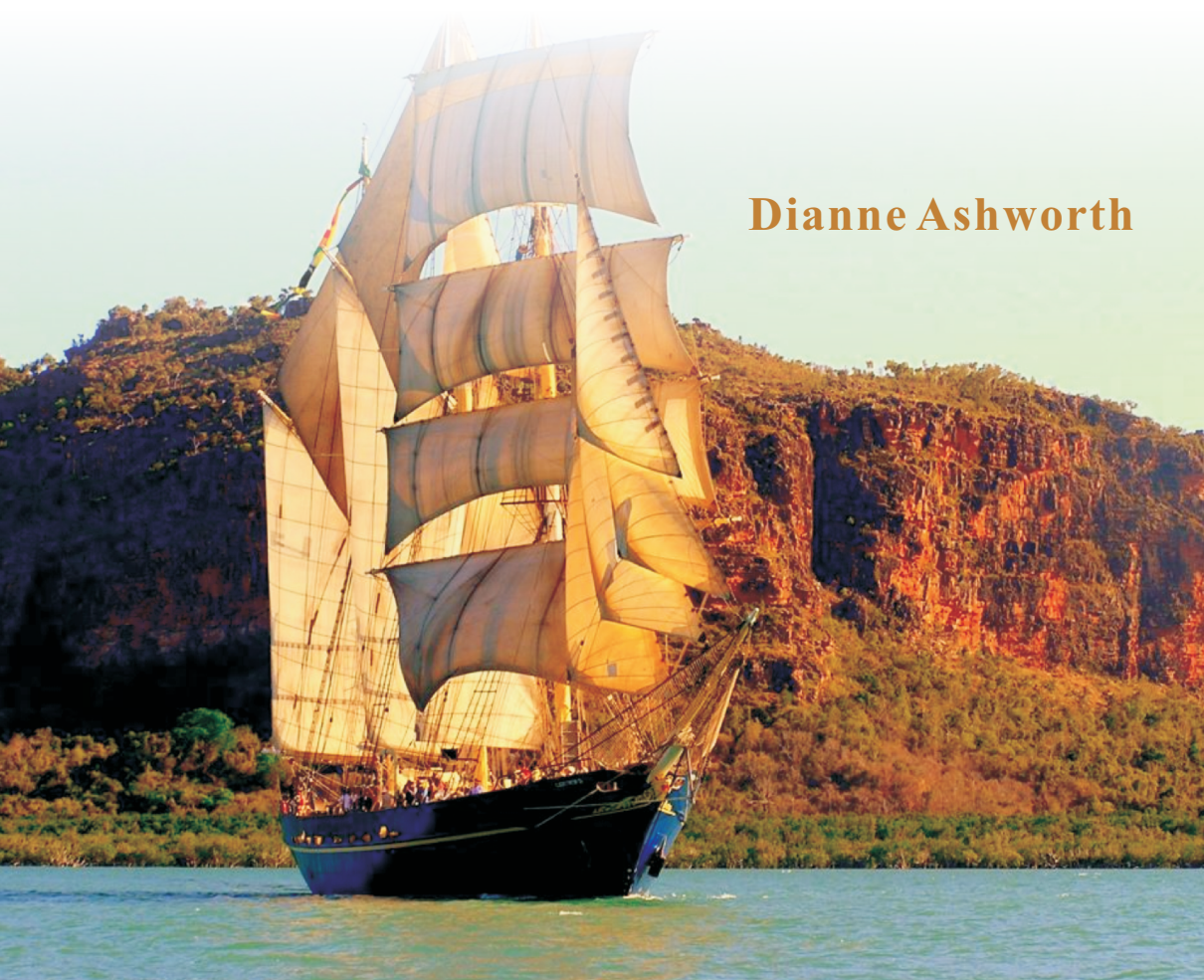# Sailing Tall:
Young People, Their Identity Development and Communitas

Dianne Ashworth

Sailing Tall: Young People, Their Identity Development and Communitas

Dr. Dianne Ashworth

First Edition

Preface

Sailing Tall: Young People, Their Identity Development and Communitas is a book exploring young Australian people's relationship between their adventures sailing the Leeuwin II tall ship and their personal development. Sailing on this majestic square rigger along the Western Australian coastline, the young sailors, or trainees as they are known as, embark on a voyage of a life-time. However, while their participation on this outdoor adventure can be understood as unique, what they experience is also in many ways common to young people's participation to other adventure programs. Yet this book is different; it stands out from an expansive amount of other studies on young people's personal development and outdoor adventure as it points toward the relevance of communitas in their contemporary individualised life.

The book indeed, begins this adventurous research journey by introducing contemporary society characterised by individualism as backdrop to young people's development and their participation in outdoor adventure. What is clear, and established from the onset, is the complex nature of understanding the trainee's relationship between their personal development and their participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their everyday lives. As such, the investigation is a creative and novel combination of methodological ethno-graphic and grounded theoretical approaches. In addition, a theoretical perspec-tive that draws on Pierre Bourdieu's notions of habitus and social fields discusses the relationship between agency and structure to explain outdoor adventure and trainee's development in this contemporary individualised milieu.

Further, it includes a review of the literature that reveals how vast and rich this area of investigation is. In essence, what the literature conveys is that from ancient times to contemporary days, outdoor adventure has been overwhelmingly

understood as beneficial to young people's identity development particularly evident in increasing their positive sense of self. However, understanding how and why this occurs is not as well understood. As such, this is a more recently growing area of investigation producing a wide range of reasons suggesting how and why these benefits occur. For example, teamwork as well as their solo experience are both suggested to make the difference for the young participants. Another reason put forward as to how and why adventure works is because they are taken away from their everyday life to experience something new. Or like other studies suggest, it is the responsibility they experience sailing a tall ship, the crewmembers or their peers, or even the young person's age that makes the difference. Still another suggestion is that young people connecting to the wilderness; an innate response to connecting to nature might be the reason how and why outdoor adventure benefits their identity development. As the saying goes, the mountains speak for themselves. But do they? Young people participating in outdoor adventure are also likened to a rite of passage to explain how and why outdoor adventure works. This is because in both instances they are separated from what they know, they experience transition from childhood to adulthood before they reconnect to their community with their new identity (Van Gennep 1960). Yet this link between this traditional initiation practice and outdoor adventure is not always agreed upon in contemporary life that is based on individualism where it is the responsibility of the individual to create their own identity rather than the community embracing it on their return. For Victor Turner (1969) what is important in young people's developmental transition according to this model, is communitas; a place he describes as "betwixt and between" their everyday lives.

While many voices contribute to understanding this relationship including two Leeuwin II board members and staff/crew and volunteers as well as my own experiences as a trainee sailing on board, it is the trainees at the helm of

this study as they shine light on this complex area of investigation and indicate communitas as reason how and why their outdoor adventure works. Three categories of trainees representing adolescents between fourteen years of age and under eighteen years of age, post adolescents between eighteen years of age and twenty-six years of age, and a group of past trainees whose ages spanned across the age range of adolescents and post adolescents when they sailed many years ago, took part in one-to one semi-structured interviews where they were asked about their personal development and how and why they thought it happened. Overall, it is not surprising that their responses reflected what the literature conveys; that they experienced positive personal development, particularly in building confidence as well as a sense of maturity. In light of everyday life, these are arguably distinct qualities contributing to their success in it. Moreover, their responses raised many of the reasons how and why their adventure experience worked similar to the literature also. But while the majority agreed in having a positive voyage, in contrast, one past trainee did not. Subsequently, what she revealed about her experience highlighted the characteristics of communitas as the reason how and why the Leeuwin II tall ship outdoor adventure positively contributed to their personal development. This includes being separated from what and who they know, the experience being real, experiencing responsibility and connecting to their peers, Leeuwin II workers and the environment. Thus, listening to the voices of the trainees, especially the words of one of them that contrast the rest, shines light on how and why the characteristics of communitas are an important part of their identity development in a contemporary individualised life.

Hence, understanding the value of communitas in their identity development in contemporary life as this book discovers, is significant learning and worthy of further attention. In the final chapter, future research in this area is suggested to continue contributing to our knowledge. But it also has important practical

application. As such, youth workers, social workers, or any other professional working with or for young people such as teachers or policy makers will be interested in reading this book. In addition, because this study understands young people's personal development in relation to outdoor adventure in light of their everyday lives, it also provides an interesting theoretical perspective relative to the field of academia. Thus, there is also scope for further research to build upon how we understand the relationship between agency and social structure in relation to youth development and communitas in contemporary life.

Why did I conduct this research and write this book? As a social worker, I am very aware of the importance of this study and the potential of it to help our young people prepare for their lives in this contemporary individualised life. Statistics certainly indicate many issues such as mental health and even suicide rates, are experienced by them today. But with my non-professional hat on, losing a young man I knew called Matthew to suicide turned these statistics from a collection of numbers into reality for me. In fact, his spirit is wind beneath these research sails and I dedicate this book to him. Thus, my initial intention was to explore trainee's relationship between their personal development and their experience sailing the Leeuwin II tall ship fully aware of the complex relationship between them and their everyday life on a number of different levels. The qualitative approach undertaken to do this provided an optimum platform for discovery. Indeed, what 'Sailing Tall: Young People, Their Identity Development and Communitas' found, is certainly important to young people's development, as well as the practical and theoretical opportunities that have opened up to benefit them, turns out to be potentially an enlightening understanding of young people's personal development in this individualised life of the twenty-first century.

Contents

Chapter 1

Sea-ing Young People's Identity Development: An Introduction

1.1 Preamble

In the 1960s when Bob Dylan sang 'the times, they are a changing' who could have imagined where we would be today in the early decades of the twenty-first century? Certainly not me! Now life appears more complex than ever. We live in a dynamic, evolving system based on a 'high-tech global economy' (Elliot 2007, p. 138) that affects people in many ways. The effect of the economic crash of 2008 originating in the United States of America is just one example felt by many across the globe, demonstrating the inter-connected, co-dependent, reflexive, networked, dynamic and complex nature of contemporary life (Dennis & Haynes 2007). Developing technologies are also increasingly affecting people's lives in many ways. For example, computers, screen readers, scanners and more now allow me as a middle aged female with a vision impairment to independently undertake this study on youth development and write this book!

However, while contemporary life is enabling, accompanying it are also new and challenging experiences. For young Australian people aged in their teens through to their twenties, a life span associated with them transitioning to adulthood, there is much to consider. Indeed, as the dynamic system has evolved, their experiences are both similar to and yet different from their parents. As their parents did, they live in a time beyond the certainty of tradition when pasts were definite and futures predictable (Giddens 1990) and like them, they still experience life as unstable, flexible, fragmented, individualised, opportunistic, and risky (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Simply, away from the veil of tradition they are individuals espoused to have freedom to choose and expected to negotiate their own life course (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). But their experiences differ from their parents in many ways, particularly exemplified when considering the advancement and influence of technology

(Turner 2001). One glaring difference is how they acquire and access knowledge (Dwyer & Wyn 2001; Harris 2004; Aapola & Ketokivi 2005; Higgins & Nairn 2006) as well as how they interact using social networking sites; sites such as MySpace, Facebook, Twitter, Tagged, LinkedIn, Window Live Spaces (Thierer 2007) and others in addition to instant messaging and online chat rooms (Sengupta & Chaudhuri 2010). These activities are certainly becoming increasingly popular among today's teenagers (Mishna, Saini & Solomon 2009) as well as older teenagers sometimes referred to as emerging adults (Subrahmanyam, Reich, Waechter & Espinoza 2008) and as such, exemplifies one way how young people's lives today are starkly distinct from the (nostalgically remembered) youth of today's adults (Livingstone 2008).

Indeed, as vast and varied layers of relations continue to expand over time, young people's experiences raise additional implications for their identity development in the twenty-first century (Livingston 2008). Meredith's (aged sixteen) contribution to the Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth 2008 survey for instance raises the issue of education, training and employment equating to knowledge and power. In fact, she goes as far to say that it is a young person's right to be empowered. Daniel (aged fifteen) goes further and considers mental health – he thinks many young people suffer depression because they are lonely and pressured (Australian Research Alliance for Children and Youth 2008). His belief is certainly confirmed by trends identifying one in four young people in Australia have a mental health disorder with anxiety topping the list (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2010). Stress, abuse, depression, body image and suicide are other indicators of increased challenges they face as they transition into adulthood in contemporary life (Mission Australia 2008). Clearly, what Meredith, Daniel and these statistics describe is synonymous with a life made up of multiple layers of vast and varied relations (Denis & Hayes 2007) and while it is a life that can aspire

audacity, courage, and hope, it can also be capable of provoking feelings of anxiety, fear and despair (Bauman 2001).

Thus, while statistics such as the incidents of suicide provide the numbers of young people who have died, unfortunately they do not convey their experience. In addition, they do not provide an explanation why they decided to end their life, or convey the impact felt by those who they leave behind. In 2003, Matthew, who was my eldest son's best mate and cherished part of our family, was eighteen years old when he tragically became one of those statistics. For me his memory conjures up an image of him struggling with his demons; a relationship with wider society filled with anxiety, fear and despair that eventually overwhelmed him. I wonder why life didn't inspire him with audacity, courage, and hope like his peers? But his death extended my thoughts also; it made me wonder about how we can better understand young people's identity development, their sense of self and adulthood in contemporary social contexts like Australia.

Hence, my aim is to explore young people's relationship between their personal development and social structure in the emerging years of the twenty-first century. Subsequently, when I was given an opportunity to undertake a study on young people's participation in a Western Australian outdoor ocean adventure program on the Leeuwin II tall ship, I gladly accepted the challenge. That is, to conduct a study with the intent to better understand the relationship between the young people who sail on board, known as trainees, and their identity development through participating in this social field and how and why it works in light of their development in their everyday lives. While the perspectives of many including Leeuwin II Board members, workers and volunteers and what I contribute form part of this study, it is the knowledge shared by the trainees that contributes most. Clearly, putting the trainees of the Leeuwin II at

the helm means they are the experts and can inform us of their experiences and perspectives on board in a way other generations would not be able to in quite the same way.

This research journey is unchartered; the destination is unknown. But it has potential to contribute to better understanding young people's personal development in contemporary life in many ways and on many levels. While this chapter begins that journey, before launching into it, I pause and think about Matthew. Will his legacy be one of informing about young people and their identity development in the twenty-first century? As I envisage the wind in her sails as she journeys along the Western Australian coastline with her young sailors on board, I am again reminded of the words of Bob Dylan. This time, I wonder, '(is) the answer my friend… blowing in the wind… (is) the answer… blowing in the wind'?

1.2 Young People's Relationship with an Individualised Society

The West's caravan moves on calling out:

come with us. We know the way. We know the goal. We don't know any way. We don't know any goal. What is certain is that everything's uncertain, precarious. Enjoy our lack of ties as freedom (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002, p. 1).

These words describe the journey of individualisation. In Australia, individual freedom is integral to the majority of young people's everyday lives; the overwhelming message is a desire for them to lead a life of their own (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Accompanying this journey is a highly efficient, densely woven, institutional society. It demands, controls, and constrains,

imposing rules and regulations, provisos, on them through conditions of the labour market, the welfare state, the education system and other social institutions (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). As individuals, they become increasingly self-sufficient, they become accustomed to considering themselves in isolation and they freely imagine their destiny entirely in their own hands (Lukes 2006).

Underlying this process is the framework of individualism where increasing social mobility, the continuity of the generation is dismantled and as classes become fused, members become indifferent, even as strangers to each other (Lukes 2006). As a value system, individualism is central to classical liberalism and capitalism that upholds personal freedom, freedom of choice, and self-orientation (Schwartz 2000). An economic and political philosophy, classical liberalism emerged along with the growth of capitalism where the central belief is that unregulated markets are the best way to allocate productive resources and distribute services and goods and that government intervention should ideally be minimal (Drislane & Parkinson 2009). Thus, the neoliberal revolution in economics has produced societies that rather than only depending on social capital and trust also depend on market mechanisms, giving pronounced emphasis to individualism and choice over collective solutions to social issues (Turner 2007).

However, beyond being released from the certainty of tradition into the risk of industrial society, the procession of the journey of individualisation is more recently accompanied by the turbulence of a new global 'risk society'. Now young people are expected to live with, and indeed respond to simultaneously, a range of different, mutually contradictory, personal and global risks (Beck 1994; Beck & Lau 2005). These include threats of transnational terror networks most explicitly realised in the September 11th terrorist attacks of 2001 (Beck 2002),

environmental impacts such as destruction of forests, polluted and dying bodies of water, and new types of disease (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Young people today are certainly placed in the midst of a cloud of possibilities to be thought about and negotiated, while experiencing insecurity at nearly every level (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002).

The term 'risk', coincidentally originating from a Spanish nautical term that means to run into danger or to go against a rock (Giddens 1990) is thus synonymous with an individualised life and impacts in many ways. Threats to the future produce preventative actions; people become active today in order to prevent or take precautions against problems and crises of tomorrow and the next day (Beck 1992). In turn, the social sense of security is challenged and can become a problem for young people in the area of political activity and decision-making (Beck 2003). It is also argued that this occurs in relation to social legislation and the criminal justice system producing rules and regulations to control perceived dangers relating to minority or marginalised social groups like young people (Edginton, Kowalski & Randall 2005). Still there is another layer of risk that relates to their behaviour – risk-taking behaviour that can be attributed to rapid social change or acculturation (Dasen 2000). When young people's behaviour is discussed it is more often agreed than not they take higher risks than most individuals to commit crimes, abuse alcohol and drugs, drive dangerously, and even commit suicide (Edginton et al 2005).

Yet someone who views the world as risk can also become incapable of action; this can translate to young people exhibiting avoidance behaviour as well (Beck 1994). Contributing to this is the direct and/or indirect influence of the 'new technologies' (Sennett 2006) such as video and multi-user games on the Internet that alters actual experience (Anderson 2002). Images have become more and more visually explicit in their treatment of violence and horror; their

increasing realism is regarded as giving rise to not only the contaminating effect of violent images but also the issue of media-induced trauma (Garbarino 2006). For some young people this means their experience is simultaneously overpowered by unmanageable negative feelings and having their idea of the world blown away by horror. Studies indicate these images are provoking more emotional disconnection, what psychologists and psychiatrists call dissociation (Garbarino 2006). The combination of aggressive role models and traumatic imagery in the mass media is thus another perspective demonstrating a powerful cultural force at work that has important psychological ramifications for their identity development (Garbarino 2006).

1.3 Young People's Contemporary Transitions into Adulthood

When I think about Matthew and how he must have struggled internally before he ended his life, I agree that there is one thing certain in the twenty-first century, and that is that identity development is more puzzling than ever (Sennett 2006). Indeed, in a life with no privileged order of succession, one that is now amenable to endless reshuffling (Bauman 2001), there is also an unpredictability of life courses (Pollock 1997). This raises the dilemma of whether to view identity development and a sense of adulthood in a state of crisis or not. Whatever the situation at the very least, identity can be understood as a 'never-ending, always incomplete, unfinished and open-ended activity in which we all, by choice or by necessity, are engaged' (Bauman 2001). Clearly when Margaret, a twenty-five year old female contemplates her adult identity her words supports this sentiment:

> *I don't think anyone can ever say they have reached a stable sense of adult identity. I believe the sense of identity will change, depending on the*

different situations you face throughout life. Therefore, without ever reaching a stable identity, you can't say you have an adult identity. I'm always reassessing values and beliefs (cited in Kroger 2005, p. 5).

Thus, relationships with an individualised society have altered traditional transitions to adulthood (Furstenberg 2000). No longer do young people follow a linear progression to adulthood by leaving school, starting a full-time job, leaving the home, getting married, and becoming a parent (Shanahan 2000; Wyn 2004), or being specifically initiated into it through ceremonial rites of passage as previous generations experienced. Rather, it is more commonly being recognised that they acquire a subjective sense of adulthood from an individualistic quality of character, such as accepting responsibility for oneself and making independent decisions (Shanahan 2000). The belief is that an individual reaches adulthood when they believe they are a self-sufficient person (Arnett 1998). In other words, they believe that they can accept responsibility for themselves and make independent decisions; two qualities desirable in a globalised society character-ised by capitalism, individualism, regulation, freedom of choice, risk and technology. Furthermore, this shift away from traditional notions based on demographics to the subjective sense of it fits well with the notion that identity in contemporary life is more often than not 'self-placed and self-ascribed; it's something left to the individual to worry about' (Bauman 2005, p. 31).

Subsequently, today it is understood that successful transitions are influenced in part by young people's active efforts to shape biographies and the structured set of limitations and opportunities that define pathways into it (Shanahan 2000). Many young people are choosing to remain in education for longer, acquiring economic independence later in life, and are forming long-term relationships at older ages (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2003, 2006, 2011) than previous generations. As such, it is becoming more accepted that transitions are increas-

ingly extended in virtually every post-industrialised society (Arnett, 1998, 2000, 2004; Shanahan, 2000). One of the consequences of this is that what was once considered a brief life stage between childhood and adulthood known as adolescence is now a period of time that lasts anywhere from the late teens to at least the mid-twenties (Schwartz, Côté & Arnett 2005).

However, rather than recognizing adolescence as a single life stage between childhood and adulthood, where they are on hold or arrested in relation to their development (Côté 2000), or even their transitions are extended (Jones & Wallace 1992), it is being recognised as potentially a new and distinct life-stage. Often this is referred to as emerging adulthood (Arnett 2000, 2004) or as a pre-adult category known as post adolescence (Ball, Maguire & Macrae 2000). In this book, I use the term post adolescence simply because it best describes this life stage when understanding adulthood cannot really be assumed or guaranteed. It is clearly something that did not follow for Matthew. But whatever term is used, they both describe a distinct life stage of frequent change as young people explore numerous possibilities in love, work and worldviews (Erikson 1968; Rindfuss 1991; Arnett 2000). This is well described by Kristen aged twenty-two when she says:

> *When our mothers were our age, they were engaged… They at least had some idea what they were going to do with their lives… I, on the other hand, will have a dual degree in majors that are ambiguous at best and impractical at worst (English and political science), no ring on my finger and no idea who I am, much less what I want to do… Under duress, I will admit that this is a pretty exciting time. Sometimes, when I look out across the wide expanse that is my future, I can see beyond the void. I realise that having nothing ahead to count on means I now have to count on myself;*

that having no direction means forging one of my own (cited in Arnett 2000, p. 469).

1.4 Female Contemporary Transitions into Adulthood

Clearly, the previous comments highlight the fact that females face similar quandaries to young males in their search for a secure identity in an uncertain world (Beck 1992). But what Kristen says also highlights her sense of self and womanhood developing in a further complex context that is sprinkled with more ambiguity and contradiction (Van Newkirk 2006) than those of her male counterparts. In essence, in contemporary society females are no longer tied to marital support that was the material cornerstone of a traditional housewife's existence (Beck 1992); they are separated from previous tradition that identified female roles to a homemaker being supported by an employed husband in a marriage that lasted for a life time (Mortimer & Larson 2002).

One contribution to shifting gender roles is the influence of emerging technology. Indeed, thirty years ago, effects of television violence in stimulating aggression was mostly confined to boys. Now the effects are equally apparent for females and males being equated to images present in popular culture such as TV, as well as video games, movies and music. In the twenty-first century females' identities are less limited to the traditional ones commonly thought of as nurturing, dependent and passive (Garbarino 2006). Yet despite this traditional power imbalance between the masculine and the feminine being displaced and trans-formed (Garbarino 2006), they still do not always experience equal opportunities to that of their male counterparts (Irwin 2003). Inequalities based on gender relations and roles (Poole 1997) influence their choice in education (Gill, Mills, Franzway & Sharp 2008), employment (Butler & Ferrier 2006) and leisure

(Brown 2008). This indicates dominant male power within gender relations in other social institutions are still lingering (Elliott 2007, p. 140).

1.5 Indigenous Young People's Contemporary Transitions into Adulthood

Still, not all young Australian people's lives are influenced by contemporary society in the same way. For example, individualisation ignores the 'crucial underpinnings of security and identity among remote Indigenous peoples' (Tonkinson 2007, p. 41). For them, a breakdown in Indigenous traditional culture often sees them successfully ignoring their parent's wishes about traditional arranged marriages and sexual behaviour in general (Tonkinson 2007). Adolescent pregnancy and the number of low birth weight babies have dramatically increased, and young males are marrying much earlier than they used to (Tonkinson 2007). With little parental or communal control over their behaviour (Tonkinson 2007), young Indigenous people are reported roaming the community or watching late night movies at night then smoking gunja (marijuana) early in the day (Ogilvie & Van Zyl 2001). They do this because there is little to do; they are bored and unchallenged (Ogilvie & Van Zyl 2001). Further, their confidence levels are low and they construct a limited set of expectations and aspirations for their future (Alloway, Gilbert, Gilbert & Muspratt 2004). Subsequently, rather than experiencing a distinct life stage of post adolescence as their western counterparts do, young Indigenous people can have quite a different perception of the process. This is because post adolescence is associated with a high level of education and training, the postponement of marriage and parenthood that are linked to opportunities available to the majority culture, the social middle class or above, and those living in urban areas (Arnett 2000). Instead, these young Indigenous Australians

often experience disadvantage and lack of opportunity for many reasons in education (Bourke, Rigby & Burden 2000), employment (Tonkinson 2007), and the Criminal Justice system (Cunneen & McDonald 1997; White & Wyn 2004).

In fact, there is a high rate of young Indigenous people in criminal detention centres compared to their non-Indigenous counterparts (Bareja & Charlton 2003). While there is no basis to substantiate this way of thinking, accompanying young Indigenous people's incarceration is the view that young males use it as an initiation process or rite of passage to adulthood (Ogilvie & Van Zyl 2001). This idea is based on Van Gennep's (1960) classic anthropological three-stage rite of passage model. The first stage describes preliminal rites (rites of separation), the second liminal rites (rites of transition), and the final stage postliminal rites (rites of incorporation) (Van Gennep 1960). Victor Turner's (1969) ideas of liminality and communitas are also bound to this understanding. This raises the idea that as initiates or liminal entities their incarceration removes them to a place he calls communitas, where they are betwixt and between their everyday lives (Turner 1969). Described as a place where they are neither here nor there, communitas is associated with death, being in the womb, being invisible, being in the darkness, being eclipsed by the sun or moon, and being in the wilderness (Turner 1969).

However, while agreeing there is no credibility between Indigenous incarceration and a rite of passage to adulthood, when considering young peoples' contemporary transitions into adulthood and their relationship with the Leeuwin II tall ship, the idea of a rite of passage, liminality and communitas is an interesting one. This is because rather than simply entertaining the idea that young trainees' experience on board is just a high-spirited adventure for them, it contemplates the idea whether being separated from their everyday lives, sailing out to sea to a place beyond what they know, might create communitas and contribute to their

personal development. Indeed, perhaps it's a relationship potentially holding certain implications to their success and failure in an individualised life also?

1.6 Young People's Success and Failure in an Individualised Life

In this system, young people need actively participate. But not only is their participation permitted, it is demanded (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002) so they can constantly adapt to conditions of the labour market, the welfare state, and the education system. Failure to do so becomes personal failure and goes hand in hand with forms of self-responsibility (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). As they negotiate their own lives, they need to co-ordinate, adjust, and integrate a widening range of options that increase their many choices; if they are not to fail to fully negotiate opportunities, they need to be able to adapt to change and plan for the long term. According to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002, p. 4) to be successful they need to 'organize and improvise, set goals, recognize obstacles, accept defeats and attempt new starts. They need initiative, tenacity, flexibility and tolerance of frustration'. In short, they need creativity to take advantage of what the system has to offer (White & Wyn 2006).

