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**Policy Development of Outdoor
Education in Scotland**

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Abstract

The advent of the Scottish 'Curriculum for Excellence' created a new paradigm of outdoor education. The term 'outdoor learning' found more common parlance as a reflection of contemporary discourse with renewed focus on curricular breadth and progression in outdoor education.

This thesis examines these changes through the lens of educational policy analysis. The study bridges the gaps between literature in the fields of outdoor education, public policy making and curriculum theory to present a broad and historical analysis of the processes for the policy development of outdoor learning in Scotland. The methodological approach is grounded in the philosophy of pragmatism, and combines desk based research with data analysis of thirteen interviews with key policy actors.

The findings identify health as an early policy driver and a prelude to later policy agendas including 'character training', work and employment. The processes for change in outdoor education policy are influenced by 'galvanising events' and via a 'policy corridor' of outdoor education advocates. Post Scottish devolution, the work of advisory groups has been a key influence in resolving what is identified as a 'policy squeeze' on outdoor learning. The research has implications for effective lobbying and understanding the processes for policy growth in outdoor learning.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

From grass root beginnings of adventure schools in the 19th century to the recognition of outdoor learning as part of the Scottish education curriculum, this thesis tells a story of incremental growth and contested change for educating pupils outdoors in Scotland. Outdoor education has a chequered pattern of history in Scotland (Higgins, Loynes & Crother, 1997, Thorburn & Allison, 2012, Higgins & Nicol 2013). A catalogue of forces have acted to morph and shape a seemingly ubiquitous presence in Scottish education which until relatively recently was denied a firm place in mainstream curricular thinking. The interpretation of outdoor education is in the hands of local authorities (Thorburn & Allison, 2010, p. 101; Higgins & Sharp, 2003, p. 583).

In recent times use of the term outdoor education has abated as the concept of outdoor learning has found a greater footing in Scotland (Allison, Carr & Meldrum, 2012, p. 45). A changing title can signify a paradigm shift in how a concept is understood and represented (Ogilvie, 2013, p. 338). A change of language from outdoor education could be discarded as a simple change of nomenclature to reflect changing times. But this explanation is too simple. The story of change is complex and weaves narratives together which are occasionally contradictory. A series of questions illustrates how outdoor education is debated and contested. For example, is outdoor education a subject or an approach? Is teaching a young person to windsurf outdoor education? Can you learn about outdoor education inside? Is teaching French in a field outdoor learning? How can nomenclature of outdoor education and outdoor learning be differentiated? Who would do the differentiating? Is there a need to differentiate?

To more fully understand the story of growth and change of outdoor education in Scotland, this thesis draws on education policy literature, public policy theory and curriculum theory. The story weaves outdoor education with the disciplines of policy and curriculum theory to provide a fresh understanding of the procedural influences, changes and failures of outdoor education and now outdoor learning in Scotland.

Foundations for this research stemmed from growing political interest in outdoor education in England and Wales. My early interest grew from two particular events. Firstly a speech by David Blunkett in 2000, who was Secretary of State for Education at Westminster. In 'Raising Aspirations for the 21st Century' he announced a scheme of summer camps for all 16 year olds, seen as a key part of a Westminster Government strategy to prevent youngsters being alienated from conventional schooling (Bentley, 2000). The programme moulded into a Connexions summer activities for 16 year olds scheme which eventually mutated in 2006 as the 'do-it-for-real' initiative. The National Citizenship Service (NCS) introduced by the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government in 2011 contained outdoor education residential components not dissimilar to these earlier schemes. A loose incremental thread can be traced between each of these schemes over the period from 1996 to 2012. A second important event for outdoor education in England and Wales was the report in 2004-05 of the Education and Skills Committee into 'Education Outside the Classroom.' The manifesto for LOtC was launched in 2006 by the then Department for Education and Skills (DfES). These initiatives represented a government interest in the potential of outdoor education after a period of platitudes and turbulence throughout the 1990s (Allison & Telford, 2005).

What had changed? What spawned this interest? The developments post 1997 appeared unprecedented in terms of central government interest and leadership. What were the processes for how national policy initiatives across the UK came to an accepted form?

In 2009 my research interest changed geographical direction to focus on Scottish education. Scotland is now one of the few countries to recognise the place of learning outdoors within a nation's curriculum: there is a component of the Scottish national 'Curriculum for Excellence' (CfE) which recognises the role of learning outdoors in the education of pupils. Other countries, for example Norway and Sweden, have a tradition of engaging pupils outdoors as part of their education epitomised in the Norwegian word *friluftsliv*, the act of living, exercising and experiencing being outdoors in the fresh air (Backman, 2008). The recognition of the importance that outdoor education plays in the development of young people is also acknowledged formally in the curriculum in the State of Victoria in Australia.

My Scottish focus occurred following a secondment to Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) during 2009 and 2010 as the Outdoor Learning Development Officer. The position necessitated working with representatives of the Scottish Government and key education institutions. The direction of work on outdoor learning by LTS at that time was influenced by the Outdoor Learning Strategic Advisory Group (OLSAG). OLSAG was formed by the Scottish Government in August 2008 and the final meeting was in March 2010. An outcome of the work of OLSAG was 'Curriculum for Excellence through Outdoor Learning' (CfEtOL) which demonstrates the assertion that Scotland recognises outdoor learning in the curriculum. CfEtOL was launched in April 2010 and distributed to every school and

early years setting in Scotland. It places an expectation on all schools and educational settings for learning outdoors to be a part of a young person's education.

This thesis attempts to ameliorate the divide between outdoor education literature and policy literature, to fill a gap and examine the processes of change and the rise of outdoor education as a 'policy field' in Scotland. Cairney (2012, p. 4) suggests that the starting point for making sense of the policy-making process is a definition of public policy thereafter identifying types of policy to make the study more manageable.

The 'bracketing' of policy stages, from a research perspective, can usefully assist in the process of marking territory for analysis (Goodwin, 2011). To achieve this the periods during which outdoor education developed in Scotland have been divided into more manageable segments. Three major events in Scottish education were broadly used as signifiers to identify the end of one era and the beginning of the other. These are the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945 and the end of the Second World War; the growth of Local Authority Outdoor Education Centres from the 1960s; Scottish devolution in 1999 and the introduction of CfE in 2008.

Bowe, Ball & Gold (1992) identify three contexts of policy: practice, influence and production of text. An empirical analysis of the impact of particular policy developments on Scottish outdoor education at a practitioner level would be interesting work but is further than this thesis extends. The focus of the present study is the two contexts of policy identified by Bowe et al., 'influence' and the 'production of text' in the development of OE as a policy field in Scotland.

Influence in the development of OE is examined in two ways; firstly through an historical examination of how the influences theorised as strands of outdoor education materialised and were shaped. Secondly by examining influences of education policy in Scotland which were not intended to shape outdoor education *per se*, but by association impacted on the direction and the practice of OE. For example, policies which sought to raise the school leaving age of pupils had an impact on the role and provision of outdoor education in Scotland. Discussion explores how the influence of previous manifestations, trends and debates in OE in Scotland filter into current debates and policy outcomes. McCulloch (1997, p. 69) writes: 'Unmistakably, however, history continues to impinge on even the most historically unaware of education policies'.

The second context of policy is the production of text which seals the politics of stakeholders and actors in writing. It is the interpretation and implementation of text which provides a new amphitheatre of contestation, discourse and pluralistic adjusting. Ball (1993, p. 11) discusses the context of policy text and writes:

... we can see policies as representations which are encoded in complex ways (via struggles, compromises, authoritative public interpretations and reinterpretations) and decoded in complex ways (via actors' interpretations and meanings in relation to their history, experiences, skills, resources and context).

The ways in which outdoor education in Scotland struggled, was compromised, and had varied interpretations and reinterpretations is discussed throughout the thesis. The early chapters follow a historical-structural approach and focus on the context of policy influences which examine relationships on two levels. The first level is between

constituents of an aspiring outdoor education 'subject', and historical features of the Scottish education policy culture. The second level examines relationships embedded within the construct of outdoor education. The 'production of policy text' as a context of policy analysis is the basis for the later chapters which are descriptive of specific events such as the formation of CfEtOL.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of pragmatic philosophy to find a platform of inquiry for this thesis. The chapter initially outlines means of understanding truth before discussing pragmatic schools of thought, primarily drawing on the work of Pierce, James, Dewey and Pring. The chapter introduces the concepts of structure and agency which continue as a theme throughout the thesis.

Although teaching outside has been a feature of Scottish education for many years is it possible to identify a policy for outdoor education? This question is not as straightforward as it may seem. What is meant by policy? Does a policy have to be written? Who decides what elements of outdoor education or outdoor learning are included in a policy? Fundamentally is policy in Scottish outdoor education understood? In order to grapple with how outdoor education sits within policy discourse it is necessary to unpick what is meant by policy. The concept of what policy is and ways of viewing policy is the topic of Chapter 3 which outlines how policy can be viewed and interpreted through models associated to policy structure and analysis. The structural framework of power and political systems is the theme of Chapter 4 which outlines the political fabric in Scotland.

The methodology has been divided into two chapters. Chapter 5 is the first methodological chapter that outlines the framework adopted for the study and draws predominantly on the work of Maxwell (2013) and an interactive design model. The

chapter challenges the reader to contemplate the difference between objective analysis of qualitative data and analysis which acknowledges and makes use of the experience of researchers in understanding subject matter.

To understand the historical context in which outdoor education was interpreted, it is necessary to consider the debates which occurred in mainstream Scottish education. The fabric of formal Scottish education policy making is outlined in Chapter 6 to contextualise discussions to understand the educational policy culture in which outdoor education needed to function. In this fashion the analysis follows the premise outlined by Chitty (2009) who, in his examination of education policy in Britain wrote:

Emphasis is laid upon a historical approach and upon the need to avoid seeing history as a succession of chance events or as just one thing after another. The argument propounded is that policy-making is always influenced by what has happened in past decades and that the historical account must always be presented within a coherent explanatory framework ... (Chitty, 2009, p. xiii).

Although social and economic commentary contributes to the story, there is a bias towards political change following devolution which altered the policy landscape for outdoor education in Scotland. Education has always been a devolved policy issue, but devolution heralded a step change in political access for policy actors in the outdoor education arena.

An institution which was an early proponent of outdoor education and close to the sea was Gordonstoun School in Elgin founded in 1934. Gordonstoun is indicative of the 'active

progressivism' which occurred in Scottish education (Young, 1986, p. 165) that adopted a philosophy which resonates with outdoor education. The progressive schools movement is the theme of Chapter 7 which outlines the policy networks and influence that the progressive movement had in the development of outdoor education in Scotland.

Historical analysis of OE in Chapter 8 shows the early justification for young people to learn outside has foundations in a range of interests. For example the need to prepare men for the rigours of war after the tragic defeats and dire loss of life during the Boar War provoked debate on the role of military drill outdoors in schools (Lowe, 2003, p. 321). Policies for outdoor schools were introduced as a means to counter the ills of Tuberculosis (TB) in the 1920s (Unknown, *The Spectator*, October 22 1927, p. 6) and arguments were made concerning the 'moral decay' of society which could be halted by instilling the values of integrity and community living into young people through character training (Cook, 1999, p. 160). The chapter theorises the varied pathways for the growth and development of outdoor education as strands. For example, policies for combating TB can be bracketed within a health and exercise agenda, introducing pupils to mountaineering or sailing as adventurous activity and contextualising rural studies lessons as field studies. Each strand has a discrete history and has written its own narrative.

It is not uncommon to see history 'borrowed' from youth movements such as the Girl Guides, the Boys Brigade or the Boy Scout association as a part of the foundations to outdoor education (see for example Nicol, 2002; Cook, 2000). Likewise the history of camps in Scotland is theorised as a strand in the antecedents to outdoor education. In other words the historical platform on which outdoor education rests is created from a

variety of strands which have been drawn together as a historic rationale for outdoor education in Scotland. Chapter 8 develops this argument and outlines the various strands.

The second methodology chapter is Chapter 9. The chapter details the methods used for collecting and analysing data and explores sampling procedures for the mix of actors involved in the growth and production of policy in the emerging field of outdoor education.

It can be argued that outdoor education didn't actually exist in Scotland until the 1960s when the phrase first started to be used in the UK (Ogilvie, 2013, p. 338); prior to this era youngsters enjoyed outdoor pursuits or summer camps without the need for an educational overtone. It was not until the 1960s that the term outdoor education found more common parlance in Scotland. In the United States the term outdoor education was used from the turn of the 19th century to differentiate between indoor and outdoor education and was a forerunner to the development of subjects such as nature studies (Quay & Seaman 2013, p. 9).

As the language of outdoor education developed greater meaning, the question as to what outdoor education actually was became more pressing for two possible reasons. The first was to argue a presence in the school curriculum and the second to justify financial resources to specifically support outdoor education. A third less practical reason was the growth of a community of outdoor education practitioners who began to theorise, question and study outdoor education concepts. Chapter 10 explores outdoor education as a burgeoning subject and identifies the contested themes within which policy makers had to navigate. The development of OE as a subject is analysed using models of curriculum development to contextualise theoretical arguments. The factors identified

which contributed to the subject development of outdoor education are the training of outdoor leaders, the status of Physical education (PE) in Scotland, the integration of academic content and arguments made for a teacher qualification in outdoor education. The discussion of that period in the 1960s and early 1970s extends into Chapter 11 which examines the local authority guidance document, 'Circular 804' as an early policy text specific to the national understanding of outdoor education in Scotland. As the evidence for how policy in outdoor education is constructed the concept of 'policy corridors' is introduced.

The 1990s was a period when outdoor centres faced cuts and closures across Scotland. The Lothian outdoor education service had at one stage been heralded as an international model of prime outdoor education provision, complemented on the west coast by the Strathclyde outdoor centres. Chapter 12 outlines how the situation changed as the concept of outdoor learning began to emerge which, it is argued, places a greater emphasis on the outdoors as an approach to learning. A focus on an approach leaves the subject matter i.e. the content more widely open to interpretation. The process and content dualism is a feature of western education debate and confusion; outdoor education has not been exempt from this discourse. Quay and Seaman (2013, p. 62) explored the existence of this dualism more fully in the United States and wrote '... we believe it is important to understand that confusion is not characteristic of outdoor education alone, but rather is a longstanding feature of institutionalized education more generally.'

The change in the use of language from education to learning as a manifestation of this longstanding debate is the opening discussion to Chapter 12 which continues to argue and

examine the catalysts for the conceptual broadening of outdoor education. Scottish devolution in 1997 created unprecedented access to government Ministers by protagonists in outdoor education which was the prelude to a series of national initiatives which are outlined in Chapter 12.

Throughout the thesis the terms outdoor learning and outdoor education are used interchangeably, and although there's overlap in the meaning of the terms there is differentiation. Chapters 10 and 12 argue that in Scotland outdoor education has an historical association to adventurous activity and is traditionally associated to a curriculum orientated towards content. It is suggested outdoor learning is defined by a broader conception and is more closely associated to a process curriculum. In general, the term outdoor education is used in discussion of events prior to Scottish devolution after which outdoor learning became a more prominent term as outlined in Chapter 12.

Chapter 13 and 14 examine in more detail the production of text as a policy context through the development of CfEtOL. The chapter draws on the influences identified throughout the thesis to consider how these have percolated into more recent times to shape a Scottish curriculum document for outdoor learning. The chapter is structured around sections of CfEtOL to question what processes the text represents in the formation of policy. In other words how is the text representative of policy debate and contention in outdoor education in Scotland?

Chapter 15 brings the thesis to a finale by drawing the main themes of the research together to provide a theoretical framework for policymaking in outdoor education in Scotland. The concluding comments in Chapter 16 reflect on the methodology and

considers some implications of the work to speculate over future developments for outdoor education and learning in Scotland.

In sum, the aim of this thesis is twofold. Firstly to give the reader an understanding of how the nuances of outdoor education in Scotland are historically grounded in previous practice; this in turn shaped the policy arena in which professionals of outdoor education in Scotland operate. Secondly to illuminate the processes and influences which shape the policy outcomes of outdoor education in Scotland. It is hoped that future protagonists will therefore be better informed to influence policy to allow greater opportunities for children and young people to explore the great Scottish outdoors and places further afield.

Chapter 2 Pragmatism

Introduction

The thesis is grounded in the philosophy of pragmatism and adopts a neo-realist position. It thus acknowledges the need for a meta-theory to underpin the research, and accepts that while an independent reality exists, absolute knowledge remains out of reach.

Pragmatism is a broad and conflicting discipline which follows a premise where 'experience' underlies all which comes after. The notion of a pragmatic reason or a pragmatic person or common practical sense conjures images of someone or something that 'works'. Pragmatic suggests a function with a particular practical turn, sometimes to the exclusion of other factors, which may enable an expedient solution. The meaning and everyday use of pragmatism is different to pragmatism as a school of philosophy although similarities grounded in experience and functionalism marry the meanings.

The origins of American Pragmatism can be traced to two papers; one by Charles Sanders Peirce written in 1878, the other to a paper by William James in the same year which set out to develop a theory of the 'controlling conditions of thought' (Thayer, 1970 p. 21). The ideas in these papers were primarily built upon by John Dewey and George Herbert Mead and it is generally accepted that these four philosophers, Peirce, James, Dewey and Mead are the intellectual founders of Pragmatism (Eames, 1976, p. 1).

There has been a revival of pragmatism sometimes referred to as led by a number of influential philosophers, including Hilary Putnam, Richard Rorty, and S.V.O. Quine (Alexander, 1993, p. 369). Rorty in particular began to combine the work of the traditional

American pragmatists with the work of continental thinkers such as Derrida and Foucault and was seen as one of the main English-speaking representatives of postmodernism, a label he was to later dispute (Tartaglia, 2007, p. 6). A leading exponent of pragmatism in the UK is Richard Pring.

The story of outdoor education and outdoor learning developing in Scotland draws on a number of fields including political science, democracy, public policy, education and the smaller body of research in outdoor education. Pragmatic philosophy relates to each of these disciplines and is no stranger in outdoor education and learning theory. For example, the educational philosophy of John Dewey is seen as a cornerstone to the learning processes that pedagogy in experiential education draws on. (For a detailed analysis of learning theories in experiential education refer to Quay, 2003.) The optimism found in pragmatism, the Socratic values of talking, listening and understanding the consequences of actions on others (Bernstein, 1983, p. 203) are values which will be familiar to outdoor educators where value is placed on the outdoors to positively influence people's lives (Williams, 2012; Daniel, 2005).

Ozmon and Craver (2003, p. 127) suggests that pragmatism can be identified through three main elements: the importance of human experience, an inductive approach and the relationship between science and culture. The following reflects each of these through discussion on the complexities of experience as ontology, pragmatism as a philosophical method and theories of democracy and social structure. There is challenge in the interpretation and readings of James, Dewey and Pierce for a robust epistemology from which claims to 'truth' or 'knowledge' can be made. Of primary importance has been the interrelatedness, synthesis or otherwise, of ontology, epistemology and method.

The chapter begins with the main pillars in William James's theory of truth. The second section briefly outlines position associated with neopragmatism and anti-epistemology before detailing some of the principles of pragmatism as pursued by Charles Sanders Pierce. The work of John Dewey and a view of democracy is considered in the third section.

Pragmatism, James and 'truth'

If the concept of truth as an absolute is upheld, a conclusion means a clear and undisputed resolution to a matter which has been contested, created, or discovered. The notion of pragmatic optimism portraying humans as fundamentally good beings, whereby people find virtue in striving for knowledge, motivates mankind to continuously adapt and improve. If the truth of a matter is absolute, once discovered or understood, the concept of mankind striving for improvement is stifled. The notion of constant experimentation and reflective experiential thought would be extinguished by the knowledge of an absolute truth, which may then hold no value for inquiring minds. The following argues against understanding truth in absolute terms, while escaping the relativist and contextual difficulties that undermine a pragmatic concept of truth; concurrently, without these difficulties the concept of truth becomes relegated as a matter for a labyrinth of shelves. The following considers the position of truth and pragmatism based initially on the work of William James.

For James, pragmatism's primary interest is in the concept of truth (Thayer, 1970, p. 132). James suggests that pragmatism addresses the question of what '... is the truth's cash value in experiential terms?' (James, 1921, p. 88). He suggests the answer does not lie in

what he calls a 'stagnant property' but in the 'practical difference it [a truth] makes to us' (p. 88). As such truth is formulated through an idea, it 'happens' to the idea through events in this process and becomes known. A crude modern analogy is a newly created 'happening' verb formed through common parlance of a noun which develops action to give meaning to an object, e.g. Google, or Hoover, or even Scouting. He argued that the continuous building and replacing of experiences upon one another acts as a wave of knowledge on which the inquirer should ride. Such momentum establishes a continuum from which an objective reference can be drawn. James seeks an objective reference through experiences, of our collective and continuous experiences, which involve a 'positively conjunctive transition' which does not require a 'chasm and mortal leap' to the objective reference (James, 1912, p. 33). The transitions are the interface between the knower and the known, between the objective and the subjective and by extension between structure and agency discussed in Chapter 3. He accepts the difficulty that 'conjunctive transitions' face if exposed to philosophical analysis as they appear superficial and would 'pulverise' at a touch of philosophical reflection (p. 33). James makes a distinction between knowledge that is already known through experience and that being researched. This is critical if one accepts that James's ontology can be separated from his epistemology in this way: 'The key to this difficulty lies in the distinction between knowing as verified and completed, and the same knowing as in transit and on its way' (p. 32).

There is difficulty locating a boundary and achieving such a distinction to fully understand James's separation between knower and known. Manicas (1988a) finds this distinction too ironic and suggests that James's pragmatism was 'plagued by an incipient subjectivism

and by the collapse of realism in to actualism, the problem which haunted Pierce and if I am correct, haunted Dewey as well' (p. 204). The charge made by Manicas of realism collapsing into actualism is addressed presently in the chapter, however he further outlines that James hoped his theory would provide what he called 'logical rights' to those who were, 'too tender to give up religion, but too tough to give up science'. Alternatively, James wove his language around two camps in an effort find a path that was satisfactory to both empiricist and rationalists. It is possible that James sought to move beyond the philosophy at that time which was deeply engrained in abstractions that were falsely divided and fruitless (Ebirnay & Maynard, 2010, p. 223). Subjectivity is one attack on James's theory; relativism is another.

In the 'Meaning of Truth' (1909) James draws together writings to explain his answer to the previously cited question of 'what, in short, is the truth's cash value in experiential terms?' He responds that 'true ideas are those that we can assimilate, validate, corroborate and verify. False ideas are those that we cannot' (p. 88). The inherent difficulty this statement exposes lies, not only in its subjectivity identified by Manicas, but in a temporal dimension: what is verified as a true idea at one time, may be false at a later time, therefore was it initially true?

A correspondence theory of truth was argued by Bertrand Russell (1906) hence, 'a belief is true when there is a corresponding fact, and is false when there is no corresponding fact' (p. 493). Russell rejects that an objectivity born solely from experience is possible, without reference, or correspondence to some form of utility. He argues the integration of inquiry and truth as a dynamic which is continuous and evolving is the relativism of Jamesian truth. For Russell then, James held an essentially relativist position on truth –

i.e. what is true for one person maybe false for another person. In doing so the theory itself becomes false by not sufficiently accounting for what utility is or more precisely, not accounting for the relationship between utility and truth. In other words if truth is found in the practical utility an idea has to an individual, is the measure of utility any more attainable than the measure of truth? If I believe that engaging young people outdoors is critical to education and an understanding of the world is a truism, yet the truth in this belief is found in its utility, this truth will be false for educators who find no utility in this approach to education. From Russell's position, the truth position is relativist and carries no weight in determining if an outdoor educator's approach is a valid truth. Hammersley (2009, p. 12) acknowledges, there are good reasons for mankind to distinguish between true and false claims beyond the concept of 'true for us' or 'false for us'.

The above discussion on James' theory of truth illustrates the difficulty of having experience as a core tenet in pragmatism without being subsumed into relativism. If everything stems from our experience of the world, how can we know, understand or accept any form of realism? An alternate position is for pragmatism to simply dismiss the argument as a bad question.

Manicas (1988b) argued that pragmatic foundations of inquiry collapse realism into actualism. Neopragmatic positions dismiss out of hand the demands of traditional philosophy to embrace an argument on truth. Talisse and Aitkin (2009, p. 32) discuss anti-epistemology and outline that 'once we understand the relativist and historicist points about knowledge, even the pursuit of the real in the form of knowledge is displaced. Epistemology, then, is simply not worth doing.'

The basis for this study is not with an anti-epistemological stance; such a neo-pragmatic version of the philosophy of truth creates an undermining argument. Such an approach has a cynical tenor and does not chime with the pragmatic outlook outlined in the introduction to this chapter. The purpose of the present study is to tell an authentic story, to understand factors that contributed to outdoor education and learning developing as a policy field in Scotland, through a lens that has an epistemology to make sense of and interpret the process.

The following now considers the work of Charles Sanders Pierce. It is necessary to understand Pierce as a more 'positivist' conception of meaning which was interpreted by James in 'more idealistic or wishful thinking versions' (Wiley, 2006, p.16). Pierce's work is seen as the foundation of pragmatic philosophy.

Charles Sanders Pierce

The following section is initially based in Pierce's doubt/belief theory that he presented in his essay, 'The Fixation of Belief' published in the *Popular Science Monthly* in 1877. The purpose of this discussion is to establish guiding principles from Pierce towards an indirect realism and an element of correspondence. It also sketches the philosophic basis from which pragmatism stemmed. Pierce's work was broad and deep and he explored virtually all the dimensions of philosophy (Cunningham, Schreiber & Moss, 2005, p. 177). McCarthy (2005) notes that Pierce's 'epistemological position is subject to misinterpretation when the fundamental ontological realism on which it rests is overlooked' and she acknowledges the inconsistencies in Pierce's work, which give rise to realist interpretations (p. 158).

Pierce (1905) emphasises method and clearly lays out what he does not see pragmatism as, ‘... pragmatism is, in itself, no doctrine of metaphysics, no attempt to determine any truth of things. It is merely a method of ascertaining the meaning of hard words and of abstract concepts’ (p. 57). He states that the most striking feature of a post Darwinian Theory of a new pragmatism was its recognition of an ‘inseparable connection between rational cognition and rational purpose.’ Therefore the interpretation of Piercean pragmatism (or pragmaticism, as he later labelled it) was greater than practical consequences, *per se*, i.e. meaning is identified with rational purpose and not just with action (Potter & Colapietro, 1996, p. 10).

Pierce bases his ontology on a semiotic triadic of representation, i.e. a theory of signs. For Cashell (2009) representation ‘is best understood as constituting sufficient, if negative, grounds for establishing the ontological autonomy of reality and thereby (i.e. by the very establishment) rendering it accessible to knowledge’ (p. 136). For Pierce meaning requires all three triadic components and cannot be reduced to a dyadic relationship. He identified a *representamen* (a sign) which represents a semiotic *object*, (i.e. that which is represented) which is understood by an *interpretant* which provides meaning to the sign. Reality can only be understood through representation, ‘every thought, or cognitive representation, is of the nature of a sign. ‘Representation’ and sign’ are synonymous’ (Pierce, not dated, in Cashell, 2009. p. 138). A sign does not transcend reality and exists independently of what it represents; i.e. the existence of a sign does not confer reality.

McCarthy (2005) summarises the importance of Pierce’s triadic thus:

Presentness, interaction, and representativeness are all aspects of whatever is real, and every real thing necessarily demonstrates all three.

The qualitative aspects of thing /events, the dynamic relationships amongst them, and the representational meanings of them, are not only real, but together constitute the reality of every phenomenon' (p.161).

Each of the representation, experience, and immediate ethereal qualities which constitute this triadic of reality are important; the representational is equally real. A true representation is authentically real and such true belief could be found by an infinite number (or community) of inquirers and 'self-critical investigators' (Potter & Colapietro, 1996, p. xxi).

Pierce identified three universal categories for understanding how knowledge was transmitted which could be seen as the science of interpretation (Houser & Kloesel, 1992, p.xxi), or understanding of the world (Stockall & Davis, 2011, p.193) or universal categories which cut across all realities (Potter & Colapietro, 1996, p. 7). These universal categories are 'notoriously difficult' to discuss (McCarthy, 2005, p. 389), however they are fundamental to understanding Pierce's ontology (and sit as the basis to his conceptual thinking); he called the categories Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness. To provide some context for the reader I have attempted to illustrate these through an example, although it must be stressed that this is a simplistic interpretation and broad brush analysis of a complex ontological position. (For example, Pierce had three Trichotomies of signs within each category from which he derived ten classes of signs.)

Firstness then is the world of pure chance, of pure reason. An idea, a thought, exists but is embryonic and ethereal in nature, akin to a feeling, but it has the potential for making meaning. An adventurer, whilst journeying and looking down at her feet moving up through the snow, develops a belief that taking young people on expeditions would be a

worthwhile endeavour, such events have not occurred on a purposeful and formal group basis. If so, then the fact or the reality that such a feat is a worthwhile endeavour exists as Firstness; all there is however is real *possibility*, there is no *actual* - 'youth expeditions' do not exist, but it is the first stage in the semiotic process. To become Secondness, or the properties of Secondness, requires an element of struggle, of force, of effort, which dictates a need to question how one thing is acting on another, or how the outside world is making sense of the inside world. In our adventurer metaphor, Secondness is how the idea of taking young people on expeditions becomes youth expeditions, i.e. how does the idea transpose into action, how do the challenges of the practical outer world of experience mediate with the Firstness?

Thirdness is the mode of being and develops as a representation of the interaction between Firstness and Secondness to produce laws or habits which will govern facts in the future (Houser & Kloesel, 1992, p. xxvii). The interaction then between the Firstness of youth expeditions, the Secondness in their 'struggle' for interpretation through experience is represented as Thirdness in the concept of a youth expedition and what our understanding comprises of when we refer to a youth expedition, equally represented, (although a different sign) by formal guidelines and standards that now exist.

The difficulty with the above example is the possible conflation of structured thought into an existence outside of, and independent of the mind. Surely, the antirealist would say, the idea of taking young people on expeditions was that of the adventurer- the concept was internal to her, created by her and can only be seen as a socially constructed phenomenon? An important question in the example given then lies in contemplating the motivation which generated firstness: What was it about journeying that created the

notion that such experiences would be good for young people? Or put another way, could the notion be generated from an armchair and television existence? The interaction and relationship between the knowable, non-mental world and the experience of the adventurer is crucial. In other words, the ontologically independent property of the real world presupposes the construct of youth expeditions. In an examination of the work of Aquinas, Haldene (1993) explains 'it is the dependence of concepts on extra mental features that explains their intrinsic connection with the world thereby making (re)presentation possible' (p. 25). As previously referred to, the existence of a sign does not transcend reality.

The universal categories can equally be applied to the concept of policy. For example the suggestion that policy could only 'be' policy if supported by legislation would make the legislation an interpretant to provide concrete Thirdness if one subscribed to such a view of policy. It may be useful to understand policy in Peircean terms, i.e. by a theory of representation. There will always be ideational and aspiring components to policy. In the case of outdoor education and learning in Scotland, the policy is a sign mediating an approach to learning (as the object) which is mediated by the interpretant. A policy exists through a process of mediation within this triadic which is an actively engaged picture representation of the world. The mediating process is important to understand the dynamic emphasis within Peirce's theory of signs which presupposes a reality transcendent of the representation (Cashell, 2009, p. 146). The representation cannot therefore be reduced to its static structural components and treated to a postmodern antirealist interpretation.

Pierce bases his work on the assumption that human beings generally act in a logical manner. He writes, 'most of us are ... more sanguine and hopeful than logic would justify ... where hope is unchecked by any experience, it is likely that our optimism is extravagant' (p. 64). Put simply, life's experiences have led us to understand the world on a day-to-day basis which makes sense, even if extravagant. As life experience flows, inevitably occasions and problems arise and we have familiar coping systems and strategies which we implement to familiarly deal with life's challenges. Cunningham, Schreiber and Moss, (2005) when describing the sequence of logic to Pierce's argument use language which will be familiar to outdoor educators. They write, 'it is only when we confront new experiences or unfamiliar territory outside of our comfort zone that we experience unease about the logic of our structures' (p. 177). Understanding a discernible difference between a doubt and a belief is the key to understanding how Piercean truth and epistemology can be understood.

It is unease which creates a feeling of doubt. Pierce (1877) concludes that if there is a state that exists where the world makes sense (belief), it entails there is a state where the world does not make sense (doubt). The sense of belief is a satisfactory sense of calm, a pleasing habit of mind to which we naturally trend; the feeling of doubt is unsatisfactory, instigates worry and anxiety from which we naturally divert. In his words, 'the irritation of doubt causes a struggle to attain a state of belief' (p. 67). Inquiry is the means to fix this irritation of doubt and find belief. An appeal of Pierce's doubt/belief in the context of outdoor learning and central government involvement could be the innate doubt about the ability of an advisory group and published guidance to make any difference on the ground to the

provision of outdoor learning. Surely significant funds and significant numbers of teachers of outdoor learning would have the greatest impact on practice?

Pierce suggests four means of inquiry by which we fix this belief, the first three of which he rejects as unsatisfactory. The first is tenacity, crudely interpreted by the phrase 'old habits die hard'. The experiences that have gone before reinforce how we will understand experiences that confront us, because it has been like this before, we have belief it will continue to be like this, and more importantly, refuse to believe it will not be so. The second is the method of authority where there is a group, institution or culture of candidates who subscribe to a truth or world-view that cannot, or does not allow variation from the authoritarian view. The third means of fixing belief Pierce rejected was '*a priori*'. Put simply he found this was too comfortable, almost too easy as candidates would conform to reasoning alone, independent of experience, 'the very essence of it is to think as one is inclined to think' (p.75). The fourth method was the method of science. Science understands there are such things as 'reals' which act independently of 'us' and behave according to identifiable laws. He believed it was possible to fix beliefs through the scientific method as it is the only one of the four which fundamentally recognises there is a right and a wrong way in which to conduct an inquiry (Meyers, 1999, p. 639).

The method for fixing this irritation of doubt and to find belief achieves greatest clarity when ideas are related to action which Pierce summed up in his well cited 'pragmatic maxim' which first appeared in 'how to make our ideas clear' in 1877.

Consider what effects, which might conceivably have practical bearings, we conceive the object of our conception to have. Then, our conception of

these effects is the whole conception of the object. The sole object of inquiry is the settlement of opinion.

The purpose of inquiry is to settle a matter by providing an answer to a question upon which a community of inquirers would agree should they examine the matter long enough. Pierce thus has a teleological theory of truth where correspondence is the purpose of inquiry, but the fallibility of truth claims means that such correspondence can only be probable (Cashell, 2009, p. 156; Cooke, 2006, p. 105).

It is difficult to discern a correct and an incorrect interpretation of Pierce's work; further it is a challenge that tempts the reader to adopt the interpretation which best serves the necessary argument. However as with James and Dewey, his collected works are immense and developed over a period of many years which resulted in changed ideas. McCarthy (2005) expands on the difficulty and acknowledges the inconsistencies in Pierce's work:

Pierce sometimes appears to advance an objective 'correspondence' theory of truth consistent with the realist position, and yet at other times seemingly asserts that truth must be conceived as being 'dependent' on the final views of an 'infinite community of inquirers'. The latter position would appear to be inconsistent with an objective realism' (p. 158).

It is generally acknowledged that in his later writings Pierce sought to distance his position from that of James and Dewey, indeed he coined the term pragmatism as a means of distinguishing his 'brand' of pragmatism (Hookway, 1993, p. 4). He believed James had taken the pragmatic maxim to its very limits and I suspect he would have had much to add to Russell's accusations of relativism in James' pragmatism. Dewey (1916) writes that it

appears in Pierce's later life he 'attached less importance to action, and more to 'concrete reasonableness' than in his earlier writing' (p. 714). Dewey writes that both James and Pierce are realists and 'inquires whether recourse to Pierce would not have a most beneficial influence in contemporary discussion (p. 715) which could suggest that Dewey valued a more realistic than idealistic position.

My theory building on the policy process does not rest in an essentialist position which dictates the properties a policy making process must exhibit, but to theoretically make sense of how the policy-making process can unfold, based on the development of outdoor education and learning as policy in Scotland. The purpose of the previous discussion is to understand policy through the universal categories outlined by Pierce and to weave a middle ground in search of a pragmatic objective that represents a neorealist position; as such there is a need to mediate the interpretations of Pierce identified by McCarthy. The discussion turns to the work of John Dewey and Richard Pring.

Dewey's Realism

The following discussion focuses on the thematic difficulty of mediating existence and knowledge and draws on literature which primarily argues an interpretation of Dewey from a stance with realist flavours. The notion of his work being argued from any form of realist or idealistic camp was exactly the either/or situation Dewey took great pains to avoid in attempts to unshackle himself from the dualisms of traditional philosophy. As Hildebrand (2003) notes, 'to some critics, Dewey was a realist in pragmatists garb; most others believed him to be a disguised realist' (p. 8).

This chapter discusses pragmatism in the context of a thesis which explores the process of making policy which is inherently political. Deweyan philosophy has a political frame that, although not always explicit, is firmly present. Democracy and democratic values are a theme of his thinking and writing. For example, Harold Lasswell found that John Dewey's pragmatist philosophy provided an integrative foundation that took into account diverse and often conflicting values such as democracy, moral and ecological reasoning inherent in political science (Kuruvilla & Dorstewitz, 2009, p.1). Dewey understands democracy in a wider sense than conventional wisdom would dictate, i.e. associated to the processes of liberty and freedom. His democracy is broad and aspirational reflecting his melioristic motive, i.e. motivated by moral ends (Hildebrand, 2008, p. 11).

Dewey asserts that 'things' in this world can be thought of without recourse to an overarching otherness such as the mind or consciousness which is somehow ontologically related. He writes,

... pragmatism has learned that the true meaning of subjectivism is just anti-dualisms, hence philosophy can enter again into the realistic thought and conversation of common sense and science, where dualisms are just dualities distinctions having an instrumental and practical, but not ultimate, metaphysical world (Dewey, 1909, p. 326).

In simple terms, by keeping emphasis on the practical and the applied, Dewey attempts to bypass the relativist argument, that holding truth in the context of the observer could imply. For some such a metaphysical position is problematic. In a similar vein to his criticism of James's theory of truth and accusations that his realism collapses into actualism, Manicas (1988a) writes 'Dewey's logic of experience needed what his

metaphysics would not allow, an indirect realism which affirmed that there is a causally efficacious non-experientable world sufficiently structured to be inferentially knowable.' (p.180). Manicas goes on to suggest that the 'doubt-belief' theory of inquiry of Pierce allowed Dewey to effectively 'dissolve both the problem of the external world and the mind/body problem' (p. 180). The interpretation of their work for this thesis allows for a form of realism although I recognise that there is a 'superabundance' of realisms (McCarthy & Sears, 2000, p. 217). It appears that the accusation made by Manicas is a perennial occupational hazard for philosophers who reject relativism whilst trying to escape absolute realism.

According to McCarthy and Sears (2000), the key to finding an objective reading lies in the relation Dewey adopts between the 'objects of knowledge' and 'reality'. It is a mistake to identify these together or indeed with an objective world. In McCarthy and Sears's words,

This is a mistake, according to Dewey, not because objects of knowledge are non-natural artefacts freely constructed by human thought. The identification cannot be made, for the simple reason that there is more to the real world than what is, or even in principle ever could be, known' (p. 214).

McCarthy and Sears (2000, p. 216) interpret how real states of affairs are events, and realism is not fixed in time or place as events are interactive and continuously evolving. According to (Eames, 1976, p. 86) analysing and describing any event requires the observer to look at the event in two directions, the causal conditions prior to the event and the consequences of the event. Events do not occur in random isolation and it is the regularities that form 'objects of knowledge'. Critical to this process is the place and role

of thinking. Dewey named his philosophical approach 'instrumentalism'. Webb (2001, p. 293) suggests this was in part to distinguish his concept of pragmatism from William James. In essays in experimental logic, Dewey (1980) states that 'instrumentalism means ... that knowing is literally something we do; that analysis is ultimately physical and active; that meanings in their logical quality are standpoints, attitudes and methods of behaving towards facts,' (p. 367). For instrumentalism, thinking is not a just a process, it is the process of change where an ontologically real situation is changed into another (McCarthy & Sears, 2000, p. 216).

Dewey calls the thinking process and the means of deliberating experience the 'denotive method'. The role of 'experience' is explicit and central. He makes a distinction between 'gross, macroscopic, crude subject matters in primary experience and the refined, derived objects of reflection' (p. 3). Such a distinction highlights the need for a structured examination of experience through reflective thought, theorising and ongoing inquiry. Using a reflective lens, subjecting the occurrences and phenomena manifest in primary and direct experience to ongoing analysis, creates what Dewey refers to as objects 'of secondary or reflective experience' which in turn explain the primary objects, they enable us to grasp them with *understanding* ... (p. 5). Thinking is a an ingredient which is not just part of the process in establishing 'objects of knowledge' it is '*conceptually necessary*' for knowledge (McCarthy & Sears, 2000, p.218, their italics).

Denotation as a method is a way of understanding the world through direct primary experience; knowledge must be seen in the context of experience, in experience in its broad Deweyan sense, in all histories, situations and events. It requires an approach which

commences with the global, with humbleness and humility so individuals are seen in their micro- and macro-environment and as such are a reflection of that world.

There could be constructivist and idealist undertones to knowledge being formed by thought and Dewey made it clear not to be interpreted in this way. He writes: 'They [actual existences] are in no sense constituted by thinking; on the contrary, the problems of thought are set by their difficulties and its resources are furnished by their doings adapted to a distinctive end' (in McCarthy & Sears, 2000, p. 218). Dewey refers to 'brute experiences' as those which occur in the immediate and make up the 'what' which the subject comes to immediately know. Brute experiences may act as data from which the denotive method will explicate 'objects of knowledge'. A proposition then is the distinction between 'brute' immediate experiences, and refined 'objects of knowledge'.

This is not objectivity *per se*. Dewey argued against the quest for certainty and adopted the phrase 'warranted assertion'. It is knowledge that is warranted under conditions of inquiry which demonstrate a relationship to experience and become verified through active social processes. Knowledge is understood to be fallible and not foundational. Isacoff (2002, p. 613) states 'Dewey obliterated the distinction between the world of the mind and the independent world to replace it where the mind and the environment are locked into a permanent relationship of interaction'. I would suggest 'obliterated' is too strong, this interpretation recognises the interrelationship, but as a more subtle and a complex process that seeks a middle ground to avoid the collapse of realism into actualism.

A recent proponent of pragmatism in the UK is Richard Pring. In a comparatively recent paper (2000) he outlines the false dualism of educational research and although he does

not draw explicitly on aforementioned philosophers, their arguments are implicit in his position. He labels two paradigms A and B; each represents the quantitative and qualitative traditions respectively which hold opposing positions of naïve realism and radical relativism. Pring's argument is that,

... in the ways in which both physical and social realities are conceptualised, the very possibility of the negotiation of meanings presupposes the existence of things (including 'person things'). These things must have certain distinguishing features which make possible our different constructions of the world (Pring, 2000, p. 255).

In arguing against extreme polarities he makes the point that neither is mutually exclusive outlining what Scott (2005, p. 636) refers to as 'P'. Based in pragmatic philosophy, Scott identifies a neorealist position (Scott, 2005; Hammersley, 2009) that allows for multiple interpretations.

Locating the distinguishing features allows inquiry to ascertain different interpretations, reality places a check on that notion that the world is divided up countless ways, allowing some order to be found amongst the chaos. Pring makes reference to a window theory of truth through which the inquirer can gaze onto reality. However he associates this more strongly with the naïve realism of Paradigm A where a mirror image can be viewed but only through the descriptive language used to describe the world, 'there is a one to one relation between the objects in the world and the nouns and pronouns which pick out those objects' (p. 255). Pring's relation between description and reality questions the deference made to a linguistically orientated philosophy. It would imply that an emphasis

on the structural relationship between the picture and the mirror image of reality is based in linguistic inquiry.

Conclusion

The following four propositions outlined below draw from the preceding discussions to adopt a neorealist position for this research.

Firstly, the thesis rests with an ontology that dictates an independent reality. Again, Pring (2004) illustrates the importance of this proposition, 'Once one loses one's grip on 'reality', or questions the very idea of 'objectivity', or denies a knowledge base for policy and practice, or treats facts as mere intervention and construction, then the very concept of research seems unintelligible' (p. 161). The realist position is not absolute and endorses the concept of fallibilism. Research conclusions are not certain, perfect or absolute (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 18).

Secondly there is a theory of truth. As reality is not absolute, any truth claims are partial and patiently wait reassessment and adjustment. Assertions are warranted until doubt once again forces further inquiry. Whilst truth cannot be ascertained to correspond with facts or reality, it is the goal of the inquiry.

Thirdly inquiry explicates experience of matters in terms of what went before and what could come after, i.e. historical and practical consequences. Inquiry thus follows intentionality in a Peircean sense, i.e. it has future directed and past directed orientations (Cashell, 2009, p.167).

Fourthly, a distinction is made between 'brute' immediate experiences, and refined 'objects of knowledge' from which a pragmatic objective can be theorised. It may be construed through 'brute' experiences, but is not constrained by them; objects in the world may still exist whether or not they are known or observable. Glimpses into the world of reality can be made through a picture metaphor which can be accessed via a theory of representation.

The discussion has sketched the foundations for understanding a philosophical basis on which this research and conclusions can rest. In extreme summary, James utilises a vague notion of a 'positively conjunctive transition'; Pierce utilises the scientific method based in the practical consequences of the pragmatic maxim and Dewey seeks 'objects of knowledge' on which to make warranted assertions via the denotive method.

As Pring (2000, p.252) reminds us, 'it is always difficult to state a philosophical position of this level of abstraction without falling victim to the implications of the very position one is stating'. Each of the founding philosophers of pragmatism revealed a means, or method for examining, understanding or realising the interface between that which we experience in the immediate, in the now, and that which we deem to begin to know or develop into a known, but only through the experience found across all things. The process is transient where conception and belief of spatial and temporal surroundings is drawn towards a position or place understood as reality; a nebulous state that's austere under pressure and twists out of all attempts at any permanence. A reality that entices inquirers to view windows or openings through which glimpses can be made and brief states of euphoria or despair sampled. From this perspective, the 'discovery process' and the 'discovered place' are ontologically discrete.

Chapter 3: Policy

Introduction

The aim of the chapter is to examine policy literature and explore the multiple lenses through which policy, policy research and frameworks for policy analysis are viewed to simplify a complicated landscape. Sabatier (2007) asserts that, ‘... given the staggering complexity of the policy process, the analyst must find some way of simplifying the situation’ (p. 4). The first section thus considers what is meant by policy and unravels issues of policy definition and the complex nature of the policy process. The middle section considers theories of the policy process to find relevance in the growth of outdoor education in Scotland. The final section introduces the more complex and imprecise theories of decision-making through coalitions and networks.

The Chapter introduces a range of abstract and modelling concepts which are drawn on in later Chapters, and both directly and indirectly influenced the analysis and theorising process throughout this thesis.

What is policy?

The policy field is marked by breadth and spans political science, jurisprudence, political economy, and public administration (Lasswell, 1970, p. 3). The term policy has an illusory nature which defies any one definition. Ozga (2000) writes ‘I want to stress that there is no fixed, single definition of policy’ (p. 2). Goodwin (2011) stresses that with such

imprecise definitions for the policy analyst to work with, effectively 'nothing to go on...no definitive 'policy'- the policy analyst is embroiled in a process of marking off and marking out territory for analysis' (p. 168). Not defining what is meant by policy is a problem for analysts that according to Ball (1994a, p. 15) causes 'theoretical and epistemological dry rot' in analytical structures. The following thus seeks to draw out the main features of how policy is viewed through a pragmatic lens to avoid the conundrum referred to by Ball.

Dictionary definitions of policy refer to plans or actions, for example the Oxford definition states policy as a 'course or principle of action adopted by an organisation or individual' (Oxford Dictionaries). Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 14) suggest a description which defines policy through goals and outcomes, or end product, ignores the context of the policy and is hence disconnected from the process of policy. In other words policy is seen as independent of the political and social structures in which it is formed. Lasswell (1970, p. 3) suggests that 'policy science' is more embracing and consists of 'knowledge *of* the policy process and of the relevance of knowledge *in* the process.' The distinction is not exclusive; the 'how' and the 'what' are inextricably linked; how a policy is attained influences the shape and character of a policy. Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 9) state that it can be more accurate to describe a process of policy development rather than the more traditionally used term 'policy making'. More recently, Sanderson (2009, p. 699) suggests this process is more a 'craft' than a science; the 'art of the possible' rather than the 'art of the optimum'.

It was difficult to locate guidance for Scotland that relates policy to legislation. In Canada however, the Ministry for Environment publish the following to clarify the relationship between legislation and policy. They state:

Ministry policies do not necessarily require legislation to implement them.

Policies can become strategies, plans, guiding principles, a course of action or guidelines and procedures - all of which do not require legislation. Those policies that do become law are codified in a manner which gives legal effect to government policy in a form that clearly communicates the policy to those that must adhere to it and to those who are required to administer it.

(Ministry of Environment Strategic Policy Division, Unknown.)

In the Canadian context policies do not necessarily require underpinning legislation. Debate over the form of policy has connotations for outdoor learning in Scotland. For example, is the document Curriculum for Excellence through Outdoor Learning (CfEtOL) (Learning and Teaching Scotland, 2010) a policy document? Phrases such as ‘the journey through education for any child in Scotland must include ...’ (p. 9) and ‘it is the responsibility for all involved in education to recognise the place of outdoor learning’ (p. 26) suggest an onus on educators. Nonetheless, the document makes no reference to specific entitlements and there is no specific legislation, so it is difficult to ascertain if CfEtOL is policy *per se*, although at the same time it is not inaccurate to locate CfEtOL as a policy document in the broader sphere of Curriculum for Excellence (CfE).

Policy Analysis

The technical character of policy analysis is emphasised by Dye (1976, p. 1) who states that policy analysis is ‘finding out what governments do, why they do it and what difference it makes.’ But such a rationalist perspective does not necessarily account for the complexities that social science embraces, or to the changing situation of policy

processes in Scottish outdoor education. Ball (1994b, p. 14) alludes to this conundrum when he refers to the policy concept being polarised into abstract parsimony versus localised complexity. Such polarity underpins what Kenis and Schneider (1991, p. 25) saw as a paradigm shift away from an architecture of hierarchy to one of complexity.

A pragmatic perspective avoids the temptation to draw such binaries and adopts a position which examines and considers actions within the context in which they take place. Dewey believed the relationship between the means and the end is one of constant change; as Ball (1988, p. 7) wrote, 'the values accepted as an end at one point in pragmatic discourse may well be re-examined for sufficiency as means to more fundamental values at another'. Policy as a dynamic, or a never ending process resonates with Wildavsky (1979, p. 4) who wrote '... past solutions, if they are large enough, turn into future problems ... instead of thinking of permanent solutions we should think of permanent problems in the sense that one problem always succeeds and replaces another'.

The continuous reappraisal and shift in policy over time extends a static concept of policy to a dynamic and fluid interpretation whereby a patchwork of actions and events occur without specific policy decisions necessarily being made, or indeed without an established field being firmly represented in the educational policy arena. The notion of continuous policy evolution is important in the context of this thesis. Inquiry into outdoor education and policy development in Scotland requires examining what events, decisions (or non-decisions) and traditions shaped the evolution and policy direction of outdoor education in Scotland.

Bowe, Ball & Gold (1992) offer a conceptual framework for a trajectory approach of policy analysis which focuses on three contexts: influence, policy text production, and contexts

of practice. Although a trajectory approach (i.e. events occur in a linear pattern), Ball (1994a) reinforces the notion that the flow of information is not necessarily in any one direction and that the contexts are loosely coupled within a 'policy cycle'. Information is frequently passed from central authorities, local authorities to schools and vice versa – information flows from educational settings to central government. Policy 'enactment' (Ball, 1998) is used to suggest that actors engaged in the later stages of the policy cycle have an active role in the interpretation and implementation of decisions and guidance suggested by policy makers. The context of influence marks early stages of policy development. Analysis through the context of influence in policy development examines the voices and lobby groups who wield influence over particular decisions. In this thesis the context of influence considers historical macro influences through individuals and organisations associated to the emergence of outdoor education in Scotland. The production of text relates to the processes and background to national guidance on outdoor education in Scotland.

