know well, but we were physically isolated from the other groups. This remoteness meant that we made our own fun and had to deal with our own conflicts. Third, we had to learn how to live outside with only the most basic tools. Being introduced to a new environment and then soon after cooking, washing, travelling, and generally living as though we had been doing this for years generated strong feelings of accomplishment. A fourth way this trip affected me was that although I had never been keen on geography, history, environmental science, or literature while at school, I came away having learned some things across many disciplines without realising it. On that trip we read poetry around the fire, gave offerings to the spirits of the native people who once travelled these waterways, and learned that the way to remember a white pine has clumps of five needles is because white has five letters. A fifth way I was influenced was that the trip provided me with an extended period of time away from my day-to-day life. This reflective time enabled me to see the path that I was being swept along, not because it was forced on me, but because I had not opened my eyes to the myriad opportunities the world offered.

Fourteen years later I can deconstruct this experience because I have read much outdoor education theory and been on countless expeditions all over the world. I included my memories of the canoe trip in Temagami because it

illustrates the fire sparked by that experience and how my life changed because of it. For the ten years leading up to the start of my PhD studies I worked solidly in outdoor education, trying to help young people have their own adventures and have their own epiphanies. A large part of my reasons for doing this PhD centres on a desire to understand how people learn and grow from expedition experiences.

Summary

In this opening chapter I have attempted to outline a point of departure from which I can explain how I conducted a research study on the expedition experience with Raleigh. Initially, I described a British industry offering a variety of structured overseas experiences for young people. Within that industry, Raleigh situates itself as a youth development charity that offers expeditions, as opposed to other experiences such as teaching placements that might be done alone or with a partner. All of the Year Out Group organisations offering structured experiences appear to be founded on the assumption that these experiences will elicit personal growth in some form.

This study aims to inform and better Raleigh International's practice and to contribute knowledge to the body of outdoor education theory. Besides my own curiosity, the rationale for the study is found in critiques of previous research in outdoor education (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000; Barret & Greenaway, 1995; McKenzie, 2000). Understanding the expedition experience involves investigating the reasons why people decided to go on expedition, how they felt the experience influenced their lives, and what they thought were the aspects of the experience that led to the outcomes. As the study progressed, I realised that a crucial fourth aspect of this experience concerned how participants made sense of their experience.

Apart from the two main aims of understanding the outcomes and elements of the experience, I have also highlighted two of the underlying organisational tensions that sometimes go unspoken, yet could benefit from

debate. The first secondary aim is to answer the question "Is the 'development' in youth development charity for the young people or for the host communities?". It appears that some people see Raleigh as something more of an international aid organisation, doing good for people in great need, whereas others see Raleigh as existing to develop the young participants by using service projects as a vehicle for this growth. The other secondary aim asks the question "How can Raleigh offer a similar product to such a diverse clientele?". A third strand of discussion, perhaps not a question, explores the issue of power and facilitation in structuring and processing the expedition experience and how this relates to the organisation's aims of young people discovering their full potential.

Finally, I have tried to locate my position within the research context, with a particular focus on how I became involved in the field of outdoor education and my personal motivations for doing the PhD. The following chapter outlines some foundational writing in experiential education that I found useful, as well as past research on overseas youth expeditions.

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first part outlines the eclectic theory of the field of experiential education that relates specifically to expeditions. This body of knowledge borrows heavily from philosophical inquiry, empirical psychological theory, and social anthropology. The various theories that make up this body of work can be referred to as the foundations of experiential education, as they pre-date the field of experiential education, born in the early 1970s (Garvey, 1990).

The second part of the chapter focuses on the empirical research conducted on the outcomes, elements, and processes of youth expeditions. Much of this research has been done within the last 30 years and has been directly aimed at serving the field of experiential education that has emerged during this time. Ideally, I would concentrate solely on research done on overseas youth expeditions, but in the absence of a substantial body of work in this sub-branch of outdoor education, I have extended the review of literature to include more general research in outdoor education that is relevant to expeditions.

2.1 Foundations of experiential education

What follows is an outline of what experiential education is and what theories it draws from that relate to the expedition experience. My intention is to broadly examine key concepts that I will refer to later on in the thesis.

Experiential education has been defined informally as "learning by doing combined with reflection" (Priest & Gass, 1997, p. 17). The Association for Experiential Education's (2003) official definition is that "experiential education is a process through which a learner constructs knowledge, skill, and value from direct experiences" (para. 2). Outdoor education is a branch of experiential education that seeks to develop the self, the group, and an

appreciation and awareness of the natural environment (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993). Adventure education refers to outdoor education concentrating primarily on the development of personal and social skills (Priest & Gass, 1997).

My personal view of experiential education begins by placing it at the opposite end of the spectrum from didactic forms of gaining knowledge. Take the example of a math teacher showing students how to solve various equations and then having the students do exercises where they apply the prescribed method of solving the equations. Experiential education involves reversing this traditional paradigm of learning and presenting the problem first, with the students' task being to solve it in a manner suitable to them. I now turn to the foundational theory of experiential education, which is most relevant to expeditions.

2.1.1 Philosophy

Much of the foundational theory of experiential education is rooted in philosophical inquiry. Hunt's (1990) and Wurdinger's (1997) work have outlined how the field of experiential education has drawn upon the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Dewey, James, Hahn, and Unsoeld to inform its practice. Hunt outlines Plato's belief that the best way to raise children was for them to learn virtues that would enable them to assume the obligations and responsibilities of adulthood. These virtues were best learned through experience. Seen this way, if a young person wanted to become more comfortable working with a group of strangers, the best method to learn this skill would not be by attending a lecture, but by going and working with a group of strangers.

Dewey's thoughts on education and experience have particular relevance for experiential educators. He asserts, "I assume amid all uncertainties there is one permanent frame of reference: namely the organic connection between education and personal experience" (Dewey, 1973, p. 507). This oft-quoted

passage sums up the biggest assumption made in this thesis: that people learn through personal experience. For Dewey (1973), the onus was on the educator to place the student in what he called an "indeterminate situation" (p. 227) that necessitated critical and creative thinking to negotiate. In other words, Dewey believed that the educator's job was not to lead students down a road, but to place students in forks in the road, where they had to assess the benefits and pitfalls of a certain courses of action, and then act on their decision. Dewey's concept of the indeterminate situation is strongly connected to the way experiences are structured for learners, as it implies that educators need to coordinate learning environments where many different courses of action may be taken by the participant. This element of the indeterminate situation will be discussed later on in the thesis, in relation to structuring expeditions.

Dewey (1973) strongly felt that the onus was on the teacher to discover the learner's interest, as "this interest is always a sign of some power below; the important thing is to discover the power" (p. 452). James (1900) also shared a similar viewpoint, as he believed that learners should choose the subject to be learned. Students' interests guiding the content to be learned is an important point to consider. The subject the learner wants to understand may conflict with predetermined goals set for learners by organisations and/or teachers, which suggests that educators must provide a wide range of activities in order to cater to the students' varying interests.

Although theorists and researchers may draw upon Dewey's writing to support their work, Dewey (1973) did advocate that teachers wield enough control over a learner to "select the influences which shall affect the child and to assist him [sic] in properly responding to these influences" (p. 447). I question this kind of control when considering the structure of the experience, since it may not be as experiential as it seems. Still, a fundamental part of Dewey's (1973) thinking that I draw from is his straightforward statement that what one "has learned in the way of

knowledge and skill in one situation becomes an instrument of understanding and dealing effectively with situations that follow. The process goes on as long as life and learning continue" (p. 520). This statement highlights two of my assumptions that are supported by Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionism perspective, which informs this study. The first assumption is that people will learn from experience and apply what they have learned to subsequent experiences. The second assumption is that the process of learning from experience is continuous.

One of Dewey's (1973) main criteria for effective educative experiences is that any growth elicited from experience should create conditions for further growth. This criterion is an example of Dewey's principle of continuity, which highlights that education is not an end in itself; it is a journey – a process. As I said, I find that some of Dewey's ideas place too much emphasis on the teacher controlling the learning environment. However, his notion of learning not serving a specific end but being a lifelong process of exploring one's passions and interests speaks to experiential educators who are considering how one may structure educational experiences. In Dewey's mind, experiences should arouse curiosity and strengthen initiative; their value is judged only on the ground they move toward. This supports an approach to programming that is not "hard and fast", but "fluent, embryonic, vital" (Dewey, 1973, p. 472) and, I would add, not predictable or predetermined.

2.1.2 Psychology

Another source of foundational experiential education theory comes from the field of psychology. From behaviourist psychology, experiential education draws upon Skinner's (1968) claim that people learn through experiencing the consequences of their actions. The concept of consequences in outdoor education programmes is central (Priest & Gass, 1997), although I do not agree with Skinner's other concept of shaping behaviour through rewards and punishment. Dewey (1973) also saw direct experience eliciting similar

learner outcomes, as reflected in his claim that "when we experience something we act upon it, we do something with it; then we suffer or undergo the consequences" (p. 495). An example of the role of consequence on expedition would be cooking a spaghetti sauce on a camp stove and burning it because it was not stirred. This concrete experience will alter the person's behaviour: the next time they are in charge of cooking the spaghetti, they will be more attentive.

From the side of humanistic psychology, Maslow's (1968) hierarchy of needs illustrates how one cannot attend to the more abstract and complex nature of self-actualisation until basic physiological (warmth, food, water) and psychological (security, love) needs are met. This suggests that staff members on Raleigh expeditions should not hold a one-to-one discussion about a student's goals for the course until they are dry, well fed, and feel safe.

Perhaps the best-known model in experiential learning theory is Kolb's (1984) learning cycle, which involves doing (concrete experience), thinking about what you did (reflective observation), considering alternative ways to tackle the problem (abstract conceptualisation), and ends with trying out different solutions (active experimentation). This learning cycle has been adopted by countless organisations, corporations, and associations as a mantra for learning through experience. Kolb's learning cycle remains a widely accepted and referred-to model in experiential learning literature, despite being regarded by some theorists as somewhat clichéd and recently described as "scientifically, philosophically, and epistemologically refutable" (Webb, 2003, p. 71). The two stages of reflective observation and abstract conceptualisation relate more specifically to how people's experiences influence future actions and have relevance to later discussions of how young people process their experiences on an expedition.

2.1.3 Anthropology

The area of anthropology that has contributed most to experiential education literature is rites of passage. Although the term "rites of passage" has existed since 1909, when it was coined by the Belgian anthropologist van Gennep (1960), the notion of youth being removed from society to undertake challenging tasks without their families and then returning to their communities as transformed people is timeless and universal (Meade, 1996b). Over informal conversation I have heard many people describe expeditions as a modern-day rite of passage for British youth. I was curious about what a rite of passage was in anthropological terms, and about what similarities it might have with a Raleigh expedition.

Originally, I had included rites of passage as one of the research questions. How is a Raleigh expedition a rite of passage for British youth? However, as time went on I realised that this question was big enough to be a thesis in itself, and abandoned this line of pursuit to focus more deeply on the expedition's outcomes, elements and processes. During my PhD upgrade viva, the subject of dropping the rites of passage focus surfaced. It was suggested that I reclaim some of the work I had done, as not only would it help recount my own PhD journey, but this part of the theory could still play an important part in the findings. My challenge then became to incorporate those parts of rites of passage literature that would complement the focus on the expedition's outcomes, elements, and processes. In the end, I decided to outline the basic theory of rites of passage and the outdoor education research on it, as part of this theory was particularly relevant to the chapter on the elements of a Raleigh expedition.

First translated into English in 1960, the book The Rites of Passage described how life is a series of passages from one stage to another, each passage comprising three rites: separation from one's original social pattern, passing through a state of transition unlike the past or coming state, and incorporation back into one's original social structure (van Gennep, 1960).

Initiation into adulthood is just one of several rites of passage that also include birth, childhood, marriage, and funerals.

My next step was to explore the similarities between the Australian walkabout and native North American vision quest. Although the vision quest was considered a ritual for those searching for solutions to a problem, it was often used specifically to help bridge the transition from adolescence to adulthood. This episode involved the individuals venturing off alone into the woods in search of a vision or sign. After being without food or water for several days they would enter a state of altered consciousness, which, coupled with the anticipation of a sign, elicited insight into their struggles. A shaman would often help these initiates interpret their experience when they returned (Suler, 1990). The vision quest is not dissimilar to the walkabout, in which the "young native [sic] faces a severe but extremely appropriate trial, one in which he must demonstrate the knowledge and skills necessary to make him a contributor to the tribe rather than a drain on its meagre resources" (Gibbons, 1974, p. 597).

In Africa there are countless tribes that each have their own rituals, rites of passage being just one example of the many rituals that are an integral part of their life (Somé, 1996). In many cases, initiation involves being suddenly removed from one's family and taken to a sacred site. It is here that community elders teach initiates the oral traditions of their people, often with particular attention paid to past struggles (Houston, 1996; Van Wyk, 2002). Spending time alone is another common feature of the transition phase. Part of this solitary reflection time is to encourage the youth to question who they are and how they intend to take on an adult role in the community (Gibbons, 1974; Maddern, 1990; Suler, 1990).

Now that I had a basic understanding of what a rite of passage was and some common cross-cultural features of initiation, a deeper question begged answering: What can these ancient rites and rituals teach us in the 21st

century? I asked myself how young people in the "developed world" mark their transition from adolescence into childhood in the year 2003. A growing body of literature suggests that young people need challenging and structured rituals to mark their coming of age (Kornfield, 1996; Meade, 1996b; Oldfield, 1996; Somé, 1996). Kornfield (1996) states that "if nothing is offered in the way of initiation to prove one's entry into the world of men and women, it will be done unguided in the road or the street, with cars at high speed, with drugs, with weapons" (p.42). Rites of initiation in the military, college fraternities and sororities, street gangs, and sports teams are not considered positive, "growth" experiences as they are missing a crucial, spiritual dimension (Meade, 1996a; Somé, 1996). The irony is that these underground rituals are often much more physically demanding, "status-elevating", challenging, and "pride-eliciting" than a publicly sanctioned ritual such as taking a driver's education course.

Where the indigenous youth travelled to strange and unfamiliar territories to face unknown challenges that would draw on all of his or her knowledge and skills, youth from the industrialised nations are required to prove content mastery over subjects in a familiar and protected environment such as a high school exam sat in the gymnasium. It would appear that young people need a more formal, public initiation involving tests that require them to draw on inner reserves of strength and make decisions with real consequences, while using their creativity, self-reliance and initiative.

In response to this absence of formal, challenging rites of passage into adulthood, educators have considered how traditional approaches can be woven into modern society (Grof, 1996; Maddern, 1990; Meade, 1996b; Somé, 1996). Almost 30 years ago Gibbons (1974) wrote about how North American youth could benefit from adopting principles of the aboriginal Australian. His vision spurred the creation of an alternative education programme called the Walkabout programme in over 150 North American secondary schools (Knapp, 1989). Gibbons (1974) suggested that the modern

walkabout comprises several challenges, two of which were embarking on an adventure demanding daring, endurance, and skill in an unfamiliar environment and identifying a human need for help without expecting reward. This Walkabout programme met with success, in part due to its subjective, flexible nature, which encouraged young people to design their own challenges.

The idea of using rites of passage to help explain expeditions has been around for several years. One example of an outdoor education programme that clearly structured its activities around the rites of passage model is an American coming-of-age programme that centres on teenagers undertaking a backpacking trip (Venable, 1997). Having identified a void in a young person's passage from childhood to adulthood, Venable devised a rites of passage experience encompassing a weeklong hill-walking expedition. The idea is that one leaves home (separation), adapts to and exists in an unfamiliar environment (transition), and then returns to the home environment as a responsible adult, with new social status (incorporation). The trip culminated with a church service where the individuals were recognised as adults by their family and community. The effect of this experience was measured pre- and post-expedition (4 and 12 weeks after) with three different scales of spiritual, religious, and existential well-being. The findings of the exploratory project were encouraging, despite the small sample size and statistically insignificant increases of the three types of well-being.

Another North American practitioner has further deconstructed the rites of passage concept as it relates to a young person's growth through a wilderness expedition (Andrews, 1999). By building on Turner's (1969) discussion of communitas, Andrews proposes three dimensions of the transition, or liminal, phase that are similar to Hopkins and Putnam's (1993) model of outdoor education: Developing a sense of community, sense of self, and sense of place. It was argued that wilderness expeditions involve a release

from normal social order and status, in a way that elicits stronger connections - a sense of community - between participants (Andrews, 1999). Andrews argued that on expedition one's sense of self is heightened by participants finding themselves in a situation where they are "identity-less". The wilderness expedition offers young people an environment where they can concentrate on who they are and want to become because they are not bound by previous identities, roles, and responsibilities (Andrews, 1999). This state of ambiguity then becomes a breeding ground for personal growth. The third dimension of liminality within a wilderness expedition is an increased sense of place stemming from one's disconnection from normal surroundings and feelings of connectedness to the natural environment (Andrews, 1999).

Most recently Bell's (2003) work has outlined how outdoor programmes using a classical rites of passage model to frame their experiences are generally ineffective at facilitating the third phase of van Gennep's (1960) model: incorporation. Bell (2003) suggests that programmes using a rites of passage framework should consider following a "contemporary adventure model" which leaves "participants to choose their own roles after a liminal experience" (p. 49), while at the same time not over-exaggerating claims of participant transformation.

This discussion of rites of passage was born out of my own curiosity surrounding the apparent similarities between coming of age rituals and youth expeditions. Theorists and researchers suggest that Western youth need formal and publicly recognised rituals to mark their transformation to adulthood (Kornfield, 1996; Meade, 1996b; Oldfield, 1996; Somé, 1996). A more detailed discussion on the role of van Gennep's concept of separation is part of Chapter Seven, which focuses on the critical elements of the expedition experience.

Although innumerable philosophical, psychological, and anthropological theories existed before experiential education became a field in its own right, I have highlighted several that are most relevant to understanding the overseas expedition experience. I will return to the foundational theories as well as the empirical research reviewed in the next section, when the findings are discussed in later chapters.

2.2 Expedition research

This section examines research conducted on overseas youth expeditions. In keeping with the aims of the investigation the section reviews both the participant outcomes and the critical elements of these expeditions. A third section considers ways in which participants process their experiences on expedition, as this is an area that emerged during the investigation.

2.2.1 Outcomes of expeditions

This first area of past research looks specifically at investigations conducted on the outcomes of overseas youth expeditions in the areas of intrapersonal gains, interpersonal skills, environmental awareness, and enhanced career prospects.

Intrapersonal is a term referring to the relationship with one's self (Priest & Gass, 1997). Among the most widely acknowledged intrapersonal gains from outdoor education programmes are those of increased self-concept, leadership, and reflective thinking skills (Priest & Gass, 1997). There are several possible outcomes which begin with the prefix "self" (confidence and esteem, for example), all of which refer to the "mental image one creates about oneself" (Klint, 1999, p. 164). Much early theoretical writing suggested that participation in outdoor outdoor education programmes led to increases in overall self-concept (Drasdo, 1998; Hahn, 2003). This area became heavily researched, which is evident in meta-analytical studies that have combined the statistics of many studies in order to measure the effect of outdoor adventure programmes (Cason & Gillis, 1994; Hattie et al., 1997).

Intrapersonal gains have been attributed to participants experiencing
repeated success when encountering outdoor programme elements that are
progressively challenging (Nadler & Luckner, 1992). Kennedy's (1992)
research highlighted how expeditions accounted for increased levels of
confidence with the participants. Similarly, Grey (1984) reported the
expedition outcome of increased determination. This determination is akin
to the "undefeatable spirit" and "tenacity in pursuit" described by Kurt Hahn
(2003, p. 2), the founder of Outward Bound, as some of the key aims of
demanding adventure-based programmes. More recently, research has
shown that increasing self-esteem and self-confidence was the most
important goal for young people in Raleigh's YDP programme (Beames,
2003a).

All of the outcomes related to increases in self-esteem and self-confidence
may help to justify more funding for certain adventure-based programmes
but there is little research exploring what these increases mean in the broader
context of participants' lives. For example, if people have reported an
increase in self-esteem, how does this affect their actions? I am curious to
understand how participants' meanings are developed from the way they
interpret their experience, and furthermore, how these meanings influence
their actions.

A considerable part of the intrapersonal gains from expedition-based
programmes surrounds individuals getting to know themselves better,
specifically their strengths and weaknesses (Grey, 1984). One premise of
outdoor education experiences is that the unfamiliar setting and social
environment serve to minimise the defence mechanisms protecting
participants' core feelings (Nadler & Luckner, 1992). Allison (2002) claims
that young people explore their feelings and past while on expedition, which
helps them gain a fuller understanding of their real self.

Related to participants exploring attitudes and feelings on expedition is the hope that the experience will lead to the increased development of participants' principles or values (Allison, 2002). Grey's work (1984) indicates that a broader outlook on life may result from going on an overseas expedition. This broader outlook on life, though vague, may include such outcomes as being able to more critically consider issues of social justice (Jakubowski, 2003) or increased clarity on one's place in the world. Certainly, in service-based programmes there is a hope that young people will return to their homes with an increased desire to help those in need within their community (Dickson, 1988).

Complementing the intrapersonal gains from expeditions are the interpersonal, or social, gains. The term interpersonal refers to an individual's relationships with other people (Priest & Gass, 1997). Although several theoretical inquiries have outlined how expeditions strengthen the relationships people have with others (Drasdo, 1998; Gair, 1997; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993), links between participating in an expedition and an increased ability to relate to and work with others have also been reported by several researchers (Allison, 2000, 2002; Grey, 1984; Kennedy, 1992; Stott & Hall, 2003). Grey (1984) reported that while on expedition many young explorers "had learnt the necessity of working with others and realised their ability to do so" (p. 18). This theme is strongly reflected in Kennedy's (1992) research, where increased "respect, tolerance, and cooperation" (p. 59) for other people was reported. Allison's work (2002) also strongly indicated that expedition participants became more comfortable in their relationships with other people, both during the expedition and long after. Gair (1997) states that "an expedition is a powerful medium for maximizing the potential for group development and cohesion" (p. 26). Gair's claim appears limited to those groups remaining together after the expedition, so that further projects can benefit from their collective increased development. Even if groups do not stay together post-expedition, as with Raleigh, there appears to be an assumption among participants and programme staff that participants will

learn from their experiences with one group and apply this learning to challenges with another group. The processes by which people learn from experiences such as these are explored in the final section of the chapter.

Aside from the personal and social growth associated with outdoor education programmes, the relationship between the self and the natural world is considered to be of equal importance (Hebborn, 1993; Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Priest, 1990; Priest & Gass, 1997). Although the outdoor setting may represent an arena for physical challenge (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993), some would argue that environmental education element is about developing a much deeper connection to the land (Henderson, 1999b; Van Matre, 1972). This emphasis may address issues under the heading of deep ecology, with the goal of "healing our alienation between the self and the natural environment" (Henderson, 1999b, p. 449). Compared to the intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes of outdoor adventure programmes, "the environment has received little attention " (Barret & Greenaway, 1995). It is intriguing why so little emphasis has been placed on addressing attitudes towards the natural environment in youth expeditions, when this relationship is regarded as an important branch of outdoor education programming (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Priest, 1990).

The two reports of research on attitudes and behaviours towards the environment while on expeditions offer conflicting views. On one hand there is a report of no lasting changes in attitudes and behaviour after the expedition (Haluza-Delay, 1999). On the other hand, Allison (2002) found clear links between having been on expedition and gaining a deeper appreciation of the wilderness and nature. There exists very little research relating directly to individuals' relationships with the natural environment, as much of the research is being conducted on intrapersonal and interpersonal outcomes. In fact, evidence suggests that youth expeditions have a more positive effect on participants' careers than on their awareness and appreciation of environmental issues (Andrews, 1999; Grey, 1984).

Considerable significance has been placed on how expeditions affect a young person's life after the expedition (Allison, 2000, 2002; Dickson, 1988; Kennedy, 1992). Allison (2000) coined the term "post-expedition adjustment" in reference to the adaptations undertaken by expeditioners when they return home. A consistent outcome of expedition participation is improved employment prospects (Kennedy 1992, Grey 1984). Grey's (1984) study reports that "it was in job interviews that expedition membership appeared most useful" (p. 18). This is certainly consistent with the findings from my pilot study (Beames 2003a), where improved job prospects was one of the principal reasons young people in the YDP programme wanted to go on expedition. Allison's (2000; 2002) work found that expedition participants benefited from taking the time to reflect on their career goals, and emerged with clearer direction.

I regard the main aims of outdoor education - learning about self, others, and the environment – as noble and important, but somewhat limiting. There is plenty of room for this definition to include the relationship one has with society, as well. In expedition literature there is little mention of how individuals who have worked within their team of ten people over several weeks may then relate to bigger networks of people that exist in local communities and greater society. The one investigation on overseas youth expeditions that did examine this issue found no evidence indicating that participants had changed their attitudes or behaviours towards the community (Kennedy, 1992).

This section has presented the literature related to participant outcomes on expeditions. Past research has focused primarily on the intrapersonal and interpersonal gains from participating on expeditions, at the expense of examining the outcomes related to participants' relationships with the natural environment and greater society. The following section examines the aspects of expeditions that may elicit the outcomes.

2.2.2 Elements of expeditions

Although much research has considered the outcomes of outdoor education programmes, particularly evident in three large meta-analyses (Cason & Gillis, 1994; Hattie et al., 1997; Neill & Richards, 1998), less work has concentrated on understanding the mechanisms leading to these outcomes. McKenzie (2000) supports this view, claiming that "the available literature indicates that the current understanding of how adventure education program outcomes are achieved is based largely on theory, rather than on empirical research" (p. 25). McKenzie's comments provide rationale for the second aim of this study, which is to learn about the elements of the expedition that influence participant outcomes.

The seminal work conducted on how learning outcomes are achieved in outdoor adventure programming was by Walsh and Golins (1976). They described the processes involved in a traditional Outward Bound course where the learner is placed in a unique physical and social environment, then given a problem-solving task that creates a state of dissonance. The participant adapts to this state by mastering skills. The process of adapting to unique settings and challenges serves to reorganise and redirect the meanings of the person's experience (Walsh & Golins, 1976). Nadler and Luckner (1992) built on this model, adding several facets. The first was that the experience involves being placed in a cooperative environment, second, that the skill mastery leads to feelings of accomplishment, and third, that the experience is processed in order to transfer learning to their day-to-day lives (Nadler & Luckner, 1992).

Aside from these linear, flowchart-like models, Walsh and Golins (1976) and Priest and Gass (1997) listed a number of key elements of an adventure experience. Walsh and Golins identified seven critical elements: the learner, the physical environment, the social environment, the tasks, the state of adaptive dissonance, and the transfer of learning. Adaptive dissonance has also been referred to as *disequilibrium*, which can be defined as "an

individual's awareness that a mismatch exists between old ways of thinking and new information. It is a state of internal conflict that provides motivation for an individual to make personal changes." (Nadler & Luckner, 1992, p. 7). An important point here is that regardless of whether one uses the term disequilibrium or adaptive dissonance, this state is reached by placing the learner in unique physical and social environments, where they undertake problem-solving tasks (McKenzie, 2003; Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Priest & Gass, 1997; Walsh & Golins, 1976).

Priest and Gass (1997) went on to identify ten "hallmarks of good adventure programming" (p. 22): experiential, dramatic, novel, consequential, metaphoric, transferable, structured, voluntary, concrete, and holistic. I do not regard all of these elements as critical, though they may offer useful guidelines for programme planners, and healthy debate among theorists. What is of greater importance and interest to both myself and Raleigh, and perhaps the field of outdoor education, is not a list of magical ingredients that must be checked off a list, as above, but a deeper examination of elements of Walsh and Golin's (1976) model. For example, what is it about the physical or social environment that may cause a person to rethink how they want to live their life once back at home? How can adaptive dissonance be used as an educational tool on a Raleigh expedition?

McKenzie's (2003) most recent work proposes that Walsh and Golin's (1976) model is limited by its linear construction (that is, one thing leads to another, which leads to another). Instead, she puts the physical environment, the social environment, the course activities, and the instructors all on the same level - as course components - which collectively lead to a state of adaptive dissonance and then mastery, which is used "to regain a state of equilibrium and overcome dissonance" (p. 20). The model is completed by stages of reflection and learning (McKenzie, 2003). This perspective is helpful as it recognises that the combination of course components as a whole leads to the state of disequilibrium or adaptive dissonance. McKenzie's research

highlighted five qualities of course activities that influenced outcomes: achieving success, challenge, learning new skills, being responsible for oneself, and having fun. While I recognise that these models (McKenzie, 2003; Walsh & Golins, 1976) are helpful for making sense of the Outward Bound process, I am interested in the programme components of a Raleigh expedition, as there are a number of variables that do not exist in typical Outward Bound courses, such as living overseas in a developing nation, having a large service component, and having untrained staff.

Curiosity surrounding the structural make-up of an expedition is not new, as more than 30 years ago Drasdo (1998) asked "Might it be possible, for the purposes of outdoor education, to separate out the elements essential to a satisfying expedition?" (p. 41). In order to more readily consider the many elements of an expedition I have separated them into three categories: physical environment, social environment, and activities. Similarly, Spradley (1980) considers all social situations to be defined by a "stream of behavior (activities) carried out by people (actors) in a particular location (place)" (p. 86). I now examine how these three components of a social situation shape the expedition experience.

Physical environment

A primary consideration for an expedition's physical environment is remoteness. This idea dates back to the early days of the Public Schools Exploring Society where participants travelled through "wild and trackless country" (Levick, 1933, p. vii). Remoteness and isolation are still very possible in this modern era of expeditions. Despite the ability to communicate by radio from most locations, access to and evacuation of participants from project sites may still be a matter of days. In the case of Raleigh, the expedition groups may not have feelings of isolation from other humans, as they are often close to or in the middle of towns and villages which are full of local people. While a Raleigh expedition is very much an outdoor experience, the wilderness component is not a principal focus. For

the purposes of this thesis I take Nash's (1982) view that wilderness is a term with relative meaning and can encompass "Any place in which a person feels stripped of guidance, lost, and perplexed" (p. 3). On a Raleigh expedition these feelings of disequilibrium may elicit a "wilderness" state of mind, influenced by personal and cultural values (Nash, 1982). Nash's point illustrates how individuals attach different meanings to things, based on their previous experiences.

The importance of being in a novel environment is related to remoteness. Placing participants in a novel setting is central to the theoretical foundations of experiential education (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Priest & Gass, 1997; Schoel et al., 1988; Walsh & Golins, 1976). Walsh and Golins (1976) claim that "the learner's entry into a contrasting environment is the first step towards reorganising the meaning and direction of his [sic] experience" (p. 4). Being in a novel environment adds to participants' feelings of disequilibrium as they experience a heightened sense of arousal (Nadler & Luckner, 1992). Similarly, once removed from familiar surroundings individuals are forced to adapt and function in this alternative environment (Kaplan & Talbot, 1983).

The power, violence, and beauty of wild places may have a profound effect on young and possibly vulnerable people, who may take little notice of the natural environment when they are at home (Kennedy, 1992). This element is further enhanced by people's entire existence (working, trekking, eating, sleeping) being outdoors and may be experienced differently under various weather conditions. This is a marked change from a more urban existence, where an individual's existence may not differ from day to day, as it is lived in climate-controlled environments. The outdoors provides natural consequences for participants' actions or non-actions. These natural consequences are more readily accepted by participants since they are less likely to be considered unfair or inappropriate (Kimball & Bacon, 1993). Whereas some adventure education programmes use contrived activities with

controllable conditions and artificial consequences (Loynes, 2002), the Raleigh experience emphasises a power relationship that is as much between the participant and their existence in the natural world as it is between participant and staff. As Walsh and Golins (1976) state about the outdoor environment, "Arbitrary and consequential rules are in existence which are not man-made [sic]" (p. 4).

The effect of the length of expedition on the outcomes is the final point in this section. Despite searching for studies in outdoor education that have examined the effect of course length on participant outcomes, I found little work in this area. There is evidence indicating that participants in courses longer than 20 days may benefit more than those people in shorter courses, in terms of amount of perceived change in themselves over time (Neill & Richards, 1998). As most overseas youth expeditions available to British youth are longer than 28 days (Year Out Group, 2004) there is little scope for further comparative research in this area.

An important point in this section is that expeditions provide a physical environment in stark contrast to the one participants are accustomed to in the UK. The next section examines the social elements of expeditions that influence participant outcomes.

Social environment

It has been suggested that the small community of people on the expedition provides participants with greater stability (Kennedy, 1992). Within this social setting there are opportunities for young people to reassess their role in society as they have more direct responsibilities to the group (Kennedy, 1992). This might happen as the group divides up camp chores such as cooking, setting up tents, and cleaning up after the meal. In this situation everyone in the group has a clear understanding of each member's responsibility to the efficient functioning of that group. Kimberly and Bacon (1993) had similar views regarding the influence of the group on personal

development, stating that "because personality is formed and shaped largely through our contact with others, it can be reshaped through this same intimate contact" (p. 21). This idea of individuals being in a continuous state of interpretation and production of the self while interacting with others is congruent with the symbolic interactionist framework (Blumer, 1969) discussed in the following chapter.

The ideal size for a group of young people in outdoor programmes has been suggested as between seven and 15 (Walsh & Golins, 1976). The benefits of a group this size is that it is large enough for individuality, diversity, and conflict to exist, but small enough for conflicts to be resolved. Walsh and Golins refer to this social environment as the *ten group:* an interdependent group with a common objective. Interestingly, these writers also describe this group as a primary group, thus illustrating their links to Cooley's (1962) work, which explains how primary groups are "fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of individuals" (p. 23). The *friluftsliv* approach to "outdoor nature life" in Norway, suggests smaller groups of five to eight people are desirable, as they provide opportunities for "close and good communication" between participants (Tellnes, 1993, p. 15). The individual interacts with this group through each phase of a Raleigh expedition. Ultimately, the organised set of attitudes of the individuals within the group may be incorporated into each venturer's construction of the self (Mead, 1934). The goal of the ten group is to promote "individual decision-making which at the same time has the support of a peer group and which takes into consideration the wishes and welfare of the group" (Walsh & Golins, 1976, p. 6).

There is little research addressing the mix of individuals in a group and how this influences participant outcomes. Smith (1983) theorised that "there is much value in the adventure group being 'heterogeneous'" (p. 41). His experiences working as an outdoor leader and guide are typical of many outdoor programmes that operate courses for homogeneous populations

such as youth at risk, over 60's, and college students. Smith's writing was influenced by social psychology theory proposing that individuals' attitudes are shaped and formed by group membership (Kretch, Crutchfield, & Ballachey, 1962).

Feeling supported when taking risks has been highlighted as an important antecedent to learning (Greenaway, 1995). This emphasis on how individuals may alter their interpretations and actions from interaction with their group suggests that the group plays a crucial role in the development of the self. Having considered the social elements of expeditions, I will now outline the third and final area of programme elements that may influence participants' experiences.

Activities

Walsh and Golins (1976) describe the activities on Outward Bound courses as "characteristic problem-solving tasks" (p. 6). The most common activities on overseas youth expeditions are activities surrounding adventure, service, scientific research, and environmental conservation (Year Out Group, 2004). Expeditions using adventure as a vehicle for learning may have climbing, trekking, and paddling as their main activities, whereas service-based expeditions might use community projects as the method for participants to learn and grow. While the different programme activities used as methods to attain those goals are varied, the goals of the two programmes may both centre on personal and social growth. Rather than reviewing the different activities that have been employed on youth expeditions, such as climbing, trekking, school-building, and trail clearing, it is more useful to examine the nature of these activities, as they share common concepts.

The first common concept of expedition activities is that participants are fascinated and interested in what they are doing (Dewey, 1973; Kaplan & Talbot, 1983). Related to this is a central tenet of outdoor education programmes that participants should have the right to participate or not

(Schoel et al., 1988). This suggests that individuals who have been told what a Raleigh expedition encompasses and have decided to participate based on this knowledge will be more invested in the experience than someone who had not been informed of what the expedition entailed or who was coerced into participating. The young people taking part in a Raleigh expedition have chosen to participate in this experience for their own individual reasons. Greenaway's (1995) work found that an important antecedent to learning was being open to learning in the first place.

As with the physical environment discussed earlier, challenging activities where the participant has little prior experience may elicit crucial feelings of constructive anxiety (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Walsh & Golins, 1976). These challenging activities offer participants opportunities to master new skills which then lead to feelings of accomplishment (Nadler & Luckner, 1992). It is recommended that challenges are encountered incrementally, so that people are presented with increasingly difficult tasks as their skills increase (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Priest & Gass, 1997; Walsh & Golins, 1976). In a more egalitarian approach to outdoor education such as Raleigh's, these increments can be negotiated between the participants and staff members. This ensures that all parties have input and ownership over the processes, as recommended by Dyson (1995).

A third concept shared by the different activities offered on expeditions is a strengthened relationship between rewards and effort (Kennedy, 1992). For example if a person works hard at using a shovel and wheelbarrow to move earth at a building site, the harder they work, the sooner the objective will be reached. In day-to-day urban life this relationship between rewards and effort may be more complex, and in some instances, disheartening. This can be illustrated in the case of the student who spends hours studying hard but still receives low grades; the student is not rewarded for their hard work. On a Raleigh expedition the activities are full of consequences for the group's

actions or non-actions. For example, if the group navigates poorly they may end up walking extra miles.

Related to the link between rewards and effort on an expedition is the strengthened relationship between what is necessary to do and what is desirable to do (Kaplan & Talbot, 1983). Life in an industrialised nation such as the UK may not provide young people with situations that are both desirable and necessary to do. On expeditions, environmental conditions may influence people's actions as much as social conditions. In most cases, people will want to set up a shelter to avoid getting wet when it rains, or get inside a mosquito net to avoid getting bitten. This point of how the environmental conditions can make the necessary more desirable illustrates how Raleigh venturers are interacting with, and being influenced by, forces that exist beyond their project group, the staff members, and the people of the host community. Expeditions, unlike many residential outdoor education programmes, involve people's actions being influenced by environmental variables that cannot be controlled by the individual themselves, nor the project group.

Another point regarding the activity elements of an expedition is the planning of these elements. Participants themselves playing an active role in planning the expedition (Gair, 1988) is consistent with commonly held tenets in outdoor education of feeling in control (Weiner, 1979) and of taking ownership of the experience (Dyson, 1995). This point illustrates how on effectively run educational expeditions it is part of the staff's mandate to step back and let participants take charge of their programme. Further support is provided by Conrad and Hedin (1981), who claim that autonomy is the most powerful predictor of personal development through experiential education programmes. As I will discuss in Chapter Three, symbolic interactionism theory puts power in the hands of individuals to shape their future, while in the presence of other environmental, social, or psychological forces (Blumer, 1969). All of the above common concepts have a strong connection to the

theoretical framework, which finds its premise in the power of the individual agent to take control of their life and construct their own reality. Symbolic interactionism helps to see the different activities on a Raleigh expedition as interactions that the young people would not have had if they had stayed at home. These novel interactions lead to the venturers constructing meanings that they otherwise would not have.

The last area of activities that influence programme outcomes is a branch of experiential education known as service-learning. I have included a discussion on the role of service-learning in expeditions as it is arguable that Raleigh offers a combination of service-learning and outdoor education. A number of papers have described how service-learning is a branch of experiential education which is gaining increasing prominence in the Western world (Boss, 1995; Jacoby, 1996; Jakubowski, 2003; Warren & Loeffler, 2000). Jacoby (1996) defines service learning as "activities that address human and community needs with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development" (p. 5). Typically, service-learning programmes involve living and working in a host community on projects that have been deemed important by the members of that community (Jacoby, 1996; Kendall, 1990).

In the UK, the service project being part of an adventure that centres around "doing good for others" is not widely referred to as service-learning, although it is a term that accurately describes a major programmatical element of Raleigh expeditions, as well as experiences offered by other overseas youth development organisations. Service-learning programmes must be thoroughly considered, so they are not merely exercises in being exposed to life in a developing nation, but rather, engage participants with the daily life of the host country (Levison, 1990). Similarly, service-learning projects must ensure that those being served are in control of the services being provided, those being served become better able to serve as a result of the project, and those who serve are also learners (Jacoby, 1996; Kendall, 1990; Stanton,

1993). Dickson (1988) recommends educational programmes for young people where the experience is based on "the adventure culminating in service, and the service itself an adventure" (p. 26).

In its strictest terms, service learning cannot occur without formal reflection (Jacoby, 1996). Service without reflection would likely be regarded as volunteerism, as it is not connected to any structured academic curriculum. The literature in service-learning and outdoor education may lead readers to believe that while both involve learning from experience, one may learn without formal reflection in outdoor education (Bacon, 1987; Gass, 1993), but will not learn without formal reflection in service learning (Jacoby, 1996). Another feature of service learning is reciprocity, where all parties "are learners and help determine what is to be learned. Both the server and those served teach, and both learn" (Kendall, 1990, p. 22). Furthermore, it is imperative that the members of the host community identify the service tasks and then control the service provided (Jacoby, 1996).

As two branches of experiential education, outdoor education and service-learning both share the view that the worth of a programme is measured by student learning, as opposed to student performance. For example, a programme would not be deemed weak if the participants did not become efficient brick-layers or rock climbers. The greater emphasis placed on student learning rather than on the service provided is one that I suspect would not sit well with Raleigh, as they place considerable importance on their commitment to the host community and want to complete the projects on schedule. Therefore, it is unclear whether a Raleigh expedition is an outdoor education programme that uses service as a tool to reach its aims of learning about the self, others, and the environment, or if it is an adventurous service programme. This is an example of the tension inherent in being an organisation that exists for both the development of its participants and for the development of the host communities.

This chapter began by exploring the foundational theories of experiential education that relate to overseas youth expeditions. The next two sections examined the empirical research that has been conducted on overseas youth expeditions, relating to how participants are influenced by these experiences and the elements of the experiences that elicited the outcomes. The final section outlines the writing in outdoor education addressing how people process their experiences. It provides a useful reference for considering how Raleigh participants make sense of their experience.

2.3 Processing outdoor adventure experiences

For the purposes of this thesis I take processing to entail making meaning from experience "that enables us to behave in useful ways in the future" (Knapp, 1999, p. 219). Facilitation has been defined as "those techniques that are used to augment the qualities of the adventure experience based on an accurate assessment of the client's needs" (Gass, 1993, p. 219). I find that this definition is too narrow as it refers only to adventure activities and implies that the facilitator has to be an expert who knows what is best for the learner. I prefer a more general approach where facilitation can mean anything that helps someone process their experience. Reviewing and reflecting upon experience as a means to learning and influencing future actions has become one of the most widely accepted facets of outdoor adventure programmes (Gass, 1990; Greenaway, 1993; Kolb, 1984; Priest & Gass, 1997; Schoel et al., 1988). Before examining the different ways that people may process their experience it is helpful to look specifically at reflection.

Dewey (1933) defined reflection as "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends" (p. 118). As with Kolb (1984) and Dewey (1933), Schön (1983) sees reflection as being part of a greater process linking experience and future action:

The practitioner allows himself [sic] to experience surprise, puzzlement, or confusion in a situation which he [sic] finds uncertain or unique. He [sic] reflects on the phenomenon before him [sic], and on the prior understandings which have been implicit in his [sic] behaviour. He [sic] carries out an experiment which serves to generate a new understanding of the phenomenon and a change in the situation. (p. 68)

This meaning was captured and simplified by Boud, Keogh, and Walker (1985) who state that reflection is where people "recapture their experience, think about it, mull it over and evaluate it" (p. 19). This latter definition of reflection has particular relevance to the symbolic interactionist perspective that people reflect on their experiences and these reflections influence future actions.

Outdoor leaders have been debating the merits of deliberate and structured processing of experiences for half a century (James, 1980). One group believes that the "mountains speak for themselves", others feel it is the instructor's job to highlight important learning points for the participants, and a third camp sees the staff's role as being able to use metaphors as a way to increase participant learning (Bacon, 1987). The first stage of processing was the dominant model of the 1960s and 1970s, and focused primarily on the experience, with no emphasis placed on formal review sessions. In this kind of programming, the instructor's principal role is to "deliver the students into an extraordinary experience of action and adventure, leaving them to make of it what they will" (James, 1980, p. 5).

In the case of Colorado Outward Bound, where much of this early debate took place, many of the instructors relied principally on the "tried and true" (James, 1980, p. 2) structure of the programme and left it up to participants to make sense of their experience in their own time. Bacon (1987) summarises this viewpoint in which the experience is regarded as "so

positive, profound, and powerful that it will automatically generalize to the student's daily life; instructors do not need to be excessively concerned about transference" (p. 3). The idea that a well-structured experience is more critical to learning than its facilitation is echoed by Proudman's (1995) statement that "If a teacher truly believes in the experiential process, the teacher will create safe working boundaries for students and then get right out of the way" (p. 243).

McKenzie's (2003) research on the Outward Bound process in Canada suggests that the Mountains Speak for Themselves model is effective, as the solo, typically 24 to 48 hours spent on one's own, was regarded by participants as a more important time to reflect on the course and their lives than opportunities provided by formal group discussions. Greenaway (1990) suggests that learning can happen without reviewing, although the learning may be limited. Similarly, Schoel et al. (1988) write that "because of the implicit lessons in the Adventure experience, a leader who is reluctant to Debrief can survive without it" (p. 165).