What this means is that young people need to be active participants to extensively deliberate, stimulate, and pursue alternatives and opportunities available to them (Schwartz, Côté & Arnett 2005). Developmental individualisation is a term denoting this, a life course of continual and deliberate growth (Côté 2000). Juxtaposing this idea is one of agentic capabilities or the idea that they are free agents who intentionally make things happen by their actions (Bandura 2001). In this way, they are prepared and have control over decisions and problems they might have to address as they enter into adult roles (Schwartz, Côté & Arnett 2005). Alternatively, a life course based on impulse described as reactive rather

than proactive, such as following the latest music trends or fashion of contemporary youth culture such as Internet social networking to the exclusion of more demanding activities for example, can be associated to a lack of agentic assertion (Côté 2000). This pathway refers to default individualisation and describes a failure to create opportunities for self-improvement in areas such as acquiring credentials and competencies, and social and human skills; a situation potentially leaving young people unprepared to make decisions and address important issues in their adult lives (Schwartz, 2000).

Relevant to this understanding are young people's interpretations and meanings of their world such as attitudes, feelings, organic drives, motives, internalised social factors, or psychological components, which includes their sense of self and identity. As Bauman (2005, p. 17) says, in an individualised society, feelings are the very epitome of 'uniqueness'. Therefore, to be successful in negotiating their lives it makes sense to consider their preparedness and the issue of confidence in their power of thought and action (Bauman 2001). This is well demonstrated by Alain Peyrefitte who says:

The remarkable, unprecedented and unique dynamism of our modern capitalist society, all the spectacular advances made by Western civilization over the last two or three centuries, would be unthinkable without such confidence: the triple trust - in oneself, in others, and in the jointly built, durable institutions in which one can confidently inscribe one's long-term plans and actions (cited in Bauman 2001, p. 151).

1.7 Young People's Identity Development and Outdoor Adventure

In many respects, exploring the developmental outcomes of the trainees on board the Leeuwin II tall ship outdoor adventure program is not new. From ancient times to modern times – from Plato (427 BCE - 347 BCE) to the establishment of Outward Bound by Kurt Hahn (1886–1974), there has been a value of and belief in outdoor adventure relating to personal growth. This continues today evidenced by the overwhelming identification of beneficial outcomes for those who participate in it (Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007). These outcomes are associated for instance with a change in behaviour, thinking, and feelings through direction and reflection (Priest & Gass 1998). Relating to young people they include, sense of self such as a feeling of confidence, developing personal responsibility and acquiring coping and communication skills (Neill 2000), increase in self-esteem (Sibthorp 2003), sense of personal control (Friese, Taylor Pittman & Hendee 1995), leadership (Hattie, Marsh, Neill & Richards 1997; Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007), and maturity (Hattie et al 1997).

However, while recognising these benefits, not much is known about how or why they occur (McKenzie 2000, 2003; Paisley, Furnam, Sibthorp & Gookin 2008 & many more). Is it the environment? The activities? The group? The relationships developed with leaders and others? Or as part of their identity development to adulthood, does it act as a rite of passage to it? Is the field likened enough to the structural similarities of Arnold Van Gennep's three-stage rites of passage model (Neill 2003)? Liminality, too, the idea of Victor Turner might also be useful to expand upon particularly with reference to the notion of communitas – ideas that are discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

Whatever the combination, this research aims to contribute to further understanding the relationship between trainee's identity development and the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship. But rather than restricting it to sail training as such, the field is primarily understood as representing the characteristics of outdoor adventure associated to the wilderness in light of their development in their everyday lives. In other words, dedicated to Matthew, this study considers the difference between the outdoor environment and the milieu, or the social, political and legislative aspects of it (Scherer, Sax, Vanbiervliet, Cushman & Scherer 2005).

1.8 Young People's Identity Development: A Theoretical Perspective

To help understand young people's relationship between their personal development in their everyday lives that implicates outdoor adventure, this research creatively builds a theoretical platform. Essentially based on an age-old conundrum, the discourse enters into an agency/structure problematic providing a novel way of understanding trainee's development on board the Leeuwin II tall ship in the twenty-first century. Underpinning this relationship is the understanding that their identity development, and their success and/or failure to relate with their everyday lives, is framed by the idea of being a free agent while recognising their action is determined in some way by their past experience. As such, it builds upon the inconsistencies between the perspectives of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) theory of individualisation and two of three concepts, namely habitus and social fields put forward by Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984, 1988, 1990, 1993). Simply put, the conflict relates to the idea of how free agency can actually exist if action is pre-determined by experience. Addressing

this disparity, the view is that free agency is possible when habitus thinks and feels in a certain way (Lehmann 2004).

Internalisation of the tenets of individualism in young people's everyday lives through media for example, is certainly one way this can be illustrated as them being able to envision their agency set free from structure (Lash 1994). Further, their belief and confidence in themselves arguably underlies their sense of agency also. However, the certainty is that not all is effectively internalised in their everyday lives and thus, opens up the possibility of it being activated in fields that are removed from it. In this way, the idea of outdoor adventure, like that of the Leeuwin II tall ship, a rites of passage and tenets of communitas are included in this discourse. This is not only an exciting research prospect; there is also value in exploring this perspective. Put simply, this is because there is potential to enrich and expand the social constructions available to practitioners and others (Marshall & Rosman 2006). In other words, there is praxis between building upon this theoretical knowledge that has potential to enable an explanation and prediction of young people's behaviour (Glaser & Strauss 1967).

1.9 Conceptualising the Research

Now I imagine myself sitting in a crow's nest looking down toward the social environment of the Leeuwin II beneath me. I wonder about the relationship between a trainee's personal development and this environment. Indeed, what will occur for the young sailors who participate in its program? Will the environment itself, the activities, the groups – relationships with peers/watch leaders or crew and volunteers influence the way they feel about themselves? Will there be a sense of excitement, challenge, achievement, risk, the unknown? I wonder does this vessel act as a rite of passage to adulthood? Will a trainee feel a sense of adulthood because of their participation? Indeed, what will they

feel about themselves when they complete their voyage? Will this carry through to their everyday lives? I turn my gaze back toward the shore and I think about them in this individualised milieu, I recognise that they need to navigate their course to adulthood through it. Vessels need sails, rudders, maps and more though if they are to successfully negotiate this individualised society. I continue to wonder if participating in an outdoor adventure such as on the Leeuwin II tall ship provides them with such tools – sense of self like that of confidence and a sense of adulthood - that prepare them to take on this life journey? Finally, my attention shifts again and I wonder about what research question will answer all this. After a period of intense contemplation, I ask, "What is the relationship between trainees' personal development and outdoor adventure through their participation in the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their development in contemporary Australia?"

Descending from my conceptual crow's nest, I will take the plunge to join a voyage as a trainee to explore and answer this question. I will feel the wind and sun on my face, the motion of the vessel as it responds to the sea beneath my feet, the sea spray as it blows onto the deck and hopefully do not experience the discomfort and humiliation of vomiting overboard through seasickness! I will participate in the different activities such as climbing the rigging and setting the sails. However, I expect that my experience will be similar yet also different from other participants on many levels. Different because I am a middle aged female but the difference continues because of my vision impairment. Rather than visually observing, I will observe through what I hear, do and feel. Being vision impaired – perceiving light and dark – for many years prepares me well to understand through communication, participation, and intuition. This experience will be enhanced through discussions with my teenage niece who accompanies me while on board and who can fill in any gaps by describing events and activities.

1.10 Methodology

But more importantly for me, setting sail as a trainee is an essential part of this research because my own experiences on board will give me an invaluable insight into the experiences of the trainees. Really, would I be able to effectively interpret what trainees discuss if I didn't? Thus, this study is an ethnographic one. Without doubt this approach is key to this research, it is important because through me living the experience I build a closeness to the trainees who will take part in this research – observing, interviewing, and building rich descriptions (Corbin & Strauss 2008). This is within an interpretivist paradigm (Kellehear 1993); an approach that produces the most authentic and valid type of qualitative data of any type of social research method (McNeill & Chapman 2005).

Furthermore, while similar, my experiences are different in other ways because not only am I trainee participating on board, I am also a researcher and as such, even if an unconventional one, am an observer (McNeill & Chapman 2005). As a trainee – an insider – and a researcher – an outsider (McNeill & Chapman 2005), I am able to first gain insight into trainees' experiences, but will be able to better understand what other Leeuwin workers/volunteers say also. In essence, this creates an opportunity to explore explicit knowledge or what is known and spoken about, as well as tacit knowledge or what is rarely acknowledged (Newman 2006). In other words, the lens is wide and focused on capturing how the Leeuwin II culture ticks (Goldbart & Hustler 2005; Somekh & Lewin 2005).

So, through an ethnographic approach, the research participants are the 'meaning-makers', with an emphasis on how they interpret their world, while also capturing the culture of the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship. Part of the

success of this approach is to maintain a balance between being detached and connected (McNeill & Chapman 2005). This extends from me monitoring my own actions through self-awareness on my voyage. In fact, this is one reason for me writing and including my journal that is subsequently featured in a later chapter. But I also include it because it provides an exclusive understanding about what trainees experience day-to-day while they're on board their Leeuwin II voyage (McNeill & Chapman 2005).

This is clearly a complex research project I am undertaking, and being creative is an essential part of it. Using an ethnographic approach will strengthen it by giving me insight into a multitude of issues such as, the interactions between participants, leaders, program elements, program goals, the field of adventure and more. Thus, there is a wider breadth and depth of understanding through engagement with multiple constructed realities. These include perspectives of trainees, Leeuwin II Board members, Leeuwin II workers and volunteers, as well as my own experiences as a trainee. These perspectives enhance understanding based on a qualitative approach, the approach recognising the value of interpreting meaning rather than quantitative statistical data (Hallberg 2006).

In addition, because the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship is understood in light of everyday life, a grounded theory approach is also employed. This allows me to analytically explore the identity of trainees as it relates to the field of this vessel as well as developing theory through conceptual categories that are applied to a wider context. A strength of using a grounded theory approach is that it contributes to an in-depth depiction true to trainees and others by uncovering their experiences and perspectives (Nelson 2006). But it is important, too because it encourages a closeness to the Leeuwin II phenomenon as it develops an integrated set of theoretical concepts from the empirical

materials that not only synthesizes and interprets but shows processual relationships (Charmaz 2005).

Put simply, the underlying feature of grounded theory is that of a theory-generating research methodology based on actual data, gathered through qualitative research (Corbin & Holt 2005). It does this through employing a range of comparative conceptual categories that develop ideas about meanings, actions, and worlds through their specific data (Charmaz 2005). As such, it is a term more often than not used to refer to a specific mode of analysis. Essentially, this is because flexible analytic guidelines enable the researcher to focus data collection and to build inductive middle-range theories through conceptual development and successive levels of data analysis (Charmaz 2005).

From a practical sense a grounded theory approach details the overall design, and the specific method for gathering and analysing the data (Marshall & Rosman 2006), it also has the ability to generate basic concepts providing the stepping stones required to develop and update a disciplinary body of knowledge (Corbin & Holt 2005). It is an approach that aims to genuinely increase social scientific knowledge that is produced through systematic comparison of a wide range of empirical examples against a background of more general theoretical issues. The processual emphasis in grounded theory extends its analysis to overall relationships, for example between agency and structure, a focus of this research that poses theoretical and practical concerns (Charmaz 2005).

Thus, combining ethnographic and grounded theory approaches strengthens the ability of this research to explain the relationship between trainees' personal development and their participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their everyday lives. In essence, the methodology employed in this research considers the ethnographic approach as a tool conducive to analytical themes that are

often 'concerned with developing theoretical ideas' (Somekh & Lewin 2005, p. 18) of which a grounded theory method organizes and analyses data to give flexibility and focus (Charmaz 2006). Drawing upon these two approaches is an important attribute of this research as they provide potential to generate different ways of understanding, knowing, and responding to relations between a trainee's identity and the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship.

Moreover, it's an approach that provides a way of understanding this complex research project in an area of adventure research that has not yet adequately provided a methodology to achieve this. Indeed, while many over time have attempted to explain the relationship between young people's personal development and their participation in adventure programs, there is still no universally accepted model adequately addressing this complexity (Paisley, Furnam, Sibthorp & Gookin 2008). In fact, until recently, the discourse has been predominantly rhetoric; there have been few quality studies available to guide practice that remain largely an enigmatic process based on past experience, gut instinct, and untested or borrowed philosophical understanding or belief (Sibthorp 2003). Often much of the research has been complicated and reported in non-peer reviewed avenues that can include "grey" literature, with less in serialised professional outlets and scientific journals leading to a lack of rigor apparent in the data on which the findings are based, a lack of comparative studies as the principle research method used and few long term studies (Barret & Greenaway 1995; Friese, Pittman & Hendee 1995). Further, not much attention has been given to hearing the voice of the participant living the experience (Barret & Greenaway's 1995). In essence, until recently it has been said that, "the scientific research paradigm employed in most of the research reviewed has been shown to be ill-suited to the task of studying the complex phenomena which constitute the experience of outdoor adventure" (Barrett & Greenaway 1995, p. 53).

Subsequently, the methodology undertaken in this study addresses many of these gaps. In fact, the approach continues to fill gaps that remain. This is even despite in more recent times, since 1996 when an increased trend toward research published in peer-reviewed journals, with hundreds of empirical studies conducted that attempt to better understand impacts of outdoor adventure began to emerge (Neill 2006). As such, the trend is toward the improvement in research methodologies and a growing recognition by the scientific community in the quality of research in this field (Moore & Russell 2002). Indeed, the methodological approach employed in this research continues to contribute to this trend by giving more attention to young people's own perspectives and accounts (Neill 1997), increasing inductive qualitative research (McKenzie 2003), exploring the relationships between what different stakeholders, for example participants and staff, say about a programme's value and other characteristics of programme effectiveness (Neill 2006), and, testing the claims of organisations of enabling self-fulfilment with the aim to increase what is known about the impact of these expeditions on the young people themselves (Pikea & Beamesb 2007).

Primarily, this study seeks the views of the trainees to better understand their relationship between their personal development and the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their everyday lives. Clearly, it makes sense to put them at the helm of this research because for one reason, their transitions back home are understood as happening in an environment where their futures are uncertain rather than predictable (Giddens 1990). But more importantly, because this is a time in their lives not experienced by previous generations in quite the same way, they are experts of their own experience. Thus, what they say can provide a vital insight; their views can enlighten and inform in many ways. First, in what outcomes they experience and second, how and why they relate them to their experience on board. Moreover, their views can shed light on the notion of

adulthood and identity development, particularly relevant in a new and changing world where identity is now more often understood rather than just simply accepted (Willmott & Nelson 2005).

Indeed, having participant voices heard is a move away from more passive approaches where research on young people tended to be based on adult interpretations and observations of them (Calvert 2008). In fact, there's a notable shift from an era where the views of young people themselves have been commonly absent from research and policy programs (Dwyer & Wynn 2001). In the current Australian political environment for example, there is a shift toward the belief in the right of young people to participate in and have a say about their lives relating to the changing political, economic and social structures (Evans, Ellis, Fetherston, Smith, Goodwin, Haddid & Gazzard 2008). Underpinning this sentiment is the belief that if interventions that target them are going to be accepted by them and salient to them, their viewpoint must be investigated (Blum & Nelson-Mmari 2004). Similarly, underpinning this research is the sentiment that understanding what trainees say about their identity development and how and why they think this happens in relation to their experiences on board the Leeuwin II tall ship are a valuable insight. In addition, what they say has potential to be applied to life outside this recreational program (Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning 2004). Yet while there is scope to extend what they say to a wider context, I am also aware that it cannot be strictly or automatically generalisable to all young people's everyday lives either. Simply this is because the small number of trainees taking part in this research cannot be representative of all young Australian people.

1.11 Research Design

Given this research involves human participants, ethical approval is obtained from Deakin University - Human Research Ethics Committee (DUHREC) before potential research participants are recruited. All recruitment is conducted by the Leeuwin Marketing and Development officer who contacts board members, workers/volunteers, and trainees who have sailed no longer than six months prior. Ensuring no harm comes to them, all are fully informed – without deception - about this research so they can make a choice as to whether they participate or not. This includes their right to withdraw from the research at any time. In the case of participants aged younger than eighteen years of age, consent is gained also from their parent/guardian. They receive a plain language statement explaining the research and my contact details if they wish to proceed to participate in the research.

In total there are forty-two research participants made up of two board members, twelve Leeuwin workers, and twenty-eight trainees who agreed to participate. Face-to-face one-on-one semi-structured interviews – see appendix 1 (Lindlof & Taylor 2002) are conducted with Leeuwin II workers/volunteers while I sail with them in November 2008. All other interviews, including board members, trainees and Leeuwin II workers/volunteers, except one Leeuwin II worker that is via email, I conduct with each individually by telephone between 2009 and 2010. To ensure their privacy and confidentiality, guarding them from any potential harm from identity exposure, they are given codes. Interviews are recorded and transcribed verbatim and they are given the option to have their interviews emailed to them for further comment. Finally, all interview transcripts are held at Deakin University at least six years after the research is complete (McNeill & Chapman 2005).

Semi-structured interviews are considered a strength of this study, indeed they are fundamental to a qualitative approach because they allow the perspectives of the research participants to unfold from their own views. The grounded theoretical approach then organises this data through categorical aggregation (Stake, 1995) that identifies key emergent themes. Forming the basis of this comparison are three categories of trainees. The first is 'Adolescents' - trainees who are aged younger than eighteen years of age, the second is 'Post Adolescents' – those who are aged eighteen years old through to their twenties, and the third is, 'Past Trainees' - trainees who were aged in their teens and twenties when they sailed years ago. Rather than form a separate category for gender, this focus becomes an integral part of the analysis. It was hoped that a category of Indigenous trainees would be created and be a part of this study but unfortunately, no Indigenous trainees volunteered to partake in the research so their views cannot be included. However, one adolescent trainee discloses having Asperger's syndrome, potentially giving further depth to the discussion from a disability perspective. This is certainly a strength of a grounded theoretical approach, that is, while it is not burdened by too many strict rules, it is strict enough to allow exploration of the content and meaning in the data (Hallberg 2006).

In addition, views of board members, Leeuwin II workers/volunteers, my own experiences sailing on board, literature, and theory also form part of this analysis. Interpretation of the meaning in the data is based on my own experience; this is a non-neutral position that is understood to further contribute to the strength of this study as it amplifies and enriches my interpretation of it (Corbin & Strauss 2008). In the first instance, my experience as trainee enables me to better connect to the meaning of Leeuwin II personnel, trainees and adventure literature. But it allows me to be critical also. For instance, going beyond this understanding through my own experience includes relating my

experiences as a person perceived as disabled similar, but not exactly, to the experiences of young people relating to everyday Australian life. This not only provides me greater insight into what the adolescent with Asperger's syndrome experiences, but it underpins the theoretical perspective proposed in this book. Moreover, rather than relying on analytical software, the analysis is a constant comparison by me. While this makes it a laborious, line-by-line process, in-depth way to scrutinise (Ryan & Bernard 2003a), it allows me to become more and more connected and 'grounded' in the data that in turn develops increasingly richer models and concepts of how the phenomenon being studied really works (Ryan & Bernard 2003b).

This research design is indeed beneficial in a complex area of research like this because it creates a fluid, evolving, and dynamic nature accommodating serendipity and discovery (Corbin & Strauss 2008). It opens up endless opportunities to learn more about the perspectives of the research participants and to connect it at a human level in their world. This creates an opportunity to capture actions and events that result from various factors flowing together and interacting in complex – and often unexpected – ways (Corbin & Strauss 2008). This includes the theoretical understanding that incorporates a relationship of the individual and society, the subjective and objective, also understood in terms of agency and structure being proposed in this research that also provides possibility for future analysis (Kvale 2003; Charmaz 2005). Thus the importance of capturing as much of this complexity as possible through concept, theory, and process is understood in this research. Yet at the same time, it is understood that capturing it all will be nearly impossible (Corbin & Strauss 2008).

1.12 Charting the Chapters

Exploring the relationship between trainees' identity development and their experience on board the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their everyday lives is an exciting research adventure. It is an opportunity that is both innovative and challenging. Most of all, in memory of Matthew, conducting this research is an opportunity to build a positive outcome from a tragedy. That is, his death has motivated me to better understand trainees' identity development as it relates with their experiences sailing on board the Leeuwin II tall ship with young people's identity development in their everyday lives. His memory and spirit are with me; he is indeed the wind beneath these research sails.

In many ways, while it is a common cliché, this research is a journey that will be travelled. The journey entails holism, uncertainty and subjectivity (Bogg & Geyer 2007). Not simply resembling a straightforward or linear process, the adventure is a unique one; an innovative research project shrouded by creativity. The next chapter begins this journey by reviewing the adventure literature. In it attention is given to young people's developmental outcomes and how and why adventure works. In Chapter Three I propose my theoretical understanding of young people's identity development relating to contemporary social milieu; it is the basis for this study and a rationale for young people's participation in outdoor adventure, represented by trainees' participation in the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship. Chapter Four introduces the Leeuwin II field through its Board members, workers/volunteers and my own journal as trainee. The following three chapters analyse themes raised by the categories of the trainee research participants. Chapter Five is devoted to Category One, 'Adolescents', Chapter Six contains Category Two 'Post Adolescents' and Chapter Seven is the final Category Three of 'Past Trainees'. Finally, in Chapter Eight 'Conclusions and Beginnings,' I climb back up the rigging into my conceptual

crow's nest. From this vantage point I look behind and review the research. From this understanding, I discuss what trainees and others reveal about the relationship between their personal development and the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their everyday lives. The chapter concludes by proposing, or perhaps better put in nautical terms, charts a course for both practical application and possible future research.

1.13 Anchors Away

With a bottle of sparkling – symbolic of course – I now launch this study. It is an explorative journey into the wild blue yonder; one that is 'sea-ing' Young People's Identity Development in the twenty-first century as it relates to the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship.

Chapter | 2

Outdoor Adventure:
A Literature Review

2.1 Preamble

In today's contemporary life there is a proliferating field of outdoor adventure defined in many ways. Programs like rope courses (Davis, Ray & Sayles 1995), rock-climbing, canoeing, backpacking, winter camping, kayaking, and cross-country skiing (Ongena 1982), sail training (Allison, McCulloch, McLaughlin, Edwards & Tett 2007), and wilderness adventure (Leeuwin II 2002; Finkelstein 2005; Lister 2006) are all associated with it. It can also be understood from many perspectives such as education (Bucknell & Mannion (2006), therapy (Lee 1992), recreational (Driver, Douglass & Loomis 1999), developmental (Krumpe 1988), or even a combination (Moore & Russell 2002). As the English Outdoor Council (2010) say:

> *Outdoor education, training and recreation involve both young people and adults in a wide range of experiences, including adventurous activities on land and water... (English Outdoor Council 2010).*

Given this study is directed toward the Leeuwin II tall ship outdoor adventure program, what is meant by outdoor adventure in this book refers to any adventure program that takes young people away from their normal environment to wilderness settings. These programs usually place them in small groups where together they have to employ problem solving or otherwise creative methods to deal with the environment around them and the task at hand (Hattie et al 1997). They take on the responsibility of interpreting and manipulating novel stimuli they encounter. The actions they take to adjust or cope with their new surroundings 'are made salient and provide learning opportunities' (Hans 2000, p. 34). It is an 'approach or a methodology by which challenging activities and the natural environment provide a field for their personal and social development (Gair 1997); there is an underlying sentiment that 'the gymnasium, athletic track

and swimming pools are ameliorators of today's synthetic living, but they are not the same as rocks, trees and rivers (Arnold 1970).

A belief in and value of this outdoor adventure is supported by antidote and rhetoric throughout history. Literature dating back to ancient times for example, by Plato (427 BCE – 347 BCE) portrays an image of an adventurer who leaves behind the comforts of home, loved ones, and civilization to go out into the unknown, seeking to push back the physical and geographical frontiers of her/his existence, and in the process probing the monsters and myths of her/his own psychological and mental being. Similarly, Aristotle (384 BCE – 322 BCE) believed that 'the wise use of leisure, not as an end in itself, but as a means of stimulating thought, creates an attitude of developing a philosophy for living' (Hopkins 1993, p. 38). However, the root of modern day adventure is more often traced back to the establishment of Outward Bound in Britain by Kurt Hahn (1886–1974). Hahn's program was designed in the early 1940s to better prepare sailors for the experience of war. The one-month long program exposed them to activities such as athletics, small boat training, orienteering and rescue training, and an expedition at sea with the intent to improve adaptability and flexibility, strengthen moral character, and build upon endurance and strength (Hahn 1957). His approach was both experience-centered and value-centered underlying the importance of learning by doing and the development of character and maturity (West & Crompton 2001). They were rugged challenges intended to help the young recruits develop the internal fortitude and confidence necessary to survive harsh physical challenges (Flurie 2003). For Hahn believed that through achievement, they would learn they possessed "far more than they knew" and they then would begin to rely on themselves (Outward Bound 2002).

Having moved far beyond its roots as a survival school in wartime Great Britain, Outward Bound – and other adventure programs – have now created

sophisticated adventure based educational programs that use wilderness experiences to stimulate personal growth. The aim is for young people to accomplish tasks they once thought impossible, to learn to expect more of themselves. The belief is that physical activities psychologically allow them to recognise and understand their own strengths, weaknesses and resources and thus find the means to master the difficult and unfamiliar in other environments. Rather than overt competition being emphasised, 'the focus is on competition within the individual and cooperation among the group members to achieve greater personal goals' (Hattie et al 1997, p. 45). But perhaps most relevant to this study is the belief that the 'limits to their own potential for personal growth are mostly imagined and self-imposed' (Miles & Priest 1999, p. 4). Or as Wilfred Noyce (1917-1962) says:

We extend our horizon, we expand our being, we revel in a mastery of ourselves which gives an impression, mainly illusory, that we are masters of our world (Hopkins 1993, p. 3).

This chapter reviews the literature on the field of outdoor adventure – it is a topical area that draws interest from many particularly as it relates to young people. Much of what is written until recently reflects rhetoric on the impacts of adventure on them (Hattie et al 1997). But an increased trend toward research published in scientific journals (Moore & Russell 2002), now identifies and boasts several hundred articles and roughly thirty books written about the nature of this on participants' personal and social development, and approximately two hundred and fifty studies that directly investigate the effects of outdoor adventure (Neill 2007a). This includes the consideration of the impact of the experience being transferred to the young person's home environment and everyday life (Davis et al 1995; Pommier & Witt 1995; Garst, Scheider & Baker 2001; Moore & Russell 2002). Also caught up in the discourse is Van Gennep's (1960) idea of

a 'rite of passage model and its stages of preliminal rights - separation, liminal rights - transition, and postliminal rights - reincorporation and Victor Turner's (1969) idea of liminality and communitas. More recently, attention is given to understanding why and how these program outcomes are achieved (McKenzie 2000; Hans 2000; Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning 2004; Paisley, Furnam, Sibthorp & Gookin 2008 & more). Thus, given the vast quantity of adventure literature, this review presents many challenges. To accommodate this, the following discussion is organised into two broad headings, first is the developmental outcomes and second ideas relating to why and how these adventure programs work. The discussion reflects both rhetoric and empirical research; it includes a mixture of supportive key quotes with scientific rigor.