The policy cycle approach is criticised by Hill (2001) as having an over emphasis on human agency and analysis at the micro level. As this thesis unfolds it becomes clearer how important human agency has been to the development of outdoor education in Scotland. But over-analysis at a micro level has the capacity for chaos (Ball, 1994a). Sabatier (1986) called for analysts to simplify the policy process in order to understand it. As McPherson and Raab (1988, p. 9) note 'all descriptions reduce complexity and therefore have the paradoxical quality of being at odds with that which they describe.' Indeed as previously cited, Ball (1994a, p. 15) sees this relationship as the challenge for policy analysts, i.e. making sense of the micro in view of the macro.

Ozga (2000, p. 357) suggests that any policy analysis must account for the perception and experiences of people at a micro level combined with analysis of systems and policies at a macro level. Ball (1994a) agrees but adds that a micro level of analysis should include the complexities of serendipity and 'ad hocery'. Indeed he sees this as a challenge 'to relate together analytically the 'ad hocery' of the macro with the ad hocery of the micro without losing sight of the systematic bases and effects of *ad hoc* social interactions: to look for the iterations embedded within the chaos' (p. 15). The complexity of delving into the micro, into the chaos of networks and systems raises questions over the interaction between the macro structures within which a policy cycle operates and the agency of the actors engaged in creating policy text.

Structure and Agency

The relationship between the agency of individual action at the micro level of policy analysis and the structural institutions and systems at a macro level is a perennial metatheoretical issue debated since the 1970s (Hay & Wincott, 1998; Shilling, 1992). The structure and agency debate is illustrated through a discussion on the philosophy of critical realism.

Critical realism is a position, or movement stemming from the work of Roy Bhasker and primarily, although not exclusively, built upon by Margaret Archer. Critical realists assume depth ontology as a fundamental assumption where three domains of reality overlap: the empirical realm, the actual realm and the real. The empirical represents how events are perceived, the actual is as events actually are and the real (or deep) are the mechanisms and underlying structures that cause events (Dixon & Dogan, 2004, p. 573).

The underlying structure of the 'real' operates and exists independently despite our inability to 'know' it. Structure is ontologically independent of agency (Archer, 1998, p. 203). There is debate over the precise nature of the dualist relationship. For example Archer (1998, p. 202) rejects that there is a philosophical dualism although contends that methodologically there is an analytic dualism. Hay (2005) argues that Archer's critical realist position symbolises an ontological dualism which emphasises structure over agency and does not sufficiently account for their mutual dependency. In doing so he takes a philosophically pragmatic approach to structure and agency. He writes:

The key difference ... between critical realists...on the one hand and authors like myself on the other is whether we regard the structural (and/or agential) categories (like patriarchy) that we derive from such process of abstraction to be genuinely real or merely useful analytical constructs ... I do not deny the analytical utility of appealing to such structures as if they were real (p. 44).

The pragmatic position this thesis adopts acknowledges the metaphysical altercations that the structure and agency debate conjures, and seeks to avoid an ontological argument based in a dualistic relationship. Adopting this position does not acknowledge structure and agency as ontologically entwined (as advocated by structuration theory discussed below) but in the same vein that reality is out of reach such that we can never 'know' it, structure as an entity manages to stay one step ahead. (For discussion on ontological positions with reference to actualism and critical realism see McAnulla, 2005.)

Structuration theory was introduced by Giddens in 1979 that sought to fuse the ontology of structure and agency arguing that they are internally related and co-dependent so do

not represent different phenomena; they're two sides of the same coin that may only be separated analytically. Such a position can loosely be identified with Dewey's notion of 'conjoint communicative experiences' discussed in Chapter 2 in the sense that the individual and a structure exist together. The interaction between policy structures in Scotland and the individual agency of pioneers of outdoor education is a theme specifically addressed in Chapter 15.

The following section outlines language used in this thesis in relation to policy literature to identify useful concepts which have shaped analysis. Policy can be thought of in terms of a 'domain' (Burstein, 1991), 'field' (Mulgan, 2003), 'territorial policy communities' (Keating, Cairney & Hepburn, 2009) and 'action area', (Ostrom, 2005).

Policy domains

Burstein (1991, p. 328) discusses policy domains organised around structural issues distinguished by three characteristics: substantive or functional, organisational and cultural. He suggests that 'policy change is determined directly by forces within each domain; no single factor (e.g. class relations) underlies policy change across domains, nor is there a unified elite controlling most or all domains' (p. 330). Each policy domain is self-contained operating in relative isolation to other domains hence forces within domains are primary influences to policy outcomes.

The isolation of policy domains is pertinent to outdoor learning which has an interest and representation from broad constituencies. One of the recommendations from the Outdoor Learning Strategic Advisory Group (OLSAG) work in 2010 paid indirect reference

to the isolation of policy domains illustrated by the following recommendation made to the Minister for Schools and Skills:

One of the key benefits of outdoor learning is that it can address multiple policy agendas (educational, social, environmental, health, physical activity and countryside recreation) in an integrated concurrent manner. There is an active role for all Scottish Government Ministers and Directorates and key external agencies in promoting the benefits of learning outdoors. (Bruce Robertson, personal communication, April 7, 2010.)

In outdoor learning, understanding domain forces raises issues of domain boundaries where multiple policy agendas exist, as exemplified by the OLSAG recommendation. Burnstein (1991, p. 330) suggests that the study of forces within domains is as important as understanding the processes by which legislation is adopted.

Policy fields

The concept of policy fields is discussed by Mulgan (2003). Fields are defined by reference to communities with shared policy interest. Mulgan identifies three types of policy fields based on how well they are established. Firstly, in stable policy fields policy actors understand what works and new ideas are disseminated through formal networks for consideration. Secondly, policy fields in flux recognise that change is required as policies are no longer working and evidence is often backward looking by nature and not very useful. Mulgan describes the difficulties thus: 'the professions in these fields are often as much part of the problem as the solution, and maybe resistant to criticism. Their usual

networks maybe the last to recognise the need for change, and the most promising innovations are likely to come from the margins. In these areas comparisons are essential, but they are more like explorations which provide hindsight' (p. 2). Thirdly, Mulgan identifies inherently novel policy fields where no sure evidence exists to assist policy direction so pioneering work is required which increases chances of mistakes, for example the concept of e-government.

It is difficult to locate a definitive policy for outdoor education across Scotland. Outdoor education and learning most easily identifies with a policy field in flux. An example of change is the term outdoor learning and the shift in nomenclature away from outdoor education by providers and formal institutions, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Theories of policy domains and policy fields have value for this study. Outdoor education and outdoor learning can be understood as a policy field, i.e. conceptually broad with ill-defined boundaries. Within the field lie historical strands which identify with 'policy domains'. Policy domains compete for space on policy agendas. The flux is a result of the shifting tides in domains that identify with the field of outdoor education and outdoor learning. To understand the policy field of outdoor education and outdoor learning in Scotland, domain strands are unpicked to provide historical analysis in Chapter 8.

Territorial policy communities

The concept of territorial policy communities is introduced by Keating, Cairney and Hepburn (2009) to 'designate territorially bounded constellations of actors within and across policy sectors, emerging in response to the rescaling of government' (p. 51).

Keating et al. analyse the impact of UK devolution on interest articulation in policy. Discussion on the boundaries of policy communities is framed within globalisation discourse and the concept of spatial rescaling is manifest through changes in governance or regional architecture. They conclude:

... devolution has politicised the policy process, introduced new actors and forced actors to face conflicts of interest and competition for resources ... There is evidence of more inter-sectorial and cross-class dialogue and consultation than in the past. So there has been a rebuilding of policy communities in Scotland after devolution, but it has been limited (p. 57).

They identify 'new regionalism' as a possible consequence of devolution, whereby '... new policy communities emerge at the new spatial level' (p. 53). They suggest that prior to devolution groups would combine to promote Scottish interests whereas post devolution elements of competition became prevalent as groups sought individual policy solutions for their own interest. This discussion is more fully explored in Chapter 12 which examines outdoor learning at the time of Scottish devolution. Drawing from Burnstein (1991), Mulgan (2003) and Keating et al. (2009) this thesis refers to the broad policy field of outdoor education and outdoor learning within which actors and organisations compete within domains or territories aligned with particular strands of outdoor education.

The discussion thus far has predominantly considered literature within or close to an education discipline. The following section discusses frameworks for understanding policy processes primarily drawn from the public policy field in the context of the development of outdoor education in Scotland.

Institutions

The concept of an institution is discussed by Ostrom (2005) as entities such as corporations or organisations and rules or norms that act to govern behaviour of individuals across or between entities. One of the difficulties identifying institutions is they are 'fundamentally shared concepts, they exist in the minds of the participants and sometimes are shared as implicit knowledge rather than in an explicit and written form' (Ostrom, 2007, p. 23). The shared implicit knowledge is underpinned by ideology. Loewenstein (1953, p. 696) observed, '... in any political system it is the underlying political ideology which actually conditions the function and shapes the operation of the political institutions and techniques'. Institutions are described by Loewenstein as 'the instrumentalities or agencies through which the socio-political functions of the state society are accomplished and the process of social control and political power is conducted' (p. 696). Outdoor education can be viewed as an institution on the basis that Ostrom outlines; the concept exists in the mind of professionals working in the field.

Lecours (2005, p. 16) identifies three branches of 'new institutionalism' as an overarching term for a range of sub-schools, streams or branches: historical institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism and sociological institutionalism. Historical institutionalism is associated with 'path dependency' whereby institutions develop their own set of norms and rules which dictate behaviour to the exclusivity of individual actors and as such wield political influence through a life of their own. Change is met with resistance and may only occur through a form of 'exogenous shock', identified by Lecours with events such as wars or global financial crises. Chapter 11 outlines the development of the Scottish Advisory Panel for Outdoor Education (SAPOE) which formalised a network of outdoor education

professionals in the early 1970s who shared similar roles with an ideological focus on outdoor education. The organisation arguably illustrates a concept of historical institutionalism which underwent significant change following the reorganisation of the Scottish regions in 1992 detailed in Chapter 11. Peters, Pierre and King (2005) state that historical institutionalism 'is even more structuralist than more traditional models of structure and agency because it conceives of institutions as sustained by – and representing – systems of values, norms and practices in society' (p. 1278). Rational choice institutionalism has a less structural position and sees institutions as offering opportunities as well as constraints in the political mix of decision making based on Rational Choice Theory (RCT) discussed below. Sociological institutionalism has a postmodern turn and is defined through values, culture and power; the emphasis is upon the influence institutions exert over individuals.

Although different perspectives exist, the core thread of new institutionalism is that the single most important variable in politics and the policy process are institutions (see Peters, 1999 for a more extensive discussion on institutional theory). Institutions can be viewed by the way they function in terms of decision making. Two theories of decision making important to institutions and policy processes are outlined below.

Rational Choice theory

Rational Choice Theory (RCT) is not one specific theory but a collection or genre of theories which share basic assumptions referred to by Green and Shapiro (1994, p. 28) as a 'family of theories'. The core basis for RCT is that individuals make rational decisions which are consistent over time. Decisions can be rank ordered and are based on a person

seeking maximum utility. 'Stated most simply, rational choice theory is the modelling of political behaviour on the simplifying assumption that political actors are instrumental, self-serving utility-maximizers' (Hay, 2004, p. 41). 'Utility maximizers' refers to the motivation on which individuals make decisions. Motivation is directed towards a profitable outcome which may be monetary or reward driven such as intrinsic satisfaction or social approval (Scott, 2000). 'The main identifying character of rational choice theory is its adherence to the individual as the unit of analysis, in other words, methodological individualism' (Rakner, 1996, p. 4). RCT is parsimonious and broad (Hay, 2004) and assumes homogeneity such that theories apply 'equally to all persons under study and that decisions and rules are stable over time.' (Rakner, 1996, p. 5). The development of outdoor education in Scotland has not been stable over time. For example, the demise of public sector outdoor education provision across Lothian and Strathclyde Regions in the 1980s and into the 1990s. Further critique of RCT is revisited in Chapter 15.

Organisational Choice Theory

Cohen, March and Olsen (1972, p. 2) interpret organisational choice theory as the processes that participants negotiate in making choices. In their words 'an organisation is a collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings looking for decision situations in which they might be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decision makers looking for work.' Four streams are identified: problems, solutions, participants and choice opportunities. An analogy is drawn between a choice opportunity and a garbage can into which problems and solutions are poured. Cohen et al. describe the analogy thus: 'the mix of garbage in a single can depends on the

can available, on the labels attached to the alternative cans, on what garbage is currently being produced, and on the speed with which garbage is collected and removed from the scene' (p. 2). The timing of decision making is central to the mix of the policy streams. The garbage can analogy acknowledges that such processes are complicated and do not necessarily follow a linear process. In the real world this rarely reflects what actually happens (Cohen, et al. 1972; Kingdon, 1995, Ball, 1994b).

Outdoor education is no stranger to anarchy. The principle of differentiation from the norm has to an extent bedevilled outdoor education through an association to anarchistic tendencies, of radical thinking about what was possible with education. Ambiguity on what constitutes outdoor education discussed in Chapter 10 illustrates the numerous way of approaching outdoor education. The conceptualisation of outdoor learning has arguably increased the ambiguity of outdoor education as an institution.

Multiple Policy Streams

Kingdon (1995) developed a policy process model from themes identified from work based on data collected from 247 interviews conducted between 1976 and 1979 in health and in transport policy areas in the United States. Kingdon adapts the 'mix' into three separate and independent streams: problems, policy and politics. The problem stream addresses how a particular theme comes to be on the agenda for intervention or change. Whilst factors such as political pressure are influential, it is suggested that this is often accompanied by some form of indicator such as statistical or economic monitoring or the findings of a report or enquiry. Actors wishing to implement change are often preoccupied with the construction and the recognition of indicators which need to be fashioned in

order to benefit the direction in which particular actors wish the policy to move. Kingdon distinguishes between a problem and a condition (p. 110) and places individual values as a defining characteristic between the two. Kingdon suggests a continuum where conditions translate into problems when a belief develops that some action should be taken to address the condition (p. 109). He uses the example of poverty which could be seen as either a problem or a condition depending on an individual's view on the role of government in relation to poverty; should a government intervene to tackle a poverty problem, or accept poverty as a condition of society? Cairney (2009) illustrated the contextual importance of how such problems or conditions are viewed. Cairney uses change in tobacco policy to show how particular features can be interpreted to fit diverging narratives of policy change. For example, when recent tobacco legislation was introduced an 'incremental narrative' of policy change would herald this development as a great sign of intent. A 'dominance' narrative would see this as a façade without enforcement, where public health pressure created a minimal response from the government.

If an ideal in outdoor education is that young people in Scotland should have the right to education outdoors, the lens through which initiatives such as Outdoor Connections (detailed in Chapter 13) or the distribution of CfEtOL can be viewed in a dominance or an incremental narrative. For example, viewing an initiative in outdoor education for all school children which does not have an entitlement to a residential experience, or does not prescribe a certain amount of access to outdoor space during a child's education sees the lack of prescribed entitlement for outdoor education as a problem. An incremental

narrative however would see any national initiative in outdoor education as a development and a positive step in the right direction.

The policies stream comprises of competing solutions which wallow in a primeval policy soup being tested, trailed or rejected. Only a select few will be chosen and implemented based on a test of 'technical feasibility and congruence with reigning values to be selected' (Pralle, 2009, p. 786). The technical feasibility is how likely a policy is to be implemented. The reigning values depend on the acceptability of the proposed solution. Each of these factors is in turn subject to budgetary considerations (Zahariadis, 2003, p. 8). Policy communities presenting ideas are supported by 'policy entrepreneurs' who are able to combine the policy streams when a 'window of opportunity' arises. Within the politics stream there are three conditions which shape agenda setting: the national mood, organised political forces and the administrative or legislative turnover (Kingdon, 1995, p. 146). Kingdon suggests that participants and the process within these individual streams are separate and distinguishable. Actors are able to operate across all three streams although in all likelihood they have a particular area of specialism e.g. academics contribute to policy proposals rather than electioneering (Kingdon, 1995, p. 87). Despite the 25-plus years since the model was introduced it has held an alluring quality as a basis for understanding the policy process. (see for example, Houlihan & Green, 2006; Pralle, 2009; Reid & Thorburn, 2011).

Problem Surfing

In a study on the advocacy group strategies in forestry policy in the United States, Boscarino (2009) uses Kingdon's policy streams approach, and focuses on the problem

stream. Her premise is based on Kingdon's idea that advocates with particular interests continually search the problem stream for issues to which they could apply their pet policy. She identified 'problem surfers' as individuals or organisations who looked for opportunities to promote their particular agendas within the context of national priorities, for example linking forest walks to a health agenda (p. 415). Her conclusion suggested that the process is more complicated than Kingdon outlined as groups do not engage in problem surfing at the same rates – 'organisations that are structured to facilitate strong member involvement and direction are perhaps less likely to utilize problem surfing tactics' (p. 431). The structure, flexibility and ideology of an organisation will influence its ability to problem surf. There are numerous claims made by protagonists of outdoor education; for example outdoor education as a panacea to understanding risk in a cotton wool society (Gill, 2010), or exercise through activities outdoors promoting healthy lifestyles (Thompson Coon, Boddy, Stein, Whear, Barton, & Depledge, 2011). By addressing multiple agendas and making numerous claims there is scope for priorities to collide within and between organisations and institutions.

Policy Networks

Concepts of policy networks have stemmed from sub-government theories and organizational sociology (John, 2003; Enroth, 2011). The theory postulates that it is the way in which actors interact in coalitions across policy fields that determines policy output (John, 2003). Marsh and Smith (2000, p. 5) identify four main approaches to the study of policy networks: the rational choice approach, the personal interaction approach, formal network analysis and the structural approach. The rational choice approach can be used

as a method for modelling networks where outcomes are the result of the interaction between agents and their networks. The personal interaction approach (which Marsh & Smith also label as Mcpherson & Raab's (1988) anthropological approach) posits the personal relationships based on trust and mutual values as the basis for a network. In formal network analysis it is the official positions and professional posts which are the critical factor in contrast to the individuals who hold them. Similarly the structural approach places greater emphasis on the network of positions than on interpersonal factors.

These varied approaches can be distinguished by how they privilege either structure or agency, which in turn creates epistemological issues. (For debate on this matter see Marsh & Smith, 2001.) The pragmatic stance of this thesis recognises the constraints and arguments that one particular approach may privilege structure or agency. The direction of conceptual theorising in 'thought experiments' (detailed in Chapter 5) attempts to move past this dualism to provide analysis which examines 'what is' through the outcome and effects of situations and experiences in the development of outdoor education in Scotland.

Marsh and Smith (2000) attempt to link structures of policy processes and networks to the outcomes of policy in a dialectical model. The link is not causal, i.e. their model does not suggest that a particular structure or certain factors will create specific outcomes.

Their model is based on five concepts:

1. That actors and networks are affected by the broader structural context.
2. That the bargaining skill of an actor is learnt through the policy process.

3. Interaction within the network and with policy issues is a reflection of a combination of the resources and skill of the policy actor and the network structure.
4. Network structure is determined by structural context, the actor's resources, the network interaction and the policy outcome.
5. Outcomes of policy are determined by interactions between networks and their structure.

The model proposes factors to account for the relationship between policy outcomes and networks which is illustrated in Figure 1.

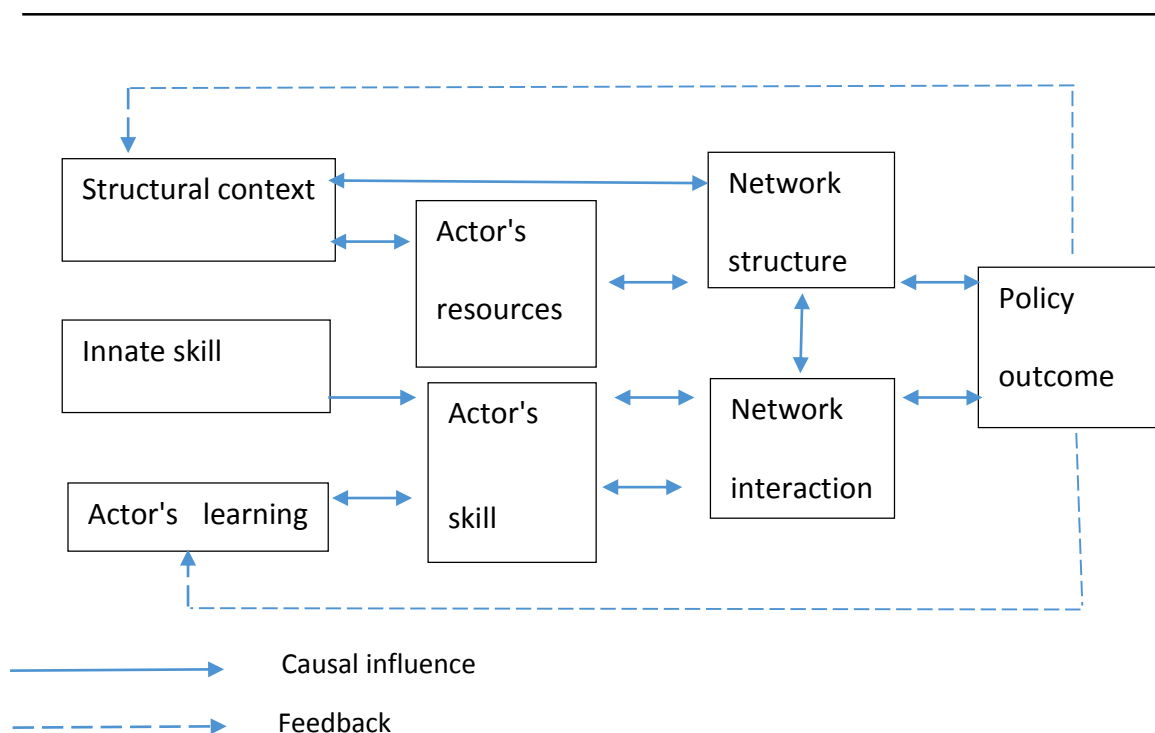


Figure 1.

Policy Networks and Policy Outcomes: A dialectical Approach

From: Marsh & Smith (2000, p. 10)

The outcomes of policy then feed back into the three structural properties of the network theory, structural context, innate skill and actors' learning. The concept of actor learning becomes pertinent to an unfolding and maturing policy position in outdoor education discussed in Chapters 11, 12 and 13.

Marsh and Rhodes (1992) identify types of networks presented as a continuum starting with 'policy communities' that exhibit stable relationships which are highly integrated, to 'issue networks' which are loosely integrated and have broad membership. Table 1 presents this continuum.

Table 1.

Policy communities and policy networks: the Rhodes Model

Type of network	Characteristics of networks
Policy community/Territorial community	Stability, highly restricted membership, vertical interdependence, limited horizontal articulation
Professional network	Stability, highly restricted membership, vertical interdependence, limited horizontal articulation, serves interest of profession
Intergovernmental network	Limited membership, limited vertical interdependence, extensive horizontal articulation
Producer network	Fluctuating membership, limited vertical interdependence, serves interest of producer
Issue network	Unstable, large number of members, limited vertical interdependence

From: Marsh & Rhodes (1992, p. 183)

The concept of territorial policy communities previously identified with Keating, Cairney and Hepburn (2009) is used when major territorial interests are prominent (Marsh & Rhodes, 1992 p. 182). 'Intergovernmental networks' stem from local authority representative organisations whereas 'producer networks' reflect the prominent place of economic factors. Membership of a network dominated by one particular profession make up 'professional networks'.

A variety of outdoor education networks in Scotland fit descriptions outlined in Table 1, including professional organisations such as the Institute for Outdoor Learning (IOL) and intergovernmental networks such as the Scottish Advisory Panel for Outdoor Education (SAPOE). Usefully, Table 1 places networks on a continuum with stability and membership as criteria. An issue network can exist without formal structures (such as a constitution) allowing belief, ideology and practice to be the basis for such a network. The concept of beliefs as the motivation for policy participants to enact change is a foundation of the Advocacy Coalition Framework.

Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

The ACF was first presented by Sabatier and Jenkins Smith (1988) and has three fundamental premises: firstly that the process of policy change requires a period of over a decade for analysis; secondly that a focus on policy subsystems is the most useful explanation of policy change and thirdly, policies can be conceived as belief systems i.e. 'as sets of value priorities' (Sabatier, 1988, p. 131). By focusing on policy sub systems, analysis stems from 'those actors from a variety of public and private organisations who are actively concerned with a policy problem or issue ...' (p. 131). The framework

conceives of a policy subsystem identified through the beliefs and values of policy actors. The structure of the subsystem varies according to the constraints and resources of actors. The two variables identified are 'relatively stable system parameters' and 'external (system) events'. This dynamic is illustrated in Figure 2. The ACF provides a system based model that accounts for the messy and complex negotiations of policy making and rejects a heuristic couched in stages (Weible, Sabatier & McQueen, 2009 p. 122). It allows analysts the space to deviate from an integrated network approach to a policy process, by introducing subsystem coalitions which compete for ideas and agenda space. Two paths are theorised as possible routes for changes in belief and in turn changes in policy: policy orientated learning and external perturbations or shocks.

Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988, p. 123) defined policy orientated learning as 'relatively enduring alternations of thought or behavioural intentions that result from experience and/or new information and that are concerned with the attainment or revision of policy objectives'. Any change as a result of policy learning may not change deeply held core beliefs, for example a belief that outdoor education must contain an element of physical activity. But the belief in the level of physical activity could vary over time and consequently result in a change of policy position of what comprises outdoor education. Although the core belief does not alter, the interaction between coalitions can shift the secondary values (in this example, the level of physical activity) to allow for policy change.

External perturbations may stem from socio economic conditions, changes in political structures or disasters that alter core beliefs. Chapter 10 and 12 discuss the tragic circumstances and the impact of the Cairngorm (1973) and the Lyme Bay (1993) tragedies

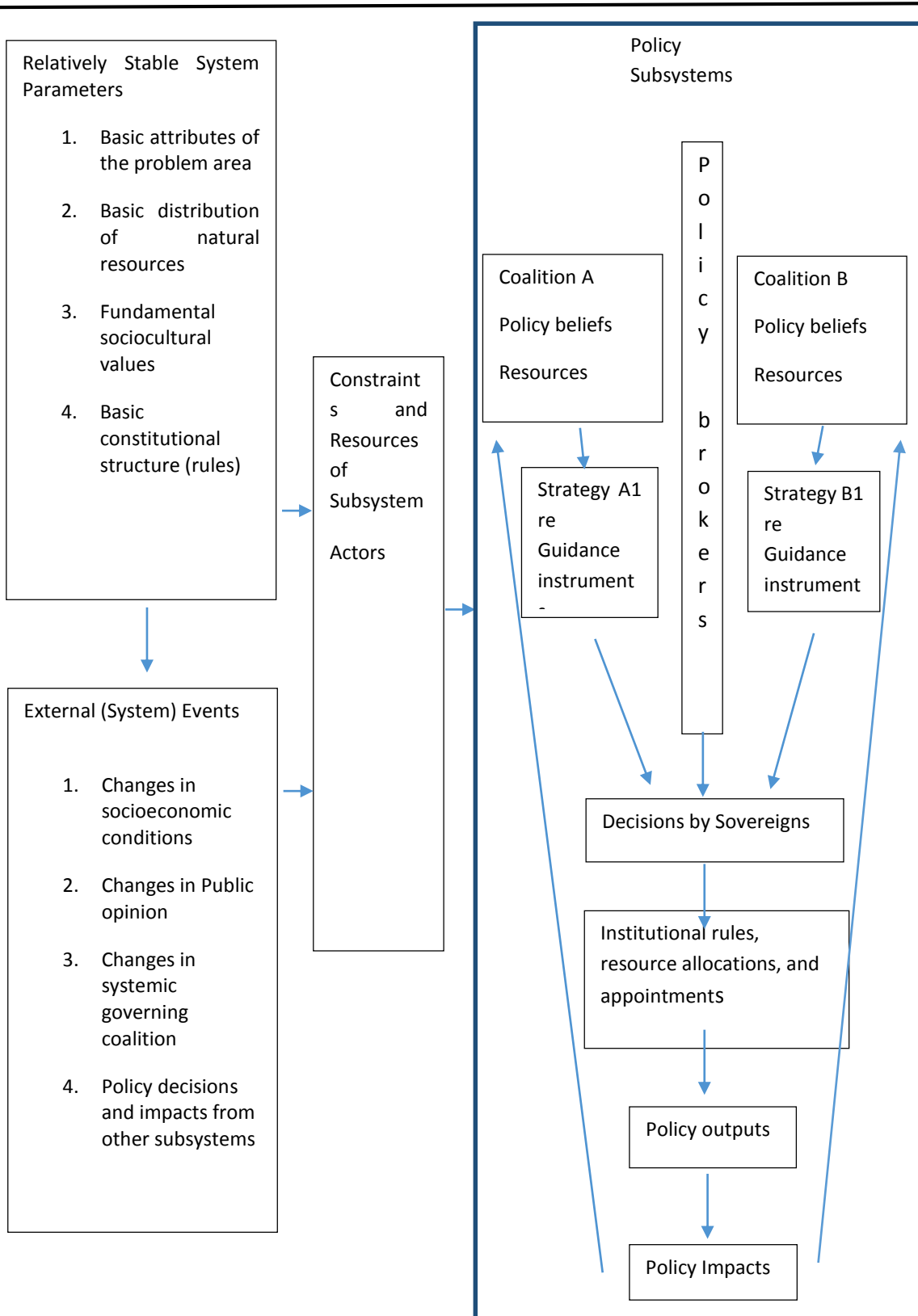


Figure 2. General model of policy change focusing on competing advocacy coalitions within policy subsystems

From Sabatier (1998) p.102

as examples of external perturbations which altered the shape of outdoor education provision in Scotland.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a broad section of policy literature to firstly give the reader an understanding of the complexities of policy interpretation and analysis and secondly of theoretical constructs for understanding the policy making process.

This thesis locates outdoor education in Scotland as an emerging national policy, a process which has evolved over many decades. This view of policy as an evolutionary process requires analysis with an historical narrative to trace causal mechanisms for the emergence of outdoor education in Scotland; analysis which transcends how outdoor education policy can be interpreted today but how the current situation came to be by examining historical processes of the chequered progress of outdoor education in Scotland.

Outdoor education can be conceptualised as a field where communities have a shared policy interest, i.e. taking groups outdoors to create educational and learning opportunities. Policy domains identified by Burnstein (1991) can be loosely characterised as outdoor education strands such as adventure activities, personal and social education or field studies which are more fully explored in Chapter 8. Sabatier (1988) theorised domain networks as policy subsystems which form advocacy coalitions who compete for agenda space. A factor when examining changes in outdoor learning or outdoor education are 'within-domain' forces competing for agenda space. The macro-structural

representation of a domain area is remodelled at operative level whereby the complexity of actor representation and interaction can be conceptualised as a mechanism for how outdoor education is both conceived at an abstract level and functions as an emerging policy field in Scotland. In other words the conceptualisation of outdoor education as a policy field is dynamic and evolves as networks and coalitions engage in the craft of policy development. The challenge for this research is to mitigate the parsimony of abstract structural modelling with the complexity of the 'micro-adhocery' through the agency of actor negotiations. A polarity identified by Ball (1994a), Kenis & Schneider (1991) and John (2003) as problematic.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the thesis draws on two contexts of policy analysis: influence and policy text production (Ball, Bowe & Gold, 1992). The influence context enables a broader socio-historical and educational context as a lens to view and understand the emergence of outdoor education as a policy field in Scotland. The context of text production looks at more recent events to examine the micro in order to theorise and make sense of the agency of individual decisions and actions with the macro structural properties of an evolutionary policy process. To grapple with the broader context it is first necessary to outline features of the Scottish political constitution and predominant policy making structures which is the task of the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Governance in Scotland

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the political system in Scotland. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section gives a brief outline of Scottish constitutional structure. The second section examines public sector policy making and the ideology of Scotland's democracy. The concept of governance is used in a variety of academic disciplines but fundamentally governance refers to the structure of social coordination and rule (Bevir, 2013). The dominant ideology in Scotland is social democracy (Paterson, 2003, p. 45).

Scottish constitutional structure and devolution

The union between Scotland and the rest of the United Kingdom was partial when it formed in 1707. The church, the legal system and the system of local government remained distinctively Scottish which set the precedent for Scottish agencies in these fields to debate social policy (Paterson, 2003, p. 45). The Scottish Office was established in 1855 and operated under the Secretary of State for Scotland.

The Scotland Act 1998 provided the long awaited platform for a new Scottish Parliament which was established in 1999. A previous attempt for a Scottish Parliament was made by the UK Labour Government in the 1970s. The report of the Kilbrandon Commission in 1973 recommended the establishment of a Scottish Assembly, but it was not until 1979 that

the Scottish electorate had an opportunity for a referendum. The result was a slim majority in favour of devolution. However under an adjustment of the 'Cunninghame amendment' (whereby the proportion of electorate who voted in favour of devolution needed to exceed 40% of the total registered Scottish electorate), the outcome was a 'no' vote (McGarvey & Cairney, 2008, p. 31). Soon after, the Labour government of James Callaghan lost a vote of no confidence causing a general election and the beginning of the Conservative Government led by Margaret Thatcher. It was 20 years before a similar opportunity was put before the Scottish people. The result of the 1997 referendum was a significant majority (74.3%) in support of a Scottish Parliament. The Scotland Act received royal assent on 19 November 1998.

Under the Scotland Act 1998, the Scottish Parliament legislates in areas where there is devolved responsibility and matters are not reserved to Westminster. Matters reserved to Westminster include the constitution, defence and national security and the fiscal, economic and monetary system. Devolved matters include health, education and training, local government, sport and the arts and the environment. (For a more extensive discussion on the powers of the Scottish Parliament see White & Yonwin, 2004).

In 1999 the work of the Scottish Office became the responsibility of the newly formed Scottish Executive which was renamed the Scottish Government in 2007 under the minority SNP government. Keating (2005a) suggests the transfer of power post-devolution should be understood both vertically with decisions moving from England to Scotland but also horizontally within Scottish governance as power shifted from the bureaucratic old elites to the newly elected politicians. This issue is explored more fully in

the context of outdoor learning in Chapter 12. Education policy-making organisations and institutions are outlined in Chapter 6.

The minority SNP government became a majority after the 4th Scottish Parliament election in 2011. In 2012 the Scottish National Party (SNP) leader, Alex Salmond signed the Edinburgh Agreement with the Prime Minister, David Cameron which outlined the framework for a Scottish referendum on independence. The referendum was held in September 2014 and 44.5% of people voted for, and 55.5% of people voted against independence. In the May 2015 general election, the SNP took an unprecedented number of Scottish electorate votes and won 56 out of 59 Scottish seats in the Westminster parliament.

Policy making in Scotland

McPherson and Raab (1988) identify three theoretical approaches to viewing education policy in Scotland, which although thirty years dated are broad brush categories to which more modern social situations (for example the concept of the knowledge economy) can be applied. Underlying the first approach is 'an emphasis on the essential indeterminacy of human events' (p. 21). The policy process is viewed through an individualistic lens whereby events and policy outcomes can be explained through 'individuals' beliefs and intentions' (p. 21). Order and structure is difficult to discern, except maybe through historical analysis. Fundamentally complexity eludes understanding and explanation. The second approach has a greater focus on ...' a political arena that is assumed to be separable from civil society' (p. 21). This is fundamentally a pluralist position where interest groups retain some power and have a role in decision making; a corporatist

element also exists when the state co-opt leaders of interest groups to generate greater stability. In the third approach a greater emphasis is placed upon the 'interdependence of political and civil society ... educational policy is understood through the interplay between citizenship and inequality, between a public interest on the one hand and individual and group interests on the other' (p. 22). The Scottish political process of consultation and negotiation between the Scottish Office, representing the state, and interest groups as representatives of Scottish civil society formed a basis for governing welfare states prior to devolution. This process legitimised policies through the 'policy community' network engaged via interest groups (Paterson, 2003, p. 45). The nature of the 'policy community' in education was criticised by Humes (2003) as one that required outsiders to conform to a 'bureaucratic ideology' controlled by a 'leadership class' (p. 76). This view of policy making in Scottish education was inherently a top down process.

The approaches suggested by McPherson and Raab theorise the key place of pluralism and corporatism outlined below before the discussion returns to a contemporary post devolution understanding of the policy process in Scotland.

Pluralism

Pluralism is the theory that assumes interested groups compete for control in making policy. Policy issues are contested and discussed, debated and agreed until there is effectively a winner and a loser, with each side possibly making concessions towards a consensus, or a majority opinion which can then be acted upon. Pluralism assumes that the outcomes of policy are the result of negotiations, bargaining, competition and co-operation amongst groups (Macnay & Ozga, 1985, p. 1). This definition emphasises the

role of interested people and groups and plays down the role of government and party politics, to a point where 'government almost disappears altogether or becomes a mere arena in which interest groups fight it out' (Keating, 2005b, p. 15).

Clark and Bennie (2006) in their assessment of the party system in Scotland post-devolution, discuss the concept of ideological distance between parties as a means of seeing pluralism as a continuum of moderate pluralism to extreme pluralism. Moderate pluralism typically exhibits between three and five parties with a low degree of ideological polarisation that allows for coalition governance. Consensus politics has the potential to stifle pluralism, consensus and debate. (Keating, 2005b, p. 16) Conversely, extreme pluralism has a high degree of ideological polarisation with 'anti system parties' being positioned at one end of the continuum. Pluralism has many forms and the formation of interest groups is a way of viewing variations (Raab, 1994, p. 6).

Corporatism

Corporatism exists where the actors involved in the policy process are connected to larger interest groups representing sector wide corporations or unions of workers. The dominant interest groups create a policy-making arena consisting of a smaller number of non-competitive, singular organisations recognised by the state in exchange for political support and demands. A suggested consequence of corporatism is an increased division between those who do and those who do not have access to discourse via corporations and networks which results in political and economic fallout (Edmondson, 2005). An element of 'crony capitalism' can exist through close ties with business and government.

Corporatism sees strong government and strong groups working together (Keating 2005b, p.15).

Policy making post devolution

Devolution in the UK has released the potential for policy innovation and attention is focusing on policy divergence between the home nations. (Adams & Schmuecker, 2005). Eliadis, Hill, and Howlett, (2005, p. 8) discuss issues of policy and governance citing examples of policy instruments which demonstrate a trend away from traditional 'command and control' type regulations towards network governance structures which are less accountable, but more cost effective and less burdensome. The shift of policy governance reflects the more complicated landscape decision makers face from fast-paced technological change and globalisation. Keating (2005a) suggests that this move in Scotland for a more participatory type of policy making created a new relationship 'between governors and governed' (p. 23), created by the global trend of disillusionment with politicians.

The Concordat

The style of policy making under the 2007 minority SNP government emphasised coalitions and shared interests developed through 'building consensus, placating opposition and mobilising support' (Arnott & Ozga, 2010, p. 348). An example of the Scottish Government building partnerships is the Concordat signed in 2007 with the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA). The concordat provides the basis for

local authorities to deliver Single Outcome Agreements (SOA) which are strategic policy targets to set direction for the public sector agreed by the government. The intention is for the government to take a step back from the bureaucracy and burden of micro-managing policy implementation. The government committed not to undergo any local government structural reform.

The Concordat signalled the direction of travel for policy making under the minority government as one which placed greater emphasis on negotiation and trust as outlined in the agreement:

It represents a fundamental shift in the relationship between the Scottish Government and local government, based on mutual respect. Under the terms of this new partnership, the Scottish Government will set the direction of policy and the over-arching outcomes that the public sector in Scotland will be expected to achieve. The Scottish Government's intention is to stand back from micro-managing that delivery, thus reducing bureaucracy and freeing up local authorities and their partners to get on with the job (Scottish Government, 2007)

This fundamental shift in the approach to policy making has been adaptive which required a built in 'learning' rationale that Sanderson (2009) refers to as a neo-modernist approach, in a pragmatic arena of 'what works'.

The Scottish concordat was signed in November 2007 for the budgetary period of 2008-9 to guide a new relationship between central and local government based on respect and trust. The intent of the concordat was to provide a more streamlined mode of reporting

and a move to a model of Single Outcome Agreements (SOA) for every council. The concordat gives councils greater autonomy over their finances by reducing budgetary streams and allowing councils to retain any monies accrued through efficiency savings.

Conclusion

The report 'Shaping Scotland's Parliament: a report of the Consultative Steering Group on the Scottish constitution (Brown, McCrone & Paterson, 2000) suggested that the establishment of the Scottish Parliament 'offered the opportunity to put in place a new sort of democracy in Scotland, closer to the people and more in tune with Scottish needs (p. 550). As a devolved matter, education policy has the capacity to lead the direction of any new opportunity. Up until devolution, according to Gunning and Raffe (2011, p. 248) interpretations as to what the Scottish education policy making approach was varied. For example, the balance of pluralism and corporatism approach discussed previously by McPherson and Raab (1988) or a top down leadership class style of policy making (Humes, 2003).

Post-devolution, in outdoor education and learning, the role of interest groups and advisory groups has been key to a participative policy making process which is detailed in Chapter 15. The following Chapter explores the methodological foundations to understand how this analysis is structured.

Chapter 5: Methodology- Part I

Introduction

Over thirty years ago, Cronbach (1982, p. x) suggested that 'enthusiasts have championed two competing styles of inquiry: one requires pointed questions and strong controls, while the other is naturalistic, broad and exploratory.' He advocates combining these two styles of research which he does not see as mutually exclusive. More recently, Maxwell (2013) summarises this process as one of ongoing design which involves moving 'back and forth between the different components of the design, assessing the implications of the goals, theories, research questions, methods and validity threats for one another' (p. 3).

This chapter is structured around these four components of research design identified by Maxwell, theorised into an 'interactive' model illustrated in Figure 3. Fundamentally the design process is iterative, consistently reflecting on and evaluating the components to create what Maxwell calls a 'coherent and workable' relationship among the constituents (p. 3). The sections detailed below are in a sequential order, i.e. from the formulation of a problem through to the trustworthiness of research conclusions, although the methodology outlined does not reflect the linear structure of this chapter. The design process is better illustrated by reference to Figure 3.

In Figure 3 the central place of the research questions is apparent. Each of the sections outlined below was driven by the research questions and vice versa, the research questions were reformed throughout the research process as the goals, conceptual framework, methods and validity questions took shape. For example, one of the questions

used in the early stages of the research was shaped with an outcome focus, i.e. to research outdoor education policy initiatives through the document Curriculum for Excellence through Outdoor Learning (CfEtOL). This was the first government document that sets out to link a national curriculum with outdoor learning (Higgins & Nicol, 2013). The question asked 'what influence is CfEtOL having on the provision of outdoor learning?' As the research developed it became apparent that CfEtOL was the product of a process driven by a series of events and was thereby not necessarily a main driver of influence, but the result of influence. The goals were thus reformed to focus on the process of development in outdoor education which in turn reshaped the research question to ask not about the influence of CfEtOL but about the influence that resulted in CfEtOL. This iterative process was both influenced *by* and an influence *of* the five components of the research design.

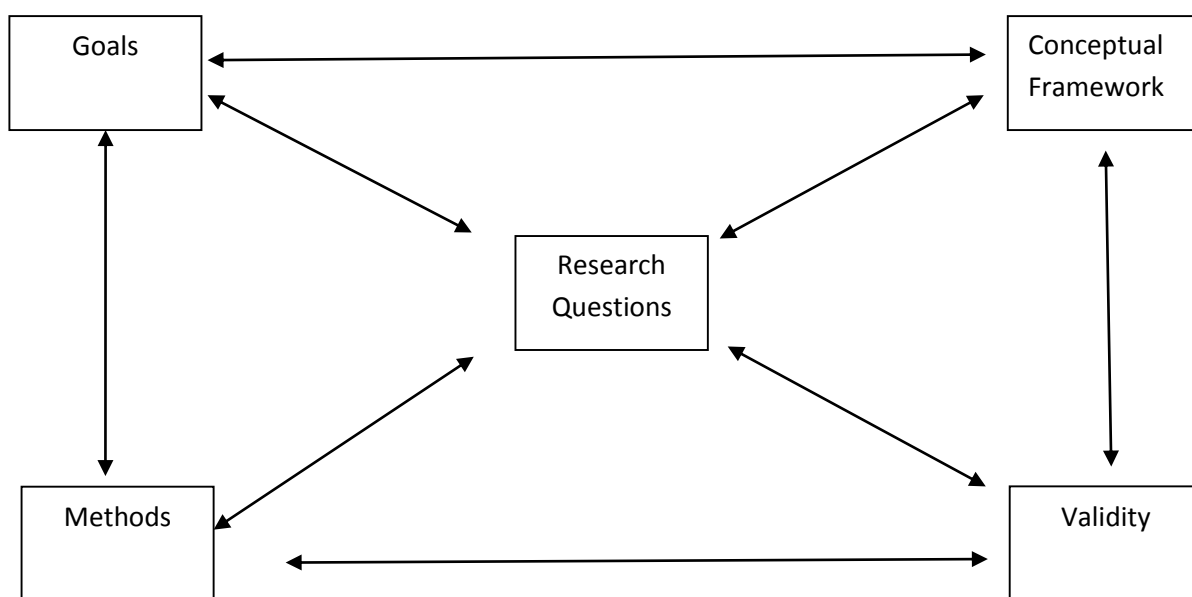


Figure 3. A model for interactive research design

From: Maxwell, 2013 p. 5

The design follows a reflexive process which is continuous and ongoing through each stage of the research project (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 24). The first section of this chapter expands on the process and outlines the goals of the research and what the thesis sets out to achieve. The second section considers the four main components identified by Maxwell (2013, p. 37) in the development of a research conceptual framework. The first component is the place and background of the researcher and how experiential knowledge is incorporated into the research. The second details how existing theory and research has been utilised and outlines the approach taken to balance an inductive and a deductive process. The third component outlined is the pilot and exploratory work and the fourth is the overarching thought experiments which theorises and unites the research.

Chapter 9 details the second part of the methodology which builds on the research goals and outlines the methods. Data were primarily collected using semi-structured interviews. The procedures for the collection, analysis and interpretation of data are detailed in that chapter.

Research aims

The following sketches out the relationship between policy development, policy problems and research aims. The purpose of this discussion is to clarify the research problem so that the reader can ascertain the structure and process of the research design. For example, trying to understand and theorise the process for policy construction in outdoor education in Scotland does not necessarily pose a problem *per se*.

Creswell (2003, p. 79) suggests that identifying a research problem is the first step in a 'deficiencies model' of research design. The notion of 'a problem' in the realm of outdoor education policy raises a number of issues. For example, is there a problem with outdoor education? If so what is it? Or if there is a problem with outdoor education, how does the problem find a place on the policy agenda? The research framework for this thesis does not conceptualise a problem in the fashion Creswell suggests that a deficiencies research model would; i.e. the research design does not identify a specific problem which requires a solution or a series of recommendations. Clarifying how the 'problem' of the research was conceptualised became a process of working back and forth between the aims, the research questions and the conceptual framework. From the outset it was difficult to answer the simple question 'what do you want to find out?' This was a question that plagued some of the early stages of the design process, however as the research unfolded, and by reframing the concept of a research problem, the important question became 'what have I found out?' This question was not asked in isolation; the aims of the research are framed within policy and outdoor education discourse in Scotland so a more pertinent question became 'what have I found out about outdoor education policy in Scotland?'

The interpretive perspective of the policy making process utilised by Feldman (2005) provides useful structure to illustrate how this research frames the research aims. In a study on the role of bureaucratic analysts in the policy making process, Feldman identified the problem solving perspective and the interpretative perspective of policy making processes (p. 9). In this context, decision making is the process of finding solutions to problems; the problems come first which results in solutions being found. In the interpretative perspective there is less emphasis on the conclusion or the resulting action.

In other words in the interpretative perspective processes are prioritised in an attempt to achieve better policies through an increased understanding of the policy process and what works.

Devolution and public policy making in Scotland underpin the interpretative perspective through which this research is framed. As discussed in Chapter 4, the advent of the new Scottish Parliament in 1999 gave Scotland the opportunity to find a distinctive process for developing policy (Carter & Smith, 2009, p. 316). A new dawn of politics was heralded in the run up to devolution which Keating (2005b, p. 16) suggests is comprised of four key elements: non-partisan, consensus seeking, greater participation and more inclusive in nature. This was a departure from the old Westminster system accused of being the opposite in nature with adversarial politics and an outdated voting system (McGarvey, 2001, p. 430). A goal of this research is to place the shaping and development of outdoor education in the context of the new dawn of politics referred to by Keating. A challenge of this research is to identify distinctive features through which developments have occurred in outdoor education.

Carter and Smith (2009) researched how devolution has impacted on polity building in Scotland. They utilise a theory of 'territorial institutionalism' (p. 315) as a means to understand Scottish policy building in which they identify three institutionalised elements: a 'space' defined by borders; a capable group of actors; and a means of conflict resolution. Their approach questions how each of these elements has changed in post devolution Scotland by studying the actors involved in the process of shaping, defining and representing the institutionalised elements of a policy. In a similar vein, a goal of this research is to clarify processes of change in outdoor education in Scotland and to further

explore the influential factors through which this has occurred; in other words to interpret and understand outdoor education and outdoor learning as a developing policy in post devolution Scotland.

The influence of recent policy on outdoor education has been examined by Thorburn and Allison (2012) who question if CfEtOL was a lost policy opportunity (p. 437). Their research focus is structured around the mix of factors within educational structures identified by Fullan (2007) that contribute to educational change in the delivery and implementation of outdoor education policy. In their analysis of the opportunities provided by recent policy initiatives for outdoor learning they summarise that 'there was only occasional evidence reported of CfEtOL policy aspirations being widely met in schools' (p. 21). They further suggest the need to understand more fully the 'mix of factors which has influenced CfEtOL developments ...'. The focus of this thesis goes some way to addressing these concerns by examining historical factors in the development of outdoor education policy in Scotland. The purpose then is to more fully understand the processes by which policy develops in comparatively minor interest areas.

A greater understanding of how policy and changes to outdoor education develop may contribute to the future development of national initiatives and guidance, not only in outdoor education, but in other policy fields which hold relatively minor status. Specifically, areas of education policy which are of special interest to smaller groups where educational content is not seen as 'mainstream', for example in financial education.

In summary the aims of the research are to understand the background to how outdoor education developed into a policy field in Scotland and explore the processes for recent development in outdoor education policy in Scotland.

Conceptual framework

Maxwell (2013, p. 39) describes a conceptual framework as an understanding of what is going on 'out there' in the area of study. It pulls together the theories, assumptions, expectations and beliefs of the research design. He identifies four main sources used in the development of a research conceptual framework:

1. Your own experiential knowledge
2. Existing theory and research
3. Your pilot and exploratory research
4. Thought experiments

Building on the pragmatic philosophy previously outlined, the following sketches out the conceptual frame drawing on the sources outlined by Maxwell.

Experiential knowledge

Experiential knowledge is significant for two reasons; firstly in the experience of the researcher prior to commencing the research, secondly through the integration of the researcher's experience and the research data. It is useful to explore these in more detail.

The first relevant experience is the time I spent working in a policy environment during a secondment to Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) (reformed as Education Scotland in 2011) as the Outdoor Learning Development Officer from 2009 to mid-2010. I was involved in the development of the CfEtOL document alongside colleagues at LTS and

members of the OLSAG group. The Development Officer role was to liaise between Scottish Government officials, interested parties and lobby groups, local authority officers and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) and Scottish Qualifications Authority (SQA). The experience gave me an insight and an appreciation of the various threads involved in the process of writing national guidance whilst working in a dynamic and political environment. The experience arguably places me in a compromised researcher position as views and opinions may be influenced and shaped by how I perceived developments in outdoor learning during that time.