The second model of processing is known as the Outward Bound Plus model, and involves active reflection on the course activities, thereby expanding the instructor's role to include discussion leader and experience facilitator. While this model does not "ignore the primacy of experience" (Bacon, 1987, p. 3), there is a deliberate and overt emphasis on reflecting and learning from experience. This model also employs "imported techniques" to run courses specifically for substance abusers, corporate managers, and troubled youth (Bacon, 1987). A weakness of the Outward Bound Plus model is that although the programme emphasises experience and adventure, "there is a sense that the course activities are less important than the verbal discussions" (Bacon, 1987). A related criticism of this model is its over-reliance on approaching a debriefing session with memorised, pre-selected questions (Gassner, 1998).

In response to a perceived over-emphasis on verbal discussion in the Outward Bound Plus model and a lack of structured reflection to encourage learning from experience in the Mountains Speak for Themselves model, a third model rose to prominence during the late 1980s and 1990s. Bacon (1987) explains that this model was born from a need to "conserve the OBP gains in specificity and transferability while simultaneously reasserting the primacy of experience" (p. 7). This third approach to group processing is known as the Metaphoric model. Although in the Outward Bound Plus model the course activities may be used as metaphors for participants' daily life activities, the reflective processes are employed retrospectively, by looking back upon an experience and searching for meaningful connections between the experience and day-to-day life. This lies in contrast to the Metaphoric model, which introduces the concept of the activity as metaphor before the action starts. This way, participants are making important, relevant connections between the outdoor programme and their lives back home before the action even begins.

The Metaphoric model has been built upon to include several variations of advanced processing techniques (Priest & Gass, 1997). Hovelynck (2000) suggests that these models were not developed in generational, linear fashion. He refers to all approaches using metaphors as "introduction-action-reflection" models.

Hovelynck goes on to describe a fourth model of facilitation called "reflection-in-action" where facilitators intervene and direct the dialogue towards personal or "idiosyncratic" meaning during conversation and activity. This model requires a facilitator to help the participant develop their own, personal metaphor during the programme (Hovelynck, 1998). In this approach the emphasis shifts "from developing metaphors for participants to facilitating the development of metaphors by participants" (Hovelynck, 1998, p. 10). This model evolved out of a concern that the trend in the processing of outdoor education programmes was shifting the balance in power away

from the participant, towards the instructor, who controlled the variables and could steer the discussion in different directions of his or her choosing. This trend has been criticised in other papers (Hovelynck, 2001; Loynes, 2002; Ringer, 1999) and will be discussed further in a section on power in the following chapter.

Beyond these four models of facilitation exists an alternative for helping people learn from their experiences that does not fit clearly into Bacon's (1987), Gass' (1993), Priest and Gass' (1997), and Hovelynck's (2000) models. This alternative model was first proposed by Greenaway (1993) and centres on participants facilitating their own experiences. More recent research has shown that corporate managers who have been given minimal training in reviewing techniques are able to run successful sessions with their co-workers (Priest, Gass, & Fitzpatrick, 1999). Even though the facilitators were not highly trained, the key to their positive experiences rested in "remaining neutral, asking probing questions, pausing for silence, and focusing on listening" (Priest et al., 1999, p. 52). Although this work is regarded as exploratory, it is important because it suggests that participants may not need to rely on expert facilitators in order to process their experiences. All of the advanced processing techniques notwithstanding, Neill (2002) claims that the majority of outdoor programmes rely on the first two models of processing: the Mountains Speak for Themselves and Outward Bound Plus.

I have taken time to outline the different approaches to processing outdoor experiences as it is useful to understand how Raleigh employs or does not employ them. The Raleigh case is intriguing in terms of processing, since it involves what appears to be a unique and powerful experience in the presence of volunteer staff with little training. At first glance it would appear that Raleigh expeditions rely primarily on the Mountains Speak for Themselves model with some application of the Outward Bound Plus model. Informal discussions at Raleigh's London head office suggest that the

administrative team is undecided on whether Raleigh expeditions could benefit from more or less formal processing. The nature of the staff's role in processing may have considerable influence on how participants feel they are affected by the programme. If the self is product of an individual's social situations, then the staff's influence on the social forces that shape the self cannot be ignored. Chapter Eight examines the ways in which participants came to know how this ten-week experience has influenced their lives, with recommendations for Raleigh's approach to processing summarised in the conclusion.

Summary

This chapter began by locating expedition-based programmes within the field of outdoor education, which lies within the greater field of experiential education. Though the field of experiential education benefits from a vast amount of foundational theory from eclectic sources, I highlighted specific works from anthropology, philosophy, and psychology that have particular relevance to this thesis. The chapter continued with an overview of research conducted specifically on overseas youth expeditions. This review of empirical investigations highlighted the need to understand expedition outcomes beyond popular terms such as self-esteem and self-confidence. An examination of the literature on the critical elements of expeditions made use of more general outdoor education research, as the work on how expedition outcomes are achieved is limited. Finally, the subject of how people process their experience was presented in historical fashion, from the early Mountains Speak for Themselves model to more advanced facilitation techniques using metaphors to help transfer learning. This review provides the baseline for a later examination of how people processed their expedition experiences. The following chapter outlines the thesis' theoretical framework, an interpretivist sociological perspective called symbolic interactionism.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

Choosing and justifying a theoretical framework through which I could deconstruct and interpret the expedition experience has been the most difficult aspect of the project for me. Gradually, I learned that a considerable part of the PhD involves using this theoretical framework to ground the study, inform its methodology, and interpret the findings. Although I originally thought that the anthropological theory of rites of passage would underpin the study, I realised that the investigation demanded a framework that would help me understand the expedition experience from the participants' perspective.

Before going on the expedition I read several introductory texts on social theory (for example, Layder, 1994; Morrison, 1995; Ritzer, 1988; Swingewood, 2000). I struggled to find strong connections between classic social theory and Raleigh, but was encouraged by sociology's interpretivist literature – symbolic interactionism in particular. Three months spent collecting data in Ghana highlighted how the investigation required a framework that could explain how young people construct meaning and identity from an overseas expedition. Symbolic interactionism helped me understand how expedition participants were constantly encountering new experiences and interpreting these experiences through reflection and conversation.

I am fully aware that symbolic interactionism's principal criticism is an inability to account for larger, external structures in society (Giddens, 1979; Stryker, 1980). I also acknowledge that there are structuralist perspectives that could more adequately account for venturers being products of the social, political, and cultural forces that have influenced their lives. However, these perspectives would not provide the agent-centred emphasis required to understand the expedition experience from the participants' point of view.

The investigation demanded a theoretical framework that views individuals as constantly interpreting their lives as they are lived, basing their actions on this process (Blumer, 1969).

This study is about young people constructing meaning and identity on their expedition, and Blumer's (1969) perspective and methodology of symbolic interactionism – principally supported by Mead (1934), Cooley (1964, 1966), and Goffman (1990) – is the most appropriate choice for its theoretical framework. The rest of the chapter is divided into four sections. The first outlines symbolic interactionist theory, while the second section focuses specifically on how the self is socially constructed. The third section examines how this theoretical framework is useful for understanding the expedition experience. Finally, I address criticisms of symbolic interactionism.

3.1 Symbolic interactionism

Though not originally known as symbolic interactionism, this agent-centred view of social life has its roots at the University of Chicago, and draws much of its theoretical basis from the writings of Cooley (1962; 1964; 1966) and Mead (1934). It was Blumer (1969), a former student of Mead's, who coined the term "symbolic interactionism" and outlined it both as a perspective for examining social life and methodology for conducting research. Symbolic interactionism as an approach to studying social life is summed up by Blumer (1969) as "a down-to-earth approach to the scientific study of human group life and human conduct...It lodges its problems in this natural world, conducts its studies in it, and derives its interpretations from such naturalistic studies" (p. 47). What follows is a thematic outline of the important concepts that informed Blumer's perspective.

The Chicago School of sociology saw social life as a constantly developing network of relationships rather than an objective structure (Layder, 1994). Their way of tackling the inherent dualisms of social theory rested in a

rejection of any objective social structure. The humanistic influence within symbolic interactionism sees structures as dehumanising, mythical entities that discount people's feelings, meanings, and experiences (Layder, 1994). As this objective structure of society was rejected, Cooley (1962) claimed that "self and society are twin born" (p. 5), and cannot exist without each other. Cooley (1966) saw society as a living organism – a human whole – that would die if cut up. This organic view was characterised by

> ...a complex form of processes which is living and growing by
> interaction with the others, the whole being so unified that what takes
> place in one part affects all the rest. It is a vast tissue of reciprocal
> activity. (Cooley, 1966, p. 28)

The idea of reciprocal activity is illustrated in the way society's structures exert influence on the individual agents that have constructed them (Rock, 1979). This position leaves all social life to be accounted for by interpersonal relationships, whether micro face-to-face encounters or larger, complex macro-sociological networks of human relationships that have existed over time. Structures do exist, but they are not regarded as objective, external entities. Symbolic interactionism sees structure as a complex, social network of relationships (Blumer, 1969). Mead (1934) also viewed the individual and society as inseparable:

> ...the behaviour of an individual can be understood only in
> terms of behaviour of the whole social group of which he [sic] is
> a member, since his [sic] individual acts are involved in larger,
> social acts which go beyond himself [sic] and which implicate
> the other members of that group. (p. 6-7)

Similarly, Blumer (1969) asserts that symbolic interactionists regard society as "...individuals interacting with each other" (p. 7). It is through interpretation of these interactions that individuals are able to construct

meaning, which in turn modifies attitudes and behaviours. These concepts introduce the important theme that individuals' identities are influenced by the social situations they interact within.

Blumer (1969) outlined three premises of symbolic interactionism. The first premise is that individuals act towards objects based on the meanings they have for them. For example, a young British person from London may regard mud as being a negative object that gets their clothes dirty. Rural Ghanaians might have another meaning of mud, as they make bricks out of mud and build houses with them. In this case mud has different meanings for different people. The second premise is that meanings arise out of interaction with those objects. Again, if a British person were to visit rural Ghana, they might see houses and entire villages made from mud bricks. This new interaction with mud would modify the British person's meaning of mud to now include a building material. Blumer's third premise is that meanings are constantly being interpreted and modified by people's interaction with objects. Meanings are not fixed. There may be other meanings that can be attached to the word mud that we have not come to know, as we have not interacted with them yet.

Blumer's (1969) premises explain how on a Raleigh expedition the meanings that the young people attach to social, physical and abstract objects are not fixed, but are constantly being adjusted from their interactions with different agents. In other words, reality changes according to agents and the context of the situation (Layder, 1994). Blumer (1969) describes this as a process where "objects are being created, affirmed, transformed, and cast aside" (p. 12).

Coser (1971) states that "society must be understood as a structure that emerges through an ongoing process of communicative social acts" (p. 334). Mead's (1934) distinction between self-conscious acts and unself-conscious acts is useful for understanding what interpretation can mean. He argued

that unself-conscious acts were non-symbolic as they did not involve a process of imagining one's actions from another person's perspective. Symbolic interactionism, on the other hand, involves self-conscious gestures where people "interpret each others' attitudes and act on the basis of the meaning yielded by such interpretations" (Coser, 1971, p. 335). More generally, Mead's approach to explaining social life, which he labelled social behaviourism, comprised of humans interpreting each other's actions, gestures, and language. Seen this way, verbal and non-verbal language allows humans to express and interpret meanings derived from complex social interactions. Subtle gestures and the spoken word both contribute to the language of interaction and meaning making. Mead's claim was that people did not merely react to others' behaviour, as an animal would; they interpreted it before responding appropriately.

This discussion of self-conscious and unself-conscious acts demands an elaboration on the notion of "acting towards an object", which is central to symbolic interactionism. All the objects that humans act towards can be classified as physical, social, and abstract (Blumer, 1969). Physical objects are inanimate, such as chairs, cars, and trees. Social objects are people, and abstract objects refer to intangible concepts such as justice and courage. This idea of interacting with objects clarifies that individuals do not only interact with other humans, but interact with intangible, abstract issues, as well as physical objects, all of which elicit interpretations of these interactions. As the individual interacts with objects they have an internal conversation, interpreting and transforming meaning "in light of the situation" (Blumer, 1969, p. 5). More simply, these interpretations inform what humans think and do.

People act towards different objects based on the meanings those objects have for them (Blumer, 1969). Their past experiences affect the meanings they have for different objects, whether it is a physical object like a knife or an abstract object such as a virtue. These meanings are challenged, then

confirmed or modified, based on social interactions. This mental state where an individual experiences a mismatch between old and new ways of thinking is a common feature of outdoor education programmes (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Walsh & Golins, 1976).

3.2 The genesis of the self

A large part of symbolic interactionism's usefulness in understanding how people experience their Raleigh expedition lies in what Mead (1934) refers to as the genesis of the self. Coser (1971) sums up the interactionist view of this genesis as where a "person's self grows out of a person's commune with others...it arises dialectically through communication" (p. 305). Part of a child's development involves becoming able to take on the role of the "other" and visualise oneself from the other's point of view (Mead, 1934). This suggests that people's thoughts and behaviours are influenced by those around them; an individual's reflexivity with his or her social world is a constant and dynamic relationship that shapes who they are. As Coser (1971) says, "The individual self is individual only because of its relation to others. Through the individual's ability to take in his imagination the attitudes of others, his self becomes an object of his own reflection" (p. 337).

Mead argued that the final stage of human maturation involved taking the role of *the generalised other* – the attitude of the whole community. Rather than the individual just taking into account other individuals' attitudes towards themselves, they consider others' attitudes "towards various phases or aspects of the common social activity" (Mead, 1934, p. 155). The point crucial to my thesis is that people construct their selves, or identities, through a social process that arises through a dialectical relationship with their social life.

As I have shown, early interactionist writing had a heavy emphasis on the self and how it was constituted through social life. One of Mead's (1934)

important theoretical contributions was a deeper explanation of this process. For Mead (1934) the self was a product of the *I* and the *me*:

> The 'I' is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others; the 'me' is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself [sic] assumes. The attitudes of the others constitute the organized 'me', and then one reacts towards that as an 'I'. (p. 175)

This process outlines how humans incorporate the feelings and behaviours of the people they interact with into a part of their self, known as the generalised other, as introduced above. The generalised other is the "self as conceived and apprehended in terms of the point of view of significant others and of the community at large. It reflects the laws and the mores, the organized codes and expectations of the community" (Mead, 1934, p. 197). The notion of individuals considering other's attitudes and actions before acting was also conceptualised by Cooley (1964).

Cooley's (1964) contribution to understanding the self centred on what he termed the *looking glass self*. Like Mead (1934), Cooley (1927) believed the self was formed by an individual's reflexive relationships with their social world, and regarded society as "interweaving and interworking of mental selves. I imagine your mind, and especially what your mind thinks about my mind. I dress my mind before yours and expect that you will dress yours before mine" (p. 200-201). This belief formed the basis for the looking glass self, which is a three step process comprising "the imagination of our appearance to the other person, the imagination of his [sic] judgment of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling" (Cooley, 1964, p. 184). The looking glass self contributes to my analysis by illustrating the emphasis placed upon individuals interpreting others' interpretations – a critical point. During interactions, individuals use their interpretive abilities to consider the outcomes of different courses of action before they act, as if through the eyes of others. The I and the me (Mead, 1934) and the looking glass self (Cooley,

1964) provide two important concepts about how the self is negotiated and constructed through social interaction.

Another concept that informs Blumer's overall symbolic interactionist perspective is Cooley's (1962) primary group. This concept has particular relevance to Raleigh's project groups of young people, and will be explored later in the chapter. In essence, Cooley referred to an individual's family and closer circle friends as their primary group. The difference between a primary group and other people in society is that in a primary group people do not expect a personal benefit or gain from their relationships with other members of the group. This lies in contrast to non-primary group relationships, which tend to be characterised by an "exchange of specific services or benefits" (Coser, 1971, p. 308). Cooley (1962) described primary groups as being characterised by "intimate face to face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individuals" (p. 23).

Coser's (1971) interpretation of primary groups appears more romanticised and idealistic, when he states that "In these groups men [sic] are drawn away from their individualistic propensity to maximize their own advantage and are permanently linked to their fellows by ties of sympathy and affection" (p. 308). This statement suggests that primary groups are bastions of harmony and peace. Though I do see primary groups as having a strong influence on the development of its members, this process is not without conflict, as any member of a family would probably agree. Not only did Cooley (1966) regard this conflict as inevitable, he saw it as a necessary and healthy part of social life.

Another writer who informs the theoretical framework is Goffman (1990) and his dramaturgical conception of the self. As with other interactionists, Goffman sees the self as a product of social interactions, which he regarded

as performances between actors and audiences. An aspect of Goffman's work that helps my analysis is his belief that people have different sides to their personalities that they reveal to various different people. This concept entails individuals managing "the impression that they give to others in order to appear in as favourable a light as possible" (Donnelly, 2002, p. 95).

A considerable part of impression management involves the actor presenting the audience with a *front*, which can be divided into one's appearance and manner (Goffman, 1990). From a research point of view it is conceivable that my study participants were presenting a front they wanted me, in particular, to see. For example, they could manipulate their front to give me the impression that they were virtuous students whose greatest desire was to help noble villages in the developing world. Similarly, when I was not around, these individuals might present their peers with the front of someone completely uninterested in community service. Goffman's analysis, however, goes beyond the actor presenting different fronts to specific audiences. In Goffman's (1990) eyes, the audience become willing collaborators to the actor's performance, as they are asked "to believe that the character they see actually possesses the attributes he [sic] appears to possess" (p. 28).

An "idealised" front is derived from congruence between the actor's front and the expectations of the audience (Goffman, 1990). Drawing upon Cooley's (1964) concept of the primary group, Goffman (1990) explained that "when the individual presents himself before others, his [sic] performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of society" (p. 45). This point illustrates how individuals have the autonomy to construct their own identity, but this self-determination is constrained by the perceived expectations of the audience. The actor's identity is confirmed and strengthened by playing the same part to the same audience on different occasions (Goffman, 1990).

Using interviews, informal dialogue, and observations for data collection enabled me to compare the selves that participants were presenting to me with the selves I witnessed them presenting others. Not only did using multiple methods of data collection enable me to understand how participants constructed meaning and identity, it also offered additional avenues for verifying the trustworthiness of the data (Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995). As such, Goffman's (1990) concept of the presentation of self provides a useful lens through which to examine the selves that individuals presented to different audiences (myself included) before, during, and after the expedition.

Symbolic interactionism focuses on the "dynamic activities taking place between people" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). Consequently, the self is a dynamic entity that "emerges out of our relationships with other people" (Coakley, 1994, p. 44), which are constantly changing as we find ourselves in new situations. The following section outlines how expedition participants act in relation to one another by acting, perceiving, interpreting, and acting again (Cohen et al., 2000).

3.3 Symbolic interactionism and expeditions

As I have explained in the previous section, symbolic interactionism is based largely on how individuals construct meanings from their interactions (Blumer, 1969). This next section outlines how symbolic interactionism provides a useful theoretical framework for understanding the expedition experience. By adopting the language of the symbolic interactionist, the outcomes of the experience can be viewed as the meanings constructed by the young people. Similarly, understanding the interactional and interpretive processes that led to the construction of those meanings helps to identify the critical elements of the experience.

3.3.1 Experiential education and interaction

As discussed in Chapter Two, some of Dewey's (1973) writing has been adopted by the eclectic body of knowledge known as experiential education

theory. Dewey's writing has additional relevance in this study because of a strong connection with the tenets of symbolic interactionism. Part of Dewey's (1973) pedagogical creed is that "the only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situations in which he finds himself [sic]" (p. 443). As with symbolic interactionism and life on a Raleigh expedition, individuals learn and construct meaning through constant interaction with objects in their social world. Rather than seeing education as preparation for future living, Dewey sees education as a process of living. This process of living involves individuals living in a series of situations, where "interaction is going on between an individual and objects and other persons" (Dewey, 1973, p. 519). Experience and learning is interactive and social. Coser (1971) sums up Mead's thoughts on this subject: "Experience is not first individual and then social. Each individual is continually involved in a succession of joint enterprises with others, which form and shape his [sic] mind" (p. 335).

Similar to Blumer's (1969) third premise that humans are continually interpreting the meanings we have for objects we interact with, Dewey (1973) believes that "the educational process is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming" (p. 491). I have drawn on Dewey to build support for my argument that while on a Raleigh expedition young people are constantly experiencing new activities, in new places, with new people. If this is so, young people are also constantly processing and interpreting old ways of thinking with options for further thinking and acting. This is another reference to the state of internal conflict known as disequilibrium (Nadler & Luckner, 1992) or adaptive dissonance (Walsh & Golins, 1976) referred to in the review of literature.

3.3.2 Discovering or constructing the self?

As a theoretical framework for this investigation, symbolic interactionism must be able to offer an understanding of how venturers' selves discovers their "full potential" on a Raleigh expedition. As a youth development charity, Raleigh is, arguably, in the business of developing people's selves. I

draw upon Mead's (1934) work to explain how venturers' selves are the product of their I responding to the generalised attitudes of the other people on the expedition (the me). This concept illustrates how venturers' attitudes and behaviours are shaped by the people with whom they interact. The generalised other is an "abstract summation" (Rock, 1979) that influences a venturer's actions, as it "represents the forces of conformity and social control" (Ritzer, 1988, p. 299). The strength of this influence depends on the unity and interpersonal connections of the groups that are interacted with (Rock, 1979).

The interaction between an individual and others on a Raleigh expedition is most typically confined to relations within one's project group, consisting of 10 to 12 venturers and two volunteer staff. The members of this primary group have a different relationship between themselves and people outside this group, as their relationships are characterised by not expecting compensation for services rendered to each other and an understanding that the good of the group has greater importance than the needs of one member (Cooley, 1962). Ultimately, "this group is the cell in which characteristically human growth takes place" (Coser, 1971, p. 309). The I and the me, along with the primary group, are concepts vital to understanding the expedition experience, as they imply that a venturer's development of self is founded upon social relations and interactions negotiated during the expedition.

On a more philosophical level, symbolic interactionism explains how venturers' reality is based upon their interpretations of their interactions with other agents. A relativist ontology where reality (and therefore meaning) is not fixed is also congruent with a subjectivist epistemology, where knowledge is based solely on personal experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Blumer (1969) gives an example of this relativist viewpoint in his statement that "a tree will be a different object to a botanist, a lumberman, a poet, and a home gardener" (p. 11). A relativist perspective permits the Raleigh experience to be conceived as being full of social interactions, where individuals are

constructing meaning from their personal interpretations. There appears to be an incongruence between Raleigh's (2003) goal of people discovering their full potential and symbolic interactionism's account of people constructing meaning and identity. It may be helpful to reconsider Raleigh's goal as helping people "construct" their full potential, rather than discover it.

3.3.3 Constructing meaning on expedition

As each individual's interpretation is central to a symbolic interactionist analysis of the expedition experience, it is helpful to look at three ways venturers may interpret their experience: formal reviewing, informal discussion, and reflection. It is common practice for outdoor educators to hold structured discussions before, during, and after activities, in order to help the participants process their experience (Bacon, 1987; Gass, 1990; Greenaway, 1993; Nadler & Luckner, 1992). A common assumption in outdoor education is that activities not complemented by review sessions may offer fewer opportunities for learning than activities with reviewing (Greenaway, 1993; Priest & Gass, 1997; Schoel et al., 1988). Although there may be group discussions on a Raleigh expedition, it is much less common to have formal review sessions, principally because the staff members are not trained group facilitators. Expedition staff are responsible adults who accompany the group, rather than coordinate activities and review sessions that may yield specific, predetermined participant outcomes. This has congruence with the Generative Paradigm (Loynes, 2002), which advocates that the staff and young people share responsibility for shaping the experience. It may be that the strongest network of agents, or those individuals with the strongest lines of articulation, end up having the greatest influence on the rest of the group, regardless of whether they are staff or venturers.

Another example of formal discussion is the one-to-one sessions between venturers and staff, usually held each week on expedition. These discussions centre on the venturers' goals for that phase and how they are going about achieving them. Again, the staff are not there to impose their agenda, but to

support the venturers as they manage their own personal development. A symbolic interactionist would regard these dialogues as a means to clarify the young people's interpretation of their own experiences and to assist them as they construct meanings that will shape their attitudes and behaviours (Blumer, 1969).

While I agree that structured, creative review sessions may enhance learning, they do not have a monopoly on the way people learn through experience, as it is perfectly reasonable for participants in outdoor education programmes to interpret their own experiences through informal dialogue and self-reflection. A symbolic interactionist view supports the idea that through interaction, dialogue, and reflection, meaning is constantly being re-evaluated and re-shaped, as individuals bring their experiences to new situations (Blumer, 1969). In other words, everyone on a Raleigh expedition is constantly reflecting on their experiences, while they are day-dreaming, digging latrines, or chatting to a fellow venturer while fetching water. The concept of meanings constantly being modified is the basis of Blumer's (1969) third premise, and explains how people are continually processing their expedition experience, as these thoughts cannot be consciously suspended until a one-to-one session or group review session takes place.

Raleigh's aim of discovering one's full potential is ambiguous enough for the participant to negotiate what form that full potential will take. Learning that was not predetermined is produced from their experiences and interactions, rather than being derived from a set of targeted outcomes instilled into the participant. The symbolic interactionist may then view the expedition experience as a "dynamic process that allows people to develop the ability to think, to develop in distinctively human ways" (Ritzer, 1988, p. 303). In effect, everyone on a Raleigh expedition is constantly constructing meaning and shaping social life through interaction with themselves, other people, and the conditions in which they find themselves.

3.4 Addressing criticisms of symbolic interactionism

As I have argued, there is not one perfect theoretical framework for every research project, only the most appropriate. While the previous sections have described how symbolic interactionism is the most helpful framework for understanding the expedition experience from a young person's perspective, this next section endeavours to demonstrate that symbolic interactionism provides an adequate account of the power of external structures in society. Although I am aware that other social theories may attend to structural issues more comprehensively, in the context of understanding people's personal expedition experiences I do not believe that this shortcoming is of great significance.

3.4.1 External structures

The first criticism of symbolic interactionism is that it provides inadequate links to external, structural, and institutional variables (Giddens, 1979; Stryker, 1980). While it accounts for personal encounters and constructing meaning through interaction with one's immediate surroundings, it does this at the expense of explaining larger, institutional structures that exist over time, such as governments, schools, and trade unions. Layder (1994) sums up this critique in his statement that, "the weakness of SI is that it does not postulate any connections with these localised, face to face issues and wider, structural features" (p. 74). Similarly, Cohen et al. (2000) explain how critics of interpretive approaches to social research neglect "external - structural – forces to shape behaviour" which leave individual's actions "hermetically sealed from the world outside the participants theatre of activity" (p. 27).

Blumer's (1969) position counters that structures are incapable of interpreting meaning and acting, as humans do. So it follows that individuals – all of whom interpret and act – are at the root of all institutional action.

> A network or an institution does not function automatically because of some inner dynamics or system requirements; it functions because

people at different points do something, and what they do is a result of how they define the situation in which they are called upon to act. (Blumer, 1969, p. 19)

This quotation relates to the first defining feature of symbolic interactionism: the rejection of dualisms. This point is highlighted in Rock's (1979) statement that symbolic interactionism is "simultaneously inside and outside society, individual and collective" (p. 130). The main premise for this viewpoint is that all social life is reducible to the actions of individuals. Collins (1981) explains that "all varieties of macro-structure can be translated into these kinds of aggregations of micro-events" (p. 988). For the symbolic interactionist there is no objective external structure. Structures do exist, but in the form of complex networks of human relationships. Seen this way, society is simply the interlinking of the separate acts of many individuals. Blumer (1969) called this interlinkage "joint action", where the actions of different individuals meet to act towards a common purpose. These "lines of articulation" explain how Raleigh's head office could function, for example. The functioning of larger institutions, like universities, can still be reduced to the actions of each individual within that structure; it is the network of relationships that becomes more complex in nature. Further, the outcomes of joint action depend on the strength of the lines of articulation between the different agents. Blumer (1969) reduces even the largest structural processes to human interpretation:

> Whether the collectivity be an army engaged in a campaign, a corporation seeking to expand its operations, or a nation trying to correct an unfavorable balance of trade, it needs to construct its action through an interpretation of what is happening in its area of operation. (p. 16)

This explanation of how symbolic interactionism accounts for larger structural issues through joint action allows us to see how organisations and

cultural values are produced by human interaction. Traditions, institutions, and ideologies that have existed for generations are given enduring qualities by past joint action influencing current interpretations and actions. Maines (1977) is clear that "there is nothing inherent in the perspective that precludes the analysis of social organizations and social structure" (p. 235). And, despite his criticism of symbolic interactionism, Giddens (1979) does concede that generally speaking, society's participants possess a sophisticated understanding of the social world they inhabit and of the reasons they act in certain ways.

Stryker's (1987; 2000) structural symbolic interactionism perspective is helpful in understanding the complex relationship between individuals and society. Like Cooley (1964), Stryker regards individuals and society as inseparable. Stryker (2000) contends that the most basic proposition of symbolic interactionism is that "society shapes self shapes social behaviour" (p. 26). This structural view of symbolic interactionism places considerable emphasis on the ways in which social structure constrains, but does not determine, human agency (Stryker, 2000). I recognise that venturers on a Raleigh expedition do not construct meaning and make choices independent of social structures. This view is reflected in Beal's (2002) statement that "humans have some degree of freedom, yet we are always constrained by our social context" (p. 357).

Blumer's (1969) perspective does not deny that structural aspects of society influence the individuals that live within it. An important feature in this context is that these influences are not objective external structures, but are networks of other humans, and some of these networks are powerful and have existed for a long time. The social influences upon an individual's self can be considered as "a constellation of diverse generalised others" (Rock, 1979, p. 145). In order to understand how a Raleigh expedition is experienced from a participants view it is only logical that the point of departure for empirical research is the individual. This approach does not

ignore the social forces that influence a person's attitudes and actions, but considers the dialectical relationship of how the individual self is shaped by the same social situations that they have the power to transform (Mead, 1934).

In my efforts to find other interactionists to fortify my claim that this perspective could account for structural issues, I examined Goffman's (1961) work on institutions. Although its basis on the workings of a mental asylum may seem far removed from youth expeditions, it is worthy of discussion as it provides a platform for further discussion on structure and the development of the self.

Goffman (1961) described a total institution as "A place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time together, lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life" (p. xiii). At first glance, a Raleigh experience might fit this description. However, although a Raleigh expedition might involve characteristics of total institutions such as everyone working towards a goal, most facets of an expedition are incongruent with Goffman's model, which postulates being in an inescapable domain, under strict authority, with a 24 hour regimented schedule, with little choice, and restricted social mobility. These defining features of a total institution have obvious congruence with mental asylums, which may aim to strip a person of all agency and the belief that they have any command over their world (Goffman, 1961). This lies in contrast to a Raleigh experience that appears to expose participants to a world of self-determination, autonomy, and freedom of action.

While I reject the notion of Raleigh being an external, authoritative institution that dominates the young venturers, I accept that the activities, physical setting, and social environment of an overseas expedition have considerable influence on the meanings constructed by each participant.

Seen this way, it is conceivable that Raleigh is, to a limited degree, a quasi-institution: the label Goffman (1961) gave to institutions that shared only some of a total institution's characteristics. On expedition, an individual's self is influenced by the amalgamation of the generalised others of the staff team, members of the project group, and inhabitants of the host community. This leaves the Raleigh expedition as a construction site of meaning and identity that is facilitated and constrained by social interaction.

Cooley's (1962) claim that the self and society are twin-born is at the root of understanding the symbolic interactionist framework, which regards the self and society as being heavily intertwined. Rock's (1979) comments imply a reciprocity between institutions and individuals, where "organisations are 'simply' representations which are animated and produced by the people who defer to them" (p. 132). Cohen et al. (2000) sum up this point in their statement that "Individuals interact; societies are made up of interacting individuals. People are constantly undergoing change in interaction and society is changing through interaction" (p. 26).

The interpretive, individualist tradition unashamedly reduces social life to people interpreting, constructing meaning, and acting. This primary tenet enables the symbolic interactionism perspective to account for larger, macro-sociological issues as complex inter-relations between humans. Ultimately, if there are no individuals interacting, interpreting and acting, there is no society: no organisations, values, cultures, or governments.

3.4.2 Power

Another criticism of symbolic interactionism is that it inadequately accounts for aspects of power and domination. As Layder (1994) sums up, "this tendency to miss the 'deeper', less easily observable aspects of economic and political power is a persistent weakness in SI's analyses" (p. 74). My interpretation of power and symbolic interactionism sees power as force that lies within the strength of the lines of articulation between the separate acts of individuals concerned. Humans have the capacity to consciously act in

relation to others' actions (Mead, 1934) while negotiating influential social forces, such as one's primary group, television advertising, or the government.

In the context of Raleigh, the venturers interact with, and are influenced by, their project group, expedition staff, and the host community, to name three examples. The young people appear to have considerable freedom and autonomy within a structure defined by the organisation. Structural symbolic interactionism (Stryker, 1987, 2000) helps to understand how venturers on a Raleigh expedition have the power to shape their experience up to a point that is defined by, or perhaps negotiated with, Raleigh. Even though Raleigh organises the projects, dates, locations, and equipment, these parameters are not forced upon venturers the way an oppressor would control the activities of its subjects. The individual venturers know what the expedition entails before committing to it, and choose to come on the expedition with the understanding that Raleigh has organised a ten-week experience, involving three separate phases, each in a different part of the country, with a new group each time. Just as Raleigh's staff in Ghana organises the expedition structure, networks of volunteer staff and venturers may amass power to challenge the structure laid out for them. This might be done by using different equipment, buying supplementary food, or by sleeping in a community hall rather than in the tents provided, for example.

Loosely planned projects and relatively untrained staff have congruence with aspects of the Generative Paradigm (Loynes, 2002), which posits that "meaning and value emerge within the experience rather than being represented or defined by the programme structure or the facilitator" (p. 122). Loynes also stresses that the facilitator's role is to accompany rather than lead, in a fashion that is egalitarian rather than hierarchical. This lies in contrast to the more common paradigm in outdoor education involving a scientific approach to programming, where course designers include specific activities in order to yield specific outcomes for the participants (Loynes,

1998). The Generative Paradigm's points of emerging meaning and egalitarianism (Loynes, 2002) are congruent with symbolic interactionism's view that meaning is constructed through an interactive and interpretive process (Blumer, 1969).

The issue of power for the symbolic interactionist and for Raleigh can be reduced to the practices of the individual or networks of individuals. In this sense, power does not lie solely within the organisation. Power can be created and exercised by any group of agents that are inclined to coordinate their individual acts in lines of articulation (Blumer, 1969), whether they be Raleigh employees or venturers. Goffman (1983) claims that individuals (venturers on a Raleigh expedition, for example) have the power to influence the structures within which they interact. The phrase "power to influence" is crucial, as it does not imply an absolute power over external sources of power. Rather, it highlights the tension-filled balance between an individual's ability to act autonomously in the face of larger social constraints.

The Raleigh experience is shaped by the young people on the expedition, the volunteer staff, head office in London, the in-country project partners, and the villagers among whom the venturers live and work. Cooley (1966) would consider all of these elements to be part of an organism that is the Raleigh experience. I have chosen to employ a symbolic interactionism framework because it "creates a more active image of the human being and rejects the image of the passive, determined organism" (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 26). Yes, the expedition experience involves power and structure, but these are created by social processes (Blumer, 1969) and negotiated by the individuals and their interpretations, constructed meanings and actions.

Summary

Through this chapter I have outlined how symbolic interactionism is a perspective of social theory that is helpful in understanding the expedition

experience. Ten weeks with Raleigh in a developing nation is a highly personal experience and demands a theoretical framework emphasising the power of the human agent to interpret and make meaning of their interactions with people, inanimate objects, and abstract concepts (Blumer, 1969). Symbolic interactionism rejects objective external structures, seeing all social life in terms of complex networks of human relationships (Blumer, 1969). This explains how expeditions are defined by social processes between the venturers, staff members, and people from the host community. The self is a social product that is constantly being constructed through interaction in these situations. As individuals interpret these interactions they re-examine and modify meaning, which leads to altered ways of thinking and behaving. These concepts permit a deeper analysis of the findings.

The following chapter discusses the research approach and outlines the methods used to collect, interpret, and verify the data.

Chapter Four: Methodology

This chapter has been divided into four sections. The first part examines the philosophical assumptions that form the foundation of the research. Second, I discuss how the symbolic interactionism framework informs the method. The third part describes the case study methodology employed to conduct the research. Finally, I outline the methods used to collect, interpret, and verify the research data. Throughout the chapter I will show how the philosophical foundations, case study approach and methods of inquiry are congruent with the theoretical framework.

4.1 Philosophical foundations

Guba and Lincoln (1994) state that "Questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm" (p. 105). This entire investigation is rooted in four principal beliefs that "shape how the qualitative researcher sees the world and acts in it" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 19). These beliefs form a paradigm, which become the departure point for research – the foundation upon which the theoretical framework, methods, and findings all rest. The four tenets that constitute a constructivist paradigm are: reality is constructed differently by different people, personal experience is the sole source of knowledge, the research occurs in a natural setting, and findings are interpreted by the researcher and verified for accuracy with the participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). These beliefs all support the claim that knowledge is constructed as opposed to discovered (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Stake, 1995). The theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism has congruence with the constructivist paradigm, as they both centre on the personal experience of each participant. In symbolic interactionism, this subjectivity is evident in the interpretation each agent uses to interact with the social, physical and abstract objects that surround them (Blumer, 1969). It has been suggested that the constructivist paradigm is most suited to the

subjective, personal nature of experiential education programmes (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000; Delay, 1996).

A number of qualitative researchers state that objectivity and interpretation-free research is not possible (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Phillips, 1993; Smith, 1988). In order to understand the expedition experience as it is lived by different people, the participants' thoughts must be understood by listening to and interpreting their accounts. The researcher cannot be erased from the process (Humberstone, 1997). Rather than being detached from the data and trying to remain as objective as possible, researchers and informants co-construct knowledge (Delay, 1996; Kvale, 1996; Smith, 1988), whereby researchers become an instrument of the study and the interviewee becomes a co-investigator or collaborator (Stake, 1995). In this sense, the constructivist embraces the investigation's subjectivity, rather than attempting to eradicate it, as this brings the researcher to a deeper understanding of each participant's personal experience. As Schwandt (2000) states "...reaching an understanding is not a matter of setting aside, escaping, managing, or tracking one's own standpoint, prejudgements, biases, prejudices. On the contrary, understanding requires the engagement of one's biases" (p. 195). Similarly, Stake (1995) argues that "subjectivity is not seen as a failing needing to be eliminated but as an essential element of understanding" (p. 45).

Barret and Greenaway (1995) claim that subjectivity has been missing from much of the research in outdoor education. Other researchers in outdoor education have criticised studies employing positivist methods, for they have little congruence with the relativist and subjectivist nature of outdoor education (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000; Barret & Greenaway, 1995; Humberstone, 1996). Barret and Greenaway (1995) state that "The scientific research paradigm employed in most of the research reviewed has been shown to be ill-suited to the task of studying the complex phenomena which constitute the experience of outdoor adventure" (p. 7). A field that focuses on

such personal areas as learning about oneself and one's relationship with others demands methods that are also personal. This means focusing on how each individual experiences similar conditions, as each individual comes to a Raleigh expedition with their own backgrounds, expectations, and goals. There cannot be one measurement of what a person gains from such an experience. Each participant has their own personal expedition experience, and by coming to understand each experience, we can come to understand the expedition experience in more general terms.

McKenzie (2000) suggests that research in outdoor education should employ "qualitative data collection techniques, such as interviews, surveys, and observation, to gather in-depth data, as well as to inductively discover any 'new' program characteristics that may be influencing outcomes" (p. 26). Having discussed the subjective nature of research demanded by outdoor education programmes, I will now outline how subjective approaches to understanding individuals' experiences have congruence with symbolic interactionism.

4.2 Symbolic interactionism and method

As I have said, symbolic interactionism appeals to me because it offers a theoretical perspective for examining issues as well as methods for conducting empirical research. By way of introducing this section I have included a lengthy, but helpful, quotation that outlines Blumer's (1969) thoughts on how symbolic interactionism fulfils the requirements of an empirical science in its capacity.

> ...to confront an empirical world that is available for observation and analysis; to raise abstract problems with regard to that world; to gather necessary data through careful and disciplined examination of that world; to unearth relations between categories of such data; to formulate propositions with regard to such relations; to weave such propositions into a theoretical scheme; and to test the problems, the

data, the relations, the propositions, and the theory by renewed
examination of the empirical world. (Blumer, 1969, p. 48)

With that preface, the following section expands the theoretical framework by
outlining how symbolic interactionism theory informs the method in three
principal ways: doing research in the empirical world, using methods that fit
that specific problem, and interpreting data.

Any method for data collection based on humans interacting in daily life
must also take place in daily life. Reality exists in the empirical world and
that is where research must take place (Blumer, 1969). For young Raleigh
venturers, their reality on expedition was in Ghana, West Africa. That is why
I observed them and interviewed them in the field, as opposed to a
phenomenological methodology, which would have allowed me not to go to
West Africa at all, but merely hear about it afterwards. Beal (2002) suggests
that data used to explain human group life must be found in the everyday
actions of people, as that is where "symbolic reality is created, refined, and
lived out" (p. 360). Further, Layder's (1994) interpretation of symbolic
interactionist methodology stresses the researcher's goal of trying to unravel
"the 'meaningful worlds' of those social groups that are the topic of interest"
(p. 63).

Unlike a laboratory, where conditions can be manipulated to fit the methods,
research in the empirical world demands that the researcher manipulate the
methods to fit the conditions. Doing naturalistic research means that
conditions between different studies are never identical, and accordingly, it
falls on the researcher to decide upon suitable methods, methods that are
"constructed in the light of the nature of the empirical world under study"
(Blumer, 1969, p. 27). In-depth interviews and participant observation are
effective methods for gathering information on how people define their social
situations and use these definitions to inform their actions (Coakley, 1994).

A third way that symbolic interactionism theory informs the methodology lies in how it is founded on humans interpreting the actions of others (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934). As Raleigh venturers interpret their own actions and the actions of others, so do I, as a researcher. My observations of them filling a wheelbarrow full of earth or my taped conversations with them during a lunch break all rely on my interpretation of their actions and their interpretations of events, actions, and thoughts. Interpretation is also part of the research process itself, as the investigator must use their skill vigorously to interpret the experiences of their informants (Stake, 1995). Much of this vigour is derived from the methods of verifying the data, which are addressed later in this chapter.

Cooley believed that "the study of human actions must be concerned with the meanings human actors attribute to the situation in which they find themselves; hence, the study must go beyond a behavioural description" (Coser, 1971, p. 310). In order to investigate these meanings, researchers need to share their participants' "states of mind" (Cooley, 1930, p. 290). These foundational beliefs underpin the choices I have made regarding data collection, interpretation, and verification.

4.3 Case study approach

This section describes the overall approach to the investigation. As well as matching the research paradigm with the philosophical orientation of the phenomenon being studied, it must have congruence with the overall approach to investigating the research problem. I needed to devise a set of methods that would allow me to work within the unique constraints of a Raleigh expedition, as well as effectively help me answer the investigation's aims. Not surprisingly there was not one approach that afforded the freedom of "custom-tailoring" to the conditions.

One example of a methodology that was initially promising, but ultimately inadequate, is phenomenology. While it involves analysing personal

accounts of an experience in order to understand its essence (Colaizzi, 1978; Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989), it looks primarily at the lived experience (Van Manen, 1990), does not use observation in the field, and attempts to be as objective as possible (Polkinghorne, 1989; Van Manen, 1990).

I was intrigued by Geertz' (1973) comment that he did not need "an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning" (p. 5). This led me to consider an ethnographic approach, which views humans as suspended in webs they have spun themselves (Geertz, 1973). Initially, an ethnographic methodology did not seem unreasonable, as I was in the field for a prolonged period of time with data coming primarily from interviews and observations (Creswell, 1998; Spradley, 1980). Still, a purely ethnographic approach was inadequate as even though I was in the field for a long period of time, I was frequently moving between project sites and was not with any one participant for a long period of time.

The best way to tailor my methods to the inquiry was to pick and choose methods from different research traditions. This involves the researcher becoming a *bricoleur* or "handyman" who uses whatever materials, strategies, and methods are at hand in order to piece together a representation of a complex situation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Similarly, Miles and Huberman (1994) state that "research is more a craft than a slavish adherence to methodological rules" (p. 5). This liberating concept of multiple methods made using a case study approach for this research the clear choice. A case study examines a phenomenon that is bounded by time and place (Creswell, 1998), using in-depth data collection from a variety of methods and sources. The strength of the case study research design lies in its "flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry and second to methods for collecting empirical material" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p. 22). Similarly, Stake (2000) makes it clear that case studies are defined by having an interest in a specific case, not by the

research methods. There is a natural symbiosis with symbolic interactionism, as Blumer (1969) states that the researcher's methods should be "constructed in the light of the nature of the empirical world under study" (p. 27). Blumer's (1969) steadfast commitment to flexible approaches to research is evident in his claim that inquiry "is not pinned down to any particular set of techniques" (p. 41).