2.2 Developmental Outcomes

It was in the 1950s when the efforts to 'identify the extent and impact of adventure-based activities upon the individual' were first witnessed (Ewert 1987). This includes investigation into schools using survival-training programs in their curricula (Schraer 1954) and therapeutic benefits of outdoor camping (Morse 1957). In the 1960s, the social benefits of outdoor adventure also made their appearance. Kelly and Baer's (1968, 1969, 1971) founding work for instance provides some initial and relatively conclusive evidence that adventure-based activities can produce socially desirable benefits like reduced recidivism rates. Other work by Moses (1968) and Moses and Peeterson (1970) also provide additional support for these positive effects of participation in adventure-based survival courses with demonstrated improvements in eligibility for academic readmission for example. However, it is during the 1960s when the first long line of research efforts on benefits to the individual really appeared. For example, Clifford and Clifford (1967) included many noteworthy studies such as those by

Adams 1970; Smith 1971; Wetmore 1972; Heaps and Thorstenson 1974; Nye 1976; George 1978; Stogner 1978; Black 1983. The most prolific effort has been in the area of improving self-concept, followed by self-actualisation (Vander Wilt and Klocke 1971; Young and Crandall 1984), modification of levels of fear (Ewert 1986) and self-efficacy (McGowan 1986). Further to this, substantial research efforts have been made linking outdoor adventure with goals such as enhanced self-concept, improved social attitudes and behaviour, improved physical health or reduced emotional problems (Barcus and Bergeson 1972; Wright 1983; Smith 1982, 1985; Robb & Ewert 1987).

Clearly, a topic of great interest and with a burgeoning quantity of information presents a significant challenge to effectively synthesize and systematically summarize its empirical findings (Neill 2006). As such, meta-analyses are used by some authors in an attempt to make sense of the considerable variety of developmental outcomes, (for example, Cason & Gillis 1994; Hattie et al 1997; Neill & Richards 1998; Hans 2000; Neill 2006). Hattie et al's (1997) is one of those more commonly referred to. Out of one hundred and fifty-one Australian Outward Bound adventure program samples from ninety-six studies published between the years 1968 - 1994, it identifies forty outcomes that are arranged within six headings: leadership, self-concept, academic, interpersonal, personality, and adventuresomeness. As such, this discussion borrows these categories. However, while they are not considered mutually exclusive, they are useful distinctions and provide a framework that is both flexible and expandable to include other areas for discussion, including resilience and adulthood.

2.2.1 Leadership

Leadership is a common theme associated with adventure-based experiential education programs for example. It is popular as a method of leadership

development among young people in both undergraduate and graduate levels of school in this instance (Flurie 2003). However, understanding what is meant by the term of leadership is not simple; the notion of it invokes a wide variety of responses. Associated with wilderness experiences for example, there is evidence of increased leadership skills (Hobbs & Spencer 2002) that are understood in relation to communication, group dynamics, and character-building (Hobbs & Spencer 2002). Hattie et al (1997) relates it to conscientious-ness, decision-making, organisational ability, time management, values, and goals. Arguably, other acquired skills associated with leadership are moral and ethical reason (Smith, Strand & Bunting 2002) based on respect, compassion, responsibility, loyalty, and self-control (Park 2004). It is also, according to Paisley et al (2008), associated with taking on responsibility, initiative, and decision-making roles. The tenets of leadership and outdoor adventure are perhaps well represented by the following words:

Challenging outdoor experiences promote the development of communica-tion, problem solving and decision making skills which have currency across a range of occupations. They encourage a positive "opting in" and "can do" attitude. Young people's horizons are broadened, new challenges come to be relished rather than shunned, and perseverance and determination are reinforced. Values and attitudes developed in a context of shared endeavour help to form a sound basis for responsible citizenship (English Outdoor Council 2010).

Whatever the meaning, much is written about the idea of leadership as, Friese, Pittman and Hendee (1995), Moore and Russell (2002), Bucknell and Mannion (2006), Uhlik 2006; Sibthorp, Paisley and Gookin (2007), and Shooter, Sibthorp and Paisley (2009) indicate. But while outdoor adventure programs have a range of outcomes including leadership, trust, and judgement, adventure also offers a

powerful medium for personal growth and development building in other areas such as self-esteem and self-confidence (Parkin & Blades 2011). This is referred to as 'self-concept' and its accompanying perceptions, which is arguably the most commonly cited and discussed feature of adventure outcomes (see for example McDonald & Howe 1989; O'Dea & Abraham 1999; Harris 2000; Garst, Scheider & Baker 2001; Benson 2002).

2.2.2 Self Concept

This theme encompasses many outcomes such as self-esteem and self-perception (Garst et al 2001), self-efficacy relating to personal empowerment and learning relevance (Sibthorp 2003) and a secure sense of self, acquiring coping and communication skills and developing personal responsibility (Neill 2000). It is associated with physical ability/appearance, peer relations, academic, self-efficacy, family, self-understanding, well-being, independence, and confidence (Hattie et al 1997). Indeed, self-confidence is a common outcome repeatedly equated to the concept of self across many studies including one by Gordon, Harcourt-Smith, Hay, and Priest (1995) conducted on the Leeuwin II tall ship where trainees indicated an increased sense of confidence. This is well illustrated also in the experience of "Outward Bound-type" programs that aim to instil a sense of confidence and competence in young adults and teens (Flurie 2003). When referring to the values and benefits of outdoor adventure, the English Outdoor Council state:

Outdoor activities provide valuable alternative, often non-competitive, avenues for achievement, as well as opportunities to develop independence and self-reliance. Through successfully facing up to the challenges which outdoor activities provide, overcoming fears and apprehensions along the

way, young people make major strides in confidence, with implications for all aspects of their development (English Outdoor Council 2010).

They believe:

Building self-confidence and self-esteem is fundamental to any young person's development (English Outdoor Council 2010).

The wide array of interpretations and perspectives surrounding the concept of self continue. It is for example, also associated with increasing an individual's self-understanding and developing personal competencies such as self-sufficiency, self-respect, self-reliance, as well as self-confidence. Yet, another way this term can be understood is in terms other than a narcissistic sense, or one that relates to the real inner being. This gives recognition to the idea of 'difference between love of true self and the self-edification of an image or ideal self' (Pearson 1991, p. 161). What this means is that individuals genuinely feel that they are in control of their actions; it is an idea central to a feeling of autonomy (Pearson 1991). Locus of control described as a personality construct that assesses how people attribute their successand failure outcomes (Hans 2000) or put another way, those who believe their actions determine their future (Baron 2009) is one idea bound to it. Thinking this way, it might be understood as affecting young people's everyday lives:

A positive attitude to learning is essential if young people are to make the most of their education (English Outdoor Council 2010).

But given the wide interpretation of the concept of the self, there are some like Hans (2000) who believe it may be too broad to describe the changes evidenced by intervention programs. Nonetheless, the interest in it is reflected in the many studies attempting to understand program efficacy. This is illustrated in the focus on self-perception constructs in outdoor adventure program

evaluation studies for example (Garst et al 2001). Others such as Schoel (1988), Langsner and Anderson (1987), Klint (1990), and Blascovich and Tomaka (1991) include possible benefits associated with youths' outdoor adventure participation to increases in some affective component of the self. Ewert (1983), Neill (2002), McKenzie (2003), Goldenberg, McAvoy and Klenosky (2005) and McCulloch, McLaughlin, Allison, Edwards and Tett (2010) studies generally support the view that adventure programs contribute to positive developmental outcomes such as increased self-confidence, self-efficacy, trust, teamwork, and overall life effectiveness. Friese et al (1995) even go so far as to say they 'support the notion that participation in wilderness experience programs result in positive benefits such as enhanced self-esteem and sense of personal control, and negative results from participation are virtually non-existent'.

Clearly the concept of self is considered from many perspectives and there is little doubt young people develop increased sense of it through their participation in outdoor adventure. The belief and value in it as it relates to their everyday life is reflected in the words of Ongena (1982, p. 72):

A person moves into a situation and is elementally committed; there is a thrill to the encounter and to the mastery. Having confronted such a situation and met the challenge, people may become more secure in their identity and more confident in themselves. These are some of the things we should be teaching our students, not just mathematics, chemistry, auto mechanics, and the like.

2.2.3 Academic

But academic achievement is indeed implicated in adventure, too (Friese, Pittman & Hendee 1995; Moore & Russell 2002). There is less attention to it though than leadership and the concept of self as indicated by the shortage of

studies investigating the potential of outdoor adventure to enhance it (Neill 1997). Nonetheless, one study directly addressing academic outcomes is by Marsh and Richards (1988). The study reported large academic and self-concept improvements in students who participated in outdoor adventure programs. Another by Rickinson, Dillon, Teamey, Morris, Choi, Sanders and Benefield's (2004) found that there is a connection between developmental outcomes, but are most evident where the goals of the program targeted specific academic skills. This has implications for environmental education, particularly in a life that is increasingly under the spell of technological advances, where some would argue academic learning and the environment are intrinsically bound. In this way, the target raises awareness of nature and the environment, problem solving, and outdoor skills, (Dicksoan, Gray & Mann 2008). This is an important academic outcome particularly in the future as communities look for the next generation of environmental leaders and activists (Charles et al 2008). Certainly, it is an important and aspired outcome today when considering:

Our relationship with the environment is a key issue facing tomorrow's citizens (English Outdoor Council 2010).

Thus, it makes sense that young people will increase their awareness of environmental issues in specifically targeted programs focusing on it. Underlying this belief is a saying that the mountains do not speak for themselves (Dickson et al 2008). However, perhaps they do say something when considering there is a correlation with other outcomes such as, better coping skills, reduced crime, greater curiosity, enhanced cognitive skills, and improved academic outcomes (Charles, Louv 2008). Whatever the view, when reading this, it is evident that outdoor adventure is linked to academic life in many ways:

Participation in exciting and enjoyable outdoor activities with teachers, youth workers and peers reinforces a positive attitude to education and contributes significantly to the general ethos of a school or youth group. Direct experience out of doors stimulates and reinforces learning across many areas of the curriculum, and the use of the outdoors encourages young people to take greater responsibility for their own learning (English Outdoor Council 2010).

Clearly, this is consolidated by the comments of this student after returning home from an outdoor adventure program:

Never have I learned as much as I did. The experiences and knowledge gained couldn't be replicated in a classroom, yet they are helping me to do better at school (Andrews 1999, p. 42).

2.2.4 Interpersonal Relationships

Consequently, the idea of self-efficacy, being described as an individual's belief in her/his ability to successfully perform a range of tasks or behaviours can be understood as relating to students' expectations about themselves and their academic learning (Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning 2004). Of interest to this is a study by Parle (1986a, 1986b) because it demonstrates how development of interpersonal skills can influence others' academic achievement, too. In the study, two groups of female students, one which chose to participate in an Outward Bound program and one which did not, both reported measures of increased self-efficacy after the group returned. The belief is that there is an interplay and development of outcomes such as leadership, concept of self and interpersonal skills; relationships that overflow to others in their everyday lives, in this case to their school environment that increases academic achievement (Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning 2004). What this means is that participation in

outdoor adventure not only contributes to developing intrapersonal skills – associated with the concept of the self, but developing interpersonal ones as well that contribute to promoting social relationships and working in teams (Victorian Outdoor Education Association Journeys 2005). Readily recognised as valuable skills, it is understood as an engagement in meaningful ways across research studies and rhetoric alike (Dickson et al 2008). It is indeed a value echoed by these words:

Experience in the outdoors provides rich opportunities for personal and social development through carefully structured group work in challenging situations. Trust, care, tolerance and the willingness to give and accept support are all encouraged and anti-social behaviour is challenged. Opportunities are presented to exhibit and develop effective inter-personal behaviour and to work co-operatively and effectively in teams (English Outdoor Council 2010).

The implication of this is that a person's concept of themselves and their interactions with others promotes effective life development. When considering this in light of academic achievement for example, it highlights the personal expectations of students getting good grades (Becker, Davis & Neal 1990). In fact, their self-expectancy has been found to be significantly related to it (Haynes & Johnson, 1983), and achievement expectancies have been shown to predict subsequent academic performance (House. 1993). While the importance of this in adventure education still warrants additional investigation (Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning 2004), the idea that a person believing that they are effective in various major tasks in their lives (Neill, Marsh & Richards 2003) is implicated to increasing their life effectiveness and 'life skills' (Gilchrist, Schinke, & Maxwell 1987). It is certainly an important consideration when:

Awareness of the needs and contributions of others and the ability to sustain effective relationships, at work and in the family, are vital in today's society (English Outdoor Council 2010).

The concept is employed in a number of outdoor education program research and evaluation efforts (for example, Stenger 2001; Purdie, Neill & Richards 2002). In Western Australia, adventure-based training programs like those offered by 'Adventure Out' utilise a range of outdoor activities to help people learn about interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships. Their focus is to present a series of carefully structured challenges and as they are overcome, the aim is that participants learn things about themselves. They learn things about their potential capabilities and perceived limitations, self-concept and independence. Further, by working in-groups, they learn about aspects of teamwork such as cooperation, trust, communication, problem solving and leadership. Learning to cope with change and uncertainty and even at times anxiety in adventure, they develop valuable strategies that can be implemented in their everyday living (Adventure Out 2010). Thus, there are further implications beyond school life and academic achievement, including successful participation in the workforce. This is well described by these words:

Use of the outdoors makes a major contribution to physical and environmental education and enhances many other curriculum areas. It contributes to personal growth and social awareness and develops skills for life and the world of work (English Outdoor Council 2010).

2.2.5 Resilience

This opens up the discourse to include the notion of resilience; an idea supported by studies such as, Neill and Dias (2001); Pryor, Carpenter and Townsend (2005); and Ungar, Dumond and McDonald (2005) that participation

in outdoor adventure programs specifically enhance young people's resilience. This is a concept understood as building upon their enhancement of the capacity to deal with everyday life (Ewert 1989; Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi 1990; Hunt 1990; Priest 1994). Bound with it are different ideas such as, hardiness (Kobasa, 1979) and resourcefulness (Rosenbaum 1990; Priest & Gass 2005). It is sometimes described as one's capacity for maintenance, recovery or improvement in mental health resulting from life challenges (Ryff, Singer, Dienberg Love & Essex 1998). It is also associated to successful adaptation following exposure to stressful life events (Werner 1989). Some understand it in terms of their psychological resilience or the controlled exposure to challenge contributing to enhancing effectiveness (Neill & Dias 2001). In some ways, it is a concept that relates to Positive self-concept, self-esteem, and self-efficacy (Ungar, Dumond & McDonald 2005); it is thus a concept understood as being wed to concepts of the self also. In essence, to be resilient means:

> *Tomorrow's successful citizens will possess the adaptability to cope with a rapidly changing world of work and the responsibility to be an effective member of a community (English Outdoor Council 2010).*

However, resilience is more than bouncing back and coping with everyday life situations when it is understood in terms of a capacity for transformation and change (Lifton 1993). In this way, it implicates transition and is associated with young people's successful one to adulthood. Henderson, Whitaker, Bialeschki, Scanlin and Thurber (2007) for example believe that to become successful adults, young people need to promote positive developmental processes such as mastery, competence, positive identity, belonging, caring, connection, and resilience. Neill and Dias (2001) equate this to a secure sense of self, personal responsibility, coping and communication skills, and resilience.

2.2.6 Personality

Maturity is thus another developmental outcome associated with outdoor adventure. Together with gender identity, achievement motivation, emotional stability, assertiveness and various neuroses such as anxiety, it is considered as a personality trait (Hattie et al 1997). Further associations are of acting out behaviour, locus of control, and depression (Cason & Gillis 1994). What Hattie et al (1997) found was that the effects on personality dimensions are high for assertiveness as well as in the reduction of aggression, for emotional stability, achievement motivation, maturity, internal locus of control, and reduction in neurosis. According to Cason and Gillis' (1994) meta-analysis of outdoor adventure programming with young people, adventure therapy is equally effective with all populations. This includes reviewing and consolidating the data concerning the various aspects of their personalities that the studies claimed were positively affected by the programs.

Not all agree, though, with divided thought on how outdoor adventure effects different populations. Relating to gender for example, there is Ewert (1988), Kelley, Coursey and Selby (1997), Propst and Koesler (1998), and Russell (2003) who show that male and female participants respond differently to adventure program participation. Hattie et al (1997) found that while both positive, the effects on masculinity were larger than the effects on femininity (for example, Smith 1971; Bertolami 1981; & Richards 1987). This outcome is possible when relating it to the time of their analysis as it was a time that reflected a lingering notion of 'making men out of boys' (Hattie et al 1997). But even today, this cannot be ignored; it might very well relate to the outdoor industry in its various manifestations of aspects of contemporary society (Humberstone 2000). For restraints through stereo-typical gender roles, differences in outdoor recreation opportunities for females and males, and

family and peer expectations, access, and physical and environmental factors (Culp 1998) still remain today in some way. Yet there are other contributions to this discourse that find no difference in outcomes between genders (Gass 1990; Rawson & Barnett 1993).

Culp (1998) also understands varying individual outcomes attributed to gender, but extends it to include culture. This positions ethnic identity within the category personality as well; a most relevant consideration in a multi-cultural context such as Australia. There is little attention given to it in adventure literature though. Limited information is available from the few early cases where such background characteristics record no differences relating to ethnic groups (Wetmore 1972; Bacon 1988). This differs from results found in a more recent study by Purdie, Neill and Richards (2002) that found student-learning outcomes varied significantly with individual cultural identities. According to them, 'Most of the gains were made by students who rated themselves as totally Australian, and not by students who expressed somewhat of a lesser affiliation with an Australian identity' (p. 38).

2.2.7 Adventuresomeness

Lastly is the developmental outcome adventuresomeness which similarly appears to have minimal information directly relating to it. One study that refers to it is Henderson et al's (2007). In this study, parent/guardian perceptions of children taking part in outdoor adventure raise outcomes such as leadership, positive values and decision making, positive identity, making friends, spirituality, environmental awareness, social comfort, independence, peer relationships, and adventure/exploration. Adventure/exploration is understood as thinking and physical skills. But Hattie et al (1997) equate adventuresomeness to challenge and flexibility. It might also be thought of as, a have a go attitude, happy to go beyond

comfort zone, healthy risk taking, feeling like you can make a positive contribution, self-reliance, independence, responsibility for actions, setting realistic but challenging targets, speaking with confidence, adaptable, determination, creativity, critical thinker, adapting to new challenges, activity skills, coming up with ideas, appreciation of own strengths and limitations, and expressing ideas and feelings (Key Outcomes of Outdoor Education 2008). Though while there is little written on adventuresomeness, according to this list, it is apparent it is important for many reasons, including understanding young people's sense of agency in an individualised life. For as Miranda and Yerkes (1982, p. 83) assert, "The loss of a free adventurous self has gloomy implications for social and intellectual action."

2.2.8 Tying Up the Outcomes

Clearly, from this discussion, there is a wide array of developmental outcomes evident in regard to developing self-efficacy, personal skills, intellectual flexibility, relationship building and more (Dickson et al 2008). Hattie et al's (1997) six categories from their meta-analysis provided a flexible framework for this discussion to emerge. That is, from categories such as leadership, concept of self, academic, interpersonal, adventuresome, personality and more including resilience and adulthood. What becomes apparent as the discussion unfolds is the overwhelming amount of affirmative research and evaluation findings –reiterating that this is only a slice of information taken from the much larger literature pie! – That supports the notion that these programs have the potential to enact change in participants and groups between a variety of populations and a number of environmental settings (e.g., Hattie et al 1997; Hans 2000).

However, while there is strong argument that young people experience positive outcomes in outdoor adventure, there still remain other considerations

such as their age contributing to this discourse. According to Hattie et al (1997), there are few studies that when referring to young people, explicitly assess the effects of their age, and most of those that did found no significant differences. This means there was too little information in most studies in their meta-analysis to be specific about this. Although they found that some studies provided a range, others a mean and many a brief description like 'university students', there was little differentiating information between secondary and university students. There are other views on their outcomes, too, not everyone agrees that outdoor adventure is effective for all young people. For example, one thought is that around the age of fifteen years there is a rather dramatic dip in program effectiveness; from this perspective, the belief is that fifteen year olds are particularly difficult to deal with (Neil 1999). Another report that supports this is Richards' (1999) Work on the physical self-concept demonstrating that adolescents 'bottom-out' at 15 years of age in their perceptions of their physical selves. Other research such as Marsh, Parker and Barnes (1985) found that self-concept is lowest during Year 9. Neill's (1999) collation of data from over five thousand participants on mainly Outward Bound Australia (OBA) programs using the Life Effectiveness Questionnaire (LEQ) (Neill 2007b) is another report supporting this perspective. It established a view consistent with anecdotes of teachers and instructors. That is, on the whole, the older the student the greater the gain. The consequence of this is that as Neill (1999) suggests, it might be difficult to achieve the typical sorts of changes we expect from outdoor education programs during mid-adolescence. Still there are opinions contrary to this way of thinking; there are those who consider the age of the participant has long being considered key in developmental processes. According to Sibthorp, Paisley and Gookin (2007), young people are those with the highest level of potential to change. Ewert and McAvoy's (2000) synthesis

of research supports this by recording younger participants more often demonstrating the greatest development in adventure-based programs.

Another point of contention is whether these outcomes endure over any length of time. Differing perceptions of this include Capur and Borsci's (2013) study on a tall ship that found while there are positive short-term effects on the participants' Social and Competence self-concepts, they disappear two months after the end of the project. Harris' (2000) examination of self-concept found the benefits extended up to three months after the program ended. In Garst et al's (2001) study there was indication that self-perception was affected by outdoor adventure experiences. According to them, they found that 'both social acceptance and behavioural conduct increased immediately after the outdoor adventure trip, and that some behavioural conduct impacts may have remained four months after the trip' (Garst et al 2001, p. 48). There are also five meta-analyses by Cason and Gillis (1994), Marsh, Neill and Richards (1997), Marsh (1999), Hans (2000), and Bunting and Donley (2002) that all show education programs have small-moderate impacts on constructs such as self-concept, locus of control, and teamwork that are impressively retained over time (Neill 2008). This juxtaposes Hattie et al's (1997) meta-analysis that found participants experienced gains in the short-term or immediate-term that are followed by 'substantial' gains by the end of the program and beyond. Further, there is more recent evidence that suggests that participants are doing well in regard to sustaining positive personal development on a long-term basis (Neil 2003). Yet while these positive research findings indicate young people experience personal development in many areas through adventure based programs extending over varying time, it is still basically elusive as to how and/or why it all occurs (Sibthorp 2003; Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007).

2.3 How and Why Outdoor Adventure Works

We have discovered an educational black box; we know something works but we don't know why or how (Ewert 1983, p. 27).

Since Ewert (1983) uttered these words, there have been various attempts to solve the puzzle of how and why the field of adventure works contributing to young people's development (for example, Ewert 1989; Scherl 1990; Hanna 1992; Hattie et al 1997; Klint 1999; Warner 1999; Hans 2000; McKenzie 2000, 2003; Russell 2001; West & Crompton 2001; Sibthorp 2003; Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007; Paisley et al 2008; Shooter, Sibthorp & Paisley 2009) who have contributed to this discourse. However, much of this inquiry is largely theory based rather than empirical research, which means in essence, the black box still lingers today (Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007). There are those like McKenzie (2000) who suggests several categories as to why and how adventure works. For instance, she identifies the physical environment, activities, the instructor, processing, the group, and the participants. Others like Martin and Leberman (2005) found it was the physical activities, the instructors, the group, reviews, and the solo that are the critical components of their learning. Following their example and to give order to the various reasons, different themes and supportive quotes frame the following discussion.

2.3.1 Physical Environment: The Wilderness

The mountains and forests were so invigorating, I feel real in the outdoors (McKenzie 2003, p. 13).

Given the focus in this book is on the wilderness, it is logical to consider the physical environment first as contributing to young people's personal development. This is what wilderness programs are designed for, to promote

personal growth, leadership, and education through outdoor living; clearly, from the previous discussion the belief is that wilderness adventure influences the outcomes of participants (Walsh and Golins 1976). However, while there are complex philosophical discussions about this with many agreeing that it acts as a change agent, there is no agreed upon inclusive model that exists to truly identify and describe those factors that may cause it (Russell & Farnum 2004). Perhaps it is because in some way the mountains provide a learning opportunity to connect with them through physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing that is enhanced when young people spend more time outdoors in nature (Dickson et al 2008). One way this can be understood is whereby the unfamiliarity of the wilderness creates a sense of the unknown, a constructive level of anxiety, and a perception of risk (Nadler 1993). Inevitably, a part of the wilderness environment, young people's perceptions of risk can then be understood in terms of their perceptions to the challenges that evoke their attitudes and responses (Bauman 2005) to gain or triumph over it. The idea is that the wilderness setting encourages personal growth through the trials and conflicts encountered on a day's journey through it; they are very rich experiences that can magnify emotional, physical, spiritual, and mental awareness. In this way, the 'mountains are speaking for themselves' and as such, can be understood as extraordinary teachers (Dixon et al 2008). The lessons they provide might be described this way:

Active learning and adventure outdoors introduces young people to the environment in a way which develops understanding appreciation, awe, wonder and respect. It fosters sensitivity to the environment, helps young people to see themselves in a global context and helps to develop citizens with an awareness of the need for sustainable use of the world's natural resources (English Outdoor Council 2010).

Or it might be understood like this:

Communing with animals, mountains, waters, and trees puts people in touch with their essential selves, that part of oneself that is part of everything. Hearing the voice of Nature helps us to hear our 'inner voice' (Lertzman 2002, p. 36).

2.3.2 Wilderness as Contrast

This introduces the idea that being removed from civilization the wilderness environment may create experiences and emotions that can alleviate some of the stress caused by the increasingly technological and urban culture of contemporary society (Greenway 1995). In this way the mountains can be considered without handrails and the wilderness without cell phones, too (Krakoff 2003)! What becomes apparent is a contrast that clearly has great significance today in young people's lives, particularly when understanding virtual reality applications such as video games and Multi-user games on the Internet have potential to alter their actual experience (Anderson 2002). In a world that in many ways marches along with the beat of a technological drum, it is something that cannot be dismissed; as technological development increasingly encroaches on young people's lives, it is predicted in the future, it will blur their distinction between offline and online. It is even believed that someone born from the year 2000 her or his world will always be wireless (Floridi 2007). Recognising this distinction between technology at home and the wilderness is one young female participant of an Outward Bound trip who says:

Civilization has too many advantages and too many artificial things that we put in place to build barriers between people. But the wilderness just strips that all away (McKenzie 2003, p. 13).

2.3.3 Participant Processing

Thus, being separated from their everyday lives creates a contrast for them that can be understood to contribute to their personal development. In essence, this means they are able to 'gain new perspectives on the familiar environments from which they came' (McKenzie 2000, p. 20). As such, the idea of participant processing becomes part of this discourse. Not much is understood about processing (McKenzie 2000), but it is important as it is suggested that individual perceptions contribute most to their development (Conrad & Hedin 1982). As a newfound inner resource that has potential to be generalised to elsewhere in their lives (Adams & Sveen2000), this is particularly important. As Adams and Sveen (2000, p. 29) put it:

A newfound awareness of self, developed through experience, is an ongoing process that encourages one back to the uncharted territory to begin the change process afresh.