The second and interrelated point of significance is how previous experience is located in the scheme of this thesis? In other words how can, what Strauss (1987, p. 11) referred to as 'experiential data', be incorporated and utilised rather than considered a factor that would bias the research. Reliance on data from the insights given by individuals close to the policy planning and development is referred to by Humes (1997, p. 21) as being an 'inside' approach and indispensable. This is contrasted by the 'outside' approach where the researcher starts with a more sceptical and critical set of assumptions and is more heavily reliant on documentary sources. Approaches to incorporate inside knowledge include keeping a journal to record key or significant moments, or a reflective writing exercise. The issue with journal writing within the research design is the ethnographic nature of this form of data, which may ironically serve to increase the bias of the processes I was looking to uncover. I was not researching the experience of a development officer per se, rather the processes and influences that have shaped outdoor education in Scotland. My 'inside knowledge' proved to be more valuable as a platform to critique data or steer the direction of the research. For example using contacts to write personally to

actors in policy circles, or being able to draw on experience during conversations to seek confirmation or other people’s opinion. This approach is detailed further in Chapter 9.

Existing theory and research

A number of authors (Maxwell, 2013; Novak & Gorwin, 1984) suggest using a map as a means of brainstorming and pulling together implicit theory. Figure 4 illustrates factors which were identified in the development of outdoor education combined with theory used in the research.

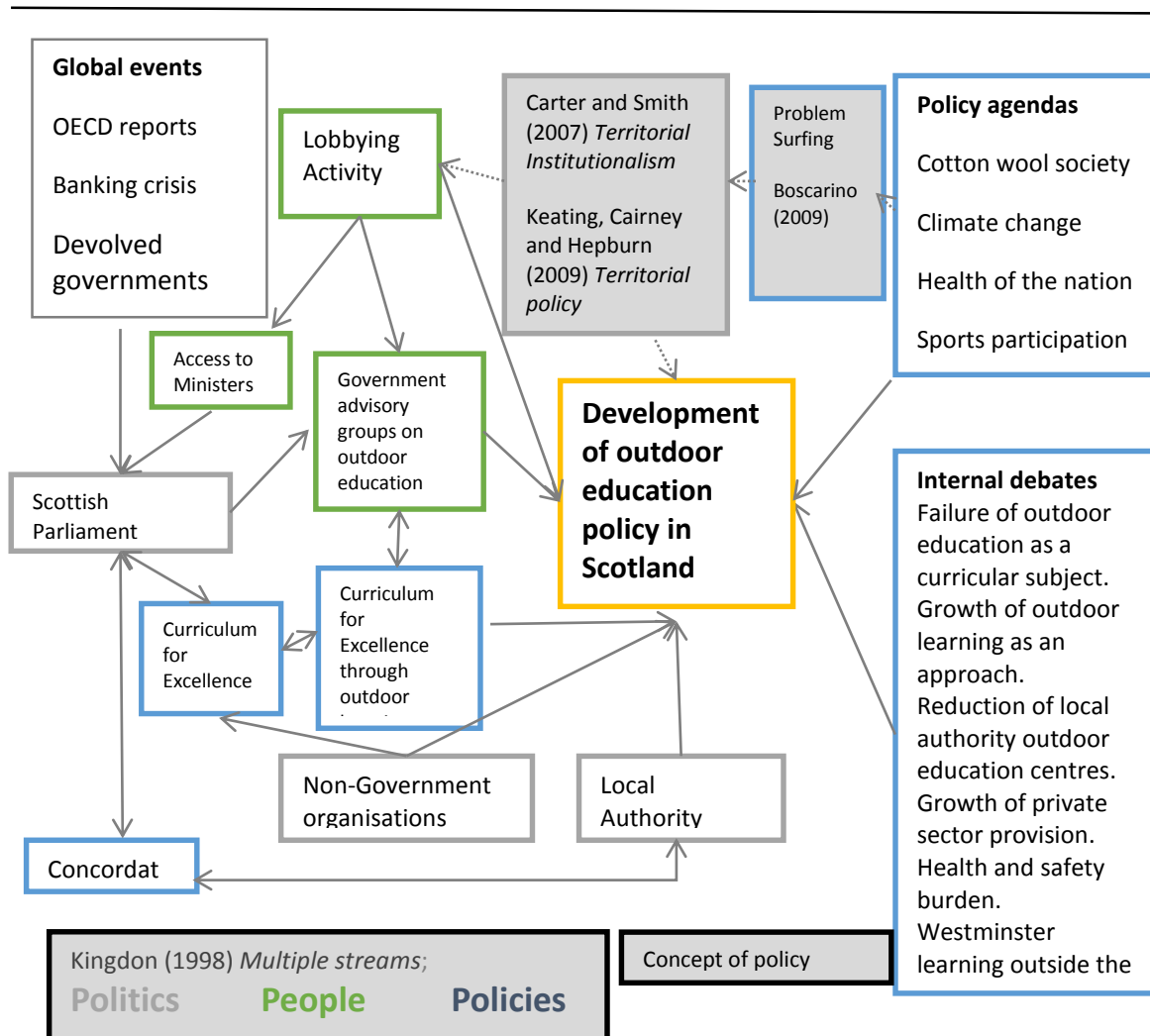


Figure 4. Research concept map of outdoor education in Scotland

In Figure 4 the grey boxes indicate a sample of references for theory in a particular category; for example in the top green box, Keating, Cairney and Hepburn (2009) and Carter and Smith (2009) enlightened thinking about how boundaries and territories are manifest and how devolution influenced such boundaries. Using insights gained from their work in the fisheries and whisky sectors, I conceived outdoor learning as a policy in Scotland by identifying key actors, and professional groups. Likewise when theorising about the influence of agenda setting in the development of outdoor education in Scotland I found resonance with the notion of a 'problem surfer' in outdoor learning as suggested by Borscorino (2009) in her work on policy formation in the US forestry sector outlined in Chapter 3. The green, orange and blue boxes are coloured as an illustration of the politics, people and policies elements of Kingdon's (1995) multiple streams theory. Whilst this is a simplistic representation of theory, the intention is to give the reader a general overview of how the research evolved.

One of the foreseen problems in the research design was using established policy making theory as part of the data analysis. Arguably this conflates a pragmatic philosophical approach and deductive theory building. Silverman (2005) states that in writing qualitative research there is a need to recognise, 'the (contested) theoretical underpinnings of methodologies' (p. 303). The risk in formulating or using theory prior to collecting data is creating an immediate bias in the research (therein being an example of the contested theoretical underpinnings recognised by Silverman). Maxwell (2013) elaborates on this point when he writes 'trying to fit your insights into this established framework can deform your argument, weakening its logic and making it harder for you to see what a new way of framing the phenomenon might contribute' (p. 51). He notes

two main dangers inherent in using existing theory: one it does not get used enough and two it is used too much and in an uncritical way (p. 53).

To countenance the accusation of theory not being used enough it is useful to sketch out a map or literature journey to illustrate the breadth of domains and academic fields considered in this thesis to give the reader further insight into the influences and how the study evolved. Figure 5 illustrates the literature journey.

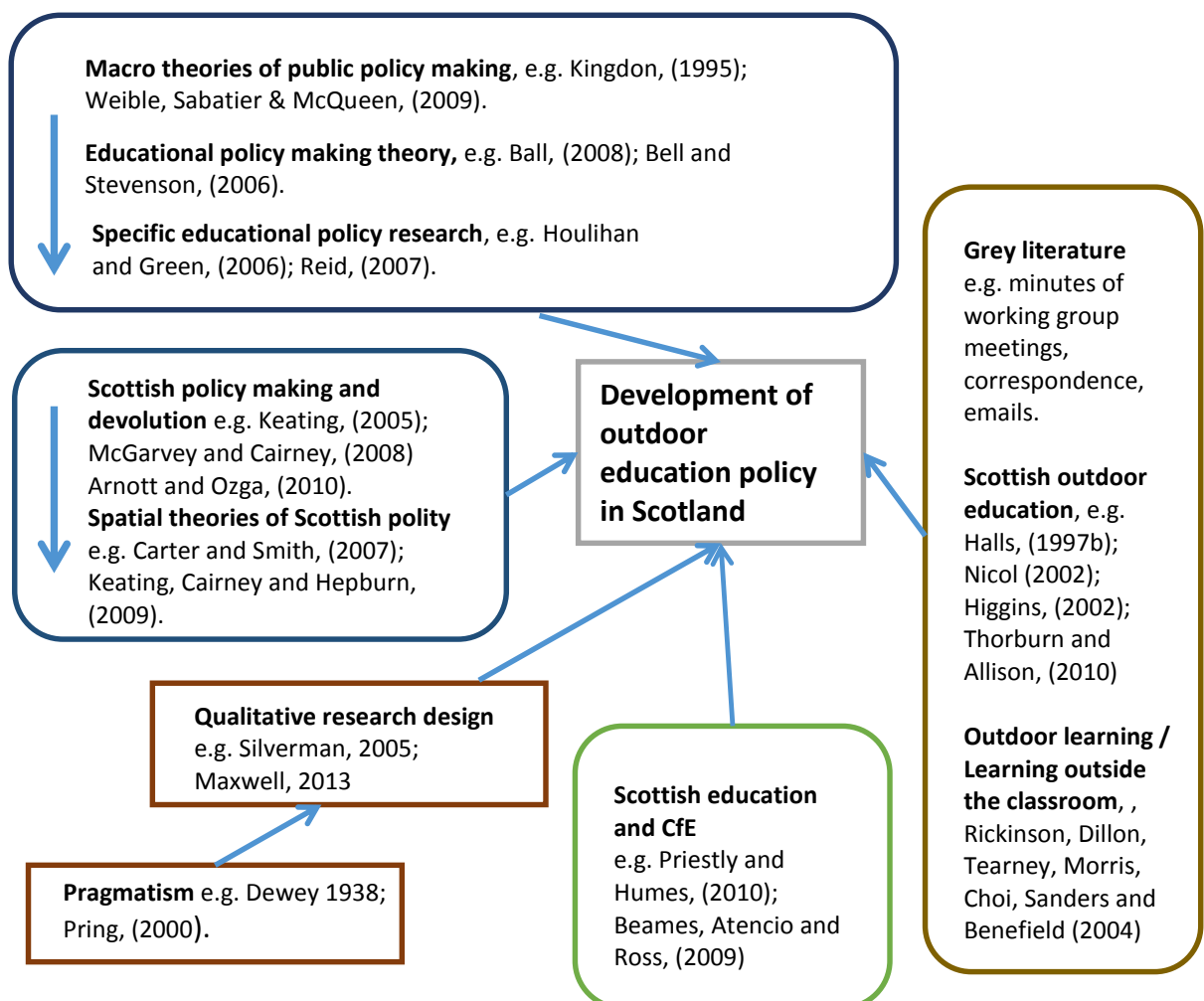


Figure 5. Literature map

In Figure 5, grey literature refers to material which is not controlled by commercial publishers such as minutes of meetings, committee reports, letter and email correspondence and memos which were used to gather additional information. The examples of literature considered are not exhaustive, however the purpose of the literature map is to give the reader a structure to visualise the use and development of theory in the conceptual framework.

A place to begin to map literature is of work from scholars broadly associated with the education policy field such as Dale (1989), Ball (1994a, 2008); Ozga (2000); Hammersley (1994) and Whitty (2006). As the research focus moved from the United Kingdom towards Scotland, the work of scholars such as Raab and McPherson (1987); Paterson (1997); Hume (1997); Raffe and Byrne (2005); Biesta (2005); Gilles (2008); and Priestly and Humes (2010) developed further understanding of the Scottish educational landscape which led to literature in Scottish politics and policy structure such as Brown, McCrone and Paterson (1996); Kellas (1990); Lynch (2006); Keating (2005a); Cairney (2009) and McGarvey (2001). At a similar time research into European and North American literature around public policy such as Cohen, March, & Olsen, (1972), Kingdon (1995); Sabatier (2007); Sanderson (2009); Hill (2009) and Nolin (2012) was undertaken. In addition literature fields from philosophy, pragmatism and research method were examined.

By means of countenancing the problem of theory being used too much and using theory in an uncritical way, the following briefly discusses theory which was deemed too broad to illustrate how and where I found boundaries for the study. An example where literature became too broad was theory based impact evaluation (TBIE) generated from the evaluation of nutrition and poverty development programmes (see White, 2009). TBIE

was conceptualised in intervention programmes where parameters and controls are structured around solutions to specific problems such as malnutrition. The research design requires a counterfactual such as a control group and adopts a positivist position which would be incongruent within a neorealist framework. Theory was drawn from a range of academic disciplines and applied critically in order to tease out the nuances of change in outdoor education in Scotland within a macro framework of educational and public policy making.

Pilot and exploratory research

The pilot and exploratory work is more fully discussed in Chapter 9 which details procedural methods, however it useful to discuss the relationship between the research questions and questions used in interviews which were the primary vehicle for data collection.

The pilot interviews used a schedule of questions (for examples see Appendix 1) which were structured around the initial research questions detailed below. These were juxtaposed with the work of OLSAG and the formulation and implementation of CfEtOL, i.e. questions were sectioned into 'antecedents to CfEtOL'; 'development and formation of CfEtOL' and 'implementation of CfEtOL'. Maxwell (2013, p. 100) warns against trying to establish a link or a translation of the research questions to the interview questions which he calls the 'operationalizing' of the research questions. He suggests 'the methods you use to collect your data (including interview questions) don't necessarily follow by logical deduction from the research questions' (p. 100). The methodological relevance to this is how the pilot research was part of the design process such that there was a 'reflexive

process working through every part of the research design' (Maxwell, 2013, p. 5). I returned to both the interview questions and the research questions; I moved the research questions away from CfEtOL formulation or implementation, and re-examined the research questions. Whilst the initial interviews were pilots, the sequence became a continuously evolving process.

Thought experiments

Maxwell (2013) describes thought experiments as a means to 'challenge you to come up with plausible explanations for your and others' observations, and to think about how to support or disprove these' (p. 68). The nature of the research design required a constant process of reflection throughout the various stages outlined. To assist this process I kept research diaries which evolved during the thesis. The initial 'diary of thoughts' started in 2008 and tracked observations and events following the introduction of the 'Learning Outside the Classroom' initiative in 2005 in England and Wales. This evolved as the focus of the research turned to Scotland, although the key policy and process themes had taken form. The second diary was a 'diary of method', the purpose of which was to track evolving thoughts, particularly in structuring research questions, and asking what stage I was at. Eventually the two diaries became indistinguishable and were merged into one. Once the data collection commenced the diaries were unintentionally abandoned as notes were recorded as themed memos using a qualitative software package, however the diaries gave a structure to thought experiments and the direction of the research.

As detailed in Chapter 9, the thought experiments resulted in a further round of interviews to support the enquiry process. The thought experiments continued into the data analysis,

the coding and the writing up procedures which are also detailed more fully in Chapter 9, and critiqued in the conclusion Chapter 15.

Research Questions

Chapter 2 made reference to underlying philosophical questions of the research that are congruent with pragmatic philosophy. These included the types of questions that ask how outdoor education can be more politically relevant. Has outdoor education developed as a policy field in Scotland? Is there a policy process for reflecting on and if appropriate developing outdoor education in Scotland? These broad questions were shaped into the following research objectives:

- to understand how outdoor education developed as a policy field in Scotland;
- to explore the processes for policy formation in outdoor education in Scotland.

The enquiry addresses the research objectives in the context of social and political developments and changes in outdoor education behind the frontline delivery of outdoor experiences for young people. The research questions evolved further once the data collection began. For example, as previously referred to, the original questions asked about current developments, specifically around the work of OLSAG and the development of CfEtOL with little historical perspective. As the research unfolded the original questions became too narrow to account for the historical breadth necessary to understand the antecedents to how outdoor learning is placed as a policy field in Scotland. One of the propositions underpinning this research became the necessity to examine what went before and what could come after i.e. a historical and a contemporary orientation. The

inquiry thus follows intentionality in a Piercean sense, i.e. it has future directed and past directed orientations (Cashall, 2009, p. 167) which is illustrated by the following questions.

1. What are the historic influences on the direction of outdoor education in Scotland?
2. What features can be identified in the development of outdoor education policy in Scotland?

The first question emphasises an historical approach where 'history is not seen as a succession of chance events or as simply one event after another. The argument propounded is that policy making is always influenced by what has happened in past decades and that the historical account needs to be presented within a coherent explanatory framework which stresses the key themes underpinning social and political change' (Chitty p. xiii, 2009). In other words current practice and policy has a fundamental association to previous policies or events. In this sense the question follows policy analysis through the 'context of influence' (Bowe, Ball & Gold 1992). The second question seeks to uncover and attribute the processes and features of policy formation that shape the future progress and direction of outdoor education. The second question addresses processes in the context of outdoor education and is primarily examined through the 'production of text' as a context for policy analysis.

Conclusion

The methodology followed an iterative process model outlined by Maxwell (2013) which comprised the goals (also referred to as aims) and the conceptual framework which

interacted with the research questions. The research aims shaped the research questions which were reshaped as the process of understanding how influences in the growth and development of outdoor education in Scotland are reflected in current situations. Methods and validity are the other two features of the interactive model which are discussed in Chapter 9.

The research questions were not structured to find an answer to a particular problem. The enquiry took an interpretative perspective to policy analysis and sought to attribute factors which affect the process of how outdoor education in Scotland developed and could be considered a policy field.

Two contexts of policy analysis framed the enquiry. Firstly historical influences and secondly the production of text. The following Chapters 6, 7 and 8 turn to the context of influence to examine the development of education in Scotland and the antecedents to outdoor education through the lens of education and public policy. Chapter 6 begins this process by examining historical features of the mainstream development of educational policy in Scotland. Outdoor education development did not exist in a vacuum removed from the pressures and debates within Scottish education culture.

Chapter 6: The Scottish education policy machine

Introduction

The growth of outdoor education in Scotland did not occur in isolation to other policy developments in Scottish education. Historical developments in Scottish education are outlined to give the reader an understanding for how the educational culture may not have supported the development of outdoor education. The chapter outlines how the education culture in Scotland has historically viewed a practically based experiential pedagogy with some scepticism. Historical influences and changes in the politics and practice of Scottish education policy are examined that, it is argued, have influenced the development of outdoor education. In other words the development of outdoor education in Scotland cannot be viewed in isolation from core debates of Scottish educational policy. Locating and identifying themes to attribute to the peculiarities of outdoor education in Scotland is not without its challenges. As Kogan (1975, p. 23) wrote in an early study of educational policy making:

The sources of policy generation are so difficult to locate, let alone place in any logical pattern, that detecting the changes in values, or the pressures by which change is effected, is more a matter of art than of analysis.'

Notwithstanding the difficulties, the chapter introduces the key political institutions, education organisations and lobbying groups of the education policy making process in Scottish education. The journey takes small historic deviations to contextualise arguments

and construct a narrative which seeks to identify themes pertinent to how the landscape for outdoor education in Scotland has been crafted by educational policy development. In other words what debates, processes and policies in mainstream Scottish education can be identified which acted to shape outdoor education? This is important to contextualise later arguments. Historical accounts of outdoor education have tended to draw on policy strands outlined in Chapter 8 or a social and geographical rationale in analysis. (E.g. Parker and Meldrum, 1973; Higgins 2002; Cook, 1999; Ogilvie 2013). In the following chapter analysis in the context of historical influence considers the policy dimension and the Scottish education policy structure and culture.

The chapter begins with a brief comparison between Scottish education and education systems in other parts of the UK which precedes a summary of the distinctiveness of Scottish education. Policy debates on the issue of a practical and vocational curriculum are discussed to give a flavour of how the distinctive Scottish education culture tolerates the type of approaches espoused in outdoor education. Discussion then turns to a policy debate over the type of schooling a pupil in Scotland could receive and the process for progressing through school. These debates have been selected to illustrate curricula and cultural concerns in Scottish education to give the reader an understanding of the context in which outdoor education had to strive.

The chapter primarily draws on events which occurred between the formation of the Scottish Education Department (SED) in 1872 and the beginning of the 1960s after which outdoor education began to find its own discourse. The chapter sketches developments in mainstream education policy which have relevance to the way outdoor education did or did not develop. The chapter illustrates how educational change in Scotland historically

takes significant time measured in decades; elements of educational culture are firmly ingrained, placing approaches to education deemed more radical, such as going outdoors, in a defensive position.

The distinctiveness of Scottish Education

Scotland has a long association with a meritocratic and accessible comprehensive education system with a distinct form of educational democracy (Paterson, 2003, p. 3). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, secondary schooling in Scotland became more structured; the Education Act (Scotland) 1872 reinforced what had been a system of voluntary schooling by establishing common standards and a school leaving age which increased to the age of 14 in 1901. Two particular features of this system gave rise to the myth of the 'lad o' pairts', - the portrayal of a boy from humble beginnings able to rise through the Scottish social and professional ranks on the strength of the meritocratic education system. The first feature was a high level of literacy achieved through the parish schools, the second feature was the developed system of universities (Anderson, 2003, p. 219). The democratic narrative in Scottish educational history underpins the ideology which was driven by these two institutions. The myth stressed not only the importance of academic achievement but also the opportunity to access academic achievement. Whilst this conventional wisdom is a broad generalisation, it can be considered the main theme which emerges from interpretations of Scottish education (Paterson, 2003, p. 4).

Anderson (1983) documented the notion of a distinctively democratic and egalitarian 'Scottish tradition' developed to become a potent factor that itself influenced the nature of reform. It assumes an ideological and political force as it informs change. The distinction

perpetuated in the Scottish myth creates a cultural policy force devoid of any one domain or lobby group. Although Paterson (1997, p. 111) summarises that education policy making is distinct in Scotland because it always has been, he argues this dismisses the forces which continually act to shape distinct policy properties, particularly nationalism and national identity.

The distinctiveness of Scottish education can be examined on a comparative basis with other parts of the UK. (For examples of detailed analysis in the divergence of educational policy in the UK see Arnott & Ozga, 2010; Hulme & Menter, 2011; Machin, McNally, & Wyness, 2013; Raffe & Byrne, 2005.) Machin, et al (2013, p. 3) identify four key distinctions between the structure of education in Scotland and the rest of the UK. Firstly, the Scottish curriculum is non statutory and not dictated by the government. In the other parts of the UK there is a national curriculum comprising of a core set of compulsory subjects and assessments which must be legally adhered to. Secondly, assessment is different in Scotland; pupils sit exams earlier in their school career with an end result that compulsory schooling in Scotland is 11 years rather than the mandatory 12 years which is required in England. Thirdly, in respect of governance, England has implemented policies which have tended towards a greater autonomy for schools with less control from local authorities; in Scotland the control of education is still heavily influenced and under the dictat of the local authorities. The final difference noted by Machin et al. (2013) is the resources allocated to schools indicated by the teacher: pupil ratio which is lower in Scotland. This is particularly so in primary education with a 16:3 ratio (in 2009) in Scotland compared to a 21.6:3 ratio in England.

Humes and Bryce (2003, p. 108) illustrate features of a distinct Scottish education tradition through the historical work of James Scotland (1969). He made six propositions:

1. education is of paramount importance in any community
2. every child has the right to all the education they are capable of
3. such education should be provided as economically and systematically as possible
4. training of the intellect should take priority over all other facets of the pupils personality
5. experiment is to be attempted only with the greatest caution, and
6. the most important person in the school is not the pupil but the teacher.

James Scotland was a long standing member of the Scottish education policy community whose views would necessarily concur with, and reinforce an understanding of an established tradition in Scottish education (p. 114). The final four propositions put forward by Scotland arguably illustrate how conceptualising how outdoor education would not have fit the cultural norm as means to provide a pupil with an educational experience. Scotland's third point, to provide economically efficient education has been a critical factor in local authority decision making; the closing of outdoor residential centres in Strathclyde region in the 1990s, or more recently the Ardroy Outdoor Education centre owned by Fife Council illustrate when finance is a priority, outdoor education is not. The infrastructure providing these services is unsystematic given the diverse provision of outdoor education in Scotland (Higgins & Sharp, 2003, p. 584) and conventional wisdom sees outdoor education as uneconomical. Scotland's fourth proposition, where training of

the intellect takes priority over other pupil facets is characterised in school outdoor programmes targeted for less academic pupils. Some schools in Scotland operate a separate programme of outdoor activities targeting pupils with disruptive behaviour; although disruptive behaviour does not necessarily indicate that pupils are not academic, it may suggest that their behaviour could hinder the progress of those who show academic aptitude.

If the Scottish meritocratic and accessible comprehensive education system highlighted by Paterson (2003) was the dominant narrative in mainstream education, such liberty was not granted to the wider educational opportunities in the Scottish outdoors - experiment was to be attempted only with the greatest caution. Critics of an established and subject-focused tradition who dared to experiment, are drawn on by Humes and Bryce (2003, p. 114) to extend 'the demythologising process' of an idealised model of education values in Scotland. Radical educators who exemplify a counter-tradition to the 'laird o' parts' myth are similarly drawn on by outdoor educators to illustrate antecedents of outdoor education practice (see Higgins 2002; Nicol, 2002). An inferred extension of the correlation between radical educators and outdoor education suggests that outdoor experiences within mainstream schooling were restricted to pupils with teachers who were content to go against the educational tide, or with parents willing and able to send their children to more 'experimental' or fee paying schools. These more radical approaches were contrary to the fourth of James Scotland's propositions that training of the intellect should be paramount.

The following traces a period in Scottish education which serves to demonstrate the cultural and dominant forces in education policy making which give rise to the above

propositions. The key institutions and stakeholders who influenced education policy making in Scotland are introduced alongside themes which are culturally significant in the development of outdoor education in Scotland. The initial discussion examines a longstanding debate over the curricula and duration of courses in Scottish public education where opinions diverged over vocational, practical or academic content.

Vocational and practical education

Kant (2003) refers to a practical education to include skill, discretion and morality. Skill is associated with thoroughness, discretion with prudence, and morality he says is a matter of character which is seen as the ultimate aim of education (p. 94). 'Character building' is often associated with more traditional type of adventurous activity based outdoor courses such as those run by the Outward Bound movement (Hattie, Marsh, Neill & Richards, 1997, p. 44). A practical education in the 20th century emphasised a utilitarian vision for education as a function of society, where outcomes were more closely aligned to a conventional understanding of vocational education. Finlay (1906, p. 354) wrote that a practical education is 'a preparation for the material tasks of life, as the training which fits a man or woman to earn a livelihood, and by so doing to contribute to the general welfare of the community'. He supposed that an education which does not prepare a pupil for a definite occupation is 'aimless' and 'defective'. Once fundamentals have 'been gained the special training of the child for his special work in life should be taken in hand'. At a similar time, Sadler (1907, p. 475) in reference to supplementary education courses introduced by the Education (Scotland) Act 1901 stated that the courses were to give pupils, 'a fresh interest upon their work and to make the instruction bear upon the probable practical

requirements of the pupils after school life'. The tenor towards equipping pupils for work is evident. However the utilitarian concept of continuation courses was not wholly vocational. J.B. Frizell who became the Director of Education for Edinburgh in the early 1940s, wrote that the general education for continuation schools in Edinburgh was to be applied to chosen occupation so pupils 'be taught the full meaning of citizenship, and be given that physical training which is essential to the maintenance of good health and the development of a sound physique, and, moreover, that they shall be made capable of spending their leisure time in a rational and proper way' (Frizell, 1939a, p. 57). Frizell's language suggests a more practically orientated vision of education interpreted as being conceptually broader than vocational education.

A practical education was for a pupil's preparedness for life after education - as a citizen, for activity in leisure time, and as a healthy human being. A vocational education is understood as one which prepares people for work. Halliday (2003, p. 631) considered that a vocational education 'enhances people's ability to perform paid work' which is a conceptually narrower understanding of the more liberal strands associated to a practical education. In more recent times the terms practical education and vocational education have been moulded together as Practical Vocational Education (PVE), (see for example Lucas, Claxton & Webster, 2010) however for these purposes the distinction should remain.

Outdoor education and a practical education

The values which underpin a practical education chime with outdoor education and in particular with the broader concept of outdoor learning. Close reading of the introduction

to the document CfEtOL (2010) illustrates how the learning envisaged by Frizell (1939a) resonates with the contribution that outdoor learning can make to a modern curriculum in Scotland. The introduction states that outdoor learning 'promotes lifelong learning ... can lead to lifelong recreation ... can span social divisions and build stronger communities' (p. 5). Citizenship, physical training, health and good use of leisure time featured in Frizell's reading of continuation schools.

With many of the values and concepts espoused through a practical education in continuation schools in Scotland in the first part of last century, the landscape could have been ripe for the development of learning outdoors. The following examines features of Scottish education policy, tradition and culture to illustrate the policy contexts with which the progressive educational movement and pioneers in outdoor education were operating.

Continuation schools and Supplementary Courses in Scotland.

The following relates to a period of history in Scottish education during which practical and vocational elements of mainstream education were the focus of policy. The intention of this discussion is threefold. Firstly to illustrate the context in which a practical education was understood and received; secondly to introduce key institutions manifest in the development of educational policy in Scotland and thirdly to illustrate timescales over which education policies evolve and change in Scotland.

The Scotch Education Department (SED) was formed following the Education (Scotland) Act 1872; it was renamed the Scottish Education Department following the Education

(Scotland) Act 1918. The 1918 Act also provided the means for the formation of local authorities which provided greater autonomy to implement policy according to local need. Anderson (2003, p. 223) notes that it was the SED who carried the balance of power in this relationship primarily as they administered the state grants upon which local authorities relied.

On February 16th, 1903 the SED issued Circular 374 to provide guidance on 'Supplementary Courses' that became a feature of post primary school education. The courses were for pupils more likely to enter manual work who had not achieved the required level of attainment to be accepted onto an Intermediate Course. The intermediate stage courses were three years duration, and virtually identical to the more prestigious Secondary Courses (Young, 1986, p. 81). Circular 374 adopted nature studies within an education which should 'aim at producing the useful citizen' (Sadler, 1908). In addition to a section on English and literature, at the end of their Supplementary Course pupils should have known:

- a. the laws of health
- b. money matters - thrift, investment insurance.
- c. the conditions of trade and employment
- d. the institutions of government under which we live
- e. the empire, its history, growth and trade.
- f. nature study, drill, singing.

The adoption of policy in 1903 which required pupils to have knowledge in the laws of health and nature studies are early examples on which the Scottish outdoor learning lobby of today could seize as curricular justification for taking more pupils outside. However, Supplementary Courses did not prove popular for reasons of academic prestige; in relation to Intermediate Courses, Supplementary Courses were seen as academically inferior (Young, 1986, p. 81). Thus the advent of Supplementary Courses in 1903 (called Advanced Division post 1921) stirred a debate over the merits of a vocational or a general education which Stocks (2002) notes 'divided the opinion of Scotland at the time ... and has resurfaced periodically since' (p. 29). The educational route that pupils took was decided by examination.

Circular 44

The stipulation for selective examinations was set out in 1921 by Circular 44, described as one of the SED's most contentious directives that set back the cause of common schooling (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p. 50). A pupil's attainment level determined if they would follow either a post-primary course (the Advanced Divisions) or a secondary education course (previously the Intermediate Courses); each course was to be followed independently in a different school. Fundamentally, pupils who achieved higher attainment progressed to a secondary education understood as more academic; less able pupils would have either one, two or three years of post-primary Intermediary or Advanced Division Courses which were more vocational. Those who continually failed the requisite exam may have received no post-primary education at all.

Concurrent to the introduction of Circular 44 and selective examinations, the Advisory Council for Education in Scotland (referred to as the Advisory Council) proposed an alternative vision for education. The report of the First Advisory Council proposed that all pupils should attend the same type of school in three progressive stages between ages 5 and 18 to supersede the two systems of post primary and secondary education. The Advisory Council was an independent body set up by statute in 1918 which continued its work through into the mid-1960s. One of the reasons for the evolution of the Advisory Council was claims from the teaching community that the SED was out of touch with general opinion; it was maybe inevitable that the SED viewed the Advisory Council suspiciously (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p. 48). The Advisory Council and the SED were often in disagreement despite the Advisory Council reports of the 1920s and 1940s being well received by the education community (Young, 1986).

The proposals of the Advisory Council were a challenge to Circular 44 which, 'in effect, forbade education authorities from implementing anything resembling the Advisory Council's proposal' (Paterson, 2004, p. 48). A more progressive and vocationally based educational philosophy proposed by the Advisory Council was effectively rejected by the SED. The Advanced Division post-primary courses, which followed a vocational and practical curriculum, were for pupils who weren't selected for secondary courses.

By 1930, it became apparent that the vocational courses achieved less status with parents who showed preference for secondary schools (Paterson, 2003, p. 49). Pupils who followed the non-secondary route were hampered by the very nature of their education. Frizell (1939a) wrote: 'It is unfortunate that in the mind of the public the type of education given in the Advanced Divisions is fairly generally regarded, although quite wrongly, as of

a lower standing than that given in the earlier years of Secondary Schools' (p. 54). Teachers perpetuated this belief (Stocks, 1995).

A deciding factor which prevented wider uptake of a practical curriculum at the time of Circular 44 was cost - a practical curriculum would require greater expenditure for specialist staff and equipment. The 1930s was a period of economic inactivity; budgetary constraint would no doubt have been paramount in policy discussions. The 3rd proposition of James Scotland which dictated an economical delivery of education is evident.

Two organisations whose members also opposed Circular 44 and selective examinations were the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE) and the Association of Directors of Education in Scotland (ADES) (Stocks, 2002, p. 27). The foundations of SCRE stemmed from a research committee formed in 1919 by the Education Institute of Scotland (EIS) chaired by William Boyd (whose Doctorate thesis studied Jean Jacques Rousseau, a philosopher associated with the progressive schools movement). In 1927, ADES approached the EIS to collaborate in education research and in 1932 SCRE became a legal entity (Rusk, 1952). The Scottish universities were conspicuous by their absence in the formation of SCRE, suggesting that the institutions of the time (Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities) were reticent over education studies, despite education degrees being awarded by universities since 1916 (Lawn, 2004, p. 722). There were additional signs of tension between SCRE and the SED. Rusk, who was the director of SCRE until 1958 makes reference to the SED not participating directly in the formation of SCRE, possibly in the hope that the relationship between the two bodies would be closer if unofficial. Professor John Nisbit interviewed by Lawn (2004) took a different view

as to why the SED chose not to participate: ' The Scottish Office [in the 1930s] took [no part] at all [in the Research Council meetings]. They thought that these researchers were trying to tell 'us' what to do, and wanted no part of it' (p. 723). Personalities may have accounted for tension - the SED disliked both Rusk and Boyd who also disliked each other (Nisbit, 1999, p. 8). Whether for personal or ideological reasons, the tension and cultural differences between SCRE and the SED created diverging views over approaches to a practical education. Lawn (2004, p. 730) notes the significance of funding streams for SCRE from the EIS and ADES. They utilised SCRE not only as a source of information on education practice, but as a network for developing their own pet projects.

Circular 44 was one the most contentious of directives and was seen as the SED's 'most fulsome claim for its stewardship of national values' (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p. 50). In other words as the state school system developed, the Scottish myth was perpetuated by the promotion of an academic curriculum. However the network capacity and funding situation of SCRE, the EIS and ADES proved to be powerful forces in the rejection of some SED policies divergent from their own thinking. An example of this process can be seen in the debate over issues of 'Clean Cut'.

'Clean Cut'

'Clean cut' is a phrase which appeared in the 1930s depicting the timing and status of a pupils progression from primary to post-primary or to a secondary education based on age rather than academic merit (Anderson, 2003, p. 226). If there was a 'clean cut', all children would progress in the same year group at a similar age. The SED were keen that a policy of a two track system, which was meritocratic on academic ability rather than

age-based, be maintained and strengthened. An academic course leading to the Scottish Leaving Certificate would run in secondary schools, whereas practical and vocational courses were offered in separate post-primary schools. In reality, the pattern and nature of school provision across Scotland was more complex, some schools which came to be known as 'omnibus' schools, offered both courses. Willie Adamson who was the Scottish Secretary, wanted swift implementation of the two course policy with a more practical curriculum on two- and three-year courses; he regarded the Scottish attachment to a literary or academic curriculum as unnecessary (Stocks, 2002, p. 27).

The policy met resistance from the education authorities which displayed 'considerable conservatism' according to an SED memorandum (p. 29); for reasons of cost, population growth and a solution for pupils who continuously failed entry requirements, issues of progression and duration of courses were not entirely resolved and the contest continued throughout the 1930s. In the period following Circular 44 to the Education Act of 1936, the SED and the local authorities effectively exchanged positions (Stocks, 2002, p. 34); the SED began to encourage both the development of more omnibus schools and more secondary schools which ran the post primary and the advanced division courses.

The underlying dimensions in the conflict over clean cut within Scottish education are not arbitrary. Social issues and tradition were implicit in educational discussions and although the interrelatedness of issues is complex, 'effective educational politics' created coalitions such as that between the EIS and SCRE (McPherson & Raab, 1988, p. 50). In response, the politics of the SED would 'try to attenuate relations between issues, partly by argument, and partly by denying to potential opponents an institutional forum ... where coalescence between groups may occur' (p. 50). In the example of Circular 44 the practice of teachers

and education officers in schools and the local authority managers prevailed; The SED accepted that the system had developed close to satisfying the requirements of the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act.

Reasons for opposition to the newer courses were complex, such as meritocratic access to education and the status of qualifications. Stocks (2002, p. 35) questions why there was not a greater argument made for equality through a multilateral schooling system in Scotland and suggested that schools and local authorities kept the status quo for reasons of class. Official structures for teacher promotion and school attendance were linked; schools were happy for less well behaved pupils or those with less stable family situations to attend advanced divisions thereby keeping better attendance records for their schools which would contribute to teacher promotion and pay. The lower status of a practical education and by extension outdoor education within the teaching profession stifled opportunities outside of the traditional academic realm for brighter pupils.

In 1955 the SED produced a report on junior-secondary education attributed primarily to David Dickson (Raab & McPherson, 1988, p. 358). The thrust of the report was that junior-secondary schools should abandon an academic and didactic approach in favour of the progressive methods recommended by the Advisory Council of 1947 to instil a sense of 'reality' into pupils, and train their characters. The biggest obstacle was the teaching profession's view that a junior secondary school which offered vocational courses was inferior, manifest not in the nature of the curriculum, but in the certification that pupils received on completing the courses; certificates were awarded by the local authorities, which did not carry the gravitas of the esteemed SED Scottish Leaving Certificate. A theme of resistance to a practically delivered curriculum, from parents and from the teaching

profession is evident; resistance was not solely from the centrally located education polity which began to encourage progressive educational thinking into the Scottish educational tradition.

Conclusion

In conclusion, during the era discussed in this chapter, educators deemed more radical for taking pupils outdoors for adventure activities and nature studies lacked the requisite political backdrop from which to justify their education philosophy. Whilst justification for a more practical and vocationally led education was debated following Circular 44, the structure of schooling by which pupils should engage in education continued to be contested. The primary, post-primary, and secondary education courses were unstable areas of education policy for 40 years. The debate began before Circular 44 in 1921 and continued through the Education (Scotland) Act 1936 into the Report of the Advisory Council 1947 and into the SED report of 1955. The form of secondary schooling was contested between educational forces in Scotland who were of opposite opinion over the structural direction in Scottish education.

The Advisory Council were minded towards a progressive educational philosophy, and the SED understood a need for a more process orientated curriculum. The combination of parental pressure for exam success, and the structure for awarding teachers' pay and promotion meant that the shift for newer approaches to education became difficult for the SED to implement with local authorities who remained unconvinced about progressive education and of the value of vocational education.

During the first half of the 1900s there was a growing movement for learning outdoors particularly associated with the health benefit for pupils. Were such arguments subsumed into policy debates over the type of school courses and a practical or vocational curriculum? As outlined in the introduction, it is difficult to identify the sources of policy generation, but maybe not so difficult to theorise how the political and educational arena in Scottish education did not have the educational cultural capacity to engage in outdoor education. Conjecture perhaps, but it could be postulated that central policy discourses dominated the educational and political agenda reducing opportunities for a progressive and alternative educational philosophy. A space which did allow for a philosophical platform for outdoor education has its roots in the progressive schools movement to which Chapter 7 now turns.

Chapter 7: The progressive schools movement.

Introduction

One of the most influential philosophies associated with outdoor education is that of the progressive schools movement. This chapter examines the institutions and influence of the progressive schools in the context of Scottish educational policy-making. The philosophy attached to progressive schools not only resonates with outdoor education institutions but is fundamentally linked by actors involved in the foundations of outdoor education and progressive schools.

The chapter outlines early evolutions of education in Germany and how the progressive schools which developed influenced thinking in Scotland. The pioneers and networks which developed as functions of the development process are outlined before consideration is given to how progressive school philosophy impacted on the development of mainstream education in Scotland. The historical context of influence in this analysis of outdoor education policy development illustrates the forces and debates that became foundational to outdoor education growth.

Early beginnings

Abbotsholme School founded in 1889 by Cecil Reddie (1858-1932) was a leading progressive school in England which developed a focus of educating outdoors in an attempt to foster a reconnection between pupils and natural settings (Cook, 1999). Reddie was educated at three public schools in Scotland and studied at the University of Edinburgh before moving to Germany to study a PhD. At that time, Germany and Switzerland began to develop enough experiments in education to produce the first textbooks on educational research; Nisbet, (2005) notes, 'the main thrust of the scientific approach came in Germany, where experimental studies of mental activity laid the foundations of psychology (p. 26). On return to Scotland, Reddie spent a short time teaching before pursuing his own educational convictions by founding Abbotsholme School in Derbyshire, England. Abbotsholme, originally called the New School, was based on a progressive philosophy that challenged the role of the conventional teacher as 'success may be judged by the extent to which learners are able to think for themselves' (Nicol & Higgins, 2011, p. 212). A delicate balance was no doubt required to achieve this success - Reddie was known for his explosive temper and frequently taught with a cane in his hand (Cook, 1999, p. 157).

Reddie's ideas influenced John Bradley (1865-1967) who was the founder of Bedales School in 1893. Both men are identified with a broader European movement which drew on the naturalist philosophies of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) of France, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) of Switzerland and later Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) from Germany. Although scholars recognise there was no unified romantic movement (Reese, 2001, p. 7), educational philosophers such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel and

poets such as Wordsworth and Blake epitomise romanticism as the forerunners to a progressive and new educational movement.

Scottish Influence

Sir Patrick Geddes (1854-1932) was a critic of the Scottish establishment and an advocate of taking pupils outside who emphasised a broader education through the 3 H's of the 'Heart the Hand and the Head'. He saw 'children, the sons and daughters of tradesmen, craftsmen and factory workers, losing touch with the crafts of the land and being forced to bend the knee to academic conventions and book learning of the few' (Van der Eyken & Turner, 1969, p. 91). He believed that 'the child's desire of seeing, touching, handling, smelling, tasting, and hearing are all true and healthy hungers, and these should be cultivated' (MacLean, 2004, p. 85). Geddes's thinking, and charisma, has been attributed to influencing numerous educators and thinkers discussed below. Geddes' arguments in education culminated in the introduction of nature studies in Scottish primary schools (Humes & Bryce, 2003, p. 114).

In a report written by Geddes (Geddes, 1905) following his visit to Abbotsholme in 1904, he notes how well pupils cleared a field at harvest without any supervision. On closer examination he found that the 'harvest activity' was written into a three page document; the first two pages outlined the structure and rules to satisfy the agricultural requirements whereas the third sheet, in Geddes words, 'was devoted to the larger educational aspect of the subject, showing the place of the hay harvest among the labours and festivals of the year. An outline was appended of ancient and modern views of the seasons, astronomic and historic, literary and poetic, thus transcending the practical outlook to

take in a long perspective of liberal culture' (p. 327). Planned, structured and coherent outdoor learning lessons clearly inspired Geddes who felt that such experiences which combined a union of learning, exercise and experience, were lacking, if not lost, in the Scottish curriculum (Geddes, 1905, p. 328).

Geddes had previously directed French sociologist Edmond Demolins to Abbotsholme School for research on the book 'Anglo-Saxon Superiority' published earlier in 1897 with an English version printed in London in 1901 (Geddes, 1905, p. 321). Following his visit to Abbotsholme, Demolins suggested to Adolophe Ferriere (1879-1960) that he set up the Office of New Schools in 1899 to enable a comparative evaluation for educational innovators that he hoped would eventually benefit state schools (Hameline, 1993, p. 377). The movement drew from early scientific educational research in Germany, French philosophical thinking and radical teachers such as Reddie. Reddie had studied in Germany and returned to Scotland; Leitz had studied the ways of Reddie in England and returned to Germany. Both men founded progressive schools and influenced the thinking of Kurt Hahn who met boys from Abbotsholme School whilst on a holiday in the Dolomites in 1902. Hahn was to be the motivating force and co-founder of Outward Bound (Cook, 2000, p. 32).

Germanic Influence

In 1904 Ferriere visited a school in Germany, the Landerziehungsheime (Country Home Schools) which was founded by Hermann Lietz in 1902. The progressive movement in education found support in Germany and by 1930 there were a dozen Landerziehungsheime as well as Freie Schulgemeinden, (free schools) which shared

similar educational principles to Landerziehungsheime (Veevers & Allison, 2011, p. 2). Leitz had, in 1897 previously taught at Abbotsholme School where he wrote *Emlohstobba*, a report of his experience there which was later read by Hahn.

Hahn was known to have subscribed to the thinking of Ferriere (Larsson, 1987, p. 4). The affinity Hahn had to the philosophy of the New Schools movement is illustrated by the following words of Ferriere (1918, p. 397):

Representing as these schools do a return to a more natural and more beautiful life in fuller harmony with the legitimate needs of childhood, and a more complete preparation for life, they are incontestably in the direct line of progress as indicated by the great prophets of education...From air, light, verdure, fields, woods, flowers, perfumes, and breezes emanate health, strength and the joy of living.

The educational values of Ferriere illustrated in a further quote below chime with philosophy later associated with Kurt Hahn and the Outward Bound movement discussed in Chapter 8:

Strength, integrity, an enterprising spirit, and endurance at work - these the New schools intend to give to the children entrusted to them ... Character is not conferred upon a child, he is permitted to acquire it; similarly, we do not force ideas into a child's mind, we enable him to formulate them by his own efforts (p. 397).

The language of progressive schools, the New Schools and the burgeoning Outward Bound movement is similar in its rhetoric. A loose policy network of transnational exchanges and cross cultural educational thinking had evolved to share ideas.

In 1920 Hahn founded the Salem School in Germany and later Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, an eminent mountaineer, met Hahn at the Salem School during a period working as a teacher in Germany. Winthrop-Young sent his son to Gordonstoun to become one of the first students there and helped Hahn move to the UK in July 1933 (Veevers & Allison, 2011, p. 2). Gordonstoun School in Elgin was founded in 1934 by Hahn and is based on the experimental and experiential approach pioneered at Salem school to actively engage pupils outdoors as part of their broad education.

Networks of progressive schooling

In 1921 the Office of New Schools became part of the New Educational Fellowship (NEF) (Sylvester, 2007, p. 14). NEF was founded by Beatrice Ensor (1885-1974) as an organising centre for the growing movement in new and progressive education. Ensor started the organisation in 1915 as the Fraternity in Education (Larsson, 1987) which organised a conference in Calais attended by Elizabeth Rotten and Adolphe Ferriere, who alongside Ensor as Chair were appointed the first directors of NEF. At the 1936 international conference in Cheltenham, which was attended by Hahn, over 50 nations were represented indicating the strength of the progressive school movement. In 1925 Ensor founded the Frensham Heights School in Surrey with the financial backing of Edith Douglas-Hamilton, an heiress to the Wills tobacco fortune. The school continues to have a compulsory component of outdoor education which is given equal status to PE and

sport. Ensor found empathy in radical educational thinking and to educators who were sympathetic to outdoor education. For example in 1922, in her editorial of the 'New Era', the publication of NEF, she rallied members to actively protest to members of Parliament, local authorities and councillors over the 'crisis in educational progress' (White, 2001, p. 72).

In 1924 the first national section of the NEF was formed in Scotland. Breyony (2004) states that the NEF section was particularly well received by universities and teacher training colleges, although his interpretation is somewhat Machiavellian when he writes the reason for their attendance was 'the need for members of the academy to increase their prestige and cultural capital within the field by dominating the lay members and the less secure professionals such as schoolteachers' (p. 745). Cultural capital is a postmodern term, adopted by Pierre Bourdieu, given to the status which can be achieved through the accumulation of power via increased knowledge and prestige.

The progressive school movement continued to develop an expansive network and made inroads to influence the mainstream Scottish educational polity. As the duration and type of courses in post primary schools and issues of 'Clean Cut' were contested, some members of the Scottish education intelligentsia were engaged in the type of thinking which was to later influence the Sixth Advisory Council's report on secondary education published in 1947. For example, The New Era ran an edition that was entirely devoted to Scottish education. Boyd was Director of the EIS and contributed a paper to the edition; as previously stated, he had based his PhD on the work of Rousseau so it is reasonable to speculate that he was sympathetic to the ideology of the New Schools Movement. Rusk, who was Director of SCRE also contributed a paper as well as William McClelland who

chaired one of the committees of the Sixth Advisory Council. Bruce Donald, who as head of Meigle Public School wrote an article titled 'Freedom in a Scottish Country School' and Dr Thomas Wright wrote 'An Activity School in Lanarkshire' about his work with West Coates Higher Grade School (Young, 1986, p. 167). There was a clear movement to engage progressive educational thought into mainstream school practice.

Impact of progressive schools

Campbell Stewart (1979, p. 105) suggested that there was little impact on UK mainstream schooling by the progressive education movement. In a lecture in 1978 to the educational research community Campbell Stewart said the progressive education movement,

... ran against the stream, especially the public school stream, in co-education, in free discipline, in curriculum reform, in opposition to cramming and examinations. They were opposed to punishment and especially corporal punishment; they set up school councils and democratic procedures. They were within a broad range of extremes, stretching from A. S. Neill to Kurt Hahn, but clearly these progressive schools were the province of the middle-class intelligentsia and their children.

In Scotland, the assertion that the progressive school movement had little impact on mainstream schooling warrants further examination. Previous discussion illustrated how there was considerable support for the views of the Sixth Advisory Council from members of SCRE, the EIS and ADES. Although the example of a Scottish edition of the New Era being published is not sufficient to qualify significant influence in the development of

Scottish education policy, the support from prominent Scottish education organisations shows how elements of progressive schooling filtered into the consciousness of Scottish education. Scholars (e.g. Paterson, 2003; Raab & Mcpherson, 1988) acknowledge the influence of the progressive movement on the report of the Sixth Advisory Council on Education of 1942-47. Members of the Advisory Council were involved in NEF and the report 'blended progressive educational thought from England, America and elsewhere' (Raab & Mcpherson, 1988, p. 48). Before the Advisory Council's report was published, Clause 8 of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1936 gave education authorities the powers to provide vacation schools, play centres and holiday and school camps. As previously noted there was 'active progressivism' in Scotland (Young, 1986, p. 165), particularly through the NEF network.

There are suggestions that the progressive movement motivated local authorities to experiment with school curricula despite the position of the SED. As previously discussed, the SED were generally not in agreement with the Advisory Council, and in some instances were not in agreement with other stakeholders in the policy process such as ADES and SCRE. Betteridge, (2006, p. 407) refers to the reports of the Sixth Advisory Council as often cited but under implemented. McPherson and Raab, (1988) state that '... in the short term the proposals were dismissed by the department and were promoted by teachers and local authorities in word more than deed' (p. 48) possibly as the SED would not provide the necessary funds to implement the policy.