Using multiple methods involves employing particular methods at appropriate stages of the research process. Although an investigation may be a journey that begins at point A and hopes to finish at point B, there is no set map and the route cannot be predicted. Finding the route along the way is

> ...a tough job requiring a high degree of careful and honest probing, creative yet disciplined imagination, resourcefulness and flexibility in study, pondering over what one is finding, and a constant readiness to test and recast one's views and images of the area. (Blumer, 1969, p. 40)

Even though most research begins with set research questions, Stake (1995) claims that the best research questions actually evolve during the study. This organic research process effectively catered to the evolving nature of this case, which began two months before the expedition and lasted through the ten-week expedition, until six months afterwards. Blumer (1969) referred to this kind of research as exploratory, as it was

> ...a flexible procedure in which the scholar shifts from one line to another of inquiry, adopts new points of observation as his [sic] study progresses, moves in new directions previously unthought of, and changes his [sic] recognition of what are relevant data as he [sic] acquires more information and better understanding. (p. 40)

An evolving research process is certainly an accurate description of my experiences of conducting this investigation. As I was not sure how the research would progress, I had to make decisions as the investigation unfolded. Rather than following a predetermined script, my interpretation of my experiences and interactions shaped my actions. This continual interpretation of the case is never-ending and evolves "even in the last phases of writing" (Stake, 2000, p. 441). This evolution was present throughout the writing process, as my interpretations progressed until I submitted the thesis, and still continue today.

Another benefit to using flexible methods of inquiry is that the researcher may pursue unforeseen issues that arise over the course of the study, while following those issues that surround the aims of the study. Stake (1995) refers to themes brought to the case by the researcher as *etic* themes and those brought to the case by the participants as *emic* issues. In this investigation, the etic themes are related to the outcomes and elements of an overseas youth expedition, such as being self-sufficient in an unfamiliar environment. The emic themes are those that emerge through the course of the investigation as "issues of the actors, the people who belong to the case" (Stake, 1995, p. 20). As I began the research process I was clear on the general themes that I wanted to investigate, as they interested me and were theoretically relevant. As Stake (2000) says, "case researchers enter the scene expecting, even knowing, that certain events, problems, and relationships will be important" (p. 441). I was very open to exploring issues which were important to the young people I was working with. Investigating both emic and etic issues gave me the best of both worlds; I could investigate themes I was interested in, while letting the inquiry take its own direction – an evolving process guided by the participants.

Interviews can be especially effective if they are more of a conversation around issues or themes, rather than a question and answer session stemming from a scripted interview protocol (Kvale, 1996; Stake, 1995). At

the outset of each interview I would propose three or four issues that I wanted to discuss with the participant. This made for a free flowing, natural dialogue, which made it easier for people to share their thoughts. In most cases, the informants' issues surfaced quite naturally during discussions. At the end of our interviews I would ensure that participants had the opportunity to raise any other issues, thoughts, or questions that had come to them during the interview itself.

4.4 Methods

The next section of the chapter refers to methods – the practical techniques used to collect, interpret and verify empirical material. The methods are informed by a constructivist paradigm, a theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism, and a case study methodology.

4.4.1 Data collection

As a point of departure for the methods section, I address the ethical issues involved in social science research, as they must be considered long before any data collection may begin.

Ethics

Stake (2000) sees the naturalistic researcher's role as a sensitive and privileged one, where they are "guests in the private spaces of the world", which demands that "their manners should be good and their code of ethics strict." (p. 447). Being a guest in people's private worlds can involve a degree of tension, as the investigator's efforts to maximise potential contributions to the body of knowledge one is researching may result in physical and/or psychological damage to the study participants (Cohen et al., 2000). Cohen et al. (2000) advocate placing priority on the welfare of the participants "even if it involves compromising the impact of the research" (p. 58). An example of this is when visiting some waterfalls on the expedition, I strongly advised two venturers not to climb the adjacent rock face, as they could have killed themselves if they had fallen. Although I interfered and altered their actions,

it would have been unethical to let them climb, as I recognised the hazards and they did not.

This investigation followed three principle guidelines for human research: informed consent, confidentiality, and consequences (Kvale, 1996). Informed consent refers to participants participating voluntarily and being able to withdraw without penalty. Confidentiality means that private data identifying the participants will not be included. The third guideline involves making participants aware of any possible risks or benefits associated with their participation. All participants read, understood, and signed a consent form. The one participant under 18 had his consent form co-signed by his father. A copy of the consent form is included in Appendix B.

The second guideline of confidentiality is not unproblematic, as even the best attempts to use pseudonyms and disguise locations may be recognised by others involved in the study (Christians, 2000). To maximise the degree of confidentiality, Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992) propose several techniques. The main technique I employed was to avoid specific *identifiers* that would make someone's identity obvious to anyone else on the Raleigh expedition. In practice this meant not stating details about a person's life, such as the university they attended or the town they lived in. I used pseudonyms and minimised identifiers when writing the participant profiles in Appendix A. The same pseudonyms are used in the findings chapters.

Van Manen (1990) discusses how investigators must be aware of the far-reaching effects that research involving interviews may have. He warns that the research process may have a lingering or transformative effect on the researchers, participants, institutions, and even some people on the periphery (Van Manen, 1990). These matters were negotiated by alerting the study participants and the expedition staff to the possibility that the investigative process may somehow affect them in ways that could not be foreseen. I was certainly aware that this project would have an impact on my

life, as it was unrealistic to think that I could retain any distance from what was happening around me; on the contrary, if I had not become deeply involved with the study participants and all those affiliated with Raleigh, the research would have suffered. Data verification techniques (described below) such as investigator triangulation and peer review served to temper any undue research bias that may have stemmed from the strong relationships I had with many of the informants.

One ethical problem I foresaw was that of my informants disclosing sensitive information about their past during our interviews. I knew as my relationship with the 14 participants evolved, so too would a degree of familiarity and comfort, which might result in some young people wanting to share some of their troubles with an adult they had come to trust. Over my career as an outdoor instructor this topic has been part of numerous in-house training sessions I have attended. If an informant is about to share information that involves themselves or others being physically endangered, the adult must inform them of their duty to pass this on to the organisation's administrators. This way, the informant can decide if they want to continue with the disclosure. The difficulty lies in making these conditions clear early on, so that interviewees can choose not to share this information. As it turned out, I heard about some substance abuse (mostly in the past), but nothing involving physical, sexual, or emotional abuse. Although case studies involve an intense interest in the lives of the study participants (Stake, 2000), being privy to such sensitive information demands that researchers preserve the dignity of their participants and put their well-being as the first priority of the study (Christians, 2000; Cohen et al., 2000). Once I had established ethical guidelines, the next task was to recruit some participants.

Sampling

Purposive sampling is a method of choosing participants that best serve the aims of the study (Cohen et al., 2000). This type of sampling allowed me to

handpick 15 informants who represented a wide variety of personal backgrounds. While recognising that this method of choosing participants is "deliberately and unashamedly selective and biased" (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 104) it was the most suitable, given the large amount of venturer diversity on Raleigh expeditions. Cooley (1969) recognised how one could use "the knowledge thus gained in synthetic interpretation of larger social wholes" by establishing "well-chosen samples, as in studies of individual persons, of typical local or institutional conditions" (p. 307).

Four months before the expedition was set to leave for Ghana, invitations to participate in the study were sent to all of the young people coming on the expedition (see invitation letter in Appendix B). I also attended an information session with venturers at the Raleigh head office, where I asked for informants. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) suggest that qualitative researchers need to "select persons or settings that we think may represent the range of the experience on the phenomenon in which we are interested" (p. 57). In order to reflect a cross section of the UK venturers on expedition, my aim was to choose 16 people from the ages of 17 to 25 years old, half of whom were YDP venturers and half who were self-funders, with an even gender split. I reiterate that this was not a positivist study that relied on a high sample size in order to boost validity, but was a case study that benefited from a small but varied sample to gain a greater understanding of one case.

The rationale for choosing 16 people was twofold. First, I wanted to limit the total number of participants so that I might get to know their stories and hear their thoughts in greater depth than if I had to interview and observe 50 participants. Still, I wanted to have enough participants so that I could hear from people who fulfilled the different criteria as outlined above. As Stake (1995) said about choosing cases, "balance and variety are important; opportunity to learn is of primary importance" (p. 6). I chose not to use international and host country venturers for this investigation in order to focus more clearly on British young people who leave the UK, experience a

challenging ten weeks of activity in a foreign culture, and then return home to their original community. Rather than focus on what the "Raleigh experience" is in general, I aimed to narrow down the kinds of participants, so that I might conduct the research to a greater depth and ultimately come to know much more about the majority of the venturers: those from the UK.

By the time I conducted the first interviews I only had 15 informants in place, as I had one less male self-funder than anticipated. There were three male self-funders with an age range of 17 to 25 years old, four female self-funders with an age range of 18 to 23 years old, four male YDPs with an age range of 20 to 23 years old, and four female YDPs with an age range of 18 to 26 years old. After the first round of interviews, one male YDP did not come on expedition because he and his social workers deemed he was not ready. At the start of the expedition I was left with a total of 14 informants: Eight female and six male. One male YDP venturer left the expedition after five weeks on his own volition – he was terribly homesick. This same person was eager to participate in a final interview with me, and so missed only one of the five meetings. One female YDP venturer preferred to not be interviewed a fifth time as she said she "had a really difficult few months of family problems" when she got back from expedition and did not want to talk about that. A description of each participant is in Appendix A.

A smaller sample size with a wide variety of ages and backgrounds was congruent with the symbolic interactionism framework, as it allowed me to get to know each participant more fully. Since I understood a considerable part of the personal circumstances that they brought to the expedition, I was able to interpret their expedition experience at a deeper level. A deeper comprehension of their thoughts and interactions with others helped me gain a better understanding of the case. Having a familiarity with each person and their individual story was a factor that enabled the interpretive nature of the research to be stronger, as opposed to an element of the methodology that should be minimised or eliminated (Stake, 1995). Now that I have explained

how I came to have 14 willing informants, I shall turn to the specific methods used to collect the data.

Interviews

Primary data collection was in the form of five sets of formal, open-ended, recorded interviews with 14 informants. The decision to rely heavily on interviews was made for two reasons. First, few research studies in the field of outdoor education have focused on hearing the stories of the participants who are living, or have lived, the experience in question (Barret & Greenaway, 1995). This approach is advocated by Patterson et al. (1998), whose hermeneutic research involved collecting data through "open-ended first hand descriptions of the experience rather than through the use of some predetermined operational model" (p. 445). For Blumer (1969), interviews are an effective way to collect empirical data on how people interpret their social situations and how the meanings they develop inform their subsequent actions. The second reason for using interviews was a natural extension of symbolic interactionism, as my conversations with the informants – our interaction – would help us both make meaning from the expedition experience. This is supported by Mishler (1986) who states that interviews provide the basis for "a direct interpretation of a complex unit of social interaction, in comparison to the standard approach where such inferences are based on decontextualised bits and pieces" (p. 241).

Each interview was conducted one-on-one in as secluded a setting as possible, to maximise privacy and minimise disruption. All interviews were transcribed verbatim into a notebook in the field, and then on to a computer file. The first interview took place at a three-day Challenge Workshop at a residential camp in Kidderminster (rural Birmingham) two months before leaving the UK. The Challenge Workshop exists to help prepare people for the expedition (for example, what equipment to bring and what to expect) and for the young people to get to know each other.

The second, third, and fourth interviews took place once during each three-week phase of the expedition. Having consulted with Raleigh staff, it seemed most appropriate to conduct the interviews on the project sites, as opposed to during the two change-over day stretches between phases. During these change-over periods participants would be distracted and less interested in talking to a researcher in the little free time they had. Once in Ghana, the 14 participants spread out among five of the nine project groups. During each of the three phases I travelled around the country in a Landrover with a Ghanaian Raleigh staff driver and often with another staff member. We spent two nights at each of the five project sites. In most cases we would arrive at the project site in the afternoon, and do what ever the group was doing (playing football, working, cooking) until mid-morning the next day. At this time one of my participants and I would excuse ourselves and find quiet place to talk. After the interview I would transcribe the recording, take a break, then interview another informant.

The final interviews took place at various locations in the UK in June 2003, six months after the expedition. They took place in cafés and parks – always a quiet comfortable place of the participant's choosing. Those venturers who live outside London were given the choice of my coming to visit them or them travelling to London, with their train fare paid by Raleigh.

All formal interviews were recorded on a small, handheld dictation machine. Each interview was recorded on its own dedicated mini-cassette. I deliberately attempted to create an atmosphere of informality during the interviews. First, I would start talking about something unrelated to the topics that we wanted to discuss – usually something amusing and topical that was happening on the project. This served to put the interviewee at ease and help them forget there was a tape recorder nearby. It was remarkable how unfazed participants were by the presence of a machine recording their words. This was consistent with the pilot project where participants showed no inhibition whatsoever.

The decision to do five rounds of interviews was predicated on the rites of passage model. As I indicated in Chapter Two, during the early stages of my research studies, van Gennep's (1960) three stage rites of passage model played an integral part. As I wanted this model to inform my methodology, I needed to interview the informants before they went on expedition, during expedition, and once they had returned to the UK. Furthermore, since the expedition itself was a large part of the research focus, it seemed logical to interview each of the 14 participants during each of the three phases: hence, five interviews.

Despite rites of passage no longer being a major aspect of my research, the interview structure remained ideal, as I still wanted to hear people's thoughts before, during, and after the experience, with particular emphasis on the expedition itself. Logistically, I would not have been able to interview people more often than I did while on expedition. If I had done just one interview with each participant I would have needed to go to Ghana for only two weeks. Had I had done that, I fear I would not have got the "feel" of expedition life, with all its changes in group dynamics, location, and project activities.

Observation and informal conversation

Having a deep familiarity with the phenomena being investigated is of no small importance (Stake, 1995). Similarly, Blumer (1969) states that "no theorizing, however ingenious, and no observance of scientific protocol, however meticulous, are substitutes for developing a familiarity with what is actually going on in the sphere of life under study" (p. 39). Besides talking to people and taking notes on my observations, I needed to be immersed in the experience – living the experience – to gain a deeper understanding of the case. Rock (1979) claims that participant observation is "perhaps the pivotal strategy of interactionism" (p. 178). I was aware that participant observation can influence the social situation the researcher is immersed in (Spradley, 1980), and I knew that participants might think and act differently with the

researcher present (Mayo, 1933). In general, I endeavoured to be unobtrusive while playing a moderately active role within the group. I wanted to participate in the group's activities without bringing any undue attention to myself. My observations and discussions with staff and venturers assured me that my presence on the project sites was sufficiently unthreatening and informal.

I want to emphasise the importance of observation in this study, even though the interviews represented the more formal aspects of the data collection and interpretation. Sometimes subconscious observations register in the mind and are then compared to the data from the interviews, in a gradual, reflective process (Stake, 1995). In this sense, observations become a form of triangulation for the interviews. In practice, my notebook was full of questions based on my observations and ponderings, rather than purely observations. By meshing together observations and interviews, new questions and issues emerge and conflicting data can be examined more deliberately, ultimately leading to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon being researched. Similarly, unrecorded informal interviews with the participants and non-participants all help the researcher gain a greater understanding of the case (Stake, 1995).

Another source of secondary data was my interaction with non-study participants, or more clearly, people who were affiliated to Raleigh but were not part of my focus group of informants. Unlike a phenomenological approach where researchers are expected to suspend their beliefs and focus entirely on what the informant is telling them (Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989), my case study approach involved considering perspectives from people who were on the periphery. Epistemologically, it was unjustifiable to cast aside or ignore other viewpoints that I had heard or seen, as they had relevance to the research. This was information that I had come to know and could not be disregarded or suspended in an objectivist tradition.

Peripheral information most often came in the form of informal conversation with the expedition staff and other venturers while on expedition, and head office staff before and after expedition. This additional source of data meant that my thoughts were being interpreted and re-interpreted even after I had felt the findings were firmly established. This is similar to Blumer's (1969) third premise that the meanings one has are in a constant state of interpretation. My interactions with volunteer staff members, head office staff, and other venturers became a form of both additional data and triangulation, which enabled me to develop a clearer overview of the expedition experience. This informal data collection, along with the interviews and observations, left me with an enormous amount of information that required organising and analysing. Once I had collected the data, I needed to make some sense of it.

4.4.2 Data interpretation

Stake argues that qualitative researchers, "perceive what is happening in key episodes or testimonies, and represent happenings with their own direct interpretation and stories" (1995, p. 40). In the world of naturalistic research, and specifically case study research, there are no set rules for collecting and analysing data (Creswell, 1998; Kvale, 1996; Van Manen, 1990). Broadly speaking, my interpretation of 69 interviews, ten weeks of observation, and countless informal discussions, relies heavily on "greatly subjective" work that involves "thinking about it as deeply as I can" (Stake, 1995, p. 77). Although part of the interpretation involves *categorical aggregration* – a collection of instances of a particular theme (Stake, 1995) – the qualitative researcher "concentrates on the instance, trying to pull it apart and put it back together again more meaningfully" (Stake, 1995, p. 75). Furthermore, although I had identified common themes that could be "meaningfully organized, interpreted, and presented" (Patterson et al., 1998), I needed to accept that my verified interpretations could still have differences

with other researchers' interpretations of the same data. This points to the case's individuality and not the reproducibility of the research (Stake, 1995).

The concept of interpretation intrigues me greatly. How can such a subjective process yield findings that can be considered trustworthy? I remain impressed by Stake's (1995) passionate plea: "It is my integrity as a researcher that I beg to be recognized, that my interpretations be considered" (p. 76). Once I understood that qualitative data analysis centres on the researcher's personal interpretation, it was then my duty as an interpreter to go about my research with as much rigour as possible. I felt I could defend my choice to be an interpreter with the support of many qualitative researchers (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 2000; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Merriam, 1988; Schwandt, 2000; Silverman, 2000; Stake, 1995; Van Manen, 1990; Wolcott, 1994). Nevertheless, the role of the qualitative researcher comes with the important responsibility of exercising caution and judgement during the processes of collecting, analysing, and presenting data (Stake, 1995; Wolcott, 1994).

Early on I made the decision not to use a computer programme, such as NUDIST, to manage and analyse my data. This was made for two reasons. First, even though 69 interviews appears sizeable, it was a smaller quantity of data than some researchers I have met possess. My data were already made more manageable by being in staggered lots from the five sets of interviews. These lots were examined one at a time. The second reason is that several people who had recently completed PhDs with the assistance of programmes such as NUDIST and ETHNOGRAPH explained to me that using the computer to interpret the transcripts had somehow removed the "soul" and "human-ness" from the process. I have made a case for subjectivity in the research process and I did not want to dilute this argument.

The inductive approach that I adopted was not copied from someone else's tried and true method for interpreting interviews. This was not because I did

not want to use an established method; it was simply because there is no history of expedition-based interview research being done over the course of a year. If there was not an existing method for analysing five rounds of interviews that I felt was congruent with the rest of my research process, I would have to tailor my own methods of interpreting these interviews – a patchwork comprised from others' methods. I took great care during this process, as I was keenly aware that "the strengths of qualitative data rest very centrally on the competence with which their analysis is carried out" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 10). The most useful solution was to create my own situation-specific method of analysing interviews. Designing a tool to interpret interviews relied on developing my own system of coding, derived from thematic analysis (Boyatzis 1998) and phenomenology (Colaizzi, 1978; Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989).

So how does one make the journey from hundreds of pages of transcripts to several themes that form the pillars of one's findings? Again, in my case the process was inherently simplified as I was unable to analyse all the interviews at once. Since there were five rounds of interviews over eleven months, I was able to concentrate initially on the 14 at hand, before comparing them to previous data. As I read the interviews over and over I would take steps, not unlike those used in phenomenological analysis, where I would highlight meaningful phrases which would then be clustered together in themes (Colaizzi, 1978; Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989). In case studies the same process is referred to as categorical aggregation: "the aggregation of instances until something can be said about them as a class" (Stake, 1995, p. 74). This method fitted with my desire to let themes emerge and become defined during the research process. While I felt categorical aggregation as the sole technique of data analysis might be adequate, I wanted to use a more systematic approach.

Boyatzis (1998) claims that developing specific codes for qualitative data lends structure and consistency to research on people, organisations, and

events. These codes are "tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). The structure I sought came in the form of themes that I developed during the course of the study, using a technique called thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998). As similar statements arose during my readings of the transcriptions I gave them a collective label and a definition. This tag, as I called it, could then be written beside highlighted statements that were evidence of the same theme. Furthermore, these tags could be counted to give a rough idea of how many people had similar thoughts. More than just a tool to get data ready to present in a neat and tidy format, coding is an ongoing process that drives the data collection process (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

As I read and re-read the interview transcripts, I highlighted phrases that I deemed meaningful - that in itself "invoking the privilege and responsibility of interpretation" (Stake, 1995, p. 12). In an example from the data, the phrase "Frank is a nice guy" would not be considered a meaningful phrase, as it bears little relevance to the expedition. On the contrary, someone saying, "I miss my first phase group so much" would get highlighted as it might indicate that the person was struggling with being separated from the group they were part of for the first four weeks of the expedition. If this theme of having feelings of separation from the first phase group came up with several people, then I would make up a theme to reflect this. It would be given a label, a description, an example of a positive indicator, and a tag. From then on, a tag of "sep 1" could be scribbled beside any statement in someone's transcript that was a positive indicator of that theme. This process is very similar to phenomenological research where one highlights and extracts meaningful phrases and then clusters these phrases into themes (Colaizzi, 1978; Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989). Two examples of coded interview transcripts are in Appendix F.

Further structure was given to the process by constructing a table with the headings M, F, YD, and SF, which stood for male, female, youth development, and self-funder, respectively. This way if a female self-funder had one or more positive indicators of a theme a check could be put in the box. The aim of this was not to be able to make statements such as "four out of four female self-funders missed their first phase group", but to highlight any trend that I might not have noticed. This way I could pursue the theme more closely in the next round of interviews. Table 1 is an example of coding after the second round of interviews.

Table 1. Example of coding

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		Y D	S F
Elements	Venturer diversity	Living and working with YDP, FR, HCV, and IV	*It's so cool that all of us are so different*	Div	M	1	2
					F	1	2
	Service	Feels good/important to help others	*It's great to be helping these people*	Serv	M	1	1
					F	1	
	Good group	Likes positive influence of group	*I think our group is the best...we all get along*	Group	M	1 X	1 X
					F	3	3
	Hard/ challenging	Expedition life will push/test them	*Living out here – working, cooking, etc... it's really tough*	Hard	M	2	2
					F	3 X	2
	Cultural exchange	See/discuss how other people live, work, believe	*I love talking to the Ghanaians about what they believe*	Cult	M	2	1
					F	3	1

The above example shows how in the venturer diversity theme, positive indicators were found in the transcripts of one male YDP, two male self-funder, one female YDP, and two self-funder venturers. Note that in the good group theme there are crosses in the YD/SF grid. These Xs indicate that one male YDP and one male SF participant did not feel that their group was a positive influence on them – a negative indicator of the good group. As the number of themes increased it became helpful to place the themes into

similar groups or categories, on the far left of the table (Elements). The tables from each round of interviews are in Appendix E.

All of these themes prompted questions and issues that I discussed with third party individuals (see verification below) between each round of interviews. This discussion would leave me with three or four emic areas that I would pursue during the next round of interviews. The following interview would seek feedback regarding the accuracy of my interpretation and go on to explore the co-constructed themes in greater depth. This process helped me gain a greater understanding of the meanings venturers had modified and constructed through their interactions with various social, physical, and abstract objects. Similar to the hermeneutic approach used by Patterson et al. (1998) the researcher and the participants continue examining and developing the themes to greater depths until they are satisfied that the interpreted text adequately serves the aims of the investigation. This synthesis and interpretation of data was an ongoing process in the form of five cycles that followed each of the five interviews. After interpreting each round of interviews I then had to verify that my interpretations were accurate and trustworthy.

4.4.3 Data verification

All the best data interpretation cannot be considered trustworthy unless it is subjected to methods of checking and balancing, collectively known as verification. As this investigation is qualitative and does not use statistics, I have made a very deliberate decision to avoid common positivist terms such as validity and reliability. Rather, I have opted to employ words more suitable to interpretivist inquiry such as trustworthiness, credibility, and dependability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) to explain the confidence that I have in the data with regard to the claims and generalisations that I will make.

Schwandt's (2000) assertion that "there is never a finally correct interpretation" (p. 195), helped me understand that my interpretations would

not be quite the same as anyone else's, and that this was acceptable. More specifically, this was only acceptable if my interpretation was rigorous in nature and had been exposed to the scrutiny of others. This scrutiny from discussing the emerging findings with others during the research process is an attempt to get closer to the "truth" by examining converging accounts of the same data (Allison & Pomeroy, 2000; Stake, 1995). Member checks, investigator triangulation, peer review are three common tools employed to increase the credibility of qualitative research (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 1988).

Member checks involve the researcher discussing their interpretation of the interviews with each participant. Member checks are common in almost all types of naturalistic, interview-based inquiry (Merriam, 1988; Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989; Stake, 1995; Van Manen, 1990) and have been called the most crucial of all verification procedures (Merriam, 1988). Each interview session began with an examination of my account of our previous interview, during which participants had the opportunity to comment on and amend my interpretation of our conversation. The very last member check, after the fifth interview, was different in that I did not meet with each participant. To verify the accuracy of my interpretations I sent each participant a photocopy of the interview transcript that I had used for the analysis and that was full of my highlights, comments, and tags. With this transcript I also sent a summary of the main themes that I felt were reflected during our conversation. Participants had the option to return any comments within a stamped and addressed envelope that I provided.

The second method employed to increase the credibility of the findings was investigator triangulation, which involves a colleague interpreting a transcribed interview, then comparing notes on the main issues they found (Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995). This helps to ensure that the researcher does not bring too much personal bias to the investigation. Three individuals helped me with investigator triangulation. One was a volunteer staff member on expedition, which permitted us to have meetings after I had done my

preliminary analysis of the interviews. She would analyse one of the interviews using her own system of coding and then we would compare notes for consistencies and inconsistencies. The other investigator triangulators were a male and a female staff member at Raleigh head office in London. Together we met five times in the months that followed the expedition, going through a similar protocol. Nameless transcripts helped to ensure the investigator triangulators did not know the identity of the person I was speaking with. The investigator triangulators provided clarity and confirmation to the conclusions I was drawing, as well as offering direction to where the next probe into the data might venture.

A third method of verification I used was called peer review. Peer review involves the researcher discussing their findings with colleagues (Merriam, 1988). In my case I relied on senior staff members within Raleigh International. While on the expedition, this person was the Ghana Country Director, and while in London, I met with Raleigh's Director of Development. In both cases, I was able to present my current, overall findings, in an informal setting, to someone with a deep, long-term professional relationship with Raleigh. They both appreciated being part of the research process, and through our conversations, I felt I was able to consolidate my understanding of what I'd found and what I needed to do next. Peer review was particularly helpful in identifying which themes should be included in the findings. As so many themes emerged, my peer reviewers were able to assist me in highlighting those themes that were particularly strong in terms of theoretical relevance to literature in outdoor education, and in organisational relevance to Raleigh.

4.5 Generalisation

Generalisability has been defined as "the degree to which the findings are applicable to other populations" (Ryan & Bernard, 2000, p. 786). Schofield (1993) explains that a growing number of qualitative studies are being structured in a way that increases their ability to help people understand

other situations. Furthermore, Stake (2000) states that most academic researchers studying cases clearly expect generalisability to other cases. Although I hope theorists and field staff will be able to generalise from my findings, generalisation has not been my primary goal and has not been the driving force behind the research design. My intention has been to concentrate on conducting research that is highly rigorous. I draw support from Schofield (1993) who states that

> The goal is not to produce a standardized set of results that any other careful researcher in the same situation or studying the same issues would have produced. Rather it is to produce a coherent, illuminating description and perspective on a situation that is based on and consistent with detailed study of that situation. (p. 93)

In discussing my thesis with seasoned social scientists, one question that has been raised repeatedly is "How strongly will you make claims from these data?". The way I approached my research, and ultimately the claims I am making, was to make stronger claims about more specific phenomena (Silverman, 2000), as opposed to making sweeping statements about a broad subject. With this in mind, certain generalisations may be made from the research findings despite its small database (Stake, 1995). It is not uncommon to make smaller *petite* generalisations about one case in a particular situation, providing the researcher has taken steps to validate their work (Stake, 1995). For example, the issues and implications for the particular Raleigh expedition that I followed may be applicable to other Raleigh expeditions to Ghana, and possibly to other countries where they operate, whereas *grande* generalisations about expeditions run by different organisations may be completely unfounded. I followed common advice to newcomers in naturalistic research, and that is to be cautious with one's claims and generalisations (Silverman, 2000; Stake, 1995; Wolcott, 1994).

From Kennedy's (1979) perspective, the key to generalisation rests with the reader of the research report and not the researcher. In this sense, the onus is on the reader to extract points that they judge to be useful to their own practice. Kennedy (1979) states that generalisations

> ...should be made by those individuals who wish to apply the evaluation findings to their own situations. That is, the evaluator should produce and share the information, but the receivers of the information must determine whether or not it applies to their own situation. (p. 662)

Rigorous and careful data collection and interpretation will permit me to draw conclusions that will benefit the practitioners in the field and build on the existing body of outdoor education theory. Some of my findings regarding the elements, outcomes and processes involved in a Raleigh expedition may be directly applicable to programmes run by other organisations offering overseas expeditions, despite differing destinations, aims and lengths. Some findings will also be of use to other outdoor education programmes, whether they are expedition or residential-based.

Summary

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) claim that all research is interpretive, whether it is qualitative or quantitative. Stake (1995) states more forcefully that the need for researchers to exercise subjective judgement while they analyse and synthesise data is imperative. During this chapter I have demonstrated that the methods I employed to answer the aims of the investigation are congruent with a constructivist paradigm and a theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism. The methods used to collect, interpret and verify the data highlight the importance I have placed on understanding how each individual constructs meaning from the social situations they found themselves in. Interviews and participant observation offered two suitable ways to collect empirical data on expeditions. The data were then carefully

analysed with techniques from phenomenology and thematic analysis. Finally, peer review, investigator triangulation, and member checks served to verify the data for accuracy and trustworthiness. My intention has been to persuade the reader that this interpretive process of investigating the research problem is trustworthy and that the findings outlined in the following chapters will be given full consideration.

The next four chapters represent the findings from this investigation. Chapter Five examines participants' reasons for coming on the expedition. Chapter Six discusses how they were influenced by their experience in Africa. Chapter Seven distils the elements of the experience that elicited the outcomes in the previous chapter. Finally, Chapter Eight explores the ways in which participants processed their expedition experience.

Chapter Five: Hopes

The first of four findings chapters explores the different reasons that venturers had for going on expedition. Understanding the reasons people came on expedition sets the groundwork for a discussion about how people's hopes compared to their reported outcomes. This chapter is based entirely on conversations I had with the 14 informants at the Challenge Workshop, two months before they went on the expedition. The answers to the question "Why did you come on the expedition?" are many and varied, and have importance for two reasons. First, these answers can be compared with participants' thoughts on how they were influenced by the experience. Similarly, people's reasons for going on expedition can be compared to Raleigh's organisational aims. The nine themes that emerged under venturers' hopes are classified into three categories: themes pertaining to one's self, to relationships with other people, and to society in a broader context.

5.1 Self

The findings yielded three reasons related to the self that venturers had for going on the expedition. People sought an overall growth, to increase their self-confidence, and to enhance their careers.

5.1.1 Overall growth

A number of people had come on the expedition hoping they would undergo a broad personal transformation, something which they felt could not be reduced to a phrase such as "gain self-esteem" or "become a better leader". This notion of overall growth through participating in a Raleigh expedition was clear to Gordo before he left for Ghana: "I thought I could do something really good with my gap year that would help me grow up and be more independent – so I'd appreciate uni and enjoy it because I'm more grown up and mature". Similarly, Roni felt that this experience would be full of

learning and growth. This was reflected in her statement: "I feel like I've got to learn more about myself...a lot to grow". Friio's comment indicated that he believed the Raleigh expedition would be an experience unlike anything he had ever come across and would alter the direction of his life. His main reason for joining the Raleigh expedition was "to see how the experience of a lifetime can change my life".

These three quotations are consistent with my informal conversations with other venturers who, before leaving the UK, were looking for some amorphous, overall personal growth and felt sure this could be gained from a ten-week expedition with Raleigh. It appears that for these venturers, personal growth and the development of the self held similar meanings to discovering one's full potential. Similar to Dewey's (1973) and Whitehead's (1929) claims, venturers were seeking growth that was not going to be found through learning inert concepts for the sake of it. Rather, Raleigh venturers were seeking a "growth experience" that would lead to further personal development. One kind of growth that may affect many aspects of a person's life is increased self-confidence.

5.1.2 Increase self-confidence

My pilot study (Beames, 2003a) showed that developing confidence and self-esteem were the major reasons for prospective YDP venturers wanting to go on a Raleigh expedition. My conversations with participants before they left for Ghana are consistent with the findings of the pilot study, in that both YDP and self-funder venturers were hoping to finish the expedition with more self-confidence than when they started.

Lily was convinced that the Raleigh expedition would help her confidence "big time". Similarly, Rufus felt he needed to "pick up more self-worth, boost my self-esteem. People tell me I don't really need that, but I need to gain some more confidence". Nonnie told me "I want to develop myself – become more confident". All of these quotations are from people who appeared to be

unsatisfied with their present selves and sought to construct a stronger self by participating in a Raleigh expedition. Just as interaction with physical, social, and abstract objects leads to modified meanings of these objects (Blumer, 1969), the novel situations that venturers found themselves in on expeditions provided opportunities to re-interpret their identities. In this sense, a venturer's self is another object whose meaning can be modified.

Being exposed to new social situations was an important aspect of the Raleigh expedition for Roni. She explained how she needed to get away from her current social circumstances, as her self was not developing in this overly familiar environment.

> What's happened with me is that I've gotten too used to my comfort zone, too used to sitting around, staying in one spot – being in my familiar surroundings. It gets scary to then step out the longer you stay in it. The more I start dipping my feet out, the better it will get for me – the more beneficial it will be for me as a person. (Roni)

I am intrigued by the great depth to which people have examined their own lives and personalities. These venturers assessed their strengths and weaknesses and decided that a Raleigh expedition would address these weaknesses – lack of self-confidence in particular. Aside from terms such as self-confidence and self-esteem, the underlying message in the above four quotations is that venturers were hoping to gain confidence that would enable them to take risks they felt afraid to take, for fear of failure. The above respondents were both self-funded and YDP venturers, so this need is not restricted to one category of venturer. Another point that intrigues me is how both Rufus and Roni use terms such as self-worth and comfort zone. The investigator triangulators and I speculated that these terms may have been learned from social and educational programmes the venturers were involved in before the expedition. Terms such as self-confidence, self-esteem, leadership, communication, and teamwork were widely used on the five pre-

expedition residential programmes that I attended. Of these programmes, two were for YPD, one was for self-funders, one was for both YDPs and self-funders, and one was for expedition staff. Having discussed the themes of overall personal growth and increased self-confidence, I now address the last theme under the self category: how people hoped the expedition would have a positive impact on their careers.

5.1.3 Career enhancement

A strong reason people decided to go on a Raleigh expedition was the hope that by putting "participated in Raleigh International expedition to Ghana" on their CV, they would improve their chances of finding employment after the expedition. A desire to increase employment marketability from participating in an overseas youth expedition is consistent with the reported outcomes of previous research (Kennedy, 1992). In the current study, it was evident that after the expedition, Maria wanted her CV to show that she was a responsible person who had some experience teaching at an African primary school. Maria stated, "I think I'd like to get into child care when I come back – that [Raleigh] would look good on my CV". Tracy's thoughts were on two levels, as she genuinely wanted to increase her self-confidence, but was also very clear about her plan to discuss the Raleigh expedition during her air force interview.

> I want to be an officer in the air force and you need to be really confident and I'm not that confident at the moment. An experience like going to Ghana would increase my confidence. I would sound good at the interview – have quite a lot to say about what I'd done. So, to have something to talk about at the interview and to build my confidence – it's a two-way thing. (Tracy)

Both Maria and Tracy hoped to improve their chances of being offered a job by presenting a front that they thought would appeal to their audience, in this case a prospective employer. A Goffmanesque (1990) perspective would

suggest that the actors wanted to be able to project to the audience those character traits that would portray them as desirable employees. After perceiving what qualities the employer was looking for, these venturers could present the employer with a front having greater congruence with these qualities. This explains how Maria's and Tracy's identities might develop through interaction with a prospective employer. Now that I have discussed participants' motives for going on expedition that relate specifically to the self, the following section examines participants' reasons that pertain to their relationships with other people.

5.2 Others

My first round of interviews yielded four interpersonal reasons why venturers chose to join the expedition. These include wanting a gap year experience with a team, opportunities to interact with a broader cross-section of people than usual, a greater ease and comfort in their social interactions, and an escape from their normal social pattern.

5.2.1 Gap year with a team

The data suggest that some venturers were particularly attracted to Raleigh because the expedition entailed being with a team of people. The team aspect was important, as these respondents did not want a work placement that might be spent alone in an unfamiliar community. More specifically, some venturers were searching for experiences involving a primary group composed of other young people. Nonnie told me that she "wanted to go with a big group - not as a pair or individual". Natasha suggested that working with a team was part of her attraction to Raleigh's programme, as she "wanted to go on a gap year", but "didn't like the other charities because with many of them it's only you and one other person and you spend your year doing the same thing". Friio simply wanted to "interact with people and work as a team". Being in a team with other youth from the UK was an important consideration for these three venturers, and a feature that they relied on the organisation to arrange. To have a team experience with a purpose in rural

Ghana necessitated outside coordination, which would have been nearly impossible to arrange on one's own.

In a similar way, this expedition structure arranged by Raleigh included provisions for the safest possible transportation in-country and as well as a proven network of medical support. For Gordo, Raleigh's brochures suggested that they were an organisation that "looked well-organised, good, and had the medical side of things...that appeased the parents". Tracy's thoughts were similar, as she described how she was attracted to the semi-structured nature offered by Raleigh: "I wanted to travel, but didn't want to go on my own; for safety and so I didn't have to organise it". There appeared to be a commonly held belief that unlike travelling independently, Raleigh offered a safety net along with the basic logistical support of ground transportation, local knowledge, and organised projects.

By going on a Raleigh expedition instead of backpacking through West Africa, participants were exercising their power to choose an experience with greater structure. Stryker's (2000) perspective would suggest that venturers decided to participate in a Raleigh expedition precisely because of the influence that the Raleigh structure had on human action. This constraining structure has the capacity to facilitate, as well as inhibit, meanings that are developed through human interaction (Stryker, 2000). Seen this way, the format of a Raleigh expedition provides individual agents with the freedom to construct meaning and identity within a structure that is partly predetermined by Raleigh and partly negotiated with other venturers, staff, and people from the host community. The interpersonal gains that participants hoped to achieve are discussed in the next section.

5.2.2 Interpersonal gains

The main feature of this theme is how people sought an increased ease or facility when socialising with people they did not know. Rufus stated that "Raleigh gives me a way to meet new people. It's teaching me how to interact

with people, talk to people, communicate – just on a friendly, social level. I'm not used to doing that". Simone shared Rufus' hope that Raleigh would improve the ease with which she could "talk to different people from different places – not just your friends from London – at school, at work, and from other countries. After this, if you work you'll be able to talk to people – it won't be so hard". An analysis drawing on Cooley's (1930) work suggests that through increased social interaction with the three different project groups on expedition, individuals develop new meanings about themselves and how they perceive others perceiving them.

Mead's (1934) work is also helpful in considering how in the social situations presented on expeditions, individuals may become more adept at balancing their own, unchecked responses to the circumstances they find themselves in with the collective attitudes of those around them. An example of this is how Mildred seeks to temper her I, and give herself more time for a deeper interpretation of her responses to others' behaviours. As she says herself, "I know there's things I need to work on at work because I'm not very tolerant. I can make my mind up about someone like that. If they're going to help me, I go with it and if they don't, I leave it". As with Rufus and Simone, Mildred seeks an increased understanding of how her self responds to others around her. Their hope is that this enhanced understanding will lead to a greater facility in social situations with people they do not know very well.

All of these informants believed that they had some kind of personal deficit that needed attention, and that Raleigh would address this deficit. I find this intriguing from a research point of view. For example, what leads people to self-assess their personality? Furthermore, what information leads people to believe that participating in a Raleigh expedition will give them what they think they need? My early, pre-interview encounters with Raleigh suggested that some venturers and staff see outcomes such as increased interpersonal skills as an inherent part of the experience that just happens on its own. The belief among some venturers and Raleigh staff members that they will gain

interpersonal skills does not appear to be based on any research, expedition curriculum, or in-house Raleigh literature. This point eventually led me to expand my inquiry into the processes by which young people gain certain outcomes, which I address in Chapter Eight.

5.2.3 Interaction with broad cross-section of people

One theme comprising viewpoints exclusively from one category of venturer centres on the self-funders who were looking for opportunities to work with people from other socio-economic backgrounds. More simply, some self-funders were aiming to live with, befriend, and learn about, people in the YDP programme. Apart from wanting to work with a team, Nonnie wanted to work "with people from different parts of the community, 'cause I've never worked with people that are homeless". Even after being at the Challenge Workshop for 24 hours, Gordo was certain that he would learn not only about other people from other backgrounds in the UK, but that this interaction would emphasise or confirm that he had been afforded a privileged upbringing.

> Already this Challenge Workshop has shown me – I live in the country in Scotland and there's this bloke from the middle of London on the YDP project. It's going to really open my eyes about how lucky I am. (Gordo)

Not one YDP venturer ever mentioned they were looking for the opportunity to work with self-funders. Conversely, two self-funders mentioned it as a part of the expedition that they were attracted to, as did two more self-funders later on in the expedition. By seeking opportunities to interact with a variety of young people on the expedition, each participant was effectively seeking the growth of their self. Mead's (1934) genesis of the self is useful in understanding how a venturer's self is a product of the I, and in this case, a me broadened by the social context of the expedition. This self can then be regarded as a reflection of an individual's interactions with diverse people

outside their normal social life at home. The last theme in this section illustrates how for some people, the attraction to Raleigh was less about developing prospective social relationships and more about leaving their current social relationships.

5.3.4 Escape

Among all the findings, almost every theme was evident in both YDP and self-funded venturers. A second exception to this was the escape theme, which was only found among YDP venturers. The following comments relay a feeling of desperation to escape a social pattern that is unfulfilling, dysfunctional, or negative. Rufus was clear in his statement "I can't wait to get away – I wish I was going away tomorrow". Dale's feelings were similar and perhaps exacerbated by his long-term unemployment: "I want to go and just do something, so I'm not bored...I want to get away. All I want to do is for [sic] October to get here so I can get over there". For Friio, Raleigh was an opportunity to break out of a lifestyle that, in his words, was "going nowhere":

> I sat back and thought about where my life is going...it's going nowhere. It felt as if it was in a cycle going over and over again...Every time I look at the Raleigh slides I just want to leave...they're very powerful. I could go [on expedition] and see that and come back and tell people I've seen this amazing sunset – it'll be in my head for the rest of my life and it will change my life. (Friio)

For Roni, Raleigh was a chance to have a significant experience in radical contrast to her life in East London. Although she liked her job, she longed to "have a totally different experience – an experience that I would not have in my normal 9 to 5 job, where you're sitting in front of a computer all day". The escape theme has similarities to an American study on three-day outdoor programmes, which found that "the trip served as an escape mechanism from family pressures and negative peer influences" (Garst, Scheider, & Baker,

2001, p. 47). If the self is a social product, as Mead (1934) and Cooley (1930) would have us believe, then the venturers who were looking to escape their current social pattern may have actually been looking for a new self. This new self would be influenced by the people that each individual interacted with on expedition. Seen this way, the expedition can be regarded as an opportunity to construct a new identity with the assistance of a new primary group.

Identity aside, the prospect of getting away from one's routine life and experiencing something unimaginably different and exciting appeared to be very attractive to several YDP venturers. The peer reviewers and I shared the interpretation that three venturers in particular cared little about where they might go, as long as it was away from their home and social life that they felt was inescapable, uninspiring, and without opportunity. The final category in this chapter's findings discusses the reasons why venturers chose Raleigh. These reasons relate to venturers' relationships with broader aspects of society.

5.3 Society

In this instance I take society to mean those people outside a person's primary groups, with whom they do not have face-to-face encounters in normal UK life. The two themes that emerged in this category were participants' desire to do community service and to travel to a foreign land, where they could live in an unfamiliar culture.

5.3.1 Service

A major reason that people had chosen to go on a Raleigh expedition was the opportunity to help others in a developing nation. The qualifying part of this phrase is "in a developing nation", as people did not appear interested in helping those in need in their home communities in Britain. There were many people, both interviewed and not, that appeared to be focused on a romantic idea of "going to Africa to help the poor people". Jacoby (1996)

refers to this as a self-righteous approach, where well-endowed people serve those they deem to be less fortunate than themselves. I was impressed by the self-funded and YDP venturers who were so keen to help those with very little in a developing nation. I wondered if people's motivations were intrinsically driven, or if they were going to Africa so they could tell others that they had travelled to a far away place for a noble purpose. This cynical view could be explained by Goffman (1990) as people wanting to present others a self that was benevolent, caring, and selfless. Although this may not be true of the people I have quoted below, my observations suggest that some venturers had chosen an adventure experience with elements of service so they could present future audiences the front of the international aid worker.