Participant ordering and sorting information being internalised as meaning from their outdoor adventure experience is thus a reason why processing is also considered as part of why and how adventure works. It includes sustaining changes over time and continues to grow (Bell 2003). As these words of this female participant convey:

Trying and then succeeding made me realise it's all about mental attitude. We can do so much if we believe we can or even if we just try anyway (McKenzie 2003, p. 14).

2.3.4 The Solo

Subsequently, part of why and how adventure is understood to work emanates from their self-awareness and self-reflection; this has potential to

occur in many ways as well as being a part of the wilderness, and away from their everyday lives. This can range from being alone, a part of a group, the challenges overcome, the perception of risk, relationships with others, and more. Understanding them being alone in the wilderness, for example, as an eighteen-year- old female graduate explains:

Sitting in the solo… I wrote letters to my parents and to the people I thought I'd hurt in my life… When you're all alone you are forced to think a little more and think a little harder about things (McKenzie 2003, p. 13).

Or as a nineteen-year-old, male student explains:

The strongest positive impact on me was that I had to do many things on my own, and I will be able to take those memories home with me to do many things at home on my own that I haven't done before (McKenzie 2003, p. 14).

2.3.5 The Group

But the idea of doing things on their own can also be understood in other ways. For example, in adventure programs, they are usually placed in a group of people whom they've never met before and, chances are, will never meet again. Thus, the idea is that their interactions are a new experience as part of their processing and there are several ways of thinking about this that can contribute to outcomes (Walsh & Golins 1976; Conrad & Hedin 1981; Hopkins 1993; Witman 1995). In this situation, they have opportunity to try out new ways of thinking and behaving with others without the hindrance of previous expecta-tions from accompanying schoolteachers and/or classmates (Neill 1999). This might include learning effective behaviours through imitation and observing each other in action (Bandura 1969). It is also possible that the dynamics and size of the group they are part of influences their outcomes (Priest & Gass 2005)

or the interaction of them within their group (Thomas 1990; Pintrich & Schunk 1996). In addition, a group also implies working together as a team, interacting with other group members, and the attitudes of other group members, relying on other group members, taking care of each other, and trying new behaviours (McKenzie 2003). Being a part of a group might have implications as this participant says:

The course definitely… got me a little more sensitive about people and my surroundings. It taught me… to look at people to make sure that everything's okay or if they can be helped (McKenzie 2003, p. 14).

Yet working in groups has another implication in that it can foster a close sense of community; a connection that can be experienced by people who were once strangers (Neill & Richards 1998). Indeed, a recent study by Anderson et al (2010) found that college students who participated in outdoor pursuit trips experienced a significant increase in their sense of community. The belief is that a healthy sense of community fosters a sense of connectedness and belonging that is essential for the healing and development of individuals (Lertzman 2002) and contributes to how and why adventure works. It can also be understood as another contrast contributing to it, particularly when young people live in a dominant social and economic order that undermines community solidarity, discourages the establishment of community, and promotes individualism (Tesoriero 2010).

2.3.6 Activities: Challenge and Risk

The activities young people participate in while out in the wilderness are also considered as why and how adventure works (Capur & Borsci 2013). This builds on the belief in the unique relationship between the wilderness and human interaction to include programmatic activities that require creativity not

quite like other activities (Krakoff 2003). In essence, the activities associated with adventure programs are intended to create a challenge. This in turn contributes to creating a constructed level of anxiety with the intent to achieve success or master the skills associated with these activities to overcome this state (Walsh & Golins 1976). As such, it is suggested that the combination of challenge, mastery, and success contributes to personal growth (for example, Conrad & Hedin 1981; Iso-Ahola & Graefe 1988; Dyson 1995; Witman 1995). When relating this to developing resilience for example, it is often understood as analogous to the immunisation process (Rutter, 1993). Put simply this occurs because, as Neill and Dias (2001, p. 36) explain:

> *Just as immunity to infections is gained through the controlled exposure to a pathogen (rather than avoiding it), so too successful encountering of difficult challenges experienced as part of an outdoor adventure program can provide a form of psychological inoculation.*

However, there are a myriad of considerations to be included when discussing activities and challenge. One perspective is that it is understood as an empowering process that successfully transfers responsibility to participants (Hyde-Hills 1998). But not only does the discourse include the idea of success, the idea of failure is also included. Underpinning this thought is the understanding that by honing one's capabilities to exercise better control over events, the difficulties can provide opportunities to learn how to turn failure into success (Bandura 1997). In this way, a perception of risk also becomes relevant and contributes to personal growth. As Bauman (2005, p. 77) says, "there is no risk without at least a residual fear of harm or defeat." Indeed, the idea of risk is central to adventure when understanding that "without risk, there would be no genuine adventure." (James 1980, p. 20).

Moreover, with the idea of risk, the length of a program or exposure to it becomes relevant too; in order to overcome the challenges enough time to do this is required. According to previous research on the duration of adventure programs, there is support indicating that longer programs that are more substantial work better as they lead to greater growth in participants (Cason & Gillis 1994; Hattie et al 1997; Russell 2003; Rickinson et al (2004). Further, when considering as Bertrand Russell does, that "A life without adventure is likely to be unsatisfying, but a life in which adventure is allowed to take whatever form it will, is likely to be short" (cited in Parkin & Blake 2011), also directs attention to the role of the instructor as a vital part in this. For as James (1980) asserts, it is the skilled instructors who are taking their students safely through adventurous activities.

2.3.7 The Instructor

Thus, in the wilderness one of the instructor's roles is to manage environmental challenges and competence levels in order to achieve a balance between safety and risk. The management of risks and hazards is essential for they have potential to lead to negative consequences such as injuries, psychological incidents and even fatalities. Clearly, this draws on instructor skills; they need to ensure not too much emphasis is on safety that will remove the excitement and challenge that was possibly the attraction in the first place (Dickson 2000). It is also important that the level of perceived risk and challenge are set accordingly because there is also risk in inaction (Giddens 1990). This is one of the consequences of challenge being set beyond actual ability, it can create inertia, low confidence, and low self-esteem (Sennett 1998). In fact, some believe that the interrelationship between perceived risk and competence is one of the key elements that define outdoor adventure activities and decision-making (Boyes & O'Hare 2003).

Yet an instructor's role spans beyond ensuring this balance, as McKenzie (2003) indicates. She found aspects of the instructors that play a part in determining course outcomes as including; their expectations, being a role model, providing feedback, their competence, and presenters of curriculum. This also includes relationships between them and participants. Indeed, relationships are portrayed as a core reason why and how and why adventure works for many reasons; one of which is that a rapport between instructor and participant needs to be based on trust, reciprocity and/or respect due to the real and perceived risk involved in the activities. The importance of these relationships is reflected by others like O'Brien (1990) who found that the quality of their relationship between them and students who participate in an outdoor adventure is a significant predictor of how students felt about themselves after the course and whether they felt the course would help them in their everyday life (Sibthorp 2003). Others cite relationships between them as critical components (for example, Bocarro & Witt 2003; Raiola 2003). This support is also evidenced in another study by O'Brien (1990) where 250 youth participating in ten-day wilderness therapy courses identified the quality of the relationship between them as being related to their perception of program performance (Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007).

Other ways instructors are understood to contribute to why and how adventure works include them devising strategies to counter the disengagement processes and psychological discounting that are classic to how individuals attempt to cope with stereotype threat (Dillon et al 2006, p. 39). Essentially, this means they are in a position to create an environment conducive to identities being set free. In relation to gender for example, in the wilderness femininity and masculinity are not necessarily bipolar measures and adventure programs can have an androgynous influence' (Hattie et al 1997, p. 84). Research shows that females who combine their repertoire of characteristics and skills with

traditionally masculine traits such as being autonomous and independent are more resilient or have the capacity to bounce back and overcome adversity. The same goes for boys, that is, combining traditionally feminine traits with their masculine traits makes for greater resilience in them (Garbarino 2006). In other words, females and males have 'the freedom to step out of gender role stereotypes' (McClintock 1996, p. 18). Similarly, in the wilderness, this is also true as they can leave behind other stereotypical threats that for example might be associated with their identities from their everyday life (Dillon, Rickinson, Teamey, Morris, Young Choi, Sanders & Benefield's 2006). Clearly, there are different ways in which the instructor can be considered as part of why and how adventure works, and investigation into it continues (Schumann, Paisley, Sibthorp & Gookin 2009). The words of this male participant certainly give further insight into different aspects of their participation in it:

> *My [instructors] made me think about things that I never have before. They were both inspirational – what they did and what they've done (McKenzie 2003, p. 14).*

2.3.8 Tradition in the Twenty-First Century

Still there is another way that adventure is understood as to why and how it works. This stems from a contrast today that recognises the relevance for many young people whose contemporary lives lack tradition in many respects (Neill & Dias 2001). Not only is the breakdown of traditional rites of passage and rituals for non-western cultures like those experienced by the Indigenous people's of Australia, there is recognition that western religious and/or secular examples like a confirmation/bar mitzvah, high school graduation, or wedding ceremony that might result in a shift of social status, do not rarely invoke the intense transitional experience of being revitalised or what Turner (1992) de-

scribes as, "inwardly transformed and outwardly changed" (Turner 1992, pp. 48 – 49). In essence, these events have in some way lost their deeper connection to the patterns of our lives, to the significance of the transition, and to the larger social context. They have lost their genuine and original meaning (May 1996) and have often become empty rituals accomplished by going through the motions to please someone else (Davis 2003). Hence, in western culture there is apparent lack of meaningful ways of marking transitions. As such, if a dozen people were asked when a young person becomes an adult it is likely to produce a dozen different answers. As Davis (2003) wonders, it may be when you vote, get your driver's license, become financially independent, live on your own, get drunk (legally or illegally), get arrested, have intercourse, get pregnant or father a child; "Licensed, laid, loaded, and locked up"— not necessarily in that order as he says is the program for too many young people today.

But in the wilderness:

The entire trip is the ritual. The essence of ceremony is very strong; it shines through even the simplest ceremonies: a bow to the rising and setting sun, sharing thanks before a meal, passing a stick of smouldering sage in silence. Such a "light-handed" approach encourages every action to take on a ceremonial significance: washing the dishes, carrying a backpack, greeting the others in the morning, taking a shit, shooing a fly (Davis 2003).

Thus, the wilderness is one "place" where contemporary society may be able to correct some of its perceived ritual bankruptcy (Grimes, 2000; Bell 2003). This is based on traditions that once guided them towards maturity through physical and spiritual developmental challenges. The idea is that in a world where old methods of coping, the old philosophies and religions, which once taught resilience, survival and a sense of being at one with nature are denigrated

and/or destroyed (Brant 1993) might leave them feeling less than sufficient in coping with the impending task of adulthood in the 21st century' (Neill 2000). For in contemporary society, the relevance of tradition might well be described this way:

The simplest questions of how to be are confusing; one's very identity is up for grabs. Yet, this confusion is an inherent, even necessary, part of the life journey. One must let go in order to move on; death is a pre-requisite for birth (Davis 2003).

This mirrors the essence of initiation and a rite of passage that can be understood this way in relation to outdoor adventure:

What we call the beginning is often the end and to make an end is to make a beginning. The end is where we start from ... And the end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know the place for the first time (Eliot 1971 cited in Andrews 1999, p. 36).

(a) A Rite of Passage

So when thinking about the adventure experience and personal development as a period of becoming, the discourse of how and why it works includes the idea of tradition and rite of passage (Beames 2004). May (1996) explains how the structure of an Outward Bound course parallels a classic initiation rite of passage that involves separation from family and home, is influenced by a guide or instructor, has group adventure where participants increasingly take responsibility, is a solo experience, there is reflection, ceremony, and then they return back home. As such, the three stage rites of passage model – 'separation', 'transition' and 'reincorporation' defined by Van Gennep (1960) is often transposed over outdoor adventure by some to understand why and how it

works (May 1996; Thompson, Battersby & Lee 1997; Lertzman 2002; Bell 2003; Neill 2003; Thomas 2003).

This model mediates a number of role transitions, but it is the coming-of-age, or the youth to adult transition, that receives the most attention in outdoor adventure (Bell 2003). In this respect, the first stage, 'Separation' is understood where the wilderness contributes to young people's personal development and maturity in a time when they are removed from their community and everyday lives to a special and unfamiliar place (Sibthorp 2003). The idea is that while they are there, they will undergo some sort of transformation. This is the 'transition' stage, also referred to as the liminal phase (Van Gennep 1960; Turner 1969). The third and final stage is the 'reincorporation' phase; the time of reconnection as an adult with their community (Bell 2003).

However in an individualised life, some like Bell (2003) believe this model neglects the importance of community providing incorporation rituals upon the return of the initiates and their new identities as adults. Thus, in contemporary settings there is no universal agreement about rites of passage to adulthood model and outdoor adventure. But given there is empirical evidence that largely supports some changes in personal development outcomes, like social skills and self-confidence being sustained over time, some question if full-blown rites of passage are necessary in this case (Neill (2003). Further, after receiving dozens of letters from former students and engaging in many conversations with them, Andrews (1999) understands wilderness adventure as having lasting impact with many of them looking back on their experience as a personal rite of passage to a new phase of their lives. Indeed, in an individualised society where the onus is placed on the individual, this can be understood in a way they are ready to embrace responsibilities and roles that come with being an adult (Bell

2003). In a way the focus is not only on shifting social status but the emphasis is on personal transformation as initiation or a rite of passage (Turner 1992).

Others like C G Jung (1971) challenge the model, too. The belief is that the first stage "a simple separation is not enough, but drastic ceremonies are required to free a boy from his parents and transfer him into adulthood" (Biasio & Münzer 1980, p. 51). Turner (1992) takes this further to say that the first and last stage merely "detach ritual subjects from their old places in society and return them, inwardly transformed and outwardly changed, to new places" (pp. 48 – 49). What he believes is that the "first and last speak for themselves" (Turner 1992, p. 48). Hence, for him, it is the transitional (or liminal) phase that is most important (Turner 1992, pp. 48 - 49).

(b) Liminality and Communitas

Synonymous with the liminal experience is a place Turner (1969, 1985, 1992) calls communitas; it is here he describes young people as being between their usual social roles and norms of thought and behaviour (Turner 1967, p. 93; 1969, p. 95; 1992, p. 132). According to Turner (1969), the liminal experience works because it illuminates precisely the norms, or daily rituals that are so different from those of the social structure that shape our everyday lives. This is a situation between everyday rituals of the 'normal' social structure framing ordinary experiences in a manner that confirms and sustains the established social order, and the rituals of liminality framing extraordinary experiences in a manner that offers alternatives to and contrasts that everyday social order (Andrews 1999). What Turner (1979, p. 149) indicates is that:

Liminars are stripped of status and authority. Removed from a social structure ... and levelled to a homogeneous social state through discipline

and ordeal ... Much of what has been bound by social structure is liberated, notably the sense of comradeship and communion, or communitas.

This is aptly described by a young person's experience with an outdoor adventure:

Out here you hang out with people you'd never hang out with at school. They'd belong to a different clique. Out here, what you wear, how you do in school, whether or not you're into drugs none of that matters. There are no drugs, you all eat the same food, and you all have to wear the same type of clothing for survival (Andrews 1999, p. 38).

In communitas, there is spontaneous engagement of individuals in an intense experience that is characterised by a sense of "the generic human bond" – "a strong sentiment of human kindness" (Turner 1969, pp. 97 - 116). There is indeed juxtaposition with communitas and community broadly understood but it is more than this when:

We started to respect and trust one another. Then, after awhile, we started to love one another. And it's unconditional love, I think, in that, I can't explain it, but I found myself loving people who I wouldn't even like and wouldn't choose to spend time with back home (Andrews 1999, p. 38).

Furthermore:

On the trip we had to communicate with each other and deal with problems as they arose whereas in 'regular life' it's very easy to ignore problems or conflicts ... On the trip, there was no way that you could avoid a person or ignore conflict. We had to listen to one another and see things from other people's perspectives. I think this led to a greater understanding and allowed us to get closer than you normally get with even your best friends or family. It's that feeling that you've gone through

something together and shared such an incredible experience (Andrews 1999, p. 38).

And:

We started out as a bunch of separate people with separate lives and separate identities. Over time we became a group with a group identity… (Andrews 1999, p. 38).

However, the connection experienced is not associated with a loss of individual identity. Rather as Turner (1974, p. 274) says:

Communitas does not merge identities; it liberates them from conformity to general norms ... representing the desire for a total, unmediated relationship ... a relationship which nevertheless does not submerge one in the other but safeguards their uniqueness in the very act of realizing their commonness.

This happens because in communitas, "a spontaneously generated relationship between levelled and equal total and individuated human beings", they are "stripped of structural attributes" (Turner 1974, p. 202); they are in a space of non-identity which provides the potential for personal change (Andrews 1999). Thus, liminal experiences "are felt to belong to one's 'authentic self, beyond playacting" (Turner 1992, pp. 135 - 136). In other words, they can "be themselves - it is frequently said, when they are not acting institutionalised roles" (Turner 1967, p. 101). As this participant explains:

On the trip I feel more at ease with myself I don't feel that I am being pressured by anyone into being something different than what I am. Without the media and social pressures of "normal" life I find it easier to define who I am and what I stand for (Andrews 1992, p. 39).

Symbolism is also associated with the fact that the expedition takes place in wilderness, making it a physical as well as a symbolic journey through a region (of both the mind and earth) that is again outside the regular structure of everyday lives. Participants' experience of communitas on a wilderness expedition thus not only involves a sense of community and self, but there are also feelings of connection with the natural environment. Indeed, there is a sense of place as these participants indicate:

I began to realize that we are animals just like the whales, the caribou, the birds, and the fish. Like them, we are part of the food chain. Rarely do I think of myself as this. I've always bought meat at the A and P and never really thought about where it came from. The process of catching, killing, cleaning, cooking, and eating fish led me to a feeling of appreciation, respect, and connectedness to the rest of life on earth. We are not above, beyond, or apart from the natural world, we are a part of it (Andrews 1992, p. 40).

And:

I felt like there was a place for me and that I was as much a part of the earth as the ocean, the whales, and the trees (Andrews 1999, p. 40).

Also:

Here I find my sacred space. I know that I'm competent, that I belong. I feel like the whole world has strived to create this place, this situation, specifically for me. I feel love for the whole world. And I guess the bottom line is, I love myself. I feel like I can be anyone and do anything (Andrews 1999, p. 41).

Clearly, there are many parallels to outdoor adventure and initiation when relating to communitas. For example, risk and challenge experienced synony-

mously with ceremonial and/or ritual significance in communitas and outdoor adventure (Hyde-Hills 1998). Other attributes of liminality and communitas that can be associated according to Turner (1969, pp. 111 – 112) include as he puts it:

Reduction of all to the same status level, the wearing of uniform apparel (sometimes for both sexes), sexual continence (or its antithesis, sexual community, both continence and sexual community liquidate marriage and the family, which legitimate structural status), minimization of sex distinctions (all are "equal in the sight of God" or the ancestors), abolition of rank, humility, disregard for personal appearance, unselfishness, total obedience to the prophet or leader, sacred instruction, the maximization of religious, as opposed to secular, attitudes and behaviour, suspension of kinship rights and obligations (all are siblings or comrades of one another regardless of previous secular ties), simplicity of speech and manners, sacred folly, acceptance of pain and suffering (even to the point of undergoing martyrdom), and so forth.

2.3.9 The Participant

But what of the characteristics of the participant like their age, gender, ethnicity and experience (Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007)? Recognising a young person's characteristics is also considered by some as why and how adventure works. This could include the reason for their participation (Hattie et al 1997) and participant population (McKenzie 2003). Clearly, participant factors introduce another complexity (Neill 1999) bringing with them varying views.

In relation to the age of the participant, there are questions to be asked like; do they need a certain level of cognitive and personal maturity in order to gain personal development benefits from outdoor education programs? Are they particularly reluctant to make high ratings about themselves at the age of fifteen

that affects their personal development of outdoor adventure? Meanwhile only considering the age of a participant as determining their outcomes neglects other possible contributing factors. This can include the reason why they are participating. Indeed, it is possible for a wide degree of reasons to be given for participation. This is relevant in Australia where young people come from a varied range of socioeconomic backgrounds, cultures and levels of experience, too. Thus, same-age participants might have an expansive range of attitudes, values, and motivations (Manning 1999). In this way as Hattie et al (1997) say, another of the likely moderators of any age effect might possibly be the reasons for participation. It could include many younger people's participation being decided by their school or parents, whereas most adults participate voluntarily therefore they are more likely to be more motivated. Others have noted that the voluntary nature of course enrolment may be an important factor in course outcomes (for example, Herbert 1998). Still other factors might include a student's pre-course expectation in relation to their growth during adventure education courses. The implications are that those who are seeking change and development may enrol in these courses in search of a catalyst for personal growth (Ewert 1988). They might also be deliberately seeking activities that include ones that feature risk (Boyes & O'Hare 2003). Clearly, motivation from whatever perspective is well recognised for involvement in adventure (Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi 1999; Miles & Priest 1999; Priest & Gass 2005).

Moreover, a participant's previous similar experience with adventure programs is understood to contribute to their outcomes. This has not been widely investigated although it can be considered as a predetermined participant characteristic that plays a role in the achievement of them. However, while some argue that participant expectations and motivations can directly affect the outcome (e.g. Ewert, 1988), others like Sibthorp (2003) believe that the impacts

of the program are most important when viewed through their interactions with the participants' on-program experiences and perceptions of personal empowerment and learning relevance (Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning 2004). In essence what this means is that those 'who felt they played an active role in the decision-making and had responsibility during adventure-based recreation programs also perceived greater developmental benefits from their participation' (Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007, p. 6).

2.4 Concluding Remarks

This review of the literature exposes a dialogue that while it is clear that adventure works, it is still not clear why and how it does. In this regard, there is much to be contemplated. For example, is it the characteristics and background of a participant and/or both the program characteristics making the difference? Or is it that programmatic factors depend on desired participant outcomes? If so, which ones are most related to specific outcomes (Sibthorp & Arthur-Banning 2004)? Is it based on an understanding that each course participant comes with different experiences reflective of her/his stage of life and, therefore, it is possible they gain different personal learning from the same experience and each other (Martin, Leberman & Neill 2002)? Perhaps it is the challenge and risk? It might be the instructor? Or is it the contrast between contemporary life and wilderness? Or as tradition ascribes, is it the characteristics of liminality and communitas that need be reconstructed? Does this have any relationship to the concepts of habitus and field being discussed in the next chapter? Is it a combination of all of this that contributes to it? Or is it only parts of the adventure program and not necessarily the total experience that makes the difference (Hattie et al 1997)? Or is it simply as this 15-year-old male student says:

I think that the aspect which had the most positive impact was the friendships I made here. I was always having fun which kept me motivated and my confidence high (McKenzie 2003, p. 14).

Indeed, the idea of the experience being fun is also supported by other studies, for example, Smith, Steel and Gidlow (2010).

Hence, while the outcomes associated with outdoor adventure are well recorded, ultimately, research needs to continue investigating these programs to better understand how and why it works. The following chapter proposes a theoretical perspective that contributes a possible way to understand this. In essence, it theorises young people's identity development in an individualised society through their relationships understood between two concepts, habitus and social fields. Not only does this perspective understand young people's personal development in relation to social fields in their everyday lives, it also considers it in relation to social fields removed from it. As such, the perspective implicates young people's participation in outdoor adventure and more specifically trainee's participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship in relation to their identity development in their contemporary lives.

Chapter 3

Theorising Young People's Identity Development and Outdoor Adventure in an Individualised Society

3.1 Preamble

...research without theory is blind, and theory without research is empty (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 160).

This chapter theorises young Australian people's relationship between their identity development and social fields as they transition to adulthood in the twenty-first century. Not only does it focus on their relationship with fields in their everyday lives, but also extends to include those that are removed from it. In this respect, the analysis goes beyond just contextualising them in their everyday lives that simply entertains a dualism between their identity development on one hand and contemporary social structure on the other (Irwin 2003).

As discussed briefly in the introductory chapter, underpinning this approach are two theoretical perspectives. First is the ideological significance of Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) theory of individualisation understood in the Australian context. This perspective explains how young people ideally need to develop as individuals; described as agents who are free to participate in paid employment, education and domestic formations. It's a life Woodman (2009) describes as one of choice biographies. However only focusing on their agency neglects the influence of social structure on young people's opportunities and limitations in this individualised life. So two of three concepts of which are considered relevant in regards to young people's development, put forward by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1990) namely social field and habitus are included as a critical component of this theoretical perspective. They are critical because they provide a way to understand the relationship between young people's development as free agents and social structure, both in their everyday lives and beyond it. Essentially, this relationship includes capturing their sense of self and identity through them thinking and feeling a

certain way (Lehmann 2004) and subsequently their transition to and identities as adults. But further to this, the relationship between social fields and habitus implicates a rite of passage to adulthood that includes the relevance of communitas in young people's identity development in the twenty-first century.

While this is certainly considered a creative and novel approach to understand young people's development in contemporary life, it is considered beneficial for many reasons. Not only does it aim to shed light on trainee's relationship between their personal development and their experiences on board the Leeuwin II vessel in sight of their everyday lives, it has potential to provide scope for a wider focus for future inquiry. In other words, this is an innovative approach that sets the scene for this research analysis, with potential to offer a new approach to understand young people's development in a complex research area of outdoor adventure that has not yet adequately addressed this research inquiry (Paisley, Furnam, Sibthorp & Gookin 2008). As such, while the approach being undertaken in this book agrees with the underlying sentiment that research without theory is blind, and theory without research is empty (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992, p. 160), it goes one step further believing theory and research without creativity and or novelty surely inhibits vision. In fact, the approach being undertaken is indeed, considered strength of this inquiry.

Subsequently, what follows is a discussion resembling a dialogue surrounding the dilemma between agency and structure. While this is a topic of great significance, for example, contributed to by authors such as, Bourdieu (1977, 1990), Archer (1982, 1988), Giddens 1984), Schwartz, Côté & Arnett (2005), Turner (2007) and many more, I do not intend this as a direct correspondence to this problematic. Indeed, I acknowledge it far exceeds my expertise. Rather, the approach I undertake within this limited space is predominantly intended to contribute to better understand the relationship between trainee's identity

development and their participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship outdoor ocean adventure. However, because their development on board is understood in light of their everyday lives, it not only demands attention to their relationship with this wider social context, it raises the relevance of outdoor adventure for young Australian people's personal development in a contemporary individualised milieu.

Hence, given that in this book the organisation of Australian society is understood in terms of individualisation, it makes sense to start to unravel this theoretical perspective in what is best described as a series of steps beginning with the concept of agency.

3.2 Agency

Interestingly, while it is agreed a crucial element of an individualised life, agency is a concept not universally agreed upon. Over time much has been written on it, the concept evokes perspectives like a psychological social cognitive one (Bandura 2006), a liberal model of socio-political organisation (Meyer & Jepperson 2000), and economic opportunism (Shapiro 2005) to make sense of it. Consequently, the idea of agency is accompanied by confusion and strain within social thought. Indeed, over time it has been defended, buried, attacked, resuscitated and is presented in contradictive and overlapping ways. Essentially, while it is associated by terms like freedom, choice, intentionality, initiative, motivation, creativity, will, and selfhood, it is often portrayed as elusive, vague and seldom inspiring systematic analysis (Emirbayer & Mische 1998).