Frizell (1939a) asserted the SED provided the general guidelines but the local authorities frame the actual detail of courses with expert teachers, '... in this way courses can be adapted to suit the needs of particular localities and also to admit of a great deal of

experimental work ... each individual school has a great deal of liberty in the construction of its schemes of work' (p. 55). Although the progressive movement appeared to make little impact on mainstream Scottish education, the above shows that through the networks in Scottish education, such as the EIS, ADES, NEF and SCRE there was diverse educational thinking during that period which impacted on the policy debates. For example the SED report of 1955 attributed to Dickson encouraged progressive education practice in teaching. It was the restrictive view of assessment and examination prestige that was to prohibit wider acceptance of progressive pedagogy. This did not prevent pioneering practice in some schools from coming to the fore.

A pioneering Scottish educator who was influenced by the work of Geddes and symbolised a counter trend in Scottish pedagogy was R.F. Mackenzie (1919-1987) from Aberdeenshire. He would allegedly set off with his class at the beginning of a day and returned when it was time for them to go home. He worked at Braehead School with Hamish Brown (who was one of the first specialist outdoor teachers appointed in a Scottish comprehensive school) to develop the 'Inverlair project' in the late fifties and turn a former shooting lodge into an outdoor centre. The project was short-lived, as the local authority withheld the funding (Murphy, 2005, p. 179), and illustrated two of Scotland's principles that training of the intellect is the priority and experiment should be undertaken only with the greatest of caution, despite the above evidence that the SED may have been supportive of such practice.

Nicol's (2002) interpretation of the apparent failure of the project also reflects this distinctive cultural reaction to progressive education: 'when new ideas such as these are postulated invisible hegemonic processes are likely to become more explicit ... It invited

suspicion from the education authority and public at large who felt uncomfortable with new ideas about education' (p. 37). It was not necessarily the new ideas of the practice, but concern over the outcome, i.e. failure to achieve the esteemed SED leaving certificate (Raab & McPherson, 1988, p. 359). The parental lobby was able to exert considerable influence in the melee of education policy.

Nicol notes a shift towards the school curriculum being taught outside with specific links being made to indoor learning rather than a more traditional 'character building' type of outdoor education. The shift also suggests a fertilisation of practice from the independent sector into local authority controlled schools. Schools such as Gordonstoun in the independent sector had already developed an educational philosophy synonymous with the origins of outdoor education and were an epitome of the progressive schools movement.

Conclusion

The established county home and free schools which developed in Germany created an exchange of thinking between scholars and pioneers of Scottish and German education. The network of educational thinkers such as Reddie, Ferriere, Ensor, Hahn and later Rusk and Boyd had connections with German educational practice. However this network operated predominantly outside of SED policy structures. The progressive movement in Scotland failed to have significant influence on changing the shape of SED curriculum policy. Paterson (2009) notes that if the reports of the Sixth Advisory Council were 'not inclined to dispense with the inherited curriculum, certainly official policy was not either' (p. 276).

Progressive educational practice was adopted in the private school sector from the 1930s and the burgeoning Outward Bound movement. The progressive way of thinking provided a philosophical platform and had significant impact on the development of outdoor education in Scotland. Progressive educational philosophy combined with other educational and youth services which provided the platform for strands of outdoor education to flourish. The development of these strands is explored in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8: Policy strands in outdoor education

Introduction

When scholars examine the history and development of outdoor education, formally organised examples of young people experiencing the outdoors are traced to establishments such as the Scout Association, the Field Studies Council or the Outward Bound movement. Their ideologies have been identified with the fundamental concepts of outdoor education (see for example Parker & Meldrum, 1973; Cook, 1999; 2000; Nicol, 2002; Higgins, 2002; Ogilvie 2013). The Scout Association was formed in part as a remedy to Britain's 'moral and physical as well as military weakness' (Cook, 2000, p. 28); Outward Bound was also originally concerned with the 'moral decay of society and the ensuing character development required to counter these social ills (Nicol, 2002); The Field Studies Council transfers components of established school based subjects such as geography and biology into a practical context.

A wide range of terms are associated with outdoor education (see Parker & Meldrum, 1973, p. 10 or Ogilvie, 2013, p. xxvii, for more detailed lists). The term outdoor education itself was not widely used until the 1970s (Ogilvie, 2013), although in the United States the term can be traced back as early as the 1900s albeit in a differing context to conventional use today (Quay & Seaman, 2013, p. 5). In the Scottish context, etymologically, outdoor education was a product of the 1960s. The following observation

by Ogilvie helps frame how outdoor education terminology can be viewed through a political lens:

The other reasons for so many names were that those attached to particular sectors wished to have the identity of their input recognised by placing their particular version of a name as a stamp of ownership on the activity (p. xxvii).

Ogilvie illustrates the competing forces which act to shape the outdoor education territory; for example enthusiasts of mountaineering or canoeing may espouse the value of physical activity whilst those with greater concern for environmental issues may proffer the value of direct contact with a natural environment. The previous chapters examined the political arena for educational change in Scotland, the progressive school movement and the status of practical ideologies in education. This chapter examines the context of other developments, most of which ran concurrently to aspects of educational practice and policy previously discussed. The chapter begins by revisiting the concept of domain strands from Chapter 2 identified within the field of outdoor education. The chapter is not chronological but identifies policy influences that have shaped the understanding of outdoor education in Scotland.

The strands have been identified and segmented on the basis of literature using Burnstein's (1991) criteria that each domain operates in relative isolation and can be interpreted as self-contained. Additionally the strands exhibit substantive or functional, organisational and cultural characteristics. In order to analyse policy through 'the context of influence' (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992) it is necessary to understand the competing forces

within an ideology of outdoor education to examine origins of influence and initiatives through a policy lens.

Seven strands are identified and discussed as influences in shaping outdoor education. An early problem for which being outdoors was seen as a policy solution is rooted in improving the moral and physical fitness of the nation. This first section of this chapter traces the foundations in this policy development to argue the significance of the medical lobby. The growth of camps particularly in the lead up to the Second World War is a second strand, which is discussed separately from the third strand of youth movements. The place of residential camps for working men is outlined separately as a fourth strand which illustrates how the outdoors is used to promote particular political ideologies. More recent and familiar strands of Outward Bound, the Field Studies Council and environmental education, and adventure activity and sports comprise the fifth, sixth and seventh strands.

Early Adventure Schools

Historically, the association of the word adventure to schools in Scotland did not set off on a great footing. Private 'adventure' schools which operated outside of the state or parish school were a feature of the emerging education structure in Scotland. There were numerous adventure schools in Fife from 1590 (Houston, 2002, p. 100) and by 1860 there were 1000 private adventure schools in Scotland. At that time the number of schools in Scotland totalled 5000 including subscription, voluntary and parish schools (Cruikshank, 1967, p. 134). Adventure schools were often run on a part-time basis and the teaching was seen as being of a very low standard. The schools had a poor reputation; the Report

of the State of Education in Glasgow in 1866 stated in one 'dog kennel school' children were listening to 'the lucubration's of a perspiring paralytic, armed with a formidable pair of tawse¹, in a stifling atmosphere ... the sooner these private adventure schools cease to exist the better' (Cruikshank, 1967, p. 137). However there is evidence that the schools were quite popular with working class parents who saw the teachers as more approachable than schools within the official system, even though the schools were officially denigrated. In some parts of Scotland the schools were more of a middle class affair (Limond, 1996, p. 139). What can be deduced is that the adventure schools were not forerunners to a broader progressive movement in education that promoted outdoor adventure. In England the schools were frequently known as 'Dame' Schools. The word adventure possibly held a connotation implying anything could happen, or that for the type of pupils who attended, any learning was an adventure (National Women's History Museum, 2007).

The medical lobby and health

The medical department at the Board of Education and the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) in 1903 played a significant role in calling for more attention to the physical wellbeing of children. The response was legislative support through the Education (Scotland) Act 1908 imposing a duty on the school boards to conduct medical inspections of school children. The previous year, the policy notion that being outside and in the countryside for 'fresh air' was good for you was formally adopted following the

¹ The tawse were made of leather straps cut into thongs and used as punishment by schoolteachers.

appointment of George Newman in 1907 as the first national Medical Health Officer. The period leading up to Newman's appointment was marked by lobbying from medical personnel who gave evidence to the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland. According to Lowe (2003, p. 320) the strength of the argument put forward by doctors such as W.L. Mackenzie and J. Cantlie made the commission consider the direction of their inquiry. The commission was tasked with examining the opportunities for physical training and to suggest how these opportunities might be increased. The concern primarily stemmed from the high percentage of army recruits at the time of the Boer war who were deemed to be physically unfit. The intervention and evidence given to the Commission argued not for more drill, but for more fresh air and exercise. Such candour raised concern in some quarters that a prescription for more exercise, or more games *per se*, would reduce the nation's preparedness for war. An article in the Spectator (Unknown, 1902) states the publication hoped the 'military aspect of the question will not be neglected' and concluded they wanted 'physical training, but we want it also to be of a military character and to include the use of the rifle' (p. 7). The role and place of militarism and drill in the school playgrounds, however, did not come to the fore in the way some military personal envisaged.

Conferences on these issues and school hygiene were held in Nuremberg in 1904 and London in 1907 (Lowe, 1973, p. 425). The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act 1907 resulted in the setting up of 'open air schools' predominantly to treat children with tuberculosis. The concept was pioneered in Germany with the inception of Charlottenburg Open-Air Recovery School in 1904. A number of Scots were influential in shaping the policies which spawned from a combination of medical lobbying and an international

move to create better school environments which, according to the report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904 were to be something between a school and a hospital in the country (Lowe, 2003, p. 322).

The Spectator (Unknown, 1902) published cautionary notes over the balance the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration report should strike. Whilst not conclusive the evidence gives an insight into the policy debate over the role and motivation for physical exercise. The medical lobby proposed what Lowe (2003, p. 323) described as the 'environmentalist' argument whereas the military and army cadet lobby campaigned for a physical exercise argument through military drill and the use of a rifle. Evidence of the competing positions is framed by the interest cited in the British Medical Journal which reported that the 'evidence was virtually unanimous in favour of extended physical education; the divergences of opinion had to do mainly with the form which this should take, and the practicability of rendering it compulsory' (Unknown, 1903, p. 817). A crude parallel can be drawn with more recent interpretations of outdoor education i.e. personal development programmes with roots in militaristic character-building or broad environmental programmes promoting exercise, 'wellness' and fresh air. At the turn of last century these separate domain strands in the foundations of outdoor education acted as competing forces in the policy mix.

The value of open-air schools was highlighted at the fourth annual conference of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption at Manchester in 1912 and reported in the British Medical Journal (Unknown, 1912). The first International Congress on Open Air Schools met in Paris 1922. A 1927 edition of The Spectator carried an article on Open Air Schools in which the School Medical Officer was quoted: 'the parents were

unanimous about the value of the class, and pointed out how much brighter and more alert the children were' (Unknown, 1927, p. 17). An earlier article makes reference to the Burnside Special School in Glasgow in which it reports the Director of Education for Glasgow writing, 'when we find better school attendance, better attendance of teachers, and I should also be inclined to say considerably better quality of work, I would recommend, even for Glasgow, the erection of no school that was not part of the open air or quasi open air type; indeed all plans which are under review for new schools are on this principle' (Unknown, 1927, p. 6). In a response to the article the Architect to Lanarkshire Education Authority, J. Stewart depicts greater cynicism on the future for open-air schools in the Scottish teaching culture. He wrote, 'School medical officers - I am speaking of Scotland - have a long row to hoe before we have even the open window school, since the majority of teachers today look upon fresh air as synonymous with colds, influenza, or even sudden death ' (Stewart, 1927, p. 17). Lowe (2003, p. 322) suggests, it's possible that the aftermath of the Boer war prompted Britain to lead in the expansion of open air schools'. By 1930 there were 94 open-air schools and 47 residential schools (Cruickshank, 1977, p. 70). The policy had a significant impact and was a clear signal that the health, as well as the education, of young people in Britain was a responsibility of the school boards. The panacea for young people's health could not solely rest with physical exercise and drill but was also found in the context in which activity took place, i.e. outdoors.

The formation of policies which promoted pupils being outside was driven by the medical profession. Their motive was not necessarily the character and moral development of the whole person *per se*, as was argued by the progressive school movement, but solely on

physical health. Of conjecture is whether the policy motive was to ensure Britain had a healthy nation fit for war, or to reduce the burden of tuberculosis on the populous. A modern neo-liberal interpretation of the discourse of an increase in physical exercise for school pupils suggests there is a financial imperative to assist the Scottish governments' agenda of reducing the cost of healthcare (Horrell, Sproule & Gray, 2012).

A combination of events, which included overseas conferences, the report of the Royal Commission and contested lobbying over the purposes of Physical Education (PE) resulted in policies which were to have significant consequences on the shape of outdoor education across the UK. Some open air residential schools were to later become outdoor centres, such as Humphrey Head near Morecambe Bay (Ogilvie, 2013, p. 182). In Scotland the policies were to influence the development of residential schools which formed the backbone to the Strathclyde outdoor education provision of the '70s and '80s (Halls, 1997b, p. 12).

It is interesting to note one of the recommendations of the Royal Commission was that 'a daily amount of school time should, as far as possible, be devoted to physical exercises: short periods of exercise at frequent intervals being preferable to periods of longer duration at greater intervals' (Unknown, 1903, April, p. 817). There was clear interest from the medical profession to use education policy as a tool for improving the nation's health. Debate in using a prescribed period of physical exercise in Scottish schools as an educational policy tool continues into recent times. The report of the Review Group on Physical Education in 2004 made the following recommendation: 'All schools and education authorities should be working towards meeting the recommendations of the Physical Activity Strategy and the Sport 21 Strategy of providing two hours quality physical

education for each child every week'. Whilst there were no representatives of the medical profession on this review group, the review was convened following a recommendation of the 1998 White Paper for Health. It is difficult to ascertain if the recommended weekly allowance has increased or decreased in what is over a hundred years since such an education policy which prescribed periods of time for physical activity was first mooted. However, this evidence shows how the influence and interest of the medical profession in education policy was key and remains significant today. Fundamentally, a historical strand which underpins the physical exercise elements of outdoor education had the medical profession as a driver for changes to education policy.

Camps

The medical lobby had great influence in the development of camps, another component in the founding domain strands of outdoor education. The government conducted a survey of accommodation in the UK in 1938 which identified billets for over 4 million evacuees. There was widespread concern that there was not enough provision for evacuees. In 1939 the Camps Act legislated for camps to be financed by the government in the form of a loan under the auspices of the Ministry of Health, with the assistance of the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE). CPRE was set up in 1926 by Sir Patrick Abercrombie, a contemporary and friend of Patrick Geddes (Meller, 1990, p. 10). The Campaign for the Protection of Rural Scotland was established in 1927; the organisations were to make representations on all aspects of planning which was the expertise of Abercrombie.

Arthur MacNalty, Chief Medical Officer (CMO) to the Board of Education, in his annual report for 1938 was fearful of the consequences of an aerial bombing attack. Although the word 'evacuation' did not appear in the Civil Defence Bill 1937, literature at that time showed anxiety and fear over aerial attacks (Welshman, 1998, p. 31). In July 1938 a House of Commons committee chaired by Sir John Anderson recommended the nation be divided into evacuation, neutral, and reception areas, and a survey of accommodation should be made. In Scotland, the Department of Health for Scotland (DHS) was in charge of these arrangements, acting in conjunction with the Scottish Education Department (SED), although the construction and management of the facilities were undertaken by the Scottish Special Housing Association (SSHA) (Lloyd, 1979, p. 141). The SSHA was an intermediary body which was to prove problematic to the structural implementation of the camps policy.

The camp facilities had a dual function: as accommodation for evacuees' in wartime and as educational holiday centres in peacetime. No camps were operational by the autumn of 1939 and the first phase of evacuation went ahead without any of the camp provision (Lowe, 1992, p. 10). Of those who were eligible as priority classes in Scotland, only 173,748 or 34% of people were actually billeted (Owen, 1940, p. 30). After 1945 the camps became the responsibility of the Minister of Education. The wider programme of camps was later administered in Scotland by the Scottish National Camps Association which formed after the war in 1947.

In Scotland there were five camps planned, Broomlee, Middleton, Aberfoyle (Dounans), Belmont and Glengonnar. However the camps were not very well received, with reports of home-sickness, bed-wetting and high staff turnover and the camps developed a poor

reputation which they never lived down (Lloyd, 1979). The facilities at the camps were not designed for permanent accommodation so were not entirely adequate, especially in the eyes of local authority teachers who worked in the camps. Lloyd mainly attributes the problem of the camps in Scotland to the confusing management structure. The SSHA employed and managed the domestic staff whereas the local authorities were responsible for allocating the pupils and managing the teaching staff. The dual control of the camps caused considerable friction and despite the local authorities appealing to the Secretary of State for a change in the dual control structure, the friction persisted which eventually led the Glasgow education committee to relocate all pupils from the Glengonnar camp to the Aberfoyle camp and hostels. Lloyd quotes the General Manager and Secretary of the SSHA, N.J. Campbell who summarises some of the difficulties thus:

'Those who have had much to do with the Camps can appreciate the difficulties of the headmaster in welding together a heterogeneous mob of some 200 children, many of whom were difficult in a variety of ways, many of whom come from unsatisfactory homes, and none of whom had any previous experience of camp life. Difficulties were increased by the dual control system and by the inadequacy of the premises for their purpose ...'

(p. 147).

In Scotland the camp programme was well supported by the medical community evidenced in the reporting of the Medical Notes in Parliament by the British Medical Journal (Unknown, 1941, p. 106). The quarterly reports of the medical officers of the camps in Scotland showed significant benefit on the health of pupils. For example, 'most gained in height and weight and had shown an increased resistance to infection. When

Belmont Camp was reopened those children who returned were found to have lost weight during their absence of three months' (p. 106). The positive slant placed on the parliamentary report appears contradictory to poor reputation of the camps suggested previously.

The SED were suspicious of the camp schools. The HMI had been positive in their reporting of educational merit in a sympathetic inspection of Glengonnar prior to the relocation of pupils, although a later inspection of Middleton was so critical the Chief Inspectors asked for a more agreeable version of the report to highlight the benefits of communal living and being close to nature (Lloyd, 1979, p. 148). It is of note then that the reputation of the camps within the SED was never good, as was highlighted by the quote of the General Manager of the SSHA above. However the HMI were concerned to ensure the positive qualities of the camps were portrayed. The facilities for the teachers would not have been luxurious, and living in the camp conditions managed by a different organisation meant any complaints from teachers would eventually have been directed to local authorities. The duty to support teaching staff required the authorities to make representation. In an informal meeting of the DHS, the SED and the SSHA on the 6th September, 1943 representatives of the Glasgow Education Committee made it plain to the SSHA that they believed the domestic staff were spying on teachers and reporting to the camp warden (Lloyd, 1979p. 146). It can be surmised that the conflict was founded in matters of administration and management rather than an ideological argument against policies of camps or of residential education; a situation which was to be replicated in the provision of Strathclyde outdoor education in the 1990s outlined by Halls (1997b).

The period leading up to 1939 saw other social factors for which authorities south of the Scottish border saw camps as a solution. Holidays were seen to have social and welfare benefits and councils were able to draw on the Physical Recreation and Training Act (1937) as justification that the Board of Education could contribute capital funding for municipal camps. The London Area Committee of the National Fitness Council initiated a conference which was attended by more than 40 local authorities and in 1938 the Commissioner for the Special Areas recommended that camps could be built to help workers and their families from distressed areas (Hardy & Ward, 1984, p. 55). Camps were not the domain of the public sector and there was some conflict of use between family holiday style campers and pupils from education authorities who got first priority over their use. Organisations also provided holiday camps for their workers such as two camps run by the National and Local Government Officers Association (NALGO). The camp at Croyde changed its name from a camp to a centre following a refit that saw the facilities upgraded in 1937.

Youth Movements and Forest Schools

The growth of summer camps was influenced throughout the 1920s by the Scout and Girl Guide movement. The camps had social objectives such as promoting the use of recreation and leisure to develop useful citizens (Cook, 1999, p. 64). These influences addressed different ideologies with different foci, i.e. to develop individual character and social objectives.

In Scotland, the Boys Brigade was established in the late 1880s by William Alexander Smith. The Brigade stemmed from Sunday schools and used military drill to attract boys

to 'play soldiers' at the clubs which proved popular and by 1889 there were 264 Companies across Scotland. Lieutenant Robert Baden Powell became vice-president of the Boys Brigade in 1902. Baden-Powell already had his own idea of a youth movement and in 1907 he stayed with Arthur Pearson, the owner of Pearson's Weekly, the Express, and the Standard newspapers. Pearson was a friend of Joseph Chamberlain, a former Liberal MP and social reformer, who immediately saw the potential of a Boy Scout training scheme as a means of promoting the interdependent policies of increasing imperial strength and fostering class unity. Pearson himself was an advocate of young people partaking in outdoor activities, and had founded the Fresh Air Fund in 1892, which took people from disadvantaged backgrounds outdoors. Baden-Powell later wrote: 'He was, I think, the first public man to whom I spoke of the idea of a Boy Scout Movement, and his belief that there was something in it encouraged me to go ahead with it' (Wilkinson, 1969, p. 9).

An alternative reading to the rapid growth of the Scout movement is postulated by Hantover (1978) who suggests that 'changes in the nature of work and in the composition of the labour force from 1880 to World War 1 profoundly affected masculine self-identity' (p. 187). For example the number of clerical, administrative and professional employees increased from 756 thousand to 5.6 million creating greater bureaucracy and less autonomy for men. The Scouts appealed to the 'frontier' man and concerned itself with traditional 'Manhood'. Hantover's argument is that the social conditions were ripe for a youth movement such as the Scouts.

Whilst shaping the concept of Scouting, Baden Powell was influenced by Ernest Thompson Seton. Scouting has its antecedents in the revival of skills used by Native Americans, a

craft revived by Seton when he formed the Woodcraft Indians in the United States (Van der Eyken, & Turner, 1969, p. 92). Other youth movements with a focus on being outdoors formed around the ancient crafts and customs of forest folklore. The Scottish influence of Patrick Geddes can be traced to Ernest Woodlake who developed a philosophy of 'recapitulation' which necessitated an open air life and first hand contact with nature and wilderness. Woodlake was also influenced by the child psychologist, Stanley Hall (Morris, 1974, p. 29).

Woodlake found inspiration in the growing Scout movement who, compared to other youth organisations of that time, demonstrated considerable support for outdoor activities (Hantover, 1978, p. 189). Woodlake wrote to Seton (who was in fact English but brought up in the United States and became the Chairman of the Boy Scouts of America) who agreed to be the first Grand Chieftain of the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry (OWC) in the UK. In similar language used by Kurt Hahn, Seton was concerned about the youth of the time: 'Spectatoritis was turning robust, manly, self-reliant boyhood into a lot of flat-chested cigarette smokers with shaky nerves and doubtful vitality' (Seton, 1910, p. xi). Eventually Seton resigned as Chairman of the Boy Scouts of America as he did not like the military aspects of Scouting (Smith, 2002). Political tension can be identified in the development of the Scouts between the militaristic ideals promoted, or at least adopted, by Baden Powell and the more naturalistic ideals of Seton. In the youth movements associated with forest craft, the political ideals were to become more polarised and transparent between left and right, or between imperial and liberal thinking.

John Hargreave was an active Scout leader and the Headquarters Commissioner for Camping and Woodcraft. His views were sympathetic to those of Woodlake, and he

promoted contact with nature and the woodcraft elements of scouting. However there was a more political element to his views, or certainly of the views laid out in the inaugural meeting of the Kibbo-Kift which he founded in 1920. The meeting was held at the Pethick-Lawrence's house who were active socialist campaigners and it attracted Labour groups from London. The Kift eventually became part of the Social Credit Union after disagreements over the direction of the organisation which caused a split in the management team. The Woodcraft Folk continued in their own right and advocated socialist ideals with politics as a feature of their programmes (Wilkinson, 1969, p. 25).

The differences in the youth organisations attributed as forerunners to outdoor education were more than discrepancies over the curricula and activities of a particular movement. Differences were ideological and political. Loynes (2007) argues that these differences, and similarities, of the ideologies and values of voluntary organisations of the past heralded as forerunners to outdoor education, uncritically continue in modern times. In other words, the political agenda of outdoor education as a liberalising or controlling agent is still part of how policy makers intervene in perceived problems of youth.

The youth movements impacted on the progressive school movement, illustrated in the autobiography of the headmaster of Bedales, J.H. Badley who refers to Baden Powell alongside Pestalozzi and Froebel as influences of the movement (Bradley, 1933). Likewise, the woodcraft organisations were based on a similar educational philosophy to progressive schools. Morris (1974) draws attention to this in an analysis of the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry (OWC). She notes the OWC 'exemplified what is commonly called the 'child-centred' approach to education'; a point illustrated in Westlake's important essay on the Forest School in which he detailed how the OWC viewed education from a growth

perspective to promote the development and inner potential of the individual (Morris, 1974, p. 31).

Whilst camps and residential schools began to establish the concept of residential education, Westlake took the thinking of the progressive school movement and laid the foundations for the first 'forest school'. Later meetings of the OWC were in Bethnal Green at Toynbee Hall which was staffed by Cuthbert Rutter, who was Westlake's cousin. In 1930 Rutter became headmaster of an experimental forest school situated in an army hut on the Sandy Balls estate in the New Forest. Westlake was killed in a motor accident in 1922 so never had the opportunity to see the fruit of his earlier work.

Residential work programmes

The OWC established the concept of camps for the unemployed and began a scheme in March 1933 based at Godshill in Hampshire. The schemes went under the name of Grith Fyrd Camps and were open to any 18-25 year olds in receipt of Unemployment Benefit which went to the OWC in return for food, lodging and training. The courses were to last for 18 months and divided into three stages; firstly learning camp construction and provision of social living, secondly to undertake short camping expeditions throughout the country and finally through voluntary social service (Unknown, 1933, p. 14). It is a remarkably similar programme to schemes later formulated by Kurt Hahn such as the County Badge Scheme of the early 1940s. The camps maintained politically 'left' social undertones; the schemes of work were put together by the Trade Union Sub-Committees of the camp. The camp was a success with an average of 25 men attending, and a second camp was opened in Derbyshire at Shining Cliff in 1934 (Scott & Bromley, 2013, p. 155).

Shining Cliff now operates as part of an outdoor centre under the management of the Lindley Educational Trust.

The influence of the medical profession is evident in the appeal for help for these camps. The trustees of Grith Fyrd published an outline of the plan to promote support and encourage donations in the British Medical Journal May 27, 1933. They state one of the aims of the camps is 'for the regaining by our young men of that personal experience of primitive adventure which was lost in the migration from country to town' (Abercrombie, etal. 1927, p. 939).

The origins of this type of work camp are to be found in Germany when a group of students from the University of Breslau organised a camp to unite workers and students in 1925. Within six years there were 30 camps (see Holland, 1935 for an account of their development in Germany). Less successful were camps known as Instructional Centres set up in 1929 by the British Government for unemployed workers, although the Government primarily preferred voluntary bodies to undertake the majority of work with the unemployed (Olechnowicz, 2005, p. 37). The International Voluntary Service which originated from Switzerland also ran programmes in Wales which according to Holland saw 'youth from the colleges and universities go to the small Welsh villages and convert areas of slag heaps and mine tips into recreation centres with play- grounds, gardens, bandstands, and in some cases swimming pools (p. 150).

Some early camps for men were organised by Rolf Gardiner who had toured a variety of camps in Germany; his experiences led him in 1925 to be invited to talk at an event of the OWC about European Youth Movements. It is conjecture how much this affiliation influenced the setting up of work camps for the unemployed by the OWC. Gardiner was

involved in a number of camps from the Scottish Borders to Dorset. (For more details on his ventures see Field, 2012, p. 202).

Thus there was a diverse range of activities and policy outcomes of the camp model during the pioneering days of the 1920s and '30s - from uniformed youth organisations such as the Scouts and Guides to more left-wing organisations such as the Kibbo Craft and the more liberal OWC. Camps were also used as a policy tool for unemployed workers to promote community values, and enhance leadership skills (Field, 2012, p. 197). In 1933 a camp organised by Michael Sims-Williams for unemployed men and run by students began in Herefordshire which became the pre-cursor for the Universities Council for Unemployed Camps (UCUC) which ran until 1939. The camps were tent-based for six weeks during which time participants spent 'their mornings working, clearing ground and making a bathing pool, and playing games in the afternoons, followed by hobbies in the evening, ending each day with a sing-song around a camp fire' (Field, 2012, p. 197). Camps were also organised for women, for example those run in Durham by Girton College and the Durham Community Service Council. These camps targeted unemployed women and wives and daughters of unemployed men and were smaller in scale as there were fewer female graduates who could volunteer. Work camps were ethically questioned after the Second World War as the concept conjured associations to Nazism (Field, 2012).

Four broad influences in the policy development for camps and residential work programmes can be identified. Firstly the medical lobby as a domain strand; in a similar vein to the argument put forward for open-air schools, medical officers were supportive of the development of camps. Secondly, Acts of Parliament, both the Education (Scotland) Act 1936, the Physical Recreation and Training Act 1937 and latterly The Camp Act 1939

which accelerated the growth of camps and created public funds. The Camp Act was driven by the concerns of war which fundamentally changed the fabric of Britain. The third broad influence stems from conferences in the UK and internationally. The camp movement was not isolated to Britain; there was a range of youth movements promoting camps in Europe and the United States. Fourthly are the influences of individual organisations, philanthropists and idealists who promoted and used the camps, for example, the youth movements and residential work based initiatives.

These influences spawned a growth in the provision of outdoor related experiences for adults and young people in Scotland. Growth in the use of the outdoors occurred in the mainstream provision of education through open air schools funded by local authorities and in the third sector through charitable organisations running camps and work based programmes. Discussion in this chapter identifies policy debates manifest in two domains. Firstly a domain of physical exercise for character or moral development argued by protagonists of national security and secondly a domain which was labelled by Lowe (2003, p. 323) as the 'environmentalist' argument for a healthy nation. These two parallels previously outlined as personal development programmes with roots in militaristic character building and broad environmental programmes promoting exercise, 'wellness' and fresh air are explored more fully below. The following outlines two organisations which have made significant contributions to the arguments and practice of outdoor education across the UK and typify these policy domains. The Outward Bound movement and the Field Studies Council are detailed before the growth of adventure activities, or outdoor pursuits is discussed.

Outward Bound

A military influence and the Outward Bound (OB) movement contributed to a philosophy of outdoor education which reflected the ability of an individual to deal with physical hardship and 'character development' (Parker & Meldrum, 1973, p. 15). A traditional character-building element synonymous with a historical concept of OB is a recognised forerunner in the argument for outdoor education (Higgins & Sharp, 2003, p. 581). The invention of OB as an institution and concept is attributed to Kurt Hahn who designed a month-long course as an extension of the County Badge Scheme for Lawrence Holt, the owner of the Blue Funnel Line. Holt had been concerned about the tenacity of his younger sailors and was looking for a training programme to remedy this concern. Holt met with Jim Hogan who had run programmes for Hahn in the past; Holt agreed to fund the programmes and purchased a house at Aberdovey where courses could be based. It proved to be a popular concept not just with young sailors from the Blue Funnel Line, but with apprentices from other sections of industry. (For a detailed history of the involvement of Kurt Hahn in the establishment of OB see Richards, 2013).

In 1946 the Outward Bound Trust was formed to oversee the management of the school at Aberdovey, and develop and build the organisation to establish new schools. The courses were primarily designed for apprentices and the majority of participants were recruited from industry. The strand is significant as OB is one of the early examples of an organisation providing a permanent residential base from which to deliver courses. The previous enterprises discussed predominantly held courses at one base or the other, or from tented accommodation which would function through the summer. Additionally the actors engaged in the foundational philosophy of OB subscribed to the educational

philosophy of the progressive schools movement; Hahn was known to subscribe to the thinking of Ferriere as noted in Chapter 7 and there are clear links between institutions of the progressive school movement such as Gordonstoun School which had been founded in 1934, the NEF and the founders and pioneers of Outward Bound.

The only OB residential centre in Scotland, located at Loch Eil, near Fort William was opened in 1976 some thirty years after the original centre in Wales. However the OB philosophy as a strand of policy development is evident in Scotland. Lord Malcolm Douglas Hamilton was an original trustee of OB who was instrumental in a vision for leadership training in Scotland. His voice contributed to the inception of Glenmore Lodge in the early 1950s funded through the SED. The detail of this policy network is more fully explored in Chapter 10, but it is useful to note here that although the OB presence in Scotland came later in 1976 there is significant evidence of the OB strand in Scottish outdoor education. For example, when Benmore Outdoor Centre was founded in 1965 (by the City of Edinburgh Council) the first principal of the centre, Ralph Blain had worked in the Ullswater OB school and was later the Warden at the Hawkesbury River OB school in Australia. As discussed previously in Chapter 7, Hahn founded Gordonstoun School in 1934 which in turn influenced the programmes and ethos behind OB.

Outward Bound is significant for laying the foundations of dedicated residentially based outdoor activity centres. It provided a platform for staff and leaders to experiment and learn ways for managing groups outdoors for purposes other than recreation and adventure activity participation. Loynes (1999) suggests that OB was the birthplace of development training and held quite different objectives to the later centres established by local authorities where the aims of the programmes were for proficiency and self-

sufficiency with a focus on activity participation and skill development. However, debate over the direction of objectives held in outdoor education and training occurred within OB as well as between institutions.

As the OB movement grew, inevitably the breadth of opinion developed as the number of staff increased and shaped the thinking of how the organisation functioned. The place and role of character training as a concept within OB shifted through the 1950s and 1960s which created a tension that culminated in a conference in Harrogate in May 1965. The conference theme questioned 'character training' as a relevant philosophical platform. Freeman (2011) suggests the discourse shifted to personal development in an attempt to remove the rhetoric synonymous with social conditioning (p. 31). Additionally the notion of education for leadership was questioned through associations to 'public school bullying, aggressive imperialism and racial prejudice' (p. 40).

What is evident is that the discourse of character building and the educational objectives for taking young people outdoors was not restricted to debate over approaches between institutions; debate occurred across and within outdoor education providers. Despite these efforts, the strand associated with character building is most readily identified with Outward Bound. In the words of Freeman (2011):

Outward Bound and its many imitators, despite their best efforts, continued to be dogged by an increasingly anachronistic vocabulary, reflecting the historical circumstances of the establishment of the first courses in the 1940s and 1950s, and although the avant-garde of the movement strove to dismantle the Hahnian conception of character-training in the 1960s,

outdoor education remained popularly associated with 'cold showers and severe physical toughness', and with the aim of 'character building' (p. 147).

The association of OB to a character building policy domain is evident. There was scepticism amongst educational leaders about the value of the Outward Bound experience for school pupils (Freeman, 2011, p. 35). There was a network of educationalists ready to embark on experimental projects in outdoor education (outlined in Chapter 10).

Field Studies Council and environmental education

The Field Studies Council (FSC) was established over 70 years ago to promote outdoors in education through field-work. The FSC, originally called the Council for the Promotion of Field Studies, was born through the desire of a London Schools Inspector, Francis Butler, to develop centres where people could learn about some aspect of the environment (Croft, 1982, p. 105). Butler met a small group of similarly minded academics from Cambridge who held a vision for exploring the natural world following their experiences of war. John Barratt, one of those academics, wrote

Pre-war friendships between some of us now welded all four into the closest association. None of our succeeding trials ever threatened to shake us apart. Never. Our unity was intimate. Moreover, all of us knew full well how our fragmentary knowledge of natural history had lightened the darkness of past years (Barratt, 1987, p. 36).

The first centre was opened in 1945 at Flatford Mill amongst a flurry of excitement and hard work. The Scottish Field Studies Association (SFSA) ran courses from 1951, primarily at the Garth Youth Hostel. In the early 1960s, Max Nicolson, who was Director General of the Nature Conservancy, met with the Scottish Education Department, (SED) the Forestry Commission, the Chief Valuer and the SFSA. The SED were persuaded to fund a permanent base, and in 1963 Kindrogan (near Blairgowrie) was purchased from the Forestry Commission for the SFSA. After a short period operating as a guest house, courses commenced in 1964 and continue to date.

A flavour of the pioneering work of the early courses is evident in the words of Barratt:

The implicit criticism was freely levelled against us that we would be no more

than jacks-of-all-trades ... Nobody had ever done before what we now set out to do. So nobody could lean over and tell us how. We learnt as we went along and, my word, we learnt fast. We had to. And what superlative opportunities we had for doing so (p. 7).

Deciphering Barratt's account of the early FSC unearths a great sense of agency amongst pioneers. In other words there was no directly relevant legislation (although elements of the Education Act 1944 supported the use of residential education), and early funding was in the form of private donations. Once established and running of sorts, funding came from Directors of Education in Wales, further charitable donations and in 1946 the Ministry of Education awarded funding. The emergence of this domain strand of outdoor education development came from the grass root motivation of individuals with a passion for their subject and the experiences they were able to offer pupils. A later boost came in

a diktat from universities that entry for their courses required prospective students to be familiar with living organisms (Barratt, 1987).

It is worth noting a further example of this pioneering sense of agency. The Ministry were so impressed following an inspection of the centres that they offered to fully-fund the venture by bringing the organisation into the state sector. The offer was declined on the basis that the centres would no longer be able to teach what they wanted but would have had to subscribe to the Ministry syllabi. It is ironic that 30 years later there would be a campaign for greater recognition by the state sector for outdoor education as a subject within the curriculum.

The FSC hosted a conference in November 1965 on Field Studies at Residential Centres at a time of similar conferences held that year on Education in the Countryside. Parker and Meldrum (1973, p. 37) identify these networking events and collaborative projects which emerged as drivers for the formation of the Council for Environmental Education (England and Wales) and the Committee for Education in the Countryside (Scotland). The secretariat for the latter was provided by Countryside Commission for Scotland (CCS) which was created following the passing of the Countryside (Scotland) Act 1967. The emergence of Environmental Education as a burgeoning subject occurred later than the residential fieldwork courses being run by the FSC. The concept of fieldwork and the work of the FSC is very much ascribed to traditional subject areas. Fieldwork is mainly associated with the teaching of geography and biology (Tilling, 1993); early courses also delivered aspects of history (Palmer, 2002, p. 4). Field studies can be understood under the umbrella of environmental education. For example the FSC promotes itself as an environmental education charity (Field Studies Council, 2015).

The path of environmental education has a chequered history; Palmer identifies nature studies and the Victorian inquisitiveness with the natural world as a prelude to the concept of environmental education. In 1902 the School Nature Study Union was formed and as previously discussed in Chapter 7, nature studies in Scotland was a recognised part of the curriculum following the efforts of Geddes. By 1940 the area of study had broadened into rural studies and by 1960 the National Rural and Environmental Studies Association had formed from which stemmed the National Association of Environmental Education that exists at the current time. (For a detailed account of the subject development of environmental education see Goodson, 1983).

The prominence and concern over environmental issues was not restricted to Scotland or the UK. The groundswell of activity during the 1960's led to significant international attention in this policy arena. The first world meeting on the state of the environment was the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment held in Stockholm in 1972 which recommended a need for environmental education. This led to the International Environmental Education programme in 1975 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisations (UNESCO) and the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP).

The growth of field studies and the emergence of environmental education as a strand of outdoor education were not borne of outdoor education policy. Legislation in the form of the Countryside (Scotland) Act 1967 reinforced the place of environmental education alongside conferences which acted as policy drivers, however the primary driver for the field studies council stemmed from the influence and passion of individuals who were subject-specific educationalists.

Adventure Activities and Sports

The formal organisation of outdoor pursuits and adventure activities as a function of school based education necessarily required protagonists of the specific activities concerned, i.e. mountaineers, sailors and canoeists. Access to mountaineering activity increased throughout the 1930's as mountaineering became accessible to a broader social mix with clubs such as the Creagh Dhu Mountaineering Club formed by workers in Clydebank providing a fresh wave of mountaineering activity. In the post war period there was a flood of military clothing and equipment which spawned growth and further social change in Scottish mountaineering (Brooker, 1988, p. 193).

Ogilvie (2013) refers to the growing place of outdoor pursuits in camping publications. In early documentation adventurous activities were referenced in only four or five lines in a document that spanned over 50 pages. A second publication in 1961 made greater references to outdoor pursuits; 'unaccompanied camping and canoeing were mentioned as if they were standard practices' (p. 277). Adventure activity participation increased throughout the 1950's and 1960's. The number of canoeing clubs affiliated to the British Canoe Union (BCU) gives an indicator of this growth. In 1950 there were 12 clubs which increased up to 357 by the end of the 1960's. Likewise for mountaineering, the number of clubs affiliated to the British Mountaineering Council (BMC) increased from 36 in 1950 up to 152 by 1968 (Parker and Meldrum, 1973, p. 95).

Passionate climbers from the post-war era such as John Cunningham were able to combine their love of mountaineering with instructional work. For some protagonists this was not an easy marriage. The increase in participation and a drift from the world of

education into the world of mountaineering created tension. The quote from Ken Wilson at a British Mountaineering Council (BMC) conference on the role of certification for mountain leaders typifies an anarchistic attitude. 'Our sport is, always has been, and should always remain essentially irresponsible' (in Ogilvie, 2013, p. 445). Wilson claimed that for educationalists climbing was a career as well as a game, so loyalties were divided over the place of professionalised qualifications. Whilst people, predominantly men had earned a living guiding mountaineering for many years, their profession was for the recreation of their clients rather than specific educational purposes.

Despite controversies within the mountaineering world, the number of people who became skilled and experienced in adventure disciplines began to grow, from which emerged a population of protagonists who were willing and motivated to combine their passion for climbing, canoeing or a combination of adventure activities with a means of earning a living by instructing. A former president of the Creagh Dhu mountaineering club, Chris Lyon suggested the Duke of Edinburgh was a prime motivator for the growth of character-building in Britain. Lyon is quoted as saying, 'Suddenly what had been the private province of a few zany hard cases now became the playground for thousands. Everybody wanted in on the act ... I seemed to spend a great deal of time during that period recommending the Creagh Dhu boys as instructors in the new outdoor centres of recreation' (Connor, 1999, p. 164).

Conclusion

One of the earliest drivers for using the outdoors in education stemmed from the medical profession; their concern was the physical health of the nation. Exposure to fresh air for

pupils was debated between the medical lobby and factions supporting exercise through military drill to enhance the nation's preparedness for war. For both factions their common cause was for pupils to exercise outside, but the premise for why and how outdoor practices were to be included in school activities was contested from the turn of last century. From this chapter four main factors can be identified in the mix of the development of outdoor education in Scotland.

Firstly military and medical establishments act as powerful forces in the structural fabric of UK education governance. The government ministries specific to health and defence sit outside of education portfolios but wielded considerable influence in the education of the nation. The use of the outdoors by school pupils thus had two ministries outside of education providing competing interpretations of how school policy should direct pupils to spend time outdoors.

Secondly is the influential role of passionate pioneers identified with the domains outlined, who often operated outside of government. Youth movements illustrated what practices were possible driven by individuals with a passion for working with young people. This chapter identified Alexander Smith and the Boys Brigade, Baden-Powell and the Scouts, Woodlake and the OWC, Hahn and OB, Butler and the FSC, each organisation being driven by individuals passionate for their chosen practices and philosophy.

The third element identified as a common theme across the development of outdoor education strands is the role of conferences and networks. To accelerate and promote policy initiatives each domain held conferences and events. For example the annual conference of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption at Manchester in 1912, the First International Congress on Open Air Schools in Paris 1922, the New

Educational Fellowship international conference in Cheltenham in 1936, the National Fitness Council conference in 1938 and later the Countryside in 1970 Conference held in 1963 and the OB conference in Harrogate in 1965. Conferences appear as a core component in the outdoor education policy mix to influence debate and direction.

The fourth factor is legislation which raises questions over the sequence of policy progression. Legislation such as the Education (Scotland) Act 1936, the Physical Recreation and Training Act 1937, The Camp Act 1939, the Education (Scotland) Act 1945 and the Countryside (Scotland) Act 1967 influenced the allocation of funds and policy direction, but may not necessarily be the drivers of policy. In other words legislation is the government response to policy ambition which stems from a pluralist process reliant on a civic society to contest, lobby and pioneer action. Once achieved the legislation becomes part of the influential mix. For example, Cook (2000) asserts that, in the 1950s, the provisions of the 1944 Education Act were 'increasingly used to promote the type of outdoor education that valued qualities associated with character training for leadership'. This type of educational training was in place many years before the 1944 Education Act.

Although outdoor education can be traced to movements and institutions discussed such as camps, Scouting, Outward Bound or field studies, fundamentally these are different activities for young people which happen to be engaged in activities outside. Scouting is generically understood as an international youth movement which conjures images of uniforms and patrols of young Scouts; likewise Outward Bound may conjure images of groups undertaking challenging outdoor pursuits whereas field studies is synonymous with people in an outdoor environment such as fields or woodland undertaking some form of observation study or data recording. Despite different activities two easily identifiable

themes which span the policy domains are a focus on being outside and a shared value for a practical and progressive education. In terms of policy however, confusion arises when a problem is ill-defined or obscure; it is difficult to lobby and argue support for a subject matter which is not clearly understood or established. Chapter 10 explores how there were moves to pull these domain strands together to shape a coherent understanding of outdoor education in Scotland. Prior to this discussion, it is appropriate for the next chapter, Chapter 9, to examine methodological procedures.

Chapter 9: Methodology Part II

Introduction

The previous chapters set the context for the second part of the thesis which examines policy through the context of 'production of text' specific to outdoor education. As the conclusion to the previous chapter discussed, developments in outdoor education prior to the 1960s were predominately manifest within domain strands; although some early examples are evident such as the opening of Glenmore Lodge.

Chapter 6 identified how changes in Scottish education can take significant periods of time - measured in decades. Positions can shift between the forces that act to shape educational ideology, *vis-a-vis* politicians, the SED, local authorities, education bodies and parental pressure. Discussion in Chapter 6 suggested a cultural tide pushing against a practical or vocational education in favour of an academic exam-orientated curriculum; such forces acted as a backdrop for educators who promoted the use of outdoors to be labelled as radical educators.

The preceding Chapters 7 and 8 began to explore the development of outdoor education through progressive schools philosophy and domain strands. The present chapter builds on the first methodology Chapter 5 to examine the methods for collecting primary data to fulfil the aims of the thesis, to explore the development of outdoor education in Scotland and to better understand the features of related policy formation.

A variety of methods were considered to achieve these aims. Analysis of the formation of policy through the production of text required greater analysis than a deconstruction or

interpretation of the text per se. To move forward the opinions and insights of the actors involved in the process were explored through interviews. A quantitative approach would not gain the richness of data required for exploring associations and the experiences of people involved in the policy process. A case study of a local authority was a possible approach to analysis, but the national picture of the development of outdoor education is greater than a particular local authority. The local authorities are charged with and have a strong influence and role in the implementation of educational policies, but the focus of this thesis is of the macro view of policy formation in outdoor education.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section details the procedures for the interviews: sampling, questions and ethics. The second section considers the data analysis and coding issues. The final section discusses the modelling process and issues of trustworthiness.

The interview sample

The research used purposive sampling (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000) which is 'deliberatively and unashamedly selective and biased' (p. 104) to select interview candidates. Educational policy literature suggested levels of representation in 'layers' or 'areas' within the policy making process. Three examples are apparent. Firstly, Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992) identified three contexts: influence, policy text production, and contexts of practice. Secondly, Bianchi and Kossoudji (2001) refer to a 'symbiotic triangle' formed of an interest group, a specialised administrative agency, and a parliamentary committee. Thirdly, the agenda-setting model of Kingdon (1995) distinguishes between visible and hidden clusters: the visible being the leaders and politicians, the invisible being the

officials and academics. Figure 6 uses these theories as a guide to construct a sampling framework for policy making in outdoor education. During this process it became apparent that structured interviews or a questionnaire approach to canvas opinions would not provide the depth of information required in a complicated and networked landscaped. Further, I hoped my previous work experience in a policy environment would allow conversations with interviewees that could provide a richness of data that a questionnaire or structured interviews could not achieve. Formulation of the questions are detailed in the next section.

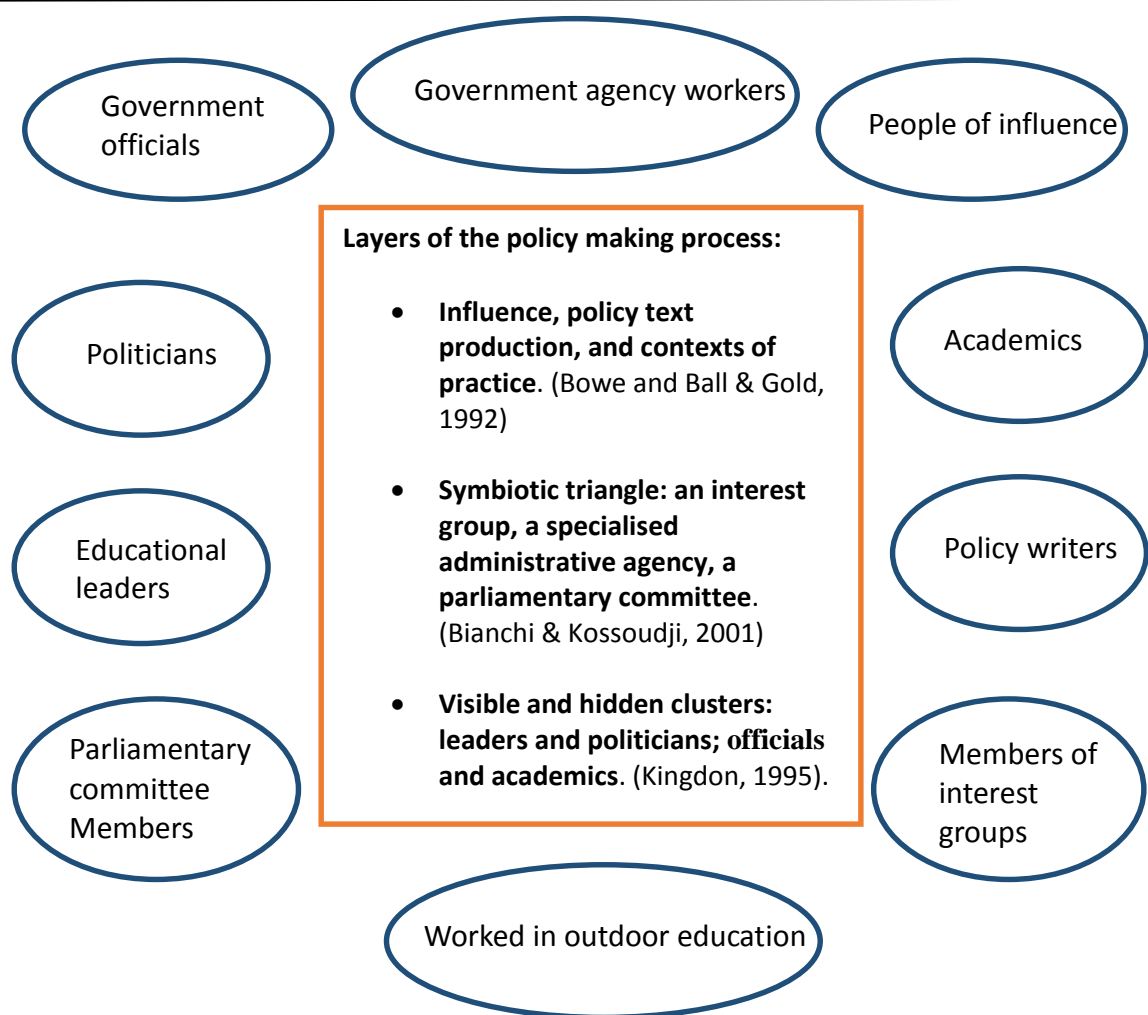


Figure 6: A sampling structure for policy making in outdoor education.

There were three approaches taken to identify candidates for the interview sample:

1. Interviewees were selected and approached on the basis of who I knew in the educational policy field who may agree to an interview and met the criteria of the interview sample.

2. A 'snowball effect' was used to contact further interviewees by asking the following question during an interview: 'Can you think of other people that it would be useful for me to speak with on this subject?' Each interviewee was thus asked about other potential interviewees as a way of supplementing choice (Hoolihan & Green, 2006, p. 74).