For Lily, the service element was one of the main draws for going on the expedition, as she told me: "I want to go to Ghana because I love working with people and I love helping people". Rufus was seeking a deep feeling of satisfaction that he felt would come from helping others. He stated that "It's going to be really fulfilling. It's going to be nice to see smiles on people's faces...we've all chosen to go out there on our own free will – make something better for someone else". For Stuart the service element of the expedition was the principal reason he was going on the expedition. Furthermore, he hoped that his Raleigh experience would serve as a springboard for a career in service. Stuart stated:

> I wanted to go to Africa and do charity work. I'd like to do it as a career, but I'm limited because I don't have building skills or medical skills...I just have the wanton need to help people...I feel like I can make a difference. (Stuart)

Two self-funders recognised that they had led privileged existences for the first 18 years of their lives and felt that Western society was too heavily focused on being a consumer, taking instead of giving. They felt their growth would come from a new emphasis on giving to others.

I'd really like to do something for other people. If you live in the sort of society we live in here, you spend your whole life as a consumer. You can always try to give things back, but not in the way that you could if you travelled to another country and spent the entire time helping the community – whether it's building or hospitals. I think it's a really positive thing and I'd really like to grow from the experience. (Sylvio)

It's a chance to help less fortunate people as well, which at the end of the day you can say you've done it and it means you've done something with your life...it's not all about you, you, you...I'd be lying if I said that was the main reason I wanted to go out and be a voluntary worker, but it's a pretty important one. (Gordo)

Although Jacoby (1996) would not consider a Raleigh expedition to be service-learning, since there is no academic curriculum nor formal reflection involved, it appears that some Raleigh venturers are looking for outcomes similar to those of service-learning programmes. Jacoby (1996) defines service-learning as "activities that address human and community needs with structured opportunities intentionally designed to promote student learning and development" (p. 5). This definition has clear links to participating in a Raleigh expedition, as the data suggest that venturers were seeking a kind of personal growth they felt would come about through participating in service projects. The final theme of the chapter examines how some venturers felt that the growth they sought would come from travelling overseas and interacting with an unfamiliar culture.

5.3.2 Travel and cultural exchange

One obvious reason for choosing an overseas expedition as opposed to a week's walking in the Lake District is the desire to travel and see a part of the world that they had not seen before. Many, but not all, of the people who

discussed this point as a motivator for their participation were people who had not had many opportunities to travel outside the UK before. Lily had always wanted to go to Africa "which is a big reason". Nonnie had a desire to live in and among an overseas culture and "wanted to go for a long time in a different country". Roni was looking for stimulation at many different levels, as evidenced from her comment that "I want to travel, to try new experiences, to challenge myself, meet new people". Simone's feeling that she needed to "see a bit more of the world", and Maria's determination to "see another way of life" were echoed by many of the venturers not in the study group. My observations strongly suggested that there was an over-arching feeling among all venturers that by engaging with a developing world culture they would become fuller, wiser people. From Blumer's (1969) perspective, these developing world encounters offer individuals new interactions with social, physical, and abstract objects that then lead to the construction of new meanings, and new ways of considering the situations in which they found themselves.

The study participants were clear in their need to leave their homes and see people and places they had not encountered before. An anthropological perspective might suggest that these individuals were seeking a liminal experience (van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1969) that would enable them to make a transition to a new phase of their lives. This view is plausible, as liminal (or transition) phases of a rite of passage must be unlike anything the person has experienced before (Turner, 1969), such as rural living in a developing nation like Ghana.

As an experiential educator, I was intrigued by Stuart's comments below. Like the others, he wanted to learn what life is like for those who live outside the UK, but he was the only informant who articulated the importance of first-hand experience as a way to learn.

It's nice to learn how people really are, rather than read about it in a book, or go by what somebody else has said, that may or may not know what they're talking about. At least if you go there you get your own point of view. (Stuart)

Stuart's interest in what Dewey (1973) called "the primacy" of experience is noteworthy, as his desire to learn through experience is something that is most often articulated by educators and academics, not by young people about to embark on an adventure. In contrast to most of the other expedition venturers, he was not just interested in what he was going to learn, but how he would learn it. Like a symbolic interactionist researcher, Stuart wanted to find the answers to his curiosity in the empirical world.

As I have written this chapter I have seen evidence of my novice researching skills. I am particularly conscious of the fact that my questioning technique during this first round of interviews did not elicit answers that were as insightful as I had hoped. It may be that I did not know the participants before this interview, so the conversations were lighter and more descriptive in nature, rather than deep and probing. An example of this is when people told me that they wanted to come on a Raleigh expedition because they wanted to do service. I must have thought "oh, that's a nice answer", rather than considering that and responding with "Why was it so important for you to do service?". Though some informants answered the "why" and "how" questions without being asked, some did not. Still, these responses came from the first round of interviews and served to highlight issues that I had not considered before. In later rounds, I pursued these issues and tried to ask better, more open-ended questions. Having discussed potential and "hoped for" gains from the expedition, I now continue the discussion of how one expedition structure tries to help one hundred different venturers achieve various individual goals.

5.4 The buffet table

One trend in the field of outdoor education in the 1990s was its commodification (Loynes, 1998). This commodification is typified by programmes with similar, prescriptive aims and activities that cater to consumers on a large scale. A food-related analogy would liken programmes with predetermined goals as having "set menus" that aim to elicit the same outcomes for all its participants. This example lies in contrast to the Raleigh experience. Raleigh's organisational goal of participants discovering their full potential suggests a more personal, if not vague, approach. By using the word "their" in reference to each participant being the owner of the potential, Raleigh appears to remain open to venturers defining what form this discovery entails. The restaurant analogy is helpful in understanding that a Raleigh experience is not a set menu, but rather a buffet. Raleigh is not telling venturers what they are going to learn, as a "set menu" organisation might. Instead, Raleigh offers a buffet, whereby participants may consider the available options and decide to pursue the outcomes, or dishes, they find most appealing.

The buffet is analogous to the social structure which Stryker (1987) claims "shapes interaction" (p. 87). In the buffet model the organisation does not dictate the participant outcomes for the participant. This lies in contrast to other branches of adventure education, such as corporate development programmes, where desired participant outcomes may be determined well in advance of the course and specific activities are chosen to elicit these outcomes. This finding that the young people have come on the expedition for such varied reasons, implies that expedition staff should place importance on understanding what the venturers' goals are and then supporting them as they work towards those goals.

Summary

This entire chapter has focused not on outcomes, but on what people hoped would be outcomes. These findings illustrate the wide range of reasons that people went on expedition. Responses from the 14 informants led to the creation of nine different themes under three categories. The first category of Self examines how people wanted to gain an overall personal growth, increase confidence, and to enhance their career. The category of Others discusses how young people were looking for a gap year experience with a team, to work with a cross-section of British youth, to become more comfortable interacting with strangers, and to escape their UK social pattern. The two themes yielded by the category of Society involved doing community service and travelling to an unfamiliar country where they could live with another culture.

Generally speaking, the qualities that people hoped to gain from their experience concentrated on being in novel social situations, which comprise a large part of their expedition. Whether it was interacting with a broader cross-section of people or living with a developing world culture, there was an underlying assumption among the venturers that negotiating these new social situations would elicit a self that was, in many ways, more able than before. Symbolic interactionism helps to understand how participants sought to modify the meanings inherent in their own identity through interaction with the physical, social, and abstract objects encountered on the expedition. This discussion serves to preface the following chapter, which focuses on how the expedition influenced participants' lives. Examining people's reasons for going on expedition provides a crucial platform for a comparison of these reasons, Raleigh's mission statement, and the participant outcomes.

Chapter Six: Outcomes

This chapter is divided into the three categories of outcomes that represent ways in which discovering one's full potential manifested itself for the study participants. After an initial discussion on how, during the experience, some people were unsure about the ways in which the expedition was affecting them, the three main outcome categories are discussed. These categories are closely linked to those in the previous chapter on participants' hopes and expectations. The first category is based on themes related to the self, such as gaining a greater understanding of the "real me" or developing a mental toughness. The second category pertains to interpersonal skills, such as an improved ability to work with unfamiliar team members. The third category of outcomes relates to individuals' perspectives on greater society or the world, such as an awareness of economic imbalances between England and Ghana.

6.1 Unsure of outcomes

Before getting to the outcomes themselves, I examine the comments of those participants who felt they were unable to articulate how they were being influenced by the Raleigh experience, during the expedition itself. During the post-expedition interviews people were much clearer on the role the expedition played in their life, whereas in Ghana some participants had difficulty explaining how this experience was affecting them, even though they felt the expedition was a positive influence in their life.

Rufus explained that he could "feel" he was changing, but he couldn't articulate how or why. He said he was sure that Raleigh "makes us stronger somehow or another". Rufus further stated that "there's a lot of growth out here. I'm growing every single day, I reckon. I can't pinpoint what it is". Similarly, Tracy told me that she could not "pinpoint why it was such a major event in my life". Tracy's and Rufus' comments, made in the middle of the

expedition, illustrate how they both struggled to define the ways in which this expedition was a hugely positive and important experience in their lives.

Perhaps it is not surprising that they had trouble articulating how this experience would influence their lives, as they were still immersed in an intense period of interaction that they had not fully interpreted. An approach in line with the Generative Paradigm (Loynes, 2002) might suggest that people not be pressured into defining their learning during the experience or shortly after. A suitable course of action might be to let people process their experience on their own terms. This way individuals' interpretations of their experiences are not forced and happen through a more natural and organic process.

Towards the end of the expedition, Lily and Natasha voiced feelings similar to Rufus' and Tracy, as they felt re-interpreted and re-constructed selves emerging. These two venturers also explained how they expected others back home would perceive them as being different. This bears a remarkable congruence with Cooley's (1964) concept of the looking glass self, where people imagine how others will judge them. As Lily said, "I don't know, I can't explain it, but you know it. You feel it. It's hard to explain but I know when I go home I'm going to be really different". Natasha also felt that she would be regarded differently by people in her social circles in the UK, but again, could not be more specific as to how she would be different: "I can't put my finger on anything. I'm still sure I'm going to get home and people are going to go 'oh, you're really different'. I think I've grown up".

An important distinction in these quotations is that although the specific influences defy articulation, they are very positive. One outcome appears to be an amorphous, very general "growth". For Tracy it was a "major event", Natasha feels she has grown up, and

Rufus was convinced he was growing every day. These feelings are consistent with the findings from my pilot study (Beames, 2003a), where a Raleigh expedition was regarded as a worthwhile experience, despite people's inability to articulate why.

The four quotations in this section were part of the early impetus that led to the development of the fourth area of my findings: processing the experience. During the expedition some felt they were transforming but could not articulate how, whereas after the expedition people were much more able to articulate what this transformation was. A considerable grey area covers the journey from feeling "I can't explain it" to stating "I'm more confident". It represents the connection between an element of the expedition and how it yielded a certain outcome. The aspect of "making sense" of the experience became such a large theme that it merited an entire chapter for exploration – Chapter Eight.

During the post-expedition interviews every participant in this investigation claimed their life was influenced in one way or another, except for one venturer. Maria told me "No, I don't think I've changed at all. None of my friends have told me I have. I still do the same things, I'm still the same with people as I've always been". One explanation for Maria's claiming she had not changed at all from the expedition is that she is not yet aware of any growth that may have taken place. This may be true, as many Raleigh staff and former venturers have told me that they only figured out what they learned years after their expedition. On both ontological and epistemological levels, I was prepared to accept that Maria had not changed at all from the experience, as that was her belief. Still, my intuition told me that somehow Maria was not the same person that she was before she went to Africa. When I gently pressed her on this, she said that "Instead of just saying 'oh no, I couldn't do that', maybe I'd think a bit differently now and think 'maybe I could do that'". This response is linked to the increased self-confidence

theme, which is examined in the following section on outcomes relating to the self.

This first section of the chapter has explored ways in which venturers, while they were immersed in the experience, were unsure of how the expedition was affecting them. The rest of the chapter focuses exclusively on interviews during and after the experience, where venturers clearly explained how the expedition was influencing their lives.

6.2 The self

A considerable proportion of outdoor education research has centred on the intrapersonal outcomes of self-esteem and self-confidence (Hattie et al., 1997). I believe it is important to examine what these outcomes mean in terms of changes in attitude and behaviour. During the interviews my intention was to probe beyond the clichés and buzzwords ubiquitous in the field of outdoor education, by focusing on how people with newly acquired self-confidence might think and act differently than they did before.

6.2.1 Increased self-confidence

The outcome of increased self-confidence manifested itself in two ways: increased mental resilience and a willingness to undertake new challenges. First, the data suggest that after a Raleigh expedition, participants may possess greater resolve and cope with more demanding challenges. Towards the end of the expedition, Sylvio stated that "I think once I leave I'll be a lot stronger and less intimidated by daunting projects". Gordo told me "there's not much where I think, 'I can't do that'. You still have insecurities and stuff and you still get nervous, but deep inside you're just a wee bit more sure of yourself". Nonnie explained how she had a certain inner strength that she did not have before, where "you're more relaxed or more confident in yourself...you know you can adapt and get on with it". For Friio the expedition provided opportunities to be more independent:

> Now I've been able to stand on my own two feet...and that makes you feel good and you start to believe in yourself and become more confident. My friends knew it was the same Friio, the same me, but they saw a load of difference in my nature and my maturity. (Friio)

It is plausible that the strengthened self reported by the above four venturers is a product of newly constructed meanings that participants have developed through their successful interactions with adversity. Positive interactions in the face of challenging situations may have led participants to modify their interpretation of what a challenging situation is. In this instance, a challenging situation becomes something venturers are capable of dealing with, rather than something that may be harmful. Blumer's (1969) perspective helps to understand how interpretation is a formative process, which involves considering meanings and modifying them. Modified meanings then inform how a person acts. This process illustrates how individuals alter their perceptions and actions towards different social, physical, and abstract objects, based on the interactions they have with them (Blumer, 1969).

The participant outcome of increased mental toughness was one of the original goals that Outward Bound's founder Kurt Hahn had for his pupils. He felt that the younger generation lacked the mental tenacity to overcome difficult challenges (Hahn, 2003). It would appear that the three youths quoted above found some of this resolve within themselves and were able to transfer it to their daily life. These findings are also consistent with Grey's (1984) research, which reported that expeditions helped young people gain a "greater sense of purpose, determination, and initiative" (p. 18).

Both this theme of mental resilience and the following theme of willingness to try new things demonstrate how people who came on the expedition looking for more self-confidence, gained it. Unlike a positivist study, which might show that a given percentage of the participants had gained in

confidence, this discussion aims to illustrate how someone who feels more confident from their expedition then transfers this confidence into their day-to-day life. Just as successful negotiation of challenging tasks may "toughen one up", the data below show how people's modified meanings of their selves from these positive interactions had informed their actions. More specifically, the data centres on participants' increased willingness to try new activities and challenges, where they might have been too shy or afraid before the expedition. Six months after the expedition Roni stated that:

> I can do whatever I want. I'm more confident. I think I'll want to travel more now. And I might be up for maybe doing more new hobbies...'cause I'll be into taking a risk and jumping into doing things – trying new things, meeting new people. The great thing about Raleigh is that you take risks and you'll be up for doing a lot more things. Now I just sort of say "yes" to things! (Roni)

Simone, too, felt that she would seek out more new experiences, which is reflected in her statement that "I'll be a bit more active I think...I'm going to do more stuff". Stuart explained that "I feel that I can go out and do a lot of things that I just would not have had the courage do to before". He felt that his confidence helped his career: "I probably wouldn't have applied for certain jobs before I went, and now I'm applying for jobs I wouldn't have normally gone for". For Lily, increased confidence had affected all parts of her life, particularly with respect to travel and leaving the familiarity of her neighbourhood. Lily told me how

> ...leaving the country to go to Africa was a big thing for me. I've been to so many countries since I've been home – just jumping on a plane. I mean, I jump in a taxi and I'm off. I'm out doing what I set out to do and I'm coming back. Whereas if I'd never been on an expedition there's not a chance in hell I would have got in a taxi to an airport. (Lily)

These findings build upon the research done by Kennedy (1992), which showed that every single respondent felt that their expedition experience had left them more ambitious to try new things. Kennedy (1992) argued that their expedition had enabled the participants to gain a "new perception of what is possible" (p. 59). The above two themes of willingness to try new things and mental resilience are consistent with other work which supports the concept of participants generalising their learning from one experience and applying it to forthcoming challenges (Kolb, 1984; Nadler & Luckner, 1992). The theme of willingness to try new things is one of the two most dominant participant outcomes and is closely related to the other important finding of being more comfortable interacting with strangers, outlined later in this chapter. The two themes are related because they both involve engaging with uncertainty by seeking out situations that are unfamiliar.

6.2.2 Redefining the self

The second theme in the Self category involves redefining the self. As well as the experience eliciting changes in behaviour, the data suggest that the expedition served to raise an awareness of self. In other words, participants learned some things about the way they "tick". Natasha told me "I've realised I need my personal space more than I thought I did". Roni came to realise that although she thought she "was a chilled out person" she actually gets "irritated quite quickly". Just as in the previous sections, the novel social and physical elements of the expedition provided participants with new opportunities to modify and define their identities. Perhaps in the more familiar social environments of friends and family in UK, venturers found it difficult to distinguish between their I and the generalised attitudes of the others in their community. In this case, the situations in which participants found themselves on expedition helped them gain a greater understanding of their spontaneous, unchecked responses to these situations. Once people had a deeper understanding of their I, a modified self could be constructed in conjunction with their generalised other.

Although Friio claimed that he had learned about himself, it was not as Raleigh may have envisaged. Rather than the expedition experience making Friio want to travel the world, he learned that he was not the explorer type and was happiest when he was around his home community. Friio explained to me how he had learned that he was "a homeboy, not a travelling worldwide person". Gordo, too, learned something about himself that may have a long-lasting effect on his life. As an 18 year-old, he found greater satisfaction in the community-based project than the one focused more strictly on adventure. Gordo stated that "One of the things I've learned is that I really like helping people. I like helping people in the group. I like helping the communities and doing all the projects here". Natasha, Roni, Friio, and Gordo all report learning things about themselves that they did not know before the expedition. Similarly, Sylvio's learnings about himself indicate that this experience has made his life simpler. In his own words Sylvio said "I know exactly where I am, where I'm going, what my strengths are, what I can't do, what I'd like to be able to do".

Being aware of one's traits, needs and characteristics is supported by Allison's (2002) theme of self-knowledge. In this sense, the self may be viewed as another person that one gets to know. It is possible that participants' interaction with the predictable and familiar circumstances of day-to-day living in the UK elicited meanings and interpretations that were relatively limited. The novel experiences and wider scope of interactions on an overseas expedition may provide increased opportunities to learn about one's self. An individual's broadened sphere of interaction with physical, social, and abstract objects on the expedition involves participants interpreting their own responses to these novel interactions. The self is developed and modified through this interactive and interpretive process (Blumer, 1969). This process may not only involve learning about the self, but on rediscovering or reclaiming an old self – the "real me".

Young people have spent a lifetime being evaluated by parents, teachers and peers. The Raleigh experience may have been one of the first times that venturers were able to "offer some meaningful evaluations of themselves rather than having someone else do it" (Gair, 1997, p. 32). The expedition appeared to help participants recover a lost sense of self they had in the past and longed to find again. Near the end of our time in Ghana, Stuart recounted how before the expedition he was not himself any more, and how when he left Ghana "the real me will come back with me". A Goffmanesque (1990) analysis illustrates how Rufus felt that in his social circles in the UK he presented a front to his audiences that had little congruence with his I. In his own words, the expedition to Ghana helped him "take down the mask". As a reformed drug addict this concept was not new to Rufus, as he explained to me "rehab taught me to be myself, Ghana confirmed it - yes, goddamn, just be yourself". In a way not dissimilar to Rufus, Mildred felt that she had played the role of the successful student and young civil servant manager for her parents and family. In Ghana, she was away from this audience and could redefine her identity in the company of an audience without a role pre-assigned to her. In my discussions with Mildred, I felt her sense of relief at not having to conform to the normative behaviour she had co-constructed with her parents through her lifetime. Mildred recounted how on expedition

> I was completely myself and no one cared. And that gave me a lot more confidence when I came back to just be me. More than learning new things it was just about learning how to be me... I'm sure I was a better person out there, so you kind of want to hold on to that, don't you? (Mildred)

Holding on to this new identity when she returned to the UK was important for Mildred. After redefining her self in Ghana she then wanted to establish a new normative meaning of her pre-expedition identity, which is shared by her family and herself. This idea of re-discovering the "real me" is similar to Allison's (2002) suggestion that individuals may "become truer to their

essence of being as a result of the expedition experience" (p. 158). This notion of expeditions helping young people find their authentic self was central to Allison's (2002) thesis, which referred to Taylor's (2000) statement that "being true to myself means being true to my own originality, which is something only I can articulate and discover" (p. 79). I suggest that the authentic self, like all objects, has a meaning that is constantly being re-interpreted. Seen this way, what we interpret to be the real me, is the real me for the moments we are conscious of it. During and after the expedition, the venturers' concept of what is "the real me" is a dynamic self, constantly evolving through their interaction with (and reflection upon) past behaviour, current interpretations, and imaginations of future selves. My point is that the expedition experience may enable people to break away from an identity that they are not comfortable with, but has become the norm in certain social patterns. In Goffman's (1990) terms, the expedition enables participants to establish a new role in the absence of the familiar, idealised front that caters to the expectations of their audiences in the UK. Being in an entirely different set of social circumstances on expedition offers participants the opportunity to redefine their identity in the absence of the familiar and constraining social pressures of their home life.

The above discussion presents an interesting debate. In a world where parents and teachers can be heard telling children to be themselves regardless of what other children do, they are really asking children to be themselves by ignoring the generalised other. The symbolic interactionist would argue that one cannot consider the self in a vacuum, without the social element (Blumer, 1969; Cooley, 1962; Mead, 1934). Therefore, if a venturer is to come to know their true self on a Raleigh expedition, they cannot do this without the help of the group they are a part of and interact with. The final theme in the category of outcomes related to the self concentrates on those outcomes related to venturers' careers.

6.2.3 Career

My conversations with the study participants showed that the expedition influenced people's attitudes to their careers in two ways. These findings develop previous work which showed that having been on expedition benefited people during job interviews (Grey 1984), improved job prospects (Kennedy 1992), and provided perspectives through which to examine educational and employment plans (Allison 2000). As Krans and Roarke (1994) state regarding educational overseas travel with young people, "perhaps the most rewarding types of comments are those that deal with the redirection of life and future careers" (p. 27).

The first of the two career outcomes was that participants who had completed a Raleigh expedition felt they would be viewed as more capable and employable than if they had not participated in the experience. The four venturers who felt this way anticipated being viewed differently by their peers and by prospective employers. While I originally had thought the "badge of honour" concept would be particular to YDP venturers, three of four of the following quotations come from self-funders. Dave was looking forward to "getting some kind of certificate" stating that he had completed the expedition. Natasha explained how she felt the expedition would improve her chances when looking for work: "I think other people will possibly look at me differently...it says something about you – that you have a certain character or personality that would want to do this". In a similar way, Tracy felt she would "have a lot to say" in her air force interview. She told me "I know they'll be quite pleased that I've been on Raleigh 'cause it shows that I've got commitment and helped other people". Just as with Tracy and Natasha, Stuart wanted to have Raleigh on his CV, so "when you applied for jobs and people said 'what have you done?' and you can say, 'well, I've done Raleigh'".

The above examples of embellishing CVs in order to become more attractive to prospective employers has strong links to Goffman's (1990) concept of

impression management. It is arguable that venturers sought to present employers with the front of a worldly, socially responsible, and hardworking team player. This suggests that participants' motivations for going on expedition were not purely personal growth from a more traditional viewpoint (Priest & Gass 1997, for example), but were for the instrumental purpose of demonstrating a certain responsibility or tenacity that might be desirable to an employer. This has congruence with the career theme in Chapter Five, which outlined how some people had chosen to go on the expedition because they hoped it would enhance their job prospects.

Another area of discussion within the theme of outcomes related to career is that the expedition had caused venturers to re-consider the career path they were on, in terms of what they really wanted out of a job, with particular emphasis on issues of purpose and fulfilment. Gordo's comments suggest that he thought deeply about finding work that involved helping making a better life for other people: "I've thought a lot about whether I'd like to go into a job that you really influence people's lives and make a difference to people". This was quite a transformation for Gordo, who before expedition had "believed quite a lot in 'I'll go to university, get a job, earn lots of money, and have a big house and all the rest of it'. For the first time in her adult life, Mildred felt that she'd "love to do something more" with a job that involved helping others. After some intense discussion with her father, Natasha felt that no matter what one did as a vocation there was always the opportunity to be a positive influence on one's community. Natasha explains how "you can either do an obviously rewarding, brilliant, helping-other-people job, or the way you do your job can affect other people in a similar way".

This further discussion about people's motives for participating on the expedition, with particular emphasis on using the service element for future external gain, was resolved towards the end of my data collection. Despite my earlier cynicism, I came to understand that some venturers genuinely wanted to help those they perceived to be in greater need than themselves.

This sentiment grew among the venturers as the expedition progressed. Furthermore, those who wanted to increase their employment marketability were forthcoming with this fact, and perhaps most importantly, appeared to work as hard as, if not harder than, the other venturers.

Just as intrapersonal gains can be considered as growth or discovering one's full potential, so too can reconsidering one's career direction. Both of these examples are not end products or skills in themselves, but rather, ways of thinking that will affect venturers' lives in complex ways after the expedition. An increased sense of career direction was felt by Stuart, a 25 year-old self-funder, who had worked for eight straight years and was now considering other options. Stuart explained how "before I went on expedition I'd never even considered going to college...I kind of got the idea that now's a really good time to go off and do a college course". The career theme with its discussions surrounding the expedition as badge of honour and more focused career direction, suggests that discovering one's full potential is more than interpreting and constructing meaning about one's self, as I mentioned in the previous category. Discovering one's full potential may involve the individual arriving at a better understanding of the kind of life they want to lead after the expedition.

6.3 Relationships with others

The second major category of participant outcomes centres on relationships with others. Although I had expected many outdoor education "buzzwords" such as leadership and teamwork to surface as we discussed these topics, very few people referred directly to these terms. This may be due to the researcher not using questions involving the words leadership and teamwork and not leading respondents to those areas. Also, as time went on, I believe my interviewing skills improved to a point where I was deliberately probing beyond initial statements made by the participants. I assume that the interviews were facilitated by the ever-deepening relationship between me and the 14 participants.

The previous chapter, which examined people's motivations for coming on the expedition, showed that one major reason was to increase their ability to relate to, and work with, people they did not know before. The discussion in this section shows how participants gained what they hoped to gain, with respect to an increased interpersonal facility. Rather than concentrating on interpersonal attributes purely in the context of tasks and challenges, as much outdoor education research does, the conversation was steered by the participants towards interpersonal gains that relate to relationships between themselves and other people, irrespective of leading, following, and working in a team. This was particularly reflected in the theme of being more comfortable meeting and working with strangers.

The data demonstrated how Tracy felt she had become "a lot better at mixing with people". Similarly, Stuart found he was "a lot more relaxed around people I don't know". In an earlier section Roni spoke about how she was more willing to try new things. It appears that part of this feeling was a result of new-found interpersonal confidence. As Roni said, "I think this is helping my interaction with people as well and I hope it will encourage me when I get back home...to give everything a go". For someone who I thought felt little anxiety when speaking to strangers, Gordo explained how being on the Raleigh expedition had made "speaking to people easier...it just sort of blows a lot of barriers out of the way and you just speak to everyone". As discussed earlier, Blumer (1969) helps to understand how meanings regarding an individual's identity become modified through an interactive and interpretive process. Cooley's (1964) analogy of the looking glass self may provide further insight into how venturers may gain interpersonal skills. If it is true that identities are modified and strengthened through the unfamiliar interactions found on expedition, it is arguable that venturers become more comfortable with their perceptions of how they are being perceived by others. This strengthened self, gazing into the looking glass, may lend individuals a certain confidence in the social situations they encounter.

Building on the theme of interpersonal gain is the outcome that, because of their Raleigh experience, venturers are less likely to prejudge people before getting to know them. Sylvio told me "One thing I can really take from Raleigh is that when I first came here I was quite closed and did not open up to people very quickly and was sort of seeing bad points in people". Simone's feelings were similar in her statement "that's one thing I know that I've learnt is not to judge people on the first impression, 'cause they're always so different when you get to know them". The improved ability to get on with people was not restricted to relationships with strangers, but extended to those people who were known superficially, but were not friends and came from different backgrounds than themselves. An example of this is Tracy's comment:

> All of my closest friends in all of my groups have been YDP, which is really strange because I remember talking to you at the Challenge Workshop thinking, "how am I going to relate to these people, how am I going to get on with them – I've got nothing in common with them". And it's been the absolute opposite, which is really weird. (Tracy)

The above quotations suggest that the young people were pleased with feeling more comfortable meeting and mixing with people they did not know before. It is interesting to note only one of these quotations is from a YDP venturer. The remaining quotations are from people who have never faced the social exclusion experienced by many YDP venturers. This is an example of how no broad generalisations can be made about the differences between the outcomes of YDP and self-funded venturers.

There were only two people out of 14, over the course of 69 interviews, who spoke about specific interpersonal gains relating to being a working member of a team. This is notable, as the goal of becoming a better team player or learning to work better within a team is one often cited by adventure

education providers such as Outward Bound (2003), Project Adventure (2004), and popular reference books (for example, Priest & Gass, 1997; Schoel et al., 1988). This theme was important to two of the study participants. Sylvio felt that the expedition would help him "be a better leader, a better team player, by encouraging people and getting them involved". Although Nonnie wanted to gain teamwork experience, she felt that teamwork was essentially about "people skills - how to get along with people, how to work in a group".

Perhaps I should not be surprised that few people spoke to me about being a better team-player as Raleigh does not specify this outcome in its marketing literature. Still, Raleigh's work does focus on small groups of people working together on projects. The topic of teamwork was spoken of with reference to meeting and getting on with strangers, though the actual word teamwork was not mentioned. This points to the importance of not using buzzwords in personal development programmes with young people, as this language may overly influence their goals. It may be more helpful to avoid phrases such as "becoming a better team player", when more specifically, a young person might be interested in meeting and working with strangers without having feelings of anxiety.

Being more comfortable meeting new people and being better at working within a team refer to an increased facility with interpersonal relationships. This is consistent with findings in all three of the major empirical inquiries into the outcomes of British overseas youth expeditions. Kennedy's (1992) work found that the expedition had positively influenced their attitudes towards other people. Allison's (2002) findings showed how the young people felt they became more adept at deciding when to speak up or hold their tongue. Similarly, Grey's (1984) study found that the young explorers "had learnt the necessity of working with others and realised the ability to do so" (p. 18).

Interpersonal outcomes from expeditions may be regarded as further development of the self and how it interacts with other people. In this way, improved relationships with team members are viewed as a more skilful negotiation of the looking glass self (Cooley, 1964), where young people are more aware of how they might be perceived by others and change their behaviour accordingly. Similarly, an individual's interpersonal relationships may benefit from an increased ability to balance their I – spontaneous reactions to others – and their me, the incorporation of others' attitudes into the self (Mead, 1934). In other words, individuals improve their ability to interpret others' interpretations of themselves. This leads to an increased ease and skill when socialising with other people. Having discussed the outcomes related to the individuals' relationships with themselves and others, the following section examines how the expedition influenced venturers' attitudes towards greater society.

6.4 Society

The third category of outcomes from this ten-week Raleigh experience concentrates on individuals' relationships with greater society or the world. The view of outdoor education I have held throughout much of my career has sided most closely with Hopkins and Putnam's (1993) model comprising education of the self, relationships with others, and the natural environment. My findings showed no evidence of an altered appreciation or awareness of environmental issues. Instead of the third aspect of the Hopkins and Putnam's model pertaining to relationships with the environment, it concentrates on relationships with society, or more specifically, social life beyond primary groups. The findings of this investigation lead me to propose a model of outcomes of overseas youth expeditions that is a modification of Hopkins and Putnam's model. My view regards the participant outcomes of overseas expeditions as being categorised into learning about one's self, relationships with other group members, and greater society. The first of two principal themes in this category focuses on how this experience has

increased venturers' appreciation of both social networks and modern conveniences in their home community.

6.4.1 Appreciation of home

Although the majority of venturers expressed missing friends and family from home, the following two quotations illustrate how these two participants came to realise the importance of relationships they had taken for granted before coming on expedition. Gordo told me how the expedition "has made me realise that I love my family so much". Sylvio's thoughts were similar, as he stated that "it makes you realise how worthy all your true friendships are". It is interesting how the meanings interpreted and constructed regarding friends and family back home took place without any interaction with the people being missed.

Reflection and sharing similar stories of people being missed, along with a lack of interaction with these people, may have provided the platform for these new realisations or meanings to be developed. The act of being away and considering social life at home has links to the middle stage of rites of passage, which involves reflecting on relationships to the community they have left and will return to (Maddern, 1990; Gibbons, 1974). As individuals reflect upon their role in the community, they may modify the meaning they have of their own identity and how it relates to what they need from the community and what the community needs of them. This modification may inform the actions of venturers like Gordo and Sylvio as they re-integrate with their former UK social pattern.

As venturers witnessed the apparently constant and overt happiness and joy exuded by local villagers in rural West Africa, they began to realise that they did not need all the material possessions they thought would bring them lasting happiness. The following quotations demonstrate how several venturers found that their Raleigh experience showed them how they live in privileged conditions compared to many Ghanaians. Maria explained how

expedition life made her "appreciate home much more. Just simple little things like running water and a couch to sit on – and not sleeping on the floor". Simone felt she was "going to appreciate things about home, like water...it's the little things that you don't really think about". Sylvio shared this opinion that one of the best things he would "take from Raleigh, is an appreciation of everything you have back home".

Other venturers appeared to learn a lesson from a familiar cliché becoming the truth: money does not buy happiness. This was a particularly strong theme. An example of this theme is Gordo's observation that people in the host communities are "just so grateful for what little they have – it's just brilliant. Why do we need all the luxuries in life?". Natasha felt that living in a rural African village was "an eye opener" as it helped her realise that "you don't need everything you've got at home". Natasha's sentiments were supported by Lily who agreed that "you don't even need that much to be happy". Lily went on to say that this lesson was "one of the main things I learned out there...they had so little and they were the happiest people I'd seen in my life". Once back in the UK, Dale shook his head in disbelief as he remembered how the villagers "don't have no electric and they're happy. We're lucky to have furniture and that and they've got nothing". Finally, Rufus despaired about people in the UK who put such a high premium on financial success. During an interview on a community service project, he exclaimed how "These people are so nice. You don't get people like this in the Western world. These people lack a lot of things financially, but the riches they've got inside themselves is priceless".

This theme of being happier with less seemed to be a quite a direct challenge to the attitudes many venturers brought with them on expedition. Symbolic interactionism helps explain how interaction with local African people altered the meanings that young people had for material possessions. In Blumer's (1969) terms, as individuals interact with the unfamiliar physical, social, and abstract objects encountered on their expedition to West Africa, they are

constantly interpreting these interactions and shaping meanings that may not have been challenged before. This challenging of assumptions is akin to Nadler and Luckner's (1992) concept of disequilibrium, which is described as "an individual's awareness that a mismatch exists between old ways of thinking and new information" (p. 7), and may have been an antecedent to the above changes in attitude.

6.4.2 Awareness of imbalances between UK and developing world

The second theme relating to the outcome category of one's relationship with greater society is an increased awareness of the differences and imbalances between life in Ghana and life in the UK. Rufus claimed that this engagement provided him and his project group "insights into other people and makes us think twice about wasting things...material stuff". Living within a rural West African community was something that had a profound effect on Tracy, as she "did not expect Africa to be this bad or this poor". Having this experience helped Tracy "broaden" her "outlook on the world". As Tracy says, "I knew it would be poor, but I hadn't realised how different it would be from home and so the whole initial culture shock thing was quite major". Even without engaging as much with the local culture as Levison (1990) advocates for service learning projects, some venturers felt that simply being exposed to daily life in a developing nation was worthwhile.

Shortly before returning to the UK, Sylvio reflected on the hedonistic world that he had left behind for 10 weeks and was now returning to. He was wrestling with how his changed attitudes towards consumption would fit with his old peer group. Sylvio explained how he was worried about returning to a place where "most people's satisfaction comes from indulgence. It's like people tend to work hard but not enjoy their work. And then at the end of the day eat a lot, drink a lot, or buy a lot". Although he did not articulate it as such, it appeared that Sylvio subscribed to the viewpoint that individuals are influenced by their surroundings. Just as he was proud that for the first time in his life he was finding satisfaction in self-reliance and daily hard work, so

too was he fearful that these feelings and learnings would dissolve once he had returned to the influences of his UK his peer group, whose existence revolved around movies, music, and alcohol. Mead's (1934) writing is helpful in understanding how the self is subjected to the conformist pressures found in the generalised other. These generalised attitudes of the people surrounding Sylvio during the expedition and in the UK may have been very different. Sylvio's worries about going back home can be explained by his expedition identity, constructed through interaction with people on the expedition, integrating into a set of social circumstances that is incompatible with his newly constructed self.

Rufus ponders his own roots in a developing nation and has a heightened awareness and gratefulness for the opportunities afforded him by his British passport.

> I know I'm very fortunate to be in London and not in Bangladesh. 'Cause I could be in the same circumstances as someone in Ghana, in Bangladesh, if things did not work out for my family, my father – early on in his life. I have so many more opportunities than the people over there [in Ghana]. So I'm just taking advantage of those opportunities now and using them as best as I can. (Rufus)

Rufus realised he had privileged educational, travel, and career opportunities because his father emigrated to England from Bangladesh. Had his father not come over to England as a young man he would have had the same restrictions and lack of opportunities that he sees the Ghanaians his age having.

The discussion of Rufus realising the opportunities he has as a British citizen, and Sylvio being concerned with re-integrating into the consumer-driven social pattern he has come to question, illustrate how subjective expeditionary learning can be. Both Rufus and Sylvio gained things that were

highly personal to each of them. Even if several people learned about the economic and political differences between the UK and Ghana, they did this in their own way, through a particular set of interactions that were specific to their own situation. This example illustrates how one expedition structure can provide the platform for people from varied backgrounds with a range of personal goals to learn and grow from the same programme. Although Raleigh's goal of helping people discover their full potential is ambiguous, this ambiguity may be a strength as it does not define specific, predetermined learning outcomes that would have to appeal to, and be helpful for, each venturer. Raleigh's buffet approach to participant outcomes allows venturers the freedom to seek and take away highly personalised learnings from the expedition.

In a final example, through her discussions with local villagers, Roni felt it was important to destroy the apparent myth that all English-speaking people live a life of luxury.

> I've had a lot of conversations when they've compared this [here in Ghana] to life in England and they sort of glamorised it – the rich and wonderful life. I kind of don't see my life like that as such. So when I've been speaking to people I've tried to say, "not everybody's like that". (Roni)

I believe this last outcome of considering the economic differences between the Western and Developing world is laudable and comes from living in rural communities rather than just visiting them or driving by them. This difference in how one experiences culture through service projects is outlined in Levison's (1990) explanation of engaging with the people of the host community rather than merely being exposed to them. This supports Raleigh's long time decision to work alongside local villagers on projects the villagers have deemed important. Although Raleigh may not be entirely defined as service-learning, there is considerable evidence that people were

learning through engagement with host communities. The only technical difference between Raleigh and a service-learning programme was the absence of a set curriculum or formal reviewing focusing specifically on learning from their participation in service projects.

Summary

The participant outcomes of the ten-week Raleigh International expedition to Ghana in the autumn of 2002 can be classified into three categories. The first category of the self refers to three main themes that include increased self-confidence and how that is manifested, redefining the self, and enhancing career prospects. The data suggest that individuals' interpretations of their interactions with the social, physical, and abstract objects found on expedition led to modified meanings of their self. This redefined identity then informs people's actions, as shown by venturers who are more willing to "try new things".

The second category of outcomes centres on relationships with other people. The data suggest that the expedition helped participants become more at ease meeting people they had not met before and then working and living with them. The strengthened self, mentioned above, offers a stronger reflection in Cooley's (1964) looking glass and how individuals perceive they are being perceived by others, thereby increasing their ease and facility in social interactions.

The third category of outcomes refers to attitudes towards the larger aspects of society. These modified attitudes are the result of venturers' interactions in the unfamiliar social environments found in rural West Africa, and their subsequent interpretations of these interactions. Overall, there was a strong congruence between what participants said they were looking for in Chapter Five and what they felt they gained. Furthermore, the data suggest that venturers also gained things that they had not come looking for, most of which pertain to becoming more aware of the economic and democratic

differences between the UK and Ghana. The next chapter outlines and discusses the elements of the experience that were critical in eliciting these outcomes.

Chapter Seven: Elements

This chapter examines the different aspects of individuals' interactions that led to the construction of meanings and outcomes discussed in Chapter Six. The themes that emerged as the elements of the expedition could have been categorised in many different combinations, all of which would have made sense and have been defendable. After experimenting with different categories and themes, I finally relied on my own intuition and that of a peer-reviewer, who also agreed that the present chapter structure is suitable. The overall structure is similar to the literature review chapter, which considered expeditions in terms of the physical environment, social setting, and the activities.

It is important to me that the findings are helpful, as I want to ensure that this research contributes to knowledge that is applicable in the field. The quality of my findings will be gauged by being put to the test of usefulness by both theorists and practitioners in the field (Patterson et al., 1998). In this chapter, I follow Rowley's (1987) example and attempt to identify the extent to which "a particular aspect or feature of a course/program has been influential" (p. 8). All of the five principal themes for the elements of the experience appear to elicit feelings of disequibrium (Nadler and Luckner, 1992) and dissonance (Walsh & Golins, 1976) within the venturers. The data support claims that adaptive dissonance leads to learning and growth, due to the coping mechanisms and skill mastery demanded from participants.

7.1 Physical environment

7.1.1 Novel setting

The first category of physical environment covers the themes of novel setting and remoteness. The ingredient of a novel setting is well-documented in outdoor education literature (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Priest & Gass, 1997;

Walsh & Golins, 1976), and supported by recent empirical research by McKenzie (2003). Walsh and Golins (1976) define the "prescribed" physical environment as one where there is nothing with which the learner is familiar. Although I stated earlier that the Ghanaian Raleigh experience does not have a wilderness emphasis, it may be that the novel physical environments elicited a wilderness state of mind (Nash, 1982).

Several participants spoke of the novel setting of being in rural West Africa. Roni explained to me that "being in a different environment can be quite tough at first...the whole environment's totally different...it feels so far out from what I'd normally be doing". For Rufus, this unfamiliarity of place meant that "every single day is a new experience". Even with these comments I wondered why people felt they could not find a novel setting in the UK. I asked some venturers why they thought the Raleigh programme took place outside the UK. Their answers indicated that the UK was simply not novel enough and that rural Africa provided the contrasts necessary for a greater sense of disequilibrium (Nadler & Luckner, 1992). Tracy explained to me how this expedition would not have the same feel in the UK as it does in Ghana, because Ghana is "different from what we're used to". Simone stated that the novel setting of being in rural Ghana meant that "everything's so different - it's completely the opposite". For these respondents, the novelty of the physical environment set the expedition experience apart from their familiar social situations in the UK.

Being in a novel setting also accounted for some people feeling stress and anxiety early on in the expedition. A safe and constructive level of anxiety may open individuals up to new ways of thinking and acting in order to cope with these feelings (Nadler & Luckner, 1992). Nonnie told me that it was "quite hard adjusting, the first few days". Tracy revealed that on the day they arrived in Ghana she was "so overwhelmed". Similarly, Simone felt "a bit overcome by everything" and Maria was "in a bit of a daze". This evidence strongly suggests that these venturers were in a state of disequilibrium

(Nadler & Luckner, 1992) and adaptive dissonance (Walsh & Golins, 1976) during the first few days of the expedition. Those initial interactions, once the venturers disembarked from the plane, challenged many of the meanings they had for the various objects they encountered. Examples of these challenged meanings came in the form of common objects such as beds and toilets, which now existed in the form of on the ground, and a hole in the ground, respectively. All of these objects, for which venturers had relatively fixed meanings before the expedition, now required interpretation and modification.

The venturers' feelings of disequilibrium from being in a novel setting are very similar to the feelings of being separated from their UK social pattern, outlined in a later section. Although similar emotions are expressed in both themes, the disequilibrium described in the four quotations in the previous paragraph is an overall emotional state related to being in an unfamiliar physical environment, as opposed to feelings of disequilibrium elicited from being away from friends and family. This finding builds on recent research at Outward Bound Canada, which has shown how different elements of the programme may together elicit a state of adaptive dissonance in the participant (McKenzie, 2003).

7.1.2 Remoteness

The second theme in the physical setting category is remoteness. In this context remoteness encompasses being away from both the luxuries offered by civilisation and from the setting providing a "social space" where venturers were with each other constantly. Rufus described how, although he missed his normal ways of relaxing after work or school, the remote physical location forced him to change his way of thinking. He described how his learning came from "having to adapt" to being "isolated, having no distractions like a TV, like a playstation, like a pub, a concert".

Remoteness, though perhaps thought of as something physical, may also be a social element. In order to advance theoretical applications in outdoor education it is helpful to look at why physical remoteness is a key element of the Raleigh experience. The data suggest that the actual physical distance that venturers are away from civilisation was much less important than the social circumstances of the situations they found themselves in. Several interviewees made it very clear that a critical element of the interpersonal aspect of the experience was that they were most often in the company of their group. Although they may have been in a rural village inhabited by local Ghanaians, participants had to constantly interact with the other group members in order to work, eat, drink, plan, and even sleep. Since there was nowhere to go to escape the group and no way to get there if there were, venturers constantly had to cope with group members whose company they may have come to dislike. This theme of a remote setting overlaps with themes relating to the social environment, as the chosen physical setting directly affects the social setting.