Nonetheless, while there is debate on how to understand it, common to the idea of agency is 'active citizenship'. Also receiving much attention, essentially it implies meaningful and significant engagement in and with key social

institutions (White &Wyn 1998). This perspective certainly makes sense when relating young people and their success in their lifestyles and everyday situations that demands them to be the centre of their own life plans and actions (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002). In a contemporary Australian environment, this is true for them in the field of education for example, where young people are credentialised based on individual performance (Marginson 1996) as well as in the labour market where there is increasing demand for and expectation of their mobility and competition (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002). Indeed, given the popularity of the online environment in their lives, where social network sites now provide them with exciting opportunities to communicate with ever-widening circles of contacts (Livingstone 2008) but one that also has potential for risky and destructive behaviours to occur (Duncan 2008) this perspective is undeniably crucial.

Yet when generalising this idea of agency to young people it is also problematic. Simply this is because it is based on a theoretical understanding of free agency that is fused with a political view that sees the idea that they are more powerful social actors than they really are (White & Wyn 1998). In today's life that increasingly presents them with complex and diverse sequences (Shanahan 2000), the idea of agency as automatic for them needs to be challenged. Not all are proactive, nor are they all prepared to automatically take on opportunities that are available to them. In other words, this is a situation of purposive intervention where they need to manoeuvre back and forth between different social networks as well as cultural or social settings (Emirbayer & Mische 1998). For young people to do this they need to be able to take action, to be willing to engage in collective action in the interests of the group and, importantly, to possess knowledge and be willing to challenge existing structures (White & Wyn 1998, 318). They need to have a conscious, goal-directed activity and a level of analysis that is generally pitched at personal or

individual choices about things over which they have some measure of control (White & Wyn 1998). In fact, to be successful they need be able to take control of a situation rather than it taking control of them (Thoman 1999).

Still, while this is true, the constraints on the choices available to them also need be considered (Riele 2004). In essence, while their agency need be fully realised and unfettered, they pursue their goals within an institutional system that presents them with certain incentives but also constraints (Meyer & Jepperson 2000). Thus, young people may ideally aspire to opportunity for social mobility that is echoed in the language of individual choice, control and agency but it also needs to be understood that the rhetoric only translates for some into requisite opportunities and resources (Thomson, Bell, Holland, Henderson, McGrellis & Sharpe 2002). Interestingly, what this demonstrates is that their lack of success is not necessarily their fault if it is understood they are agents who have differential access to structures of opportunity and risk (Riele & Crump 2003). Certainly, in many ways, their relationship with contemporary society must also be understood as them having choice within limits (Riele 2004).

Hence, it is recognised that theories of agency are most important when understanding young people relating to this contemporary social milieu. Particularly as one of the core properties of individualism is that individuals are required to be unique in their power to shape their own life circumstances and the life courses they take (Bandura 2006). Agency supports and promotes the notion that developed agentic capabilities are essential and relevant components for their successful engagement in an individualised society. In other words, being proactive to negotiate their life-course when and where they choose. Failure then can be tied up with a lack of agency or an undeveloped agentic orientation (Côté 2000; Bandura 2001) resulting in them disengaging from social structures. However, not only is their relationship with this individualised

society dependent on varying degrees of reflective choice, inventiveness, and manoeuvrability shown by them, it is in relation to contexts that not always enable action but constrain it as well (Emirbayer & Mische 1998). In short, agency is about knowledge, power and the ability to activate resources, but in reality social divisions and inequalities can also have an impact on the extent to which individuals have accesses to each of these aspects of effective agency (White & Wyn 1998).

As such, only focusing on agency fails to account for the contexts, including the educational, and labour market contexts, and for many young people, the ever-increasing influence of technological and virtual contexts in which they need to make their choices, and it cannot identify the different structural limits (Roberts 2009). Indeed, as in the case of agency, the notion of structure is more of a kind of founding or epistemic metaphor of social scientific-and scientific-discourse rather than a precise concept (Sewell 1992) so it demands further exploration into other dimensions of its social existence, including its relationship with young people. This includes a deeper understanding of what institutions and organisations are and how they make up social structure.

3.3 Social Structure

When social structure is understood in terms of institutions and organisations made up of overt or implicit rules and regulations that regulate social activity and interaction, it is easily understood as an integral element of contemporary life (Hodgson 2006). However, while true, this social arrangement can evoke different responses to it, too. For example, for some young people it can translate into an image that is hard, primary and immutable. Aptly described, the picture they paint of it can be likened to "the girders of a building" (Sewell 1992, p. 2). Subsequently, when understood in terms of institutions and

organisations, their relationship with social structures can sometimes be experienced as an objective reality, one that explains them distancing themselves from, or avoiding it for different reasons (Mortimer & Larson 2002; White & Wyn 2004; Edginton et al 2005). Berger & Luckmann (1966) believe their perception and reaction to this social arrangement occurs because its organisation precedes their birth and is therefore not accessible to their biographical recollection. In other words, it was there before they were born and they are external to this institutional life. Therefore, whether they like it or not, it persists in their reality and they cannot wish it away. But if young people are to be successful negotiators in their adult lives, they cannot understand institutions and organisations by introspection. Simply, they must 'go out' and learn about them and be a part of them (Berger & Luckmann 1966).

In fact, in contemporary society rather than rules and regulations just being rigid, the antithesis of freedom can be its ally, too (Hodgson 2006). Or put another way, while there are constraints accompanying contemporary life, there are also possibilities that enable young people's choices, actions and even their personal development that otherwise would not exist (Giddens 1990). As such, it is important to understand the internal nature of institutions and organisations. For example, it explains how social interactions are structured and rules and regulations are normalised. In this respect, rules and regulations can be regarded as socially or culturally transmitted dispositions, with actual or potential normative content (Hodgson 2006). What this highlights is a network of mutual beliefs based on reciprocal relationships (Tuomela 1995) that can influence young people's everyday lives. There is not always a conscious awareness of these relationships either; they can certainly occur on a subconscious level. In other words, while they are engaging in them, patterns of relations are being reproduced, even when they are unaware of any patterns (Hardy 2008). Nonetheless, while the nature of the institutional social world, however massive

it may appear to some, can be understood in many ways as a humanly produced, social construction. But in no way does this minimize the objectivity for those like young people who perceive them as such. Indeed, the process still describes how the externalised products of human activity can manifest the character of objectivity as objectivation for them (Calhoun et al 2007). Still, only focusing on social structure as an institutional world experienced as an objective reality, neglects the different ways in which agency can actually shape social action, too (Emirbayer & Mische 1998)!

3.4 Social Dimensions

Clearly, explaining young people's relationships with social context as they develop into adults is complex. The complication continues when it is also understood as more than a perspective of just the individual (agent) or from that of the whole (society, state, class, the common good, group or organisation. In fact, Pierre Bourdieu believes the idea that social dimension is naively understood this way. According to him, this relationship is understood in terms of social continuity (Woodman 2007) through the relating concepts of habitus, social fields and capital. While these concepts are also not easy to comprehend, they are certainly considered a successful and significant attempt to making sense of the 'relationship between objective social structures (institutions, discourses, fields, ideologies) and everyday practices (what people do, and why they do it)' (Webb, Schirato & Danaher 2002, p. 21).

Nonetheless, the ideas of social structure or as Bourdieu refers to it, social fields and subsequently, habitus that also implicates agency are two of his concepts considered most relevant to this research. This is because this research views young people as not yet fully engaged with key social institutions and thus their participation in society is not automatically assumed (White & Wyn

1998). In other words, their agentic capabilities (Côté 2000) are not yet fully realised and they are not understood as powerful social actors (White & Wyn 1998) contributing to society's capital, for example in economic terms. Thus rather than including the mutually constitutive parts of capital, or as Bourdieu (1985, p. 248) describes it, "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition" in the analysis, it is the social dimensions of habitus and social fields that contribute to it. These two concepts are certainly relevant to and indeed, are a critical part of understanding trainee's personal development as it relates to social fields both in and beyond their contemporary lives.

3.5 Social Fields

For Bourdieu, social fields are inherently bound with society's structure and the ideas of institutions and organisations (Bourdieu 1990). As a process of constructing properties, indicators, or principles of divisions, he understands this social arrangement in part of inter-relational terms, where the concept of 'organisational field' typically refers to a set of organisations active in what is sometimes referred to as, an area of institutional life (DiMaggio & Powell 1991). This idea encapsulates organisation populations such as the car manufacturing industry, book publishing, prison system, real estate, and education. However, this does not only relate to the analysis of clusters of organisations, he also adds to the analysis of the social configurations in which organisational fields are themselves embedded. This includes configurations designated by terms although at times vague, such as 'the economy' or 'the political sphere' (analysed in detail by him as a system of semi-autonomous fields) (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008).

According to Bourdieu, these different social structures play a role in the production, dissemination and authorisation of different versions of social reality. But what he insists is that first and foremost they are informed and motivated by internal competition and self-interest (Bourdieu 1993). In this way, fields can be described as a space of struggle for organisational power that refers to a sort of 'internal field of power' within an organisation (Swartz 2008, p. 49). He also describes them as a temporary state of power relations within what is an ongoing struggle for domination over them (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008, p. 7). Sometimes he uses an analogy of a playing field to describe these relationships. Aptly, the idea is understood then in the way different players strive to achieve different ends and how each player possesses different levels of power enabling them to have influence over the rules of the game (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). But whatever way they are described, it is clear internal processes can explain how this space becomes a locus of struggle that determines the criteria and the conditions of legitimate membership within it (Bourdieu 1988). In essence, this means the field – or those controlling it (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002) can effectively act as 'the dividing-line between those who belong and those who do not (Bourdieu 1984, 1988). From this understanding, these social boundaries are capable of enabling membership but membership can also be excluded for many reasons. It is a situation as he says where, 'in every field we shall find a struggle, the specific forms of which have to be looked for each time, between the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition' (Bourdieu 1993, p. 79).

What Bourdieu describes has particular meaning for young Australian people's individualised contemporary lives in relation to bridging social networks in the field of education, the labour market or even the online environment. In essence, perception and construction are not only constrained but are

animated by structures as well (Bourdieu 1990). Thus, there is meaning to internal processes where reciprocal connections among individuals, peers, and/or colleagues, (Putnam 2000) occur. As people need to relate to others on many levels and in many ways, these relationships will contribute to the way they perceive and construct their social world. In them is encapsulated the basis of their position in social space which incorporates their identity development as being part of their relationship with these social structures. Bourdieu argues it is the internal processes of these fields that also contribute to explaining the relationships with each space and other spaces, and relational struggles over capital and position among people in each space that is bound to their identity emerging through intersection and combination as well as through conflict with other identities (Bourdieu 1990).

Thus reiterating, for Bourdieu an important part of understanding the relations of social fields refers to the properties or principles within their boundaries. This includes experiences being influenced by the internal nature - processes and practices of these fields; it is an aspect that uncovers so much more, particularly between the relationships of its members. Understanding this means drawing on the concept of habitus; a concept that is intermeshed with the nature of the field and in fact without it would make no sense (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008).

Habitus is indeed an integral part of understanding young Australian people's identity development as it relates with social fields.

3.6 Habitus

Habitus is an idea that refers to the set of internalised - learned and shared - dispositions and tastes that guide perception and action within the structural

situations, or fields, that compose society (Meisenhelder 2006). Simply put, the idea of habitus describes the relatively durable principles of judgment and practice generated by people's early life experiences and modified later in their lives. In this way, it can be thought of in terms of socialisation. However, there are further dimensions to its nature. While it resides within the individual, it also "mediates society and the individual through its ties to the conditions of (early) socialisation that form it, the social situations or fields that confront it, and the practices it generates" (Meisenhelder 2006, p 58). This suggests that even the subjective structures of consciousness are social things. Subsequently in society, habitus explains social continuity as it acts as a mechanism that links individual action and the structural settings in which future action occurs (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008).

When explaining this in terms of social organization, or the social fields that compose it, habitus can be understood as social clusters; patterns showing subjectivity as being characterised by the presence of shared dispositions within commonly situated individuals (Meisenhelder 2006). Or put another way, society and structural location as an organised subjectivity of generative and durable dispositional character sets resulting in patterned perceptions, understandable feelings, and regular and meaningful actions that are all more or less shared within similarly positioned social groupings (Meisenhelder 2006). In this way, it can be understood by portraying the person as possessing a subjectivity that flows from a shared location within a social structure. Often being related to the idea of culture this idea can also be well represented, for example, in the notion of social fields such as those associated with education and employment being understood as a "procession of constructing properties, indicators, or principles of divisions" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 77, 1988). Thus, the nature of habitus explains the acceptance or denial of new membership permeating from the powerful within social fields. Similarly, it explains

individual behaviour associated with feelings of being accepted or excluded from them. In effect, habitus explains how negotiation or even attempting to cross boundaries within this milieu can either occur or be limited.

But in an individualised context such as Australia, the idea of habitus can be problematic also. This is because ideally, in this context habitus needs be linked through its past fields to present ones as individual actors move from one social field to the next. In short this illustrates a juxtaposition of individualisation where young people need to become members of an organization or social field and bring to it a habitus formed under specific past conditions, some of which will be shared with other members and some of which will differ from them substantially (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). Thus in an individualised society to be successful negotiators in social fields, young people's habitus needs to interact with a diversity of habitus. In other words, it is a situation where a division of labour in organisations is consistent with the interaction of a variety of habitus (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008). The problem is that from the idea of habitus, particularly when understood in terms of socialization, if it is linked to past experience it can be accused of being deterministic. Indeed, sometimes it is even regarded as having an excessively deterministic tendency (Lamont 1992; Halle 1993; Alexander 1994; Widick 2003). Simply, in a system based on individualisation, habitus is often scrutinised sceptically in relation to the theorisation of social change because rather than promoting change through social mobility and interaction as the basis for identities, it emphasises the continuity of established social differences (Adams 2006, p. 513).

Thus, from this perspective, the concept of habitus is problematic in an individualised milieu because it cannot really be reduced to the individual. In other words, it only allows an actor to become an individual through how it is used in relation to the subjective presence of the collective (Meisenhelder 2006).

Or put another way, agency and autonomy can be embodied in the concept of it, but they are qualified by the caveat of accumulated history, both personal and collective, which imprint themselves as pre-reflective action-orientations (McNay 1999). Therefore, habitus gives practice a relative autonomy only in respect to the external determinants of the immediate present while simultaneously ensuring that it is objectively adapted to its outcomes (McNay 1999). This creates a dilemma in a contemporary milieu and that is, according to the idea of it, if one cannot step outside it, how can decision-making really be context-free (Hogkinson & Sparkes 1997)? But perhaps more importantly, it challenges the idea of 'free agency', a core attribute of an individualised milieu, actually existing.

3.7 Habitus and Free Agency

However, if habitus is understood as interpreting experiences and creating dispositions to act, the idea of it can also embrace thinking and feeling in a certain way (Lehmann 2004). This highlights the importance of understanding young people's interpretations and meanings of their world such as their attitudes, feelings, organic drives, motives, internalised social factors, or psychological components which includes capturing their sense of self and identity. Particularly relevant in regard to their success or failure relating to an individualised society, this understanding provides an explanation for their imagined distancing from social structures, it also supports an agentic orientation and sense of freedom to negotiate one's own life course. Thus, from this understanding habitus exists as subjectivity where their feelings are inseparable from their uniqueness (Bauman 2005). Indeed, from this perspective it is the idea of the imagined rather than the imaginary (Jenkins 2004) that is important to young people's development as free agents. Essential to this is a belief and confidence in the self, that in turn in an

individualised society creates the situation where there is interaction of a variety of habitus (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008).

3.8 Social Fields and Free Agency

One way this development can occur is through an internalisation of the social configurations referred by Bourdieu as the system of semi-autonomous fields (Emirbayer & Johnson 2008). Translated, for some this can be understood to happen through the internalisation of individualism that permeates throughout society. The message conveyed results in the need to be increasingly self-sufficient, and freely imagining that their destiny is in their own hands (Lukes 2006). In Australia, given the encroaching influence of technology on young people's lives, this can occur for many of them through their exposure to the semi-autonomous field that is based on communication technologies (Heelas, 1996). In this way, habitus can be referred to as a set of internalised – learned and shared – dispositions and tastes that guide perception and action within the structural situations that not only compose but also expose society to the unique individual through the media, education and Internet. This extends the idea of it to fully acknowledge an individualised society where life patterns, attitudes, and priorities can be a response to the world in which they live (Wyn 2004). Indeed, it is a milieu where thoughts and actions can be formed at the deepest level where people are hardly or not at all aware of it. It demonstrates how it can be an internalised, pre-conscious or semi-conscious routine and the indispensable role it plays in enabling them to lead their lives and discover their identities within their social milieu (Beck and Beck- Gernsheim 2002). Hence, subconsciously individualism that is ingrained and permeates throughout this contemporary life can then also be enacted unthinkingly and is part of the definition of habitus as habitual. On one level it becomes the sense of ease in our surroundings – 'le sens

pratique' (or a feel for the game) (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 52); it develops as an unconscious competence and becomes "a modus operandi of which he or she is not the producer and has no conscious mastery" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 79).

What is important from this understanding is that it is possible for habitus to be understood to unconsciously internalise the idea of individualism, exemplifying how it is possible young people can believe themselves to be the central character of their time and the choosing, deciding, shaping human being who aspires to be the author of their own life, and the creator of their individual identity (Beck & Beck-Germsheim 2002). In other words, they are able to take an active role in shaping their own futures in contemporary society (White & Wyn 1998). Thus rather than only understanding habitus as a strategic response or reaction to relationships of structural constraint and limitation, when individualism is internalised, it extends the way it is understood to include that of a sense of freedom to choose. As such, individualisation that manifests as unconsciousness can also translate as free agency and can be understood as part of habitus. In this way, it is tied to individualised, reflexive decision-making (Lehmann 2004); it gives credence to agentic capabilities, or having the ability to, as agents, intentionally make things happen by their actions (Bandura 2001).

Similarly, social fields other than semi-autonomous ones can contribute to young people's sense of agency also. Indeed, arguably they have a certain role in the production, dissemination and authorisation of different versions of young people's social reality (Bourdieu 1993). In the educative field for example, this is idealised where the intention is to furnish them with a capacity for self-reflective knowledge (Marginson 1996). Based on the issue of confidence in their power of thought and action (Bauman 2001) this field can prepare them to have control over decisions and problems they might encounter in the labour market for example, particularly as they enter into adult roles' (Schwartz, Côté & Arnett

2005). As such, not only is there opportunities for self-improvement in areas such as acquiring credentials, competencies and skills, they can emerge as free agents capable in making decisions and addressing important issues in their adult lives (Schwartz, 2000). Thus, other social fields such as the educative one are capable of building their confidence in themselves, too giving them a sense of control over their lives. In other words, their relationship with these fields can set their habitus free from social structure (Lash 1994).

Indeed, living in a context that espouses their ability to explore and negotiate the range of alternative courses of action that have opened up for them, young people's ultimate decisions need to be understood to be ones of informed, individual choice, and not as predetermined (Lehmann 2004). As such, they need a belief and confidence in self that gives them a sense of control over their lives so they can effectively envision themselves where agency is set free from structure (Lash 1994). However, rather than thinking in terms of assumptions of automatic aspirations for upward mobility, it means for example, those from working-class backgrounds can enter training for a career in manual work with the same conviction and confidence as academic-track students from well-educated families who were planning to attend university. This might be considered as a perpetuation of inequality (Lehmann 2004) or a lack of one's power to direct their life (Frost & Hoggett 2008). But if their sense of agency is understood in regards to them being able to have confidence to choose and select, to question and challenge, and the ability to be conscious about what is going on around them and not be passive and therefore, vulnerable, it can be seen as a situation whereby they are actually taking control of a situation (Thoman 1999) in whatever life course they choose.

However, while individualism is ubiquitous, and social fields have potential to develop their sense of self there is an inconsistency, as it does not automatically

translate into a sense of free agency for everyone. Indeed, in contemporary life, this phenomenon occurs all the time; clearly, there are plenty of perceptions, thoughts and actions consistent with the reproduction of existing social patterns that fail to occur (Sewell 1992). Thus one certainty is that while it is possible for free agency to occur through internalising individualism or through developing self-reflective knowledge in other social fields like the educative one (Marginson 1996), it is not a given for everyone. In fact, for some young people, their relationships with social configurations defined for example by fields of education and labour, can indeed be deterministic. Put simply, it is unrealistic, and would simply be both myopic and foolish to ignore the fact that established social differences do form and reproduce the basis of identities (Adams 2006).

3.9 Social Fields as Initiation

Yet, they should not be always conceptualised as a barrier to action either (Giddens 1979b) particularly when the different elements of internal processes of social fields are understood to contribute to developing their individual identity. Indeed, from this perspective, it introduces the idea that they even have potential to initiate or contingently activate it (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Essentially underlying this way of thinking, is that when every process of action is understood as a production of something new, all action existing in continuity with the past, can also be understood as supplying the means of initiation (Giddens 1990). But while there is no guarantee this personal growth will occur in their everyday lives, it raises the idea of the physical location of a social field contributing to it. In other words, what is not effectively internalised or activated in their contemporary lives might be possible when habitus is removed from it.

This is certainly an idea explored in the previous chapter when literature contemplates how and why adventure works. For example, being part of the

wilderness that is away from technological advances (McKenzie 2000 and more) is one contrast understood as contributing to young people's personal growth. Being removed to a place in the wilderness away from their everyday lives and being exposed to a new experience, one of new relationships where they meet new people and participate in new activities that bring with them challenge and risk is another. In addition, being removed to a field beyond their everyday lives extends this discussion to include the essence of traditional life, thus also contributing to this theoretical perspective.

Indeed, practices of Indigenous people like Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples of Australia where the traditional transition to adulthood followed initiation rights and ceremonies that severed the young person's connections with their childhood to pass into adulthood exemplifies this tradition. This understanding is based on Van Gennep's (1873 - 1957) observations with different 'civilisations'. In fact, his 1960 rite of passage model is commonly recognised by many to describe various transitions. As raised in the previous chapter, separation, transition and incorporation where separation or rites of the 'preliminal', is associated with the detachment of the individual or group either or from their everyday lives. During the intervening 'liminal' period, or transition stage, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the 'passenger') are ambiguous; they pass through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state. In the final stage of reincorporation or the 'postliminal', the passage is consummated. The ritual subject, individual or group, return in a relatively stable state once more and, by virtue of this, has rights and obligations vis-à-vis others of a clearly defined and 'structural' type. In some cultures, this tradition expects certain behaviour in accordance with certain standards and norms that bind 'incumbents of social position in that system's positions' (Turner 1969, p. 95). Each stage though, according to Van Gennep (1960) differs in its development by peoples or

ceremonial pattern. For example, rites of separation might be prominent in funeral ceremonies, rites of incorporation in marriages, and transition rites may play an important part, for instance, in initiation (Van Gennep 1960).

3.10 Habitus and Communitas

Clearly, the idea of transition rites has certain intrigue in and value for understanding young people's identity development as it relates to habitus and social structure being proposed in this research. Based on Van Gennep's rites of passage model, Victor Turner (1969) explains this in terms of liminality and communitas. The attributes of liminality or of liminal personae that he describes as "threshold people" are necessarily ambiguous, because this condition and these persons slip through or elude the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. This places liminal entities neither here nor there; aptly expressed, they are betwixt and between the positions assigned by custom, law, convention, and ceremony (Turner 1969, p. 95). As liminal entities experiencing initiation or puberty rites, they are represented as possessing nothing; having no status, no property, nor insignia, even no secular clothing that indicates role, rank or position in a kinship system. In essence, there is nothing that distinguishes them from the others who are with them. They normally behave in a passive or humble way; they must implicitly obey their instructors, and accept their punishment without complaining. What happens among them is that they tend to develop egalitarianism and an intense comradeship in a place where secular distinctions of status and rank disappear or are homogenised (Turner 1969). When putting this in terms of habitus and its relationship with social structure, as Turner (1969) says, it is as though young people's habitus is "being reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be

fashioned anew and endowed with additional powers to enable them to cope
with their new station in life".

Hence, what Turner (1969) believes is important for young people's personal
growth or initiation to occur, is a social field described as a distinguished
modality of social relationships away from an "area of common living" referred
to as communitas - a Latin term he likens to but differentiates from the term
'community'. As previously described, these fields are understood as a moment
in and out of time bringing them and as such, their habitus together bonding it
only momentarily (Turner 1969). Transformation occurs through them
experiencing an extension to the root of their being, and such profound sharing
is understood as communal. In communitas, the transition that is acquired is by
the incumbents of positions through which young peoples' habitus change
positions. This occurs in the levelling experience of liminality where the "high
could not be high unless the low existed, and he (*sic*) … who is high must
experience what it is like to be low" (Turner 1969, p. 97). Interestingly, this way
of thinking is not only considered in relation to young people's personal
development and outdoor adventure, but many years ago, it can be understood
to lay behind Prince Philip's decision to send his son Charles, the heir apparent
to the British throne, to a bush school in Australia for some time, where he
could learn how to rough it (Turner (1969).

3.11 Habitus, Tradition and Contemporary Milieu

So does understanding the nature of habitus being removed from contemporary
life implicate the relevance of a trainee's participation on the Leeuwin II outdoor
adventure in relation to their personal development? This is relevant not only for
developing their confidence and subsequent agency in an individualised milieu
but as their identities as adults also even though the program is not strictly

focused on a rite of passage to adulthood for their young sailors. As such, on one level, it provides an additional opportunity to explore this relationship, but it also is an opportunity to explore a connection between tradition and the contemporary, and subsequently, how and why adventure works. Indeed, the link between outdoor adventure and a rite of passage is often raised (for example, Bell 2003; Neill 2003). Curiously, some believe this is because in western culture, at least on the surface, it contributes to young people's personal development where there is a disturbing lack of distinct rites of passage (Neill 2000; Neill 2003). But considering habitus being removed from everyday life to a field outside it contributing to their identity development provides a different explanation as to how and why this might occur. In fact, this is an idea not yet considered in outdoor adventure literature, despite the many attempts to understand how and why it does benefit their identity development.

Indeed, when contemplating the nature of habitus and social fields, it is not unreasonable to wonder if it will fill gaps in how young people's personal development is understood in the twenty-first century. This includes how habitus might link the traditional to the contemporary through fields like outdoor adventure that are removed from their everyday lives. Additionally, it opens up a discourse pertaining to the relationship between their personal development and social fields within their everyday lives. Clearly, there is much written on young people's development in contemporary milieu. Indeed, it is a discourse that produces a dense and lively debate, one where different ideas are shared but where views are not always agreed on (for example, Erikson 1968; White & Wyn 1998; Bendle 2002; Wyn 2004). Incorporating the idea of habitus being removed from everyday life, to a field understood as communitas certainly adds another dimension and depth to this discussion. First, will the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship be associated to the idea of how habitus relates to a field characterised as communitas? Second, could it possibly raise the

relevance of tradition for young people's identity development in the twenty-first century?

This theoretical approach certainly contributes to a creative and novel way to understand the relationship between young peoples' personal development in their everyday lives implicating outdoor adventure.