3. To get broad political representation I wrote to the Scottish education spokespeople for the SNP, Labour, Liberal Democrats, and the Conservatives. All political parties, with the exception of the SNP replied, some agreed to an interview, some kindly provided a written response to questions. The sample criteria additionally required candidates to have current or previous exposure, or affiliation to matters involving outdoor education or learning.

The sample accounted for hierarchical layers of governance, i.e. at a national level (either within government or a government agency), at a local authority level and at a school/cluster level to account for the various actors within the policy process. The location of the interviews gives an indication of this diversity: interviews were conducted in the buildings of the Scottish Parliament, Offices of Non-Governmental Organisations, and Local Authority department of education offices, in university campuses and in schools.

The first round consisted of ten interviews conducted between March 2011 and June 2011. Each interview lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and was recorded. To obtain a measure of experience the interview schedule had an initial 'warming up' question asking for a brief professional background. Some interviewees used dates and periods of time which were generally in years. To give the reader a guide, an approximation would give the median age of the interviewees in their early fifties, some younger, some older. A crude estimate from the answers to the first question means the data combines over 300 years of experience in Scottish education and policy. Additionally every interviewee had experience in their respective field pre- and post-devolution with the majority (over 80%) of candidates able to reflect on over 25 years of professional experience in their field.

In a study by Baker and Edwards (2012) which asks experienced researchers how many qualitative interviews are enough, the conclusion was 'it depends' (p. 42). The variables include the resources available, the purpose of the research and the focus and analysis of the objectives. Additionally Baker and Edwards cite the adage 'that you keep asking as long as you are getting different answers' (p. 4). Analysis of the first study provided sufficient data to identify and develop themes. Although there was evidence of conflict, there was little evidence of disconfirming views. The outdoor learning policy community in Scotland is comparatively small but the lack of evidence for disconfirming views raises questions over the sample size. A corollary to the above adage is to keep asking until you have different answers but have additionally developed 'theoretical saturation' of the data where no further categories can be found (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 65). Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006, p. 60) suggest the saturation concept has become the 'gold standard' for determining purposeful sample sizes and ask how it is possible to estimate

when the concept is achieved? To assist others in this dilemma they analysed the coding development during the analysis of 60 interviews which showed their data saturation was achieved in the first 12 interviews, which is a larger sample size than the first study for this project (N=9).

In the first round of interviews, four additional policy actors were twice referenced as people it would be useful to speak with. A second study was designed to complete a snowball sampling procedure and establish greater confidence in reaching theoretical saturation. The second round consisted of three interviews which were undertaken between June 2013 and Nov 2013.

Sampling for the second round of interviews followed the procedure outlined above; firstly, using a snowballing technique where potential interview candidates were named in the first study as people it would be useful to speak with, and secondly by purposeful sampling following the framework shown in Figure 6. Initial data analysis suggested diverging opinions within an interest group represented in the study, a consequence of which was a diminishing lobbying role. Literature highlights lobbying as an important component in policy formation (Kingdon, 1995, p. 49; Sabatier, 1986, p. 25). On this basis the interest group sample was underrepresented because of a diminished or contested lobbying role. To explore this element more fully, the sample selection in the second round of interviews sought a candidate involved in lobbying at different levels, i.e. through interest groups, NGOs, and individual MPs as well as the UK and Scottish Governments. Each candidate for the second interview round was identified by interviewees in the first study.

Interview questions

The initial pilot interviews followed a semi-structured format devised around the OLSAG group; the intention was to follow a simple format that identified three stages: agenda setting (pre-OLSAG), policy formation (during OLSAG) and policy implementation (post-OLSAG). After the first two interviews the format was revised; it became clear that asking similar questions to each interviewee was unlikely to elicit the depth of knowledge or information unique to individual interviewees. For example an MSP is better placed to talk about the happenings of Parliament and the influence of parliamentary committees than an expert in outdoor education; likewise an MSP is less likely to understand the nuances of the outdoor education policy.

For the latter, a discrete set of questions was constructed for each interview predetermined in a semi-structured format with one or two follow-up questions or prompts (Appendix 1). Interview questions were discrete and purposeful for each interviewee; they were informed and built upon by each previous interview. For example, the role and influence of budget setting was a prominent theme in the second interview which prompted questions for the third interview. There were elements of a snowball effect to the interview questions. This process was supported by initial early listening to the recorded transcripts during which time memos were made. The memos were recorded as 'notes' limited to a few words to try and elicit succinct meaning in a short time. Accordingly the interview questions shaped the research questions in the iterative process of research design.

Ethics

Throughout the project I was cognisant of, and adhered to, the British Educational Research Association (BERA) ethical guidelines. Additionally, an application for research approval was made to the University of Edinburgh, Moray House School of Education Ethics Committee. Prior to each interview, consent forms were completed. Some interviewees were content to be named, others wanted any specific references to their name checked with them prior to being included, and some interviewees wanted to remain anonymous. To simplify the procedure and overcome any potential issues, the names and individual positions of all interviewees have been withheld and interviews referenced by pseudonyms. A profile of interviewees is given in Appendix 2.

I questioned my position as an entirely independent researcher, where I could present myself with a more sceptical and critical set of assumptions. I previously worked with some interviewees on a day-to-day basis and wanted to both retain their trust (thus acting in an ethical manner) yet also elicit relevant information. For example, after interviews were completed and once the recorder was switched off, some interviewees were happier to share further details of our conversations 'off the record'. On reflection, instances where this occurred may have influenced the direction of my thinking and data analysis, although I didn't record notes or use direct references to information discussed in confidence.

The influence of researchers is referred to by Hammersley (2008, p. 45) as 'reactivity'. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007, p. 16) note, eliminating the actual influence of the researcher is impossible. For Maxwell (2013, p. 109) the goal in a qualitative inquiry is to

understand and use this influence productively rather than eliminate such influence. During the data collection process I used previous experience and any working knowledge proactively whilst trying to remain aware of possible influences.

Data analysis and coding

Initially I listened to each recording soon after the interview. i.e. within one or two days, and made notes which were later transferred to a QSR Nvivo 9 qualitative software package as analytic memos. I coded sections of the interview by highlighting the time brackets and placing sections under particular nodes. Data analysis began almost immediately after the data collection began.

Theory used in the early stages of data analysis was the multiple streams theory proposed by Kingdon (1995). I selected Kingdon's multiple streams framework from a hypothesis that policy in outdoor education is subject to the ebb and flow of the 'organised anarchy' (Cohen, et al. 1972) on which the multiple streams model is based. Other elements of the multiple streams model such as 'policy entrepreneurs' and 'windows of opportunity' chimed with numerous informal discussions I had with various actors in the policy arena. Although the multiple streams theory was valuable from which to commence theorising I was conscious of 'shoehorning' data into the streams identified by Kingdon.

The problem of coding into the categories of a multiple streams framework was twofold: Firstly I coded chunks of text to try and fit a category that became arbitrary to my own understanding. In other words I realised I was 'problem searching' in an attempt to understand policy for learning outdoors through the lens of the multiple streams

framework. Secondly, there were issues of philosophical incongruence in using an existing framework. The ensuing concern was that the framework was too deductive in nature, and too rigid for a pragmatic philosophy, i.e. the process of data analysis would be shaped by *a priori* knowledge which creates a danger of relying too heavily on established views rather than the perspectives of the interviewees (Maxwell 2013, p. 46). This stage in the data analysis was the catalyst to conceptualising the goals of the research by formulating how a 'problem' was conceived.

Saldana (2009, p. 13) helped clarify the issue of conceptualising a problem. He discussed the issue that researchers should 'code for themes' but advised that this '... is misleading advice because it muddies the water. A theme is an outcome of coding, categorization, and analytic reflection, not something that is, in itself, coded'. Effectively then, this first stage of data analysis was a pilot process which also served as an induction in the use of NVIVO. I found it awkward to work solely with chunks of text where I could not see the whole context that made referencing text in multiple nodes less easy.

To overcome these issues, I transcribed each entire interview which required a close listening to the transcripts. During this process, memos were made as ideas developed whilst transcribing. Once transcribed, the interviews were listened to once more whilst checking the text. Simultaneously I coded chunks of text of usually no more than two sentences. As this process progressed the size of the text chunks became more varied. After transcribing and listening to four interviews there were approximately 50 nodes - some codes were paragraphs of 140 words, some were discrete sentences.

As an illustration, the following texts were coded under health and safety. In text one there is no direct reference to health and safety made. Text two makes reference to a local authority position in relation to health and safety policy which is directly referenced.

Text 1: 'there was a tragic accident in the early '70s up in the Cairngorms and as a result of that six children and teacher got killed, Lothian region then the local authority said that they would appoint teachers of outdoor education in every high school '

Text 2:'.I moved from the high school post to the local authority post and that involved health and safety policy and vetting school trips'

Text 1 is simultaneously coded as a policy driver (arising from tragedy) and text 2 is additionally coded as a policy outcome (vetting school trips), each reference is a categorised under health and safety, yet each has different emphasis, or is separately located within the concept of policy process.

Sanger (1994) suggests that qualitative data analysis can be seen as a spectrum. At one end is a structured framework of comprehensive codes where data are divided into categories and subcategories from which fresh interpretations can be made; at the other end is an approach closer to research journalism where an overall correlation is sought between the data and the story to be told. He reflects on a debate at a BERA conference and writes: 'What was intimated was that the difference between hack research and research which might make a difference to its field of understanding ... often resulted from the imagination of the researcher - not from the painstaking recording of indisputable facts but from the creative mind' (p. 176).

In the second cycle of data analysis the spectrum referred to by Sanger became more pertinent. For example, how is the trustworthiness of the research influenced by the depth of textual analysis, or in the interpretation shown in the example above? An element that Sanger does not fully address is the role experience plays in the use of imagination in qualitative analysis. In other words, what is the difference between the use of imagination in the treatment of data, and basing coding decisions on previous experience and knowledge? It is difficult to qualify the interplay between a researcher's previous knowledge, or experience of a research situation, and the creative and imaginative properties referred to by Sanger. The discussion illustrates the need for the researcher to remain cognisant of the research process and follow procedures yet, and with the same breath, draw on previous experience and knowledge without conflating researcher bias and coding procedures. The salient issue is that whilst it is possible to categorise features into their component categories, to delve into constituent parts in too great a detail may cause oversights of the fundamental features in question.

Accusations of excessively delving into constituent parts are made of some postmodern positions (see Oakley, 2006). As Sanger (1994) notes: 'the greater the use of the imagination, it is contended, the less rigorous and valid the interpretation; the greater the use of strict patterning, according to well-developed and explicit criteria, the more valid the end finding. The opposing view is that highly interpretative accounts may be seen to be closer to the spirit of the times and the prevalent understandings under consideration.'

Modelling

In a discussion of the role of theories and models in understanding policy formation and implementation Dowding (2001) writes 'without the descriptive history we often have nothing with which to construct our models; but the description itself, no matter how detailed and well researched, cannot substitute for the modelling process' (p. 91). There are two levels of modelling in the present study.

The first level of modelling developed key themes from the data to theorise influences in outdoor education policy. For example references to leader training and teacher qualifications in outdoor education developed as a theme which was then more fully explored through literature. The second level of modelling combined data analysis and other sources of information represented in Figure 7. The second level of modelling is pertinent to Chapters 12, 13 and 14, primarily due to access to data available for analysis in the form of grey literature post devolution. The modelling follows the theme of the garbage can of organisational choice (Cohen et al., 1972) and illustrates how each of the research components become part of the *melée* in the mix of policy analysis in the development of outdoor education. This second level integrates an historical context to interpret developments in outdoor education post devolution. Although the modelling process can be conceptualised as two stages, in practice there is movement back and forth between these stages, in a similar construct to the research design.

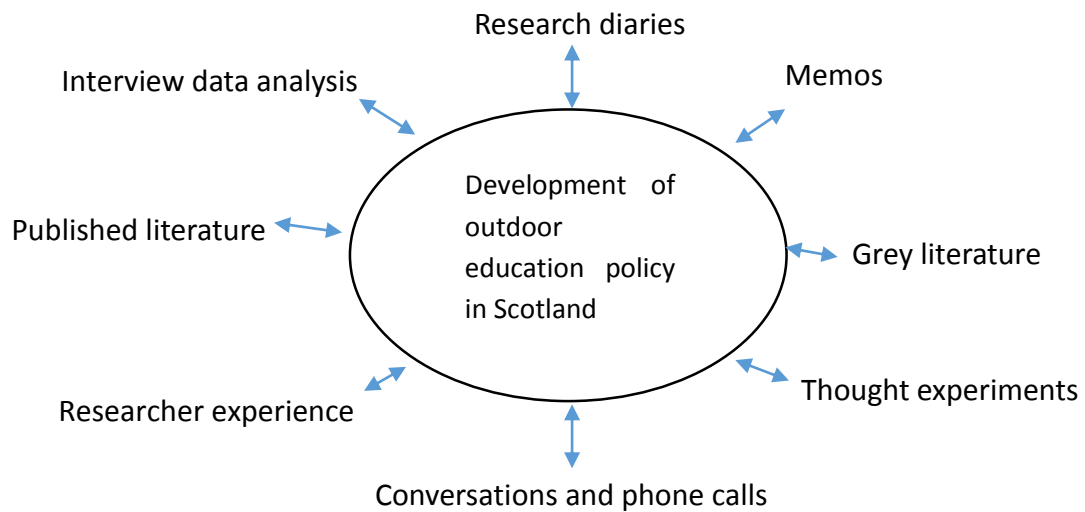


Figure 7. Components of the modelling process

The second stage of modelling thus serves to move between the macro and the micro; between the macro of the previous chapters, in terms of structural or historic influences, and the micro of specific analysis of events and text production, in an attempt to relate together the macro- and micro-*ad hocery* and ‘look for the iterations embedded within the chaos’ (Ball, 1994a, p. 15).

Validity and Trustworthiness

In contrast to the language used in quantitative research designs is what Maxwell (1992, p. 281) calls a ‘realist conception’ of validity. This ‘realist conception’ stresses the relationship between a valid account and the things which the account represents, i.e. the relationship between the research and everyday reality. This relationship can be referred to as the trustworthiness of the research. He elaborates trustworthiness into a five type

typology which he sees relevant to qualitative research. Maxwell's typology can be reconstructed to demonstrate the relationship between the types of validity he identifies and stages in the research process. Trustworthiness is demonstrated by recognising weak points in the research process and identifying transition stages. Awareness of threats at transition stages allows the researcher to address or compensate appropriately at that particular stage. Figure 8 illustrates transition points. The various stages are not discrete and the researcher would necessarily work back and forth between outlined stages.

The crucial stage for descriptive validity occurs early in the research process, the evaluative criteria much later. It is the task of the interviewer to moderate the descriptive validity, the analyst to moderate the interpretative validity and so forth.

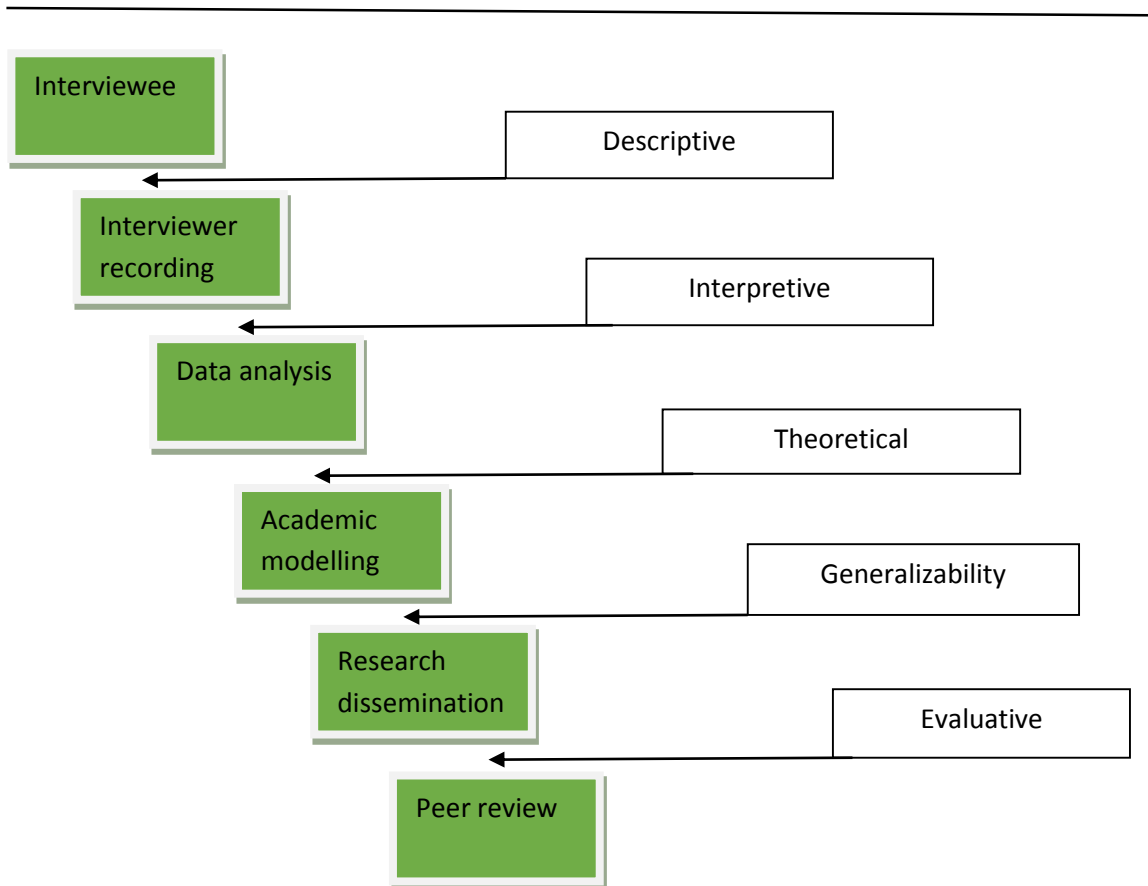


Figure 8. Typologies of Trustworthiness

(Adapted from Maxwell, 1992)

Descriptive trustworthiness has a physical property and is concerned with the recording of data and the authenticity of transcriptions. The research addressed issues of descriptive validity in the pilot stages previously discussed. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim by myself and checked during a second listening with corrections made. To capture the essence of my thoughts immediately after the interview (within an hour), I made 'twitter notes', i.e. short annotations that could be used to prompt thinking when I later came to analyse the interviews, or to build memos recorded in Nvivo. I later revisited descriptive trustworthiness to check written quotations in the thesis text.

Central to the premise of interpretive trustworthiness is for the research to understand situations via the data and not the researcher's perspectives and categories, i.e. from an emic rather than an etic perspective. In Maxwell's words 'participants maybe unaware of their own feelings or views, may recall these inaccurately, and may consciously or unconsciously distort or conceal their views'. Accounts of participants' meanings are not directly accessed but are constructed by the researcher. As previously discussed, interpreting the data necessitates a balancing act, between creativity, imagination, textual procedure and previous experience. To address interpretive trustworthiness and to strengthen procedure at this stage a process of member checking was undertaken. An interviewee read elements of my interpretation and analysis to check I had interpreted their words in accordance with their views. This process served two purposes. Firstly it provided member checking which could result in change and secondly it provided confirmation of chapter content and analysis. The outcome was problematic however and this is discussed in the concluding comments of Chapter 16.

Theoretical trustworthiness can be thought of as that which goes beyond the 'near experience' and the 'concrete description' and interpretation. In the context of this research the modelling process referred to earlier is the stage at which theoretical trustworthiness was a threat to the procedure. The iterative process of moving between the macro- and the micro- in an attempt to understand current situations in light of structural and historic influences allowed a framework within which to theorise. In other words analysis in the previous chapters of policy literature, Scottish education and outdoor education influences created guidance and boundaries within which the modelling process operated.

In generalisability trustworthiness Maxwell (1992) makes a distinction between that which is internal or external, i.e. that which can be generalised amongst the group or community who weren't observed but on whom the research was based and to other groups or communities. In qualitative research the generalisability process '... takes place in the development of a theory which not only makes sense of the particular persons or situations studied, but also shows how the same process, in different situations can lead to different results' (p. 293). Threats to internal generalisability were initially considered through interview sampling. A second round of interviews was conducted for the internal generalisability to be more robust. A potential weakness of the research is the external generalisability of reinterpreting conclusions into other contexts such as finance or music

When discussing evaluative validity Maxwell draws on Erickson's (1986) concept of 'critical validity' which frames evaluation as a category of understanding. More recently, Hammersley (2009) refers to plausibility. He states plausibility '... refers to the extent to which a new knowledge claim follows on from, or at least is not incompatible with, what

is currently taken to be sound knowledge' (p. 16). It necessitates an examination of any claim which goes against what is already known. He suggests 'there can be no algorithmic way of deciding whether a research finding is true or false, any more than there can be an algorithmic procedure for pursuing research' (p. 15). To paraphrase Hammersley, there can be no formula as research inherently involves judgement, even if guided by lists or standards or conventions based on what has been learnt previously. The intention is to be clear on the processes through which any truth claims are made in the development of outdoor education, and basing these in the context of historical development through what is already known.

Conclusion

This second methodology chapter illustrates the research process through a model of interactive design. The primary research method has been the analysis of two rounds of interviews conducted with a variety of policy actors involved in outdoor education or policy making from the 1970s to the time of the interviews. The process of analysis is illustrated in Figure 7 which showed the array of data used in the formation of the following chapters, for example research memos, grey literature (such as minutes of meetings, letters, and emails), and published literature and researcher experience.

This research has pursued an interpretive perspective (Feldman, 2005) with the aim of better understanding outdoor education as a policy field in Scotland. The aims of the project were formulated into goals then into research questions. The research questions were fundamental to the iterative process of design, but were not the driving force to the inquiry; as the inquiry evolved, the questions were reshaped. This iterative process

resulted in theorising across different periods of time. For example the writing of Chapter 6 on Scottish education policy making and Chapter 8 on strands in outdoor education was informed by the data analysis of interviews in the context of influences.

Chapter 10 now continues to build on Chapter 8 and examines how there were moves to integrate domain strands into a coherent subject of outdoor education. Chapters 11, 12 and 13 then turn towards the context of 'production of text' as a means of analysis and combine themes from the interviews with specific policies such as Circular 804, Outdoor Connections and CfEtOL.

Chapter 10: Outdoor education and curricula emergence

Introduction

Nicol (2002) labels the 1960s and '70s as the 'golden age' for outdoor education when the term itself became more widespread and there was significant growth in the number of outdoor centres and outdoor educational provision across Scotland. This chapter examines how this period heralded the start of a project which aimed at providing greater justification for outdoor education on academic grounds. In so doing the chapter considers how the various strands in outdoor education were interpreted and contested to attempt greater academic recognition and educational justification.

To frame the discussion the first part of the chapter considers theoretical concepts of curricula and subject development, in particular drawing from the work of Goodson (1983) and Layton (1972) who examined the development of subjects in the 1960s and '70s. Their work chimes with development illustrated by outdoor education in Scotland. For example, Goodson outlines properties of subject development which include a subject drawing on other content, contested lobbying over subject names, and the growth of subject specific higher education courses, each of which feature in the themes identified in the development of outdoor education in Scotland.

The second part of the chapter introduces text from interviews and explores four themes which emerged from the data analysis. The first component is the movement to merge academic content with outdoor pursuits to create a more holistic concept of outdoor

education, second is the status of outdoor pursuits within PE in Scotland, third is the training of outdoor leaders and fourthly is the attempt to increase the formality and recognition of training through a teaching qualification in outdoor education.

Curriculum structures and academic subjects

Goodson (1983, p. 10) draws on a classical study in the evolution of subjects conducted by Layton in 1972 who analysed the subject of science. Although different in content, there are similar properties to the evolution of outdoor education. The three stages of Layton's model are:

1. In the early stage, the subject finds a place on the timetable on a utilitarian and relevance basis. Learners are attracted to the subject. Teachers are enthusiastic but not usually specifically trained.
2. During the interim stage, a body of scholarly work emerges. Specific specialists training develops and the subject builds academic status and wider discipline in organising subject matter.
3. In the final stage the teachers of the subject have a professional body and specialist scholars lead on inquiry and the selection of subject matter. Students are attracted to study the subject and initiated into a tradition.

At the time of Layton's study in 1972 the body of knowledge in curriculum studies was comparatively small. The publication of an early course titled 'Curriculum: Content, Design and Development' by the Open University in 1971, alongside the growth of teacher

education at that time heralded the start of a movement in curriculum projects (Lawn & Barton, 2012, p. 15). Layton's model provides a useful analytic framework for examining how the outdoor education streams detailed in Chapter 8 merged, battled and contested policy territory to achieve academic recognition and space within mainstream education.

Goodson (1983, p. 27) identifies three major traditions in how a curriculum can be viewed: academic, utilitarian and pedagogic. He identifies these traditions as collectives labelled as 'subject communities', which are described as a 'shifting network of subgroups, segments or factions'. Arguments and discussion within these communities centre on the major academic, utilitarian or pedagogic educational traditions. Despite being over thirty years old, the relevance of these educational traditions can be identified in conjunction with more recent curriculum planning theory. Priestly and Humes (2010, p. 346) draw on three archetypal models of curriculum planning proposed by Kelly (1999). His models are:

1. Curriculum as content and education as transmission.
2. Curriculum as product and education as instrumental.
3. Curriculum as process and education as development

The content, product and process distinguishers identified by Kelly resonate in principle with the academic, utilitarian and pedagogic traditions identified by Goodson. Although the former are developed as models for curricular planning and the latter a means of viewing academic traditions, the distinction is not discrete.

In Kelly's first model the starting point for curricular planning is the selection of content, i.e. 'what' is to be taught. Priestly and Hume (2010) identify two categories for how this model is typified: philosophically and cultural. Philosophically, content should be selected

on merit, both intrinsically worthwhile knowledge and knowledge of traditional subject disciplines. Cultural content refers to that selected for political purposes, or through a socio-political battle for resources and subject recognition. Goodson's understanding of an academic educational tradition also emphasises the 'what' of content and centralises on subject matter. Discussion in Chapter 6 on the status of the prestigious School Leaving Certificate issued by the SED and the difficulties faced by the introduction of Supplementary and Advanced Division courses in post-primary education during the first half of the last century illustrated the higher status mode privileged to the academic tradition, validated through an examination system in Scottish education.

In Kelly's second model i.e. curriculum as product, learning objectives are the starting point for curricular planning which originates from behaviourist psychology and management science. In Scotland the epitome of this curricular model was seen in the introduction of SCOTVEC modules and Scottish Vocational Qualifications (SVQs) where clear learning objectives are pre-defined and assessed. These are more fully discussed in Chapter 11.

Kelly's third model of curricula as a process and Goodson's pedagogic tradition both draw on the work of Lawrence Stenhouse in 1967 and the Humanities Curriculum Project. As the titles suggest discussion and instruction were process-orientated, and outcomes were not predefined or known. This mode of curricula instruction chimes with the previously discussed progressive education movement whereby pupils were active agents in discovering how and what they learn. The process model of curricula does not preclude subject focus. Dewey was a leading proponent of the process model and warned against the false dichotomy between knowledge and process.

The following section explores specific elements of Scottish outdoor education in the context of Layton's subject development model and references an amalgam mix of Kelly and Goodson's curricular structures and academic traditions. The interim stage of Layton's model is discussed first to give the reader an understanding of the curricular debate prior to discussing the training of leaders.

Changing terminology and academic content

The interim stage of Layton's model considers how a burgeoning subject builds academic status and wider discipline. In outdoor education scholarly work began at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s. Up until that time there was little written on the educational value of activity in the outdoors (Ogilvie, 2013, p. 278). The difficulty outdoor education faced encompassed the academic status of outdoor pursuits and how subject matter could be organised within the emerging outdoor education discipline.

The concept of outdoor pursuits as a subset of PE stirred debate which questioned the subject terrain and boundaries of PE and conversely of outdoor pursuits. Is it possible that contests in the PE debate over the academic value of practical skills alienated OE towards subjects which demonstrated greater academic content? Whilst this cannot be specifically ascertained, evidence suggests these discussions caused tension within local authority outdoor education services. For example, Ben recalled issues of academic credibility and the acceptance of outdoor education in the curriculum as a topic of debate. He recounted that one member of staff in Lothian region was

... very very enthusiastic about the idea of developing OE as part of the curriculum ... to the exclusion of, and he was quite heavily criticised at the time for this, to the exclusion of the outdoor centre, more technical approach of many people, in fact many of the people he worked quite closely with actually in the local authority and also at the centre at the city and also at the centres the authority had further afield at Benmore and Lagganlia.

With reference to the archetypes outlined by Goodson it was the curricular approach and content which created debate. A shift in language illustrates how terminology changed alongside conception. Derek stated,

... outdoor education is much wider and it has changed, it used to be called outdoor pursuits and now it embraces other aspects of using the outdoors and so my current view on what outdoor education is is perhaps not a full one because I have focused on the physical activity side of it ...

There was a shift in discourse and language away from the PE attributes of outdoor pursuits towards a broader concept of outdoor education.

The term outdoor education developed more widespread use in Scotland during the 1970s. Ben recollects the term as a North American import and recalled an event when a colleague was present at a meeting where a definition of outdoor education was mooted in the 1960s:

... he was in the room when this was dreamt up and I know I've read an American book ... and that definition was almost word for word the same

as the one in the book, so he may have thought he was in the room when someone came up with this definition, but I am positive that that definition was taken from this American book on outdoor education,

An early use of the term in the UK was identified by Ogilvie (2013, p. 338) in a draft programme for a Mountain Leader Training course proposed by John Jackson at Plas-y-Brenin in 1962. The initial title for the course was Basic Training in Outdoor Education, indicating the relationship between the training of mountaineering leaders and the concept of outdoor education. Ben continued to distinguish between the North American concept of outdoor education and that in the UK.

... at the time we would have described what they [in America] were describing as environmental education or even in an earlier era they would have described it as nature studies, it was very much geared towards exploring plant life in ponds and this kind of thing'

One of the earliest references found to specifically address a definition of outdoor education originated in America in 1958. The text states outdoor education is education 'in, about and for the outdoors', (Donaldson, & Donaldson, 1958). They write 'outdoor education is simple. It is as simple as a leisurely walk around the school grounds by a kindergarten teacher and her children' (p. 17); they use an example of visiting a local pond to illustrate their interpretation. An earlier use of the term outdoor education can again be found in North America by Downey (1910, p. 412) when he discussed the growth of outdoor and forest schools in a synopsis of educational progress. Early uses of the term outdoor education in North America had different emphasis and a different connotation

to the picture painted of outdoor pursuits by Longland at the 'Countryside in 1970' conference, and distinct from the developing philosophy of PE.

The import of outdoor education did not evoke conceptual clarity for what was happening on the ground. As Ben observed:

... it wasn't geared to the sort of outdoor education that many people in outdoor education in the 60s and 70s saw as being outdoor education that was a physically orientated activity that people were involved in rather than what might be called academic orientation ...

The academic orientation indicates the contested debate between subject communities to interpret curricula between academic, utilitarian or pedagogic educational traditions outlined by Goodson. The use of the new terminology of outdoor education can be interpreted as a subtle shift in curriculum approach towards a content based model identified by Kelly (1999). The emergence of outdoor education, which occurred around the late sixties and early seventies, attempted to combine the policy domain strands of field studies and the emerging subject of environmental education with outdoor pursuits, particularly as both activities were promoted by education authorities through residential experiences such as those at Benmore Outdoor and Adventure Centre cited previously. Terry suggested this merger of domain strands coincided with the battle that outdoor centres began to face in times of financial difficulty:

... it seems to me that this struggle for survival prevented a unified philosophy developing. It meant that development of the activities didn't take place in the way that it should have done to change what they were

doing to fit into the modern world and in that case I would have thought this merger with academic work with the fieldwork, as it would have been called then, was been a pretty obvious one but a lot of centres were resistant to that to the extent there still tends to be outdoor education and field study centres.

Discussion within outdoor education subject communities would not have been immune to broader structural developments in education policy. According to Hoolihan and Green (2006,) from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s debates in education policy were dominated by issues of the secondary school system structure and of reorganisation of the education system. As a result, 'relatively little attention was paid to questions of curriculum at either the school or subject levels' (Hoolihan & Green, 2006 p. 74). (Similar to the premise argued in Chapter 6 on the impact of Circular 44.)

The drive to incorporate environmental studies became more compelling in Scotland in the early 1990s following the introduction of the 5-14 guidelines (outlined in Chapter 12). The motivation may have been structural budget issues as well as curricula factors. As Harold noted:

When 5-14 studies and environmental studies was the key area everyone then started to think how they could bring academic studies into the outdoors to justify their place and to get the money available.

The introduction of environmental education and field studies to outdoor pursuits created complications for a range of stakeholders. For example outdoor education was not the prerogative of school education and some centres managed by the community education

sector did not see the relevance of environmental education (Halls, 1997a, p. 38). The combination of the aesthetic and the physical skill development inherent in outdoor pursuits, mixed with academic content thus caused not only curricular confusion, but subject insecurity and problematic policy interpretation and implementation. It was difficult to discern a common conceptual premise from interview data. Terry summarises this conundrum:

... my perception is that if there is a unity of purpose behind OE it is a very recent one as I didnt see it when I was working in the sector - because we're doing this because it was physical education, because it was social education, because it was character building, because it was all sort of things and nobody seemed to agree...

Joe reflected on the confusion in the following way:

... I started to develop ideas at that time that we were all things to all people and we got wrapped up in what we could do ... we could rattle it off, the benefits for all of society and I think looking back... is one of confusion. At the end of the day we had so much to say about so many things that the message was never at a clear concise kind of message and I think we got wrapped up in what we could do.'

The above sentiments resonate with the loss of policy focus and lack of curricular focus reported by Halls (1997b, p. 17) in his analysis of the development of outdoor education in Strathcyde Region.

Outdoor education did not frequently appear on the timetable across Scotland in a manner anticipated by Layton's model. There were pockets of outdoor education practice which symbolised the beginnings of a subject of outdoor education, for example in Lothian region in the 1970s. The Lothian outdoor education service at one time required over 60 staff to deliver the programme which was delivered primarily at the weekends and evenings. As the programme grew there was greater competition for timetable time and resources from established disciplines. In 1976 however this service was dramatically reduced. As Chesmond and Yates (1979, p. 15) note, '... the Assistant Principal Teachers of outdoor education in schools may often be in the very difficult position of attempting to promote an area of work, which has no established discipline, in discipline-based and certificate-centred curricula'. For some, outdoor education became synonymous with residential experiences or at best was seen as a complementary extracurricular activity and at worst as an activity recreationally beneficial for more disruptive pupils. Higgins, Loynes and Crowther (1997) note, the consequences of not being part of the formal curriculum and not being timetabled made it even more peripheral.

The status of Physical Education (PE)

Moves within networks to organise and grow a credible base for outdoor education as a formalised entity had developed south of the Border. Eric Langmuir hosted a meeting for wardens of outdoor centres whilst at Whitehall Centre in 1963 which culminated in the founding of the Association of Wardens of Mountain Centres. (For a detailed description of UK developments at this time and the evolution of the Mountain Leadership Certificate see Ogilvie 2013 p. 316-346). The formal organisation of mountain training was entwined

with training for outdoor leaders in education; training became organised through the growth of National Governing Bodies (NGB's) and their links with the CCPR. Ogilvie writes that in 1971

LEAs now tended to look to NGBs for what constituted a recognised qualification for hazardous activities and outdoor pursuits rather than to the training colleges which...had failed to convince LEAs that their qualified people came with this 'desired level of competence (p. 328).

This situation was subject to change as the Scottish PE colleges developed courses which specialised in outdoor activities; in turn this raised questions over the demarcation and boundaries in the relationship between outdoor pursuits and PE. Training courses contributed to a process of institutionalising outdoor education by reinforcing the subject content delivered to students. Trainees were inducted into the community of outdoor leaders although the training was primarily focused in outdoor pursuits. Fundamentally the colleges which hosted courses in outdoor pursuits were PE colleges. However, as NGB courses became more prominent the measure of competence in outdoor activities increasingly became the domain of NGBs; an issue which is prominent in more recent times as outdoor centres looked to NGB qualifications as a benchmark for competency and employment.

Thomson (2003, p. 48) summarises the changes in PE in the late sixties and seventies were a time when power and control in PE 'shifted from the relatively self-contained world of physical education to national agencies with a consequent loss of identity'. Outdoor pursuits was associated with PE through affiliation to PE colleges which ran outdoor pursuits modules. In the 1960s outdoor pursuits was connected to, or was an extension

of PE. Ogilvie (2013, p. 324) cites 24 college courses advertised in the 1963-64 PE yearbook which reference outdoor activities as part of their curricula. Parker and Meldrum (1973, p. 51) quote Sir Jack Longland at a conference titled the 'Countryside in 1970' saying there was 'an astonishing drift of the whole range of subjects which we call physical education towards outdoor pursuits, towards mountains and moors and rivers, lakes and the sea'.

In Scotland the identity of PE was being challenged by the CNA and the GTC; Thomson (2003) summarises this issue when he wrote: 'They were able to impose value judgements about academic work, teaching practice and practical performance which ran counter to the whole culture of physical education' (p. 48). In particular he notes the consequences in 1975 of specific PE Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) degree courses which changed the balance between academic and practical activities. Prior to the B.Ed. courses a greater focus on the role of teaching was evident. The B.Ed. degree generated questions over how intellectually enduring education degrees would be and as a result 'practical skills were traded off for academic respectability' (Thomson, 2003, p. 50). Kirk (2006, p. 5) cites the work of educational philosophers such as Richard Peters, and Paul Hirst in the late '60s and early '70s as influential in the debate between practical skills and academic content. They concluded that PE was not educationally worthwhile and did not merit a place in the curricula of a school. Indeed James Scotland who at the time was the Principal of Aberdeen College of Education, described PE teachers as second class citizens (Thomson 2003, p. 48). Such language rallied the debate on the content and subject boundaries of PE at a time when outdoor pursuits was becoming a more organised and an established community. The question as to what constituted PE and the relationship between

education, sport, outdoor pursuits and national governing bodies created a 'chronic lack of stability' from the 1950s onwards (Kirk, 2006, p. 5). Outdoor education surfaced as a concept struggling to be identified independently at a time when PE was similarly undergoing a contested period of curricula debate.

A key moment of this PE debate in Scotland is detailed by Kirk (2006, p. 12) in the contesting submissions made to the Munn Committee by stakeholders of PE in Scottish Education. The Munn committee stemmed from the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum of the SED in 1975 and reported in 1977. The report favoured a PE curriculum which 'could contribute to the development of skilful movement, to preparation for leisure, and to the health of all pupils' (p. 12). The findings repudiated a cognitive based approach to PE which advocated a greater understanding of physical movement. PE was found to be a 'non-cognitive' activity which could be supplemented through extracurricular activities.

It is conjecture to argue that a non-cognitive finding was a catalyst for outdoor pursuits to seek wider academic credibility elsewhere (through nature studies for example), or that outdoor pursuits became synonymous with extra-curricular activities, but wider academic credibility and curricular inclusion became an imperative for an emerging community of outdoor educators. For some practitioners, outdoor pursuits drifted away from the PE community and efforts to establish wider academic credibility for outdoor education were pursued in a sphere attuned to environmental concern through the emerging subject of environmental studies.

Training of outdoor leaders

The early advance in training for outdoor leaders signifies the beginning of the interim stage in the development of a subject whereby specific specialist training emerges. Evidence suggests that the education departments across the UK recognised the imperative for the training of outdoor leaders. In that post war period, the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) wanted to develop national training schemes and in 1943 formed the Outdoor Advisory Council (OAC). In November 1944 the Scottish Office of the CCPR was established, which later became the Scottish Council for Physical Recreation. In 1945 the demand for leader training for camping outdoors was demonstrated when 12 week-long camps which were organised and run by the CCPR, the Scouts and the Girl Guides which were attended by 288 people. The health agenda discussed in Chapter 7 is suggested by Ogilvie (2013) as the foundation for organised camping and a rationale for establishing the Camping Advisory Committee set up by the Ministry for Education in 1946. The drivers for developing training in these areas through the 1940s can be attributed to the increased use of outdoor pursuits and camping for young people, sometimes in schools, sometimes in youth movements. External events such as the Education (Scotland) Act of 1936 and the creation of the Scottish office of the CCPR provided an authoritative leadership structure from which further training blossomed.

The Scottish Education Department (SED) acknowledged the need for leader training following the suggestion of Lord Malcolm Douglas Hamilton, a mountaineer and the Air Training Corps commandant for Scotland who, as previously cited was instrumental in the establishment of Glenmore Lodge, the Scottish Centre for Outdoor Training. Douglas-Hamilton was an original trustee of the Outward Bound Trust, alongside Winthrop-young,

when the trust was established in 1946. Glenmore Lodge, was opened in 1948 after negotiations with the Forestry Commission who agreed a ten-year lease on the property near Aviemore in the Cairngorms. The facility was run by the CCPR but the funding and support came from the SED. According to Loader (1952 p. 14) the purpose of Glenmore Lodge was to, 'use the excellent natural surroundings offered by mountain, loch and forest, to experiment with forms of education which will assist the individual to discover his or her physical, mental and spiritual potentialities'. Murray (1954) portrayed the nature of early Glenmore Lodge courses in the Journal of the Geographical Association when he wrote

This course was an educational experiment designed to show that not far from the great centres of population, and so at minimum cost, could be had all the acknowledged benefits, in the education of body, mind and character, of exploration in distant lands (p. 120).

As the training for outdoor leaders developed more systematically, the Scottish teacher training institutions of Jordanhill College and Moray House College began to use Glenmore Lodge in 1950 for multi week outdoor programmes as part of their teacher training courses. In the 1960s, despite sporadic examples of training for outdoor leaders, Halls (1997b, p. 16) reported that 'many instructors developed their ideologies as the result of experience of more authoritarian regimes such as Outward Bound, military service and public schools' but had no training in community education objectives. The use of Glenmore Lodge by teacher training colleges during term was part funded by the National Committee for the Training of Teachers. Loader (1952) saw this as a 'great advance in the educational sphere' (p. 33).

More formal training of outdoor leaders in Scotland began to flourish in the early 1970s. Derek maintained a philosophy throughout his career borne from the connection of outdoor pursuits to physical activity and the reference to loyalty in the extract below illustrates the shift in outdoor education away from PE as a subject towards extracurricular activities:

I have come into this through a particular route and have remained loyal to my values ... I spent a bit of time in PE which was to create a passion for physical exercise ... so I then began to put more effort into the extra curricular programme, into outdoor activities as I felt that, as well as enthusiasm for a physical activity, it was an activity they could continue ...

In 1970 Liam Carver from Glenmore Lodge was appointed to the Dunfermline College of Physical Education (DCPE) and Eric Langmuir was appointed to Moray House College of Education also in 1970, and also from Glenmore Lodge. Despite early attempts to develop fulltime courses it was the tragic events of the 'Cairngorm Tragedy' in November 1971 when five school pupils and a teacher lost their lives in blizzard conditions, which gave added impetus for these courses (Crowther, Cheesmond & Higgins, 2000, p. 18). The tragic events in the Cairngorms in 1971 profoundly altered the shape of adventure activity provision in Scotland. According to Higgins and Nicol (2013) training staff became a priority and the specialist courses in Scotland at Moray House and Dunfermline Colleges offered in 1973 were amongst the first in the world; it is likely that these courses were well advanced in the planning stages and the tragic events in the Cairngorms expedited their inception.

Crowther et al. (2000, p. 19) record that at Dunfermline College adventurous activities were pursued for their own value as 'to an extent, staff shrank from the term 'outdoor education', then a fairly recent development in the field, seeing it as a somewhat pretentious way of investing outdoor work with respectability'. The focus of these early courses was outdoor adventurous activity and at Moray House too, the main focus of the courses was mountain leadership (Crowther et al. 2000, p. 19).

In summary, as the popularity of camping and outdoor pursuits increased, a number of external events not necessarily aimed at the training of outdoor leaders created a framework which helped protagonists of taking young people outdoors develop capacity for training other leaders and argue the necessity for such provision; for example, the creation of the Scottish office of the CCPR. Once practitioners furthered their experience at Glenmore Lodge they were able to take their leadership experience to formal teacher training institutions where outdoor pursuits entered the maze of academia. In doing so the place of outdoor pursuits within the education policy sphere became a subject for contestation as the second interim stage of Layton's model of subject development become apparent. Specific subject training began as a precursor towards an emerging body of knowledge specific to outdoor education. Subject affiliations and academic divisions created debate over where the subject of outdoor education should be housed.

Outdoor education teacher qualification

The third theme relevant to the subject development of outdoor education is the pursuit of a teacher qualification. In the third and final stage of subject development proposed by Layton the subject in question develops a professional body and specialist scholars lead

on inquiry and the selection of subject matter. The development of college courses in Scotland was discussed in the section examining the training of outdoor leaders earlier in this chapter. (For a detailed account of the history of outdoor education courses, see Crowther, Cheesmond, & Higgins (2000).) The above discussion showed how the growth of outdoor pursuits in education necessitated formalised training, however to achieve subject status for outdoor education in Layton's terms, wider academic credibility was necessary, indeed wider use of the term outdoor education. The following considers the issue of formal teacher status for outdoor educators through a recognised teaching qualification.

In 1963 the Robbins report on Higher Education was published which recommended a body be established to validate degrees offered by higher education colleges other than universities. The Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) as the resulting body was established in 1964. Crowther et al, (2000) identify the validation of the Outdoor Education Postgraduate Diploma course by the CNAA in 1990 and by Heriot Watt University in 1992 as an important milestone in achieving academic validity - 'Acceptance of the academic validity of a mix of theory, practical and professional work within the course has been instrumental in achieving respect internally and externally, and in raising awareness of outdoor education as a valid discipline for study' (p. 21). The original college courses of the early 1970s more strongly identified with outdoor pursuits and mountain leadership as discussed earlier in this chapter.

However outdoor education did not achieve full subject status to the extent of being recognised as a discrete and independent subject. Ben was involved in early attempts to

create a teacher qualification specific to outdoor education and recalls early meetings with the General Teaching Council of Scotland (GTCS):

... the stopper at that stage that prevented it from moving on beyond the discussion stage was the Scottish Education Department put its foot down, it didn't really fit in with the pattern of teacher training as I recall, so our view would have been that I think it wasn't a suitable subject area for somebody to go into as a first subject.'

Crowther, et al. (2000) concluded that the GTCS failed to recognise outdoor education teachers because the Scottish Office rejected proposals. Fundamentally this formal rejection of outdoor education as a subject came in February 1991 in a statement from the Scottish Office Education and Industry Department which stated that 'Outdoor Education is not so much a subject but rather an approach to education' (Loynes, Michie & Smith, 1997). Alan identified political reasons for rejection by the Scottish Office:

... in Scotland there had been a number of opportunities to get teachers qualification in outdoor education and each of these had failed because of political reasons.

Analysis of political reasons is more fully explored in Chapter 13 as the teacher qualification theme extends into the period post Scottish devolution, but it is evident that clearly defining a subject area was problematic. As previously referenced, Cheesmond and Yates (1979, p. 16) contemplated that in Lothian region competition for money and timetable space from more established traditions eroded the position of outdoor education.

Outdoor education then, suffered from conceptual confusion over the academic content of how it would be presented on a timetable as factions contested subject terrain. Specific training courses in higher education had developed in accord with Layton's model underpinned by a burgeoning scholarly body of work, but firmly establishing a place on a timetable began to allude outdoor education as a prerequisite for subject growth. The acceptance of outdoor education as a subject within the teaching profession was not fully recognised within the canon of mainstream Scottish education; attempts to formalise the status of outdoor education teachers by validating a Post Graduate Certificate in Education had not met with success.

Conclusion

The 1960s effectively heralded the beginning of outdoor education which sought to become established as a subject entity in mainstream Scottish education. Outdoor education as a term was an American import which impacted on the discourse of outdoor pursuits and of field studies. Debate on the nature of subjects close to outdoor education created insecurity: the status of PE was contested, whilst rural studies was redefined. Outdoor pursuits enthusiasts identified with the political growth of National Governing Body awards which looked not just for a measure of competence in particular activities, but for the ability to teach, lead and instruct outdoor activities. Higher education courses in Scotland required greater curricular recognition from the GTCS for outdoor education to be accepted as a valid pathway for teachers. The failure to mediate the different practices and customs of each faction confused the development of outdoor education as a subject.

There is evidence which points at attempts for outdoor education to be conceived with a subject based curriculum and a shift from a pedagogical curriculum identified with the philosophy of the progressive school movement. The result of these events was one of competition and uncertainty. Curricula interpretation was fundamentally confused and the factions struggled to mediate this difference manifest in diverging communities with polarised views. In other words the approach taken to outdoor education was contested between factions who saw the outdoors as what was deemed by one commentator as an outdoor gym, and those who sought to enhance traditional school subjects and connect pupils with their environment through, for example geography or biology.

The themes explored in this chapter illustrate elements outlined in the subject development model proposed by Layton. For outdoor education, the development of professional networks occurred in the earlier stages of subject development than Layton proposed, prior to any timetabled presence or scholarly work. For example formal networks such as the Outdoor Advisory Committee or the Association of Wardens of Mountain Centres. These and informal networks, such as staff and management board members of Glenmore Lodge provided a presence to argue early ruminations of outdoor education.

The following chapter suggests how much of the profession was forced to contend with financial survival and health and safety concern. Professional debate became dominated by health and safety management and the financial survival of outdoor centres at the expense of curricular discourse.

Chapter 11: The shaping of policy for outdoor education

Introduction

This chapter primarily builds on components identified in the previous chapter on the development of outdoor education as a subject and details events which occurred predominantly from the 1970s through to the late 1980s. The chapter is themed into two parts. The first part discusses events which can be construed as internal events. Internal events are instigated through forces within the influence of actors associated to the emerging subject of outdoor education. An example used in the previous chapter is a conference organised by the CCPR and the Ministry of Education in 1962 at Plas-y-Brenin which brought together a network of likeminded professionals working in outdoor pursuits. There are three sections: an emerging policy network, Circular 804 and the development of outdoor education advisors. The second part of the chapter discusses events identified as external to outdoor education but influential in the shape of outdoor education during this period. There are three sections: Government reports, Raising of the School Leaving Age (ROSLA) and the Scottish Vocational and Technical Education Certificate (SCOTVEC). External events have consequences for stakeholders within range of the subject matter of outdoor education but there is no immediate control or agency over a particular event. For example legislation which paved the way for the raising of the school leaving age was identified as having an impact on outdoor education.

In the first section the agency of individuals in positions within the education hierarchy is discussed. The connection between policy actors in education during the 1960s and 1970s and mountaineering activity is striking. The section sketches examples of these connections to suggest a network which assisted the outdoor education cause during economically and politically challenging times. Financial implications combined with a widespread concern for the safety of school pupils on outdoor activities post the 1971 Cairngorm disaster were dominant policy debates.

An emerging policy network

It is useful to consider events in the context of a network of people, variously interpreted in Chapter 2 as policy networks (Marsh & Rhodes 1992) advocacy coalitions (Sabatier, 1988) or by Kingdon (1995) who identified policy entrepreneurs as people who were able to fuse policy streams of people, politics and policy together to create change. What is striking about a network during this period is the relationship between policy actors within the Scottish mainstream educational structure who supported outdoor education, and a theme of mountaineering. The following details people involved in outdoor pursuits at this time to illustrate the interconnectedness of the actors involved, the positions they held and their mountaineering passion. The influence of events in England combined with the aforementioned factors contributed to the development of outdoor education in Scotland as innovations and policy actors moved north of the border.

The network extended across a spectrum of positions within the education hierarchy. Stewart Mackintosh was the Director of Education for Glasgow until 1962. Evidence suggests Mackintosh was convinced of the value of outdoor pursuits. For example, after

an early visit to Glenmore Lodge in 1953 Mackintosh returned to Glasgow and helped establish the Glasgow Glenmore Club (in the same vein to the Glenmore Club that existed in Edinburgh). His education department provided facilities and equipment to support the club (Perfect, 2004). He had also met Kurt Hahn in the early days of Gordonstoun School. Mackintosh later became Chair of the Glenmore Lodge Committee whilst Director of Education for Glasgow. The courses for secondary pupils at Glenmore Lodge are outlined by Murray (1954, p. 121) as an extension of a scheme sponsored by the SED and the local education authorities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Lanarkshire. It is reasonable conjecture that Mackintosh knew the Director of Education for Edinburgh, George Reith.