Rufus felt that "living in a tight community where there's no escape" was a critical element of the expedition. He explained to me that unlike the UK, where "if you don't like someone you can just walk away or not phone them again or stay out of their way", the circumstances of the physical setting demanded that people get along with each other. Rufus expanded on this point by saying "you have to get along with people, you have to compromise, you have to resolve conflicts". Sylvio also felt that this physical setting affected the social interactions, where "the whole pressure there of being forced to get on with people who seem to be unreasonable", was a difficult but important part of the expedition as "it really puts you in a strong position for the future, because you learn how to cope with it". Gordo's observation about how the physical setting affects social interactions stayed with me: "It's not just about speaking to people you get on with the best. It's about learning to speak with people that you want to avoid!". In her matter-of-fact

manner, Tracy summed up this point by stating that "the fact that we're miles from anywhere and thrown together in this situation is important".

The above citations demonstrate how participants recognised that although it may not be fun to be in a group with people they had not chosen, it is an element of the experience that yields interpersonal growth. Potter's (1998) examination of the human dimensions of expeditions states that "during expeditions people live in close quarters 24 hours a day and generally lose their taken for granted privacies...options to check out from the group, sometimes even briefly, are greatly reduced and frequently impossible" (p. 256). Negotiating this relationship between an individual's self and their fellow team-members is strongly linked to the interpersonal outcomes discussed in the previous chapter.

On an anthropological level, the novelty and remoteness of the physical setting strongly relate to van Gennep's (1960) second stage of rites of passage, known as the transition or liminal stage. As with a Raleigh expedition, the liminal stage involves being in a situation unlike anything the person has experienced before (Turner, 1969). It is the ambiguity of this stage that provides the platform for individuals to explore their identity (Andrews, 1999). Ambiguity provides people with the freedom to experiment with and re-define their self during their ten weeks away from their normal social pattern.

The physical environment of the expedition represents one of three areas that influence young people's experiences. The next area of findings examines the elements of the social environment that played a critical part in shaping the expedition.

7.2 Social setting

7.2.1 Separation

The Social category comprises issues based on the various social situations that the young people found themselves in. Within this category, the separation theme was the most dominant that emerged during this investigation. Separation in the context of a Raleigh expedition refers to an individual being removed from a group of people with whom they have a history of close interaction. In "Coolean" (1962) terms, feelings of separation may be elicited when individuals are removed from their primary group, the social group in which "human nature comes into existence" (p. 30) and where devotion to the group takes precedence over self-interest. Venturers were separated from primary groups as they left their friends and family in the UK, separated from the project groups from their first phase and second phase, and finally separated from all their fellow venturers at the end of the expedition. Separation from the primary group has links to van Gennep's (1960) initial stage of rites of passage, which involves being separated from one's original social pattern (van Gennep, 1960). Feelings of disequilibrium and anxiety are evident in almost all of the comments related to separation. This is consistent with outdoor education literature claiming that these uncomfortable emotions are a crucial antecedent to learning and growth (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Priest & Gass, 1997; Walsh & Golins, 1976).

Even though these feelings of being separated from familiar social patterns were not easy to deal with, venturers recognised that this was an important part of the Raleigh process. Tracy realised that changing the project groups was an integral element of the expedition, which existed in order for venturers to "learn to meet new people and get on with people quicker and have the confidence to build up new relationships". Tracy admitted that despite the emotional hardship, she understood "why they do it", though as she said, "it's not a part I enjoy". Nonnie echoed Tracy's sentiments on changing groups in her comment that "it's not nice when it's happening

'cause you feel unsettled – but it's so good for you I think". Each time people changed groups they had to undergo a process of social adjustment. Mead's (1934) writing would suggest that this adjustment involved each individual's I establishing a relationship with the generalised other projected by the members of the new group.

During the first few days in Africa, a number of people were emotionally struggling from being away from friends and family. This theme is similar to this chapter's earlier theme of being in a novel setting, although in the earlier one people spoke of the "new-ness" and "foreign-ness" they felt in Africa. Both themes elicited feelings of disequilibrium. In the theme of separation from home, participants reported just that: feelings of disequilibrium from being separated from their home environment. This theme was only identified in venturers who were 20 years old or younger. Natasha was clear in her statement that "The first couple of days I was very overwhelmed. I didn't want to be there. I wanted to go home.". Sylvio spoke of a difficult time, full of emotional highs and lows, where one minute he was "incredibly happy" and the next he was "desperate to leave". During the first two days Lily "wanted to go home" as she "missed everybody". Friio shared the feelings he experienced near the end of his first week in Ghana:

> I woke and flooded my tent with tears 'cause I was away from home, my family, my friends. It was like, "what am I doing here? I don't want to be here"...I just want to go back home, back to my comfort zone, where I feel more happier, 'cause I feel like I've jumped from my comfort zone to my panic zone. (Friio)

Many of the venturers I interviewed or had informal conversations with indicated that they had experienced some form of confusion or disequilibrium during the first few days of their arrival in Ghana. All of the above evidence suggests that having these emotional highs and lows during the first few days of being in a novel physical and social setting is normal.

Furthermore, the data imply that expedition providers need to assure their participants that these feelings are not unusual.

It was not surprising to me that people felt homesick during the first week in Ghana. What I had not foreseen were the feelings of separation that people would have from leaving their first phase group after being together for the first week of induction plus the three-week first phase. I had not realised that eating, sleeping, and working in such close proximity for four weeks had greater emotional intensity than most social relationships they had ever encountered. Referring to rites of passage theory (van Gennep, 1960), the venturers' first phase group had actually become their new "original" social pattern, their new family.

During the middle of the expedition Lily spoke fondly of her first group, as if they were family: "I absolutely loved my first group and I still miss them...I'm still trying to get used to it". Nonnie found changing groups "really unsettling", as they "had all bonded as a group". Roni had no idea that being separated from her first phase group would prove to be so difficult. She stated that it "was a shock", as she "didn't expect to miss them so much". During the second phase Roni said she was amused by how weird it was to be "getting more letters from your first phase group than from home". Tracy remembers how she felt when she started the second phase: "It just threw me completely. I was really upset to leave the people I'd been with for four weeks. It was really difficult.". Rufus, too, found it "quite emotional, changing over". He didn't think anyone in his group wanted to change groups.

My observations and informal discussions with venturers throughout the ten-week expedition clearly indicated that individuals had a much stronger affinity to their first phase group than the other two groups. Apart from the extra week they spent together, these people had witnessed each other adapting to the dissonance elicited by the unfamiliar circumstances of

suddenly being in rural West Africa without any family or close friends. In Cooley's (1962) terms, these people had rapidly assumed the role of a supportive primary group for each other.

The third area where the separation theme was evident was when the expedition ended. At this point, people were leaving the friends they had made over three phases and ten weeks. Lily told me that before the expedition she thought that "coming out here...would have been the hardest thing", but it was "actually leaving" everybody she'd met. Rufus remembers the end of expedition as "a very emotional time", as he did not want it to end. He told me, "I know there are going to be people that I won't see when I come back - I know I'm not going to see them for ages and that hurt me so much". Roni remembered how difficult it was adjusting to life in Africa after leaving her life in the UK, and wondered if there would be a similar adjustment when she returned: "You know how you come to Ghana and you fit into a new environment and it's a different place and different people? I kind of wonder if it's going to be like that going home?". Her comment suggests that the expedition had become "normal" and the social pattern that she had left three months ago had become a novel setting.

For some, the sadness and anxiety of separating from the expedition may not have been entirely due to separation, but due to the realisation that one was leaving a unique, perhaps enjoyable experience, only to return to a home environment that was not particularly fulfilling or enjoyable – a return to reality they had escaped for ten weeks. The following quotations are from three YDP venturers with whom I met six months post-expedition. This represents the fourth distinction between classifications of venturer, as only YDP venturers reported highly disliking being back in the UK and wishing they were back in Ghana. Lily was clear in her statement "I really wanted to go back – I hated it". Dale remembered being "real upset coming back" and not knowing what to do with himself. Roni marvelled at how she felt she had undergone a personal transformation over ten weeks, whereas everything

and everybody in her UK social world had remained the same. She told me how she kept saying "I really want to be back in Ghana, I don't want to be here". Roni continued that "it's cold, it's miserable, it's grey, people are unhappy, everybody's the same, nothing's changed, nobody's got anything interesting to tell me". Separating from the expedition appears to be an inevitable circumstance for anyone who separates from their home social pattern and goes on an expedition, rather than a necessary element. This finding implies that much care and assistance must be offered to participants as they make the transition from the expedition back to their home life, and is consistent with past research (Beames, 2004; Bell, 2003).

Not everyone had a difficult time separating from the expedition and returning to their day-to-day life. The following quotations are examples of three venturers who had no trouble going from Ghana to the UK in a matter of hours. Maria had been looking forward to going since the middle of the expedition and wasted no time getting back into her UK social network. She stated "When I came home it was exactly the way I thought it'd be. I was happy to be home.". Nonnie, on the other hand, "expected it to be really odd, but it was completely normal – like I'd never been away! Nothing had changed. It was quite an anti-climax.". For Tracy, re-adjusting to life in the UK was simple, as she "just came back and everything was normal really". Maria was the only YDP venturer who reported a smooth transition back into her home life, whereas almost all other YDP venturers expressed frustration at being back in the UK. Conversely, the majority of self-funded venturers either fitted back in almost immediately, or took no more than a few days to re-adjust to their previous social pattern. Although there was not a clear distinction between YDP and self-funded venturers, the findings indicate that some YDP venturers may need greater attention upon their return to the UK, particularly those who sought to escape their UK social environment. This issue is discussed further in the next chapter on processing the experience.

7.2.2 Diverse group

The mix of backgrounds that Raleigh ensures are in each project group sets it apart from other organisations. The typical make-up of a project group comprises five or six self-funders, two to three YDPs, one international, and three host country venturers. Group diversity may be a plausible contributor to personal growth, but it has not been investigated in the field of youth expeditions. Most often, expeditions and outdoor programmes cater to homogenous groups, where participants share similar backgrounds and attitudes, whether they are highly privileged or adjudicated youth.

Friio's Raleigh experience contrasted with this model, as the expedition presented opportunities to mix with people he normally did not. His UK social pattern was quite confined, and made him feel "stuck in a circle" because he was always interacting with "the same people". Others felt that the diverse groups were a unique part of their learning experience. Tracy explains how

> I thought that from the start of the expedition really, that it was the mix of people from all different backgrounds. And being thrown together where nobody knows anyone else really...I've never met people from such diverse backgrounds. (Tracy)

Stuart also, had "never met people from such diverse backgrounds" and appeared to revel in the unique nature of a Raleigh expedition, where "different people - different backgrounds are thrown together on a project". Simone remarked on this point as well, as she observed: "We are so different. We're from all parts.". Although these differences were generally regarded as a positive element of the experience, it was evident that some venturers were "clashing a lot of the time" because they were "not the same". Simone's words suggest that the diverse group elicited conflict. This viewpoint is supported by experiential education theory that outlines how group development involves conflict-rich stages where group members are unclear

on the purpose of the activity and individuals are searching for their role within the group (Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Tuckman & Jensen, 1977). While excessive conflict may be emotionally and physically dangerous, a constructive level of conflict may be useful. A healthy level of constructive anxiety may impel participants into modifying their identity in order to "lessen the anxiety" (Nadler & Luckner, 1992, p. 13). Sylvio's comments make a strong connection with the outcome of being more comfortable when meeting and working with strangers.

> The biggest challenge was adjusting to the environment with a group of strangers and working well with those strangers...it's cool to mix with people from different backgrounds – 'cause there are people here from incredibly different backgrounds. (Sylvio)

Rufus' thoughts are a reflection of the theoretical framework, which emphasises the importance of the individual agent. He remarked that "Everyone's got something to offer, everyone's got something unique and individual about them". From a symbolic interactionism perspective, a diverse group will offer a greater range of interactions (Blumer, 1969) and greater exposure to a generalised other comprising much broader collective attitudes (Mead, 1934). These factors demand deeper interpretation of given social situations, which in turn leads to a modification of the meanings informing individuals' actions. An example of this is Gordo's comment:

> I do think the Ghanaians in the group is such a good thing...'cause you learn so much – they've got such a different outlook on life. We've had so many conversations like those where he says his beliefs and we say ours – it's incredible. (Gordo)

Gordo felt that although the international, YDP, and self-funder venturers were an eclectic mix of people, they still shared a Western, English frame of reference (movies, advertising, fast food). He believed that apart from being

in a foreign country, it was important that their project groups included venturers from the host country. Living with and developing strong relationships with host country venturers may have been the antecedent to the sharing of beliefs that Gordo refers to. Exchanges like these leading to personal growth are not possible when one is merely being exposed to another culture, rather than engaging with another culture (Levison, 1990), as on a Raleigh expedition.

For Sylvio, an unexpected outcome from the diverse group meant getting to know people from parts of the UK that he had not been to.

> It's quite good to find out that everyone's from an extremely different background...It probably wouldn't be as good as hanging around with people who are exactly the same as me – 'cause I'll be able to do that the rest of my life! I thought I'd be finding out about people from all over the world, but I've been finding out about people from all over England more than anything...and Scotland and Wales. (Sylvio)

The data suggest that there is a strong link between being part of a diverse group and interpersonal growth. This finding is supported by Smith's (1983) assertion that "there is much value in the adventure group being heterogeneous" (p. 41). Further, this finding builds upon studies on the "prescribed social environment" (McKenzie, 2003; Walsh & Golins, 1976), which, while emphasising that groups of between 7 and 15 people are large enough to "accommodate diversified behaviour types" (Walsh & Golins, 1976, p. 5), make no direct reference to the benefits of having a group of participants from a wide variety of cultural and social backgrounds.

Natasha found that a key part of her experience with Raleigh were the discussions she had with the diverse people she spent time with. These interactions played a significant part in shaping who she was.

> The people I was with definitely changed my way of
> thinking...Raleigh's a good place to form your own opinions out of
> other people's opinions. Although there's not one other person I want
> to be like, I found bits of other people that I want to replicate in my
> life. So I've taken the best bits of everyone and made an all powerful
> Natasha! A mighty Natasha! (Natasha)

Natasha's comment about taking "bits and pieces of other people" can be explained through Mead's (1934) concept of the self as a social product. Social environments have the power to influence an individual's thinking in negative or conformist ways, but they also have the potential to enable people to shape a stronger, more self-determined existence. Natasha's comment shows how she considers the various attitudes and ideas projected by the group in relation to her own attitudes. This negotiation between the I and me is the process by which one's identity is re-defined (Mead, 1934), and helps to understand how venturers on Raleigh expeditions go through an introspective process of considering who they are and who they want to become, in the face of constant social influences. The next section under the category of social elements of the expedition is being immersed in a foreign culture. This is different from being with a diverse group, as it is possible, and not uncommon, to participate in expeditions in foreign cultures with homogenous groups, such as those from a school group.

7.2.3 Foreign culture

Being in a foreign culture was not a major theme, but was important enough to not be omitted. Just as the remote setting theme could be categorised in both the physical or environmental elements of the experience, so too may the foreign culture theme. The common feature between these themes is unfamiliarity, where so much of a venturer's expedition life was a stark contrast to their life at home. For the following venturers it was not only witnessing how another people live, but as Levison (1990) advocates, engaging with and learning the beliefs and attitudes from this culture.

Friio told me how "It was the people and their lifestyle. It was so different from mine.". This contrast to his own life was evident in his comment that "the lifestyle I've got at home is so much similar to the people I socialise with". Lily's observations were almost identical, as she said "It was the people and their lifestyle. It was so different from mine.". Early on in the expedition Gordo had an experience that altered the meaning he associated with worshipping and giving thanks.

> I went to church the other day. When they were singing it was such a positive, good feeling in the church. It's the happiest I've been – sharing that – for ages. I just think it's such a good way to live. (Gordo)

Apart from the three people above, the other participants did not regard being immersed in a foreign culture as a particularly important part of the Raleigh experience. For them, the key point was being in a place unlike anywhere they had ever been. Informal discussions with venturers suggested that it did not matter what foreign culture one was in (Ghanaian versus Chilean, for example) – what mattered was that it was novel. Krans and Roarke (1994) state that experiential education programmes based on travel in foreign countries are opportunities "structured to challenge students to learn about, appreciate, and respect a people and society very different from their own" (p. 24). This is echoed by Henderson (1999a), who believes that in outdoor education, the importance of learning about the people, heritage, and history of the place one is travelling through may be as important as the potential interpersonal gains.

An interesting note to close the section on the social elements of the expedition experience, is this: although Raleigh project groups typically have between 10 and 12 young people, not one person ever questioned or commented on the size of these groups. Walsh & Golin's (1976) suggestion of

the social environment being from 7 to 15 people appears to have merit, as it allows for individuality, conflict, and resolution. More important than the size of the group is the opportunity for participants to interact with diverse individuals.

McKenzie's (2003) empirical work highlights interaction with other group members as a reason that course outcomes are achieved at Outward Bound. Both Mead (1934) and Cooley (1964; 1966) offer valuable insights into this interaction. For Cooley, interaction on outdoor education programmes could be regarded as taking place in a primary group, where

> ...the immature and self-centred person is slowly attuned to the needs and desires of others and becomes fitted to the give-and-take of mature social life. The primary group fosters the ability to put oneself into the position of others, drawing the individual out of egotistic isolation by building into him [sic] that sensitivity to the clues of others without which social life would be impossible. (Coser, 1971, p. 309)

Coser's summary of the primary group as it relates to personal growth is rooted in Cooley's (1964) concept of the looking glass self, where individuals imagine how their actions and attitudes might be perceived by those around them. This view is supported by Mead's (1934) notion of the generalised other, comprised of the attitudes, beliefs, and mores of one's social environment, whether it is a group of ten in Ghana or everyone on a university campus. Gordo's statements that the project groups "are the experience" and that "life really is all about mixing with people and learning from people" illustrate the magnitude of the group's influence on the individual.

Concepts of the primary group (Cooley, 1962), the looking glass self (Cooley, 1964), and the I, the me, and the generalised other (Mead, 1934), are helpful

in understanding how the self is shaped by its social surroundings. Symbolic interactionism sees the self and society as a complex, reciprocal intertwining, where "what takes place in one part affects all the rest" (Cooley, 1966, p. 28). It is this organic notion of self and society that is highlighted on a Raleigh expedition; the primary group has considerable influence on each individual's thoughts and actions (Cooley, 1962), but so too, the individual is able to transform the world they are influenced by (Mead, 1934).

7.3 Activities

Apart from the physical and social conditions of a Raleigh expedition, the activities and projects influence a person's experience. Rather than discuss the different programmed activities such as trekking or building schools, participants steered conversations about the elements of the expedition to a deeper level. This level exposed the themes shared by the adventure, community service, and environmental conservation projects.

7.3.1 Physically demanding

The first element the activities had in common was that they were physically demanding. Participants felt their rest breaks were well-earned after many arduous hours of mixing cement, paddling on Lake Volta, or repairing a road under the hot African sun. Towards the end of the expedition, Simone told me how she "found it really hard out here". She went on to say "I really enjoyed it...I didn't expect it to be this hard". Friio remembered how the "canoeing was hard – very, very hard - especially when at midday it's getting hot, you got to sit on the plastic seat". Lily stated "we're up really, really early and we're physically working". There were some venturers who seemed to revel in the sheer physicality of the activities, proud of the hard work they were doing. Mildred explained how she was "absolutely loving being completely knackered at the end of the day". Sylvio has the similar opinion: "you do feel better at the end of the day, when you walked back to your camp and you were tired. It does something.". These quotations demonstrate how the expedition would not have held the same meanings for the venturers if it

had not been physically challenging. Similar to the theme of remoteness, where people had to cope and cooperate with people they did not choose to be with, these venturers knew the experience was going to be hard work before they came, but they came anyway, having accepted that this was part of the experience.

Some people found they could not separate the physical challenges from the mental, as for them, anything physically demanding also tests one's mental resolve. Nonnie described it this way: "I think you need to test yourself physically. If you push yourself physically it crosses 'round to your head. So you're pushing yourself emotionally as well". Sylvio recounted how the community service project was "really testing my determination" and how it was "the most challenging thing I've ever done", as it drew on his "courage and reserves". Rufus had similar thoughts, explaining to me how the physical and mental challenge was crucial to the experience: "Working so hard – and challenging yourself physically...and mentally it's tough as well". This finding is consistent with McKenzie's (2003) research on Outward Bound, which found that the overall course being challenging was one of the major elements of the experience that led to the outcomes.

7.3.2 Self-sufficient living

A second critical element of the expedition activities is that the project groups are self-sufficient. Self-sufficiency revolves around independence in cooking, sleeping, and cleaning. Feelings of self-reliance and satisfaction in working with a team come from the actions demanded by the self-sufficient living conditions. For Tracy, an important feature of expedition life was "all sleeping in one tent, so you have to get on with them, or you have to try to make some community out of it, like cooking together and working together all day". Nonnie highlighted the importance of going "back to basics", where "you're just looking after yourself, 'cause you don't have your mum fussing over you". Sylvio predicted that some people would go home after the expedition and be unhappy. He wondered if this would be due to missing the

"honest, fulfilling toil of being here and being part of 'it'". Sylvio suspected that one of the crucial parts of the experience centred on "just being in the wild the whole time and surviving and looking after yourself, instead of being in a bubble".

For others, the important part of this self-sufficiency was the basic, rudimentary nature of their existence. Gordo's observation highlights this point: "I slept on the floor. I ate pasta and rice for three months and that was the happiest I've ever been in my life.". Rufus was convinced that "the learning comes from everything we know, everything I'm comfortable with or I enjoy, all being taken away and being put somewhere that these things don't exist". Much as Walsh and Golins (1976) suggested, Rufus stated that learning on expeditions "comes from having to adapt".

The theme of self-sufficient living is indirectly supported by several researchers. First, this independent group living may involve the mastery of new skills (Walsh & Golins, 1976), such as cooking for a group over a fire or setting up shelters. Similarly, the expedition conditions demand that participants learn to function in an alternative environment (Kaplan & Talbot, 1983). Self-sufficient living is also consistent with Kaplan and Talbot's (1983) concept of the wilderness experience offering compatibility and resonance between what is necessary to do and what is desirable to do. This is consistent with Walsh and Golin's (1976) suggestion that "the outdoors is an excellent lab for conditioning one to refine the senses in the solution of problems in satisfying one's hierarchy of needs" (p. 4). Both Walsh and Golins (1976) and Kaplan and Talbot (1983) draw from Maslow's (1968) proposal that people need to fulfill primitive needs of food, shelter and warmth before addressing higher level needs of self-actualisation.

A considerable amount of writing proposes that effective outdoor experiences provide incrementally increasing challenges throughout programmes (Kimball & Bacon, 1993; Nadler & Luckner, 1992; Priest & Gass, 1997; Walsh

& Golins, 1976). My findings suggest otherwise. In all the situations I observed, each phase began and continued with a given set of challenges, some which could be dealt with once at the beginning (setting up tents), some of which occurred every day (fetching water from the bore hole) and some of which were unforeseen (the tent leaking in the middle of the night). Although some familiarity and skill mastery developed during each phase, I suggest that the complexity of challenges did not. The staff were not increasing the difficulty of the challenges as the venturers adapted to them. Instead of incremental challenges, venturers are faced with new challenges. These fresh challenges come in the form of change-over and another phase beginning, full of different people and unfamiliar activities in a novel setting. It is not clear to me whether Raleigh's administrators recognise the inherent strength in the structure of their expeditions. The data suggest that the volunteer expedition staff are able to rely, to a certain degree, on "the tried and true activity structure of the course" (James, 1980, p. 2). This is one indication of how the inherent strength of the Raleigh expedition structure makes it less crucial for staff to be expert facilitators. The staff's role is considered in the following chapter on processing.

Having considered the critical elements of the expedition in terms of the physical environment, social setting, and activities, the discussion now turns to the issues surrounding these elements. Three areas of discussion emerged: the role of service within Raleigh's programme, the importance of Raleigh's three-phase structure, and the development of venturers versus the development of the host community.

7.4 Issues about the elements

7.4.1 Service-learning

The element of service attracted people to the Raleigh experience (see Chapter Five) and my interactions with all the venturers indicated that many of them chose Raleigh because it offered adventure with a purpose, not just

adventure for adventure's sake. This finding lies in marked contrast to the data from the final interviews.

Six months after the expedition, I asked people what they considered the key elements of the expedition, or what was it about the expedition that led to the outcomes they mentioned. To my surprise, only one person mentioned the element of service. Gordo told me "when we were in Ghana I got so much out of helping people. I just really enjoyed the feeling of helping people.". In contrast, however, during the three rounds of interviews on the expedition, participants steered the conversation towards the nature of the service they were doing. They placed considerable importance on doing projects that had obvious worth to the venturers and to the people they were serving.

Natasha explained how important it was to feel "like you were doing something that was going to make a huge difference". She understood how building latrines "was going to get rid of disease...it was important to the people you were going to help". Similarly, Stuart felt it was crucial that venturers be made aware of how the project was "going to affect the country itself – how much difference it's going to make to what's happening". Lily supported this view in her observation that projects must be a "worthwhile thing to do...that will help in the long run". Her satisfaction came from "serving a purpose" rather than being a tourist.

An important by-product of worthwhile projects is that the volunteers found the work enjoyable and intrinsically rewarding. Maria remarked that "the work here has been a lot more physical and a lot harder, but I've enjoyed it a lot more because it's more worthwhile". Sylvio was influenced most by the project where his participation made a direct and positive difference. This stood in contrast to another project he was on, involving a large project partner with outside workers. In this instance he felt that even if he and the entire Raleigh project group were not there, the work would still get done. Of

the smaller project, Sylvio told me "I've really felt fulfilled by the work we've done here. It's mattered and I mattered.".

These comments show an intrinsic fulfilment from participating in a service project. This stands in contrast to a discussion in Chapter Six, which showed how some venturers used their participation in service projects as an instrumental means to improve their chances of gaining employment. Further data suggest that other venturers were not concerned with presenting prospective employers with the front of a giving, socially responsible person, and were more concerned with doing work that would benefit others. The reward for these venturers was witnessing an improved quality of life in the people they were serving.

Simone's statement reflects her opinion that the element of service is just a means to an end, and that service is only one of several vehicles that Raleigh uses to elicit personal growth among venturers.

> I don't think most of us have come out just to help, even though I think they sell this expedition as you're helping people. But I also think most people have come out for themselves – to meet new people and sort of take control of their lives.

Conversely, Gordo felt there was not enough emphasis on service during the expedition. He did not want to see the end product of finishing the project suffer because team members were less motivated to work or pre-occupied with interpersonal conflicts. Gordo explained to me how "the projects are still very important, and the thing I want to get out of it is helping communities and the environment". Furthermore, Gordo felt that he had a moral obligation to work hard, as "that was the way I sold it to the people who sponsored me".

As Mead (1934) asserts that individuals have the power to transform the world in which their lives are enmeshed, the young people on an expedition may benefit from understanding this process to a greater degree. The primary consideration when using service projects as part of an expedition appears to be ensuring that venturers see clear and genuine links between the work they are doing and concrete ways in which the host communities will benefit from their work. People on both sides become disenchanted when they realise that their service project was created with personal development for the servers as the primary goal, instead of sharing this emphasis with improving the quality of life for those being served. Sigmon (1994) suggests that various organisations that claim to do service-learning attach different emphases to the words "service" and "learning". In Sigmon's eyes, Raleigh would be a positive example of an institution placing equal weight on the goals of service and learning.

Raleigh expeditions feature two of Jacoby's (1996) principles of service-learning: reflection and reciprocity. As I argue in Chapter Eight, reflection among the venturers does take place with minimal facilitation from the staff. Reciprocity between the server and group being served does exist. On a Raleigh expedition both parties teach and learn, with the communities determining and controlling the service provided (Kendall, 2000). I suggest that Raleigh is an organisation that uses service-learning even in the absence of a predetermined service-learning curriculum. Still, service is only one facet of the elements of a Raleigh experience. The following section discusses the role that the different expedition phases have on participant outcomes.

7.4.2 Raleigh's three phases

Raleigh expeditions comprise three phases with three different foci: environmental conservation, adventure and community service. Together, these are meant to lead to the all-encompassing outcome of discovering one's full potential (Raleigh, 2003). The one remaining question is, "Do venturers get something different from each project?". When I posed this question to

my participants it yielded conflicting opinions. During the expedition, but not after the expedition, an overwhelming number of people felt that the community and environmental projects were about other people benefiting and the adventure phase was for their own personal growth.

Tracy suspected that the adventure phase of one week of canoeing and two weeks of trekking would be the most challenging for her. She felt that in "terms of personal development" this phase was "going to be the one that's most beneficial". Gordo told me "as long as we're progressing with the school – that's my number one aim". He felt that community service projects were different "from trekking, where the group comes first". It is unclear how Gordo, Tracy, and others concluded that the community and environmental projects focused on other people benefiting and the adventure project focused more on the venturers benefiting. Regardless of where this feeling came from, I sensed that some people felt relief by giving themselves "permission" to focus entirely on themselves during the adventure phase, after several weeks of working for the benefit of others.

An example of this point is Mildred's comment that "the adventure phase of Raleigh is about us getting something out of it...no one pretends this bit gives anything back to Ghana". Rufus felt the same way, remarking that the adventure phase was "for ourselves". He went on to state how the adventure phase is "not outright doing something for a community or outright doing something for the environment. It's only for ourselves, enjoying ourselves, pushing ourselves". These feelings were shared by Roni, who perceived the community and environmental projects as "doing something for other people" and Lily who claimed that the "trekking's just for your benefit". I was intrigued by Stuart's comment, where he described a metaphor of his "self" being the construction project of the adventure phase, in the same way he had shaped and built roads and schools in previous phases. For Stuart, the adventure phase was not about the community: "The project is yourself. You're working on yourself rather than on building a road". In this instance,

a link can be drawn to Mead's (1934) comments on the genesis of the self. Mead regards the self as a social product that cannot exist without its relations to others. If the self is a social product, it follows that the definition or re-definition of an individual's identity is capable of occurring in any given environment, whether on a trekking journey or participating in a community service project.

I regard all of the above feelings expressed by the venturers as problematic for Raleigh and the young people themselves. The data suggest that a large number of the study participants did not regard the community and environmental projects as effective opportunities for personal growth. In addition, the venturers may not have taken as many opportunities to engage with, and contribute to, the local communities they encountered through their trekking and canoeing journeys. The findings imply that venturers may benefit from understanding that all three phases offer opportunities to learn about themselves, their relationships with each other, and about the culture in which they are living.

Some venturers considered all the phases on expedition capable of yielding some form of personal growth. Tracy was one of these people, as illustrated by her comment that the service projects are not "just a task to do to help other people, but to benefit us". Despite the conflicting opinions found in the interviews, my informal discussions with participants and my observations on the expedition lead me to agree with Simone's statement: "The projects are different but I don't think they bring out a different effect on you".

A Raleigh experience is full of novel activities and experiences that are negotiated by the individual's interactions with them. These interactions demand new interpretations, and subsequently new meanings are constructed. It appears that rather than the three different phases yielding three different types of outcomes, they all elicit personal growth in different forms. In other words, there is no algorithmic formula ensuring that the

environmental phase yields x, y, and z outcomes and the community phase yields a, b, and c outcomes. The strength in having these three different and distinct episodes lies in providing variety for the venturer, which elicits the general outcomes outlined in the Chapter Six, such as becoming more comfortable meeting and working with strangers. More specifically, variety means that the three phases on a Raleigh expedition translate into three novel settings, three new social environments, and three new activity foci. To be absolutely clear with my claim, a considerable factor influencing the outcomes of a Raleigh expedition is that there are opportunities to adapt to the disequilibrium elicited by three unfamiliar physical settings, three unfamiliar social environments, and three unfamiliar projects. This contrasts with programmes having only one physical setting, one social environment, and one set of activities.

7.4.3 Raleigh and development

After travelling around to the different project sites during the first phase I was surprised by my own reaction to Raleigh's presence in the host communities. Frankly, I wondered if there was an equitable balance of give and take between Raleigh venturers and the host communities (Beames, 2003b). Was personal growth for the young people a fair trade for their unskilled labour? I worried when I witnessed UK venturers oblivious to the fact that they were flashing CD players and cameras in front of people whose yearly income could not buy such an item. Maria was aware of her presence as a privileged foreigner who had come to Africa to help those with less.

> They think we're like superman or something. They think we're totally rich...I hope that doesn't start them thinking about what they haven't got. Like yesterday when we were playing rounders, those kids came up and were looking at my trainers, 'cause I had Nike Air on, and they were all talking about them. (Maria)

A Goffmanesque perspective (1990) would suggest that Maria's presentation of self included the front of a pair of running shoes that happened to cost the equivalent of several months' wages for a villager living in Northern Ghana. In the eyes of the Ghanaian children these shoes reinforced Maria's role of the rich, white person from England. Unwittingly, Maria had reinforced the stereotype held by the children. My observations and own experiences on the expedition suggest that the individuals who built strong, egalitarian relationships with members of the host communities minimised or "down played" controllable differences in their outward appearance. Raleigh staff and venturers achieved this by not wearing clothing or shoes that appeared expensive and clean, and by not flaunting cameras, portable stereos, and other electronic goods. Kendall (1990) and Jacoby (1996) assert the importance of service programmes that are reciprocal, where those serving and being served are both teaching and learning. A Goffmanesque (1990) analysis illustrates how reciprocity may be facilitated by Raleigh staff and venturers presenting fronts with minimal financial advantages over their audience from the host community.

I also wondered how Raleigh groups would be regarded by local people who had grown wary and suspicious of generations of Europeans making them promises of a better life. Lily shared this concern and told me that if she was Ghanaian she "wouldn't be happy to see us". She had read about the slave trade and was amazed at how, despite the British having "done a lot of cruel stuff", the Ghanaians "were still really sweet and nice". Lily thought it was a "good thing they don't judge people for the past". Gordo was aware of dominant Western attitudes and questioned the aims and motives of various development organisations, Raleigh included.

> What right have we got to say "you must live like we live" – "you must go to school and you must do the toilet there"? If they're happy with the way they live, which by all intents and purposes they seem to be,

what right have we to come along and say, "you must do it this way"? (Gordo)

Adults from the host communities aside, it was the children who paid large amounts of attention to Raleigh groups, often standing and watching them do the most banal domestic duties for hours on end. When I visited her in the first phase, Natasha told me how "the toughest bit is the audience thing", as almost every part of their existence was watched by people from the village. She expanded on this point:

> When we were putting our tents up we had at least 200 hundred people watching...They're so interested in us sitting around, reading our books, writing in our diaries, or two people having a chat when they don't have a clue what we're saying. (Natasha)

During this same visit I took one of my favourite photographs. It is of 30 children surrounding a female Australian venturer as she washed her long red hair in a bucket. Although for most venturers this was a minor irritation to be accommodated, some younger YDP males seemed to soak up this attention, as if they were rock and roll stars. Friio told me "when you go through the villages they start waving to you, all the kids – it's amazing...they just wanted to touch you". Other venturers felt that this attention was distracting and took away from their sense of mission. Gordo was adamant that he didn't "want to be treated like royalty". As he stated, "I want to stand side by side with the Ghanaian people and I think you learn most from them". Gordo's feelings are supported by research in the field of service-learning, which stresses an equality emphasising both servers and those being served as learners (Kendall, 1990).

The data surrounding these issues suggest that everyone affiliated with Raleigh should consider Stanton's (1993) three guidelines for service-learning: learning projects must ensure those being served are in control of

the services being provided; those being served must become better able to serve as a result of the project; and those who serve are also learners. In the end, Gordo reconciled his role on the community project because the project was planned by the village chief and Raleigh, together. This pre-expedition negotiation is an important distinction, as it meant that the communities could say yes or no to Raleigh's involvement, unlike the trekking journeys where groups would descend upon villages unannounced. Gordo explained that he did not mind "living in the community, 'cause they're so friendly and happy to help". Conversely, he "did have a problem living in the villages" on the trekking phase, "because it seemed like such an interruption". Rufus was struggling with the issue of Raleigh's presence as well. Near the end of our second phase interview I asked him if perhaps Raleigh should not come at all. He responded that "it's better to come – definitely – and feel those feelings inside about having too much, and cope with it and learn from it, rather than not come at all".

Raleigh's (2003) marketing literature suggests that venturers work hard all day helping the less fortunate while personally growing from their experiences. Still, it appears that participants were confused by Raleigh's aims and methods. In Chapter One, I introduced two organisational tensions at Raleigh. One of these tensions lies in the relationship between Raleigh's concurrent existence as a development charity for the participants, and as a development charity for the host country. Sylvio's comments echo this sentiment.

> When I read the Raleigh website it said "youth development charity" and I thought it either meant developing the youth of Ghana or it meant taking the youth from Britain and developing world. I didn't realise it meant taking the youth from Britain and developing them in Ghana... I've learnt and accepted that Raleigh is about the development of the people that come here. It's not about the development of the place that you go to. (Sylvio)

Although initially there was confusion about whether Raleigh existed for the development of the venturers or the villages, in time this problem appeared to be reconciled. Stuart's thoughts summed up a feeling shared by some other self-funded venturers.

> I came out here basically to do charity work. But it was pretty clear to me after two or three weeks and realising more about what Raleigh's all about, I had the opportunity to work on myself as well as the project. (Stuart)

Observing and interacting with all of the venturers showed they had differing interpretations about Raleigh's mission. Despite conflicting data, I conclude that Raleigh is concerned with the development of both its participants and the host communities. It is unlikely that a programme without equal emphasis on these aspects would endure both in the countries Raleigh operates in, and in the UK gap year market. The findings suggest that Raleigh ensures that its volunteer participants are clear about the organisation's dual purposes of development of the venturer and development of the host communities.

Summary

The themes relating to the critical elements of this Raleigh expedition can be considered in three categories: physical setting, social environment, and activities. The data suggest that remote settings isolating the group from the rest of the expedition provide conditions for individuals to address interpersonal differences. Repeated separation from familiar, supportive social networks may account for the outcome of individuals becoming more comfortable meeting and working with other people. A diverse group comprising host country, international, YDP, and self-funded venturers was also found to be highly important. There is little evidence suggesting that particular expedition activities yield specific outcomes. Regardless of the

project emphasis, crucial common factors are that the activities are physically demanding, that groups are self-sufficient in their living arrangements, and that venturers understand the purpose of the variety in the programming.

Mead's (1934) concept of the self is characterised by how individuals negotiate the relationship between the influences of the group and their own responses to the group's attitudes. This concept suggests that the self is a product of all social situations. The data suggest that the various activities on Raleigh expeditions, whether digging latrines or trekking, do not offer varying degrees of social interaction. The elements of the expedition that do have an impact on social interaction, and consequently on an individual's identity, are diversity within each group and living with three different groups of people. Three distinct phases with three different, diverse groups offer venturers great scope for social interaction. In Mead's (1934) terms, individuals must confront three different generalised others. Interacting with a large variety of people with a wide range of beliefs and values demands an increased interpretation of the social encounters in which individuals find themselves. This interpretation leads to a re-examination and modification of meanings, which ultimately influence an individual's knowledge, attitudes, and behaviours (Blumer, 1969). Now that the expedition outcomes and the elements that elicited those outcomes have been considered, the following chapter examines how participants recognised the ways in which the expedition influenced their lives.

Chapter Eight: Processes

Hattie et al. (1997) state that "most of the studies...have concentrated on the summative rather than formative or process aspects of adventure programs" (p. 74), with few researchers exploring how outcomes are achieved. This chapter has direct connections to Chapter Six, as it outlines the processes by which venturers came to know how they were influenced by their expedition experiences. Understanding this critical, organic connection between outcomes and how they are achieved has importance in the field of outdoor education (Ewert, 1983; McKenzie, 2000).

As the data emerged over months of interpretation I realised that the subject of processing was not one of many elements of the experience, but a separate, amorphous entity weaving the outcomes and elements together. While all Raleigh participants may build latrines, stand under a tropical waterfall, and cook mashed yam on a camp stove, they will each process those experiences in their own way, whether those experiences are banal domestic chores or emotional peaks. As I became more cognisant of the importance of processing the experience, the usefulness of symbolic interactionism became more apparent, as it explained how people constructed meaning through an internal dialogue with themselves and through discussion with others (Blumer, 1969; Cooley, 1962; Mead, 1934).

Although semi-formal, one-to-one meetings and occasional group review sessions appeared helpful to the young people, it appeared that much informal processing was taking place on the expedition. This informal processing seemed to occur through reflection and conversation, both during and after the experience. The data suggest that the young people were constantly processing their experiences, whether lying awake at night or reviewing the day's events with another group member while fetching water, for example. This processing continued well after the expedition through

long distance phone calls, at the pub, or going for a long walk on one's own. The findings show that participants were largely responsible for processing their own experiences.

8.1 Unsure of processes

As the literature highlights the need to understand the processes by which outdoor experiences lead to participant growth, (Ewert, 1983; Hattie et al., 1997; McKenzie, 2000), the data showed that venturers, too, are curious about how their adventure is eliciting changes within themselves. The first theme of this chapter focuses on venturers who felt they were learning and growing, but did not know how this was happening.

> That's part of the confusing thing, 'cause we're all learning without knowing what we're learning or who's teaching us...Because what they're truly teaching you is the kind of thing they can't tell you that they're teaching you. (Sylvio)

Similarly, Tracy wondered how working on a construction site in a developing world was getting her closer to Raleigh's aims of discovering her full potential.

> We've been mixing the cement by hand and that's a job at home that would probably take about an hour with a cement mixer. And you think "why can't Raleigh provide us with a cement mixer?" and I'm thinking "am I developing personally from mixing cement?". (Tracy)

My formal conversations with Tracy and Sylvio suggested they had faith that the Raleigh experience would lead to personal growth, even though they were unsure how this might come about. As the expedition progressed and in the six months after the expedition, both Tracy and Sylvio became clearer about what they gained from their experience and how they gained it. Based on these data, a useful question is "Is it important that expert facilitators help

participants process their experience more deeply?". It appears that venturers who were confused about what and how they were learning during the experience eventually resolved this confusion. It is arguable that because of this confusion, they may have considered their circumstances and feelings to a greater depth than if they had had an expert facilitator coordinating a structured review session. Seen this way, the lack of expert facilitation session may have meant that participants were in longer and deeper states of Walsh and Golin's (1976) adaptive dissonance, which required much more informal reflection and dialogue to process. Furthermore, this process has an organic individual quality that allows people to process their own experiences on their own terms and time scale. The following section describes how venturers processed their experiences through informal dialogue.

8.2 Processing through dialogue

Earlier in this thesis I stated that group reviewing is commonly used in outdoor education as a means to maximise learning from experience (Bacon, 1987; Gass, 1990; Gass, 1993; Greenaway, 1990, 1993; Priest & Gass, 1997). My participant observation with the various project groups showed that team meetings were regular occurrences. However, these meetings were usually logistical and business-like in nature, rather than educational, focusing on who was going to do what job the next day, for example. Apart from these meetings, the unstructured period at the end of the work day offered a relaxed time when people could chat about their experiences.

Maria saw this time as "a chance to sit down and talk about how you've coped with the day". "You get to hear other people's opinions", said Stuart, "you got some time to sit down with people and actually talk about things you normally wouldn't have the chance to really think about". Near the end of the expedition, Mildred found solace and support with some team-members who shared her feelings about the return home. She told me how one night they "talked for about six hours…about how scared we were that we wouldn't be able to fit back in and people would expect us to". Regardless of the topic of

conversation, Sylvio found that the venturers were "all learning naturally off each other".

These comments illustrate how venturers were helping each other interpret their interactions with the social, physical, and activity elements of the expedition. As Cooley (1962) claims that the individual and society are twin born, it is plausible that Raleigh venturers develop a sense of self through the symbols, gestures, and language they share with the others in their project groups. This project group plays a vital role in processing people's experiences by doing what Greenaway (1993) labels "reviewing by chatting" (p. 123). In the context of a Raleigh expedition, the project group can be regarded as a primary group, where "human nature comes into existence. Man [sic] does not have it at birth; he cannot acquire it except through fellowship" (Cooley, 1962, p. 30). The primary group differs from other relationships because it is not predicated on the exchange of services so that each individual benefits (Cooley, 1962). Because people on expedition are separated from their primary group of friends and family in the UK, the project group becomes each venturer's primary group. This group plays a vital role in helping each venturer process their own experience.

8.2.1 One-to-ones

At the beginning and end of each three-week phase each venturer normally has a one-to-one meeting with a staff member. These semi-formal conversations play a part in all Raleigh expeditions. Their purpose is to give venturers opportunities to identify goals they have for themselves during the phase, and to consider how they might work towards those goals. It is also a specific time for venturers to comment on how things are going for them during the phase, in relation to their social and physical environments and the activities. Even though I did not ask people about one-to-ones during our interviews, this subject was important enough for participants to tell me about.

Rufus explained how the staff had helped them by "having the one-to-one's and asking standard questions like "what do you feel you've learned?", "how do you feel about the expedition?". Similarly, Nonnie felt she needed "some kind of guide at the beginning". Without someone to ask questions that elicited more focused reflection Nonnie felt that venturers "would have floated through it and not realised what you're actually getting out of it".