3.12 The Sutra of the Elephant and the Blind Men

Subsequently, when thinking about what trainee's might reveal about their personal development and how and why they think this happens, I contemplate the possibility that it might contribute to how their development can be understood in contemporary individualised society such as Australia. As such, I also wonder if any gaps in the way their development is understood will be filled. When I think about this, it conjures up an image in my mind of an ancient Buddhist sutra of the elephant and the blind men.

In this sutra, the Buddha asked his disciples to get a large magnificent elephant and six blind men. He then brought the blind men to the elephant and asked them to describe what an elephant looks like. They responded like this:

The first blind man touched the elephant's leg and reported that it "looked" like a tree trunk.

The second blind man touched the elephant's stomach and said that the elephant was a wall.

The third blind man touched the elephant's ear and said that it was a fan.

The fourth blind man touched the elephant's tail and described the elephant as a piece of rope.

The fifth blind man felt the elephant's tusk and described it as a spear.

And the sixth blind man rubbed the elephant's snout and got very scared because he thought it was a snake.

All of them got into a big argument about the "appearance" of an elephant.

The Buddha asked the citizens: "Each blind man had touched the elephant but each of them gives a different description of the animal. Which answer is right?"

"All of them are right," was the reply. "Why? Because everyone can see only one part of the elephant. They are not able to see the whole animal." (Sample Stories 2003).

The image stirs my imagination and I wonder about habitus and social fields and if what trainee's say about their identity development and participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship will shed any light on this symbolic pachyderm? Is it possible that some gaps will be filled in communicating a description of it not considered previously? The blind men, will they gain any vision in any degree? This is certainly an image that provides conceptual scaffolding; one where further exploration into the relationship between young people's participation in outdoor adventure and how and why it works has potential to shed light on areas not yet considered. Indeed, it is an image I take with me as this research unfolds.

3.13 Concluding Remarks

Not only is there evidence that participation in outdoor adventure promotes a positive sense of self and sense of adulthood, there is an emerging discussion

into how and why it does. Perhaps, as some indicate, this is because it draws on a tradition of a rites of passage or initiation that contrasts the practices, or lack of practices, associated to their development in the twenty-first century. However, it is certainly possible there are other ways to understand this also. As Shotter and Gergen (1989), and Gergen (1991) posit, while it is possible for habitus to change when one changes context, it is also possible it changes with their experiences in the same physical setting. As such, exploring the nature of habitus and how it relates to social fields in and beyond everyday life is a valuable way to understand the relationship between a trainee's identity development and the Leeuwin II tall ship particularly as it is in light of their everyday lives.

Young Australian people live in a contemporary milieu where their identity development is complex and is indeed understood from many perspectives. In fact, it is elucidated through the work of many writers (Kroger 2005). For example, there are some who believe their identities are stalled, with traditional rites of passage to adulthood failing and crucial transitions not being made (Bendle 2002). Others even believe that they are at a point of crisis (Erikson 1968). However, given the relationship between habitus and social fields being proposed in this book it is more likely they can be considered being at an important turning point in their identity development (Erikson 1968). Essentially this means that drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and social fields is an important perspective because it potentially provides a possible insight into trainees' identity development through their participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their development in the Australian individualised society. Put simply, these ideas provide a way of making sense about the relationship between social structures and young people's identity development. It is an important perspective because it proposes an explanation of what they do, and why they do it (Webb et al 2002). But perhaps more

importantly this means that there is potential to expand the scope of their human agency (White & Wyn 1998), a concept argued to be linked to their success and failure in this individualised life.

Surely, this theoretical perspective is one that warrants further exploration? This is a worthwhile question in the twenty-first century, particularly when understanding young Australian people live in a milieu where:

Anxiety and audacity, fear and courage, despair and hope are born together. But the proportion in which they are mixed depends on the resources in one's possession. Owners of fool proof vessels and skilled navigators view the sea as the site of exciting adventure; those condemned to unsound and hazardous dinghies would rather hide behind breakwaters and think of sailing with trepidation (Bauman 2001, p. 161).

The next chapter introduces the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship through the views of two Board members and twelve Leeuwin workers/volunteers, and my journal as trainee when I sailed on board. Not only do these perspectives introduce the culture of this vessel and how it ticks (Goldbart & Hustler 2005), they also introduce, even if this is only speculation, what developmental outcomes trainees might experience and how and why they think this occurs.

Chapter 4

An Introduction to the Field of the Leeuwin II Tall Ship

4.1 Preamble

With the square-rigged masts towering over 30 metres of its deck, the Leeuwin II is a majestic 55-metre three masted craft. Built in 1986 at Coogee (Western Australia) primarily for youth adventure training, she carries a professional crew of five, eight volunteer crew and up to 40 young people known as trainees on voyages as they sail along the Western Australian coast-line. During the day, trainees are divided into groups known as watches with a watch-leader, who is an ex-trainee. At night, they sleep in bunks in cabins that have either six or eight pipe-cot style bunks arranged in tiers of two or three (Gordon et al 1995). Shorter day sails are also offered that accommodate up to one hundred and thirty passengers (Leeuwin 2013).

Based in Fremantle, the ship docks in B Berth alongside the office housing the non-profit organisation. The Leeuwin Ocean Adventure Foundation (LOAF) relies on volunteers, and public and private donations and sponsorship to promote positive youth development through participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship. Their mission "is to inspire young people to realise their personal potential and make a positive contribution to the wider community, through the unique medium of a tall sailing ship" (Leeuwin 2013).

This chapter introduces the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship. While the field essentially refers to the environment of the ship, what the two Board members provide is a brief history and philosophical overview of the organisation. The chapter thereafter provides a description on what happens on board through the narratives of twelve Leeuwin II workers and volunteers who are from here on referred to as Leeuwin workers and my journal as trainee. The chapter concludes with the workers' views on what personal outcomes trainees may experience and then why and how they think this happens. To protect their

identity, codes are used; Board members are referred to as B1 and B2 – Leeuwin workers as LW1 through to LW12.

What these perspectives contribute is a unique insight into the relationship between the trainees and the Leeuwin II tall ship. Board members have a depth of knowledge through their association with the organisation that is invaluable, particularly as one is a founding member. Sailing with trainees, Leeuwin II workers are privy into their experience. But also, they have an understanding of the program, too. This means they are in a position to discuss the field and its many layers, including what they understand personal development trainees experience and how and why they think this occurs. Finally, the inclusion of my journal provides a day-to-day insight into the experience of a six-day voyage.

Clearly, there are many benefits to include these different perspectives in this study. First, including different stakeholders (Neill 2006) can contribute to addressing any gaps in this area of research. Furthermore, in an area of investigation where there is no universally agreed upon model (Paisley et al 2008), what they say has potential to contribute to the comparative approach underlying this analysis. For example, provide insight into the values and other characteristics of the Leeuwin II program's effectiveness (Neill 2006); and provide an opportunity to test what trainees' claim about their self-fulfilment, and therefore increase what is known about the impact of the voyage on them (Pikea and Beamesb 2007). However, given Leeuwin II workers' accounts about how and why they think the Leeuwin II experience works for trainees are based on observation, as LW2 puts it, "It is hard to tell without them actually straight out telling you", these are understood as their own views into the experience of trainees, and is for this reason is relatively brief.

Nonetheless, these accounts launch this research journey into the relationship between trainees' personal development and the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship.

They also provide a wider lens to view trainee perspectives of their relationship with this vessel and their personal development, contributing to the overall comparative analysis with the trainee perspectives that follow in chapters five, six and seven. In this chapter and the subsequent three, to strengthen the meaning of what they say, I use their own words (Newman 2006).

4.2 Board Members: Introducing the Field

B1 is the founding member of the Leeuwin Ocean Adventure Foundation (LOAF) and as such, the knowledge he has relating to the establishment of the Leeuwin II tall ship provides valuable and unique insight into this field. This is an involvement resulting from his concern for young people's personal development that spans back over thirty years. It was at this time when he first recognised a benefit in creating a vessel to, as he says, "try and develop people mentally… more than physically"; a sentiment reflecting 'The Outward Bound … character through adventure'. He continues and explains:

Ah, well you know and I had heard about square riggers for young people and England in some ways lead this … in the post war era, England … had this history of the Outward Bound thing … but they didn't then … have a sail training ship as such … so they … built 2 square riggers a little smaller than the Leeuwin … called the Sir Winston Churchill and Malcolm Miller … in 1974, I started writing around the world and I got a very nice film back from the British people … called … New Horizons. It is all about a voyage on the Malcolm Miller and … these 2 lads are sort of on the, on the deck of this coming into harbour after 2 weeks at sea and they, they said whatever else it has done, it has given us a new horizon.

The trigger to create reality of his dream to build a square-rigger – tall ship – for the benefit of young people and their personal development was when the Western Australian Government gave $62,000 to a group connected with Alan Bond's attempt to win the America's Cup. "That was the trigger because I thought well if they have got that sort of money for that sort of thing what about the youth?"

Fund raising and a collaboration of community followed. In December 1984, building commenced and 22 months later, on 2 August 1986 the ship was launched and was commissioned in September that year. Of interest, it was christened 'Leeuwin II' rather than 'Leeuwin' because a vessel in Queensland is already known by this name. A disappointing circumstance for B1, as he reflects; "… fair dinkum I'm looking forward to the day when they will agree, but nothing when we can just call it Leeuwin." It is clear B1 is passionate about the Leeuwin II tall ship and the benefits experienced by the young people she carries on her.

B2's background with LOAF ranges from trainee, a volunteer, the Chairman of the Volunteer Association, Acting CEO, and now a Board member. She comments:

It provides I think a reasonable depth of understanding … of the organisation. And, my involvement is not because I am interested in ships or sailing, although they are very romantic and the ship is beautiful and it is wonderful going out on her and all of those things but I am only involved because of the outcomes that the ship can deliver in terms of youth development.

Her passion as she talks about the ship and its relationship with developing young people is also evident in her words:

Young people develop ability to independent thought and to work as a team, to lead a team to be a team member ... to appreciate other people's points of view. All of those sorts of skills are the ones that we are really ... teaching whether through osmosis or, or through some more direct methods on the ship. They're the things the people step off the ship knowing better than when they stepped on. It is such an extraordinary educational platform being out at sea ... they are taken from a comfort zone even if that comfort zone is a dysfunctional family it is still a comfort zone or it can be ... a highly functioning family and this person could be a high achiever ... you spend so much time in close proximity to people that you possibly wouldn't take the time to speak to if you were on the bus next to them or you know a hundred other different situations but you are given the opportunity to really get to know and understand other people and other people's points of view, other people's issues and people have such extraordinary issues ... it brings up kids who have never been entrusted with um, well anything really ... they can be lifted up into an environment that they are an equal and they are accepted.

Interestingly, she recognises the field in terms of a rite of passage. As she comments:

It is almost like a rite of passage, that is, if you are a fourteen to seventeen year old, one of the things that you really want to do, is ... a Leeuwin voyage because it is recognised as something that really does enhance your life skills at that age ... I think it is a, a rite of passage in terms of a maturity that you can get when you're on board with a bunch of people that you don't know from Adam, and you actually are living in very close quarters ... there's nowhere to escape, you haven't got your, your game boy or your IPod or your DVD player and all of those things that you have

in modern life you are actually there having to communicate face to face with people. I think it is becoming increasingly important for young people to have and build those skills because it is so easy the kids now just totally tune out … from friends, from society and you can't do that on Leeuwin.

4.3 Leeuwin II Workers: Describing the Field

When workers discuss the Leeuwin II field, they often describe how sailing on it can be both confronting and intense for trainees when they first come on board – something that is also reiterated in my journal below. LW1 describes it like this:

Quite often as a general thing people get on they have no idea of what is going to happen to them, and by the first day their totally gob smacked because the first day is really full on and we really give people a lot of information which we only expect them to retain about 50%. So by the first day trainees are wondering what they have got in to.

LW2 conveys this, too by saying:

… on the first day the watches quite often … just sort of taking it all in because it is a lot of information on the first day, for a couple of days, to take in … They … start off on the training rotation that is very, very full on. They also have to contend with sleeping patterns and interrupted sleep and that's even before people start feeling seasick!

From then on LW1 explains:

First of all everyone goes, 'oh my god I can't believe I'm in this!' and then they start forming as a group and then they start … figuring what they're

doing and get comfortable with all the things that we ask them to do with all the new rules we give them and then they start to play. They get to play then.

LW11 puts it like this:

It is very, they go through a few like there are a few phases they go on you can tell the first day they are all very apprehensive. They have no idea what we have got in store for them. Most of them never done anything like this before in their lives and they have no idea what the deal is basically ... and then by the end of the first day they are just starting to relax, they are not so uptight, they are starting to be able to talk, like get used to the idea of living in close quarters with people and having to talk to people you have never met before.

Often workers refer to the trainees being taken out of their comfort zone when they come on board. As LW12 says:

Like there are so many little ins and outs of the actual boat and the program and the way it is set up that, they are definitely out of their comfort zone. I mean it is a boat you can't get more than three meters away from anyone, for a full five days and so it is sort of this whole new living environment and vice that you are dropped into and so yes definitely out of their comfort zone but at the same time I think like they still feel safe enough.

Even if some trainees know each other, they are separated into different watches to break their sense of comfort. This is because, as LW2 explains, "they split groups up in the watches so they don't sort of sometimes they, because they are comfortable around each other they hold each other back in a way." From LW2's point of view, this might be explained by saying:

Like how we went out the other day before where when you couldn't see land in any direction. That's another part of breaking the comfort zone and

you can go so far out and you have to try and break that comfort zone to the point where everyone is at the same level.

They describe the environment as a supportive one, too. This can include relationships with authority figures – crew/workers/volunteers and other trainees on board. For example, LW3 points out that:

The people that are on board make it that way themselves also. I mean I and other watch leaders will be supportive but I also see in doing so, so are the rest of the watch. Now we all have to work together when we are up on the yard furling sails and that in itself builds character in the people who are on board. I can be up there and I will say you know if you don't feel comfortable doing this you don't have to. Nobody else in the watch then turns around and says what is wrong with you you big girl why couldn't you do it? Everyone is the same. They are like well if you didn't do it don't worry about it.

LW8 says:

Like you have the permanent crew who are really, really good with how they manage people, how they manage trainees and all that sort of thing. And on top of that, you have the voly crew and there is sort of like an atmosphere around the Leeuwin. Pretty much every person you meet will be easy to get along with. You can have good laughs with them even, like even if you are not, you don't know them that well. And if, like at the beginning the trainees don't know what to expect but you kind of face, they come on the ship, they start kind of learning about things and they see that it's the atmosphere is just so different.

Relationship building between trainees is also described as a period of bonding. As indicated by LW11 who says:

There is definitely, believe it or not I think the period of bonding actually comes at the same time as the period of being seasick. A lot of kids I know are great mates at the end because they spent four hours sitting next to each other throwing up over the side ... And even though a lot of the time they are not talking but it is little things like one will go and try and go get a cup of water for the other one and then and get a jumper for them or whatever ... But it is little things like that but, then both being at, what they feel like at the time is the lowest point of their lives and they are at the lowest point in their lives together is very much I think does create a very strong bond between people.

The idea of support is also associated with the environment being understood as a protective one. LW9 says:

Yeah. It builds people's ability because Leeuwin is such a protective environment in terms of, if someone say a little odd or a little strange or like, like social quirks I suppose, yeah, in school situations and various say normal situations, people are very, very picky and often be made fun of and all that sort of thing. Whereas Leeuwin is often a well can you give us a hand and if so you're a great person. Like it's, it is less about what you can't do but more about what you can do and what you can provide and that makes, especially people who might feel a bit socially awkward feel a lot more comfortable.

Still support continues to be raised, this time in relation to teamwork. As LW6 describes:

From getting on as a bunch of individuals, they have gotta work it out and they have gotta be able to socially interact with other, other people in such a way that, at the end of the day that everything gets done. And they find out very quickly I think that nothing they really do they do on their own.

Even cleaning, even making their own bunk in the morning if you have got someone to give you a hand, then you help them with theirs, life is made so much easier.

The value of teamwork and support is also acknowledged by LW8 who made the point:

Yeah. It is just all accepting, all encouraging and you just ... and especially with the whole thing of sailing, you can't do it on your own. You need a group of people and you need people working together and you need respect for the people who are making the call and things like that. It just seems to work. You understand that is what you need here. It all happens.

In fact as LW11 says, "... literally I don't think there is hardly anything on the ship that you can do on your own with one person ... You certainly can't set a sail on your own. No, there is nothing you can do on your own."

LW3 puts it this way:

... if you haven't had a lot of support, and you are used to doing things on your own you have to learn to ask for help because you cannot do everything on your own. It is impossible to set a sail on your own. You must work with other people. So regardless of who you are or where you are from, being on board this ship, in our culture anyway in Australia with the way I've found growing up, develops the leadership skills, the team building skills, and just your own personal development in challenging yourself. The challenge that it puts you to get, you cannot get off this ship. You know when you are sea sick and it is rocking all over the place and the sails need to be set, you can't just say you know what I have had enough, I am getting off and I am going home. On here, you got to help out, you have

got to work. You won't feel any better if you are sitting in the corner. Nothing is going to go away.

There is a connectedness with the wider environment that is recalled by LW12 as well. While his account refers to young Singaporean and not Australian young people, it is still relevant to describing the Leeuwin II experience. As he explains:

We sort of were sitting on the beach and you could just see that these kids like all of their life experience in living in Singapore and having the money and stuff, one of them was like dumb founded, I mean I've lived in Esperance my whole life and like I still remember it as an amazing afternoon. You could sort of see them go, wow we didn't expect this at all like it was just amazing like landscape and this situation just saying you are really special and you can sort of see that, that sort of goes beyond expectations and what they thought it was all going to be about.

LW1 also recognises the connectedness and describes it in relation to challenging and fun activities that provide a contrast to trainee's everyday lives of technology. She says:

I think, yes, they can make a whole connection and they can start a whole new family and whole a whole new group of peers … peer friends that are doing something that is fun and exciting and challenging and, it is not watching TV or playing game boy or going out and drinking.

Activities such as, working in teams, cleaning the vessel, climbing masts, steering the ship, are also part of a challenging Leeuwin II environment that the workers discuss. This also implies responsibility and risk, too. In fact, as LW4 says:

One of the things that we try to encourage on the Leeuwin is that everyone gets a turn to steer the ship. Now, it probably takes half an hour to get the feel of turning the wheel and following the compass. That's the easy part of it but when it is 2 o'clock in the morning and they're by themselves on the wheel and they maybe have got the hands of 50 people in their, the lives of 50 people in their hands, they have been put maybe for the first time in their lives in a position of responsibility.

However, as he goes on to say, "The whole time they are being very closely monitored; it is the aim to challenge trainees in a safe environment."

LW2 reinforces this by stating, "The mission of the Leeuwin is to challenge the youth of Western Australia and thinking in many cases that happens over the course of the voyage whether we deliberately facilitate it or not … because we … make sure that it is a safe environment for everyone."

The phrase associated with Leeuwin II is 'challenge by choice' and as LW11 says:

Realistically the more you put into the voyage the more you get out. And I know this one has been done to death, everyone says that but it is actually true. You can sit around and do a bit of a half half job frankly and, try and get out of working as much as you can and the people who do that at the end of the voyage if they are stuck with that attitude throughout the whole voyage they are less different when they leave. I mean it has been a fairly indifferent experience for them.

But the challenge associated with the Leeuwin II environment is not always by choice. For example, this can be hardship as suggested by LW5 as "sea sickness, heights, meeting new people and losing control because you have to learn things from scratch again." LW12 says, "Even the fact that you have a sea

shower where you like you wet yourself down with a hose shower off wash yourself with soap and then rinse the soap off and that is your shower ... Like, my gosh like what is this?" can be considered challenging. LW11 discusses the importance of challenge and a sense of achievement. In relation to seasickness, LW11 says:

> *Everything is horrible because they are really ill. Then, after twenty-four hours or so they get over that and it's probably definitely the happiest time of the voyage because everyone is just so ecstatic that they are alive ... Their energy is Amazing because everyone is just so happy that they have pulled through this horrible period of seasickness.*

What Leeuwin II workers say well introduces the Leeuwin II field. From their descriptions, they provide an insight into the many aspects of it. Voyages for trainees are filled with adventure, excitement, challenge, the unknown and more.

Indeed, my own experiences sailing as trainee continue the themes above and in many ways consolidate how Leeuwin II board members and workers describe the Leeuwin II tall ship experience. This is on a day-to-day basis so provides a more detailed and personalised understanding of it.

4.4 My Journal

My voyage is six days long. I am accompanied by my niece, as I was required to have a 'carer' to sail with me due to my vision impairment. We flew in from Melbourne the previous evening to join the voyage departing the following morning from Fremantle to Fremantle in November 2008. We sail with five crewmembers, a program coordinator who also acts as one of the three watch leaders, three trainee watch leaders and twenty-five other trainees. Train-

ees are aged from fifteen years to sixty something years old. There are several African trainees as well as one indigenous trainee. Gender is equally distributed.

4.4.1 Day 1

With anticipation and excitement about our impending voyage, we gather with the others on the wharf before being taken on board the Leeuwin II tall ship by our watch leaders. First we are shown our cabins where we choose our bunks and stow our bags. According to my niece, our cabin is a capsule! She isn't wrong. There is enough room to walk between two triple bunks and a small-netted area at the end of our beds where we put our bags. Then we go back up on deck and are introduced to the crew and other workers. We are given a brief introduction into what to expect on board. We are told that Leeuwin II bases its principles on challenge by choice; the more you challenge yourself the more you will get in return. We are divided into groups known as watches. There are three watches with nine trainees in each. My niece and I are assigned to the blue watch. Each member is partnered up; my niece and I are responsible for each other during the trip. Our watch is taken to our special meeting place on deck – known as our muster station. It is here where we will meet as a watch throughout the voyage.

Now we get to know each other through playing a few games. We throw a toy rabbit to each other, 'bin bong boppity boo,' 'zip and zap' are all games where we have to name everyone in our watch. I am hopeless! I have never been very good at remembering names. I also notice that other trainees do not include me as much as the others in this activity. This didn't surprise me though. I am used to people being hesitant or even shy with me when they first meet me. They must have been wondering how I would catch something I cannot see! Absolutely understandable.

Lunchtime already! After we had eaten, up on deck we go again and we are issued and put on safety harnesses. We must always wear these harnesses any time we are on deck and off anchor sailing. One of the activities and/or challenge we are given is to climb the masts! Though if we want to climb, we all have to pass a fitness test, this was by hanging by our hands suspended from a rope for 15 seconds. I give it a go but fail miserably! I only last about five seconds I think. My arms have no strength. But I am encouraged to try again later. As the day proceeds, I become more and more exhausted. This is physical as well as a brain drain as I try to get my head around all the new terms and processes that come with sailing a tall ship. I am wondering if I will ever learn it all!

This afternoon we are at the helm where we all have a turn at steering the ship. I didn't expect that this would be something I would be able to do but I am invited to have a turn as well. In an attempt to help me keep course my watch leader asks me to turn the wheel one revolution to see if it corresponds to one degree on the compass. Unfortunately, it doesn't and because I cannot see the compass, I cannot participate at the helm later on in our voyage. While I am disappointed that I cannot participate, at the same time I feel very happy that I am included as fully as possible. It would have been very easy for the workers to assume that I cannot participate in steering the ship and not have tried to include me at all.

It's dinnertime before we know it. After we finish eating and the dishes are done we all gather in our watches in the saloon. Sitting around the table, we get to know each other. We are given problem-solving tasks. We are also asked to record what we would like to achieve from our trip. Mine is a little unusual – it is to be able to get around the ship on my own. At this point, I am not clear of the ship's layout and am relying on my niece for mobility. Others wanted to

climb to the top of the highest mast or understand the terminology, or know how to set and furl the sails.

What I notice today is that there is an emphasis on group work. For example, get to know your partner and problem solve as a team. It is interesting to see everyone understand the dynamics of a group. It is pointed out that we all need to have a role in activities and not to leave it to the dominant members. As the day unfolds, I notice our watch members starting to relax. For me, I felt relaxed but not connected yet.

Phew! What a day! No one is seasick yet though!

4.4.2 Day 2

At 6.30 am, we are woken by the sound of music. Up and dressed we get and head up on deck for roll call. After numbering off, we start morning exercises. The program coordinator running this activity gets me to join her at the front. It is good for other members to see me taking part in these exercises because it shows them that I can do things even if I cannot see.

After a breakfast of pancakes topped with berries, it's time to clean the ship. This includes scrubbing the deck. Our watch - the blue watch – is assigned the main saloon. I am given a green cloth and a bottle of spray. Dianne you can clean the stairs. This isn't just running the cloth over the banisters. No, oh no. There wasn't a speck of dust to be left. All steps, ledges, walls and the white board that runs beneath the steps have to be washed and wiped.

I am now noticing our group start to connect. We are really working as a team. I am also feeling like I am starting to be accepted into the group. As I mention earlier, being vision impaired is usually something that people need get used to. For the trainees, I think as they see me doing stuff - for a lack of a

better way to describe it – they are starting to see me as a 'normal' person. Another thing that is continuing to stand out for me in relation to my vision impairment is the attitude and behaviour of the crew and watch leaders. They take into account my vision loss but accommodate me as fully as they can. Part of this is to ask me questions as to what I need and like. Their attitude is truly wonderful and it is indeed, also contributing to making me feel fully accepted as an equal team member.

It's midday and it is all hands on deck. We are tacking to change direction. Another wow! After 2 days, the whole ship is now working as an efficient machine. Some of the terminology is starting to sink in. Not all though but it doesn't matter because there is always someone there to help. Everyone is encouraged to ask and I never feel embarrassed if I don't know. As I listen, I hear orders followed by positive reinforcement; words like, brilliant, fantastic, wonderful and thank you. I want to say here that orders are given with firmness and direction. The positive feedback is real; it is in response to work well done.

Tonight it is my turn for galley duty. I wash while the others dry and put away. Laugh Out Loud. I am really an equal member of this activity. I mean, not one of the other trainees on galley duty mind at all that I can't see while I wash the endless amount of dirty dishes that keep appearing from the saloon! Now I am really feeling accepted as a trainee, too!

After dinner and the dishes are done I trot off to bed. Blue Watch are on night watch from midnight to 4 am. It is hard to sleep when you know you have to get up. I lie awake for a long time. Actually, the wind has picked up and the ship is rocking about quite a bit so every time I start to drift into sleep its movement wakes me.

There is an emergency in our cabin tonight when one of the trainees wakes to find she cannot move her arms. What was happening, the Captain explains, is that she is in shock. Later the trainee loses movement in her legs for a short time as well. She was very upset and asks if the Captain can organize a helicopter to take her off the ship back home – I thought to myself that she must be feeling trapped. The Captain gave her a bottle of water and gastrolite to replace any minerals and salts she may have lost. Sucking on the bottle also helps her calm down. We all listen and support her and finally she falls back asleep. And then finally I too fall asleep right before I am woken at 11.30 pm to prepare for our night watch! You certainly experience disrupted and lack of sleep on the ship.

Up on deck it is cold and windy. There is not a lot I can do – I cannot participate in bow watch or steer the ship. I sit with the others at the poop deck and imagine what it must be like for a seagull turning their back to the wind in order to keep warm. Facing the elements and rocking about we get to know each other better. Some of the trainees in my watch describe to me the sky, stars, water and what they can see in the night. As dawn approaches, I see the sky start to become lighter as the sun peaks up from the eastern horizon. This is a truly magical time of day, a time to marvel at and connect to this wonderful universe. So, while being cosy in bed and out of the elements is inviting, it is actually an enjoyable time on night watch because I feel closer to nature and the other trainees in my watch.