Reith was likely familiar with progress at Glenmore Lodge as he was the Chair of the Scottish Council for Physical Recreation which had broken away from the CCPR in 1953. The concept of local authority outdoor centres in Scotland may well have been encouraged by Reith's deputy Director of Education, John Cook. Cook was a member, and often the Chairman, of the Scottish Mountain Leader Training Board (SMLTB) and had previously held a post in Yorkshire, in the North Riding as an education officer. At this time Jim Hogan was the deputy Director of Education in the North Riding. Hogan had been involved in establishing the first Outward Bound Schools and the County Badge Scheme with Kurt Hahn. (For a detailed account of Hogan's contribution to outdoor education see Cook, 2000 p. 149-153). Prior to his position in the West Riding, Cook was an Education Officer in Derbyshire at the time Jack Longland was the Director of Education. Longland was a mountaineer of great repute and the driving force behind the Whitehall Centre for Open Country Pursuits which opened in 1950 as the first local authority funded outdoor centre in the UK. Longland also became the Chairman of the Council for Environmental

Education (Parker and Meldrum, 1973, p.39). The Principal of Whitehall between 1959 and 1963 was Eric Langmuir, who later became the head of Glenmore Lodge in 1964 before moving into higher education to work at the Moray House School of Education. (Crowther, Cheesmond & Higgins, 2000). Kim Meldrum had also worked at Whitehall prior to joining Langmuir at Moray House (Interview Ben). Cook also appointed Terry Parker as an early Outdoor Education advisor for the Edinburgh Education Committee.

The Directors of Education in Glasgow and Edinburgh local authorities during this period thus showed significant support for the development of outdoor pursuits and held committee positions which contributed to the shaping of Glenmore Lodge. The deputy Director of Education for Glasgow was also the Chair of the Scottish Mountain Leader Training Board. During this period of structural growth for outdoor pursuits, there appears a vibrant network of individuals in senior positions in Scottish education with a personal passion and connection to mountaineering. The advent of local authority centres had occurred in England and the personnel involved in establishing outdoor centres there had relocated to work in Scotland.

In the Glasgow Herald (25th November, 1965) Reith stated the demand for courses at centres such as Outward Bound and Glenmore Lodge exceeded the number of places available and he announced the proposal for the Benmore Expedition and Adventure centre. The centre was for pupils from the age of 14, and for youth groups as well as teachers and leaders. The training was to cover adventurous activities and additionally have an 'emphasis on botany, forestry, and field studies through a programme of countryside exploration' (p. 11). The ideological influence of Outward Bound is evident in what became the first local authority centre in Scotland. As discussed in Chapter 8, the

appointed first Principal, Ralph Blain previously worked with Outward Bound, in the UK and in Australia.

The network was not restricted to senior positions within local authorities. James identified Murray Scott as an influential person in Scottish outdoor education and a key figure in this network. Scott was head of Glenmore Lodge between 1955 and 1961 after which time he joined the HMI in the informal Further Education (FE) section of the SED where he had a role inspecting local education outdoor centres. He retired in 1982 (Times Educational Supplement, November 2, 2012). An inspector with a passion for outdoor education and experience of running an outdoor centre would have been a great ally for teachers and educational leaders enthusiastic for taking their pupils outdoors.

There is thus a link between the pursuit of mountaineering in Scotland and the support shown for outdoor education residential provision. During the 1950s and 1960s the network of individuals, predominately men, who shared a passion for mountaineering held positions in education which facilitated the creation of outdoor education centres such as Glenmore Lodge and Benmore Expedition and Adventure Centre. The following quote from Derek illustrates the power and influence a Director of Education with a passion for outdoor adventurous activities (in this example mountaineering) can have.

... I had a really good Director of Education a guy called Ian Collie, who was involved in the MC of S [Mountaineering Club of Scotland]- he was Chair of the Board he was also Chair of Scottish Mountain Safety Forum... he was keen on outdoor activities and came up with another idea which was that we would have an outdoor education personal skills programme and that

policy, which after we run a pilot, was that every pupil would have a programme of skiing, canoeing, hillwalking and orienteering ...

The focus of activities was predominately outdoor pursuits, although courses in environmental awareness formed part of the curriculum in these early educational ventures.

The above discussion suggests a network of mountaineers in the structure of the educational hierarchy in Scotland who sat on sporting committees and spanned education, recreation and sport policy. Individuals held roles as Directors of Education, HM Inspectors, lecturers in Further and Higher Education and Heads of Centre positions. This network approach is more fully developed and theorised as a 'policy corridor' in Chapter 15. There was a backdrop of wider support facilitated by a number of key reports detailed later in this chapter. However the impact of this activity in outdoor education became manifest in text in a local authority circular specific to Scottish outdoor education.

Circular 804

Circular 804, issued in July 1971, just four months before the Cairngorm Tragedy was one of the first official documents in Scotland from mainstream education policy that recognised outdoor education *per se*, distinct from camping, or environmental education, field studies or voluntary bodies. It paved the way for a number of changes and identified the growing demand for learning outdoors. The circular, which was based on a survey of outdoor education provision made by the HMI, identifies a three-stage programme of outdoor education which required three types of outdoor centres. These were:

1. A primary introductory stage where experiences can be gained in the immediate environs of the school or at local day centres
2. In the middle years of secondary school where pupils can gain 'a real experience of community living in a setting where the connections between the curriculum, recreative activities and relations with other people combine naturally' (p. 2). This requires a centre of about 60-80 beds where facilities would cater for the curricular, social and recreational aspects of outdoor education.
3. In the upper years pupils would follow studies with a greater specialism in the environment or in leisure pursuits. Activities maybe 'academic, aesthetic or physical' (p.2) and centres designed, equipped and staffed to cater for these specialisms. The circular suggests such centres already exist on a national basis, presumably referencing Glenmore Lodge and the national water sports centre at Inverclyde.

Interviewees were asked if they were aware of any background to Circular 804, which carries uncannily similar messages to those discussed in later chapters on the development of CfEtOL. I uncovered no further information as to the background to the document, signed by I. M. Robertson; the following is surmised from rudimentary textual analysis. The depth of content analysis varies in levels of interpretation (Wilson, 1993); the following uses a simple word count analysis with the assumption that the most frequently occurring words reflect the concern of a document. There is no coding and the words are taken out of context.

Circular 804 cites the demand from schools as the motivation for the SED to clarify its position and the direction it saw outdoor education taking. The opening paragraph states:

'In recent years there has been an increasing recognition of the importance of outdoor pursuits and curricular field studies in education accompanied by a consequent increase in the demand for centres with the facilities required' (SED, 1971, p. 1). The circular carries an emphasis on progressive experiences and benefits of residential experiences in the social aspects of a pupil's education as well as how 'subjects could make their distinctive contributions to understanding the environment' (p. 2). The message over the content of outdoor education or where it may contribute to the curriculum is left vague, for example there is no reference to rural studies, biology or geography. The notion of combining field studies and outdoor pursuits is not discussed and the slant of the document favours the social aspects of outdoor education. For example a word count in the document shows use of the word 'environment' four times and the word 'social' nine times. Although a crude instrument, my interpretation and reading of the document is that the tone of the document leans to a social consideration of outdoor education. The frequency of 'social' is more than twice the frequency of 'environment'. Facilities for providing experiences and the requirements for specialist staff are suggested alongside the contribution that should be made by visiting staff. The later emphasis is firmly placed on secondary pupils:

The Secretary of State considers that as a general rule priority should be given at this stage, so far as residential provision is concerned, to meeting the needs of secondary pupils, especially of pupils in classes SIII and SIV (p. 3).

Halls (1997a, p. 16) writes that a consequence of the circular was that provision was targeted at secondary pupils for the first time and in Strathclyde four new centres were developed at Ardentenny in 1972, Glaisnock in 1973, and Blairvadach, Faskally and

Arrochar during 1974. Halls (1997b) identifies these facilities paying particular attention to field studies and environmental education as a result of the Circular which gave 'clear advice that environmental education should form an integral part of the curriculum of outdoor centres ...' (p. 38), providing further evidence of a curricular project to make outdoor education more academically orientated as discussed in the previous chapter.

The following extract exemplifies the tacit relationship between outdoor education and residential centres:

The Circular is not intended to encourage education authorities to accelerate the growth of expenditure on outdoor centres at present but only to assist them in planning expenditure on the development of outdoor education (p. 1).

By implication, investing in outdoor centres is the means for planning outdoor education development. The influence of the residential schools and camps discussed in Chapter 7 as a legacy of the first part of the 20th century underpinned the shape of outdoor education, particularly in the context of residential outdoor education. Parker and Meldrum (1973) asked if residential outdoor centres were the best use of resources:

One is forced to ask whether a residential centre costing £35,000 a year, and introducing a thousand students to either field studies or outdoor activities, is a better proposition than twenty teachers doing the same technical work for about four times as many students (p. 91)

The debate on the type of outdoor education and resource allocation is a theme which is developed more fully in Chapters 13 and 14, but during this period of outdoor education

growth there was a significant increase in the provision of residential outdoor education. A survey of outdoor centres in Scotland (Faulkner, 1983) identified that between 1970 and 1982 nine centres closed and 55 new centres opened, out of a total of 163 centres (of which five failed to reply). Between 1970 (post-Circular 804 in 1971) and 1983 outdoor education residential provision grew by over a third.

What is striking and ironic over these statistics is the economic timing of this growth. Local authorities across the UK were under financial pressure in the mid-seventies. Inflation was rampant peaking at over 25% in 1975 whilst unions demanded higher wages as the UK Labour government attempted to cap public sector pay and funding which eventually led to industrial action and the winter of discontent in 1978/9. Yet during the 1970s there was some of the most substantial expansion of outdoor education ever seen in Scotland.

Development of a network of outdoor education advisors

After the Wheatly report (1969) was published, the Scottish regions were formed. By the early 1970s some local authorities had appointed outdoor education advisors. Bill Farquar in Strathclyde and Peter Hitt in Edinburgh invited other authorities to send representatives to share practice in outdoor education (interview Derek). Originally the network group was known as the Scottish Panel of Advisors on Outdoor Education.

... in the early days 1975/6 they were just sharing practice. If something was going to crop up in one authority it was going to crop up somewhere else, they developed some one or two products ... it was a good networking organisation. (Interview Derek)

One particular product were a series of books published in the late 1970s on flora and fauna of Scotland titled the 'about' series. These were published in conjunction with the British Petroleum Educational Service; titles included Feathers, Badgers, Rooks, Dippers, Hedgehogs, Herons, Barn Owls and Rabbits.

According to Cameron (2006, p. 185) Education Advisors in practical subjects were influential figures throughout the 1960s in Scottish schools, having access to substantial resources. The stature and role of Education Advisors grew into the 1980s by which time advisors 'were probably at the height of their power' (p. 185). The situation changed throughout the 1990s as the role and title of advisor was to morph, firstly due to internal restructuring of educational services for financial reasons and secondly as a result of local government reorganisation. The impact of these events and the advisory panel as an organisation is more fully discussed in Chapter 12.

Two particular external events were identified as having impacts on the shape and provision of outdoor education in Scotland. The first was Raising of the School Leaving Age (ROSLA) and the second is the development of Scottish Vocational and Technical Education Certificates (SCOTVEC). During this period there were a number of influential government reports which furthered the support for outdoor education in the UK and in Scotland.

Government reports

Government reports promoted debate and opened doors for outdoor pursuit enthusiasts to formalise training for leaders through locally-run courses and national education

institutions. The Albemarle report, published in 1960 encouraged the development of outdoor activities and promoted investment in facilities and formally structured coaching schemes (Parker & Meldrum, 1973, p. 50). The influence of the youth service was noted in the report and there was concern over the interaction between the voluntary service groups and the increase of professional staff who worked in sports development. Hoolihan and White (2006, p. 18) suggest the impact of the report reframed debate which presumed sport as a vehicle for moral development rather than development of sport *per se*. The report recommended the framework for training youth workers be revised to allow greater movement between education, community and the social service departments. Originally, the outdoor courses at Dunfermline were only for teachers; the net was cast wider after a few years, although evidence suggests this was to attract a greater number of students as the numbers had declined following local authorities withdrawing their secondment support for teachers, rather than the college pursuing a specific policy initiative (interview Ben).

The Wolfenden report, also published in 1960 commissioned by the CCPR, had a broad remit and elaborated the recommendations of the Albemarle report to outline plans for national coaching structures with a centralising body which were the forerunners to the National Sports Councils. Events in vocational education were also influential. In 1963 the Newsom report was published which examined the education of academically average and below average pupils. The report's influence in vocational education in Scotland stemmed from the White Paper produced by the SED in 1961 titled 'Technical Education in Scotland the pattern for the Future' which recommended a working party should examine the links between schools and Further Education (FE). In 1963 J. S. Brunton was

tasked with moving this recommendation forward resulting in the report from 'School to Further Education' (Richardson, 1966, p. 94). Hopkins and Putnam (1993, p. 47) identify the Brunton report as a contributing factor for further provision of outdoor adventure activities in Scotland. Both reports stressed the need to provide more diversity to physical education through outdoor pursuits.

Raising of the School Leaving Age (Scotland) Regulations

An external event which contributed to extracurricular timetabling and curricula development of outdoor education was the Raising of the School Leaving Age (Scotland) Regulations (ROSLA) of 1972. McCulloch, Cowan and Woodin (2012, p. 132) identify that in the two-year period in Scotland leading up to ROSLA, there were arguments that the curriculum should be designed away from separate subjects 'in favour of themes such as preparation for leisure and employment, social and moral education'. (For an analysis of the political issues raised by the ROSLA policies see McCulloch et al., 2012).

A result of the discussions in preparation for ROSLA meant an increase in progressive courses with a practical element, including residential courses (p. 133). Evidence suggests the impact of ROSLA was a key driver for early provision of timetabled outdoor education.

I first came across the opportunity to offer outdoor education or outdoor pursuits as we would call it in those days when ROSLA came about ... there was a February leaving date and a June leaving date and the children who were caught, who would have left school in June but had to stay on until the next Christmas - they were called the ROSLA kids ... they were given

things to keep them happy as well as other things and I worked with the ROSLA kids and I would take them hill walking ... that was the first time the opportunity for an outdoor programme of any sort appeared in my lifetime ... (Interview Derek).

In this example outdoor education or outdoor pursuits filtered onto the timetable within schools, albeit as an addition for 'ROSLA' kids.

McCulloch et al. (2012) suggest that the essence of ROSLA was sometimes seen as the development of non-examination courses. However opportunities for credible examinations in aspects of outdoor education began in earnest in the 1980s. An external examination structure was identified in the previous chapter as a pre-requisite feature for a subject to be fully established within a curriculum structure (Goodson, 1983, p. 31). The introduction of the SCOTVEC modules was seen by some as an excellent opportunity to further establish and legitimise outdoor education.

Scottish Vocational and Technical Education Certificate modules

In 1984 post-compulsory education in Scotland was transformed by the introduction of the SED's 16-plus Action Plan which consisted of a national system of modules (Raffe, 1988, p. 162). The modules known as SCOTVEC were articulated by a module descriptor that contained a list of learning outcomes a student was required to complete to a satisfactory level stipulated by the performance criteria. Raffe (1988) suggests the Action Plan was a response to the limited central control the SED has on the implementation of post compulsory education policy which is the jurisdiction of university institutions,

professional organisations and further education systems. In this fashion the plan aimed to transform institutional, curricular and pedagogical boundaries and retain control over Scottish interests. There had been attempts via the UK-wide Manpower Services Commission (MSC) for greater control over vocational education via funding arrangements for the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) and the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) which were initially rejected by Scotland although adopted a year later in 1984 as a means to access central funds. The Action Plan mediated control from the MSC by establishing a Scottish national framework for vocational education.

The Action Plan was seized on by those working in outdoor education as a mechanism for more formally recognising outdoor education via a set of criteria assessed by an external awarding body. Although the curriculum framework is not modelled in an academic tradition, the connection between subject status and external examinations has strong historical connection (Goodson 1983, p. 32) and external recognition through an exam increased subject prestige. It was not just outdoor adventurous activities for which SCOTVEC modules were developed; the residential facet of outdoor education sought modular recognition through, for example a module titled 'Taking part in a residential experience', designed to develop personal and social skills.

As an external event, the SCOTVEC modules policy initiative was seen as a tremendous opportunity for outdoor educators in Scotland. Modules could be written on a local authority basis, or through the Curriculum Advice Support Team (CAST) based at Jordanhill College, which published exemplars nationally. Modules written in outdoor activities included orienteering, kayaking, skiing, hill walking and sailing. Derek saw this as

... an opportunity not to be missed - the opportunity was there, other advisors were applying to get seconders to get SCOTVEC material and I did likewise.

The network of outdoor advisors provided a conduit for sharing this information and a number of local authorities seconded teachers to develop SCOTVEC modules.

External events such as the introduction of SCOTVEC and the YTS scheme contributed to the curriculum discourse of outdoor education as a move away from the academic orientation of the 1970s outlined in the previous chapter. In the '80s there were a number of centralised outdoor activities schemes run within Strathclyde Regional Council. These schemes in activities such as sailing, windsurfing, skiing and canoeing had a sports development ideology and relied on voluntary contributions from PE and outdoor education staff. Halls (1997a, p. 17) identified these schemes as successful and influential on both teachers and Directors of Education; the progressive coaching schemes retained a focus on adventurous activity *per se*.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the influence of a network of policy actors in which mountaineering acted as a common denominator to draw people together in a common cause. In other words mountaineering as an activity acted as an advocacy from which a coalition of policy actors could operate across various quarters. Mountaineering represents a common bridge between individuals who held passion and agency combined with positions within the education structure and politic in Scotland and across the UK.

The policy network eased policy initiatives and funding through the 'corridors of power' and residential outdoor education became firmly established in Scotland led by the development of Benmore Expedition and Adventure Centre and later Lagganlia Outdoor Centre. The momentum behind the development of outdoor education in Scotland resulted in the production of text distributed nationally, specific to outdoor education in the form of Circular 804.

Local authorities began to appoint advisors for outdoor education from which a network of professionals grew. But this situation changed. It is unlikely that there is solely one factor for the change in this situation, but an unwinding of a network as Directors of Education changed, HMI inspectors moved on and support was lost would be a compelling hypothesis if it is argued that a network is a contributing factor for policy growth. This argument is revisited and built upon in Chapter 15.

Particular external events such as the introduction of SCOTVEC modules or the ROSLA policy during the 1970s and '80s influenced the curricula approach in outdoor education and refreshed a utilitarian activity based tradition with specific outcomes frequently focusing on skill acquisition. These external events occurred at a time when the reorganisation of the Scottish regions was impacting on the staffing and conditions for workers in outdoor education; the focus was financial survival not educational justification which resulted in a loss in curricula and policy focus. The curricula project for outdoor education as a subject was coming to an end and for some, outdoor education was seen as a panacea for less academically able pupils.

For all of the change and tussling between educational traditions during this era, the two greatest influences on the modern interpretation of outdoor education in Scotland were yet to come, and which form the backbone of Chapter 12.

Chapter 12: Outdoor learning and devolution

Introduction

This chapter outlines the change in the structural landscape for outdoor education in Scotland that stemmed from three particular events. The first was the reorganisation of local government in 1996, the second was curricular change and thirdly devolution and the establishment of the Scottish Parliament.

The chapter proposes an explanation for transformative changes to outdoor education in Scotland during the 1990s. Two particular themes were identified as reasons for the shift in outdoor education and the emergence of outdoor learning. The first theme is the conceptual broadening of Scottish outdoor education and the second is the discourse of progression. Conceptual broadening refers to the remapping of traditional boundaries conventionally interpreted as education, *vis-a-vis* school based timetabled lessons in specific subjects taught in classrooms. The discourse of progression in outdoor education refers to young people beginning their outdoor experiences within the school grounds and later progressing to venues further afield.

To examine these changes and their impact on outdoor education the chapter is divided into five sections. The first section discusses the language of learning outlined by Biesta (2005) to examine changes in the language of outdoor education and the emergence of outdoor learning. The second section explores the conceptual broadening of outdoor education through the reorganisation of local government and the professionalisation of

community learning. The third section examines curricular change through the 5-14 guidelines and Curriculum for Excellence. The fourth section considers the impact of devolution on outdoor education and the effect of an increase in lobbying activity to new Scottish Ministers. The fifth section details the mechanics of change in outdoor education (i.e. the how) and focuses on two advisory groups and reports: the 'Peacock report' in 2000 and the 'Outdoor Connections' report in 2006.

The Lyme Bay canoeing tragedy in March 1993 had a profound impact upon the outdoor education sector. Although this event is not identified as a factor which impacted on the broadening of education *per se*, the consequent heightened focus on health and safety policy had significant implications for the structure of outdoor education and was frequently referenced in interviews and is also discussed in this chapter.

Language of learning

Biesta (2005, p. 56) argues that in the past two decades the language of learning has replaced the language of education. Examples of the language of learning see education described in the context of creating learning opportunities or exemplified by a change of terminology such as from 'adult education' to 'adult learning'. Biesta suggests four trends which account for a rise in the language of learning: new theories of learning which placed people more centrally, the postmodern trend, a populous rise of learning (identified with features such as self-help books, online courses and personal development courses) and the erosion of the welfare state. Concurrent to these trends was the rise of neoliberalism dominated by a focus on consumers, i.e. learners as consumers functioning within a knowledge economy.

Through a pragmatic lens, the move from education language to learning language is a reflection of the shifting practices in Scottish outdoor education. The activity of pupils planting carrots in a school playground has very different properties to a group of pupils sailing a yacht on the sea. Both activities hold educational value for young people; yet for some interviewees, carrot planting would be placed in an outdoor learning sphere and sailing on the sea in a traditional outdoor education bracket, i.e. traditional outdoor education being coterminous with outdoor adventure activities. As Alex observed:

I think it is still something people are unclear on. I think some people refer to it in the way I am doing in that outdoor education and outdoor learning are one and the same - there is no difference, and there are other people who see outdoor learning as being something the average youth worker or teacher could do and outdoor education is something more adventurous.

The following discussion examines the change in terminology as a reflection of the changes to outdoor education and learning practice and perception as a result of the conceptual broadening of outdoor education.

Conceptual broadening of outdoor education

The following discussion suggests four main catalysts for the broadening of outdoor education. The first is the growth and professionalisation of community education, the second is the change in the role of local authority educational advisors compounded by local government reorganisation in 1996. The third agent is curricular change, firstly through the 5-14 guidelines and secondly with the introduction of Curriculum for

Excellence. An increase in and access to lobbying for outdoor education is the fourth catalyst.

'Communities: Change through Learning' was the official title of the Osler report published by the Scottish Executive in 1998 which approved a reorganisation and refocusing of community education services. The Osler report recommended that community education should be understood as an approach rather than an independent sector of community education professionals. For some practitioners this was unsettling. Community education developed over many years, but it was not until 1990 that a national body, Community Education Validation and Endorsement (Scotland) (CeVe), formed to establish and monitor training standards. It was claimed that community education as an approach to learning undermined community education as a profession (Community Learning and Development Standards Council, no date). (For a detailed discussion see Mackie, Sercombe & Ryan, 2013, p. 402).

James singled out the Osler report as a rationale for a change of language and the desire to bring community education, and the associated resources, into the realm of school based education:

... a lot of outdoor activity was connected not with formal schooling but was with informal education ... it was trying to bring at that time, in terms of community learning, bring community education resources as they were, community learning resources as they are now, including in some cases outdoor activities, to bring that more closely into line with what the system ...

In January 2003 the Scottish executive published national priorities for community learning and development in the report 'Working and learning together to build stronger communities'. The report came a year after formally recognising the change of name from community education to Community Learning and Development (CLD). The national priorities for CLD included the need to increase levels of educational, personal and social development amongst young people - an ambition to which outdoor education could contribute. The professional growth and broadening of community education into (CLD) was felt within SAPOE, and assisted the perception of a broadening of outdoor education towards outdoor learning in Scotland.

In the 1990s the role of educational advisors underwent a period of transformation following the reorganisation of local government in Scotland which occurred under the Conservative government of John Major in 1996 following The Local Government (Scotland) Act 1994. The result was nine regions and 53 districts were abolished (three island councils remained) and replaced with 29 single tier authorities. Post reorganisation the Chair of what was the Scottish Panel of Advisors in Outdoor Education wrote to all the new Directors asking them to nominate a key person responsible for outdoor education.

In Derek's words:

... I wrote to every Director of Education in Scotland outlining what SAPOE was asking them to nominate a representative ... now that was when we noticed change - there weren't necessarily going to be advisors in outdoor education.

The realisation that the shape of the advisors panel had changed significantly was apparent at the first meeting of the newly expanded group. The name of the panel was

changed to the advisory panel for outdoor education rather than the panel of advisors to reflect the fact that membership no longer entirely consisted of education advisors. Not only did the membership increase from nine representatives to thirty-two representatives but the position that members held within local authorities had altered. Joe noticed how the new mix of representatives in SAPOE post- local authority reorganisation nurtured broader conceptual views of outdoor education:

When I joined SAPOE I sat around a table with mainly teachers ... but there were maybe three or four others who represented community education ... and I recall a lot putting my hand up along with three or four other people to remind folk that wait a minute, it's not just about the curriculum, it's about the whole of, we were using the term outdoor education at the time, and I was very much looking at policies about lifelong learning and all these things and I had a very broad view of the whole thing and it wasn't just about what happened in a primary or secondary school.

Joe also noted the change in the terminology away from school-based language:

SAPOE did become much more general ... when we came to write the HASPEV², the tartan version, we were very conscious, we were very generic terms we would use not the head teacher but the head of establishment and so on.

² The Health and Safety of Pupils on Educational Visits (HASPEV) was the guidance document for teachers organising excursions for pupils published in England by the Department for Education and Employment in 1998. The Health and Safety on Educational Excursions: A Good Practice Guide (HASEE) was published by the Scottish Executive in 2004.

The increased membership of the advisory panel was an effect of local government reorganisation which occurred whilst CLD found a greater professional footing in Scotland and within the outdoor education structures in Scotland.

The change in the advisory capacity of educational services in Scotland is noted by Cameron (2006) as a possible factor in the shift from a subject focused service. He writes:

... although the 1993 Strathclyde restructuring may have stemmed from financial imperatives, in retrospect it may be seen to have set in motion a necessary transition from an unwieldy, permanent, secondary-dominated, subject-focused service to a more flexible and needs-related model (p. 187).

The early changes were noticeable on the ground for the outdoor education advisors.

Derek noted:

... advisory roles began to change and began to become general advisors as opposed to subject specific advisors so in the last couple of years ... as well as having the specialist area of OE, I was responsible for HMIE follow up in schools, SCOTVEC modules, standardised assessment in schools a whole range of things ...

Changes to the roles of education advisors impacted on the concept of how education was conceived; the concept of education expanded to reflect the growing influence of CLD. For Ben this was apparent in outdoor education:

... when the new authorities came in there were more people on the committee who would have had less involvement in outdoor work and it

wasn't quite so cosy so it wasn't such a shared view on what was worth discussing ...

The focus of representation for outdoor education began to shift and the discourse widened. But the impact of local government reform in 1996 was detrimental to public sector provision of outdoor education. Up to a third of local authority outdoor education provision was lost (Nicol, 2002). This focus on survival prevented the broadening of outdoor education from fully developing a unified philosophy. Tom states:

It seems to me that this struggle for survival prevented a unified philosophy developing it meant that development of the activities didn't take place in the way that it should have done to change what they were doing to fit into the modern world.

Changes in the structure to the advisory panel and to outdoor education public sector provision occurred at a time when the sector was reeling from the Lyme Bay tragedy of 1993. In March that year eight pupils, two instructors and teacher set off in canoes to cross Lyme Bay but were soon in difficult conditions. Their boats were swamped and four teenagers died in the ensuing epic. The impact of Lyme Bay on outdoor education was significant across the whole of the UK and necessarily resulted in a renewed health and safety focus for all adventure activity providers. It became the dominant discourse at SAPOE meetings as Joe observed:

... people were almost completely obsessed with safety at that point because the Lyme Bay disaster and all that followed from that was at the

same time as local government reorganisation ... almost the whole agenda was taken up with safety and excursion guidelines ...

Ben commented

... safety guidelines became of supreme importance after the Lyme Bay tragedgy in 1994 ... safety seemed to be leading the way in terms of what people were interested in in outdoor education

SAPOE members represented Scottish interests on the committee which oversaw the establishment of adventure activity licensing in the UK following the tragedy. This necessitated close links with the government; Derek suggested some of the earliest links with the Scottish Office were through sports policy departments.

I think the relationship built up with John Gilmour³ largely as a result of the HSE work perhaps opened some doors, it was quite easy to have meetings with him and raise SAPOE matters and that was the first semi-formal link with the Scottish Government.

The link between outdoor education organisations and the Scottish Office meant the health and safety policy domain could respond to public and political pressures which ran high post- Lyme Bay. Policy was driven by the Activity Centres (Young Persons' Safety) Act 1995, following which curricular discourse in outdoor education became subsumed by the health and safety agenda. Terry noted

³ John Gilmour worked as a civil servant in the Sports, the Arts and Culture Division of the Scottish Executive.

... almost the whole agenda was taken up with safety and excursion guidelines and that kind of thing.

For Joe this situation dominated the policy agenda post Lyme Bay and following local government reorganisation:

... it wasn't for a good ten years or so that we began to look at curricular initiatives and how we could influence that.

The adventurous activities in outdoor education was under scrutiny during this period and discourse for outdoor centres and adventure activity providers was dominated by health and safety procedures. The cycle of outdoor education centres being developed and supported by local authorities was coming to an the end, and the mid-1980s marked the beginning of a period of decline in outdoor education provision. The decline meant local authority outdoor centres found themselves under threat, particularly following regionalisation. Terry identified this time as a 'critical point in the loss of focus on policy' as there was a fight for survival by outdoor centres. This fight was particularly evident in the former Strathclyde region where Heads of Centres would pursue any policy imperative to demonstrate relevance and retain pupil numbers; fundamentally there was a lack of focus on educational curriculum during this time (Halls, 1997a p. 19).

In summary, local government reorganisation, the changing role of educational advisors and increased membership within SAPOE were identified as contributing factors for why the scope of outdoor education in Scotland broadened. The conceptual effect was compounded by the language of learning which encroached into the outdoor education domain. The discourse in outdoor education became focused on the health and safety

management of pupils on school excursions following the devastating events of Lyme Bay, which combined with local government reorganisation to create a sector focused on survival.

Curricular change: the 5-14 guidelines and Curriculum for Excellence

Prior to devolution the introduction of the 5-14 guidelines had already significantly influenced outdoor education. The final version of all the 5-14 guidelines were published in 1993 with five curriculum areas: Language, Mathematics, Environmental Studies, Expressive Arts, and Religious and Moral Education (RME). (For a detailed introduction and evaluation of the 5-14 guidelines in Scotland see Harlen, 1996).

In a study of outdoor learning and the 5-14 guidelines, Stokes-Rees (2005, p. 94) found that the guidelines suggest using the outdoors as a learning context or as a methodological approach to deliver outcomes. In either mode outdoor learning as a context is a more coherent curricular format in the 5-14 guidelines. The changing curricula and impact of the 5-14 guidelines on the outdoor education service in Strathclyde is described by Halls (1997a) following a report on the residential schools provision in Strathclyde:

They were asked to develop programmes of outdoor activities particularly supporting 5-14 environmental studies, personal and social development and expressive arts. This required teachers in the residential schools to develop programmes for which they had no physical aptitude or intellectual appetite and outdoor activity instructors to address curriculum issues about which they had little understanding (p. 25).

Funding was allocated to support the 5-14 guidelines at a time when teachers were reducing their support of extra-curricula activities as a result of industrial action. In Strathclyde there was a shift in residential outdoor education from secondary to primary provision as a result of teacher action and curricula change (Halls 1997a, p. 23).

The introduction of environmental studies as a curriculum area created a steer for outdoor education as local authority managers looked to outdoor centres to meet requirements of the 5-14 guidelines for environmental education. For some Directors the place of environmental education created a more academic slant which was the key to access to funding:

... everyone then started to think how they could bring academic studies into the outdoors to justify thier place and to get the money available and what we did was we had a teacher or seconded somebody ... to be at the centre every week (Interview Harold).

The role of environmental education within the established outdoor centres was questioned by Harold as a forced marriage reflecting the sentiment outlined by Halls above:

... while the pupils had the week up there and in between doing the exercises the climbing etc. they also did some collection of flora and fauna or things from the sea and they had a class room set up with computers and they would have a few classroom sessions and to me it was all a bit artificial and the pupils, they quite liked it but really what they liked was the activities.

The above illustrates an opinion that places greater value on the activity elements of a visit to an outdoor centre. The discourse of outdoor education had shifted away from the PE base of outdoor pursuits as discussed in Chapter 10; the concept of extra-curricula became less defined as the broadening of education continued into the national debate on education which culminated in Curriculum for Excellence. The increasing prominence of the environmental strand created a new route into government for outdoor education lobbyists, primarily as a result of devolution and the advent of the Scottish Parliament.

Curriculum for Excellence

Curriculum for Excellence originated from work conducted by the Curriculum Review Group (CRG) which formed in 2003 following a 'National Debate' on education in Scotland. In 2004 the CRG published the Curriculum for Excellence which set out the process for a redesign of the curriculum. Over the next four years Learning and Teaching Scotland (LTS) drew together research, practitioners and focus groups to develop and then publish the 'Building the Curriculum' series followed by the 'experiences and outcomes' in 2009. The experiences and outcomes represent the expected learning which should take place for a child throughout their schooling. For LTS the experiences and outcomes recognise

... the importance of the quality and nature of the learning experience in developing attributes and capabilities and in achieving active engagement, motivation and depth of learning. An outcome represents what is to be achieved (Education Scotland, 2014).

CfE gave added impetus to the conceptual broadening in outdoor education but more significantly provided a framework of progression in the emerging concept of outdoor learning. Some organisations which lobbied for outdoor learning opportunities were soon to acknowledge the potential of CfE as James recalled:

... I remember having meetings with the RSPB and others who were looking at, here, this new CfE is going to be great for us because we can offer you good learning resources but we can fit it into this concept of the Curriculum for Excellence and that plays right into this whole wider thinking of outdoor learning ...

The broadening of education meant that practices which may not have been traditional vehicles for the curriculum were subjected to enhanced scrutiny for educational value.

Terry expressed this change in the following way:

... this [OE] was something we did during activity week as we loved it and the teachers liked it and it was good for the kids and we always did it but nobody said we do this because, because, because - one of the values of CfE for example is that it has made people stop and say right we're doing this - why are we doing this?

Joe saw this as an opportunity to fully explore practice and move the discourse of outdoor education:

... we were really quite keen to get involved on the qualitative side of what was going on as opposed to the health and safety side of things ... for me that was the first big opportunity and the first time we had a chance to

actually express ourselves about what was actually going on rather than how it was being conducted.

The emerging framework of CfE provided the backdrop with which to argue the position that outdoor education could adopt which was something James recognised as an opportunity:

... it was something that was key to other areas of policy, you could argue that what came later with CfE and so on this was actually quite important in terms of thinking about how you use the curriculum and how the curriculum can use outdoor education that would be a different way of putting it, those dynamics allowed these issues to be taken forward.

Importantly for outdoor education, the new curriculum altered the concept of extracurricular activities. Discussion on the place of outdoor pursuits and PE in Chapter 10 and 11 indicated the role outdoor education had in the realm of extra-curricular activities and how outdoor education suffered due to teacher industrial action which prevented extracurricular activities.

One of the processes you've seen going through 5-14 and into particularly CfE is the removal of the concept of extra curricula - this used to be extracurricular education but beginning with 5-14 and especially with CfE there is now nothing in education can be extra curricula because the curriculum is so all embracing (Interview Terry).

Although the new curriculum changed the situation for outdoor education, lobbying activity enhanced the situation which incrementally combined with curricular change and the broadening of outdoor education and led to two significant reports

Devolution and lobbying

Devolution created opportunities for additional policy actors and increased the scale of political processes in policy making. In the words of Keating, Cairney and Hepburn (2009),

... devolution has politicised the policy process, introduced new actors and forced actors to face conflicts of interest and competition for resources ...

There is evidence of more inter-sectorial and cross-class dialogue and consultation than in the past (p. 57).

These structural changes impacted on outdoor education and the rise of outdoor learning. The political support and lobbying activity for outdoor learning entered a phase not seen in Scotland since debate on the educational value of outdoor pursuits and the growth of outdoor centres in the 1960s.

The introduction of the Scottish Parliament created a more democratised policy making environment in two ways. Firstly in a human resource capacity through an increased number of Ministers, and secondly through the ability of Scottish ministers to set policy agendas. A cultural shift was occurring in the Scottish Executive as civil servants became accustomed to the regime change post-devolution. Prior to the establishment of the Scottish Parliament officials in the Scottish Office held greater sway in setting policy

agendas. The decision making ability of the Scottish Office was apparent as Terry reflected:

... it is probably fair to say at the time, the Scottish civil service was at the peak of its powers - it was able to take more decisions than they can now because they have much closer parliamentary scrutiny ... the civil service was much more 'yes minister' in those days

James acknowledged they would have had more difficulty getting any priority for outdoor education prior to devolution:

... it would have been much more difficult, remember that the person who was doing education pre-devolution may also have been doing potentially ... very big portfolios so the chance of you doing, with all the big issues, with those big portfolios, and getting down to the level that would allow you to say I'm having an hour's meeting on outdoor education ... would not tended to have happened.

Other educational issues took priority on the government's agenda such as the deterioration of school buildings, the lack of nursery places and potential teachers' strikes following pay negotiations. These kinds of issues found a higher place on the agenda for education officials:

... this [outdoor education] was not top of our agenda, this was one of the things we wanted to do but it wasn't the top thing we were doing so it got the attention it could get at the times but we were so busy trying to do all

these other, really big things, its inevitable its one of these relative priorities

(Interview James).

Stakeholders with specialist knowledge in OE and in environmental education noticed an increasing level of engagement and advocacy by government on policy issues, not just for advice, but to assist with developmental work during times of educational change where resources were challenged. As Terry observed:

The educational establishment was beginning to cast its net wider and look for outside expertise people who could tell them about particular things

The net was being widely cast not just to access knowledge; advisory group work at the behest of the government helped to tackle government resources issues.

The approach identified above which maximises the potential of willing stakeholders was facilitated post devolution when the number of Ministers in Scotland increased dramatically. The expansion in minister numbers enabled minor policy areas which previously were not allocated space on the government's agenda to see the light of day. The change created challenges for actors who may previously have been involved in UK-wide campaigns but now found new avenues and policy lobbying avenues open in Scotland. This also created challenges for the civil service in looking for expertise in new policy areas. For James the importance of outside expertise also related to policy succession:

... in that context finding people who were slightly outwith the system, not within government itself, was actually quite important because if you could

invest any of the sort of efforts in them there is a more likelihood of it continuing than if it was just part of one of the things of what civil servants have to pick up amongst a whole range of other things ...

The issue of policy succession, expertise and civil servant capacity is a theme developed further in the section on advisory groups in Chapter 13 and under the production of text in Chapter 14.

There was mounting pressure to respond to the lobbying and Ministerial interest in outdoor education. The lobbying came from a number of sources such as MSPs in the form of Parliamentary Questions from Euan Robson of the Scottish Liberal Democrat party and Robin Harper of the Green Party and from letters written by SAPOE members (for example, withheld, personal communication, December 2001; Nigel Scriven, personal communication October 2003).

The connection previously identified with the Scottish Government was via health and safety following Lyme Bay. Scottish Wildlife and Countryside LINK was (and still is) the umbrella body for environmental NGOs and the environmental policy domain strand opened new lobbying avenues for outdoor educators.

... they were playing a very active political role in the environment sector having meetings with Minister's responding to consultation documents
(Interview Terry)

The Working Group on Environmental Education was set up in 1990 and produced 'Learning for Life: a National Strategy for Environmental Education in Scotland' which became the national strategy for environmental education in Scotland published in 1993.

For Terry this became an important corridor for understanding how outdoor education could benefit from policy advocacy:

I became involved in those processes in a minor way through learning for life but in a more meaningful way through LINK which were actually very important in my personal training in how to go about trying to influence government policy.

The increase in lobbying directly to Scottish ministers and national curricula change were stimulants for a lobbying corridor to emerge to complement the environmental and health and safety policy routes.

The demarcation between lobbying, advising and engaging in policy advocacy actions becomes less clear as stakeholders become more active in the policy process, particularly in the production of policy text. Terry reflected on a meeting with a civil servant assumed to be a lobbying exercise. During the meeting the tenor for policy engagements became clearer as outlined below:

... there was a 2003 Education Act which defined the purpose of education in Scotland and he was drafting the act and we wanted to get SDE somewhere into the definition, and I think I would know how to do it now but at the time we just gave them some semi-philosophical waffle about how important it was and some good case studies ... we got that one wrong - if we just said what you want to do is to put this paragraph in I think he would have done it because they are looking for solutions - they know there is an issue, they've got to do something ...

Devolution created space for minor policy domains and gave stakeholders opportunities to influence policy outcomes with greater access to the procedures of text production explored in Chapter 13. A fresh balance between lobbying and advice was required. As Keating (2005a, p. 65) observed, 'separate groups have emerged as a response to administrative devolution and the need for an interlocutor with the Scottish office and its agencies'. Over the next decade the discourse began to slowly turn from the 1970s project of how outdoor education could fit the curriculum into questions which ask what outdoor learning could do to help support the new curriculum.

Peacock report

Lobbying for a curricula policy push in outdoor education on the Scottish political agenda can be traced to a meeting in December 1999 between Peter Higgins from the University of Edinburgh, Mike Rhodes from Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) and Peter Peacock MSP who was then the Deputy Minister for Children and Education. At this meeting Peacock expressed his interest in outdoor education and agreed to set up a short working group to 'explore how the subject can be encouraged in the context of the schools and community education sectors' (Steven Szymoszowskyj, Personal Secretary to Peter Peacock, personal communication, April 26, 2000). Fundamentally Peacock wanted to give outdoor education a boost.

Leaders in Scottish education who held a personal interest in mountaineering were identified as a key component for the growth of outdoor centres in the 1950s and 1960s in Scotland. Here again, in the new Parliament, Peacock and Sam Galbriath (who was the Cabinet Minister at the time) both had an interest in mountaineering. Peacock had

worked previously at Brathay Hall as an outdoor instructor in university summer holidays and had chaired an outdoor education committee as Councillor. Personal interest in mountaineering at a policy leadership level has been a critical component in the development of outdoor education in Scotland. Fiona summarised.

The first way of forming policy is a Minister has a whim or conviction or he's out in local authorities or schools and sees something going on and thinks we need to do something about that so sometime it will come directly from the Cabinet Secretary or the Minister with responsibility for education.

In the above example the personal interest through outdoor experiences, particularly mountaineering provided the conviction for outdoor education to receive a boost.

As a result of the meeting in 1999 a short working group was formed through discussion and correspondence between Mike Rhodes, Peter Higgins and Chalmers Smith. (Peter Higgins, personal communication, December 16, 1999; Mike Rhodes, personal communication, 17 December 1999).

The first meeting of the group was held on 22nd June 2000 at Victoria Quay in Edinburgh. At this meeting members agreed to form a subgroup (Peter Higgins, personal communication September 30, 2000) to develop draft proposals for how to develop outdoor education in Scotland. The sub group membership is shown in Table 2.

The complete group met a second time on September 7th 2000 to sign off the report written by the sub-group. The report (Outdoor Education Working Group, 2000) was sent to the Scottish Executive and made seven key recommendations shown in Appendix 3.

Table 2

Membership of Peacock report sub group

Name	Organisation
Ian Barr	Learning and Teaching Scotland
Alastair Morgan	Fife Council Community Service
Chalmers Smith	Mid-Lothian Council Education Service
Peter Higgins	Faculty of Education University of Edinburgh
Mike Rhodes	HMIE

The submission of the report in October 2000 coincided with the untimely and tragic death of Donald Dewar who was the First Minister of Scotland. It is difficult to decipher exactly what happened to the report. Peacock moved from his post as Deputy Minister for Education and Young People to become the Deputy Minister for Finance and Local Government. In 2003, Peacock returned to education as the Minister for Education and Young People. Higgins soon wrote to Peacock to highlight the status of outdoor education in Scotland and to flag the delivery of the Outdoor Education Working Group (2000) report three years previously which had not received any acknowledgement or follow up (Peter Higgins, personal communication, July 10, 2003).

Colin Reeves who was Head of the Schools Division replied to Higgins and enquired if there was anything to add to the 2000 report. The correspondence indicates Reeves had not seen the 2000 report; the work on outdoor education was effectively buried for a three-year period. Peacock's return invigorated communication between stakeholders and government following the period between 2000 and 2003.

Higgins wrote a five-page response to Reeves in August 2003 which provided an update on the situation of 2000 (Peter Higgins, personal communication, August 7, 2003). James identified how policy agendas struggle if the civil servants involved in the issues are not personally on board. The example of the 2000 report clearly illustrates that forming advocacy coalitions identified by Sabatier (1998) and negotiating policy can be blocked by the agency of singular people or groups.

... unless the civil servants are personally on board, as soon as the minister is out the door, they are waiting to see if the new minister has got the same interests or not, I am not being critical of this, it is just matter of fact, but I was somewhat disappointed when I got back to discover nothing much had happened (Interview James).

In October 2004 Peacock visited Kilbowie Outdoor Centre where he announced Learning and Teaching Scotland would be taking forward the development of outdoor education including the appointment of a Development Officer which heralded the beginnings of the Outdoor Connections project.

Outdoor connections

The Outdoor Connections project (OC) began with the formation of an advisory group set up in 2005 chaired by David Cameron, the then Director of Education for Stirling. The first meeting of the group was in 2005 and the last in 2007. The decision to form a representative advisory group was taken by Government who had been subject to the ministerial and lobbying pressure as outlined in the previous section. Alex identified additional external pressure from developments in England when the Education Select Committee published the Learning Outside the Classroom (LOtC) report in 2005.

The composition of advisory groups can be key to the success or otherwise of the group. As Harold who previously chaired parliamentary committees stated:

... a part of the problem with all these groups was a little bit that they all had a agenda of thier own which was a little bit restricited to thier view of what was important and didn't always cross over into the bigger picture ... and I think that diluted their influence when there was fight amongst themselves.

The balance between lobbying for individual agendas and providing advice to government was an issue some felt within the OC group.

I think the development of the OC group was pretty well stuck for a little while on residential or not residential and a fascination with money ...
(Interview Alan)

The OC group provided advice to the government but it was primarily the representatives of the national education agencies such as HMIE, LTS and the Scottish Government where decisions were made. As Alex stated:

I think the individuals on the national government were taking any leadership role, I actually think the advisory group were very helpful to sound off to get that affirmation we were doing things OK but I think we could have taken things in many different directions.

The power fundamentally remained with core institutions of Scottish education i.e. the Scottish Government, LTS and HMI with pending decisions or alternate options taken to the advisory group for discussion and endorsement.

Thorburn and Allison (2010, p. 103) refer to the model of policymaking in Outdoor Connections as consensual. Their main criticism of the model, 'is that as only personnel with a senior professional role tend to gain membership of such groups, there is often a high degree of agreement with policy aims and a relative lack of contestation when discussing conceptual matters.' In contrast Alex's comment above would suggest that contestation within the OC group did exist, at least over issues such as the role of residential outdoor education and funding.

Additional tension within the group arose over how far claims within the report could go:

the tension in the report was not overstating anything about the future when there was no political or financial commitment to see that through so that is probably where the tension arose in what the report actually said ... it was clear that people felt that the report could have had more actual

future resources and commitment from government in it but they weren't forthcoming, at the point.

The initial report submitted to the OC group was over 60 pages long with information on the state of outdoor education in Scotland following interviews with senior staff from every local authority (Interview Alex). This version of the report written by officials at LTS with some contribution from group members, never saw the light of day and the final published version was a slimmed down version edited by government officials.

Although decision-making was guided by the group, decisions were fundamentally made centrally by government and its agencies. The small grouping of HMIE, LTS and Scottish Government representatives met more regularly than the national group who were used as a sounding board for completed work and fresh proposals. Additionally the smaller grouping which met more regularly would discuss elements of financing projects and allocating budgets to particular tasks. Whilst there was a clear remit and specific targets which had been written for OC before the LTS Outdoor Learning Development Officer was in post, group members were not aware if there was a budget associated to the project. The evidence would point to a process which was more complex than consensual. Concealment of any financial commitment was frustrating to some:

... for me it was still the talking shop, ... at the end of the day I know that money had to be put into this thing, not money in the sense that it was through LTS, money that went directly somehow to the various local authorities (Interview Joe).

During the lifetime of OC evidence suggests the perception of Scottish outdoor education shifted. The Scottish Government representative who was tasked with the OC work changed a number of times during the life of the project. 'Churning' (the term given to the moving of officials from one policy area to another) of civil servant staff is not uncommon, but creates issues for long standing actors in particular policy arenas who spend time and effort building rapport with a civil servant who may be new to a particular policy domain.

For example Harold stated

... I went through maybe four sets of teams. Now what it meant each time was you got a new person, you turn up the chap you've worked with for years ... he then moved to farming, but the new person that came in came from crown justice, it's the fact that who does he trust - eventually you get a relationship, but in time doing that, the whole thing stalls.

The above example is frustrating for education policy actors when policy momentum starts to develop in a particular initiative. During OC the a feature of the churning process was the location within the Scottish Government the civil servant came from:

... it [the civil servant contact] varied ... in some ways we went from a more sporty contact to more an education and then more of a curriculum contact, in my opinion it reflected that outdoor learning was moving through a transition as to how the Scottish government education department viewed it. (Interview Alex.)

The movement of outdoor education across departments within the Scottish government education directorate reflects the discussion in Chapter 10 of outdoor education as a

subject with traditional links to PE and the emergence of outdoor learning as an approach to a variety of curricula areas. Although the churning of civil servant staff can be frustrating, when a new civil servant appears and needs to be updated with progress, it is other members of the policy community who are informing the government exerting greater influence on the direction of policy. In other words some democratised power has diffused from government to the wider policy community where there is capacity to engage in the process.

The Outdoor Connections project ran for two years during which time a series of research publications were commissioned and the profile and potential of outdoor learning was raised across Scotland. (For a summary review of this research see Nicol, Higgins, Ross, & Mannion, 2007.) The project culminated in the launch of the report 'Taking Learning Outdoors' and a national conference held at Ingliston near Edinburgh. The achievements of Outdoor Connections were listed in the Taking Learning Outdoors report and shown in Appendix 4.

There was a gap in the work of LTS on outdoor learning. The OC advisory group did not meet again after the Ingliston outdoor learning conference in April 2007. The situation was uncertain which helped congeal a group of outdoor learning partners into lobbying activity to form the Scottish branch of the Real World Learning Campaign funded by the RSPB. It was over a year before the formation of the Outdoor Learning Strategic Advisory Group (OLSAG), which picked up the mantle in 2008.

Conclusion

The period discussed in this chapter saw dramatic change to the provision and concept of outdoor education in Scotland. During the 1990s the fate of outdoor education rested with local authorities and provision was patchy. The Lyme Bay canoeing tragedy in 1993 triggered legislation from Westminster that licenced the use of adventurous activities for young people across the UK. Discourse in the outdoor education sector was absorbed in health and safety guidelines and the development or review of internal management safety systems lowered the position of curricula concerns. Local government reorganisation placed additional strain on residential outdoor education centres many of which closed, particularly within the former Strathclyde region. Reorganisation impacted on the role of outdoor education advisors in Scotland and membership of the representative organisation widened.