These comments suggest that the one-to-ones played a worthwhile role in helping venturers process their experiences, and that staff members do not need to be highly trained facilitators. As with Priest et al.'s (1999) research, the findings imply that facilitators may adequately serve the participants by asking thought-provoking, open-ended questions, and listening intently. Rather than demanding an immediate answer, participants should be allowed time and space for the question to be "mulled over" (Boud et al., 1985, p. 19) in a process of reflection that may lead to newly constructed meanings about themselves and the world they live in. If the venturer did want to discuss their feelings then the onus would be on the staff member to be a supportive listener. Similarly, Greenaway (2004) stresses the importance of recognising that everyone is a learner and facilitator of other people's learning. He proposes that staff members ask participants the simple but important question of what is helping and hindering their learning.

Since Raleigh does not have specific pre-established participant outcomes for venturers, it is unlikely that staff would steer them towards issues of leadership, self-esteem, or teamwork – topics that might be central to the mission of other youth development organisations. What appears to be of crucial importance is that young people have a supportive, non-judgmental adult to talk with. This notion is supported by Conrad and Hedin's (1981) work, which reported that young participants in experiential education programmes gained the greatest amount of social development through collegial relationships with adults and others. Through open, curious

dialogue, the staff and venturer may work together to identify a goal and a plan of action to reach it. My informal conversations with staff and venturers indicate that staff need to accommodate a wide range of venturers, including those who are both highly motivated and have their own plans, those venturers with no specific goals and little desire to manufacture any, and all those venturers in between.

The staff members are also individuals who possess their own meanings and interpretations. Their interaction with a venturer during a one-to-one session cannot help but alter the meanings that certain social, abstract, or physical objects have for each of them. Moreover, the staff members stand to have their meanings challenged and re-interpreted as much as any venturer. This point is an important one in terms of the claims I am making in this thesis: The Raleigh experience is unique because the staff do not hold disproportionately more power than the young people. Effectively, they are having an adventure together, as companions. I will discuss this further in a section on the role of the staff.

8.2.2 Post expedition

Sharing feelings with other people once back in the UK appears to be a critical part of how young people process their experience. Several participants expressed that during the expedition they had little idea of how this experience was affecting, or would affect, their lives. Therefore, it is not surprising that whatever forms of processing took place after the experience were of considerable importance.

For Nonnie and Lily, talking about their experiences with friends and family back home was a process of clarifying the salient instances of the expedition, and how these experiences had shaped their identity. Nonnie explained how "the more you speak to people back here, the more I make sense of how things worked and what I gained out of it". Much of Lily's experience was

processed after the expedition by "talking to friends". She expands on this point:

> When I was talking about what I done out there and who I met and what was different...the more I spoke about it, the more I realised how different things were. I think it definitely would be from talking to people – talking to friends. The more I spoke about it, the more I realised. (Lily)

It appeared that Rufus did not have a lot of people back home that he wanted to share his experience with, preferring instead to make sense of his time in Africa by talking to his friends with whom he had shared that intense episode. He told me how he found it hard adjusting to life back home, but "it made it easier because of people to talk to, relate to - friends who had the same experience". Nonnie's, Lily's, and Rufus' testaments illustrate the importance of dialogue in the interpretive process. For these three venturers, it was post-expedition interaction with the safe and familiar company of primary groups that enabled them to share their feelings about their experiences and process them to a deeper level.

The above example lies in contrast to those who came back and shared their experiences with neither friends and family, nor with the people they had met on expedition. As a result these venturers found it difficult to re-adjust to home life. They seemed to remain confused by having their world turned upside down by going to Africa; life in Africa becoming "normal", and then being turned upside down again, once back home. Stuart was one of these people and he told me, "I had no one else to share that experience with when I got home". Cooley's (1962) writing is helpful in understanding how Stuart found it difficult to leave the comfort and solidarity of his expedition primary group and then start a new job in a new place in the UK, where he was effectively "primary group-less". He explained how "it was really odd to

spend so long with these people and then come back and you've got nobody to share these experiences with any more".

Although Stuart was the only participant who spoke of this, there were two other participants who, according my observations, suffered this same confusion upon returning to the UK. The peer reviewers and I suspected that some venturers' African experiences were so alien that they had difficulty recounting what they had done and seen to their peer group at home. The same participants who did not, or were unable to share their experiences with people in their home community were also in little to no contact with their fellow venturers after the expedition. It seems clear that the people who struggled with re-adjustment upon their return to the UK did very little sharing of their experiences with others.

A follow-up week was offered to the YDP venturers, but only one of the seven YDP participants attended this. Roni told me that "we spoke about what we got out of it and how we could translate that into our everyday lives...and broke it down into basics. That helped.". Although Roni found the follow-up helpful, I wonder whether a large part of why it was helpful was that she decided it was important enough to attend and wanted to gain from it. I suspect she would have been fine without this follow-up week. At 25 years old and gainfully employed, Roni easily made friends with venturers from all backgrounds.

The idea of a follow-up session, even a day-long one, for all venturers on the expedition was suggested by a number of participants, both YDP and self-funders. Tracy was critical of how Raleigh had managed the venturers once the expedition was over. She stated that "the support after you get back isn't as good as it should be...there should be some sort of responsibility by Raleigh to look after the people they've just taken away on this life-changing thing". Tracy and others felt that the distinction between YDP and self-funder was not necessary at this stage, as everyone had taken part in an

extraordinary set of events and needed some time and help to put it all into perspective. The data imply that a follow-up session organised by Raleigh would be very helpful for people's processing. This meeting would not have to be formal, but could be more of a social gathering, where the informal processing that occurred on expedition could continue. Casual conversation with venturers suggested that more deliberate post-expedition processing for both YDP and self-funded venturers could be facilitated as needed with Raleigh staff at head office or regional offices.

Even if there were a follow-up programme for all venturers there is no guarantee that everyone will attend. Raleigh does not hold any coercive power to make venturers attend any sessions. This is an example of Mead's (1934) claim that although individuals are intertwined in a social world, they have the power to determine their actions as they respond to this world. If a young person is having trouble adjusting back into their community but refuses help, it is difficult to assist them, even though Raleigh may feel they could benefit from sharing their experiences with other people.

8.2.3 Processing through interviews

One way I had not anticipated that participants would process the experience occurred through the formal interviews I had with them. Although several people were quite thankful for being involved in the study, only Tracy said so while the tape was running. She told me how she had enjoyed being part of the study, particularly as it had helped "pin down some of the things" she had been thinking about before, during, and after the expedition.

Perhaps, as van Manen (1990) asserts, we are all affected by the research process. In light of one of my main claims about processing – that we do it informally through conversation and reflection – I should not be surprised that my five interviews with each participant served as supplemental one-to-one sessions. During the investigation it had not occurred to me that I was unwittingly helping participants process their experiences. When deciding

on the methodology I recognised that the researcher and participant were co-constructing reality and making sense of the experience in a collaborative nature (Stake 1995). This did not stop me from assuming that the experience was processed outside our interaction and that I was learning about this process through our conversations. For my own learning, this was a concrete example of how the researcher becomes part of the experience, not just a reporter of the experience. I came to know through first hand experience that "the qualitative research interview is a construction site of knowledge" (Kvale, 1996, p. 42). Having considered how venturers process their experiences through dialogue, I now examine the role of reflection in processing the expedition experience.

8.3 Reflection

Boud et al. (1985) write that reflection is "a form of response of the learner to experience" (p. 18). Reflecting on experiences seems to be something that people cannot help but do, as the internal dialogue that humans have with themselves is a constant process of interpretation (Blumer, 1969; Dewey, 1973). Indeed, "this process is in play continuously during one's waking life, as one notes and considers one or another matter, or observes this or that happening" (Blumer, 1969, p. 13). Furthermore, this process explains how people assess the situation they are in, and take action based on this assessment. It follows that while on the expedition, venturers were in a constant state of reflection upon the different situations in which they found themselves.

Some participants placed a high value on being away from the life they knew in the UK, so they could gain greater perspective on what they were doing, and what they really wanted to do with their lives when they returned to the UK. As Boud et al. (1985) suggest, this reflective process is where people "recap their experience, think about it, mull it over, and evaluate it" (p. 19). Furthermore, this "mulling over" period seems to include consideration of future possibilities, much like Kolb's (1984) abstract conceptualisation stage

of the experiential learning cycle. An example of the above is Simone's remark in the middle of the expedition that "out here you start thinking. I've come out here to think about what I can do after". Six months after the expedition when talking with Roni, she explained to me how her reflection and interpretation during the expedition had influenced her actions after the expedition. She stated "I started thinking about most of these things while I was in Ghana – what I wanted to get out of it when I got back".

Sylvio and Rufus' use of words such as "subconscious" and "subtle" suggest that much of the learning happened through a reflective process they were not aware of. Sylvio observed this about how people learn:

> Perhaps most of the things that Raleigh tries to teach you are best taught when you're not concentrating on them...it's sort of a subconscious thing - everyone seems to learn by just taking a look back and seeing...'cause there was so much time to look back and be thoughtful, wasn't there? (Sylvio)

Rufus felt that it was human nature to learn through experience without being conscious of it. He expanded on this point:

> I'm sure I was learning things everyday that didn't come to the surface because I didn't think about it or it was subtle learning...I think mostly I helped myself identify what I was learning. You don't have to be a genius to figure out what you learned. (Rufus)

These two examples suggest that individuals are constantly interpreting and re-interpreting meanings without any deliberate effort. Interpreting the situations they find themselves in is simply something that all humans do during every waking hour (Blumer, 1969). As interpreting interaction involves the constant, subconscious re-evaluation and modification of meanings, it follows that venturers have been processing their expedition

experience from the moment they first conceived of going to Ghana and are still processing it today. For example, Nonnie feels that she is the one controlling this "sense-making" through her own reflection. She stated: "It's since I've come back that I've started thinking about what I got out of it. And I've done that on my own – nobody's been asking me.".

Even without formal review sessions, constant interpretation of the meanings that people developed for the social, physical, and abstract objects they interacted with meant that personal reflection contributed greatly to how participants processed their experiences. The following section explores how time influences participants' opportunities for processing through dialogue and reflection.

8.3.1 Time to process

I have argued that young people process their experiences through reflection and informal conversation with their project group and project staff, and their friends and family in the UK. Only towards the end of the data analysis did I start to wonder if the ability to process an adventure experience without advanced facilitation is predicated on there being enough time for people to think, talk, and think some more. My experience working in the field of outdoor education has been that programmes often pride themselves on being so "action-packed" that there is little time left over to sleep, let alone think. The other scenario is that whenever the action stops, a formal reviewing session begins. In these cases it is possible that the creative, energetic session animated by a lively facilitator actually inhibits the processing that could be elicited by finding a quiet place to sit and daydream, or by casting a casual look back upon the day over a pot of tea with some fellow group members.

This finding implies that staff can take positive steps to help participants process their experiences without being directly involved. Although there is a time and place for a group discussion, a more formal approach to processing

(e.g. Greenaway's (1993) four steps of facts, findings, feelings, futures) may not always be the answer. What is of paramount importance is that reflective time is built into programmes to allow participants to "explore their experiences in order to lead to new understandings and appreciations" (Boud et al., 1985, p. 19).

8.3.2 No formal reflection, no learning?

Based on the data, I believe that venturers processed their experiences without highly trained facilitators and advanced facilitation techniques, such as Metaphoric models. This processing occurred through three routes: reflection, informal conversation, and one-to-one sessions with volunteer staff and the researcher. The qualifier "volunteer" in front of the word staff is an important distinction as this shows that they were not highly trained staff with prior group facilitation experience. The data show that one-to-one sessions are vital opportunities for staff to pose questions about venturers' responses to the situations they have found themselves in.

Despite the importance placed on advanced facilitation during group outdoor education programmes (Gass, 1990; Greenaway, 1990, 1993; Priest & Gass, 1997, 1999; Schoel et al., 1988), the data in the current study suggest it is worth exploring how to coordinate an experiential learning programme without advanced group facilitation. I argue that the key to enhancing the educational potential of this programme may lie in its structure: the elements of the experience. Bacon's (1983) statement that "instructors can afford to be less concerned with the discussion and more focused on providing appropriate course experiences" (p. 10), suggests that people will learn from their experiences if the experience is well-structured. I have outlined the key elements of a well-structured Raleigh experience in the previous chapter: diverse groups, unfamiliar physical settings, and novel activities – all done three times. Perhaps if these critical elements are adhered to, the experience will be so "positive, profound, and powerful that it will automatically generalize to the student's daily life; instructors do not

need to be excessively concerned about transference" (Bacon, 1987, p. 3). In summarising some of Bacon's thoughts, Gass (1993) suggests that the Outward Bound Plus model may be too difficult and confusing for less experienced instructors and runs the "risk of steering away from the strength (i.e., the experiential nature) of adventure experiences" (p. 223). Raleigh may best serve its venturers by focusing on the inherent strengths of the social and physical elements of the experience, rather than on facilitating the experience.

This suggestion is supported by James' (1980) statement that "instructors can rely on the Outward Bound course to give their students a good experience", and later "the learning that takes place naturally and integrally on an Outward Bound course does not need elaborate verbalization and testing in a controlled group process in order to be conscious, useful and transferable" (p. 2-3). I suggest that researchers and theorists who imply that learning from experience cannot happen without experts using specific facilitation techniques are severely discounting the individuals' abilities to process their experiences through their own reflection and informal conversations.

Neill's (2002) thoughts on processing suggest that because experience is personal, approaches to processing may need to consider the subjective experience of each individual.

> We also need to consider individual differences between participants (i.e., does everyone go through the same process?) and unique situational influence. Surely the individual and unique moments play particularly significant roles in the inner process of experience and transformation? If so, then it becomes difficult to see too much value in placing emphasis on the facilitation technique without simultaneously focusing in an in-depth way on the experience of the individual. (Neill, 2002, p. 5)

This statement supports much of the argument I have been attempting to construct throughout this chapter, and indeed, this thesis. First, Neill's (2002) comment acknowledges that encounters and activities of all kinds are experienced differently by different people. This has congruence with the subjectivist epistemology espoused by this study, in that personal experience is the sole source of knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Stake, 1995). Second, this comment highlights the importance of the "inner process of experience", which points to the need to examine ways in which people process experience that are not through Bacon's (1987) three models of processing, nor Priest and Gass' (1997) six generations of facilitation.

Regardless of whether one prefers Dewey's (1933), Schon's (1983), Kolb's (1984), or Boud et al.'s (1985) view of reflection, they all encompass three similar stages of looking back on experience, "mulling over" one's performance, and considering options for future action. I do not believe these stages happen one after the other, as these perspectives might lead us to think. Reflection is a much more organic process, where looking back, mulling over, and considering future actions are inextricably intertwined (Webb, 2003). In many outdoor adventure programmes these stages of reflection are condensed into compact learning sessions (Gass, 1990; Priest & Gass, 1997). This investigation has yielded evidence questioning the assumption that in order to learn from experience, participants require assistance from external experts. The following section discusses the role played by the staff, in terms of structuring the experience.

8.4 Structuring the experience

8.4.1 The staff's role

My own experience in outdoor education has led me to believe that the staff play a considerable role in shaping participants' experiences. They are often the difference between an experience that is regarded as negative or positive,

a waste of time or worthwhile, boring or fun. However, the fact that only two participants even mentioned the staff over the course of 69 interviews suggests that the staff's role was not regarded as significant. Sylvio's comment sums up one of my observations about the staff's role on expedition: "Essentially they're here to make sure we're safe – everything else is up to us".

The staff were not trained youth workers and did not have extensive expedition experience, having been in Africa only two weeks longer than the venturers. As one staff member put it to me, "we're only one step ahead of them", in terms of knowing what was happening on the project site. By contrast, in most outdoor adventure programmes the staff members are highly familiar with the physical setting and activities, and have the experience and ability to manipulate many aspects of the learning environment. They might do this by withholding or sharing route information or equipment, or simply by altering a task in progress.

My insights gained from the expedition suggest that the staff role is more logistical than the instructional roles more common in mainstream adventure education, where instructors manipulate conditions in order to yield specific outcomes. The fact that staff members do not have extensive training, and are not guiding venturers towards predetermined organisational outcomes, has effectively made the Raleigh experience "accidentally cutting-edge", as their approach to personal development has several consistencies with the Generative Paradigm (Loynes, 2002). Similar to the Raleigh expedition, this paradigm advocates an "approach where the facilitator accompanies rather than leads the participants...its principals are egalitarian" (Loynes, 2002, p.122). Seen this way, "learning is goal free, the experience offered a step on the road rather than a solution" (Loynes, 2002, p. 122).

It appears that the staff on a Raleigh expedition do play the role of the companion more than the facilitator. Where Dewey (1973) views the educator's role of controlling the elements of the experience and placing students in indeterminate situations, I suggest that the expedition experience in Ghana placed both the staff and the venturers in indeterminate situations: both were having adventures, both had opportunities to learn and grow. While I doubt this approach is deliberately planned by Raleigh, it appears to be a characteristic of the experience that has evolved over time. Considering Raleigh's militaristic roots, this evolution must have been significant, as it appears that staff members used to have considerable power over their groups (Blashford-Snell & Tweedy, 1988). Over the years, it seems there has been a steady shift away from a hierarchical relationship between the venturers and volunteer staff towards a more egalitarian one. Part of this shift has involved an increase in the freedom that the young people have on expedition.

8.4.2 Freedom within structure

One of this study's implications for Raleigh expeditions, and perhaps other organisations' expeditions, is to incorporate James' (1980) and Bacon's (1983, 1987) advice of concentrating efforts on structuring a learning environment that will yield personal growth in whatever form the young person wants. The challenge then lies in coordinating a minimal set of conditions for venturers to interact in that is not overly constraining.

Proudman (1995) asserts that teachers who believe in experiential learning "will create safe working boundaries for students and then get right out of the way" (p. 243). While I agree with this statement, the term "safe working boundaries" requires definition. This is a delicate question, as throughout this thesis I have argued that the untrained staff do not have an inordinate amount of power over the venturers. More precisely, the staff do have a certain amount of power invested in them by Raleigh, but their actions are not absolute and may be successfully challenged by venturers. In fact, the

three months I spent in Ghana highlighted the effectiveness of projects where the planning and action were shared between venturers and staff. These projects seem to be the most successful, in terms of venturers feeling a sense of ownership in, and satisfaction with, the project. As Gair (1997) states, "Young people must be empowered to take responsibility for their own experiences. The outing should be planned by the group, for the group – the adventure belongs to them!" (p. 42).

To a large degree, the structure of each phase is determined by the project staff at the London head office and the in-country expedition leader. The volunteer staff then go to the project site (usually a host community) and get briefed on the work that needs to be done, the equipment available, and any local villagers or tradesmen who will be assisting. The other main responsibility of the staff is drawing up a risk-management plan to identify and manage workplace hazards, along with an emergency evacuation protocol. Once at the project site, the main structures put in place by Raleigh are those concerning the main activity (building latrines, for example). Most other things such as cooking, sleeping arrangements, work rosters, cleaning, radio reporting, and leisure are planned and carried out by the young people. Besides the physical location and goal of the main project activity, the only other thing not determined by the venturers is the social environment. In many cases, project groups are decided by the expedition leader and deputy expedition leader. Informal discussion with the Ghana expedition leader indicated that maximising diversity among the four categories of venturers was a principal aim. Another consideration related to this aim was the separation of people who had friendships before the expedition began. This serves the dual purpose of encouraging interaction with a greater number of venturers and enabling them to break away from established social roles.

I have described the above because it highlights the structural boundaries laid out by Raleigh and the volunteer staff. The boundaries of a Raleigh expedition lie in the nature of the project and the social environment of the

project group. More simply, at the beginning of each phase the only thing Raleigh staff can say with any certainty is that "these 11 people will be working on this project in this place". Everything else is unpredictable; an infinite number of variables influence each person in ways that are impossibly complex. The unpredictable nature of the experience is what makes it adventurous.

Creating a basic, non-dominating structure within which participants have their own experience is a premise held close by some outdoor educators (Loynes, 2002; Proudman, 1995). However, this may have been overshadowed by the dominant school of thought in the field during the 80s and 90s, which featured instructors controlling programme variables to such an extent that it may not have been accurate to label them "experiential" (Hovelynck, 2001). As Hovelynck (2001) says of experiences with overly controlled conditions, "if the lessons to be learned from an experience can be listed before the experience has taken place, and thus independently of the learner's experience, it seems misleading to call the learning 'experiential'" (p. 8). A structure that controls will use power to influence outcomes. I do not see Raleigh's work using structure to this end.

Having "freedom within structure" (Woolfe, 1992, p. 4) may be central to planning a Raleigh expedition. Similarly, in their work on wilderness recreation experiences, Patterson et al. (1998) assume what they call a "situated freedom", which they describe as a

> ...structure in the environment that sets boundaries on what can be perceived or experienced, but that within those boundaries recreationists are free to experience the world in highly individual, unique, and variable ways. Under these conditions, the nature of experience is seen as emergent rather than predictable. (pp. 425-426)

This is helpful for understanding the expedition experience with Raleigh, as the expedition structure is solid enough to provide a physical environment, social setting, and programme activity, but loose enough not to dominate the actions, and ultimately outcomes, of the young people. This balance allows the young people to have an adventure, not under the watchful gaze of project staff, but alongside them.

This discussion on how people process their experiences does not aim to categorically reject the role of advanced group facilitation, but rather to explore alternatives to this common method of processing. The discussion in this area is exploratory in nature, as it was not a foreseen area of data collection. As such, the findings and claims in this chapter are less immune to criticism than the others.

As I conclude this chapter I am aware that in it I have made some of the strongest claims of this thesis, particularly in relation to previous research. Furthermore, these claims are based on findings that are less substantial than those in the Hopes, Outcomes, and Elements chapters. Still, I feel that the findings related to processing have sufficient trustworthiness and theoretical relevance to merit inclusion.

The reason the actual data in this chapter are less substantial than the other two chapters is because, initially, I had not sought to find answers specifically regarding processing. I was thinking much more uni-dimensionally, seeking to explain the expedition experience in terms of programme elements and the outcomes they elicit. It was only when I returned from Ghana, and before the final round of interviews, that I started to realise there was an undeniable third set of factors surrounding expeditions and expedition research. To concentrate only on the outcomes and elements means neglecting the process by which individual agents interpret their experiences.

As I came to this realisation I was also solidifying a theoretical framework based on Blumer's (1969) symbolic interactionism. This serendipitous marriage of exploring how people process their adventure experience and how symbolic interactionism explains the ways that people construct meanings through interaction and interpretation has proven most helpful for this project. I understood the depth of this congruence between processing and symbolic interactionism only towards the end of the data collection – after the expedition was over and 80% of the interviews had been completed. If I could go back in time I would have pursued the issue of processing with much greater focus during my data collection. This chapter on processing serves to highlight an area worthy of future research and is an example of how the findings of a research project are constantly evolving and are "emergent rather than predictable" (Patterson et al., 1998, p. 426).

8.5 Are the mountains still speaking for themselves?

A fitting question with which to conclude this chapter was first posed by Neill (2002) when, in reference to James' (1980) essay more than 20 years ago, he asked if the mountains were still speaking for themselves. In light of the data generated by this inquiry, my answer to this question is that the mountains are not being allowed to speak for themselves. The tension between the mountains speaking for themselves model and advanced group facilitation is really a tension between letting people process their experience themselves or doing it for them.

This tension may be part of a bigger tension surrounding the overall facilitation of experiential learning programmes, which is ultimately reducible to issues of power and control (Brown, 2002). Programmes promising certain outcomes require staff to manipulate variables and control learner processing in order to be deemed effective or not, often in positivistic terms. Programmes that do not promise specific outcomes, and whose staff members share in the adventure, may not need anything more than adequate time for reflection and informal discussion in order for participants to grow

from their experiences. The latter kind of programming is akin to the Generative Paradigm (Loynes, 2002) that is emerging in the field of outdoor and experiential learning, in which "meaning and value emerge within the experience rather than being represented or defined by the programme structure or facilitator" (p. 122). Raleigh may draw strength and guidance from Loynes' (2002) 12-point outline of the Generative Paradigm, as the organisation appears to be caught between this way of thinking and a more scientific way of approaching these experiences. I further discuss this tension in the closing chapter.

Summary

The data suggest that the young people on expedition were processing their experience without structured reviewing sessions conducted by an expert instructor using specific facilitation techniques. The participant outcomes of the expedition experience outlined in Chapter Six were realised with minimal external facilitation. This processing took place during the expedition, continued afterwards, and is still happening today. Continually interpreting meaning through interaction with one's self and other social, physical, and abstract objects is one of Blumer's (1969) three premises of symbolic interactionism. The evidence suggests that venturers who did not have opportunities to talk about their experiences with other people once back at home (with other ex-venturers or their friends and family), had a more difficult time re-adjusting to life in the UK.

Processing appears to be helped by having someone (staff or group member, for example) ask venturers thought-provoking questions and then listening intently, without judging or attempting to alter their attitudes. Another factor that may strongly enhance processing is time. Programmes may benefit from having sufficient time for young people to ponder, reflect, and talk over the day's events and dreams of the future. Claims that people cannot learn from experience without group reviewing may be discounting individuals' abilities to process their experiences through reflection, informal

dialogue, and occasional one-to-one meetings with staff who ask provocative questions and listen well, but are not trained educators. The final chapter of the thesis summarises the key findings of this research and translates these into implications for Raleigh's operations, the field of outdoor education, and areas for future research.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions and Implications

In this final chapter I consolidate what can be learned from this thesis and how this new knowledge might be applied in other instances. I also discuss the complex inter-relationships among the four findings chapters. As I attempt to locate my findings within the greater context of outdoor education theory and practice and Raleigh's operations, I borrow Conrad and Hedin's (1981) words. Their work on how outcomes in experiential education programmes are achieved had an aim similar to mine:

> The report's more pedestrian aim has been to capture some small particles of experience, to reduce some part of the mystery to a size and form that can be grasped, understood, manipulated, and from which conclusions may be drawn and lessons learned. (Conrad and Hedin, 1981, p. 6)

First of all, I summarise the principal findings and outline the implications these findings have for Raleigh's operations, other outdoor programmes, and further research. Second, I revisit Raleigh's organisational tensions, as outlined in the first chapter, and offer an attempt at reconciliation. This is followed by a discussion of the structure of the experience and its connection to staff-venturer relationships. Fourth, I comment on the suitability of interpretive research and symbolic interactionism for inquiry in outdoor education. Finally, I say a few words about my own PhD journey.

9.1 Claims and implications

A useful point of departure for this section on claims is Raleigh's mission statement, which proposes to help people "discover their full potential by working together on challenging environmental and community projects around the world" (Raleigh, 2003, para. 1). How does Raleigh fare in its two assertions that people will discover their full potential and that this will come

about by working on environmental and community projects? These assertions are sufficiently vague as to make it difficult to find them false or inaccurate. Individuals cannot be exactly the same after a ten-week Raleigh expedition, nor could they be the same if they had spent ten weeks in a pub in England. Both scenarios involve a degree of interaction, interpretation, and constructing meaning. It is the nature of the interaction that has been vastly different. The unfamiliar experiences in Africa have led to new meanings being constructed.

A person's full potential is an incredibly subjective concept and cannot be measured, only described. Similarly, the smallest change in any venturer must be attributed to participation in the different projects, as the vast majority of venturers' experiences were comprised within these projects. It follows that the mission statement cannot be inaccurate or boastful. This points towards a need to understand the different forms that discovering one's full potential can take, and the aspects of expedition life that elicit this full potential. Within my verified methods of rigorous interpretation the strongest claims I can make are those pertaining to the 14 young people that I followed for ten months. With their help I have come to understand their expedition experience.

In the theoretical framework, methodology, and findings chapters I have argued that everyone has their own individual, unrepeatable expedition experience. Despite this emphasis on subjectivity and the individual self, it remains possible to gain insight into how another group of people will be influenced by a similar set of conditions. Indeed, if my findings about this one particular case in Ghana could not be used to help other researchers and practitioners because the case was so unique, then doing the research would have little use. Stake (1995) comments that the strength of any generalisation depends upon the rigour and depth of the data verification methods. This rigour employed to verify the data permits naturalistic researchers to "to make assertions on a relatively small database; invoking

the privilege and responsibility of interpretation" (Stake, 1995, p. 12). With this in mind, I summarise the findings and outline their implications.

9.1.1 What are young people looking for?

Maddern (1990) once asked what 15 year-olds were looking for. I asked 14 people between the ages of 17 and 26 why they were going on a Raleigh expedition. The evidence shows that participants were coming for different combinations of nine distinct reasons. Although everyone had come looking for some kind of personal development or growth, no two people were searching for the exact same gains. While I see this as a strength of the programme, it is important to remind staff that people are coming on expedition for their own individual reasons. If volunteer expedition staff have their own ideas of what they want venturers to gain from the experience and make plans to orchestrate this, their actions (no matter how laudable) may be in contrast to the needs of the venturers. This contrast may result in the young people learning and gaining less that they might have done had the staff members sought to understand the venturers' goals, helped them establish a plan of action to achieve these goals, and provided support throughout the phase.

It is evident that Raleigh's (2003) aim for young people to discover their full potential had been internalised and expressed in individual and specific terms by the venturers. For 14 venturers "discovering their full potential" came to mean having a gap year experience with a team; escaping their life in the UK; working with people from other parts of UK society; gaining an overall indefinable growth; working on a service project; travelling and learning about other cultures; building self-confidence; gaining interpersonal skills; and increasing job prospects. Related to the hopes and expectations that participants held for their Raleigh experience are the outcomes, or how venturers felt they were influenced by the expedition.

9.1.2 Outcomes

The first category of outcomes refers to venturers' relationships with themselves and comprises four themes. First, participants reported feeling more resilient under challenging conditions. These feelings were born out of a necessity for venturers to adapt to, and deal with, conditions that demanded their initiative and action. The second theme refers to individuals learning about themselves and their own human nature. The third theme involves re-discovering a self that has been tempered by the established roles and social patterns of life back in the UK. Mead's (1934) perspective describes how the self comprises people's spontaneous, unchecked responses to their social situations, together with the collective attitudes of those with whom they interacted. Similarly, a venturer's self that emerges throughout social interaction on expedition is a product of these two components. The final theme relating to the self focuses on career enhancement, either from a more focused direction for future work or schooling, or from venturers' increased employability by having a Raleigh expedition on their CV. Goffman's (1990) work on impression management helps to understand how venturers hoped to present a front closely matching the personal qualities sought by prospective employers.

The second category of outcomes refers to relationships with other people. The two principal themes in this category suggest that venturers who go on a Raleigh expedition are more comfortable meeting and working with strangers in post-expedition situations. Similarly, participants reported being more effective team-members as the expedition progressed, and new post-expedition interpersonal encounters were negotiated with relative ease. The final category under participant outcomes is the relationship venturers have with greater society, beyond their friends and family. Both during the expedition and six months later, there was a strong appreciation of home. Whether "home" referred to human relationships or material possessions, both had been taken for granted before, and were now seen in a more positive light.

People familiar with the field of outdoor education or Raleigh expeditions will not find the outcomes themes a surprise. Outcomes highlighting the development of participants' relationships with themselves, others, and society have been reported before this study, in the form of anecdotes and untrustworthy end-of-course questionnaires. My contribution in this area confirms what people may have felt sure of for years, but in the absence of credible research protocol, remained opinion and speculation. In the field of outdoor education, the outcomes findings build on the research done on overseas youth expeditions by Grey (1984), Kennedy (1992), Allison (2000, 2002), and Stott & Hall (2003).

9.1.3 Elements

My interpretation of the critical elements of the experience leads me to believe that my strongest claims can be made in this area. Early on in this project I told people I was searching for the elusive ingredients of a Raleigh expedition. I have identified five key elements. Drawing on Walsh and Golins (1976) in particular, I propose that these five elements impel participants into a state of adaptive dissonance. The process of coping with, or overcoming these feelings of disequilibrium, elicits the participant outcomes.

The first critical element of a Raleigh expedition is a diverse project group, which can be likened to Cooley's (1962) concept of the primary group. Besides being an attraction to the expedition for many venturers, the diverse primary group offers hugely increased and varied opportunities for interaction. The diverse group affords a looking glass self (Cooley, 1964) and generalised other (Mead 1934) that together impel the self into an even deeper and broader examination of the meanings it has ascribed to certain objects. Humans are influenced by the people they interact with. The diverse Raleigh project group elicits outcomes relating to interpersonal gains, such as "being more at ease meeting and working with strangers" because they have

practiced socialising with diverse groups of people. This process is explained by symbolic interactionist theory, which sees individuals' attitudes constantly being shaped, challenged, cemented, re-examined, and often reconstructed through the social circumstances in which they find themselves (Blumer, 1969).

The second critical element is the most difficult to explain, as it relates to both the physical and social environment. Participants who gained interpersonal skills, such as working effectively within a team, felt that a large part of why this development occurred was because they were unable to avoid interpersonal conflicts with fellow venturers. Since people worked, cooked, ate, played, and slept in very close proximity, if a venturer did have personal problems with another group member, they had to be addressed. This situation contrasts with life back in the UK, where people can leave at the end of the work day and not see their annoying colleague until the next day. Although participants regarded this aspect of the physical and social setting difficult at times, its *raison d'être* was identified and acknowledged as being important. To be clearer, the actual setting did not have to be physically remote (as in the case of a community project where there could be hundreds of villagers around), but necessitated reliance on, and constant interaction with, the project group. This meant that venturers had to tolerate each other's differences, which for some had become annoyances.

The third critical element of the experience is that the activities were physically demanding. Regardless of the actual activity, almost every participant brought up the fact that the expedition required huge amounts of physical effort. To paraphrase several venturers: "We knew it was going to be hard, it was hard, and even though we wanted it to be easier at the time, we're glad it was hard". For some participants, completing a Raleigh expedition was a badge of honour that could be displayed to others. Goffman's (1990) concept of the presentation of self is helpful in understanding how venturers might choose to present their home community

with the front of a person who is tough enough to endure the hardships of a Raleigh expedition.

The fourth element relates to my definition of an expedition in the first chapter, namely self-sufficiency. This experience would have been very different had people not been cooking and cleaning for themselves, washing their clothes by hand, and sleeping under canvas on the hard African ground. I suggest that the element of individuals doing things for themselves and not relying on other people to get tasks done is strongly linked to feelings of independence and self-reliance highlighted in the outcome themes related to the self.

The fifth and last critical element of a Raleigh expedition is separation. The term separation is borrowed from the first stage of the classic anthropological model of rites of passage (van Gennep, 1960) and involves being removed from one's original social pattern. Initially, I used this term to refer to the young people leaving their friends and family behind in the UK when they came on expedition. Early on in the expedition I came to realise that the first phase group had become their "new" original social pattern, one that they would have to separate from at the end of the first phase. This would happen again after the second phase, as well as when the venturers separated from the expedition. As with the other elements, these separations were not always fun, but the young people recognised the importance of this element in relation to their learning. The concept of separation has ties to Walsh and Golins' (1976) writing, as the young people had to adapt to the dissonance elicited by being placed in three different and diverse social environments, three different physical settings, with three different activity focuses. For Raleigh, this explanation may do nothing but confirm that repeated separation is vital. For other outdoor education organisations, this finding suggests that on longer programmes where participants may have mastered or coped with their adaptive dissonance, people will benefit from being

immersed in another set of unfamiliar social and physical surroundings with novel challenges.

To close this section on elements of the experience, I would like to discuss the elements that are also phases of a Raleigh expedition: community service, environmental conservation, and adventure. I found it intriguing that although most people had come on the expedition because they were attracted to these three major components, interviews during and after the expedition did not highlight specific phases as critical elements of the experience. Apart from some participants who felt that the adventure phase allowed them to concentrate on their own personal growth, the vast majority of the data suggest that the reported outcomes were not elicited by one type of phase in particular. The learning appeared to come from the diverse group, the unique circumstances of the social setting, the physical demands, being self-sufficient, and repeated separation – elements present in each phase. The question remains, "How did the young people come to understand the way in which the expedition had influenced them?". This question leads to a discussion on processing the experience: the organic, interpretive, subjective ways in which experience influences learning.

9.1.4 Processes

The findings under the processing label were most recent to emerge, as issues regarding processing were deliberately pursued only in the final round of interviews. Although there is not as much data to support these findings, I believe the claims I make are trustworthy, and perhaps most interesting, in light of widely accepted processing theory. Many outdoor adventure educators subscribe to the experiential education maxim that learning from experience cannot happen without reflection (Gass, 1990; Greenaway, 1993; Priest & Gass, 1997). While I agree with this statement, there seems to be a tacit understanding within the field of outdoor education that reflection must be facilitated by an instructor or else the learning will be severely limited.

The findings from this investigation strongly suggest that the young people were processing their experiences through their own thinking and reflection, and through discourse with other people, whether venturers, staff, villagers, or friends and family back in the UK. Symbolic interactionism is particularly helpful in explaining how people have internal conversations with themselves, where they interpret the situations they find themselves in (Blumer 1969). Besides interacting with themselves, people interact with other people, inanimate objects, and abstract concepts. All of this interaction and interpretation occurs constantly, leading us to continuously shape and construct meaning (Blumer 1969). It is natural to learn from experience without outside help; humans do this from birth. To say that learning from experience without reviewing sessions will be greatly compromised severely discounts people's abilities to do what is only natural. I am not against more formal, structured reviewing. My claim is that much worthwhile transfer of learning from expedition to "real life" can take place without formal, structured group facilitation. I am attracted to McDonald's (2000) words, lamenting the loss of spirit and adventure in outdoor education, as these qualities are minimised by highly engineered programmes that shift power to the facilitator.

> I belong to a seldom heard but wonderfully obstinate sprinkling of purists, who feel that contrived debriefing or "processing" radically affects the spirit of mainstream outdoor ed [sic] and fundamentally alters the aims balance. (McDonald, 2000, p. 28)

The implication for Raleigh is that the organisation does not need to be overly concerned with spending lots of time, money and energy on training volunteer staff to run creative reviewing sessions. If staff are going to be guided in this area, I propose that they concentrate on asking thought-provoking questions and allowing venturers time to think and converse, without the pressure of having to constantly share their thoughts in front of the group. Facilitation sessions employing more advanced processing models

may have greater usefulness on shorter programmes, where there is much less time for reflection and informal dialogue.

Since Raleigh expedition staff are volunteers from a wide variety of work backgrounds, the organisation might give further consideration to work by Priest et al. (1999), which suggests that leaders with minimal training in facilitation skills can oversee helpful group discussions. Effective facilitation may be hallmarked by four points: remaining neutral, asking probing questions, pausing for silence and focusing on listening (Priest et al., 1999). Similarly, Greenaway (2004) proposes that we need to recognise that everyone is a learner as well as a facilitator of other people's learning. He suggests that staff members concentrate on trying to understand what is helping and hindering participants' learning. These points are not highly technical and I have no doubt that some staff subconsciously use these techniques. Raleigh staff may benefit from following Priest et al.'s four points and Greenaway's recommendations.

9.1.5 Venturer-specific themes

During my thesis-writing period, I presented my work at a research forum and was caught off-guard by questions regarding comparisons between categories of venturers. Although there were no differences between female and male venturers, the findings showed four differences between YDP and self-funded venturers.

Youth Development Programme venturers were the only young people who contributed to the escape theme. Three YDP venturers made it quite clear that getting out of the UK was a primary motivator for coming on Raleigh. A second, and perhaps related theme is separation from the expedition. Although a number of venturers (both YDP and self-funded) found it emotionally difficult to leave the expedition, during the post-expedition interviews only YDP venturers expressed a deep level of frustration when they first returned to the UK. Once back in their old social patterns, they

desperately wanted to be back in Ghana, far away from the "reality" of the UK life they had returned to.

A third theme involved the responses of self-funded venturers, and referred to their desire to work with people from other parts of the UK, and more specifically, from socio-economic backgrounds different from their own. The inference is that the self-funded venturers thought they would gain more from working with people who had experienced some form of social exclusion. There were no comments suggesting the reverse. The fourth theme reported by only one category of venturer was separation from home. This theme was reported only by venturers 20 years old and younger, and suggests that younger venturers had greater emotional difficulty being away from their familiar social patterns in the UK.

9.1.6 Further research

While conducting this research I have identified four ways in which this investigation could be extended or could provide rationale for related inquiries. The first and simplest of these possibilities would be to interview the same participants two, five, or ten years post-expedition. During informal conversation, head office staff and former venturers have often told me that people do not realise the effect the expedition has on them until years afterwards. Researchers hearing these stories many years later would gain a greater understanding about the ways in which overseas expeditions influence people's lives, and fill a void in the literature.

A second area for further research might be to investigate the degree to which the five elements I believe are critical to a Raleigh expedition are applicable to other expeditions and outdoor education programmes. This would be a useful measure of this investigation's contribution to the field of outdoor education. Third, I am intrigued by the role of processing, both facilitated and unfacilitated. This interest stems from the fact that I used to believe strongly in the necessity for facilitated processing. I once chaired a school-

wide committee on "guided reflection", which resulted in our developing a
manual and providing in-service training to hundreds of staff members. We
even published a paper from it (Beames et al., 2000). Now, I am convinced
that people can largely process their own experiences, given enough time to
reflect on their own and enough to time for informal dialogue with others. I
am curious to see if shorter, more intense outdoor education programmes
can achieve their goals with less structured reviewing.

The volunteer staff on the expedition arrived in Ghana two weeks before the
young people. This was to allow them to learn the basic living skills they
would later pass on to the venturers (for example, mosquito net set-up, water
purification, radio set-up and protocol) and visit the project sites that would
become their homes for nine weeks. On that first day when I flew to Ghana
with the staff, I realised that another study lay waiting to be done: How do
volunteer staff experience a Raleigh expedition? What did they come looking
for? Were they hoping to gain the same things that the venturers were? This
fourth potential area of future research would have much to tell the field of
outdoor education, which has focused so much on participant outcomes.
Given time and money I would be interested in pursuing all four of these
areas of research. Money aside, I would remain interested in following up
with my 14 participants three to five years post-expedition. Having
considered the principal aims of the study and identified areas worthy of
future research, I now revisit the two secondary aims.

9.2 The organisational tensions revisited

During the course of this project I identified two organisational tensions
within Raleigh. The first of these tensions is one that seemed to confuse the
volunteer staff and venturers. Is Raleigh development intended for the
venturers or the host communities? The word development can refer to
personal growth, such as increased self-confidence, and developing nation
aid projects, such as installing agricultural irrigation systems. Although I

heard young people suggest that Raleigh exists for both reasons, there was no majority or consensus in their thinking.

My conclusion is that the tension between being an organisation for developing youth and an organisation for developing communities is not a negative factor. It is healthy. In my opinion, a group that did not reach their aim of building a school because they had spent three days on name games and "team-building" activities could hardly be fulfilling their commitment to Raleigh's mission. Neither could a group justify completing their project without trying to resolve interpersonal conflicts so dire that some people were not speaking to each other. These two examples point towards finding an elusive balance between personal development for the venturers and development for the community being served. The clearer message that Raleigh could deliver to prospective venturers and staff is that the expedition is about development for the participants and for the host communities. Neither one's value should be discounted. In fact, I suspect that Raleigh's long-term existence depends on both kinds of development being equally considered.

The second organisational tension I identified surrounds Raleigh's delivering one product (their expeditions), which caters to four categories of venturer: self-funded and YDP venturers from the UK, host country venturers, and international venturers. Can one hundred people from diverse backgrounds take away individual and meaningful learning from one generic programme? It appears the expedition to Ghana elicited a wide variety of learning outcomes for all 14 of my study participants, irrespective of whether they were YDP or self-funded venturers. I cannot comment on behalf of the international and host country venturers. The UK study participants came on the expedition with a wide variety of hopes and learning expectations. This point is particularly intriguing, as it suggests that individuals came on the expedition with different goals and took away different learning, although the actual product was not tailored to suit their specific needs.

This phenomenon can be considered as a metaphor of a buffet table at a restaurant. Venturers come to the buffet with their own individual preferences and appetites. Some will even arrive at the table and not know what they want to take away. To gain clarity they may explore the options, discuss what other people are choosing, or perhaps ask a staff member for more information on a certain dish. It is conceivable that if venturers did not see what they wanted on the buffet, they could ask the kitchen staff to help them find something more suitable. Venturers leave the buffet table having chosen the learning that is most appealing and relevant for them. During the meal, other diners (staff and venturers) may share their opinions of the different dishes on offer, which may influence future choices on the next visit to the buffet table. An important distinction within the buffet table metaphor is that the table of food represents the potential areas of learning for young people, not the programme activities that organised by Raleigh. While this metaphor may over-simplify the issue of learner and content, it may be a useful tool to help volunteer staff and venturers consider meaningful, individual approaches to learning. This metaphor draws support from Dewey's (1973) Pedagogic Creed and early writings from James (1900), which highlighted the importance of encouraging individuals to learn material in which they are interested.

This metaphor has implications for further research at Raleigh as well. Since I have argued that venturers will personally define Raleigh's unspecific aims of discovering one's full potential, it would be incongruent for Raleigh to attempt to measure a predetermined outcome (self-esteem, for example) as this is not a goal that Raleigh staff have for expedition participants. If Raleigh's aims are not specific, then their research must be guided by a subjectivist epistemological approach. This way, greater insight can be gained from what venturers are looking for at the buffet table and the choices they make. The following section examines ways in which the buffet table may be managed.

9.3 Facilitation and structuring experience

My findings suggest that a Raleigh expedition is a curious equation where untrained staff, uncertain logistics, and loosely planned projects add up to a powerful experience. With two and a half years of full-time contemplation behind me, I suggest that these three factors need not be rectified, but must be understood at a deeper level. This way, Raleigh staff can make sound decisions about how the structure of the expedition experience influences what venturers learn.