Looking back on the day, many trainees on board are sick. The seas are rougher than before and we are now moving about and not on anchor as we were on day 1. I feel a little queasy but my seasickness tablets are doing the trick! Thank goodness I am not vomiting like many of the others.

4.4.3 Day 3

Up we get and we count off at our muster stations before having breakfast – bacon and eggs. It occurs to me that it is ironic to have greasy bacon and eggs on the morning where many are feeling quite seasick. I still feel fine at this point.

Our cleaning duty this morning is the toilet and middle living quarters. We wipe down walls, clean drains and polish brass. Our team is cheery and jokes are plentiful.

The wind changes direction and so sails need to be set to capture its full force. All hands on deck and we are all at it again. Easing and hauling lines. Setting and controlling sheets. Heaving and coiling ropes. Climbing the main mast. Everyone takes part. Still I do not fully understand all the terminology but again there is always someone there to guide and show the way.

An activity! Well this shows us how much we still do not understand. Each watch needs to present to the others on how to set and control a sail. We are assigned the headsail to demonstrate. Argh… We really were unsure of how it all worked. Our watch leader ends up coming over to help us. She must have been watching us fumble about. It is worse for me to understand as not seeing the sails I miss out on visual information that fills in the gaps. Our watch leader is aware of this and brings a small sheet of material and improvised rope as string so she can explain the workings of a sail to me. After she let me feel how the sail responded to different rope commands, I do feel a little more confident. Not completely though! We end up using this material and rope as the basis of our presentation.

I listen as the group works putting the presentation together. One person in particular is the leader. Others rely on his action. This is also noticed by the

watch leader and is pointed out. Don't rely on one person; you all need to contribute to how you are to present this to the others. Others did then contribute and take part in the presentation – including me. The presentation is a success and we all end up having a lot of fun working together and participating in this activity.

As I previously mention, I consider teamwork within our own watch and as part of the whole Leeuwin II environment is a major focus of the field. Get everyone involved. This is confirmed to me in the afternoon as our watch leader gives us all a role to play. My role is to lead! My instant reaction to this is disbelief. Who me? This quickly turns into a wonderful sense of satisfaction. I recognize that involving us all in the running of this ship focuses on what we can do rather than on what we cannot. I am left with three members who I delegate a role and all other members report to me for other instructions. Our watch leader returns when all activities are complete. She gives positive reinforcement and then points out how everyone played a role today. That is her aim to involve everyone.

We are now given an option to anchor or sail through the night. Nearly everyone wants to anchor. If we sail through the night, we all have watch duty. Our watch's time was 8 pm till midnight. We have just finished midday to 4 pm. I am really starting to feel tiredness set in. My coordination is suffering. I am glad that we are anchoring.

Anchoring though means we have to furl the sails again. So it's all hands on deck and everyone pitches in. Orders are given, positive reinforcement follows. It is hard work setting and working the sails. Coupled with tiredness some are feeling the effects but no matter everyone is there working together. Everyone puts all their effort in.

I think it takes about an hour of hard work to raise the sails. After we all finish we have a spare few minutes before dinner! So my niece and I take this time to have a shower. It is my first shower since being on board. I can't believe it is the first time we have had time to do this! We must have had a nice odour about us! But I am sure we didn't really notice it because we weren't the only ones! There are water restrictions on board so I have 30 seconds to get wet, soap up and then 30 seconds to wash off the soap. It feels so nice to be clean.

Now I really start to feel the tiredness set in. After dinner, I ask to be excused from the movie being shown. Before I retire though I make mention of a comment made by a trainee Watch Leader as we sit at the dinner table. He says to all of us in our watch that being on the Leeuwin II is not the destination but rather it is the journey. This rings a sense of truth for me. Indeed, the journey we are all taking part in I feel is truly amazing. I take this thought and sentiment with me to bed. And, apart from being woken through mistaken identity for watch duty, I sleep like a baby all night.

4.4.4 Day 4

Good morning. It is amazing what a little sleep can do. I feel like a new woman. It is about 5 am. I have time to go to the saloon to start my laptop and record my journal entry before our 6.30 am music wakes us for the day. While it is quiet, I also start interviewing a couple of Leeuwin II workers.

After breakfast, our usual morning activities of exercise and cleaning occur. We are allocated our cleaning duties and today our watch is given the deck to scrub. I look forward to doing this because in my mind it is an activity truly associated with sailing and being a part of a tall ship. Yes, me hearty! However, there is a change in plans. Rather than scrubbing the deck our watch prepares

the dories – small motorboats stored on deck – to take all the trainees to Rottnest Island for a day's activities on the beach.

Now the watches have boarded the dories and set off to Rottnest Island for a few hours. I do not go as it is an opportune time to catch up with and conduct interviews with a few workers that remain on board. Well that was the plan but it did not eventuate. Miscommunication meant that we all wait for each other. Eventually I locate the captain and she agrees that tomorrow when we anchor will be a good time to catch up with them.

The trainees return from their time on Rottnest and this afternoon we set sail again. Our watch leader and I climb up the netting at the bow of the ship to undo the sail (jib). This is an incredible experience. While I do not see the water beneath me, I can hear it and feel the boat as it carves its way through it. We rise up and down as we find our way to the top. I feel safe but ask how many shoes have been lost through the rope netting. Quite a few she tells me.

From up here I listen to the activities below us. Trainees and crew work together. Orders are given, trainees respond. There are those who climb the rigging and those who work on deck. Ease the Mainsail. Heave the Topgallant. Two Six heave. These are some of the orders that reverberate around the ship.

We are on two watches that night including the midnight till dawn watch. At about sunrise I am asked if I would like to retry my fitness test. This time I pass!

4.4.5 Day 5

It is our last full day on board. Our usual morning activities occur and our watch is assigned saloon cleaning again. I clean the stairs and everything that is associated with them - the banisters, steps, ledges, walls and the white board

that runs beneath the steps. I can assure you there is not a spec of dust to be seen when I finish.

It is time now when sails need to be altered to sail back to Fremantle. Once we are there we set anchor and the sails are furled. I go up with a watch leader and others to fold up the jib.

That afternoon I am not very well. I am getting a migraine and need to lie down. It is fortunate that we have free time in the afternoon but this means I miss out on climbing the rigging. Sleep and pain killers bring me back to consciousness and I join my watch and the activities.

As it is our last night on board together, the tradition is to put on a show. Our watch decides to put on a skit that sends up the morning activities. I play the part of the program coordinator as I bounce around so energetic in the morning conducting exercises. We have so much fun and there is lots of laughter from the others on board – even from the program coordinator!

A highlight for me tonight is hearing one of our watch members – sing in her native African tongue. It is so beautiful. I could feel her opening up in front of everyone. She has only been in Australia a few years and I believe that at this point she feels truly accepted by all aboard. It is a wonderful experience for us all.

Another highlight for me is a reading presented to us. It is as follows:

To laugh is to risk appearing a fool.

To cry is to risk appearing sentimental and soft.

To reach out is to risk involvement.

To show up and expose your feelings is to risk exposing your inner self.

To place your idea, your dreams, your desires before people is to risk their loss.

To love is to risk not being loved in return.

To live is to risk dying.

To show strength is to risk showing weakness.

To do is to risk failure.

The greatest hazard of life is to risk nothing.

The person who risks nothing, gets nothing, has nothing, is nothing. S/He may avoid suffering, pain, sorrow.

But s/he does not learn, s/he does not grow, s/he does not live, s/he does not love.

S/He has sold, forfeited freedom, integrity.

S/He is a slave, chained by safety, locked away by fear.

Because only a person who is willing to risk not knowing the result is free.

I find myself listening to every line with intent. I am thinking about our risk society. I am thinking about the risks we have taken on the Leeuwin. I am wondering if taking risk is a major characteristic of this field that makes a difference for these young people. Does taking risk have any part of developing a sense of free agency or adulthood I wonder? I have no answers.

I get most of my interviews with the workers done tonight. The ship is buzzing. Everyone is happy. The energy is electric.

Before retiring for the evening, we gather as a group again as we did on our first night. We revisit our challenges we had set for ourselves at the beginning of the voyage. Had we achieved what we had set out to achieve? I certainly did. It took a little bit but I am able to orientate and move around the ship now on my own. Others also achieve what they had set out to do. I feel that our accomplishments as individuals are united by group support as we all acknowledge and praise each other.

There is one thing I recall now and record before I finish today's journal entry. It is that of the help of a trainee from another watch. This afternoon, as I climb the stairs near my cabin he assists me. I realize that this is not the first time he has come to my assistance and I think how lovely it is of him to consider my safety. It is like an unspoken bond has formed between us as he makes sure I get on deck safely. I wonder if he is one of the young males from another watch who were causing a few problems early on in the voyage – there were a few who did not seem happy to be on board. I am quite able to climb the stairs independently, however I always thank my un-named friend for his assistance. I feel his smile in response.

4.4.6 Day 6

This is our last day and we motor in to dock this morning. However, before we do we still need to prepare. We are up by 6 am. Exercises and cleaning occur. Our watch cleans the upper ship. Wiping down walls, disinfecting mattresses, cleaning toilets. We all take part.

Then it is all hands on deck. As tradition goes, sailors climb the rigging to show those on shore that the canons are not manned. Many have permission to climb but two other trainees from our watch and I have been given permission to sail in to dock on the upper netting.

To my surprise, I am asked if I would like to climb the rigging before we dock. "You bet" I said. Another trainee comes up with me. Up and up we go. What an awesome feeling so high up. It is just an incredibly exhilarating experience being so high up there. It is an experience I will never forget. I will also never forget the cheers and applause from below either. This is a special sound radiating genuine warmth, support, excitement, encouragement, happiness and so much more from the others on ship. Wow…

Climbing down from the rigging, I join the others on the upper netting. The captain announces that there is a delay in our return because she has not received permission from the port authority to proceed. While we wait, boats from the shore come out to greet us. Horns honk, cheers are exchanged. Again, as I did on my midnight to dawn watch, I feel truly connected with not only the trainees and Leeuwin workers on the ship but the whole universe itself.

We finally dock and have our last group gathering. We all share what we learned from our time on board and indeed, we all learned something. For me, I came on board knowing about the Leeuwin II environment through my reading and talking to those involved. Or so I thought. I realize I didn't really know but now I do! As the program coordinator says, "This is the last time we will ever meet as a group. We will leave here and never meet like this again. But we are all now a part of the Leeuwin family." Her comments resonate with me as I feel a special sense of connectedness with those around me and with the phenomenon of this Leeuwin II tall ship.

Everyone says their goodbyes. There are hugs and a few tears but overall we are all happy to go back home. I really believe we will never forget what we experienced.

So as I walk on the gang plank disembarking the ship, I reflect and am aware that not only did I feel the wind and sun on my face, the motion of the vessel as it responded to the sea beneath my feet, the sea spray as it blew onto the deck and thankfully did not experience the discomfort and humiliation of vomiting overboard through sea sickness but there was so much more! I also realize that while I expected to have a similar yet different experience on my voyage to those of other trainees due to my age and vision impairment, I did not. For me, because of this, that is, participating as an equal, my experience was truly liberating. Although tired and exhausted, I felt a sense of achievement and wellbeing, something I describe as a sense of confidence. Stepping back on shore, I am certainly aware I am holding my head up very high.

Thus, my participation as a trainee in the Leeuwin II tall ship program including taking part in activities such as climbing the rigging and setting the sails, experiencing hardships such as disrupted sleep and time restrictions, and being an accepted and valued team member better prepares me to engage with trainees to understand their experience, more specifically, their personal development and really understand how the culture of this Leeuwin II tall ship ticks (Goldbart & Hustler 2005).

4.5 Worker Perspectives: Trainee Developmental Outcomes

After my own experience as trainee, I fully agree with Leeuwin II workers that all trainees learn something from their Leeuwin II adventure. For example, as LW2 says:

It's quite hard to come on the ship here and not have a life changing experience. Some of them might learn basically just how to meet new

people. Some of them might walk away with a quite in-depth knowledge of how to sail the ship in particular. Everyone takes something different away even if it's, you know I don't like ships but I met someone else who doesn't like ships.

LW9 agrees and says:

I believe everyone has to have some level of growth. I mean even the people who end up feeling sick and sitting in a corner for 5 days, like someone might think that they are not actually getting anything out of that but the fact is they are because they will look back on that and think maybe they wasted their time or something like that. It is a negative way to look back on it but still something that makes you think about what you have experienced and probably will make yourself look differently at yourself.

There are other ideas of what trainees experience, too. For LW1 it is in terms of them gaining freedom of choice. This relates to a situation where a trainee stayed in his bunk for three days refusing to leave it. Recalling this she explains:

But by the end of the trip he was no longer in his bunk because he got tired of that and ... I basically said that you know everyone voluntarily walked on the gang plank ... and actually no one did make them walk on the boat. And that ... that if they got nothing else out of the trip was that they always have a choice. In the future, they need to make wise choices.

For LW4, it is that trainees are able to develop interpersonal skills. This he explains is in contrast to their everyday life that is filled with technology. As he says:

...probably the main thing they would get out of it is a realization that they probably don't need electronic stimulation like from movies and videos and computers and cell phones and all that ... To have relationships with

people and maybe the relationships they do forge on the, on the journey of the sail are more important or of a higher value than the ones they have through ... to people with ... through electronic means ... Yeah, and realize that ... their, well they may realize that their ... expressions and reactions and reactions ... affect people directly and because of this, this ah, ah ... maybe a more interesting way of dealing with people because you're, you're speaking to them directly.

LW10 provides a number of suggestions of what he believes trainees experience as personal development:

Long-term unemployed seeking training and employment – some going on to become crew on board and develop a maritime career. Release of emotions during and at the end of a voyage. Individuals revealing personal truths about themselves (child abuse etc.) and deciding to move beyond the fear. Individuals breaking down stereotypes of race and making new friends.

Release of anger and subsequent breakthroughs associated with their own fears. Participants arriving as children and leaving as young adults speaking and acting honestly and in a manner befitting of an adult with life experiences rather than a spoilt child.

But similar to the literature, workers cite a sense of self, more specifically confidence, as the most common outcome they think is experienced by trainees. LW12 says:

Like from a confidence point of view you definitely see the change after five days because they have had that chance to get through it and, even like sea sickness itself is a little barrier that once you sort of can overcome, you um, you get a sense of achievement.

As he further explains:

Like the majority of voyages I have seen ... they're like as a watch leader they are a lot more confident with you ... they are a lot more confident with ... basically how to sail the boat and all of that sort of thing from when they first got on they're completely unsure about.

LW2 says, "I think for the most part they might leave with a bit more confidence in themselves." Others like, LW5 agrees and says:

They come on, you know some of them are really, really into it from the start and some of them, I mean even some of them you might have seen on this voyage are just, they come on and they are home sick and they are sea sick and they are not having fun and they, they really try not to have fun. And then, I don't know, and it is not for all of them but most of them, um, about half way through will start to feel comfortable with the people around them. And you see a huge change in… just in their, in their confidence. You know they start to learn what they are doing in and hauling sails and things like that. So it is a definite confidence thing in making friends and things like that.

For LW9 he says, "I think like everyone tends to be a bit more confident in themselves and who they are … and what they can give I suppose if that makes sense."

LW7 adds to this and says:

…Yeah, feel more confidence especially … like I see some people they, they basically you know sometimes you hear from the family background that back home he is a bit shy, he doesn't have many friends and then all of a sudden they are on the ship and they in a word have to interact with people

and they line them up and they start speaking and … they yeah, they make friends and they feel better and they …

But he also continues to include how this confidence impacts in their everyday lives. He explains:

Well, the confidence you get from here eventually will grow and grow of course and I think this is a big step for them to make choices in life. Nowadays and as far as you are 15 you already have to make choice that depends on what, what you are going to do in the future … It is good then to have a bit of confidence in you … Yeah, a lot of choices to make that reflect later on in your future. Yeah, I think it is a good idea. It is good. It is always good to, I wish I would have done it I didn't choose until I basically started choosing to go to nautical school. But since then I'm sweet. Yeah, but for them, I think they will have that little extra, to take with them … In my opinion.

The idea of the personal development trainees experience being a starting point for their everyday life is what some other workers believe also. LW9 puts it this way:

… something that I have always felt is Leeuwin, while there is potential for growth during a Leeuwin voyage, it is still a very short time in people's lives, and I always looked at it as sort of a spring board for a person's development rather than actually, like a catalyst rather than the actual … entire personal development happening in 7 days. Personal growth doesn't happen like that. It is sort of a, you might learn things but to actually put it into practice and make yourself better so to speak.

This is also an idea that workers apply when discussing trainees' development to adulthood. For LW8, she understands the Leeuwin II preparing

trainees for adulthood rather than them becoming adults. She explains it like this:

… I think it can happen because if you come back as…often a trainee voyage you come back and um, you come back as part of the volunteer crew and can do more voyages. You come back and have a lot more responsibility, you have people you need to look after but also in the sense with um, the difference between starting on the Leeuwin and further down the track when you might not be sailing any more but even if you still are, you don't, you learn about responsibility, you learn about safety, you learn how to look after yourself. Like you can still kind of play around and have that sort of, like there is still the fun factor in it. So you learn all the aspects of being an adult and what you have to look out for and things like that but you still keep the fun and everything.

LW2 agrees that the Leeuwin II prepares rather than transitions trainees to adulthood. As he says, "I think that it prepares them for what they would be expected of … them in an adult sort of life but I don't think it makes the transition entirely by itself I think it is a helping factor." Similarly, LW6 agrees saying:

And so I think it does prepare 'em for what they can expect. We're not going to prepare them for everything, they are only coming out for say 10 days, there is only so much you can do but I think for the 17 – 18 – 19, probably more the 18 and 19s can really be beneficial for them.

Of interest, others like LW5 also mention the age of the trainee contributing to their personal development. For her she thinks, "the best results come from around 16."

But others believe that trainees do experience development as an adult. For example, LW4 says, "The responsibilities that, depending on the voyage the responsibilities that are put upon them … definitely." LW9 also thinks that trainees experience adulthood as a result of their Leeuwin II experience. He also couches this in terms of responsibility and says:

Absolutely. Like in terms of ... I mean if you look at the various things that happen on board, pretty much every activity implies some degree of responsibility which I think is the key tenant of adulthood is not ... like being able to do more or what ever your physical age but the fact that you take on responsibility ... like and in the real life you'd say oh you take responsibility for paying the bills and doing your job and all that sort of thing. On here, it is a very real focal thing. Like if you are on the helm you're responsible for ensuring the ship is straight. Like we don't palm off responsibility. Some one lets down their responsibility we make sure they wont do it again and making people become all personally accountable is I think yeah, as I said one of the main things about that being an adult is all about I think.

He does continue though to say:

Well taking on responsibility is a gradual habit. It is like, you don't just suddenly become an ultra responsible person especially if you, you never been forced to take responsibility for your own actions or the actions of those around you but by seeing what you are supposed to be like or, or what you are supposed to be doing, you can slowly, you can see what you are supposed to build up to by what you have experienced over a short period of time, on the Leeuwin.

For LW10, when I asked him about trainees developing into adults, he responded like this:

I have always been of the impression that more emphasis should be placed on assessing why the Leeuwin works as a rite of passage and providing better support networks and training for those running the voyage, sometimes there is too much emphasis on the notion that it just happens. By reviewing and understanding why it happens and improving the experience, we can reach 100% of the participants not the 50% or so that really change.

Indeed, this is an important focus and Leeuwin II workers do have ideas of how and why trainees experience personal growth from their experience when sailing on the Leeuwin II tall ship.

4.6 Worker Perspectives: How and Why the Leeuwin II Field Works

Interestingly, when discussing the Leeuwin II experience as catalyst, LW1 believes it relates to an intensity of the field that contributes to why and how it works. She explains it like this:

Often people get stuck in a groove; the Leeuwin is a catalyst for change. If the ingredients are present in a person to grow then it's going to be speeded up being in the intense environment that is created on the ship.

But there are also other ideas about why and how the Leeuwin II field works. A sense of achievement and being able to reflect upon it later on in their everyday life is one way LW6 understands it. As she explains:

I think it helps them out when it comes to things like going to college. A lot of people at that age are a bit nervous about going away and whether they will be able to make friends. Whether they will be able to do the work.

What they do, what they would do at the college. All that stuff ... I think it is if they can come here and they have been able to survive a 5 day voyage and they got on with their friends, they made friends whether they realize they have made them or not. Even if they think back on this in 5 years when they want to go to college or 3 years and oh I don't know if I can do that they can think back and well actually I did it when I went on that ship and there was far less people here that and less chance that I was really going to get on with it...

She also understands the field being a levelling environment contributing to how and why it works. In this environment, trainees are able to be who they want to be and not who they think they should be; they are able to create their own identities anew. As she explains:

We don't look at people's pasts. So it doesn't matter how much trouble you've got into before, when you come on the ship, you have got a clean slate. You could be an A grade student or a complete pain in the backside, you are treated the same and if you want to be a pain in the backside, then we will treat you like that. It is like we don't go delving into people's backgrounds. We don't judge them before they have arrived. Just everybody's got a clean slate so they can choose the people they want to be ... If there is a problem well we phone the office to find out what background if there is a problem. I think really in a lot of cases it is best for us not to know so we are not making judgements. We just treat people the way they are ... if you wanna be a completely different person here than you are when you are on land, even schoolteachers come out and say I have never seen this side of this student. Because they you know, they are given an opportunity to reinvent themselves .... They are not going to be prejudiced with you know, 'Dumbo' or you're the 'naughty one'...

This idea of the Leeuwin II field being a new place for trainees to have an opportunity to create new identities is also addressed by LW1 who says:

Yeah, I think that when people come on board they have such a strong idea and identity of who they are but when, when we have a group come on board and we will say this to people, that they come on board with a clean slate. We don't know who they are and they have the choice to create a new person while they are on board. And often people will choose to create a whole new person. And there maybe things in their life that they really don't like but because of the whole crowd does it and it is just that everyone does, they go along with that and they do it, too. But then they see there is another avenue and a different way of working with life and once they have done a trip they can always come back to the Leeuwin as a volunteer on the day sails ... and there is another family they can adopt and there is a whole group of people as a crew that they can look up to and aspire to live a different lifestyle and they can actually slot right in because there is no discrimination on who comes back.

This sense of connectedness is also understood by LW8 as to why and how the Leeuwin II works particularly in the way trainees become more confident. She says:

...You start off and you see all the trainees and they are quiet, they don't know anyone and it is like you play games, you go through like hard things like the loss of sleep, the rain, the weather, the sea sickness and stuff like that and it is like, you get closer to the people that you are with even though sometimes you might not even know that much about them. But because you have been through those things you get closer and it helps with confidence.

But as LW6 also believes, responsibility plays a part in young people's identity development. Others also cite this as being a part of why and how adventure on the Leeuwin II works and in fact, is the most common belief held by them. LW6 puts it this way:

I think we give people responsibility. Whether it is from being in charge of cleaning stations, or being in charge of certain lines and if they don't do their part, the rest of it isn't going to work. In so few places in life today, people don't give young people any responsibility at all. And here we, we heap it on really. We have got watch leaders here who are barely 18 and they are in charge of groups of 10 people. In this sort of environment we really do, we do trust people a lot and give them the responsibility which a lot of them actually crave in the end.

LW11 agrees and expresses this in the way that it is what responsibility trainees are given as much as what they take on. She says, "It is yes. And, they, we do give them the responsibility … but they, yeah most of them choose to accept the responsibility, take the responsibility on."

This is also something LW11 alludes to when talking about why she thinks a trainee acquires a sense of adulthood. As she says:

Basic things like learning that sometimes you have to do things you don't want to do, like get up in the middle of the night. Sometimes you have to take care of yourself, throughout the effort helping in the galley and always keeping your gear organised. And also that sometimes you can't do everything on your own, you need to work in a group with people.

LW2 also cites responsibility as why and how the Leeuwin II experience works by saying:

It is the responsibility part because everyone's responsible for a certain part of the rigging and even though the watch leaders are watching and making sure that it is all happening, some of them, yeah, they either might not want to, to break something so they are a bit worried about, you know, doing something until they seen it done and they get used to it.

LW1 agrees and says:

Teenagers may not in their everyday life be given the opportunity to take responsibility for their actions. On the Leeuwin, there are so many places that they are faced with consequences. Being on the helm, furling sails, tacking, cleaning, being lookouts, helping others through tough spots like fatigue, seasickness, fears, expectations, allows people to think past themselves and so be adults.

Another view, as LW9 suggests, is that the Leeuwin II works for trainees because rather than in everyday life where it is in many ways easy for young people to avoid situations, in the Leeuwin II environment situations need to be confronted and overcome. He says:

... It is a radically different environment which forces you to adapt or in some way, thinking about the best way to say it, it forces you to adapt because it is so wildly different from. You require more discipline, you, there is more stimuli around you like it is lots of noise, lots of people. It is very much you can't shut the experience off. Like school you go home, work you go home, you can't shut the experience off here because you work and you rest and you play in the same area. So you can't get away from someone, like if someone in your watch is hassling you or annoying you or something, you can't avoid the problem you have to deal with the problem. And that is why I feel the Leeuwin facilitates growth because it

forces you to actually confront your problems rather than dodge your problems.

LW10 sums it up this way:

From my experience, the Leeuwin program works because individuals are taken out of their comfort zone into a strange, albeit protected environment. The program works best where individuals do not know anyone else on board so that there are no preconceived ideas about who you are or what you do. There are no modern distractions, phones, radios, television, malls. They are involved in physical activity which makes them enjoy their time out. They are challenged mentally to learn. When done correctly everything is done with a smile. When voyages are long enough they go through a process of not being able to do something and come out able to do it (even overcoming seasickness if voyages are long enough). They learn from others experiences. There is a need for teamwork. Being in nature helps heal most wounds both physical and emotional. Individuals are also in an environment that is perceived as dangerous yet due to the skill of the permanent and volunteer crew is actually very safe (I.e. climbing aloft seems scary and dangerous yet individuals are harnessed on all the time). Most of all there is something about the ocean that transcends our understanding of development. She is a vast untameable beast that we have to respect and work with when most participants are used to shutting themselves inside a warm environment when things get a little tough outside and waiting till the sun is shining again. The sea provides no shelter but a sailing vessel taps into the oceans energy better than any floating craft.

4.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter, through two board members and twelve worker perspectives, and my journal as trainee, provide a comprehensive introduction to the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship. More than just a description of the field, it also contributes perspectives on what personal development trainees might experience and how and why it might occur. Interestingly, what workers agree on is that confidence is the most commonly cited developmental outcome and that responsibility is the most common reason as to why and how they think the Leeuwin II experience works. Of further interest will be if trainees agree?

Indeed, what trainees say in the following three chapters continue to inform about their relationship between their identity development and participation sailing on the Leeuwin II tall ship. All groups of trainees, 'Adolescents', Post Adolescents' and 'Past Trainees', discuss how they felt about themselves after their voyage before explaining why and how they think this happened, then if they felt more like an adult, and if so why and how they think this occurred, what they think adulthood is, and finally, if and how has all this impacted on their life back home. Together these three groups provide insight into this inquiry according to their age, gender as well as a longitudinal perspective. However, rather than isolated analysis, what each group contributes builds upon each other. In this way, the stage is now set for the analysis to unfold.