The broadening of education was accelerated by curriculum change, firstly through the 5-14 guidelines, then again by CfE. The conceptual broadening combined with a new language of learning at a time when the status of community education was in an era of change and professionalisation to emerge as Community Learning and Development (CLD). The impact of the broadening of education in Scotland was a shift of outdoor education discourse and the conceptual emergence of outdoor learning.

A significant change for outdoor education in Scotland was the revitalised national leadership not seen since the issuance of Circular 804 in 1971 which stimulated local authorities to invest in services and facilities. Increased lobbying activity and access to new Scottish Ministers created a fresh route into government policies. The ministerial

interest in outdoor education was a key catalyst which triggered the formation of early advisory groups.

Policy decision making, in terms of financial spend, remained with the central government agencies; the OC advisory group acted as a sounding board and think-tank for decisions. The primary writing task remained with government agencies in the production of the OC report. Compared to the issuance of curricula guidance in 1971 a democratised process through wider engagement with stakeholders is certainly evident. However ultimately decisions and direction rested with the smaller grouping of government representatives whereby elitist elements of policy making continued post-devolution. The window for curricula discourse in outdoor education had been opened. Professionals could engage with the policy machine of Scottish education outside of the environmental or the health and safety avenues. OC had justified the place of outdoor learning in the new curriculum; the next step was to fully embed outdoor learning in the curriculum, which is the topic of the next chapter.

Chapter 13: The development of Curriculum for Excellence through Outdoor Learning- Part I

Introduction

This chapter draws on a range of 'grey literature', interview analysis, email notes and parliamentary questions. The argument presented is that CfEtOL is primarily a political product rather than a specific guidance document designed to be a key approach to learning within the vision of CfE policy makers. In other words, outdoor learning became part of the curriculum in Scotland as a manifestation of a political process rather than a desire by the education policy community to expand educational ideology.

The chapter begins by discussing the use of advisory and reference groups in Scotland before considering the formation of OLSAG. A key factor identified is the timing of the advisory group's work, particularly in relation to the development of CfE which is discussed before other forces in the development of curriculum guidance are detailed, specifically the CfE management board. The remainder of the chapter provides an analysis of the Vision and Rationale section of CfEtOL in four contexts: the ideology and interpretation of adventure, financial implications, the spatial and geographic contexts of learning and in definitions, particularly the definitions of PE, outdoor learning and outdoor education in the context of policy implementation.

Advisory Groups

It is not uncommon for advisory groups to be part of the policy process in Scotland. James saw the formation of such groups as a useful approach when a particular issue needed addressing.

... if you take one other group to do the task you alienate the other, it is probably better on balance just to create a wee group for that purpose and also in that way I guess you can make it something that is pretty focused and looking at the thing you want it to look at.

By grouping interested stakeholders together for a short piece of work, there is the potential to side step existing political tensions between established groups for a specific outcome.

The capacity of advisory group members had been a problem identified by LTS and a decision was taken to cut back on the number of advisory and reference groups around 2003. As Fiona noted:

LTS used to have a reference group for everything and anything they did ... but that was all stopped probably round about 2003 they started cutting back on these reference groups and advisory groups ... [they] didn't also have much authority depending on the personnel, there was a decision made ... that there would be no advisory groups or reference groups unless they were government pushed ...

The decision to wind-up the use of reference groups was made on the basis that they were not always seen as very helpful, particularly if the personnel appointed to groups did not carry sufficient authority for making decisions. Not only did satisfactory decisions become less frequent, but the nominated voices did not wield enough policy capital to assist the implementation of any progress. Policy capital refers to the ability of the person attending an advisory group to develop and influence the implementation of policies which form as a consequence of a group's action.

A number of OC advisory group members held positions within their constituency that held sufficient authority to create change in their respective territories.

... what that [group] did for the first time was pull together some big hitters in their respective territories if you like, education, outdoor education and various agencies have an interest and are major in this, it was also appearing on the scene just as CfE was beginning to get off the ground. (Interview Nigel)

Six main pressures can be identified in advisory group formation. Firstly from ministers keen to see an area progressed for their own convictions. Secondly, lobby pressure from within the government i.e. from actors who hold an interest in particular education policy outcomes although hold portfolios outside of mainstream education policy. For example pressure from Ministers with portfolios such as Community and Justice or Environment. Thirdly, pressure placed on government from external lobby groups or successful pressure exerted by national organisations such as the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB) or Real World Learning (RWL). Fourthly from political pressure exerted by opposing political parties where party politicking and competition develops within policy domains

that become topical, current or pertinent as a result of a particular event. In other words outdoor education becomes subject to party political wrangling. A fifth driver is capacity within the Scottish Government. Issues such as minimal financial resources, gaps in the knowledge or expertise of policy officials, and time pressures on busy policy agendas means the Government is minded to set up and finance a group which will take on board the required work to fulfil party political manifesto commitments or appease lobbying pressure. A final driver identified is indirect pressure from England and Wales where the unfolding events stemming from the work of the burgeoning Learning Outside the Classroom (LOtC) council stimulates a question which asks what Scotland was doing in the sphere of encouraging pupils to learn outdoors. These themes are expanded in Chapter 15 which examines the concept of a 'policy squeeze' which results in the formation of a policy advisory group.

Formation of the Outdoor Learning Strategic Advisory Group (OLSAG)

The earliest manifestations of the OLSAG group were a meeting on March 5th 2008 between Fergus Ewing, the Minister for Community and Justice, Maureen Watt, the Minister for Skills and Schools, and a selected group of interested individuals including Peter Higgins from the University of Edinburgh, John Hamilton as chair of SAPOE and Dave Spence as Chief Executive Officer of Scottish Outdoor Education Centres (SOEC). The meeting was held at the behest of Ministers who not only had a personal interest in outdoor education, but were driven by a political imperative evidenced in the SNP manifesto commitment of 2007. This read:

'Scotland has one of the most spectacular and challenging outdoor environments in the world and all of our youngsters should have the opportunity to experience it. We will work towards a guarantee of 5 days outdoor education for every school pupil. To start this process, we will provide an additional £250,000 each year to support the expansion of 5 days subsidised outdoor education targeted at children from our most deprived communities' (SNP Manifesto, 2007, p. 41).

There was political pressure to see the SNP meet these aspirations. For example, Robin Harper MSP for the Green Party asked the Scottish Executive in 2008,

... what progress has been made in developing a plan to provide greater access to outdoor education and education in the outdoors for all school pupils' (The Scottish Parliament, General Question Time, May, 22, 2008, S30-3379).

Maureen Watt provided an answer which detailed how new curriculum guidelines such as Building the Curriculum Three provided excellent opportunities for outdoor education and learning. Watt also announced the establishment of a new strategic advisory group.

The working group was funded by the Scottish Government who provided a secretariat to report directly to Ministers. The *ad hoc* process for selecting members of the working group was designed to recruit members able to represent interested constituencies from a broad conception of outdoor learning, but not create a group so large to hinder the ability to function in a coherent and productive fashion. Bruce Robertson was the Director of Education for Aberdeenshire and was also chair of the Scottish Duke of Edinburgh

Award; he was known to the Scottish Government for his support for outdoor learning and had previously worked with the lead civil servant on education policy matters. Robertson agreed to act as the chair but requested the lead civil servant remained in post for the duration of the group.

As referenced in Chapter 12, the 'churning' of staff is a feature in the careers of civil servants whereby individuals are assigned different portfolios over a period of time. Soon after OLSAG wound up, the civil servant representing the Scottish Government moved to the Department of Health. The incumbent had to develop a new set of relationships and fresh understanding of the policy arena. As Harold stated,

'When I chaired the school meals group, I had a very able young lady ... she then moved on, somebody else came on and that person had no background, the lady we had, had built up three or four years of in depth school meals knowledge. The same with the PE group the person moved on.'

As discussed in Chapter 12, the civil servant overseeing outdoor learning changed three times in two years during the Outdoor Connections work, which was a frustration for the LTS Development Officer at the time.

Currie spoke with Higgins about possible members of the group. Higgins' advice was primarily based on the selection of members of the Outdoor Connections group who were actively engaged in outdoor learning in schools. The intention was to make a small and tight-knit group. There was no formal process by which members were selected; in most instances members were selected by invitation through networks and connections.

Invitations were made by the Scottish Government or the chair of the group. The selection process was structured to avoid clashes of ideology or personality.

... there were a number of organisation who made representation about wanting to be on the group, but both the chair and my views were for this to be unmanageable and we would never have got anything done, so we made sure there was a way that these other interests could be represented on the group by people who were working closely with their constituent (Interview Billy).

Nigel wanted OLSAG to create a piece of work which focused on outdoor learning rather than what he saw as the narrower focus of outdoor education.

As OLSAG was government led LTS provided expertise to the group, on some occasions a Director from LTS attended the meetings. The structural relationship between LTS and OLSAG had the potential to create tension detailed in Chapter 14. There were nine meetings of OLSAG as per Table 3.

Table 3

OLSAG meeting dates and venues

Meeting No	Date	Venue
1st	29th August 2008	Victoria Quay, Edinburgh
2nd	28th November 2008	SNH, Battleby
3rd	27th February 2009	Queens hotel, Bridge of Allan
4th	27th April 2009	Crieff Hydro Hotel
5th	5th June 2009	SNH, Battleby
6th	25th September 2009	LTS Glasgow
7th	26/27 November 2009	Royal Hotel Bridge of Allan
8th	29th January 2010	Teachers Building, Glasgow
9th	26 March 2010	Parklands Hotel Perth

Production of a guidance document and OLSAG papers

The earliest reference to producing a guidance document came at the end of the 3rd meeting of OLSAG. The minutes of the meeting stated that Robertson,

... proposed to the group that the various strands the group has been working on to date could be brought together under a framework for outdoor learning that consisted of 5 sections: rationale/vision; outdoor learning and Curriculum for Excellence; role of residential experiences as part of outdoor learning; good practice in outdoor learning including health and safety; evaluating outdoor learning (Meeting note 3, OLSAG, February 27, 2009, p. 6).

The sections proposed by Robertson stemmed from papers presented to OLSAG during that 3rd meeting. These were

1. Mapping the experiences and outcomes, (OLSAG (08) (08))
2. Guidance on Health and Safety, Risk and Child Protection, (OLSAG (09) (03))
3. Good practice guidance for 5 day residential experiences, (OLSAG (09) (04) (04a))
4. Outdoor Learning and HGIOS Self Assessment, (OLSAG (09) (05))
5. Vision of Outdoor Learning in Scotland, (OLSAG (09) (06))

The initial concept was for a framework document to place outdoor learning clearly within CfE. Nigel was clear on the direction for OLSAG:

The main purpose of our work was actually to place outdoor learning right at the heart of what our teachers and educators were doing ... place it at the heart of curriculum planning so it wasn't to be seen as an add on ... if it was placed in the experiences and the outcomes of Curriculum for

Excellence then it would give it strength and legitimacy, it would pull in the curriculum policy maker, it would pull in HMI ...

The Scottish Government did not set out to produce a guidance document as Billy explained:

I expected OLSAG to advise ministers on the best ways of helping to increase the opportunities for getting children outside to learn. I think the guidance went beyond that ... the government didn't ask for that, but when the group decided this was probably the most helpful thing they could do Ministers were made aware of it at a very early stage and signed up for it.

(Interview Billy.)

The original framework concept then was based around the issues of five papers which formed the basis for discussions following the first three OLSAG meetings. The framework was to address each of these issues section by section.

Timing

In the eyes of the OLSAG members interviewed, the section making the link between CfE and outdoor learning was at the heart of the guidance document. The experiences and outcomes of CfE created more references and opportunities for outdoor learning than any documents teachers had seen before (Interview George). It was suggested that opportunities for integrating outdoor learning into the curriculum were richer at the time of writing CfEtOL as the whole structure of CfE had not been finalised; the experiences

and outcomes had not been launched and the 'Building the Curriculum' documents four and five were in draft form. For one member of the writing team CfEtOL,

... was almost like a fluid jigsaw and we were fitting into pieces that were already there and into pieces that were yet to come (Interview George).

Alan referred to the timing as a key influence in how CfEtOL was able to take shape.

Serendipity, timing, minimal financial cost there was an opportunity to be seen to do something that would fit with the current parliament. (Interview Alan).

A second factor which indicates the importance of timing in the production of the document is the formation process of the title. The initial draft section on assessment was written by the Outdoor Learning Framework Development Officer at LTS in consultation with other LTS personnel from the assessment team. The draft was passed to the assessment team in the Education and Lifelong Learning Directorate of Scottish Government. The first comments returned were that the title of the document as it was, i.e. A Framework for Outdoor Learning, was misleading. The Scottish Government was pioneering an inclusive framework for learning in the form of CfE. How could a separate framework for outdoor learning exist? The Scottish Government assessment team therefore suggested three new titles which were distributed to OLSAG members. The suggestions stemmed from the Government Education Directorate with the use of CfE with outdoor learning in the title. In this iterative fashion the Government requested the advisory group to create a CfE document which carried not only greater legitimacy than an independent Outdoor Learning Framework, but created a stronger brand identity.

It is useful to consider the repercussions of the name change. The personnel involved in the branding, proof reading, publishing, printing and distribution of the 'building the curriculum' documents also worked on CfEtOL. Discussions internal to LTS on the format of the document intensified once it was established the title included CfE at the bequest of the Government. Officials within LTS responsible for the branding and quality assurance of CfE became involved in the formatting and editing to ensure language was consistent with other CfE documents; discussions ensued over the layout and the inclusion of posters to place CfEtOL within the branded context of the other 'Building the Curriculum' documents. The inclusion of CfE in the title provided access to a branding machine which helped ensure the distribution equalled that of the previous building the curriculum documents. LTS personnel working on CfEtOL were attuned to publishing the previous CfE documents and familiar with the requisite design. For example the vignettes from outdoor learning practitioners were a feature requested by the LTS quality assurance process.

It is interesting but beyond discussion here to consider the balance a document needs to strike to convey a message effectively, and the subsequent role of branding and marketing in education policy. Regardless of the content, the result was that the title 'Curriculum for Excellence through Outdoor Learning' and the document itself reflected the format and presentation of the new curriculum documentation, with additional posters promoting outdoor learning in Curriculum for Excellence, packaged in a similar style to the Building the Curriculum documents.

Through this interpretation the final document was as much a product of timing as it was of political or ideological will. The period of new curriculum development in which OLSAG existed is a critical factor in understanding how the guidance came to be embedded in

CfE. Some evidence suggests that outdoor learning as an approach to meeting the experiences and outcomes was not initially conceived as a key delivery mechanism. It is useful to consider other forces in the unfolding curriculum structure.

Curriculum for Excellence Management Board

The Curriculum for Excellence Management Board was formed of a wide range of stakeholders, including the government, local authority organisations, teacher unions, school bodies and NGOs. They met every two months and had overall responsibility for curricula change. There is no reference to outdoor learning in the minutes of the 16 meetings of the CfE Management Board which took place during the lifetime of OLSAG between October 2008 and April 2010. The writing and development team from LTS, OLSAG and the Scottish government were not sure if the Management Board were specifically made aware of the CfEtOL development; individual members of the CfE Management Board would have known of the work of OLSAG, for example management staff in LTS who were consulted on the content and tone of CfEtOL also attended the CfE Management Board. By implication, outdoor learning was not understood as a component in the mainstream curriculum design of CfE, or acknowledged as an approach to learning within the core development of CfE. This is relevant to understand the context of the development of CfEtOL. The task of OLSAG was to promote outdoor learning, and producing guidance alongside CfE became the preferred policy direction. But this direction was as an addition to the core structural developments of CfE, not because of it. In other words, the development of CfE did not necessitate the inclusion of an approach to learning espoused through outdoor learning pedagogy but the process unfolded to

allow outdoor learning discourse access to mainstream curricular thinking. Nigel observed that the curricular discourse became more important than the financial situation:

... there was a financial reality that was emerging at the time, but more importantly, CfE which actually gives outdoor learning such a good platform, and that, during the lifetime of OLSAG grew and grew and by the time the report was in its final stages, it was really being seen to be very, very helpful, very important, very timely. (Interview Nigel)

The document became a solution to a variety of influences: ideological, contexts of learning, financial, and political definitions. The remainder of this chapter details the development of the vision and rationale through these four properties identified as features of the visioning exercise.

Vision and Rationale

The basis for the vision and rationale stemmed from the OLSAG paper (09) (06) titled Vision of Outdoor Learning in Scotland introduced by Dave Spence at the 3rd OLSAG meeting. It was proposed that the Outdoor Learning Conference of April 2009 to be held in Crieff should be used as a means for furthering the debate. At the conference attended by over 350 people, the first seminar groups were asked to list five key elements for a vision and rationale for outdoor learning in Scotland.

The comments from the seminars were compiled into a series of statements by a group of academics, primarily from University of Edinburgh. A paper was drafted based on the OLSAG (09)(06) vision and rationale paper and the comments from the 2009 conference.

The paper was presented at the 6th meeting of OLSAG. Additionally, Spence convened a meeting of representatives from the tertiary sector, local authority and youth work. The attendees were Andy Beveridge (Association of Heads of Outdoor Education Centres), Sally Dempsey (Red Cross), Jim Duffy (YouthLink & The Scout Association), Joyce Gilbert (the Real World Learning Campaign (RWL) & Royal Society of the Protection of Birds (RSPB)), Alastair Lavery (Sustainable Development Education Network (SDEN & RSPB)), Morag Watson (SDEN & World Wildlife Foundation WWF), Dave Spence (OLSAG & Scottish Outdoor Education Centres (SOEC)). The group produced an amended version of the vision and rationale used as a basis for a final copy which became OLSAG paper (09) (10) for discussion at the 7th meeting. The final version was completed and agreed at this meeting.

The above representation illustrates the wide spectrum of views that fed into the writing of the vision and rationale from individuals and stakeholders. The following identifies the features of the vision and rationale for outdoor learning in four contexts: ideologically, financially, spatially and politically.

The ideology and interpretation of outdoor learning and adventure

A contested area identified that served to delineate policy domain strands was the place and use of adventure in a vision for outdoor learning. This is illustrated through the official note of the 7th meeting which records:

There was a general wariness around the term “adventure”, as it was thought that it could be a distraction. A balance needs to be struck to

convey a stretching or challenging message, and that adventurous should be more about a sense of open mindedness (OLSAG, note of 7th meeting).

A consequence of a shift towards outdoor learning is the way experts in the field of adventure activity, or what Fiona referred to as traditional outdoor education, interpreted the ensuing vision. Alex believed people were still unclear on how outdoor learning and outdoor education are viewed:

... it is still something people are unclear on. I think some people refer to it in the way I am doing in that outdoor education and outdoor learning are one and the same there is no difference and there are other people who see OL as being something the average youth worker or teacher could do and OE is something more adventurous.

The connection of outdoor education, adventure to political positioning is evident in the words of Alan:

The weighting within OLSAG had moved quite heavily away from outdoor centres and if you like traditional outdoor education, much more towards what schools and education authorities want so the political shift had taken place ...

Fiona observed:

... outdoor learning was more meaningful, it was more in keeping with the philosophy and context of CfE but also it didn't have the baggage that outdoor education had ...

The differentiation between 'baggage' and meaningful philosophy represents properties associated to outdoor education distinct from an educational philosophy evocative of the progressive schools movement discussed in Chapter 6. Although baggage can be interpreted in a multitude of ways Fiona indicated that baggage is coterminous with a 'pursuit of the old outdoor education'. Without a change of language, the quotes above suggest the baggage in pursuing the old outdoor education may prevent, or hinder outdoor philosophy and practice from entering a credible sphere. The argument is a policy rather than a philosophical narrative; in other words, the evidence does not show that it was a lack of underpinning philosophy *per se* associated to traditional outdoor education and adventure activities which prevented mainstream educational acceptance, but the espoused philosophy congruent with what may previously have been categorised as character building did not fit with the views of the educational policy establishment, some of whom interpreted such thinking as 'baggage'.

It was suggested by George that some experts in the realm of adventure activities may interpret changes towards outdoor learning as a threat to their expertise in outdoor education. The word adventure appeared to act as a symbol which conflated rationale action through adventure activities with the meaning of outdoor learning. In other words the adventure 'debate' acts as a representational sign greater than the educational intent, merits or otherwise of adventure activities and serves a political function to delineate domains competing to influence educational policy direction and individual policy actor's sphere of influence.

The dominant paradigm recorded in the note of the 7th meeting of OLSAG became aligned with a broader concept of adventure as 'open mindedness'. Barton (2007) suggests that a broader interpretation of adventure is synonymous with modern life. He wrote:

Adventure is usually regarded as a core asset, something to be applauded and promoted yet, in modern life, the same term seems to be applicable to playing a computer game or tasting a new flavour of yogurt (p. 6).

Joe, who was a member of Outdoor Connection group summarised:

Some folk have been frightened to use the word adventure ... if they use outdoor activities, they are letting the side down a little bit.

The quote denotes an argument in the political posturing when conceptualising adventure. As suggested by Barton, could this be a reflection of the repositioning of adventure within society? The forces driving the direction of outdoor education away from adventure may be structurally greater than the small arena in which the outdoor policy actors exist. The concept of 'wrapping children in cotton wool' and conventional phrases such as a 'culture of fear' are systematic of broader societal issues. The outcome was that the interpretation of adventure impacted the ideological debate of how a vision and rationale for outdoor learning was constructed.

Debate on the role and place of adventure in education is not new; the debate is arguably an extension of the attempt to create academic rigour in outdoor education discussed in Chapter 10. For example, the focus of outdoor education as a narrow technical approach which would struggle for a place in the curriculum was evident in discussions during the 1970s at the Lothian Outdoor Education service. As Ben recalled, one outdoor education

advisor in Lothian Region was enthusiastic about the inclusion of outdoor education as part of the curriculum:

... to the exclusion of, and he was quite heavily criticised at the time for this, to the exclusion of the outdoor centre, more technical approach of many of the people ... (Interview Ben).

The more technical approach refers to the mechanics in the instruction of adventurous activities.

The current adventure debate is shifting from one of curricula inclusion for outdoor education to discussion which deliberates how adventure is conceived in a modern society and thus reproduced in education. A dominant understanding of adventure in society and educational spheres creates a wider lens through which to view outdoor learning, i.e. a broader view of adventure. Kelly and Potter (2011, p. 148) suggest that society has tended towards environments that are more artificial than they are natural, which minimises risk to human survival. This tendency has made us victims of our own successes as food content is now greater in calorific value and physical activity has decreased. The concept of adventure thus becomes comparative - if an individual can be taken from an urbanised environment into a more natural setting this constitutes an adventure. Whilst this debate is left for others to explore, in the context of the vision and rationale the subtle interpretation of adventure was a point around which policy domains divided.

Broadening the conception of outdoor education to outdoor learning created a wider curricula sphere to seek academic justification; a broader curriculum has potential to provide greater academic content as discussed in Chapter 12. It is uncertain if the

conceptual broadening of outdoor education will create further curricular confusion. Outdoor learning is attributed with a philosophical platform congruent with current mainstream educational thinking in Scotland, and serves as a vehicle for demonstrating the principles of Curriculum for Excellence (Beames, Atencio, & Ross, 2009). Outdoor learning was the dominant paradigm within OLSAG for a framework of educational policy which is conceptually broader than outdoor education.

Finance and cost

Evidence in Chapter 11 suggested previous philosophical debates in outdoor education were displaced by the political necessity for survival. When discussing the impact of de-regionalisation on the closure and transfer of ownership of the Strathclyde Region outdoor centres, Terry suggested that the centres

... ceased to play a significant curriculum policy role because they were busy fighting a survival role.

The situation that there was no additional funding to support outdoor education continued. Alan reflected over the ten-year period he had been involved in the advisory groups that there was

... a realisation was that there actually wasn't any money and that we had to find some other way of developing outdoor education.

A similar situation occurred to Alex who identified cost of adventure activities within outdoor education as an issue as it is

... then generally seen as being available or only accessible to an older part of the school population and you then need expensive equipment and a qualified provider.

Whilst there were no identifiable constraints placed upon actors engaged in the development of CfEtOL there was an understanding that policy implications which carried a cost were unlikely to be fully supported from government or elsewhere as funds were not available. As Nigel surmised,

... there was not an unlimited pot of money to throw at this.

Prior to devolution, the last identifiable national policy statements or an intention for outdoor education in Scotland was Circular 804 in 1971, distributed to all Local Authority education directors. It was for local authorities to interpret and distribute the views of the SED as they saw fit. CfEtOL was sent to all schools in Scotland allowing teachers the opportunity to question their management on what they are doing to fulfil the requirements of CfEtOL. One local authority outdoor learning officer used CfEtOL as a means of levering support for outdoor learning from his council and as a consequence

... produced a policy document that has been approved by cabinet and the councillors and the education social services directorate that is saying that all young people ...will learn outside regularly and often, so from the national guidance we have created a policy and a vision statement.

Any financial implications of outdoor learning were laid at the feet of local authorities, there is no directive from central government for outdoor learning to allocate funds *per se*, but the guidance document announces outdoor learning as a justified means of

delivering the curriculum. This principle is illustrated in response to the Parliamentary question asked by Jeremy Purvis on the funding of outdoor education (The Scottish Parliament, General Question Time, April 18, 2008, S3W-12066). The answer given by Maureen Watt illustrates how a vision and rationale or the guidance document could not attribute financial implications for local authorities

Through our historic concordat⁴ with COSLA we have moved to an outcomes-focussed approach which empowers local authorities and provides consolidated block grants rather than ring-fenced funding. This will give councils flexibility to allocate resources to meet need and the agreed national outcomes in the concordat underpinned by the agreed national indicators. Outdoor education and learning is relevant to many of the national outcomes and indicators, including our aspiration for all our young people to be successful learners, confident individuals, effective contributors and responsible citizens.

As a consequence of the concordat, as well as a recognition indicated above that there were not going to be significant sums of money available, a vision and rationale could not imply a specific financial commitment. Although an implied condition, the financing of outdoor learning impacted on the vision and rationale. A discussion on funding residential outdoor education is examined in greater detail in the following chapter; however there was no scope in terms of allocating specific funding from central government to support one particular national outcome.

⁴ As outlined in Chapter 4.

Contexts of learning

Chapter 8 discussed policy domain strands of philosophy in outdoor education rooted in the progressive schools movement and concerns over the nation's health. Practice was frequently located away from the school environment in wild places such as in the mountains or at sea. References in the Norwood report of 1943 discussed in Chapter 11 illustrated the importance of locations.

'courses' and 'schools' and 'movements' have been brought to our notice; their aim is to bring boys and girls into touch with the sea and the mountains and open air tasks and ventures to build the moral strength and create the physical endurance which comes from such contact.'

Language in the vision and rationale section of CfEtOL in 2010 embraces the sentiment proposed by the Norwood report but shifts the emphasis on wild places with language which allows children and young people

... to enjoy first-hand experience outdoors, whether in the school grounds, in urban green spaces, in Scotland's countryside or in wilder environments. Such experiences motivate our children and young people to become successful learners and to develop as healthy, confident, enterprising and responsible citizens (CfEtOL, p. 7).

In the quote from the Norwood report above, outdoor education space is identified with the mountains and the sea. In the vision and rationale of outdoor learning space is identified with more varied locations from the school grounds to wilder places. Outdoor learning is effectively geographically independent (as long as it is outside). A distinction is

evident between a vision which is geographically restrictive (and hence requires remote or wilder terrain) and a discourse which accommodates situational breadth.

A vision which makes no geographic distinction for outdoor learning within CfE, or one which negotiates an all-inclusive situational premise, sought to bring together policy groupings that were formally distinct. Diverse activities such as an 'early years' group playing in a sandpit outdoors, primary school visits to historic buildings, pupils growing vegetables in the school grounds or farmers diversifying their business to cater for schools combine with activities in outdoor residential centres who take pupils sea kayaking and organisations who take secondary school pupils on mountaineering expeditions overseas. The language used in the vision had to account for a wide range of contexts, not just a conventionally understood notion of the 'great Scottish outdoors'.

The policy debate was not between, or an attempt to amalgamate domain strands of outdoor education such as adventure activities and environmental education; discourse was couched in language which emphasised location, time spent outdoors and a progression of activities at varied locations. Debate moved beyond the 1970s project of curriculum inclusion and a justification for outdoor education outlined in Chapter 10. Temporal dimensions were not identified as features of the 1970s and 1980s discourse - context and time are congruent with five day residential outdoor education which for some, but not all, local authorities was the dominant paradigm.

From the interview analysis, CfE was the most widely cited factor for the current escalation in outdoor learning which ironically places curriculum development as a leading indicator in outdoor education development. In other words, whilst practice in the 1970s and 1980s sought curricula recognition, the curriculum now made demands on outdoor

education with questions such as how regular, how frequent and what connection. In the vision outlined in CfEtOL the argument shifted from what activities are deemed to have educational merit to how often, what location and to whom, i.e. anywhere outdoors from the school grounds to wild spaces, for pupils aged from three years through to eighteen years old.

Conclusion

The formation of an advisory group to address issues assuaged to outdoor learning was a model that had been used twice previously by Scottish Ministers. Firstly in the development of the Peacock report and again to steer the Outdoor Connections project. It is likely that the decision to form OLSAG came at the behest of Ministers on the advice of Civil Servants in response to the SNP 2007 manifesto and political pressurising from across the political spectrum; illustrated for example by the Parliamentary Questions asked by the Scottish Conservatives, the Liberal Democrats and the Green Party.

The timing in the formation of OLSAG was fortuitous particularly in relation to the unfolding structure of the new curriculum. As an approach to learning, outdoor learning was not seen by the curriculum management team as a core method of curricula delivery; minutes suggest that outdoor learning was not discussed as part of the grand scheme of curricula delivery. Members of the CfEtOL writing team made no representation to the curricular management team about the inclusion of CfE guidance on outdoor learning as an approach to learning. There was no overall plan in the new curricular structure for bringing outdoor learning into the mainstream Scottish curriculum, but the timing allowed

OLSAG to commence work on an outdoor learning framework which was to be subsumed into CfE.

The vision and rationale writing process served to provide some immediate direction for outdoor learning in Scotland. There are two particular congealing properties identified in this chapter. First is the conceptual broadening of outdoor education to outdoor learning affected through a shift in ideological discourse. The second property identified in the discussion on spatial and geographical factors highlighted a progression of locations, a feature also identified and discussed in Chapter 12.

The shift in discourse allowed a deflection from a 'what content' question in the curricular debate to the 'whereabouts' in terms of varied locations and 'when' in terms of stages and progression. The outdoor learning label created access to Curriculum for Excellence for broad and inclusive policy domains represented in the vision and rationale of CfEtOL.

Chapter 14: The development of Curriculum for Excellence through Outdoor Learning- Part II

Introduction

This chapter firstly details the macro-political context leading up to the writing of CfEtOL and secondly the micro-process of text production. The first section examines the increased political exposure for outdoor education in Scotland. Party political manifestos are examined which show a change in emphasis on outdoor learning between the 2007 election and the 2010 election. The issue of funding for outdoor learning, particularly for outdoor residential experiences is discussed. This initial section examines the political context of policy debates and negotiations at the time of OLSAG. The position of outdoor residential experiences in party political debates is outlined, followed by analysis of policy options considered by OSLAG.

The second section examines the context of policy text production. The production of text was sourced from a range of stakeholders from the public, private and voluntary sectors including NGOs, local authority education departments, the private sector, charitable organisations and the Scottish Government. The government funded an LTS Development Officer for a 6-month period specifically to work on an outdoor learning framework. The broad representation of writing sources symbolises a change in how text is generated. Examples of the following four sections of CfEtOL are used to illustrate the nature of how the text was produced: residential experiences, health and safety, how

good is our outdoor learning? , and teacher qualifications. The conclusion considers how the document can be interpreted and expands on Chapter 2 by asking if CfEtOL is a policy document.

Political context and Outdoor Residential Experiences (ORE)

In 2008 outdoor education was launched into party politicking when the Scottish Conservatives called for all teenagers aged between 11 and 15 to have access to a five day residential experience funded by the Scottish Government. Elizabeth Smith MSP, was the Scottish Conservative party shadow-spokesperson for education. On 31 January 2008, Smith presented Motion S3M-765 to the Scottish Parliament (Appendix 5). The motion outlines the value of extra-curricular activities supported by five days of outdoor education for every pupil in Scotland. The proposal received cross party support. The Minister for Schools and Skills met with Liz Smith, Murdo Fraser and Robin Harper in June 2008 to discuss the Conservative proposal for a guaranteed five-day residential experience for all school pupils between the ages of 11-15. The cost had been estimated at £11.3 million.

In the 'Budget (Scotland) Bill' of January 2009 the Scottish Government sought parliamentary approval for their spending plans and financial allocation for the forthcoming year. The Scottish Conservatives stipulated in the negotiations that provision for funding outdoor education must be made in return for their support of the Bill. The funding of residential outdoor education became a 'confidence and supply' arrangement with the SNP minority government in 2009. A confidence and supply agreement allows a

minority government to receive money to enact policies (the supply) and gives the government support in the event of a vote of no confidence (the confidence).

Political support for a policy of a five-day residential outdoor education experience for all pupils had been mooted in the previous Government. James was very supportive of this idea,

I wanted every child to get a week's residential experience, if that never emerged publically it was certainly pushed privately (Interview James).

However his party was later opposed in principle to the budget deal of the Scottish Conservatives. On this issue Simon thought it not in the interest of the outdoor education lobby to have the five day residential as part of the budgetary negotiations. His concern was that it reduced outdoor education to a bargaining chip which resulted in it becoming a casualty in the negotiation process. The concern of outdoor education being a political chip is manifest in James' position. Politicians who are supportive of outdoor education are forced to oppose situations politically which have potential benefits for outdoor education generally.

The Tories were not alone in pushing the government on outdoor education. Frank McAveety of Labour asked two questions on the proposed funding of five days of outdoor education. Firstly in March 2009 (The Scottish Parliament, General Question Time, March 4, 2009, S3W-21583) and again in April 2009 (The Scottish Parliament, General Question Time, April 3, 2009, S3W-22655). The reply from Keith Brown confirmed the financial commitment made to the Scottish Conservatives, but does not stipulate how this money should be allocated, i.e. there is no reference to five-day residential experiences:

The Cabinet Secretary for Finance and Sustainable Growth gave a commitment during the budget process that it would release £1 million to assist with financing outdoor education. We will bring forward detailed proposals in due course, following discussions with interested stakeholders. (The Scottish Parliament, General Question Time, March 25, 2009, answer to question S3W-21583).

It was in the interest of the SNP to honour their confidence and supply arrangement to the Tories; the SNP had pledged support for outdoor learning from their 2007 manifesto cited previously. Could the concern raised by Simon of outdoor education being reduced to a political chip be a factor in the reduced rhetoric in the political party manifestos? As Simon states,

... you want to ... avoid too many costed commitments which you can't deliver, in fact you don't want any in fact. (Interview Simon)

Parliamentary questions on residential outdoor education served to expose any weakness in the ability of the SNP minority government to wholeheartedly deliver on either their manifesto commitment, or their agreement with the Conservatives. The issue was complicated by the mechanics of funding any such pledge.

My recollection was that funding residential outdoor education was an issue OLSAG were asked to examine on two specific occasions. The first occasion was via OLSAG paper (08) (05) tabled at the 2nd meeting in November 2008. The paper discussed funding issues for residential outdoor education to inform Ministers on possible options. The minutes record discussion on the place and rationale for outdoor residential experiences within a broader

spectrum of outdoor learning experiences for a 3-18 curriculum. An extract from the minutes indicates the preferred devolved position.

While a residential experience could make a highly desirable contribution to achieving the 3-18 outcomes, it is very important that this is within the context of a progressive programme of outdoor learning. A residential experience could for example be an important element of transition from primary to secondary, particularly if delivered in school clusters, but this should be sufficiently flexible to allow local authorities and schools to determine the approach that best meets local needs and circumstances.

(Note of the 2nd meeting 28th November 2009.)

The last sentence strikes a cautious tone and hints at the problems inherent in the local interpretation of any national policy.

The second occasion I recall OLSAG being asked to consider the financing of outdoor residential experiences was via a paper on finance developed in late January 2009 and a draft distributed to OLSAG members, and also to members of SAPOE for additional comment. In the analysis of funding options the draft paper indicates firstly the intention and direction of policy and secondly the complexities of delivering any policy. Four funding options were proposed for discussion.

The first option was effectively a non-option for funding. I.e. there was no specific money allocated for outdoor residential experiences but local authorities would be encouraged 'to develop policies on sustainable outdoor learning', including a residential experience through Curriculum for Excellence. The option portrays a policy direction advocating the

promotion of outdoor learning framed around Curriculum for Excellence rather than an explicit strategy in which the government provides funds for a residential experience.

The second option considered a dedicated fund to which local authorities could apply, on the proviso that information be supplied on how residential experiences would be integrated into the broader programme of outdoor education. Advocating a process of funding based on the premise of curricula planning and integration of a residential experience raises questions over the management of an awarding process. There were few documents which specifically link residential experiences to the curriculum in an integrated manner. It is understandable that one particular model or set of criteria would not 'fit all', however exemplars of practice or an outline model which a funding process could adopt was not evident.

The option hints at the premise discussed by Reeves (2008) of a centralising discourse. If funding for a residential experience was offered on the grounds of curricular justification, finance acts as a tool for more than quality control. At the extreme, the option demonstrates control for residential provision to conform to a centralising vision; the antithesis of an increasing sense of agency for education workers. The response from one local authority outdoor education advisor illustrates the frustration manifest in a centralised approach:

'Why should school after school, and local authority after local authority repeat the well-established reasons how a residential experience fits the wider outdoor learning policy ...? Surely it would be a waste of government resources to deploy LTS to manage a fund which could be distributed

directly without the need for 'applying for it' (personal communication, withheld, 3rd February, 2009).

The comments reflect the centralised rhetoric of this policy option.

The third option explored the potential for the five-day residential experiences to be included as an outcome agreement by renegotiating the concordat. This third option opens the door to funds being directly administered by local authorities, and yet specifically allocated within a ring-fenced budget by central government. Although a strategic channel it was a debateable practical option. Establishing the renegotiation of the concordat as a precedent for policy implementation in a relatively minor area was an unlikely course of action following disputes over the funding of the free school meals policy in 2008.

The point to be drawn from the discussion of the three options is the complexity of any policy implementation and the contested distribution of power in the battle for control of funds for the residential experience. The lobbying and responses came from government agencies, third sector organisations, local authorities and providers of residential experiences; each claimed and justified their position and interest in being a stakeholder to the funding mechanism. Did the complex issues surrounding the access, distribution and control of finance for outdoor residential experiences contribute to what became a failure to establish a policy of entitlement for outdoor residential experiences?

The final option related the funding of residential experiences directly to the delivery of the SNP manifesto by providing funds to facilitate schools access to, and awareness of residential experiences. The option did not direct funds to residential experiences. The

rhetoric from the government changed into a supportive policy of embedding outdoor learning into the curriculum.

As previously cited, the SNP commitment in the 2007 Manifesto read:

... we will provide an additional £250,000 each year to support the expansion of 5 days subsidised outdoor education targeted at children from our most deprived communities.

It is debateable if the rhetoric which supports outdoor learning to be embedded in the curriculum can be interpreted as a concrete position whereby the Manifesto pledge of moving towards five days of subsidised outdoor education has being wholeheartedly honoured.

The Minister for Community and Justice, Fergus Ewing, was known for his support for outdoor learning and pushed within government to see residential outdoor education flourish (Interview Billy).

Despite the efforts of the Justice and Communities Minister, the government repudiated a specific commitment to providing residential experiences *per se*, as their commitment to 'support the expansion' of residential experiences, placed the desired policy intention at the feet of local authorities. In April 2010, Smith asked in a Parliamentary Question if the

... Scottish National Party [will] deliver in this parliamentary session its 2007 manifesto commitment to five days of subsidised outdoor education for children from our most deprived communities? (Scottish Parliament, Schools (Indiscipline), April 29, 2010, Col. 25869).

The question no longer refers to all school pupils, but to 'deprived communities'. The answer illustrates how the tenor of the commitment shifted direction to a 'guidance' policy using supportive language by moving towards a target, without actually stipulating, or delivering a specific policy. Keith Brown, the Minister for Schools and Skills, replied:

Substantial progress is being made towards that goal ... In the past, one of the major obstacles to outdoor learning was the fact that, because of fears about health and safety issues, because of cost or just because of availability, some teachers were not sufficiently aware of the opportunities. The online resource that we have produced should help to address those issues and contribute towards achievement of the target (Scottish Parliament, Schools (Indiscipline), April 29, 2010, Col. 25869-70).

Evidence for the eventual position of the SNP on residential experiences can be found in an answer to a further parliamentary question in 2011 asked by Smith. (The Scottish Parliament, General Question Time, February 8, 2011, Question S3W-39471.) The reply by the Cabinet Secretary for Education and Lifelong Learning, Mike Russell, firmly placed the onus of responsibility for outdoor education with local authorities without the rhetoric of central government support for outdoor learning:

Delivery of education is devolved to local authorities and funding for this is included in the local government settlement. It is for education authorities to consider the provision of outdoor education in their areas and make arrangements with providers as necessary ... (The Scottish Parliament, General Question Time, March 2, 2011, Answer to Question S3W-39471).

The answer illustrates the eventual policy position, however the process for achieving the above definitive statement was not as simple as the words suggest.

In summary, the key factors which combined against the financing of outdoor residential experiences were the complexities of funding channels, party politicking, and external events such as the financial crisis. The policy direction to provide guidance and funds to support outdoor learning was implicit and the financing of outdoor learning was no longer discussed by the group, to the frustration of some members who felt the provision of strategic advice should include budgetary and finance matters. The policy direction became rooted in the papers outlined as the basis for an Outdoor Learning Framework of guidance for outdoor learning.

Production of text

There was wide-ranging interest in early drafts and the signing off process for a framework involved negotiation between OLSAG and the main education agencies at the time, LTS, HMIE, SQA and the Scottish Government Education Directorate.

The experiences and outcomes for CfE were published on 2nd April 2009. The process for submitting website content for uploading onto the LTS website became increasingly formalised to ensure a parity of standard and conformity to CfE expectations. The quality assurance panel met on a scheduled basis to review and approve any work to be published either in print or made available on the LTS website.

This process first became relevant during the development of the self-assessment toolkit which Robertson was keen for OLSAG to sign off with the Vision and Rationale section at

an early stage. Outside of OLSAG, the actors involved in the production of CfEtOL were widespread; local authority outdoor advisors, third sector organisations and charities such as Grounds for Learning, NGO's such as Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH), Forestry Commission Scotland (FCS) and Historic Scotland made significant contributions which ranged from specific paragraphs of suggested text to minor comments on drafted versions. The structure for seeking consensus on final versions was tested with the self-assessment toolkit which had been approved by OLSAG, but required approval by the LTS quality assurance team. The influence of OLSAG as a government advisory group was key in pushing the process through outside of the routine quality assurance structures of LTS. A small group of LTS Directors met specifically as a one off quality assurance group to approve and comment on OLSAG work. Minor changes were then passed by Robertson. The note of the penultimate OLSAG meeting acknowledges the dominant role of the LTS QA process:

The group worked through each section of the document to discuss and agree any final changes. The group agreed that LTS must be granted editorial license to accommodate the LTS quality assurance process (OLSAG note of 8th meeting, January 29, 2010).

Although LTS technically held editorial control, the process for producing the text was negotiated between the central educational institutions, the advisory group, and representative stakeholder comments.

This process contrasts with the single author ascribed to Circular 804, although in all likelihood text would have been drafted between a group of people. Evidence from a small but telling moment in the final drafting stages of CfEtOL highlights the change in text

production. The Director for LTS Learning and Community read through the final draft of CfEtOL in the final stages of quality approval and suggested changes to text written by an organisation with particular stakeholder interest. In my role at LTS as a Development Officer, I expressed concern that this would change the emphasis and message the organisation had consistently lobbied for. Although agreeing the original wording should stay, he joked this process was far too time consuming and democratic and commented that, as a former Chief Inspector for HMIE, such a document would previously have been written in a closed room by a handful of people and completed in a day or so. Nigel concurred stating that

... back in the early days the work of a committee would very much be done behind closed doors, in secret and you would be asked not to share your thinking.

He attributed some of the change to the Freedom of Information Act:

... it was very interesting to get the different views coming in on various drafts as we worked that and I think increasingly especially when you've got Freedom of Information, increasingly that is the way policy is being formed certainly within education.

These glimpses indicate the structural changes to writing protocol have created opportunities for interest and lobby groups to significantly engage in and influence the education policy agenda in Scotland. This opportunity is not the preservation for interest groups but is equally an opportunity for the Scottish Parliament.

The advisory group structure allows Ministers and MSPs a method of creating change in established environments which may not be so susceptible to fresh thinking. As Simon suggests tension in a policy environment can be beneficial but in the case of outdoor education the tension may sit not between politicians so much as between politicians and the educational establishment.

... sometimes tension is actually a good way to progress things ... but in this case I think the tension is between politicians, who are quite keen, I think most politicians are quite keen to develop outdoor education and what I would describe as the educational establishment, which is not really a person or a thing but it is what currently happens.

Peacock had been unable to instigate change for outdoor education prior to his transfer from an Education portfolio in 2000; the report he instigated became buried in the Scottish Executive. On his return the advisory group for Outdoor Connections was more formally constituted. By using a government appointed advisory group, ministers are able to invest in outside expertise to apply pressure on the various faculties involved in the educational policy making process such as civil servants, NGOs and local authorities. This issue is expanded in Chapter 15 as a feature of the policy process in outdoor learning in Scotland.

The following section details the writing processes for four additional sections: residential experiences, health and safety considerations, self-evaluation resource, and the section on initial teacher education and continuing professional development. These sections have been chosen to exemplify the broad range of interests represented in the writing process.

Residential experiences text

The text in CfEtOL on residential experiences stemmed from one of the key objectives of OLSAG which was to:

Improve access to Curriculum for Excellence related residential experiences and explore the potential for external resources to support improved equality of access to a residential experience (OLSAG paper (08 (03))).

The content for the section of CfEtOL on residential experiences has roots in OLSAG paper (09) (04) drafted by Peter Higgins and Dave Spence, as members of OLSAG. The paper examined methods in pre- and post-course planning, clarity in structuring programme design, and evaluation of courses; the paper served as a discussion document and was distributed to OLSAG networks for a six week consultation on 20th April 2009. There were 17 responses to the paper which were collated by the Scottish Government and feedback was given to members of the writing team within OLSAG. The comments reflected issues the paper raised; however it was difficult to fully capture alternative 'best practice' ideals from collated responses. To assist this process, LTS organised a seminar in January 2010 which, although attendance was hampered by wintery travel conditions, created a skeleton of specific points to include in the residential section. Based on feedback from OLSAG paper (09) (04) and the LTS seminar, Chalmers Smith, the Outdoor Learning Framework Development Officer at LTS and a member of OLSAG, drafted two pages for inclusion in early drafts of CfEtOL.

The information garnered for the production of text on residential experiences thus stemmed from a range of sources in the public, academic and voluntary sectors.

Health and Safety text

The section on health and safety stemmed from discussion at the first OLSAG meeting which proposed a health and safety guide for schools is required to provide confidence to teachers, dispel health and safety myths, and provide a simple model of risk assessment. Four OLSAG members were to prepare draft guidance which was presented at the second meeting as paper (08) (07A). The paper highlighted the use of the Health and Safety on Educational Excursions (HASEE) as the most helpful for good practice in learning outdoors and suggested that the best approach would be to produce guidance on

... the essential steps that require to be undertaken to identify and manage health & safety, risk assessment and related child protection for educational excursions (OLSAG Paper (08) (09), p. 3).

The paper was introduced at the second OLSAG meeting. The work of OLSAG was restricted by the time that members could allocate to nominated tasks within the constraints of professional jobs. The working group relied on the goodwill of employers such as local authorities, universities, nongovernmental and third sector organisations to provide the flexibility for staff to input time to OLSAG. Inevitably this conflict restricts the amount of time members can allocate to specific tasks. The seconded positions at LTS provided a means of furthering OLSAG work in addition to other members of the group. However providing good practice guidance was work which required significantly more time than members had within the lifespan of OLSAG.

Health and safety predominantly falls under the remit of the Health and Safety Executive (HSE). Gavin Howat was the HM inspector of Health and Safety and a member of the

Adventure Activities Licensing Authority Management Group. Howat was approached in the early stages of this work to ensure the HSE agreed and supported the suggested ways forward. My recollection of this time is that the allocation of finance for the additional work was not forthcoming directly from Scottish Government, however if the finance could be found within any other LTS work streams likely to be declaring an under-spend in their budgets, then the government would support the funds being reallocated to a health and safety task. A period of internal politicking over budget allocation at LTS ensued before funds could be allocated to a health and safety procurement to fulfil the requirements of OLSAG. Fundamentally, the Scottish Government did not specifically allocate funds for a health and safety task in the early stages of this work.

One of the required outcomes of the procurement for the Health and Safety guidance was the production of text to be included in CfEtOL. The initial draft was written by Bob Barton of Adventure Activity Associates and comments made by representative members of a steering group appointed to advice on the development of the health and safety online guidance, including the HSE who endorsed the Health and Safety section of CfEtOL.

'How good is our outdoor learning?'

OLSAG paper (09) (05) titled Outdoor Learning and How Good Is Our School? (HGIOS) stemmed from work originally commissioned by the Forestry Commission Scotland (FCS) and Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH) as part of a short external contract June 2008. (Personal communication, Juliet Robertson, March 16, 2009). Rachel Hellings, a policy officer for SNH, introduced the discussion at the 3rd OLSAG meeting after which Robertson offered resources from Aberdeenshire Council to develop the paper into a self-

assessment toolkit for outdoor learning. Initial work on the toolkit was led by Laura Mason, Head of Education in Aberdeenshire. Mason introduced the toolkit at the 4th OLSAG meeting. A draft version was circulated to key outdoor learning contacts via members of OLSAG for comment and the toolkit reviewed by OLSAG at the 6th meeting in November 2009.

Reeves (2008, p. 7) asks if tools such as HGIOS are a means of centralising standards and control. For example, of the 39 references in part four of the HGIOS 2nd edition document (2002), 19 are to HMI documents and only four are not government documents, thus 'performance measurement and review take appropriate account of best practice as embodied in local and national guidance (p. 64). As a consequence, benchmarking practice against an externally driven agenda for national standards, the process of self-evaluation is hampered as an organisation is concerned with the prescription of the toolkit which removes 'the need for any real attention to diagnosis, or evidence-informed problem finding and solving in-house' (p. 64). Through a pragmatic lens an interpretation of a HGIOS based toolkit in the outdoor learning sphere does not initially raise questions of centralised control. The original work was commissioned by FCS and SNH as a means to kick starting discussion. The framework of HGIOS was seen as an instrument which schools and teachers were already familiar with, where it might be usefully possible to extend the prescriptive framework of the conventional educational domain to partners operating outside of mainstream education provision who were not subject to the scrutiny of the HMIE. Effectively HGIOS acted as a tool to support schools subject to inspections. A controlling mechanism which perpetuates a centralised agenda is the

inspection regime *per se*. The text for the toolkit was initially generated from Aberdeenshire Council with input from LTS personnel.

Teacher qualifications and CPD text

The place of teacher qualifications in outdoor learning and the role this issue played in the development of outdoor education was discussed in Chapter 10 and 12. During the lifetime of the OLSAG group the training issue expanded from qualifications provided by Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in Initial Teacher Education (ITE), which would contribute to formalising outdoor education qualifications, to a broader issue of Continuous Professional Development (CPD) in outdoor learning.

The CPD topic was not on the initial agenda for an outdoor learning framework as outlined in the 3rd OLSAG meeting. The issue was first addressed earlier during the 2nd meeting when OLSAG paper (08) (06) was presented by Sarah Smith of the Scottish Government Education Directorate. The paper stemmed from an action point of the first meeting which read:

... will discuss with SG colleagues whether the arrangements between the SG and ITEs and between GTCS and ITEs include any requirement for outdoor learning accreditation and if not should they ...