The findings point to several implications, both for Raleigh staff and for staff running other outdoor education programmes. The main implication is that Raleigh's staff need to focus on structuring a skeleton-like framework upon which the venturers can build, such as a project outline, and equipment available for camping, cooking, and working. The staff role should be one of identifying the tasks (for example, "we're building a school over there") and then retreating into a role of logistical, and, if necessary, personal support. As Proudman (1995) states, "If a teacher truly believes in the experiential process, the teacher will create safe working boundaries for students and then get right out of the way" (p. 243). This differs from Dewey's (1973) perspective, which proposes that educators carefully manipulate the learning environment. Proudman's thoughts do find support in other areas of Dewey's (1973) writing that advocates placing learners into indeterminate situations requiring assessment, interpretation, and action, in order to be negotiated.

The inherent strength of Raleigh's expedition structure is that both the staff and participants find themselves in indeterminate situations. Despite the staff possessing a certain amount of logistical knowledge, I suggest that the experience has a far more unpredictable, uncertain nature than most traditional outdoor education programmes. Indeed, Hovelynck (2001) asserts that outdoor adventure programmes with predictable outcomes may be labelled active, but not experiential.

A useful model for volunteer staff to keep in mind is Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1968). As I have already argued that staff need not concentrate heavily on reviewing throughout expeditions, this model points to staff concentrating on ensuring that the lower levels of Maslow's hierarchy are met (food/shelter/warmth, physical and emotional safety, and belonging). As few volunteer staff will have the experience and qualifications to assist venturers with Maslow's top level of self-actualisation, it is more sensible to focus on areas they can influence without specialised training. I suggest that if expedition staff can help young people satisfy the lower levels of Maslow's model, they will provide important antecedent conditions for the young people to process their own experiences, in their own time.

Proudman's (1995) hands-off approach to experiential learning finds support from Greenaway (1995), who found that key learning experiences did not usually happen by design, but rather by accident. It is worth repeating Greenaway's (1995) four main factors that led to learning: being open to learning, being involved and responsible, having a varied and eventful programme, and having plenty of group support for taking risks. I mention these in the same vein as Priest et al.'s (1999) four ways in which people with minimal training can stimulate others' learning. This argument is important because it supports using volunteer staff who are caring and use common sense, rather than highly trained instructors who may be overly controlling of the elements, outcomes, and processes of the expedition.

As I bring this section on structuring experience to a close, the implications favour handing back power to the participant. The supportive staff member who is not manipulating the elements of the experience ensures that participants feel a sense of ownership (Dyson, 1995) and control (Weiner, 1979), important antecedents for learning through experience. This points to a shift away from a paradigm of outdoor education with sequenced activities and predetermined outcomes, towards the Generative Paradigm where

"meaning and value emerge within the experience rather than being represented or defined by the programme structure or the facilitator... [and] the facilitator accompanies rather than leads the participants" (Loynes, 2002, p. 122).

The above paradigm shift can also be explained as one that is moving away from a set menu approach and towards a buffet approach. As outlined earlier, the set menu approach presents expedition participants with activities designed to yield uniform outcomes, which they have had little to no say in choosing. The buffet approach sees the different areas of potential learning on an expedition as the variety of food on the table. Everyone comes to the buffet table with different preferences and different appetites. The expedition as buffet table is a way of considering approaches to expedition management, and perhaps even outdoor education programmes on a larger scale. It emphasises the participant taking away from the expedition highly individualised outcomes that have emerged through a combination of experience, informal dialogue, and reflection. Having examined the ways in which expedition experiences can be structured, I turn to the final section of the thesis. This section explores the suitability of the theoretical framework and offers some closing thoughts on my PhD journey.

9.4 Paradigms and perspectives

I have read in a number of places that a PhD is an apprenticeship in academic research, and it intrigues me to reflect on what this apprenticeship has entailed. Throughout this project I have considered such enormous concepts as truth, knowledge, reality, and values. These concepts demand an understanding of themselves as well as their relationship to experiential education. A little understanding led me to reflect on my own beliefs about what these concepts mean to me, at a personal level. This then became a departure point for searching for beliefs that would ground this investigation.

As the only things I can really claim to know with any confidence were learned through my own experiences, it was inevitable that I would come to adopt a paradigm featuring a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology. These foundational constructivist tenets will only have congruence with a theoretical framework that regards individual experience as the root of reality and knowledge. When I read Blumer's (1969) book on the perspective and methodology of symbolic interactionism, "the penny dropped", as one of my supervisors predicted. I had found a framework congruent with constructivism, which helped me to analyse the expedition experience at a deeper theoretical level. Constructivism and symbolic interactionism then lit a path for the data collection, offering freedom and support to follow my intuition and curiosity as I sought to understand the case. The findings were generated from my interpretations of the participants' interpretations, and verified by the participants themselves, investigator triangulators, and peer reviewers.

I have explained all of the above to illustrate how, through my apprenticeship, I have learned that naturalistic research is founded on beliefs, interpretation, intuition and, perhaps most importantly, rigour. Without reviews of literature, theoretical frameworks, and data verification, findings are unsupported opinion. Only the rigorous and thorough process of investigation enables findings to become trustworthy and credible. My research process can be reduced to considering other people's interpretations, until finally I am able to put forward my own interpretations with cautious confidence. Ultimately, my hope is that these interpretations will be of use to other theorists and practitioners.

I close with a few words on my relationship with the field of outdoor education, before, during, and after this process. Before starting the PhD, I was a cheerleader for outdoor education, and I would enthusiastically attempt to convince any non-believer otherwise. What I craved was to have a deeper understanding of the processes at work when people participate in

structured, adventurous programmes. Once my studies began, I quickly became overwhelmed by the different fields that inform experiential learning programmes. I would not only be drawing on research done in outdoor education, but would have to find useful theory from areas such as philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Initially, I had to take a step back to see all the different perspectives that could be useful in gaining a theoretical understanding of how young people experience their ten-week expedition.

Eventually, I focused on interpretivist sociology, finding assistance and insight from Blumer's (1969) perspective and methodology, Mead's (1934) concepts of the I and me and the generalised other, and Cooley's (1962; 1964) concepts of the looking glass self and the primary group. I had always seen the social world as being comprised of individuals who think and act based on previous experience, social interactions, and reflection, but did not know how to explain this in theoretical terms, much less use this theory to analyse people's experiences on an expedition. Very gradually, I began to understand that the self is a social product of an individual's unchecked responses to the situations they find themselves in, and the collective conformist pressures of the other people they interact with. This negotiation between the two parts of the self involves an examination and modification of the meanings that inform a person's actions. As I wanted to understand the experience from each individual's point of view, symbolic interactionism's subjective, interpretive approach was the most useful for my analysis. Similarly, naturalistic methods of data collection enabled me to gain an important familiarity with what the venturers were experiencing. Physically being in Ghana permitted me to formally interview participants, and informally talk with and observe venturers, staff, and people from the host communities. I would not hesitate to employ the same framework and methodology for any further research concentrating on the development of the self.

Towards the end of my main writing period I wondered how this journey had altered my beliefs and views of outdoor education. To use symbolic interactionism jargon, I had spent two and a half years interacting with theory, previous research, Ghana, my study participants, my supervisors, and myself. How had these interactions and constant interpretations led to new meanings being constructed? I feel that I have satisfied my goal of gaining a deeper understanding of the processes at work in outdoor education, but acknowledge that my depth of understanding is limited to the specific areas I concentrated on most, such as expedition research and symbolic interactionism.

My findings suggest that effective expeditions encourage each participant to determine their own learning. Groups comprised of people from varied backgrounds who interact in unfamiliar settings yield critical opportunities for individuals to re-examine and modify the attitudes that shape their actions. Finally, and essentially, staff should ensure that participants have ample time to interpret their own experiences through unstructured reflection and informal conversation.

Appendices

A. Profiles

Nonnie

Nonnie was a self-funded venturer who had her 19th birthday on the expedition. She and her younger brother were born and raised in Cardiff by her mother and father. After completing A levels in Biology, Chemistry, and Welsh, Nonnie was taking a gap year before starting medical school the following September.

Nonnie knew she wanted to go Africa during her gap year and sent away for information from many different year-out organisations. In the end, she chose Raleigh as "they seemed to know what they were doing". Nonnie wanted to work with a group, as opposed to being alone or with one or two other volunteers. It was also important to her that she work with youth from a variety of backgrounds. She hoped that this experience would help "develop" herself.

While at school Nonnie played the harp in the school orchestra, as well as taking part in recreational netball and choir. She travelled to Spain, France, Germany, and America on family holidays, and the year before coming to Ghana, went on a three-week school trip to Patagonian Argentina.

Natasha

Natasha was an 18 year-old taking a gap year. She was a self-funded venturer who grew up in the London. Natasha and her younger brother and sister have lived all their lives in the same house with their parents. Educated at a state school, Natasha completed A levels in Geography, French, and English.

Natasha first heard of Raleigh through family friends whose children had been on Raleigh expeditions. Natasha knew she didn't want to go straight to university and was looking for a mix of adventure charity work with a large group of like-minded young people (as opposed to one or two others). Since Raleigh expeditions are only 10 weeks long, it would not take up all of her gap year and would leave her plenty of time to travel afterwards.

Natasha is a person who gets very involved with what's going on around her. She plays several instruments, including violin, which she played in the school orchestra. She played recreational hockey and volleyball at school, and is very keen on drama. Natasha is also quite busy at her church, where she leads a worship group and a music group.

She has travelled to America and Europe several times with her family and friends and for school, orchestra, and sports tours. After working in London from February until August, she started university in the autumn of 2003.

Tracy

Tracy came on the expedition as a 21 year-old self-funded venturer. She and her older sister were raised by their parents in Essex. Shortly before the expedition Tracy had completed a degree in History and Media studies at a London University. Her interests include playing the violin, playing football, and supporting Manchester United.

Tracy was aware that Prince William had gone on a Raleigh expedition, and after doing an internet search on different youth charity options, decided that Raleigh was a good fit. She knew she wanted to go overseas, but didn't want to go on her own. The Raleigh option seemed like a safe way to experience Africa. After expedition Tracy planned to join the air force as an officer. She hoped that the Ghana expedition would build her self-confidence and would look good on her CV.

In the past, Tracy has travelled to Canada three times to visit relatives. She has also been to Italy, France, and Germany on school and family trips.

Mildred

Mildred came on the expedition as a 23-year-old self-funded venturer. She grew up in Birmingham with her parents and was the second of three daughters. Directly after completing a History degree, Mildred started working for the civil service; her most recent position was managing a job centre. After working for two years, she was given three months' leave to go on expedition.

Mildred had known about Raleigh for years and had always wanted to do something like a Raleigh expedition. Apart from being good fun, she hoped the experience would increase her tolerance towards others at work and increase her appreciation of the things she had in her life. Mildred has a demanding job and she felt that the expedition would give her some time away from that intensity.

Mildred has travelled widely on her own, including trips to Mexico, Venezuela, all over Europe, and a month in Trinidad and Tobago as part of her gold Duke of Edinburgh expedition. After the expedition she travelled around Ghana for three weeks and then moved to London, where she started a new position with the civil service.

Maria

Maria came on the expedition as a 26 year-old YDP venturer. An only child, Maria spent her early years partly with her mother in London and her grandparents in Liverpool. At age 11, she made a permanent move to Liverpool where she was raised by her grandparents. Today she lives in Liverpool with her boyfriend.

Maria did not leave school with GCSEs and later enrolled in a college course in business administration. While taking the course she took a job that lured her away from the classroom. Although not particularly motivated by school, her initiative led to jobs that included spending two years in Lanzarotte and Corfu working for a holiday company. Before coming on expedition, Maria had two jobs – the principal one being a property coordinator, dealing with maintenance and enquiries for an estate agent.

Although Maria had no previous camping experience she had travelled to New York, Amsterdam, Germany, and France - mostly with friends. Maria's post expedition plans centred on getting a job that involved working with children. She was also considering further studies.

Maria heard about Raleigh from one of her friends who went on expedition and had the time of his life. She was moved by his stories and photos. Maria was looking forward to interacting with the children in the Ghanaian villages and seeing some animals. She was looking for a fun time, and seeing new places and new things. Maria also thought that having been on a Raleigh expedition would look good on her CV.

Lily

Lily was an 18 year-old YDP venturer. She lived in London until age nine, when she moved to Scotland with her father. Lily and her twin brother have two older and three younger siblings. For the two years preceding the expedition she has shared a supported flat in a Scottish city. After finishing her GCSEs she completed a college diploma in Administration and Computing. During a break from her college course, Lily got involved with the Prince's Trust programme. It was at the Prince's Trust that a speaker came to talk about expeditions at Raleigh International.

Lily's primary goal for the expedition was to increase her self-confidence. She chose Africa specifically because she felt it was the ideal setting to work with a team, and to help those in need. Before the expedition her only travel outside the UK was a school exchange to Holland.

After the expedition Lily wanted to do some volunteering for Raleigh in Scotland, and possibly around England. She especially wanted to see different parts of England. At the time of our final interview Lily had just been offered a one-year contract as a youth worker for an organisation in Germany.

Roni

Roni was a 25 year-old YDP venturer, born in London to Ugandan parents. Her father left when she was two years old and she grew up with her mother until age 14. From then until age 17 Roni lived with foster parents. Roni has a history of drug use, using "everything" from age 14 to 18.

Roni did four GCSEs and went on to complete a two-year diploma in Health & Social Care. She attended university for a year, but left before her end-of-year exams. Currently, Roni lives on her own in London, where she works for the Social Services. She works with young people who are in transition from being in foster care to living on their own.

Roni had done some travelling before, having been to Ireland and Paris, and also to visit her brother, who lives in Geneva. Her future plans include travelling to see her brother and going to other countries as well. Roni found out about Raleigh through one of the young people at work who was preparing to go on expedition. Her principal reasons for coming on expedition were to travel, to challenge herself, and to have a completely different set of experiences than she was accustomed to.

Simone

Simone was a 21 year-old YDP venturer. She lives in London with her mother, father, and younger brother. Simone did several GCSEs, along with two GNVQs in business studies and leisure and tourism. At the time of our first interview, she just completed a computer course.

Simone heard of Raleigh while she was involved with the Prince's Trust programme. A guest speaker came in from Motive8 and told them about opportunities to go on an expedition. After the Prince's Trust, Simone went to Motive8 in London and soon got involved with Raleigh.

Simone's reasons for going on expedition were to get out and "see something, experience something" – a unique experience that would contrast with the life she was accustomed to. She hoped this expedition would "improve" and develop herself "as a human being". She looked forward to talking to people from different places and improving her interpersonal skills.

This was not the first time out of the UK for Simone, as she had been to Italy and France on school trips and once to Paris with friends. During the expedition, she told me that she would really like to return to Ghana and to travel to other countries as well.

Stuart

Stuart joined the expedition as a 25 year-old self-funded venturer. His father was in the army and he lived in Germany between the ages of 1-4 and 7-10, with his mother and two older brothers. The rest of his youth was spent living "all over the UK", until the family settled in Yorkshire in 2000.

Stuart worked steadily from the time he completed his GCSEs until he joined the expedition. Several of those jobs involved working in, and managing, off-licenses. More recently he has worked in the customer service department for an Internet Service Provider. After working solidly for eight years, Stuart was looking for a career change – one that had more of a humanitarian focus. He thought Raleigh was a good fit, as he wanted to go to Africa and do charity work. His plan after the expedition was to try and continue working for a charity or NGO. At the time of our final interview he was managing the shop at a National Trust campground.

Stuart has many interests, some of which include: computers, photography, reading, GPS, World War II, snooker, and football. Apart from his time in Germany, Stuart has also been to Malaysia to visit one of his brothers.

Sylvio

Sylvio was an 18 year-old self-funded venturer. He took a gap year and joined the expedition shortly after completing A levels in English, History, and Economics at boarding school. Sylvio grew up in the south of England with his mother and brother in their family home.

He is particularly interested in the arts (music, literature, and film) and has travelled all over the world on family holidays and school trips. Last year he spent a month travelling with friends through Peru. He had seen the publicity surrounding Prince William's Raleigh expedition and had compared different organisations on the world wide web. Sylvio knew he wanted a structured year-out activity that blended service and adventure, and felt that Raleigh was a good fit.

After expedition, and before starting university in October 2003, Sylvio worked as a waiter in England, did a Divemaster course in Thailand, and took a language course in Italy.

Gordo

Gordo was a 17 year-old self-funded venturer. He grew up in rural Scotland with his parents, older brother and two sisters. The Raleigh expedition was part of a gap year that Gordo was taking after completing seven Scottish Highers in a variety of subjects. He attended a state school.

Gordo is huge football fan and loves playing rugby and cricket, as well. He has travelled to Europe several times on family holidays to France, Spain, and Portugal. He first heard of Raleigh at a university fair, where there was a gap year stand. After reading the different brochures, he and his parents settled on Raleigh as it appeared to be the most organised and "medically sorted". He hoped that the expedition would help him grow up, mature, and gain some independence. He felt that there was room for his social skills and self-confidence to improve as well. It was important to Gordo that he do "something good" with his gap year, by helping others.

After the expedition, Gordo worked for a couple of months before going to New Zealand to work, travel, and play rugby. He started university in the autumn of 2003.

Friio

Friio was a 20 year-old YDP venturer from the west of England. He is an only child who lives on his own in a supported flat. He is in close contact with both his parents, who are divorced and live close by. His pastimes include playing football, reading Harry Potter, playing computer games, and listening to pop music.

He completed eight GCSEs and an NVQ in Information Technology, before doing a level II key skills course in Communication, Numeracy, and IT. Workwise, Friio has collected glass, worked as a security officer, and done odd-jobs. At the time of our last interview he was looking for work at the local job centre.

Friio had a friend who went to Ghana with Raleigh and was intrigued by his photos and stories. At around the same time, Friio visited a nearby Raleigh office and remembers seeing a poster of several venturers on a glacier in Chile. He said to himself, "that's going to be me one day". Friio felt as if his life was going nowhere and he wanted to get out of the unproductive cycle he was in. He hoped the expedition would offer opportunities to interact with other motivated young people and to work as a team with those people.

As it turned out, Friio left the expedition after five weeks, as he was very homesick. Although he did not complete the expedition, he felt that he had gained a tremendous amount and did not feel disappointed or upset by his decision. He made it clear that he wanted to remain in the study and met me for the final interview, six months post-expedition.

Dale

Dale was a 20 year-old YDP venturer from northeast England. After his parents divorced when he was a young boy, he lived in foster care from the age of 7 to 16. He has one younger brother. Dale lives in a supported flat not far from his mother, whom he sees regularly.

After leaving school at the age of 16 without any GCSEs, he attended two colleges as part of a programme called Foundation Tracks. Dale is a very energetic person, who enjoys all forms of highly active sports.

Dale found out about Raleigh through people he knew who had been on expedition. He had been involved with Active8 in the northeast for two years, on and off, and it was they who encouraged him to go on expedition. Dale wanted to go on expedition to "do something", as he was "bored" with his life. He wanted to be busy and hoped that the physical labour on the expedition would make him stronger and more muscular.

As a young boy, Dale went to America and Portugal with his foster parents. While on expedition he was particularly close to the Ghana venturers – more so than other UK venturers. At the time of our final interview he was unemployed, receiving £84 a fortnight support from Social Services.

Rufus

Rufus joined the expedition as a 23 year-old YDP venturer. At the age of five he and his family moved from Bangladesh to London. He is the second born of five children. Although his parents still live together in at the family home, Rufus recently moved to his own supported flat.

Rufus got involved with Raleigh through Motive8, where he was encouraged to go on expedition by one of the youth workers. In fact, Rufus came on the expedition to Ghana just four months after completing six months of rehabilitation for his addiction to heroin and crack. He used drugs for two and a half years.

Although Rufus did not take A levels, he completed his GCSEs. Since the expedition he has completed adult education courses in film production and counselling. He started a diploma in film production in September 2003. Rufus also wants to see more of the world and looks forward to more travelling, once he can get some money together. He has been to Bangladesh twice on family visits.

B. Consent form & Invitation to participate in study

"Overseas Youth Expeditions"

Consent form for participation in research study

The following information is provided for you to decide if you wish to participate in this study. You are free to withdraw at any time without affecting your relationship with *Raleigh International*, their staff, or the researcher. By returning this signed consent form you will join a pool of venturers from which a small number, but a wide variety, of participants for the study will be chosen (i.e. you may not end up being part of the main focus group).

The purpose of this study is to learn more about what venturers gain from expeditions and what elements of an expedition contribute to these gains. The principal source of data is five short, tape-recorded interviews with expedition venturers. The interviews will take place seven weeks before expedition (during the challenge workshop), three times during expedition, and six months post-expedition. Venturers may be interviewed one on one or in small groups.

The researcher will comb the interview notes for meaningful statements and common themes that emerged from the conversation. From this data, the key elements, or the "essence", of an overseas expedition experience will be interpreted and reconstructed through the written text. Before this report is submitted, a draft of the interpretation of these interviews will be sent to each participant for verification. If participants are not satisfied with the report, they have the opportunity to make suggestions as to how the text can be altered to become a more credible representation of their conversation.

Do not hesitate to ask any questions about the study either before participating or during the study itself. Your name will not be associated with the research findings in anyway and your identity will be known only to the researcher.

Please sign your consent with full knowledge of the nature and purpose of the procedures. You must be at least 18 years old. A copy of this consent form will be given to you to keep.

Name: **Signature:**

Email address: **Date:**

Mailing Address:

Research Invitation

Dear

My name is Simon and, like you, I will be going to Ghana this autumn on a Raleigh expedition. My principal job is to conduct a research study that will hopefully help Raleigh understand more about how overseas youth expeditions work.

I have the study all planned and just need the final ingredients - participants! Are you interested in being part of this project? Of course, you are under no obligation to take part, but I would be delighted if you would. It certainly won't take much effort on your part - just having a few conversations with me.

Along with this invitation there is a consent form that describes the study in more detail. If you are willing to participate, I would be grateful if you would mail the consent form back to me in the envelope provided as soon as possible. Should you have any queries you can email me at simon@raleigh.org.uk or call me on 0208 741 2156.

I look forward to meeting you at the Challenge Workshop!

Simon Beames

C. Ghana – country profile

Roughly the same size as Britain, Ghana is a situated on the western coast of Africa, bordered by Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, and Cote D'Ivoire to the west. Ghana possesses a varied landscape, characterised by a sandy coastline, lush rainforest in the south, dry savannah-like land in the central and northern, and highlands in the southeast. Perhaps the most noteworthy physical feature is Lake Volta, the world's largest human-made body of water.

Of the 49 languages recognised by the Ghanaian government, seven are official – the most common being English and Twi. The two principal religions are Islam and Christianity, with Muslims predominant in the north and Christians more concentrated in the south. Religions aside, there remains a strong infrastructure of village chiefs, tribes, and kings.

In 1957, Ghana became the first sub-Saharan country to gain independence from its colonial rulers (Britain). The forts along its coast are grim reminders of the African slave trade, where millions of slaves were shipped to America and the Caribbean.

Although many Ghanaians are subsistence farmers, one would be led to believe, while travelling through Ghana, that most people make their living selling goods and produce on the side of main roads. Gold is Ghana's biggest export, with cocoa a close second.

Ghana has a typically hot equatorial climate. It is normal for daytime temperatures to surpass 30°C. In the south there are two rainy seasons: one between April and June, the other in October. Further north there is one rainy season from May to September.

D. Ghana projects

Community Projects

A1 – Northern Region - latrine construction

Professional Network is a Ghanaian NGO started in 1994, focusing on water and sanitation programmes. The organisation is largely supported by the UK charity Water Aid and involves working on ventilated pit latrine projects in the Wa area. Unlike other static projects, Alpha 1 was based in a different community in each phase. They spent the first phase in Tindoma, the second phase in Gbumgbum, and the third phase in Wa.

A2 – Afram Plains - school refurbishment

The group worked with the Afram Plains Development Organisation (APDO) based in Donkorkrom. APDO is a Ghanaian NGO under the umbrella of the UK based NGO, Water Aid. The APDO have secured funding from UNICEF for the construction of a series of ventilated pit latrines and urinals, and the refurbishment of a number of schools.

A3 – Greater Accra - school construction

Action Aid is a UK charity with a focus on sustainable development and promoting health and education. Raleigh International worked with Action Aid in the Ga region for the first time during the previous expedition. This project was entirely focused on building a school in the community of Bebianiha – only a 90-minute drive from the capital of Accra.

Environmental Projects

A4 – Mole National Park - infrastructure projects

Alpha 4 worked on a variety of projects at Mole National Park. Work included building speed bumps on the main entrance road, clearing campsites, and upgrading a road that will enable tourists to gain access to a remote region of the park.

A5 – Beyin - turtle conservation project

Alpha 5 worked with the Wildlife Society of Ghana on the southwest coast. The main work consisted of building turtle hatcheries in order to encourage turtles to lay eggs in a protected environment. The hope is that this will increase the number of turtles in the area, which would in turn stimulate tourism.

A6 – Bui National Park – refurbishment of tourist accommodation

Bui covers the catchment of the Black Volta river and is home to primates, antelopes and a significant hippo population. The group worked with the Wildlife Division to refurbish an existing guest house facility at Bui Camp, using timber rescued from old buildings. The park officials hope that decent accommodation will encourage fee-paying tourists to stay longer in the park when they come to view the hippos.

Adventure Projects

A7 – Trekking in the Volta Region

Groups trekked on the escarpment of the Mampongtin Range, exploring Bushman's Cave, Pride Rock, and the shores of Lake Volta. The trekkers stayed in villages en route, experienced the variety of rain forest and open grassland, and spent three days climbing and abseiling. The group spent the first week canoeing on Lake Volta.

A8 – Trekking in the Eastern Region

Alpha 8 spent a week in the area of Amedzofe, exploring the waterfalls and villages, before trekking to the village of Gbledi - a distance of approximately 45 miles. The phase finished with the group climbing Mount Afagjato and walking to the Wli Falls, where they spent the last few nights of the phase. In the middle of the phase, the group canoed for a week on Lake Volta.

A9 – Trekking in the north-eastern Volta region

Alpha 9 trekked in the mountainous region of Nkwanta, in a National Park characterised by a mixture of rainforest and grassy savanna. The park, which is near the Togo border, is relatively new and unexplored and offered opportunities to cut new trails. With the help of Wildlife Division guides, the group visited waterfalls, remote villages, and climbed the highest peak in Ghana. Each phase culminated with a week's canoeing on Lake Volta.

E. Findings tables

Round One Themes

Category	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		YD	SF
Expect-ations	Hard/ challenging	Expedition life will push/test them	*I think it'll be really hard...I want to test myself*	Hard	M	3	1
					F	4	2
	Venturer diversity	Living and working with YDP, FR, HCV, and IV	*I've never been with homeless people before...it's good to get a mix of people*	Div	M	0	3
					F	3	2
	Cultural immersion	Living and learning about a completely different culture	*I want to see a different way of life*	Cult	M	0	3
					F	3	2
	Giving/chari ty/service	Helping make others' life better	*I'd like to do something for other people*	Serv	M	1	3
					F	1	0
Hopes	Increased intra-personal skills	Increases in self-esteem/confidence/ Concept	*An experience like this will increase my confidence*	Intra	M	1	1
					F	2	2
	Personal growth	Increased wisdom, worldview, maturity	*It'll make you more open-minded*	Grow	M	1	2
					F	2	3
	Increased inter-personal skills	Better able to work in teams, lead others	*Working in groups...and where I fit into a team*	Inter	M	2	1
					F	2	2
	Friendships	Making friends	*I hope to make some new friends*	Friend	M	1	0
					F	1	1
Reasons for coming	Escape from current social structure	Need to get away from boring, negative, or unstimulating social pattern	*I can't wait to get away ...I could leave tomorrow*	Esc	M	2	1
					F	3	1
	Once in a lifetime experience	Indefinable opportunity of a lifetime – significant life event	*To see new things...an opportunity you can't miss*	Once	M	1	0
					F	3	1

Round Two Themes

Category	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		YD	SF
Elements	Venturer diversity	Living and working with YDP, FR, HCV, and IV	*It's so cool that all of us are so different*	Div	M	1	2
					F	1	2
	Service	Feels good/important to help others	*It's great to be helping these people*	Serv	M	1	1
					F	1	
	Good group	Likes positive influence of group	*I think our group is the best...we all get along*	Group	M	1 x	1 x
					F	3	3
	Hard/ challenging	Expedition life will push/test them	*Living out here – working, cooking, etc... it's really tough*	Hard	M	2	2
					F	3 x	2
	Dis-equilibrium	Overwhelmed and up and down	*The first few days I was overwhelmed*	Dis	M	3	1 x
					F	4	3 x
	Cultural exchange	See/discuss how other people live, work, believe	*I love talking to the Ghanaians about what they believe*	Cult	M	2	1
					F	3	1
Issues	Reverse fish bowl	Surprise/ annoyance at being the ones gaped at	*I don't like being watched 24 hours a day*	Fish	M		
					F	1	2
	Project is secondary	Emphasis on individual and group first	*The group is more important than what we're actually doing*	Team1	M		1
					F		1
	Treated like royalty	Like feeling important	*We were treated like kings! (A good thing)*	Royal	M	2	X
					F		
	Unfulfilling project	Not as fulfilling as expected...lacks purpose	*I don't feel like I'm needed.*	Unful	M	X	1
					F	1	1
	Western influence	Aware of issues/history surrounding westerners ideals in Africa	*The Africans want to build but they don't know how to clean up the mess*	West	M		1
					F		
Outcomes	Learning about self	Understanding how one ticks – habits, strengths, needs	*I didn't realise how much personal space I needed*	Self	M		1
					F	1	1
	Appreciate home comforts	Not taking this for granted...like how Ghanaians live with less	*I will love my shower at home!*	App	M	1	1
					F	3	
	Inter-personal skills	Better able to work in teams, lead others – understand dynamics	*Some people can't be bossed around when you're leader*	Inter	M		1
					F		1
	Experience of a lifetime	Once in a lifetime or rare, important experience	*This is the experience of a lifetime*	Exp	M	1	1
					F	2	3 x
	Learning life skills	Practical skills to be used back at home – cooking, washing	*When I get home I'm always going to eat breakfast*	Skills	M	2	
					F		
	Tougher	Better able to endure hardships at home and work	*It'll be no problem if I have to work hungry or sleep deprived*	Tough	M	1	1
					F		1
	Growth	Becoming a changed, fuller person	*I have already changed*	Grow	M	1	3
					F	3	X

Round two (cont...)

Category	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag			YD	SF
Uncategorised	Locals are grateful	Host communities are appreciative of Raleigh's help.	*They gave us gifts – they were so generous*	Grate	M		1	
					F			1
	Adapting to environment	Getting used to camping, the heat, etc...	*The heat doesn't bother me as much now.*	Used	M		1	1
					F		1	1
	Fun	Enjoying the time	*I'm having a lot of fun*	Fun	M			1
					F		1 x	3 x
	Amazing	Incredible, amazing time	*Everyday has been fantastic*	Wow	M		2	X
					F		2	1 x

Round Three Themes

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		YD	SF
Overall	Personal growth is main goal of adventure phase	Adventure phases was primarily about learning about yourself and the group. In the other phases the project is most important.	*Trekking is about us, whereas the other phases are about helping others*	Trek PD	M	1	2
					F	2	2
	Personal development paramount goal in all phases	In all Raleigh phases personal development is the goal. Each phase is merely a different avenue to access this growth.	*I hadn't realised that all phases of a Raleigh project are primarily about personal development*	PD #1	M	1	1
					F	1	1
	Separation from phase one group	Similar emotions to induction week: separated from normal social pattern – feelings of disequilibrium	*I loved my old group and didn't want to leave them...it was hard*	Sep	M	1x	1x
					F	3	4
	Being in Africa feels normal	The experience has fewer qualities of ROP transition. Forgetting that one is in rural Africa.	*I was just walking down the road and suddenly thought, "wow, I'm in Africa...I'd forgotten that"*	Norm	M	1	
					F		1
	Unclear on what is being learned and gained.	Confident that some learning is taking place, but unsure how this experience is affecting their lives	*I think I'm learning a ton – but I'm not sure what exactly that learning is*	Process	M		1
					F	2	1
	Staff influence	Staff team plays a huge role in influencing the experience – particularly how they get on	*I didn't realise how much the staff would affect our phase*	Staff	M		
					F		1
	Can re-invent self each phase – ready for a change, new learning...	Each phase is a fresh opportunity to learn from new venturers, place, hosts, staff, project activities	*It was like starting from scratch each phase*	Fresh	M	1	3
					F	2	4

Round three (cont...)

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag			YD	SF
Project	Positive impact on host community	Feeling welcomed and appreciated by hosts, Their lives are better for us being here.	*We were always made very welcome*	+	M			3
					F		2	2
	Fulfilment linked to project worthiness	Venturers who clearly understand their role and how it affects the lives of their hosts are more settled, invested, motivated	*I felt good to know that we were helping reduce trachoma in their village*	Worth	M		1	2
					F		2	2
	Artisan support linked to motivation and investment	Local tradesmen that praised and included venturers kept morale high	*He told us we were doing it wrong and made us do it again*	Art	M			1
					F		2	3
	Raleigh catalyses project	The job would get gone with Raleigh, but perhaps not as fast. Raleigh lends importance to the project.	*As soon as we started working on the school, half the community showed up to help*	Cat	M			2
					F			2
	Start to finish involvement	Motivation, investment greater when involvement is from start to finish – increased variety of jobs	*It was so cool to see our progress every day... All the different jobs really kept it interesting*	Whole	M			
					F			2
	Idleness	Too much free time is not good	*Too much chill-out time and we started getting irritated with each other*	Idle	M			1
					F		1	
	Deciding how much work will be done	Educational gains are increased by venturers deciding how much work they will do.	*We ended up doing more work coz it was up to us how hard we pushed ourselves – not someone else*	Dial	M			1
					F			2
	Environmental phase disappointment	Let down by lack of animal contact, conservation work in environmental phase	*I was expecting to be working with animals, but we're just building...*	Env	M		1	
					F		2	

Round three (cont...)

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		YD	SF
Outcomes	Gaining independence and self-reliance	Gaining practical skills and confidence to take care of certain tasks previously neglected or done by someone else	*Doing my own laundry and cooking at home will seem easy when I get back*	Indep	M		1
					F		
	Increased awareness of ethical issues of aid/ development work	More sensitive and aware of imbalances of power between different cultures and classes	*It's really difficult to not hand out food. We have to focus on what we came there to do*	Aware	M	1	2
					F	3	2
	Learning about self	Understanding how one ticks – habits, strengths, needs	*I didn't realise how much personal space I needed*	Self	M		
					F		1
	Increased appreciation of Ghanaian values	Admiring Ghanaian society's cultural and family values	*I love their community spirit – I'd love to have some of that back home*	App	M		2
					F		
	Interpersonal skills	Better able to work with groups of people – particularly those with mixed cultures	*Some people can't be bossed around when you're leader...If I was at home I'd never hang out with someone like him*	Inter	M		3
					F	3	1
	Tougher, more resilient	Better able to endure hardships at home and work. More able to confront daunting tasks.	*It'll be no problem if I have to go to work hungry or sleep deprived*	Tough	M	1	1
					F		
	Intrapersonal growth	Increased self-esteem, self-confidence	*Doing all of this really gives me good feelings about myself*	Intra	M	1	1
					F		1
	Creating memories	Happy that stories and memories are being created – for sharing later	*Now I can say that I've been rock climbing in Africa*	Mem	M		
					F	1	
	General personal growth	Becoming a changed, fuller person – wiser, more mature	*I have already changed...I'm growing every day*	Grow	M	1	
					F	2	
	Career clarity	Gaining a greater understanding of what they want to pursue academically or in the job market	*Now I now that I want to get into youth development work*	Career	M	1	
					F	1	

Round Four Themes

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		YD	SF
Overall	Wonder if they have changed	Venturers suspect they may have changed through this experience	*I think I've changed a lot...it'll be interesting to see what my friends think*	Change	M	2	2
					F	1	1
	Anxious/worried about return home	People are worried about fitting back into old world...fitting in, feeling comfortable	*Going home is going to be so weird...I'm actually dreading it*	Return	M		2
					F	3 x	3
	Anticipating reaction to day to day UK activities	Expecting to find the day to day, banal activities novel (showers, shops, technology, grocery stores)	*It won't seem normal to have a shower or go to the movies*	Banal	M	1	1
					F	2	1
	Felt proud to belong to well-known organisation	Like being part of important, visible organisation with vehicles, T-shirts, etc...	*You really feel part of something important with Raleigh*	Occas	M		
					F	1	1
	Looking forward to going home	Really looking ahead to returning home...may also have had fill of Raleigh	*I can't wait to go home!*	Home	M	1	
					F	1	1
	Staff influence	Staff team plays a huge role in influencing the experience –	*I didn't realise how much the staff would affect our phase*	Staff	M		2
					F		1
	Not returning to original social pattern	When they return home they will be starting a new life: school, job, etc...	*It'll be different coz I'm usually back at school in January...I won't know what to do!*	No OSP	M	1	
					F		2
	Second change-over was easier	People were much more able to leave their previous group and start work with their new group	*At the first change-over we didn't want to leave each other. This time it was like, "see you in three weeks!"*	2 C/O	M	1	1
					F		

Round four (cont...)

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		YD	FR
The Project	Community Interaction	Venturers valued communities where the locals shared with them, worked with them helped them,	*It has been so cool to hang out with them and try their food...they are grateful that we're here*	Comm	M		
					F	2	
	Fulfilment linked to project worthiness	Venturers who clearly understand their role and how it affects the lives of their hosts are more settled, invested, motivated	*Seeing their school destroyed really made it clear that they needed us to finish the new one.*	Worth	M		1
					F	1	1
	Physically demanding	Venturers liked the feeling of working hard, getting stuck in.	*I loved feeling completely knackered at the end of the day*	Physical	M		
					F	1	1
	Accommodating different abilities	Challenging to cater to those who were physically not up to the demands of	*It took her three times as long to walk the same distance...it was mentally very challenging*	Ability	M		
					F		1
	Third phase has balance of work and play	Feeling that the third phase is easier, more chilled out, relaxed, fun	*This phase feels easier than the others*	Easy 3	M	2	
					F	2	3
	Staff too laissez-faire	The staff sat back too much, to the point where group dynamics disintegrated considerably	*They should have stepped in before stuff got too out of control*	Laissez	M		1
					F		1
	Projects must not be under-valued	Even though Raleigh is about personal development, they have come to work hard on project sites - sold sponsors on this concept	*I came here to work and if I don't it would be an insult to those who supported me*	Project	M		1
					F		

Round four (cont...)

Outcomes

Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		Y D	SF
Gaining independence	Willing and able to take care of certain tasks previously neglected or done by someone else	*Doing my own laundry and cooking at home will seem easy when I get back*	Indep	M	1	1
				F		2
More to life than work	Decided that life is not just about work and that one must find a balance between work and rest/play	*Now I think that it's important to slow down and enjoy your work more*	Enjoy	M		1
				F		1
Seen some of the world	They have had their eyes opened to how much of the world lives - outside of their community, UK	*I feel like I've been "out there" and seen some of the world*	World	M		
				F		2
Inter-personal skills	Better able to work with groups of people	*I've learned to be more patient with people*	Inter	M		3
				F	1	2
Tougher, more resilient	Better able to endure hardships at home and work.	*It'll be no problem if I have to go to work hungry or sleep deprived*	Tough	M	1	
				F		
Intra-personal growth	Increased self-esteem, self-confidence	*Doing all of this really gives me good feelings about myself*	Intra	M	1	1
				F	1	1
Won't realise learnings until later	They will have a much greater understanding of how they have been influenced by Raleigh in a new months	*I have no idea how this has affected me...maybe I'll know in a few months*	Later	M		1
				F	1	4
General personal growth	Becoming a changed, fuller person – wiser, more mature	*I have already changed...I'm growing every day*	Grow	M	1	1
				F	1	
Learned about UK	Learned about and got along with people from other parts of the UK	*I've learned as much about UK culture as I have about Ghanaian*	UK vent	M		1
				F		1
Will appreciate home more	Have realised they are lucky to have supportive friends/family and physical comforts	*I will never take a shower for granted again...I'm so lucky to have a great family*	Grate	M	1	1
				F	2	
More willing to try new things	Will be more willing to step forward and try new activities, challenges	*I think I'll be more motivate d to try new things when I get back*	Mot	M	1	
				F	2	1
Finishing expedition is great achievement	People are happy and proud that they have stuck it out. They have a badge of honour.	*I can't believe I've actually done it!*	Achieve	M	1	
				F	1	1
Career clarity	Gaining a greater understanding of what they want to pursue academically or in the job market	*Now I now that I want to get into youth development work*	Career	M	1	1
				F		2

Round Five Themes

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		YD	SF
Elements	Easy adjustment	It was very easy, fitting back into old social pattern	*I just slid right back in – no problem*	Easyfit	M		1
					F	1	2
	Hard adjustment	It was difficult to adjust back into life as it used to be, before Raleigh	*It was so hard for the first few weeks – I felt like I didn't know my friends*	Hard-fit	M	2	1
					F	2	1
	Quick assimilation after initial weirdness	After an initial few days of feeling strange, there was a rapid assimilation into old social pattern	*The first few days were a bit weird, but then I got back into the old routine very quickly*	Weird /assim	M		
					F		2
	Unhappy in UK	Not happy being back in the UK – want to be back in Ghana	*I hate being back in the UK – I want to go back*	UK	M	2	
					F	2	2
	Feels like a dream	In retrospect, it feels like the expedition never happened	*It feels like I never went – like it was a dream*	Dream	M	1	1
					F	1	2
	Expedition is unique event	Expedition could not be organised on one's own – it's an irreplicable occasion	*There is no way we'll ever do anything like this with these people again*	Event	M	2	1
					F	2	1
	Common purpose	The expedition brings different people together for a worthwhile reason	*Raleigh brought so many different people together*	Com-purp	M		
					F		1
	Cultural exchange	Living with the Ghanaians was important	*I loved the Ghanaians – they made it so good*	Cult	M	1	
					F	1	1
	Follow-up sessions	Post-expedition debriefing sessions are important, needed	*They should offer those follow-up sessions to everybody*	Follow	M	1	1
					F	1	1
	Venturer diversity	The rich mix of venturers was a key element	*I never would have mixed with so many kinds of people*	Div	M		
					F		3
	Ghana was beautiful	The physical setting of the expedition was stunning	*Those waterfalls, the elephants, and sunsets were incredible*	Place	M	1	
					F		
	Others' perceptions	Concerned about others' perceptions of them upon returning	*I wonder if people will think I've changed*	Event	M	1	1
						M		
	Semi-structured adventure	The experience is not over-organised – there is freedom, autonomy and downtime	*You needed Raleigh to organise the activities and bring us together*	Semi-struct	M	1	1
					F		1
	Physically hard work	Part of a Raleigh exped is being exhausted (and that's good)	*I loved being exhausted at the end of the day*	Phys	M		1
					F	2	2
	Basic food and shelter	Being self-sufficient with only fundamental resources is important	*It was the whole "getting back to basics" thing that was so good*	Basics	M	1	1
					F		2
	Facing interpersonal conflict	Not being able to walk away from interpersonal conflict – dealing with them	*If you were mad at someone, you couldn't just walk away from them.*	Deal	M	1	1
					F		

Round five (cont...)

Elements (cont...)	One on ones	One on ones are good for raising issues	*The one to ones were a good check on how we were doing*	**1-1s**	**M**	1	
					F		
	Unfamiliar people, place, task	Overall unfamiliarity is necessary though not always wanted	*It was tough to change groups, but we knew it was an important part*	**Unfam**	**M**	1	1
					F		
	Processing through conversation	Venturers made sense of their experience by informally sharing and talking with each other	*I figured a lot of this stuff out by talking with people when we went for water*	**Talk**	**M**	1	1
					F	1	3
	Helping people	People felt good about helping others	*I just really enjoyed the feeling of helping people*	**Help**	**M**		1
					F		
	Processing through reflection	Venturers made sense of their experience on their own	*I just figured out what I learned on my own*	**Self-proc**	**M**	1	2
					F	1	

Round five (cont...)

	Theme	Description	Positive Examples	Tag		Y D	S F
Outcomes	Unsure how influenced	Still unsure of how their life may have been influenced by the expedition	*It's hard to pinpoint how it's affected me – I don't know.*	Unsure	M		
					F		2
	Greater sense of self	Have a greater sense of who the real them is	*People accepted the real me. Now I know that I can be me all the time.*	Me	M	3	1
					F		2
	Appreciation of UK life	Greater appreciation of every day conveniences in the UK	*I am more aware that over here we have clean drinking water, plenty of food, nice clothes...*	App	M	2	1
					F	1	
	Proud of accomplish-ments	Proud to have been part of something worthwhile –helping others	*I feel proud to have been part of this expedition that has helped others.*	Proud	M	1	1
					F	1	
	Increased social network	More friends, increased support once back in the UK	*The friends I made on Raleigh have given me so much support since I've been back*	Net-work	M		
					F	1	
	Increased interpersonal skills	Increased ability to get on with people they don't know so well	*I am more comfortable hanging around with people from different backgrounds that I didn't know before*	Inter	M	1	1
					F		1
	No change from exped	Feel that they have not changed at all for going on expedition	*I am the same person that I was before expedition*	No change	M		
					F	1	
	Increased self-confidence	Increased confidence in one's abilities	*I am definitely have more self confidence in everything I do*	Conf	M	1	
					F	2	1
	Greater clarity on career	Gained clarity on job/career direction	*I had never considered going to university before the expedition*	Career	M		1
					F		3
	More willing to try new things	Now much more willing to take initiative and try out new things in new places	*When friends suggest things we can do together, I just say yes to things now.*	Try	M		1
					F	3	2
	Self-reliance/ independence	More able to do things on one's own	*Now I don't mind going to the movies by myself.*	Indep	M		1
					F		
	Not getting rhetoric	Did not gain the outcomes 'promised' from Raleigh	*I don't think my leadership or teamwork improved at all*	No Rhet	M		
					F		1

F. Examples of interpreted interviews

Interview A (Friio, first phase, third week of expedition)

Alpha 7, October 25, 2002, Akuase – Climb site

Induction

- It didn't sink in for the first few days...I was still like, "wow, this is Ghana". When we went to Shai Hills it started to kick in that this was the expedition.
- It was absolutely brilliant when we got on those buses that looked really dodgy. At the airport that was pretty strange. The dance they were doing, I got pulled into the middle. It was pretty good. I took loads of photos.
- When we got to Shai Hills it was like work and to show myself what I could do. During the walk I was sweating bottles. I'm used to walking but not in this heat. It was like "wow, I never thought I could do this".
- The first night camp was pretty good cos we separated ourselves from the other group. But it was good cos it meant we found out about everyone else and why they came on Raleigh.
- We got the chance to go up to the Bat Cave, which was awesome. Baboon Camp was out of this world – it was absolutely amazing. I got some photos of them, I hope. When we got back to camp it was a bit weird cos I felt a bit homesick cos I wasn't doing anything. We were there for three days and didn't do anything. When I'm in a place for too long I get...awwwhhh (bored).
- And I had my first shower, which was like heaven. But I had to go down with a bucket which was awkward, but did feel like bliss.
- Then we went to Guide Camp, which was the start of it really. It sunk in that for the next nine weeks it was "here we go!". It's going to hard, it's going to be fun, I'm gonna have the highs, I'm going to have the lows.

Current adventure project

- I've just done my first week of canoeing. I was alright for the first few days but then it really kicked in and I cried. One day I woke up and flooded my tent with tears cos I was away from home: my family, my friends. It was like, "what am I doing here? I don't want to be here".
- I've never been away for more than two weeks before. It's just strange. I know I want to improve myself and be able to show people I can do – so I can go home and have something that my family can be proud of. So, I'm sticking with it.
- I played my Walkman, which eased it a bit...and when you look at the photos you think, "ooh, I was wish I was there". No, it's been good. I'm still feeling a bit of it (homesickness).
- Canoeing was hard – very, very hard. Especially when at midday it's getting hot, you go to sit on the plastic seat and it's really hard.

Group influence

- We're worked really hard as a team through the canoeing phase. You know how you get the forming, storming thing? We hit the storming stage. We went through the lows of a team and argued the hell out of each other. But, I think that's what you get everywhere you go....everything's not going to run smoothly, ever. I think that didn't help with me feeling down.

cool that he identified behaviours.

realising that difficulties happen everywhere.

Culture

- There's such a culture shock around Ghana as well. We went and had a look around the village and I thought I'd go back a bit early and we got near the school. The school kids came pelting out – they just wanted to touch you. I had four hands trying to hold on to mine and I was trying to carry a water bottle as well. So one of them carried my water bottle and all of these hands wanted to hold you and walk down the road with you. It made me really smile and feel like 'wow' – I can go home and really have something to say. That would never happen in England.

Story of kids moving backwards and forwards while trying to take a photo

- It gives you that buzz. You've cheered them up and they've given you something that you'll never see.
- We went into Jemini, near Lake Volta, and I nearly got married off. We were in the market and they said if you come back tomorrow, they'll have a beautiful wife for us. Hopefully, they were joking…I don't think will my dad would be too impressed.
- When you go through the villages – they start waving to you, all the kids – it's so amazing…culture shock.

Were you prepared?

- I don't think I was! I was motivated to do it, to push myself. I want to do this cos I want my family to be proud I've done something to change my life. They'd be proud of me no matter what I've done.

Experience of a lifetime?

- When you're in England you can do anything for a rush. You can go on a roller coaster for nine weeks if you wanted. But it still wouldn't be the same as going to another country and seeing how they live and helping them. If you're in England it's all the same – little villages on the outskirts of town.
- You come to Ghana and it's absolutely different. You've got rain forest, the desert up the far north, you've got the huge, vast man-made lake in the middle of it. It's out of this world.
- And you've got the culture – the villages that've probably never seen a white person before. When you drive though the village they're like "wow" and come out waving – it just gives you that buzz.
- And not being in the same place – you're moving around Ghana and seeing the whole country.

Living conditions

- The food side of it – even if you're living on your own or living as a group you've got to learn how to budget your food. You've got to learn how to cook it as well. I think it's a good experience.
- I'm used to living in tents but not for nine weeks! It's a weird experience – nine weeks in a tent.

Talks about learning to cook, budget, and sleeping in tents

Nov 12

Interview B (Lily, third phase, ninth week of expedition)

4 – Dec. 6, 2002, Alpha 2, Samanyhia – school refurbishment

How is phase 3 matching your expectations?

- The community phase I thought was going to be the whole expedition: working in the villages, schools, latrines…that was it, basically.
- But it's a lot more better than I thought it was coz we get to do teaching and spend a lot of time with the kids and the community. And the work – I think because two phases have actually been here it's not as hard. We're just painting and stuff. We're not digging like we thought we would be doing and stuff like that. But, it's still quite tiring…

SKB – you were expecting the whole ten weeks to be like this?

- Yeah, That's the idea I got off the workshops and stuff…that it was all building and working in communities. I didn't realise there was an environmental (phase)…

SKB – so you like this community phase a lot – maybe even better than you thought, but it's not as long as you thought it was going to be. Is that a good way of summing it up?

- Yeah…I think the community phase – but you can't tell anyone in Alpha 5 – I think it's a lot better than Beyin, I think…Beyin was great but you didn't get to socialise with the people like you do here.
- You get to spend nearly the whole day with the kids. And you never got to do things where you realised you were helping…that sounded really wrong…
- Like the teaching. Kids are going away and we're giving them words to remember and the following day they know the words and how to put it in a sentence. Which you wouldn't expect…

SKB – and you don't get that kind of satisfaction from building a parking lot?

- Not really! I was teaching the boy down the road – Wisdom – how to read a book and asking him the questions in the book. And I seen him this morning when I went on a walk and it was like "quarrelling".
- He knew how to spell it, what it meant, and remembered it. And that's like two days. So, it's very impressive. It made you feel really good too. Coz he was like, "I can put it in this sentence and this sentence". And you were, "wow, that's pretty smart".

What's it going be like, going back to your old world?

- Really, really hard. Really difficult because you've got that used to Raleigh life. Even like showers and stuff like that…I'm going to probably feel guilty the first time I get in the shower coz I'll be like "I could have just filled up a bucket!".
- I don't know. It's going to be really different coz I've got used to so many different kinds of people and I'm going to be going back to the same people that I've known for a while, but are really different.
- It'll definitely be scary, but I think it's going to take me at least a few weeks to actually feel comfortable when I go home.
- And it's around Christmas time too, so it's perfect! Oh God, I just know it's going to be hard. It's quite scary.

SKB – Is that the same kind of feeling that you had when you were coming here – the same kind of emotion?

- It's quite a similar feeling.
- *SKB waffles about "normal to be in Africa" theme*
- I do think that's weird. When I was coming out here it was like, "101 reasons why I didn't want to come home". But because I have got used to it…it's just going to be weird going home coz I won't be getting up at five in the morning and won't be going to get water…
- I like it, the way it is now. I hate change. I'm not very keen on change. I'd be quite happy doing this for a few months.

How do you think this expedition will influence your life?
- Ummm…made me open-minded. When I go home I'm not going to take a lot for granted. Which is easy to say, but I know I'm not.
- The people I've met out here too, have been a big influence. When I go home…I've picked up so much from certain people here, like vocabulary and stuff like that – just a way of thinking.

SKB – is that what you mean by being open-minded?
- Yeah

SKB – open-minded towards other people or other ways of thinking?
- Everything. Thinking, doing things…definitely culture…I'm going to miss the heat too. I know it's going to be freezing in Scotland…I can't sum it up…

SKB – I'm looking forward to chatting in 6 months and seeing if any of this has become clearer…
- I know I've changed, but I can't explain - just what you said really (difficult to pinpoint growth). I know when I go home people are going to notice the difference. But it always takes me longer to notice…

Anything else on your mind?
- It's kind of irrelevant, but…I was talking to another venturer and we both agreed that it's going to be really weird going home because…like coming out here, I thought would have been the hardest things, but it's actually leaving everybody I've met here.
- And leaving the place, leaving my routine. I don't want to do that.

SKB – leaving the predictable – is that part of it?
- Yeah, coz I know what I'm doing every morning. Some things change, but normal routine – I haven't changed that.
- And having to say good-bye to the Ghanaians as well. I've got on with so many Ghanaians - more than I thought I would have.
- I was quite nervous meeting them coz at Shai Hills I couldn't understand a word they were saying. And now it's like I get on with them better than some people I would've expected to get with.

June 28/03

G. Examples of Raleigh post-expedition questionnaires
Questionnaire A

Venturer Evaluation		
Name and Age: ███████ 21	Country and Expedition: GHANA 03G	

'We value your feedback and would appreciate you completing this form and handing it in to the Country Director. Your answers will be given to the different departments within Raleigh International, its really vital for us to have your feedback to make sure that we are offering the best experience possible! If you have any strong views on any of the areas covered please add additional comments on the back of the form with an indication of the question your comments relates to. Thank you for taking the time to fill this questionnaire in. ███████, Country Programme Support Team'.

1a. When you **first** decided to join Raleigh International, what items (listed below) were most important?
1b. Having completed an expedition, what do you **now** feel are the best things about Raleigh? (Please rate from 1 - most important to 10 - least important)

	1a. Factors that first attracted you	1b. Now considered best features
Country		2
Timing		1
Raleigh's reputation		1C
Opportunity to develop your own skills		7
Opportunity for involvement in International Development		6
Opportunity to do Conservation work		8
Diversity/combination of Projects		5
Opportunity to work in a developing country		4
Going away with like-minded people		9
Opportunity to work with lots of different people including other nationalities		3

Please circle the number that you feel is most appropriate to the question you are answering.

N/A	Not at all/ least important	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Excellent/ most important
Not applicable	1	2	3	4	5

2. Having completed an expedition how useful/ accurate were the following sources in giving you information?

Sources	Expedition Life	Country Information	Expedition specifics (i.e.: kit, medical matters)	Opportunities for developing your own skills
Head Office staff	N/A 1 2 3 (4) 5	N/A 1 2 3 (4) 5	N/A 1 2 3 (4) 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5
Website	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5
Raleigh Support Groups	N/A 1 2 (3) 4 5	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5
Expedition Guide	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5
Expedition Info (Part 1, 2, joining instructions	N/A (1) 2 (3) 4 5	N/A 1 2 (3) 4 5	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5
Presentations (info evening, intro weekend/day, briefing day, development week)	(N/A) 2 3 (4) 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 (4) 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 (4) 5	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
Challenge Workshop	N/A 1 (2) 3 4 5	N/A 1 2 3 (4) 5	N/A 1 2 3 (4) 5	N/A 1 2 3 (4) 5
HCV Co-ordinator	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5	(N/A) 1 2 3 4 5

3. Overall, how would you rate the experience of participating in the expedition? 1 2 3 4 (5)

4. Specifically, to what extent has your experience with Raleigh developed the following?

Ability to work in a team	1	2	3	(4)	5
Self confidence	1	2	3	(4)	5
Leadership skills	1	2	3	(4)	5
Communication skills	1	2	3	(4)	5
Ability to make and contribute to decisions	1	2	3	4	(5)
Understanding of others (such as different perspectives, backgrounds and cultures)	1	2	3	(4)	5
(Any other qualities, please specify)	1	2	3	4	5

5. Overall, how would you rate the support you received from Raleigh head office, and our regional or national representatives (ie. HCV co-ordinator / Country Director/ YDP regional staff)? N/A 1 2 3 (4) 5

6. How would you rate the 'Clothing & Equipment List'? What would you: ADD: Bring more clothes REMOVE: for colder		N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)

7. Please rate these Challenge Workshop sessions in order of usefulness (1 – most important to 8 – least important).

High ropes 2	monona spartina 8	trading game 5
country info 3	discussion/negotiation 7	meeting other venturers 1
medical 6	kit 4	Didn't attend

8a. When first enquiring about Raleigh, did you feel that you would be able to reach the fundraising target?	(Y) N
8b. Having completed an expedition, do you now feel that it represents good 'value for money'?	1 2 3 (4) 5

Your Expectations – this will allow us to assess the accuracy of information you receive prior to the start of expedition.

Pre Expedition – What were you expecting your expedition to be like?

hard work, fun, busy challenging, diverse - a huge adventure.

Post Expedition – How did the expedition meet/not meet these expectations and why

It met and exceeded my expectations except the environmental phase. Brilliant, but not very environmental. Perhaps explain that weather effects projects.

If you could change something about Raleigh International, what would it be?

BEANFEAST!

Sometimes people seem disorganised and not sure whats happening which is annoying. Changeover could be longer.

How would you sum up your Expedition experience?

Very challenging but extremely fun. Diverse and lots of acheivement in all phases. Life changing. Thought provoking.

Questionnaire B

Venturer Evaluation	
Name and Age: ▓▓▓▓▓ 17	Country and Expedition: GHANA O3G

'We value your feedback and would appreciate you completing this form and handing it in to the Country Director. Your answers will be given to the different departments within Raleigh International, its really vital for us to have your feedback to make sure that we are offering the best experience possible! If you have any strong views on any of the areas covered please add additional comments on the back of the form with an indication of the question your comments relates to. Thank you for taking the time to fill this questionnaire in. ▓▓▓▓▓ Country Programme Support Team'.

1a. When you **first** decided to join Raleigh International, what items (listed below) were most important?

1b. Having completed an expedition, what do you **now** feel are the best things about Raleigh? (Please rate from 1 – most important to 10 – least important)

	1a. Factors that first attracted you	1b. Now considered best features
Country	1	1
Timing	2	2
Raleigh's reputation	3	3
Opportunity to develop your own skills	4	4
Opportunity for involvement in International Development	5	5
Opportunity to do Conservation work	6	6
Diversity/combination of Projects	7	7
Opportunity to work in a developing country	8	8
Going away with like-minded people	9	9
Opportunity to work with lots of different people including other nationalities	10	10

Please circle the number that you feel is most appropriate to the question you are answering.

N/A	Not at all/ least important	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Excellent/ most important
Not applicable	1	2	3	4	5

2. Having completed an expedition how useful/ accurate were the following sources in giving you information?

Sources	Expedition Life	Country Information	Expedition specifics (i.e.: kit, medical matters)	Opportunities for developing your own skills
Head Office staff	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
Website	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
Raleigh Support Groups	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
Expedition Guide	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
Expedition Info (Part 1, 2, joining instructions	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
Presentations (info evening, intro weekend/day, briefing day, development week)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
Challenge Workshop	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)
HCV Co-ordinator	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)

3. Overall, how would you rate the experience of participating in the expedition?	1 2 3 4 (5)

4. Specifically, to what extent has your experience with Raleigh developed the following?

Ability to work in a team	1	2	3	4	(5)
Self confidence	1	2	3	4	(5)
Leadership skills	1	2	3	4	(5)
Communication skills	1	2	3	4	(5)
Ability to make and contribute to decisions	1	2	3	4	(5)
Understanding of others (such as different perspectives, backgrounds and cultures)	1	2	3	4	(5)
(Any other qualities, please specify)	1	2	3	4	5

5. Overall, how would you rate the support you received from Raleigh head office, and our regional or national representatives (ie. HCV co-ordinator / Country Director/ YDP regional staff)?	N/A 1 2 3 4 (5)

6. How would you rate the 'Clothing & Equipment List'?	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5
What would you: ADD: REMOVE:	

7. Please rate these Challenge Workshop sessions in order of usefulness (1 – most important to 8 – least important).

High ropes	1	monona spartina	2	trading game	8
country info	5	discussion/negotiation	4	meeting other venturers	3
medical	6	kit	7	Didn't attend	—

8a. When first enquiring about Raleigh, did you feel that you would be able to reach the fundraising target? — Ⓨ/N

8b. Having completed an expedition, do you now feel that it represents good 'value for money'? — 1 2 3 4 ⑤

Your Expectations - this will allow us to assess the accuracy of information you receive prior to the start of expedition.

Pre Expedition – What were you expecting your expedition to be like?

I was expecting my expedition to be challenging and it to be a experiance of a life time.

Post Expedition – How did the expedition meet/not meet these expectations and why

* The expedition met my expectations because it was challenging and it gave me a life time experiance.

If you could change something about Raleigh International, what would it be?

Bean Feast, laughing cow, Tuna, Macheral, Crackers Black beans.

How would you sum up your Expedition experience?

I have had an amazing time and I would like to say thanks for giving me an experiance of a life time because I feel that I have came out of my shell and I also feel that I have changed.

Questionnaire C

Venturer Evaluation	
Name and Age: ▓▓▓▓▓▓ 20	Country and Expedition: Ghana 039 .

'We value your feedback and would appreciate you completing this form and handing it in to the Country Director. Your answers will be given to the different departments within Raleigh International, its really vital for us to have your feedback to make sure that we are offering the best experience possible! If you have any strong views on any of the areas covered please add additional comments on the back of the form with an indication of the question your comments relates to. Thank you for taking the time to fill this questionnaire in. ▓▓▓▓▓ Country Programme Support Team'.

1a. When you **first** decided to join Raleigh International, what items (listed below) were most important? 1b. Having completed an expedition, what do you **now** feel are the best things about Raleigh? (Please rate from 1 – most important to 10 – least important)	1a. Factors that first attracted you	1b. Now considered best features
Country		7
Timing	✔	1
Raleigh's reputation		8
Opportunity to develop your own skills	✔	2
Opportunity for involvement in International Development		6
Opportunity to do Conservation work		9
Diversity/combination of Projects		3
Opportunity to work in a developing country	✔	4
Going away with like-minded people		10
Opportunity to work with lots of different people including other nationalities	✔	5

Please circle the number that you feel is most appropriate to the question you are answering.

N/A	Not at all/ least important	Poor	Satisfactory	Good	Excellent/ most important
Not applicable	1	2	3	4	5

2. Having completed an expedition how useful/ accurate were the following sources in giving you information?

Sources	Expedition Life	Country Information	Expedition specifics (i.e.: kit, medical matters)	Opportunities for developing your own skills
Head Office staff	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5	N/A 1 ② 3 4 5	N/A 1 ② 3 4 5
Website	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5
Raleigh Support Groups	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5	N/A 1 ② 3 4 5	N/A 1 ② 3 4 5
Expedition Guide	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5	N/A 1 ② 3 4 5
Expedition Info (Part 1, 2, joining instructions	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5	N/A 1 ② 3 4 5
Presentations (info evening, intro weekend/day, briefing day, development week)	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5	N/A 1 2 3 4 ⑤	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5
Challenge Workshop	N/A 1 2 3 4 ⑤	N/A 1 2 3 4 ⑤	N/A 1 2 3 ④ 5	N/A 1 ② 3 4 5
HCV Co-ordinator	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5	Ⓝ/A 1 2 3 4 5

3. Overall, how would you rate the experience of participating in the expedition?	1 2 3 ④ 5

4. Specifically, to what extent has your experience with Raleigh developed the following?

Ability to work in a team	1 2 3 ④ 5
Self confidence	1 2 ③ 4 5
Leadership skills	1 2 3 ④ 5
Communication skills	1 2 3 ④ 5
Ability to make and contribute to decisions	1 2 3 ④ 5
Understanding of others (such as different perspectives, backgrounds and cultures)	1 2 3 4 ⑤
(Any other qualities, please specify)	1 2 3 4 5

5. Overall, how would you rate the support you received from Raleigh head office, and our regional or national representatives (ie. HCV co-ordinator / Country Director/ YDP regional staff)?	N/A 1 2 ③ 4 5

6. How would you rate the 'Clothing & Equipment List'? rucksack cover - food.	N/A 1 2 3 4 5
What would you: ADD: Make dry bags essencial REMOVE:	

7. Please rate these Challenge Workshop sessions in order of usefulness (1 - most important to 8 - least important).

High ropes	5	monona spartina	8	trading game	6
country info	2	discussion/negotiation	7	meeting other venturers	1
medical	3	kit	4	Didn't attend	

8a. When first enquiring about Raleigh, did you feel that you would be able to reach the fundraising target?	Y (N)
8b. Having completed an expedition, do you now feel that it represents good 'value for money'?	1 2 ③ 4 5

Your Expectations - this will allow us to assess the accuracy of information you receive prior to the start of expedition.

Pre Expedition - What were you expecting your expedition to be like?

Hard work but fun, meeting lots of new people and just be able to experience what life is like in Ghana.

Post Expedition - How did the expedition meet/not meet these expectations and why

It definately met my expectations but I did find we could have maybe been given more choice about the projects and opportunities we could have in order to fulfill all our expectations

If you could change something about Raleigh International, what would it be?

The staff, venturer divide. Quite a few times I felt like I was back at school being told what to do by people barely older than myself. The staff should be more part of the group and be completely and fairly involved with the project

How would you sum up your Expedition experience?

An eye opener and an unforgetable experience.

List of References

Association for Experiential Education. (2003). Association for Experiential Education. Retrieved December 20, 2003, from the World Wide Web: http://www.aee.org/ndef.html

Allison, P. (2000). *Research from the ground up: Post expedition adjustment.* Cumbria: Brathay Hall Trust.

Allison, P. (2002). *Values, narrative and authenticity: A study of youth expeditions in the 1990s.* Unpublished manuscript, University of Strathclyde.

Allison, P., & Higgins, P. (2002). Ethical adventures: Can we justify overseas youth expeditions in the name of education? *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education, 6*(2), 22-26.

Allison, P., & Pomeroy, E. (2000). How shall we 'know'? Epistemological concerns in research in experiential education. *Journal of Experiential Education, 23*(2), 91-98.

Andrews, K. (1999). The wilderness expedition as a rite of passage: Meaning and process in experiential education. *Journal of Experiential Education, 22*(1), 35-43.

Bacon, S. (1983). *The conscious use of metaphor in Outward Bound.* Denver: Colorado Outward Bound School.

Bacon, S. (1987). *The evolution of the Outward Bound process.* Greenwich: OBUSA.

Barret, J., & Greenaway, R. (1995). *Why adventure?* Coventry: Foundation for Outdoor Adventure.

Beal, B. (2002). Symbolic interactionism and cultural studies: Doing critical ethnography. In J. Maguire & K. Young (Eds.), *Theory, Sport, and Society* (pp. 353-373). London: Elsevier.

Beames, S. (2003a). Overseas youth expeditions: Past, present, and future. In B. Humberstone & K. Richards (Eds.), *Whose journeys?* Penrith: Institute for Outdoor Learning.

Beames, S. (2003b). Wrestling with development: Searching for the balance between give and take. *Pathways: The Ontario Journal of Outdoor Education, 15*(Winter), 33.

Beames, S. (2004). Overseas youth expeditions with Raleigh International: A rite of passage? *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education, 8*(1), 29-36.

Beames, S., Koestler, P., Holcombe, J., Carlson, S., Hoff, M., & Briggs, T. (2000). Guided reflection: A school-wide approach to reflection. *Horizons:The Journal of Adventure Education & Outdoor Leadership,7/8*, 38-40.

Bell, B. (2003). The rites of passage and outdoor education: Critical concerns for effective programming. *Journal of Experiential Education, 26*(1), 41-50.

Blashford-Snell, J., & Tweedy, A. (1988). *Operation Raleigh: Adventure challenge*. London: London.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Boss, J. A. (1995). Teaching ethics through community service. *Journal of Experiential Education, 18*(1), 20-24.

Boud, D., Keogh, R., & Walker, D. (1985). Promoting reflection in learning: A model. In D. Boud & R. Keogh & D. Walker (Eds.), *Reflection: Turning experience into learning* (pp. 18-40). London: Kogan Page.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Brown, M. (2002). The facilitator as gatekeeper: A critical analysis of social order in facilitation sessions. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning, 2*(2), 101-112.

BSES Expeditions. (2003). BSES Expeditions. Retrieved December 13, 2003, from the World Wide Web: http://www.bses.org.uk/aboutus.htm

Cason, D., & Gillis, H. L. (1994). A meta-analysis of outdoor adventure programming with adolescents. *Journal of Experiential Education, 17*(1), 40-47.

Chapman, R. (1986). *In the eye of the wind: The story of Operation Drake, the starting of Operation Raleigh*. London: Lorrimer Publishing.

Christians, C. G. (2000). Ethics and politics in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 133-155). London: Sage.

Coakley, J. J. (1994). *Sport in society: Issues and controversies*. London: Mosby.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research methods in education*. London: RouteledgeFalmer.

Colaizzi, P. F. (1978). Psychological research as the phenomenologist views it. In R. S. Valle & M. King (Eds.), *Existential-phenomenological alternatives for psychology* (pp. 48-71). New York: Oxford University Press.

Collins, R. (1981). On the microfoundations of macrosociology. *American Journal of Sociology, 86*(5), 984-1014.

Conrad, D., & Hedin, D. (1981). National assessment of experiential education: Summary and implications. *Journal of Experiential Education,* Fall, 6-20.

Cooley, C. H. (1927). *Life and the student*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Cooley, C. H. (1930). *Sociological theory and social research*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Cooley, C. H. (1962). *Social organization*. New York: Schocken.

Cooley, C. H. (1964). *Human nature and the social order*. New York: Schocken.

Cooley, C. H. (1966). *Social process*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.

Cooley, C. H. (1969). *Sociological theory and social research*. New York: Augustus M. Kelley.

Coser, L. A. (1971). *Masters of sociological thought*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.

Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Design*. London: Sage.

Delay, R. (1996). Forming knowledge: Constructivist learning and experiential education. *Journal of Experiential Education, 19*(2), 76-81.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 1-28). London: Sage.

Dewey, J. (1933). *How we think*. New York: D.C. Heath.

Dewey, J. (1973). Experience is pedagogical. In J. J. McDermott (Ed.), *The philosophy of John Dewey* (pp. 421-523). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Dickson, A. (1988). Return from the mountain. *Horizons, 5*(3), 20-26.

Donnelly, P. (2002). George Herbert Mead an interpretive sociology of sport. In J. Maguire & K. Young (Eds.), *Theory, sport, and society* (pp. 83-102). London: Elsevier Science.

Drasdo, H. (1998). *Education and the mountain centres*. Penrith: Adventure Education.

Dyson, B. P. (1995). Students' voices in two alternative elementary physical education programs. *Journal of Teaching in Physical Education, 14*, 394-407.

Ellwood, W. (Ed.). (1998). *The A to Z of world development*. Oxford: New Internationalist.

Ewert, A. W. (1983). *Outdoor adventure and self-concept*. Eugene: University of Oregon.

Frankfort-Nachmias, C., & Nachmias, D. (1992). *Research methods in the social sciences*. London: Edward Arnold.

Gair, N. (1988). Not so much expeditions, more a way of life! *Horizons, 15*(2), 27-29.

Gair, N. P. (1997). *Outdoor education: Theory and practice*. London: Cassell.

Garst, B., Scheider, I., & Baker, D. (2001). Outdoor adventure program participation impacts on adolescent self-perception. *Journal of Experiential Education, 24*(1), 41-49.

Garvey, D. (1990). A history of the Association for Experiential Education. In J. C. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Education* (pp. 56-88). State College: Venture Publishing.

Gass, M. (1990). Transfer of learning in adventure education. In J. C. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Education* (pp. 199-208). State College: Venture Publishing.

Gass, M. A. (1993). *Adventure therapy: Therapeutic applications of adventure programming*. Boulder: The Association for Experiential Education.

Gassner, M. (1998). Adventure education review analysis: Taking questions out, putting adventure in. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership, 15*(1), 14-16.

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *The interpretation of culture: Selected essays* (pp. 3-30). New York: Basic Books.

Gibbons, M. (1974). Walkabout: Searching for the right passage from childhood and school. *Phi Delta Kappan*, May, 596-602.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. London: The MacMillan Press.

Goffman, E. (1961). On the characteristics of total institutions. In D. R. Cressey (Ed.), *The prison: Studies in institutional organization and change*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Goffman, E. (1983). The interaction order. *American sociological review. 48*, 1-17.

Goffman, E. (1990). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. London: Penguin.

Greenaway, R. (1990). *Reviewing adventures*. Penrith: NAOE.

Greenaway, R. (1993). *Playback: A guide to reviewing activities*. Windsor: The Duke of Edinburgh Award.

Greenaway, R. (1995). *Powerful learning experiences management learning and development*. Unpublished PhD manuscript, University of Lancaster.

Greenaway, R. (2004). *Enabling facilitator or intrusive complicator?* Retrieved February 3, 2004, from the World Wide Web: http://www.reviewing.co.uk/research/resindex.htm

Grey, T. (1984). The expedition experience. *Adventure Education,* March/April, 17-18.

Grey, T. (1998). How it all began: 25 years of young exploring. *Horizons, 2,* 26-27.

Grof, C. (1996). Rites of passage: A necessary step towards wholeness. In N. G. Christopher (Ed.), *Crossroads: The quest for contemporary rites of passage* (pp. 3-15). Chicago: Open Court.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 105-117). Beverly Hills: Sage.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 163-188). London: Sage.

Hahn, K. (2003). *Kurt Hahn quotes.* Kurthahn.org. Retrieved November 3, 2003, from the World Wide Web: http://www.kurthahn.org/quotes/quotes.html

Haluza-Delay, R. (1999). The culture that constrains: Experience of "nature" as part of a wilderness adventure program. *Journal of Experiential Education, 22*(3), 129-137.

Hattie, J., Marsh, H. W., Neill, J. T., & Richards, G. E. (1997). Adventure education and Outward Bound: Out-of-class experiences that make a lasting difference. *Review of Educational Research, 67*(1), 43-87.

Hebborn, J. (1993). The Sierra Nevada expedition. *Horizons, 10*(4), 6-8.

Henderson, R. (1999a). Every trail has a story: The heritage context as adventure. In S. Priest & J. C. Miles (Eds.), *Adventure Programming* (pp. 141-145). State College: Venture Publishing.

Henderson, R. (1999b). The place of deep ecology and ecopsychology in adventure education. In J. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Programming* (pp. 439-444). State College: Venture Publishing.

Hopkins, D., & Putnam, R. (1993). *Personal growth through adventure*. Bristol: Taylor & Francis.

Houston, J. (1996). The initiation of Telemachus. In M. Meade (Ed.), *Crossroads: The quest for contemporary rites of passage* (pp. 35-40). Chicago: Carus Publishing Company.

Hovelynck, J. (1998). Facilitating experiential learning as a process of metaphor development. *Journal of Experiential Education, 21*(1), 6-13.

Hovelynck, J. (2000). Recognising and exploring action-theories: A reflection-in-action approach to facilitating experiential learning. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning, 1*(1), 7-20.

Hovelynck, J. (2001). Beyond didactics: A reconnaissance of experiential learning. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education, 6*(1), 4-12.

Humberstone, B. (1996). Other voices; many meanings? Technique and philosophy for outdoor adventure: The case for women. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership, 13*(2), 47-51.

Humberstone, B. (1997). Perspectives on research in outdoor education values and ethics. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership, 14*(1), 7-9.

Hunt, J.S. (1990). Philosophy of Adventure Education. In J. C. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Education* (pp. 119-128). State College: Venture Publishing.

Jacoby, B. (1996). Service learning in today's higher education. In B. Jacoby (Ed.), *Service learning in higher education: Concepts and practices* (pp. 3-25). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Jakubowski, L. M. (2003). Beyond book learning: Cultivating the pedagogy of experience through field trips. *Journal of Experiential Education, 26*(1), 24-33.

James, T. (1980). *Can the mountains speak for themselves?* Colorado Outward Bound School. Retrieved December 21, 2003, from the World Wide Web: http://www.wilderdom.com/facilitation/Mountains.html

James, W. (1900). *Talks to teachers and students*. New York: Henry Holt.

Kaplan, S., & Talbot, J. F. (1983). Psychological benefits of a wilderness program. In J. Wohlwill (Ed.), *Human behaviour and environment: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 163-205). New York: Plenum Press.

Kendall, J. C. (1990). Combining service and learning: An introduction. In J.C. Kendall and Associates (Eds.), *Combining service and learning: A resource book for community and public service* (Vol. 1). Raleigh: National Society for Internships and Experiential Education.

Kennedy, A. (1984). Liverpool schoolboys Sahara expedition. *Adventure Education*, March/April, 19-20.

Kennedy, A. (1992). *The expedition experience as a vehicle for change in the inner city*. Penrith: Adventure Education.

Kennedy, M. M. (1979). Generalizing from single case studies. *Evaluation Quarterly*, *3*(4), 661-666.

Kimball, R. O., & Bacon, S. B. (1993). The wilderness challenge model. In M. A. Gass (Ed.), *Adventure therapy: Therapeutic applications of adventure programming* (pp. 11-41). Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

Klint, K. A. (1999). New directions for inquiry into self-concept and adventure experiences. In J. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Programming* (pp. 163-168). State College: Venture Publishing.

Knapp, C. (1989). The walkabout model: An interview with Peter Copen. *Journal of Experiential Education*, *12*(1), 26-32.

Knapp, C. (1999). Processing the adventure experience. In J. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Programming* (pp. 219-225). State College: Venture Publishing.

Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Kornfield, J. (1996). Buddhist Monastic Initiation. In M. Meade (Ed.), *Crossroads: The quest for contemporary rites of passage* (pp. 41-50). Chicago: Open Court.

Krans, J., & Roarke, S. M. (1994). Learning through travel. *Journal of Experiential Education, 17*(3), 20-28.

Kretch, D., Crutchfield, R. S., & Ballachey, E. L. (1962). *Individual in society: A textbook of social psychology.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Layder, D. (1994). *Understanding social theory.* London: Sage.

Levick, G. M. (1933). *Young pioneers in northern Finland: A record of the second expedition of the Public Schools Exploring Society.* London: Walter Judd.

Levison, L. M. (1990). Choose engagement over exposure. In J. C. Kendall & Associates (Eds.), *Combining service and learning: A resource book for community and public service* (Vol. 1, pp. 68-75). Raleigh: National Society for Internships and Experiential Education.

Loynes, C. (1998). Adventure in a bun. *Journal of Experiential Education, 21*(1), 35-39.

Loynes, C. (2002). The generative paradigm. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning, 2*(2), 113-126.

Maddern, E. (1990). What is it fifteen year olds need? *Horizons, 7*(1), 29-32.

Maines, D. R. (1977). Social organization and social structure in symbolic interactionist thought. In A. Inkeles, J. Coleman, and N. Smelser (Eds.), *Annual Review of Sociology* (Vol. 3, pp. 259-285). Palo Alto: Annual Reviews.

Maslow, A. H. (1968). Some educational implications of humanistic psychologies. *Harvard Educational Review, 38*(4), 685-696.

Maykut, P., & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research.* London: Falmer Press.

Mayo, E. (1933). *The human problems of an industrial civilization.* New York: MacMillan.

McDonald, P. (2000). *Issues of progress: Trends in the training of outdoor leaders.* Retrieved November 19, 2003, from the World Wide Web: http://homepages.paradise.net.nz/petemcd/iop/IoP.pdf

McKenzie, M. (2003). Beyond "the Outward Bound process": Rethinking student learning. *Journal of Experiential Education, 26*(1), 8-23.

McKenzie, M. D. (2000). How are adventure education program outcomes achieved?: A review of the literature. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education, 5*(1), 19-28.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist.* London: University of Chicago Press.

Meade, M. (1996a). Litima: The inner heat. In L. C. Mahdi & N. G. Christopher & M. Meade (Eds.), *Crossroads: The quest for contemporary rites of passage* (pp. 57-62). Chicago: Open court.

Meade, M. (1996b). Rites of passage at the end of the millenium. In L. C. Mahdi & N. G. Christopher & M. Meade (Eds.), *Crossroads: The quest for contemporary rites of passage* (pp. 27-34). Chicago: Open Court.

Merriam, S. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.

Mishler, E. G. (1986). *Research interviewing: context and narrative.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mitchell, A. W. (1986). *Voyage of discovery: Operation Drake/Raleigh.* London: Lorrimer Publishing.

Morrison, K. (1995). *Marx, Durkheim, Weber: Formations of modern social thought.* London: Sage.

Mortlock, C. (1984). *The adventure alternative.* Cumbria: Cicerone Press.

Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological research methods.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Nadler, R. S., & Luckner, J. L. (1992). *Processing the adventure experience.* Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

Nash, R. F. (1982). *Wilderness and the American mind.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Neill, J. T. (2002). *Are the mountains still speaking for themselves? A defining tension 20 years on.* Retrieved December 21, 2003, from the World Wide Web:

http://www.wilderdom.com/html/Neill2002AreTheMountainsStillSpeaki ngForThemselves.doc

Neill, J. T., & Richards, G. E. (1998). Does outdoor education really work? A summary of recent meta-analyses. *Australian Journal of Outdoor Education, 3*(1), 2-9.

Outward Bound. (2003). Outward Bound Thailand. Retrieved December 16, 2003, from the World Wide Web:

http://www.outwardboundthailand.org/home.htm

Oldfield, D. (1996). The journey: An experiential rite of passage for modern adolescents. In M. Meade (Ed.), *Crossroads: The quest for contemporary rites of passage.* Chicago: Open Court.

Project Adventure. (2004). Professional development for non-profits, schools and corporations. Retrieved April 5, 2004, from the World Wide Web: http://www.pa.org/business/index.php

Patterson, M. E., Watson, A. E., Williams, D. R., & Roggenbuck, J. R. (1998). An hermeneutic approach to studying the nature of wilderness experiences. *Journal of Leisure Research, 30*(4), 423-452.

Payne, J. (1978). *The expedition handbook.* In B. Ware (Ed.). London: Butterworth & Co.

Phillips, D. C. (1993). Subjectivity and objectivity: An objective inquiry. In M. Hammersley (Ed.), *Educational Research: Current Issues.* London: Open University.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1989). Phenomenological research methods. In R. S. Valle & S. Halling (Eds.), *Existential-phenomenological perspectives in psychology* (pp. 41-60). New York: Plenum.

Potter, T. G. (1998). *Human dimensions of expeditions: Deeply rooted, branching out*. Paper presented at the 1997 AEE International Conference.

Priest, S. (1990). The semantics of outdoor education. In J. C. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Education* (pp. 113-118). State College: Venture Publishing.

Priest, S., & Gass, M. A. (1997). *Effective leadership in adventure programming*. Champaign: Human Kinetics.

Priest, S., & Gass, M. A. (1999). Six generations of facilitation skills. In J. Miles & S. Priest (Eds.), *Adventure Programming* (pp. 215-218). State College: Venture Publishing.

Priest, S., Gass, M. A., & Fitzpatrick, K. (1999). Training corporate managers to facilitate: The next generation of facilitating experiential methodologies? *Journal of Experiential Education, 22*(1), 50-53.

Proudman, B. (1995). Experiential education as emotionally engaged learning. In K. Warren & M. Sakofs & J. Hunt (Eds.), *The theory of experiential education*. Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

Raleigh. (2003). Raleigh International. Retrieved October 24, 2003, from the World Wide Web: www.raleighinternational.org

Ringer, M. (1999). The facile-itation of facilitation? Searching for competencies in group work leadership. *Scisco Conscientia, 2*, 1-19.

Ritzer, G. (1988). *Sociological theory*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Rock, P. (1979). *The making of symbolic interactionism*. London: The MacMillan Press.

Rowley, J. (1987). Adventure education and qualitative research. *Journal of Experiential Education, 10*(2), 8-12.

Ryan, G. W., & Bernard, H. R. (2000). Data management and analysis methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 769-802). London: Sage.

Schoel, J., Prouty, D., & Radcliffe, P. (1988). *Islands of healing*. Hamilton: Project Adventure.

Schofield, J. W. (1993). Increasing the generalisability of qualitative research. In M. Hammersley (Ed.), *Educational Research: Current Issues* (pp. 91-113). London: Open University Press.

Schön, D. (1983). *The reflective practitioner: How professionals think in action*. London: Temple Smith.

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three epistemological stances for qualitative inquiry: Interpretivism, hermeneutics, and social constructionism. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 189-213). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Social Exclusion Unit. (2004). Social Exclusion Unit. Retrieved February 6, 2004, from the World Wide Web: http://www.socialexclusionunit.gov.uk/index.htm

Sigmon, R. (1994). *Linking service with learning*. Washington: Council of Independent Colleges.

Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research*. London: Sage.

Skinner, B. F. (1968). *Educational psychology: Theory into practice*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Smith, J. (1988). The evaluator/researcher as person vs. the personal as evaluator/researcher. *The Educational Researcher, 17*(2), 18-23.

Smith, T. E. (1983). The value of heterogeneous groupings for the personal growth wilderness adventure. *The Bradford Papers, 3*, 40-51.

Somé, M. (1996). Ritual, the sacred, and community. In M. Meade (Ed.), *Crossroads: The quest for contemporary rites of passage* (pp. 17-26). Chicago: Open Court.

Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. London: Thomson Learning.

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. London: Sage.

Stake, R. E. (2000). Case studies. In Y. S. Lincoln & N. K. Denzin (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 435-454). London: Sage.

Stanton, T. (1993). *Service learning: A workshop*. Paper presented at the Leadership Education Conference, Richmond, VA.

Stott, T., & Hall, N. (2003). Changes in aspects of students' self-reported personal, social, and technical skills during a six-week wilderness expedition in arctic Greenland. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning, 3*(2), 159-169.

Stryker, S. (1980). Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version. Menlo Park: Benjamin/Cummings.

Stryker, S. (1987). The vitalization of symbolic interactionism. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 50*(1), 83-94.

Stryker, S. (2000). Identity competition: Key to differential social movement participation? In S. Stryker & T. J. Owens & R. W. White (Eds.), *Self, identity, and social movements* (pp. 21-40). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Suler, J. R. (1990). Wandering in search of a sign: A contemporary version of the vision quest. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 30*, 73-88.

Swingewood, A. (2000). *A short history of sociological thought*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Taylor, C. (2000). *The ethics of authenticity*. London: Harvard University Press.

Tellnes, A. (1993). Friluftsliv - outdoor nature life as a method to change attitudes. *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Leadership, 10*(3), 12-15.

Trekforce. (2003). Trekforce Expeditions. Retrieved, June 15, 2004, from the World Wide Web: http://www.trekforce.org.uk/faq/who_will_benefit/

Tuckman, B. W., & Jensen, M. A. (1977). Stages of small group development revisited. *Group & Organization Studies, 2*(4), 419-427.

Turner, V. W. (1969). *The ritual process*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Universities & Colleges Admissions Services. (2001). Universities and Colleges Admissions Services. Retrieved February 6, 2004, from the World Wide Web: http://www.ucas.ac.uk/new/press/archive/clearing2001/gap120901.html

van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage* (M. B. Vizedom & G. L. Caffee, Trans.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

van Manen, M. (1990). Researching lived experience. London: Althouse Press.

Van Matre, S. (1972). *Acclimatization: A sensory and conceptual approach to ecological involvement.* Martinsville: American Camping Association.

Van Wyk, G. (2002). Severance pain. *Geographical, 74,* 28-35.

Venable, S. F. (1997). Adolescent rites of passage: An experiential model. *Journal of Experiential Education, 20*(1), 6-13.

Walsh, V., & Golins, G. (1976). *The exploration of the Outward Bound process.* Denver: Colorado Outward Bound School.

Ware, B. (1978). The idea of an expedition. In A.E. Land (Ed.), *The expedition handbook* (pp. 3-7). London: Butterworth & Co.

Warren, K., & Loeffler, T. A. (2000). Setting a place at the table: Social justice research in outdoor experiential education. *Journal of Experiential Education, 23*(2), 85-90.

World Challenge Expeditions. (2003). World Challenge Expeditions. Retrieved December 13, 2003, from the World Wide Web: http://www.world-challenge.co.uk

Webb, M. (2003). *The critique of Kolb's experiential learning theory.* Retrieved January 23, 2004, from the World Wide Web: http://www.cc.ysu.edu/~mnwebb/critique.htm

Weiner, B. (1979). A theory of motivation for some classroom experiences. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 71*(1), 3-25.

Whitehead, A. N. (1929). *The aims of education and other essays.* New York: The Free Press.

Wolcott, H. F. (1994). *Transforming qualitative data: Description, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Woolfe, R. (1992). Experiential learning in workshops. In T. Hobbs (Ed.), *Experiential training: Practical guidelines* (pp. 1-13). London: Tavistock/Routeledge.

Wurdinger, S. (1997). *Philosophical issues in adventure education*. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.

Young Explorers Trust. (1994a). *Safe and responsible youth expeditions*. London: Young Explorers Trust.

Young Explorers Trust. (1994b). *Code of practice for youth expeditions*. London: Young Explorers Trust.

Year Out Group. (2004). The Year Out Group. Retrieved January 12, 2004, from the World Wide Web: http://www.yearoutgroup.org