The minutes record that the outcome of the ensuing discussions was for Smith to instigate a meeting between OLSAG representatives and Micheal Kellet and John Gunstone who held the portfolios for teacher education in the Scottish Government. The meeting never occurred, Robertson wrote to Gunstone but to the frustration of OLSAG, no response was

received. It is not clear why there was no initial response, however it was suggested the issue could be considered as part of a review of initial teacher training to be undertaken by Graham Donaldson which was in its early stages.

A second approach was a meeting between OLSAG members and Tom Hamilton, Director of Policy at the GTCS (which I attended in my role as the LTS Development Officer). The outcome of this meeting held at LTS in June 2009 was for the GTCS to consider ways in which outdoor learning could be integrated further into the teaching standards. A follow up meeting between OLSAG members and Hamilton at the GTCS later occurred to examine options for validating degrees and components of CPD. (A meeting which I also attended.) Four options were agreed as potential ways forward:

1. Outdoor learning to be a part of ITE for all teachers.
2. A full teaching qualification in outdoor learning which could be a joint Post Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE).
3. Supplementary PGDE training in outdoor learning.
4. Gaining professional recognition through a GTC recognised route.

These solutions for outdoor learning and wider recognition in teacher training illustrated the overall supportive tone from the GTCS for outdoor learning as a valid and important approach to teaching. At this meeting it was suggested a section in the CfEtOL document on the role of ITE in supporting the development of outdoor learning in CfE would be valuable. Higgins initially drafted this section with input from LTS personnel.

How CPD is promoted within the outdoor learning field is a theme which carried momentum from lobbying efforts by the University of Edinburgh in particular, but also a theme which emerged from the LTS outdoor learning conference of 2009. Partly as a result of the conference and discussion at OLSAG meetings, the key role CPD could have as an implementation tool became more apparent (interview Billy).

The issue of how the government could support outdoor learning to fulfil the SNP manifesto commitment would also be addressed by providing increased CPD for teaching staff in outdoor learning. This issue became a theme through a series of regional events which were organised by LTS following the launch of CfEtOL in April 2010. Issues surrounding health and safety in outdoor learning and access to CPD were prominent in workshop discussions, and became two themes into which the Scottish Government later channelled resources.

Conclusion

The development of CfEtOL occurred at a time when the issue of funding outdoor education residential experiences was politically sensitive. The SNP had agreed to a confidence and supply arrangement with the Conservatives to provide funding for outdoor education. Identifying a mechanism to implement this pledge was not straightforward and the five-day residential lobby lost out to school-based outdoor learning arguments. Resources were channelled into promoting outdoor learning primarily within schools through an extensive programme of CPD events following the launch of CfEtOL in April 2010.

The text for CfEtOL was generated from constituencies represented by the OLSAG group through draft sections prepared by local authority education departments, NGOs including LTS, HMIE, SNH and FCS, academics from the University of Edinburgh and contractors in the private sector. Initial drafts presented to OLSAG were prepared by LTS development officers and government personnel which were then distributed electronically to OLSAG network contacts for comments. A final mocked up draft prepared for editing at the 8th meeting of OLSAG was then approved by LTS director staff. Within this framework were nuanced conversations on elements of wording between writing personnel. Text was derived from a wide range of sources which may create a greater sense of a democratising process, but may also dilute the impact of what constitutes policy.

Interviewees were asked if CfEtOL was a policy document. The results were varied and illustrate the diverging ways actors view policy (Hill 2009, p. 15). Fiona suggested that enforcement is the defining element for public policy, i.e. policy is supported and driven by legislation. Other interviewees differed in their views; a Ministerial foreword and statements such as 'the journey through education for any child in Scotland must include...' (p. 9) and 'it is the responsibility for all involved in education to recognise the place of outdoor learning' (p. 26), were cited by Nigel as a justification for CfEtOL being a policy document. Billy did not see CfEtOL as a policy document *per se*, but stated CfEtOL clearly signals a policy direction and acts as high-level guidance. To conclude, Alan noted that if you went back 10, 20 or 40 years then a 'should' document would have been a policy document whereas in today's policy climate a 'should' document is more a guidance document.

Shoulds' even 'musts' are not policy in terms of the way in which they are exhibited in actions, so there are many imperitives that are laid upon local authorities and they don't do them. Here is a document that is a 'should' document, some will do them some will do something and some will not, I think we are in a much greyer area of what policy actually is then we have ever been.

Whilst there is not a consensual understanding of what does or does not constitute policy, or whether outdoor education advisory groups make policy *per se*, advisory groups such as OLSAG have a clear role in influencing policy direction.

Chapter 15: Policy making in Outdoor Learning

Introduction

This chapter draws together the contexts of policy influences and the production of text in outdoor education and outdoor learning to discern identifiable features of a policy process for outdoor learning in Scotland. The chapter is structured around these two contexts to amalgamate historical narratives (Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 10) together with analysis through policy text production. (Chapters 11, 12 and 13). Effectively this chapter pulls these two contexts of policy analysis together to ask what features can be identified that interact between these contexts to enable a process of change in outdoor education. The chapter utilises the interpretative perspective of policy making processes (Feldman, 2005) which places less emphasis on the resulting actions but examines features of a policy process. The challenge has been to identify distinctive features through which developments have occurred in outdoor education (Chapter 5).

To frame the argument of this chapter, the following briefly considers the interactive relationship that lurks between policy and philosophy in outdoor education. Nicol (2014) discussed the place of philosophy within outdoor education and proffered the following observation:

In general terms what we have seen is *post hoc* rationalisation of existing practice. Somewhere along the way the philosophy of outdoor education

became 'middle aged' and conservative with its vision guided by, and reacting to, sources of funding. The principles of reform pedagogy on which it was based lost their critical edge and the narrative of outdoor education became more about 'fitting in'. What we see much less of are attempts to identify philosophical foundations from which practice might emerge (p. 450).

What Nicol argues for the philosophy of outdoor education, resembles the situation for outdoor education policy, i.e. a *post hoc* rationalisation. Van der Eyken and Turner (1969) retell 'adventures' in education by recounting tales of pioneering schools in the UK. Their contention is that education practice guides and dictates legislation: education policy follows practice previously discussed as a feature of outdoor education (Chapter 8).

Scholars have acknowledged that the philosophy for outdoor education has roots in elements of the progressive schools movement (Hopkins & Putnam, 1993; Cook, 1999; Nicol & Higgins, 2011; Veevers & Allison, 2011). The *post hoc* rationalisation of outdoor education followed philosophic treatment of progressive educational practices by people with an interest and passion for taking pupils outside. For example, the classic works on adventure by writers such as Drasdo (1972) and Mortlock (1984) appeared a number of years after the establishment of outdoor centres and the growth of outdoor education; through a pragmatic lens their written philosophy was a reflection of practice.

Was it the philosophy of outdoor education which became 'middle aged' or was it the lack of robust national policy impacting on practice? For philosophical reflection to impact on future practice this chapter argues the prominent role of policy in shaping outdoor education practice and philosophy. There is an acknowledged irony in this position if

outdoor education practice is the bedrock of emerging policies. The shift from a radical approach exhibited by Mackenzie (1970), or what Nicol (2014, p. 450) refers to as 'reform pedagogy' into an accepted and established mode of education requires the wheels of the education policy machine to engage. The policy process thus acts as an interface between the agency of individual philosophy and the socially structured systems of national or local authority policy. When this machine breaks down, philosophy falters the way Nicol describes. Faltering philosophy becomes a lagging indicator of reduced policy interest and momentum. The premise can be rephrased to suggest that for wider philosophical debate, an escalation of policy action is fundamental.

The chapter theorises the features of the policy process in Scottish outdoor education in three sections. The first section revisits the earlier chapters which examined the context of influences in outdoor education and examines deliberate decision making by individual agents. The second section examines the point at which individual agency and the context of policy influence meet to develop identifiable policy features. The third section expands upon four features of policy making for outdoor education in Scotland: Policy corridors, networks and advisory groups, galvanising events, and the concept of a 'policy squeeze'.

Deliberate Decision Making

Pivotal characters who shaped educational thinking such as Freire, Reddie, Geddes, Ensor and Hahn were protagonists, writers and thinkers who shaped progressive educational practice. Observations, experiments and practice were outlined as the drivers of a progressive school movement (Chapter 7). The emergence of recognisable properties of the policy development process formed over decades such as networks, lobby groups and

government interest which were driven by practice. For example, the establishment of the New Educational Fellowship (NEF) network and the ensuing conferences borne of progressive educational practice; later the 1947 Report of the Advisory Council for Education in Scotland extolled the value of progressive education approaches and bodies such as the School Nature Study Union, the Scottish National Camps Association and the Countryside Commission for Scotland were identified as key stakeholders in the story of outdoor education policy development. The origin of organisations varied from an organic sprouting of grass root enthusiasts to legislation requiring fresh overseeing bodies. The founders of progressive schools across the UK and the agency associated with the growth of organisations such as Outward Bound and the Field Studies Council reinforced the theme in Scottish outdoor education that pioneering practice is the forebear to policy development (Chapter 8).

A network of enthusiastic mountaineers in positions of authority within the Scottish education policy sphere aided the development of local authority outdoor centres (Chapter 11). With little evidence it is conjecture to suggest mountaineering interest was the sole critical factor in local authority outdoor centre growth in the late 1960's but it is argued that mountaineering was a common theme between stakeholders operating across the hierarchical spectrum of the educational policy arena.

The fledgling policy process for outdoor education in Scotland emerges through a bottom up approach with pioneering practice and individual agency as the platform for, and as a prelude to, broader structural features of policy and social discourse such as text production, a policy cycle or the equality of policy implementation. It is recognised that broader social entities such as language, patriarchy or class enter this mix and are

acknowledged influences, but the predominant pragmatic perspective of this analysis takes individual agency as the catalyst and inception point of a policy process. Individual teachers and practitioners made choices over their experimentation with taking pupils outdoors.

Individual judgement in decision making is an essential element of Rational Choice Theory (RCT) (Chapter 2). RCT is a theory of policy and political science based on the assumption that a person will make a decision in order to maximise their needs, motivated by self-interest to achieve greater status. In this instance individuals motivated by an interest in the outdoors made decisions to conduct or promote activities outdoors rather than indoors. In RCT decision options must be rank ordered; it is a theory with appeal to political scientists when researching decision making processes in areas such as elections and polling.

Would the Outdoor Connections programme have existed if the Ministers in post had no experience or passion for outdoor adventurous activity? Whilst an answer is difficult to discern the question highlights the need for theory to account for the interaction between policy actors who create agendas, in contrast to individual rational decisions based on rank-ordered choices. The concept of how rationality is perceived becomes key. (For discussion on the place of rationality within RCT see Ostrom, 2005; Feiock, 2007 or Hodgson, 2012.)

A policy theory which accounts for decision making in outdoor education in Scotland must account for individual tastes and preferences. An argument recently presented by Burns (2015) is that in RCT rationality is understood in universalistic terms with little space for behavioural freedom:

Such a narrow conceptualisation of human action allows, of course, very little behavioural freedom to individuals and social agents. The “freedom” they possess is more in deciding their objectives, what and how they value things. But it is precisely these matters that are left unexplained by the theory: ‘tastes and preferences’ are given, or simply assumed (p. 198).

The passion for mountaineering was identified as a basis for a network of policy actors in the 1960s. In the data collection, at the outset of each interview, candidates were asked questions on their background for being involved in outdoor education. These are some typical responses.

When I was a pupil at school ... I built a ... kayak and then from my home I used to drag it down to the local river and I suppose that and joining the scouts got me interested. (Interview Derek.)

I started life 30 plus years ago as a biology teacher and took every opportunity then to take any kids outdoors. (Interview George)

It was a personal thing, Sam Galbriath was the cabinet minister at the time both had a background in climbing, he had done a lot of climbing at quite a high level he was keen on all of that and knew as I did because I had done the same, I did a lot of climbing and canoeing and skiing as a youth and worked as an outdoor instructor in the summer holidays and things. (Interview James)

...It stems from my own childhood and early adulthood and particularly from the early days of teacher training as a post graduate student where I did an outdoor education elective and from there on I regularly took part in a range of outdoor education and outdoor learning activities. (Interview Nigel.)

A majority of interview candidates held a personal interest in activities outdoors and made deliberate decisions to continue this interest into their professional lives. Some interviewees pursued careers in the outdoor sector as instructors, teachers or lecturers; some interviewees used their professional position to support the use of the outdoors in Scottish education. This is not surprising given the nature of the topic and the sampling procedure; however it is an influential factor discussed more fully later in the chapter.

The agency of decision making by pioneers of outdoor education in Scotland can be theorised by understanding that decisions did not necessarily reflect normal educational practice; practitioners and policy actors had to create agendas and make deliberate decisions biased towards outdoor education, often influenced by their personal circumstances and experience as in the examples above. Choices were intentionally and deliberately made to reflect a desire to see young people outdoors. It is beyond this research to question if the motivation for these decisions was driven by a self-serving premise as expounded by RCT. What can be theorised is that the agency of deliberate decision-making created a critical mass of practitioners across varied strands who either held posts within, or found support from, the political and structural fabric of the education system of Scotland.

For these purposes, individuals and pioneers who made deliberate decisions to pursue elements of outdoor education for young people (particularly when there was little or no infrastructure for taking pupils outdoors in Scotland) are referred to as outdoor education advocates. Individuals who, through their passion for taking pupils outdoors, or for their passion to facilitate young people to experience outdoor activities, bias their decision choices towards a collective of loose principles which favour outdoor education.

Outdoor education advocates hold a range of positions: teachers such as Brown and Mackenzie, (Chapter 7); the countless instructors and leaders of outdoor based organisations (Chapter 8); Directors of Education such as Ian Collie, who in the 1970s developed an outdoor education personal skills programme (Chapter 11); likewise, and prior to Collie, Stewart Mackintosh as a Director of Education became Chair of the Glenmore Lodge Committee; Peter Peacock who as Deputy Minister for Children and Education wanted to give outdoor education a boost. The latter examples whereby individuals are able to use the influence borne of positions within the educational sphere moves the concepts of outdoor education advocates into the social and political structure of Scottish education.

To conclude this section, in a minor policy area such as outdoor education the role of individuals and pioneers in the form of outdoor education advocates making deliberate choices is the critical foundation to policy growth. This position was captured by Terry who referred to a point in time when he noticed a change in rhetoric from central government. He believed the critical mass of actors who were outdoor education advocates was such that other policy stakeholders referred to as the old 'elite' of education policy making could not ignore a groundswell of support:

... if you look at that there is enough of them giving support to the ideas of outdoor learning and SDE that it's going to get through ... RWL [Real World Learning] wrote to the Minister ... and said they were worried that outdoor learning wasn't being given the prominence it needed and the response was rather than being 'piss off we've heard all this before', it's 'that's an interesting point of view we are pulling a little group together to look at it could you find a couple of representatives to come along to our meeting'. That is a mark two mature policy position that they have got themselves into, that's a very positive place to be ...

It is the interaction between outdoor education advocates on one hand making deliberate decisions, and features identified within a policy process for outdoor education in Scotland on another hand which is the discussion in the following section.

Agency, agendas and structure

Chapter 6 outlined features of the Scottish mainstream educational machine, using Circular 33 as an example of how the change process is contested at a number of levels, for instance from the former Scottish Office, higher education, from parents, or at a local or regional level. The time scale for wide scale policy change to be fully implemented is years, possibly decades. Previously Scotland was seen to have a 'complex reality' (Anderson, 1983) with distinct ideological and political force. These forces acted to shape the approach taken by education in Scotland, but despite strong support within the educational establishment in the form of SCRE, the SED and leading academics of

education, the more progressive approach to a school's curriculum could not overcome the hurdles presented by the Scottish educational meritocratic myth.

A later example of outdoor education advocates meeting the educational establishment was seen in the formation of the Peacock report which was effectively buried between 2001 and 2003 (Chapter 12). The return of Peacock (an avid outdoor education advocate) in 2003 raised questions about the report that led to the Outdoor Connections programme. Examples which attempt to clarify a specific point where the establishment meets outdoor education advocates can be problematic. Other issues of that era such as teachers' pay negotiations may have pushed outdoor education down the agenda or the report may have sat on one person's desk. Conjecture at the micro level may not necessarily be useful for viewing the macro. However the example highlights that the consequences of individual actions and decisions in minor policy areas such as outdoor education are significant. How individual agency relates to broader conceptual interpretation of outdoor education or outdoor learning policy becomes a key to understand and identify key moments and decisions.

The policy context for the OC programmes (Chapter 12) and the development of CfEtOL (Chapters 13 and 14) provided an opportunity for academics and practitioners to reflect on the practice and the philosophy of outdoor education and outdoor learning. (See for example, Beames & Ross, 2010; Fenwick, 2010; Christie & Higgins, 2012; Thorburn & Allison, 2012; Thorburn & Marshall, 2012, Nicol, 2013; Nicol, 2014.)

To return to the introductory premise that policy plays a prominent role in philosophical reflection, the above indicates the vitality of debate following developments in a policy realm. Or was an increase in reflection and debate about outdoor education and outdoor

learning caused because policy interest was not asking what solutions outdoor education could offer a particular agenda? In other words, protagonists and advocates were not seeking outdoor education solutions to fit broader national policy issues. The policy light via the mechanisms of the mainstream Scottish education policy machine was shining on the pedagogy of outdoor learning as an approach to education (Chapters 12 and 13). Outdoor learning and outdoor education had to stand on its own educational merit.

The only national guidance previously identified in Scotland specific to outdoor education was Circular 804 issued in 1971. Historically outdoor education sought to mould itself onto particular national policy events to provide policy solutions for example ROSLA and SCOTVEC modules (Chapter 11). As outdoor education advocates extolled the benefits of taking pupils outdoors a range of policy solutions emerged to fit particular policy agendas. This concept was identified as policy surfing (Chapter 2). Table 4 exemplifies this discussion by listing five particular policy agendas familiar to outdoor education discourse.

In Table 4, the second column indicates particular issues or policy problems within each agenda (Chapters 8, 10 and 11). The agendas of health, economics and sport resonate with the findings of Cook (1999) who suggested that outdoor education was largely physical justified by a social rationale which sought solutions to poor health, economic decline, industrial management, juvenile delinquency, preparedness of armed conflict and class tensions. The third column lists examples of outdoor education policy responses. The policy issues that outdoor education has responded to has shifted with social and cultural change from an imperialistic character-building trend to a broader progressive approach arguably stimulated by a policy interest from a revised curriculum in Scottish education.

Table 4:

Examples of outdoor education responses to national policy agendas.

Policy Agenda	Issues / national international drivers	Examples of outdoor education based responses and/or policy programmes
Health	Tuberculosis, Military preparedness, Health budget savings, 'Wellness'	Outdoor schools; Uniformed youth movements;
Economics and employment	Character training, preparedness for work, citizenship, prevention of social unrest	Outward Bound apprentice programmes; Youth Training Scheme (YTS) residential;
Physical activity and sport	School PE, sport participation, international competition success	SCOTVEC modules in orienteering, kayaking, skiing, hill walking and sailing.
Environment	Environmental responsibility and citizenship; Sustainable Development Education (SDE);	Circular 804. The growth of field study courses in Local Authority outdoor centres.
Education	Pedagogical and curricula change	Outdoor Connections, CfEtOL

It is surprising that there is no specific section on residential outdoor education. It was difficult to categorise a specific policy response based on analysis from previous chapters. Outdoor education residential experiences focusing on personal and social development developed from a variety of strands over decades (Chapter 8).

Effectively, there are two simultaneous processes in operation: from the ground up exemplified by pioneering practice, and from the top down via 'establishment' policy making mechanisms including legislation, local authority guidance, networks and advisory groups. The interaction between these processes is contested ground (see Sabatier, 1986; Fullan, 2007). Policy analysis can usefully be conducted on a case-by-case basis to acknowledge the complexity and 'messiness' of the policy-making process rather than viewing a process through stages, cycles, or top down versus bottom up approaches.

To assist a discussion on identifiable themes, the top down and bottom up approaches are shown in Figure 9 as a representation of policy features of outdoor education in Scotland.

At the bottom of Figure 9 is pioneering practice which, as argued previously in this chapter, has been the bedrock of policy development in outdoor education in Scotland. As events, networks and coalitions continued, grew and became formalised (Chapters 7, 8 and 10) properties of a policy process become apparent. The three features identified as themes for discussion are shown in Figure 9 as policy corridors, galvanising events, and a policy squeeze. The first two features, 'policy corridors' and 'galvanising events' are represented by vertical boxes which span bottom up and top down processes. The vertical boxes indicate their position as outliers to conventional policy processes; policy corridors and galvanising events operate across the spectrum of stakeholders as powerful processes with the capacity to radically determine the outcomes for outdoor education in Scotland. Effectively these systems operate outside of the day-to-day policy functioning processes. The third feature of a policy squeeze is located between top down and bottom up approaches.

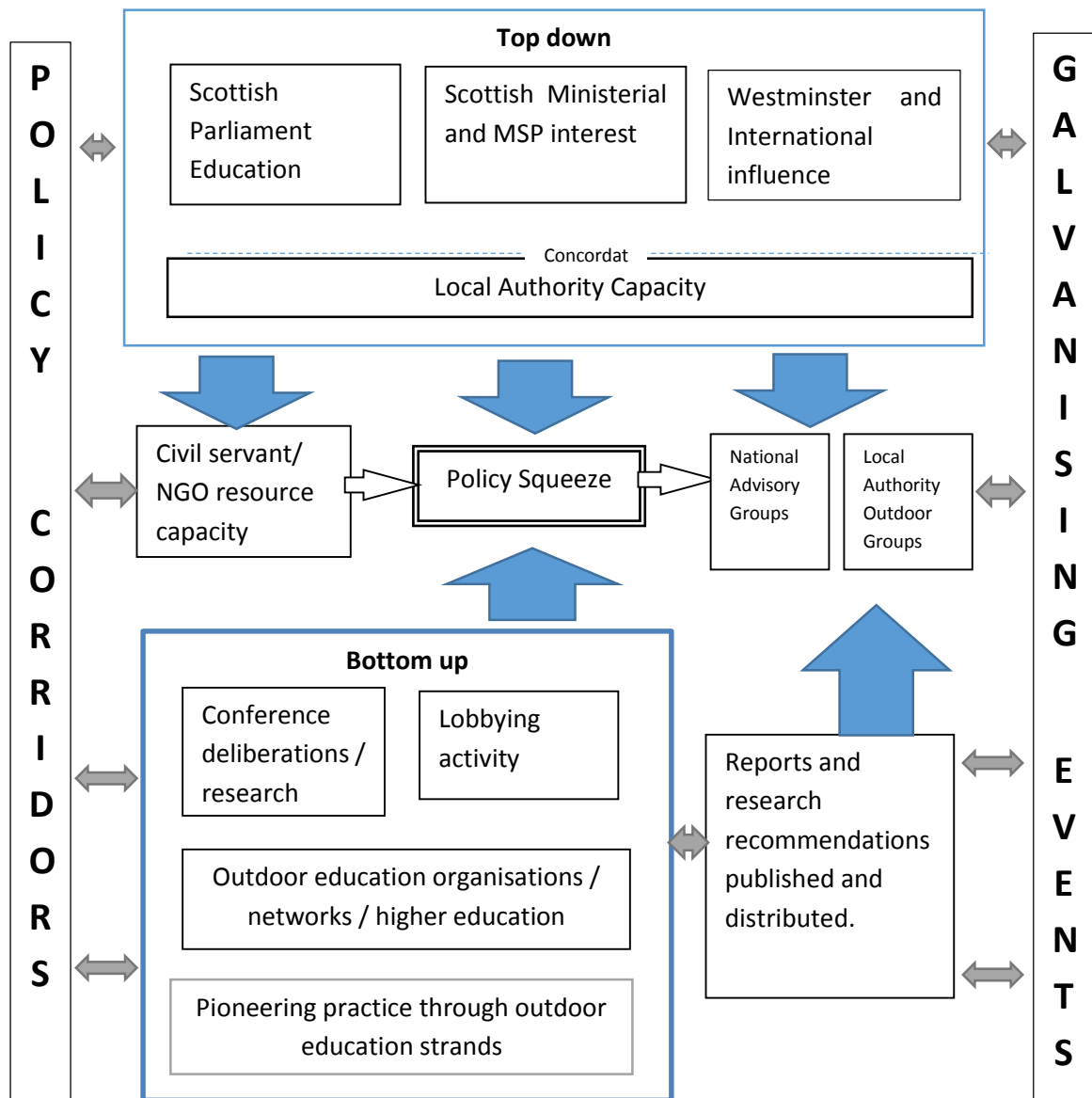


Figure 9. A Diagrammatic representation of policy features for outdoor education in Scotland.

Policy corridors

Chapter 11 identified a network of policy actors who shared a passion for mountaineering. Discussion of outdoor education advocates in Scotland during this era suggests that key positions in the education hierarchy were held by people with a passion for mountaineering. To theorise this finding, the theme has been extrapolated as a corridor through which a more expedient policy process can flourish, assisted by increased communication, personal empathy and individual passion for outdoor education. A corridor of power is an idiom given to express places in the upper echelons of institutions such as government where people with positions of power hold office. In this analogy positions which hold power to influence or enact policy and agenda change exist within a vertical alignment and operate as part of, but independent to, a policy process. Post holders in a policy corridor fit the description of an outdoor education advocate. If one of the decision makers in a particular alignment has no empathy for this passion, a corridor cannot exist. Effectively one of the doors is closed which blocks progress.

The green arrows in Figure 9 represent approximate points within a vertically aligned policy corridor. The following examples illustrate the construct of a policy corridor. During the late 1960s there is evidence of support for outdoor education from each of these stakeholder positions (Chapter 11). John Cook was deputy Director for Education at Edinburgh and a member of the Scottish Mountain Leader Training Board who brought a range of outdoor education experience to Scotland following his positions in West Riding with Jim Hogan and in Derbyshire with Jack Longland. Cook's Director of Education, George Reith had been Chair of the CCPR which, for a period, managed Glenmore Lodge. Murray Scott, previously a warden at Glenmore Lodge, was appointed to the HMI in 1961.

In the early 1960s the SED funded the purchase of the first Field Studies Council (FSC) centre in Scotland whose later conference helped establish the Committee for Education in the Countryside (Scotland). Political support and momentum for aspects of countryside education was high leading to the Countryside (Scotland) Act 1967 which established the Countryside Commission for Scotland. Local authority advisory appointments specific to outdoor education began in the late 1960s from which a network of advisers emerged.

From the bottom up the paragraph above cited the beginning of leader training, the commencement of professional networks and a number of conferences; from the top down there were Deputies and Directors of Education who were mountaineers, an inspector from the HMI with a background in outdoor education, examples of support from the SED and from the political class for education in the countryside. Significant influences and developments in Scottish outdoor education occurred during this era, which it is suggested, was facilitated by individual agency within a policy corridor. An early national guidance document followed these years of growth manifest in Circular 804 in 1971 which stimulated further capital spend on outdoor education (Chapter 11).

It has been difficult to identify momentum during the 1980s through to the end of the 1990s, periods which Nicol (2002) characterised as 'Trouble at t'mill' and 'Nest of Vipers' respectively. This does not mean individuals were not championing outdoor education during this time, but in this analysis, references to an age of momentum and growth in outdoor education were in the late 1960s through to the late 1970s and in the later 1990s though to 2011 when the interviews commenced.

The position of outdoor education in the 1980s was plagued by a lack of common purpose, conceptual confusion and professional uncertainty. The reorganisation of local

government in 1996 compounded this situation by destabilising networks and funding mechanisms. The impact of the Lyme Bay disaster refocused the outdoor education radar for local authority leaders on work concentrating in the health and safety domain. There were no references found to conferences during this era, which although this does not suggest any conferences took place, the narrative for the 1980s uncovered in this analysis is in stark contradiction to the references and activities of the 1970s, a time when a number of prominent outdoor education advocates held positions in the education policy making arena across a vertically aligned corridor.

The theoretical reality of a policy corridor becomes more compelling when due consideration is given to the situation post-devolution. The advent of the Scottish Parliament created a set of ministers based in Scotland to whom civil servants needed to answer. The development of the OC initiative identified supportive outdoor education advocates within a vertical hierarchy. From the top down the ministers responsible for the education portfolios were mountaineers and the HMI inspector for PE was an outdoor education advocate (Chapter 12 and 13).

In Figure 9, events bracketed under the 'Westminster and International influence box' combine with 'pioneering practice' and 'conferences' as bottom up features of the policy process which contribute to the policy process by adding pressure and momentum to the support for outdoor learning. For example, in England the Foundation for Outdoor Adventure was established following the work, 'In Search of Adventure' by Lord Hunt (1989) and continued to operate through until 2004. The Campaign for Adventure was launched in 2000 following the 'Question of Balance' conference on adventure in society held in London. The constitution of outdoor education organisations underwent a

restructure and the Institute for Outdoor Learning emerged in 2001. The popularity of Forest Schools in the UK was ignited following a visit to Denmark in 1994 by Bridgewater College (Knight, 2009, p. 4). The Westminster government announced the beginning of the Connexions residential programme, and in Scotland capital funding was available to outdoor education via the Big Lottery. A bottom up groundswell of support is evident from the late 1990s which placed additional pressure on policy makers to examine the issue. Alex suggested the pressure and activity in England was added stimulus for a lobbying coalition in Scotland to ask questions of MSPs as to why progress on the promotion and support for outdoor education was not moving as quickly as it was in England.

A policy corridor thus links and creates an informal coalition of outdoor education advocates who operate in both the top down and bottom up spheres of the policy making arena for outdoor education. The green arrows in Figure 9 suggest how the flow of information between the outlying advocacies within a policy corridor is equally reliant on the processes within the top down and bottom up approaches to policy making feeding into the corridor. A policy corridor cannot function without these processes, but operates independently and expedites the process for positive outcomes in outdoor education by combining a powerful force of advocacy across the range of policy situations and arenas. Solutions to the issues are negotiated in the space between the bottom-up and top-down mechanisms characterised in Figure 9 as a 'policy squeeze'.

Policy squeeze

The space where the top down policy making mechanisms meet the bottom up approaches is theorised as a policy squeeze. The term squeeze is given to reference the

pressure placed on a particular agenda from opposing forces of the policy process. In Figure 9 the space is represented by the advisory groups and the civil servant and NGO capacity. (Chapters 12 and 13). To summarise and place in the context of a policy process this pressure is manifest in two contexts: funding allocation and expertise.

In terms of change the health agenda and preparedness for war were two issues or values that drove policy development in outdoor learning e.g. open air schools and camps (Chapter 8). These policy actions can be considered top down solutions originating from departments within government but outside of education. Outdoor education domain strands featured outdoor advocates pioneering practice in the early days of Outward Bound, the promotion of fieldwork, or the introduction of adventure activities in schools, each history theorised as pioneering practice (Chapter 8). These two approaches represent top down and bottom up approaches respectively; early policy related to the development of camps and outdoor schools identify with a top down process. The foundations of domain strands including the development of youth organisations such as the Scouts or the Order of Woodcraft identify with a bottom up process. The attempts to weave the domain strands together into a specific subject of outdoor education required a curriculum project that in Scotland has shifted into a new realm of outdoor learning (Chapter 10).

The pressure from bottom up practices illustrated through organisations such as those partnered in the Real World Learning (RWL) lobbying coalition illustrate the broad interests found in outdoor learning. The bottom up pressure from lobbying activity combined with the top down pressure from Ministers, politicians and some local authorities to create a policy squeeze. In order to mitigate this pressure an advisory group

creates a fresh space from which policy solutions can be generated and resources channelled.

Ministers are able to use external groups to apply pressure on institutions, but retain some element of control over specific issues particularly budgetary implications. The negotiated style of text production in outdoor learning then is not necessarily between interest groups, MSPs, the government and appointed advisory groups such as OLSAG, but between the central educational institutions in Scotland and the aforementioned stakeholders. As Simon expanded:

Education policy in Scotland is a funny mix, it's a funny mix of consensus and party politics ... the argument about education is really between perhaps, the education establishment and others, it's about trying to bring the education establishment with you ...

The negotiations between the education agencies at the time and OLSAG illustrated how advisory groups are able to move policy forward for minor policy areas within the mainstream curricular discourse which may otherwise be impervious to the particular agenda of MSPs, Ministers or manifesto commitments. A policy squeeze has implications in two areas: Firstly. budgetary negotiations and secondly on government expertise and capacity.

The pressure for implementing solutions to agenda issues frequently carried resource implications. How the funding issue was addressed becomes part of the 'squeeze' placed on budgetary pressures and on potential policy outcomes (Chapter 13). The allocation of funds is both complex and simple. It was complex insofar that the process for allocating

funds for outdoor learning in Scotland was difficult to unpick, i.e. the amount a government budgeted for outdoor learning was unclear. It is simple insofar as there are only a few stakeholders with the capacity to decide how funds are allocated. The process is not linear or transparent, the process of 'finding money' was a term used by stakeholders. This process involved looking for other public sector budgets where allocated funds were unlikely to be spent, and reallocating that money to outdoor learning. Outdoor learning was a beneficiary of this process on occasions post-2008 including programmes of conferences, Continuing Professional Development (CPD) events and work in the health and safety domain. Boscarino (2009) identified 'problem surfers' who look for rising agenda issues to suit their pet solutions (Chapter 2). In a similar vein, outdoor learning has been the beneficiary of 'budget surfers' competing for funds likely to be declared as underspend within government and NGOs budget allocations with which to drive policy initiatives.

The second context in which pressure is exerted is expertise. The Scottish Government civil service did not have the necessary expertise to understand the detail required in specialist areas of policy work. It is not uncommon for a group to be formed to advise the government of possible policy directions. It is not just the expertise, but the workload capacity of civil servants requires an advisory group to fill that capacity through negotiated work programmes. The squeeze placed on civil servant resources by parliamentary pressure from the top down and from bottom up lobbying pressure adds momentum for an advisory group to find solutions to ease the pressure on civil servants and NGOs. As outlined in the section on advisory groups a bespoke group was formed to conduct a particular programme of work within defined parameters to avoid politicking issues

between established interest groups. The 'policy squeeze' resulted in three outdoor advisory groups producing reports between 2000 and 2010. Firstly for the Peacock report, secondly for Outdoor Connections and thirdly for OLSAG.

Galvanising events

Galvanising events act as outliers to the outdoor education policy process and have been theorised as external shocks on the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) (Sabatier, 1986) and policy windows (Kingdon, 1995). In outdoor education some examples are unfortunately tragic. The Lyme Bay disaster was a tragedy that distressed the nation and the outdoor community which required lessons to be learned and a change in conventional practice (Chapter 12). A policy window refers to opportunistic occasions where policy streams join to create circumstances for change (Chapter 2). In the face of tragic circumstances, events such as the Cairngorm Disaster in 1973 (Chapter 10) could not be considered occasions where policy advocates seize opportunities for change in the circumstances suggested by a policy windows concept. However such events act to galvanise policies, groups and individuals to ensure lessons that can be learnt are translated into action. The ACF concept of an external shock, which 'include broad changes in socioeconomic conditions, public opinion, governing coalitions, and other subsystems' (Weible, Sabatier, & McQueen, 2009, p. 124) is a concept theorised at a macro level. Galvanising events shake outdoor education practice and operate as catalysts for policy action across the top down and bottom up processes of policy making. In this manner galvanising events act as pivotal moments in policy change or development and operate outside of conventional processes.

Conclusion

Four key factors can be discerned from this chapter which contribute to understanding the policy architecture for outdoor education in Scotland. The first is the importance of individual agency and the deliberate decision making required by outdoor education advocates to support and engage in outdoor learning and education. The second is the network of individuals which stem from this agency. On one side the lobbying capacity in post-devolution Scotland for outdoor learning increased to provide a representation of organisations and outdoor education advocates with the ability to pursue questions on outdoor education policy to MSPs. On the other hand the chapter proposed a concept of a policy corridor that allows a smooth transition for ideas to be translated into action through a network of outdoor education advocates who operate across a spectrum of the hierarchy of education policy vehicles.

Thirdly are galvanising events which act as outliers to the policy process and create a situation which demands expedite attention, whether for matters of pupils safety or public concern, there is an imperative for a government response to a particular event.

Finally the pressure exerted by the top down processes of MSPs, Ministers and comparable events from other countries combine with the pressure from bottom up forces including pioneering practices and professional organisations creates tension resulting in a squeeze on the resources and capacity of the civil service. Post devolution the solution to this has been outdoor advisory groups established at the bequest of ministers to instigate change outside of the policy-making processes. These legitimised

groups function to exert pressure and change on an education culture which has, for many decades, been resistant to progressive approaches to practically orientated curriculum.

Chapter 16: Concluding comments

Introduction

This thesis has explored historical policy antecedents for outdoor education in Scotland through analysis of ‘within domain forces’ and through consideration of macro-influences latent in Scottish mainstream education policy. Historically, during the last century, outdoor education had mixed fortunes and held philosophies which did not chime with the prevailing curricular discourse; more recent policy manifestations were explored through the development of CfEtOL. There are three areas which warrant concluding comments. Firstly a summary of key findings and contributions, secondly issues surrounding the methodology regarding how questions were formulated and addressed and thirdly notes for further research.

Key findings and contributions

The research questions addressed were:

1. What are the historic influences on the direction of outdoor education in Scotland?
2. What features can be identified in the development of outdoor education policy in Scotland?

The findings which emerged can be summarised thus:

- The health agenda was an influential and important antecedent in the development of early outdoor education policy. Health was identified as the driver for early initiatives at the beginning of the 20th century from which the antecedents of outdoor education grew. For example, outdoor schools and school hygiene, camps, preparedness for military service, physical fitness and residential schools (Chapter 8).
- The development of outdoor education in Scotland has historically and frequently been viewed in isolation from the education policy arena of Scotland (Chapter 6). The education policy community was embroiled with curricular issues over the nature of schooling and the pre-eminence of an academic curriculum and the Scottish leaving certificate.
- Outdoor education as a subject moved away from direct association to PE where it existed within Higher Education as a subset of PE teaching. The policy debate to define outdoor education as a subject during the 1970s has now been subsumed by the position of 'outdoor learning' as an approach to learning. This position creates opportunities but raises questions over the position of traditional Scottish outdoor education, characterised by residential outdoor centres which provide adventurous activities.
- Outdoor learning is a product of a wider conceptual broadening of education rather than an internal reorganisation of outdoor education. This has implications for policy implementation and for stakeholder representation. The conceptual broadening of formal education post-devolution has created space to redefine how outdoor education is conceived which resulted in a wider domain of

stakeholders gathered under the same umbrella. The increased breadth impacts on policy implementation and interpretation issues. For some, the amalgam fosters curricular confusion, for others the expanded scope validates a broad approach.

- Change takes significant periods of time in Scottish education, measured in decades rather than years. Are we experiencing the beginning of the end for what this thesis identified as the 'old' traditional outdoor education? Outdoor education and outdoor learning are different, yet many institutions have changed names and titles to reflect outdoor learning as the new conceptual regime. A key feature in this change and debate identified in Chapters 12 and 13 is the role and nature of adventure. Adventure learning is a term which may prove to be a useful distinguisher for purveyors of the 'old' traditional outdoor education.
- An identifiable outdoor learning policy process has emerged post-devolution manifest in a policy squeeze on the resources and capacity of civil servants derived from the combined bottom-up lobbying forces and top-down Ministerial and MSP pressure. The outcome is Scottish Government led advisory groups with the capacity to influence mainstream educational discourse through links with Scottish policy institutions. Policy corridors and galvanising events act as features which catalyse this process. These processes operate outside of the traditional Scottish education policy processes. Fundamentally, the driver for CfEtOL was political rather than a desire by the Scottish education policy community to embrace outdoor-based approaches to learning.

- The policy debate in outdoor education and outdoor learning previously benefited from the promotion of pioneering practice to individuals who are both personally active in the outdoors and hold professional positions within the Scottish education polity. The findings suggest this political approach to lobbying would be the most effective strategy to create change. Education professionals engaged in the Scottish outdoors would benefit from defined policy structures which clearly signpost passionate individuals to respective networks, funding streams and resources. A networked policy structure would allow government officials, MSPs and NGOs appropriate channels to allocate funding. Conversely education officials and MSPs would have ready access to professionals and expertise to assist with issues of capacity within the civil service. A number of outdoor professional networks already exist. A combination of bottom-up lobbying and top-down leadership is a potent catalyst from which policy clarity and in turn conceptual understanding could emerge. As argued in Chapter 15, conceptual debate appears to be a product of policy momentum rather than conceptual debate leading to policy change. A national conference on the role and function of Scottish outdoor networks may assist this process.

Methodological issues

As cited in the introduction, Chapter 1, history impinges on education policies (McCulloch, 1997), however, identifying causal links beyond conjecture and anecdote is problematic. The contexts of influence and of text in the analysis of policy development in outdoor education in Scotland were reconciled through an extrapolation of historical antecedents

of outdoor education strands into the context of outdoor learning. The outcome of this approach to analysis is not without difficulties.

Causal links between historical interpretation and current policy positions and direction were problematic on two accounts. Firstly, it is difficult to identify specific causation, and secondly it is difficult to assess the 'weight' of particular events; for example, finding evidence which specifically links policies for camps, vocational education or a framework of residential schools, with policies for more contemporary outdoor education centres. Likewise it is difficult to place any weighting on historical antecedents to attribute causation of policy development. These issues are not unique: Dowding (2001, p. 90) discussed historical policy analysis and noted that, 'no matter how good the descriptive history it cannot show which of the causal factors are most important'. The difficulty of reconciling two approaches to policy analysis was compounded by the fluid boundaries for the present study.

The interactive research design adopted from Maxwell (2013) provided a useful framework for conducting the early stages of the research in conceiving the study. However the structure proved more complex in the latter stages. Fundamentally it was difficult to locate boundaries to identify where iteration should halt. The fields of policy and outdoor education are broad and nebulous, (Chapters 2 and 8), and this continuously generated questions of definition in the present study. By returning to the research questions during the research process, the broad scope of outdoor education and related policy created issues over the precise nature of policy analysis. Fundamentally these processes are complex and the act of looking for iterations in the chaos (Ball, 1994a) and relating the macro- to the micro- appears a perennial policy analysis conundrum.

The research and analysis has been conducted over a period of years. Member checking was conducted later in the research during the writing up stages of the thesis, but was not as simple a process as I had anticipated. Revisiting interviewees earlier would have assisted with recollection, however time and practical constraints prevented this and other courses of action.

Adopting a pragmatic perspective to the research provided a philosophical foundation on which to return and ask questions as uncertainty arose. However, looking back in order to look forward as a reflective process gave the research a rationale but also created uncertainty over the trustworthiness of the reflection. The interviews provided the basis for analysis and direction; however this mix was influenced by my experience of working with government officials, local authorities and education institutions.

The extent to which the researcher bias influences the trustworthiness of the research is conceived as a question of balance and proportion rather than an issue. In other words, it is acknowledged that the experience of the researcher working in an environment on which some of the research is based, plays into factors of reliability of the study, but this experience is conceived as enhancing the trustworthiness of the interpretation. As stated in Chapter 2, from a pragmatic perspective, research conclusions are not certain, perfect or absolute. Truth claims are partial and patiently wait reassessment and adjustment. It is left to others to reinterpret the findings and analysis of this study. Assertions are warranted until doubt once again forces further inquiry.

Further study

There are three main areas suggested for further study.

This thesis focused on the context of influence and the context of policy text. The third context suggested by Ball, Bowe and Gold (1992) was the context of practice. Research which examines the implementation of policy initiatives' such as CfEtOL would contribute to understanding how effective central government measures are and the relationship between practice and policy.

The second area is to gather appropriate quantitative data which can assist policy making. For example has the number of hours engaged in outdoor learning by young people in Scottish education increased? Such a question requires researchers to establish criteria for what outdoor learning consists of and how this can be measured which in turn would aid understanding of definitional boundaries. A quantitative question on the number of hours of outdoor learning raises important questions over the quality of those experiences.

The third area would be to explore decision making processes for policy making in Scottish Education. A qualitative study in the area would help understand the structure and interrelationship between stakeholders outlined in this thesis. This may provide a more focused study with greater scope to generalise findings into related policy initiatives, for example the implementation and development of Learning for Sustainability (with its outdoor learning) element following the 'One Planet Schools' report.

Conclusion

This thesis has drawn on areas of policy and curriculum, politics and practice, historical antecedents and contemporary features to garner an understanding of outdoor education policy development in Scotland. This breadth created a diverse and complex story. The consequence is a thesis that weaves a delicate path to join elements of outdoor education in Scotland towards a coherent interpretation and understanding of the present situation. It is hoped the whole view narrative created by connecting curriculum with policy, historical context with present situations has created a fuller and richer picture greater than the sum of its parts. Policy change does not follow conceptual debate but catalyses it; pioneering practice does not necessarily result in curriculum change; political interest may not result in new policies. To grapple with outdoor education in Scotland now requires a lens which encompasses a spectrum of stakeholders beyond academics, practitioners and experts in the field.

It was a challenge to locate conceptual work on the structure of the policy process in the realm of Scottish outdoor learning. This acts as a platform on which others may build to explore and understand how advocates, academics and policy officials can work to bring a broad and fulfilling education based in the outdoors to more Scottish young people.

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

The sample below illustrates the nature of questioning at the interviews. The questions were prepared but not all questions were asked to every interviewee – the selection depended on their background and experience. For example it was not appropriate to ask an MSP questions on the development of outdoor education organisations. The preparation structure of the questions changed for the second study insofar as the interviews became less structured with broader topics that I wanted to explore with fewer specific questions. Additionally the structure of the interviews did not surround the establishment of OLSAG.

Example of first study questions

Pre OLSAG developments

- Could you briefly describe your background up to your involvement in outdoor learning?
- Could you talk about your background in outdoor learning - when it started and how you have been involved? Prompt - where are the drivers coming from
- Who else were key people it may be worth me interviewing?
- How much of the work of the outdoor connections group influenced the work of OLSAG?

- How much influence do you think external groups have had on national leadership in OL? Prompt- lobby groups

OSLAG work

- Can you tell me about the setting up of the OLSAG?
- People frequently told me the timing was good for outdoor learning. What things do you think helped this? Prompt – what factors add to the momentum for outdoor learning?
- I remember hearing an outline to the content of the original OLF document coming from five papers at an OLSAG meeting in Stirling. Did you expect OSLAG to be producing a curriculum document?
- Did the government specifically ask or expect a document?
- Was the curriculum management team aware of CfEtOL developing?
- What do you think were the main factors leading to a curriculum document?
- Do you see CfEtOL as a policy document or guidance or what ...?
- Do you think Scotland now has a policy for outdoor education?

Post OLSAG and Implementation

- What do think government will want to come from CfEtOL? Prompt – opinions of policy makers (anything tangible). Local authority level.
- How can SG ensure or monitor if policy intentions filter down to practice?

- What things do you think will hinder the implementation of CfEtOL?
- Were you aware of a strategy for OL by the SNP for the duration of their term in government? Prompt – explore issues of timing and strategy

Example of second study guiding questions.

Introduction

- Could you tell me about your background in outdoor education?
- Could you talk about how you become involved in national initiatives?
- Can you think of other people who are influential in shaping developments in outdoor learning in Scotland?

Historical perspective

- Do you recall how SED circular 804 came to be?
- Curriculum inclusion pre devolution
- Do you recall the development of 5-14 guidelines and place of outdoor education in these
- Memories of discussions on curricular inclusion and content in OE
- Experience of changes to policy making structure

History of SAPOE

- How did it begin? When?
- Impact of moving from 9 regions to 32 local authorities
- What changes can you recall to the operation of SAPOE change

Place of outdoor education in politics

- The relationship between education and health and safety
- Outdoor education territories i.e wider territorial involvement
- Do you think the concordat impacted OE and if so how?
- Did the outdoor education community get the ear of powerful people?
- Factors influencing change post devolution

Changes to outdoor education

- The relationship between outdoor education and residential education
- The relationship between outdoor education and forest schools/SDE
environmental education

GENERAL THEMES

- Changes to the legitimacy of OE
- Change in terminology from outdoor education to outdoor learning
- The development of outdoor education and college courses
- Place of power in education politics
- Relationship between OE and PE

Appendix 2: Interviewee Profiles

1. George: Worked in outdoor education for local authority centres and as a principle teacher in schools for over 40 years. He represented outdoor interests on a number of national groups and was a member of SAPOE.
2. Derek: Worked in outdoor education for local authorities for over 40 years. He represented outdoor interests on a number of national groups and was a member of SAPOE.
3. Fiona: Began her career teaching in schools before working in education departments in local authorities. After a period as a Quality Improvement Officer Fiona took a secondment with Learning and Teaching Scotland where she eventually stayed to be promoted to a Directorate level.
4. Harold: Taught in schools for many years as a principal teacher before taking advisory roles, moving up to education officer roles and as a director of education. Harold chaired a number of government committees.
5. Nigel: Initially a history teacher with a keen interest in the outdoors who moved into local authority education services up to the position of director of education. Nigel chaired a number of government committees.
6. Ben: Began his career as a geography teacher before moving from schools into outdoor centres as an instructor and then a warden. Ben completed his career as a senior lecturer in higher education.

7. Simon: Began his career in the media working with the BBC for a number of years before moving into politics. He has represented a Labour constituency for over ten years and has been a member of the Scottish Parliament Education Committee
8. Alan: worked as a teacher in outdoor centres and instructed adventure activities before moving into higher education. Has been involved in numerous government advisory groups and campaigned for outdoor education for a number of years.
9. Joe: lectured on physical education in higher education then outdoor education before working in local authorities as an outdoor learning officer. Joe sat on a number of national bodies and advisory groups.
10. Terry: worked as an instructor in outdoor education centres in Scotland before taking a prominent role in field studies and environmental education. Terry worked in environmental education policy and was a member of a number of government advisory groups and committees.
11. Alex: Is a teacher of outdoor education and previously worked in a number of positions instructing outdoor activities in community education and local authority outdoor centres before undertaking a local authority Quality Improvement role. Alex was seconded to Learning and Teaching Scotland worked as a local authority development officer.
12. Billy: Has worked in a policy making capacity in the public sector for over 20 years.

13. James: Previously worked in community based organisations before becoming a councillor and then an MSP. He served the government in a variety of ministerial positions.

Appendix 3. Key Recommendations of the Peacock Report

- A review of the key aspects of Outdoor Education in Scotland
- A collection of case studies to be published alongside a practical guide.
- Entitlement and access for pupils through formal education, community education and capacity building for staff
- Support through the development of a strategic plan of support mechanisms
- Additional teaching qualifications
- A scheme to monitor and evaluate quality assurance
- Publicity through a ministerial statement

Appendix 4: Achievements of Outdoor Connections Project

Outdoor Connections development programme and partners have together

- raised the profile of outdoor learning
- achieved recognition for outdoor learning through A Curriculum for Excellence
- established closer links than before between schools and outdoor specialists
- completed substantial research on Scottish outdoor learning opportunities – the most comprehensive national study anywhere in the world
- identified good outdoor learning practice
- developed national partnership working across departments and agencies to support outdoor learning
- engaged many national and local stakeholders in the outdoor learning discussion
- provided a national point of reference for outdoor learning in Scotland
- provided leadership towards a national vision of outdoor learning.

Appendix 5: Scottish Parliamentary motion S3M-765

The Deputy Presiding Officer (Alasdair Morgan): The final item of business today is a member's business debate on motion S3M-765, in the name of Elizabeth Smith, on extra-curricular outdoor education for every school pupil.

Motion debated

That the Parliament notes the vital contribution that taking part in extra-curricular activities makes in developing our young people; notes that extra-curricular programmes help our young people to learn new skills, to enjoy new responsibility, to appreciate the work of other people and to learn about leadership; notes the success of projects such as Crieff High School's Community Awareness Project, and considers that, in an age when too many of our young people are in the headlines for the wrong reasons and when there are increasing concerns about school discipline and the numbers of youngsters involved in incidents of antisocial behaviour, extra-curricular activities in schools and five days outdoor education for every school pupil in Scotland should be supported.

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