Chapter 5

Category One – Adolescents

5.1 Preamble

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of category 'Adolescents'; a group of fourteen trainees aged in their teens but younger than eighteen years of age. To protect their identity and ensure their anonymity, they are coded from A1 to A14. Overall, gender is evenly distributed across this category; seven females and seven males but there is some irregularity when gender is distributed between the ages of the trainee. There are three fourteen year olds – A5 and A8 male, A9 female, five fifteen year olds – A1, A3 and A14 male, A2 and A11 female, two sixteen year olds – A4 and A7 female, and four seventeen year olds – A6 and A13 female and A10 and A12 male. Most adolescent trainees sailed as individuals and not as part of a school or organisation except A2 who indicates sailing as part of Cadets. A4 received a scholarship for 2 people to go on with a friend but they were separated into different watches. Similarly A7 sailed with her sister A9, but they were separated from each other. A9 also says she knew several people when she started but was separated from them so did not have much contact through being in a different watch. While A12 sailed with other trainees in his watch, his uncle, who was part of the crew was his carer due to him having diabetes. According to the trainees, their voyages ranged from five to nine days. Finally, not all trainees indicated but of those who did, they were excited and happy to go on their voyage!

5.2 Personal Development

5.2.1 Sense of Self: Confidence

Similar to what the literature reveals and confirming what workers believe, one of the most common outcomes cited by adolescents is how confident they felt about themselves when finishing their voyage. Their responses are not

differentiated by gender or age either. A2 describes her feelings like this, "Yeah, I definitely had a lot more confidence. Like I was very impressed with myself that I was able to do it. And the skills that I learnt, like I didn't think I would be able to do it and it definitely improved like my confidence." Likewise, A6 says, "Definitely. Um, you do exercises that give you more confidence." A5 explains his feelings this way, "... I feel more confident in taking like, being a leader and it just helps you out a lot…" A3 describes the change in himself as, "Ah sort of I felt refreshed when I got off there ... I felt better about talking in groups as well ... yeah a lot more confident actually ..." A7 puts her feelings like this, "... I feel a bit, I'm very outgoing already but um, I learnt a lot ... And I learnt a lot and I felt more confident in that and I feel a lot more confident in other things." A9 says she felt like this, "… I feel stronger and more confident, about myself." Finally, when arriving back to shore, A14 describes his feelings this way:

... yeah I reckon I did like, I've never been very like, I was confident, competent sailor but when I went to this Leeuwin trip, I would just look at it and go, oh god, are they putting me in charge of sailing this and I kind of freaked out a bit, about sailing that like what happens if we screw up kind of. In the end after it, I felt pretty confident.

This feeling of confidence overflows into their everyday lives, too. For A11 it's just after one week after her voyage. She describes feeling better about herself in contrast to her life at home before she sailed, a life she describes as, "not that good and everything." While she does not specifically refer to feeling more confident when she first finishes her voyage, she says that at home she has a difference in her attitude and level of confidence. As she says, "it's just my attitude and stuff … It's more confidence."

As adolescents discuss their voyage up to six months after returning home, this feeling of confidence extends over months and relates to different areas of

their lives, too. A2 says she is "... definitely a lot more confident, I am more willing to try stuff." For A5 it's "How to take on a role that is pretty difficult like if you didn't know what you are doing ... Like now I have used it a lot so." And A7 relates to school and enhancing her academic achievement. This supports the idea that a sense of confidence gained on board influences their academic competency even if it is not a voyage specifically targeted to an educative program. As she describes:

I'm in year 12 at the moment and I, am more confident now in my school work, too, you know ... I'm a smart person but I, am more confident to know, because I was a bit of kind of like I knew I was smart but I didn't think I was going to do very well. Whereas speaking to some people in this I think 4 or 5 of us were in my watch which were going into Year 12 this year? ... And we all kind of spoke about things on, you know on bow watch while we were there and things. And that has given me more confidence to know I will do okay. And if I don't it doesn't matter.

For A3 he says, "And now I come off and I feel a lot more confident. I still are a little bit shy but I open up a lot faster now ... Like I have been on a youth camp since and, yeah it's, it's a lot easier ..." But for A10 it is back at home he notices he is more confident and disciplined now. As he says, "Oh, definitely confidence wise, yes. You know, I guess from being on a ship my bedroom is a lot more cleaner as well." But he also adds:

Going on the Leeuwin has bought a part of me out that I am now glad I have because I am now able to you know be, I don't know how to say it, I am sort of able to you know ... have confidence around other people, I can speak more in public than I was able to, than before. I am able to do this and that. I feel more confident about myself.

Even A14, who has sailed smaller vessels, says he feels more confident after his voyage on the Leeuwin II. He says, "… I just I felt much more confident in the smaller boats that I sail, I felt more in control because oh if I can sail a tall ship it's a piece of cake."

Subsequently, what they convey supports the idea that identity development is retained over time, in this case up to six months after their Leeuwin II experience. The underlying sentiment is that they are more able to take control over what they do back at home, at school and in wider society. As the literature describes, it is them extending their horizons, expanding their beings, and revelling in a mastery of themselves (Hopkins 1993); it can also be viewed as them being resilient (Neill & Dias 2001; Pryor, Carpenter & Townsend 2005; Ungar, Dumond & McDonald 2005). Being able to cope with contemporary life juxtaposes the idea of successfully negotiating it. As such, having confidence to do this supports the idea that contributes to their habitus having acquired a sense of free agency from their experience on board.

5.2.2 Sense of Self: Accomplishment

Another way adolescent trainees felt about themselves directly after completing their voyage is that of having a sense of accomplishment. Given a fourteen-year-old female and two seventeen year old males indicate this, there appears to be no distinguishing difference between their age and gender. A9 for example says "I felt like I had accomplished something." But for A12, accomplishment is wrapped up with relief. As he says, "… I just felt relieved that, that I actually done it. Cause if I can do that then I wouldn't feel the way I was. If, you know it's believe that you have actually tried something new and you just feel great." For A10, his sense of accomplishment is also tied up with being a valued part of the running of the ship and making friends, too. As he says:

I felt more like I had completed something. You know, like especially what I have done to the ship itself. I felt more, I don't know how to explain it I felt like everything I had done was contributing toward the Leeuwin and what they do. I felt really, I made some awesome mates which is a really good thing.

5.2.3 Interpersonal Relationships

What A10 describes can also be interpreted as feeling connected to the Leeuwin II environment in different ways. Literature refers to this as inter personal relationships and is also used here to describe feeling connected, relating and communicating with others. It is a feeling something Leeuwin II workers recognise and is also something both two male and one female trainees recall first after their voyage, too. They describe it as being more comfortable, friendlier and happier. As A6 says, "So like you feel more comfortable around complete strangers." A1 explains it like this:

Well. You just sort of feel, oh I am not sure just ... there are so many people and you just connected with everybody so quickly ... So even people who you know normally quite shy people don't really make friends easily, but people overall yeah with the whole group...sort of thing and you just become friendlier, happier.

Plus feeling more connected impacts on working with others, too. As A8 says:

... I feel like you know, I can work with a team better and stuff like that.

Indeed, these young people's relationships in an individualised life are important when understanding they need bridge social networks in the field of education or the labour market for example. Thus translated into their everyday lives, this can be viewed in light of considering and relating to others;

interactions and relationships in an individualised society requiring intrapersonal and interpersonal skills to negotiate it. This means they are better positioned to play the game as Bourdieu (1990, p. 52) aptly describes. Or as Emirbayer and Johnson (2008, p. 4) say, it promotes the "interaction of a variety of habitus."

In a contemporary individualised milieu like Australia, developed interpersonal skills and connecting with others is indeed essential. The relevance of these relationships extends across all areas of their lives also. This response is evident by both male and female adolescents, younger and older. For A12, his relationships are now like this:

Yeah before I went on the voyage I didn't listen to people, I kind of made my own choice, I just sort of went ahead with things and they used to turn out really like bad, now that after the voyage I've learnt to listen and, before I do stuff and taking in what people are saying and everything that I do it's actually turns out quite well.

Others like A1 agree. His way of thinking about this also indicates better control over his actions, too. As he says:

You just look at people differently now ... Yeah. I make my own decisions and, you know who I want I want to hang out with and stuff like that ... Like I am more accepting ... I'm friends of people I would not have not have normally been friends with now.

This change in relating to people extends across all areas of their lives. According to A4, she describes how her relationships have changed at home as well as outside it. She recognizes she's "... definitely self motivated in terms of school and stuff like that but when it came more to looking after me in a home, I realize that I can't be the person who always sits back and just does what I want

to do." As A8 recognises his relationships with others, too, "... I'm back here now so I, you know, work with different people."

5.2.4 Communication

Another theme for participants was connecting and relating to others and is experienced by all trainees, both females and males across all ages. However, when it comes to having an increased sense of communicating with others, only females identify this. Interestingly, they relate this to feeling more comfortable, respectful and again, having confidence to do it. This feeling of increased communication is well described by A13. In fact, it's of special significance for her as she explains:

... well I've had ... Asperger's so I've had like problems communicating and after being on the voyage and talking, like being living together on for eight days and being really close, I've sort of um, felt more comfortable in communicating to other people.

For A9 it's, "… with friends and stuff I've kind of, like act not act their age but like being more able to communicate with someone older than me and knowing they communicate with me I kind of respect more." A7 while confessing to being a good communicator prior to her voyage, describes how she relates to people now like this:

... and with talking to people, it is not just talking to people but actually talking to people about them. Not like I would, I think I actually go up to strangers in the street and go like hello thinking I know them but talking to them in a better way. I guess talking better to people not just talking to people with a confidence to do that ... Yeah, on a deeper level and getting more out of it. Sometimes I feel like I've spoken to someone for 10 minutes and actually haven't learnt anything or got anything out of it. They haven't

grown or I haven't grown in any way shape or form where as now I have more confidence to do things, which are going to help people and help me get more out of it.

And for her this means:

With more confidence in just saying hello how are you to actually being like how's your day been? What have you been up to? You don't look too happy why? You know ... Yeah. I mean from you know I knew it was a good place to meet people on the Leeuwin and I did meet some great people ... And from that I realised it was a good way to get to know people was actually to speak to them a bit more in depth than, oh how nice is the weather today? And I had the confidence to do that. I am, I'm not being arrogant but I am quite loud and out there and confident already but ... (laughter) ... to speak to people to actually get to know them I did ... On the Leeuwin I kind of realised I got more confident in doing it. I spoke to just one of my friends I already knew and he spoke to one of the other guys and he said oh ... seems nice so I spoke to him more and the confidence I oh I guess I almost learnt it there and I bring into life out here.

5.2.5 Feeling Free

Another way to describe how some female adolescents felt directly after their voyage is provided by A4 who says, "Yeah, more relaxed and free ... not stressed." This is an interesting comment as the term 'free' distinctly creates an image of her agency being released from the ties of her everyday life and associated to freely choosing and having control over her life and therefore success in it. As she says, "Well, normally I'm a stressor like with school and everything and it just gets too overpowering but the voyage was during school

like holidays. So I got to relax a lot more and just get out a lot more." This feeling carries over into A7's everyday life, too. As she says:

Well, I go to private school and things that before my attitude was kind of have to do well at school or my whole life is going to be a shemozzle but I saw with the apprenticeship girl that you don't have to finish and things will be okay. It will work out. You can you know I can go on the Leeuwin for a year and have a good time I'm not really worried …

Both their responses indicate stress associated to being a student in their contemporary lives. Thus rather than the educative field furnishing them with reflective knowledge (Marginson 1996), they experience stress and pressure to perform in a certain way. Subsequently, this promotes the idea that being removed from everyday life to a field outside it contributes to them gaining a new perspective, in this case a sense of freedom over it.

But is their stress indicative of females experiencing personal development in their everyday lives because it is sprinkled with ambiguity and contradiction (Van Newkirk 2006) more than their male counterparts? Perhaps it is or perhaps it is not. In the example of education, given there are only two sixteen year old females who discuss their sense of freedom it is not enough evidence to be certain. But given there is another female adolescent who indicates feeling free, while not specific to education, her comments might well be associated to this situation. A9 explains that for her being back at home now she has more freedom over her life in the way of choice. Before her voyage, she felt like she had to do things and had no choice in her life. As she says:

I feel different about myself, like I seem to now go into things with more of a like oomph… Cause I didn't really have a choice when I was, I had a choice but I made kind of say to myself don't let yourself have a choice? Like do everything possible … That was before I went and now I kind of

keep that kind of thing in my mind um, in everyday I enjoyed it so much just doing everything I could.

5.2.6 Adventuresomeness

The idea of feeling free can also be associated to adventuresomeness (Hattie et al 1997). For example, this concept attributes challenge and flexibility. It can also be associated with having a sense of freedom, too. Thus, as well as having increased communication, A13 describes a sense of adventuresomeness as freedom, as she says:

Yeah I ... wanted to do a lot more than what I was doing. Like, I wasn't really doing much, I was sort of sitting at home and, hanging around doing nothing and then afterwards I wanted to do more voyages, I wanted to do more day sails. I just sort of wanted to go out and have a look at Australia and all that.

5.2.7 Consequences

Still there is another variation on the theme of feeling free and having choice over actions. This is described as being aware of consequences. A14, a male, explains that being back at home he is more aware of consequences; something he was not concerned about prior to his voyage. Perhaps this is associated with a fifteen-year-old gaining maturity? Or is it gender specific as it relates to risk-taking behaviour? It is clearly an individual having confidence to make his own choice about his actions. In this way, it suggests his habitus is set free to have the confidence over his life, in this case in relation to peer pressure. He explains:

... there was a few things like climbing like, ever since I climbed that mast and just saw how like shaky and you can be up there. I think a little bit more like can I think awe, if this like, if this isn't something I'm meant to

climb on that could be dangerous. So I look at other things that, I look at you know, if your friend, if one of my friends tells you to try climbing the roof, which has already happened, ah I just looked and said awe, that's not meant for me to climb on. Like, I'm not going to climb on that cause that could break. I just after the Leeuwin, that's what I was thinking of, like how shaky the Leeuwin was.

5.2.8 Processing: The Imagined

Thus, there is an association with a sense of free agency contingently activated in the Leeuwin II field. When talking about their personal development, adolescents often describe it in contrast to their everyday lives. Overall, their comments support a freedom to choose and select; they describe themselves as individuals taking control of their lives – the choices they make and not being vulnerable. The confidence they gain, the relationships they form and more can be considered part of the illusion that they are masters over their world. But the imagined freedom underpinned by confidence, a part of habitus as a processing in everyday life is specifically articulated by A3 who says, "I also know, yeah, yeah you learn ah, you can like do pretty well anything if you set your mind to it."

Clearly, this is of particular interest to this study. For it highlights the value of understanding habitus not only interpreting experience and creating dispositions to act, it also captures the importance of it to think and feel in a certain way (Lehmann 2004).

5.2.9 Sense of Self: Adulthood

Of the fourteen adolescents, thirteen indicate feeling more like an adult after their voyage. In essence, a transition to adulthood regardless of their age and

gender appears to have been initiated. Leeuwin II workers often describe this as a catalyst for transition. Participating on board the Leeuwin II tall ship is a 'kick start' to this development even if it does not act as a total transition as indicated in the previous chapter.

When I asked adolescents about feeling more like an adult after their voyage they responded like this:

A1 says, "Well. Yeah. A bit more mature as well so …" A2 says, "Yeah. For sure." And A3 says, "Yeah, yeah. Just like I feel more confident towards it anyway ... U, so yeah I mean as yeah it did, I feel a lot more like I can take bigger responsibilities now." The affirmation continues with A4 saying, "I think so", while A5 simply says, "Yep." A6 says, "Yeah you do." A8 says, "Yeah." A9 agrees and says, "It made me feel a bit more confident and yeah I felt more like an adult … in my life kind of thing." A10 says, "Of course. Yeah." A11 says, "Yeah, I do actually." A12 "Um, yeah …" A13 "Yeah." Finally A14 says, "Yes. Yeah, you can say that. Like when I came back, I did feel like much, much older you know."

Interestingly, what these adolescents say about feeling more like adults after their voyage directs thought toward the trend that transitions in contemporary life are becoming increasingly extended – a time that lasts from the late teens through to the early twenties. What it highlights is the relevance of social fields relating to young people's personal development and as such, challenges the idea that events have very little salience on their conceptions on the transition to adulthood (Arnett 1997). Subsequently, the relationship between their identity development and social fields like the Leeuwin II tall ship supports the idea of a rite of passage to adulthood. In this instance, adolescents have been separated from their everyday lives – taken to a special place where challenges are overcome and rituals performed – before returning home with a new identity

(van Gennep 1960). While this model relates to the third stage of incorporation where the community sees their identity changed, in an individualised society like Australia, a trainee returning home thinking and feeling in a certain way, like feeling more confident and more like an adult is relevant indeed. In terms of habitus, this idea supports it being removed from everyday life to a field like the Leeuwin II tall ship that is away from everyday life promoting their personal development in this respect.

The only adolescent who does not agree with the others about feeling more like an adult after her voyage is A7. However, what she says demonstrates confusion about this rather than her indicating no growth in this area at all. As she says, "I'm 16 now but um I do think that there is, I do feel like an adult not entirely because of the voyage but it came at a good time and definitely I learnt some things that it would make me into more of an adult, yeah." Not entirely convinced she continues:

Maybe not, yes in some ways. It was really good that there was mixed ages ... Most things I do the ages really are only kind of in maybe maximum 3 or 4 years above me. Which you know when you are 16, 4 years older at 20 that is quite a difference between being a teenager and being an adult. But they're not physically in my watch but I did get to know some people through other things. One of the guys had retired for example and the crew as well um working on the same level as people. It did, maybe I don't know, yeah I just feel an adult and having more responsibility, too.

What is curious about her comments is they can be considered in conjunction with what adulthood is today. That is that it is understood rather than just being accepted (Willmott & Nelson 2005). Perhaps her confusion is also an indication of a lack of definition in a society that has no name for a distinct life stage between adolescence and adulthood (Arnett 2000)? Nonetheless, what she says

does raise two factors associated to understanding what an adult is, namely responsibility and age of the person. Adolescents agree and include these definitions, along with other descriptions of it, when they discuss what they think an adult is today in everyday life.

5.3 Adulthood: What is it?

5.3.1 Responsibility

This is actually a very popular response in how adolescent trainees understand adulthood in contemporary life. In fact, responsibility transcends adolescents across other research into perceptions of adulthood also (Hutson & Jenkins 1989; Arnett 2000; Westberg 2004). Four female and two male adolescents in this study include the idea of responsibility in their descriptions of what they think adulthood is. They express this not only in terms of responsibility for themselves but also how it relates to others. For example, A3 says an adult is, "... someone that can sort of lead people and, and confidently and sort of take responsibilities and address them wisely." A6 thinks about it and says, "I don't know. People that have more responsibilities." A7 takes it further and adds, "Not just has responsibility but actually is responsible. Being responsible for things not just for themselves." While A2 believes it is, "Someone who takes responsibility for themselves." A11 Adds and says, "… Someone who takes on a lot of responsibility." With this, she also recognises her own identity as an adult being able to take on more responsibility after her voyage. A13 also describes an adult in relation to it in both terms of the individual and others. She says, "... take responsibility for your actions … Not doing anything stupid that can harm someone else." She continues and says that this is, "Treating everyone as an equal."

5.3.2 Independence and Choice

As well as responsibility, being independent and having choice are also popular characteristics considered by these adolescents as what constitutes an adult. There are three males and two females who express adulthood in these terms. A1 says an adult is, "... being able to make your own choices not having to have someone to feed you the whole way." A4 explains it like this, " I reckon it is being able to be self-motivated and sort of reliant upon yourself rather than someone else all the time ... You have other people there to rely on but you have to look after yourself." A9 says, "You can go out and live your life to the fullest. With not many impacts from other people around them." A12 echoes this saying, "Oh just people who can make their own choices and don't have to ask for assistance unless it is absolutely needed. Just make your own choices and decide you know, having your say and making people listen to you." But A8 also associates this with economic independence. He says, "... I don't know, a person who has their own life and stuff. Have their own car and houses and stuff ... it is like independence … and stuff like that."

The idea of making independent decisions, being financially independent and accepting responsibility is qualities of character associated to adulthood in an individualised life (Arnett 2000). They can also be associated to the confidence underlying success and as such, an individual having a sense of free agency. Subsequently, it can be understood in relation to mastery, competence, positive identity, belonging, caring, connection, and resilience. There is indeed a connection between transition and development from this point of view.

5.3.3 Identity

But is it the age of a person or their identity as one that contributes to what an adult is? According to two male adolescents, it is how you think about yourself,

rather than a person's age, determining adulthood. When A10 ponders this he says, "Yes, that's exactly right. I think we can take it from that. You feel like you're you know mature and grown up then it becomes more adult to you as life becomes more easy as such." A14 also thinks being an adult is part of how you think about yourself. He says, "… older in appearance as well as, like in your mind…" By this he means, "Yeah, you have, you have to be, to be an adult well you could, you can be you know thirty, forty years old but I wouldn't say you are an adult if you're still acting like a kid."

Thus, this also highlights the relevance of habitus in contemporary life thinking and feeling in a certain way (Lehmann 2004). Interestingly, how adolescents describe adulthood so far, having a sense of adulthood is also related to having a sense of confidence; a sense of self underpinning a free agency to not only act independently but to have choice over decisions. But identity can also be considered in relation to how adolescents situate themselves with others. In other words, according to them society can influence how a person identifies as an adult as well.

5.3.4 A Social Definition

For example, as A14 recognises, both individual and legal perspectives can be considered. He says, "Well, there's, an adult would be I'd say someone whose much more mature to make their own decisions for themselves. Legally they are allowed to make their own decisions themselves." A8 also raises the legal aspect of adulthood through being legally sanctioned to purchase and drink alcohol. As he says, an adult is, "A person that can drink." Hence, social structure appears to still influence their perception of adulthood as indicated by legality or their rights as adults to perform certain activities such as drinking alcohol.

Similar to A10 and A14 a person's age is raised in relation to understanding adulthood as well. But in this case, it is as they measure their age against others. There are two adolescents – one female and one male who describe what an adult is in this respect. As A8 says an adult is, "A person who is a bit older than me. (Laughter) ..." A2 agrees and describes it like this, "Well probably just someone that's a bit older than myself. And, like a bit more mature." These adolescents are aged fourteen and fifteen years old, so raises the idea that their age impacts on their identities as adults. However, there are two other fourteen year olds and four other fifteen year olds who do not describe adulthood in this way. Thus, rather than just a person's age, other contributing factors like the experience of the person can also be included to what an adult is.

5.3.5 Experience

In fact, A7 understands adulthood this way. As she says:

... and has some knowledge you know not just an old wise person but you have got common sense. You've lived for you know people say 18 is when officially you become an adult, you have lived through a good while. You have got life experience. I think that is what makes an adult.

The idea of young people's experience contributing to their sense of self is directly linked to this study, essentially because it brings to light relationships between social fields and their personal development. For example, experience occurs in fields of their everyday life like educative institutions, and this experience occurring in fields removed from it such as the Leeuwin II tall ship. Hence, this raises the idea of habitus responding to social fields in and beyond everyday life in similar and different ways. When discussing their reasons for how and why they think their Leeuwin II experience works, will adolescents and the other trainees in this study shed light on this relationship?

5.4 How and Why the Leeuwin II Adventure Works

5.4.1 Responsibility

The first thing that stands out for adolescents is that both females and males indicate an association with being given responsibility contributing to their identity development. This includes their sense of confidence as well as their identities as adults. In the way adolescents describe an adult as one who is more responsible and can take on more responsibility, it certainly makes sense to link their development as adults with the responsibility they experience on board. A3 attributes feeling more like an adult this way and says:

> *... you get more responsibilities and that on the Leeuwin like, even like the anchor watches and that kind of stuff it sort of, if you go on with a not very confident person ... you have got to show them and, and I mean you have got to have all that responsibility of, like the last night I did anchor watch the boat drifted a bit towards the shore and the Captain said if it drifted at all toward the shore you have to wake him, wake her up. So, that was a big responsibility as well.*

A7 puts her view like this "... definitely with responsibility yes. You know with anchor watch if you weren't up there or if you didn't get the next lot out of bed then you had a bit of a responsibility quite a lot of responsibility and though it wasn't like wow this is a big responsibility you have got to do this you just take it on and you do it."

When understanding adulthood in this way, it supports habitus as socialisation and capable of reproduction. It backs up what LW6 says that they crave responsibility in the end. However, being removed from everyday life is not essential to their development because it is possible to replicate their experience

of responsibility for example to reproduce their habitus in social fields like education in their everyday lives. Nonetheless, in the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship, the idea of being given responsibility, does support what many Leeuwin workers believe and that is, that responsibility contributes to trainee's personal development.

So given this rationale, it is not automatic to simply assume that experiencing responsibility on their Leeuwin II voyage as a contrast from their everyday lives is the primary reason as to why and how it works. But when it is understood, as LW 6 says, that it is in so few places that young people are given any responsibility at all, certainly the idea of contrast makes sense as to why some adolescents cite this as a key feature of why and how their Leeuwin II adventure works for them.

Indeed, A5 and A8 consider the taking of responsibility in the way it increased their confidence and ability to work with others respectively. For them, they describe responsibility that comes with running a tall ship. A8 puts it this way:

I think it is, you know it's like, helping to sail a ship and stuff I guess. Just like you get to, just get a job from that you have to sail a ship and you start to like really wake up to it ... like you've got a lot of responsibility to sail a ship.

For A5 he says, "... I guess how to ... basically make sure that everyone is safe and that you get where you need to go." Given these trainees are both male and aged fourteen, when considering their gender and age it is possible there is significance for them that may not be replicated for others. Is experiencing responsibility more relevant for young males? Is it different for females and older trainees? Does it contrast with what they experience in their everyday lives?

In fact, as they continue to discuss how and why they think they experienced increased confidence, they recognise their experience of responsibility contrasting with their everyday lives. As A5 points out, "Most kids don't get to do that sort of thing and the things that we did like adults would do ... like taking over the ship ... yeah just doing things that people like our age wouldn't do every day." A8 puts it like this, "... they give you more responsibility than what they would with a kid."

This contrast also stands out for A13 aged seventeen who has Asperger's syndrome, as she recognises that being away from home is key to her personal development in terms of responsibility. As she says:

I felt more responsible like for the way that I acted. It's, like cause you have been away from home like that far away from home and not being with your parents and that you get, like you do more stuff yourself ... and you learn to take better care of yourself and that.

Thus, because their Leeuwin II experience contrasts with what is lacking in their everyday life, in this instance being given responsibility, for these adolescents specially as it might be emphasised by their experience in accord to their young age and in this case disability, that promotes their personal development, particularly in their increased sense of confidence, can indeed be considered in this light as to why and how their experience works.

One observation when understanding responsibility as contrast is that it is a real experience as opposed to someone superficially playing the game as Bourdieu says. This is something connected to the idea of communitas and is taken up in more detail below.

5.4.2 Workers

Understanding the nature of the field is important also. In other words, the internal process of social fields, wherever they are, and the relationships within them, as Bourdieu recognises, is an important part of understanding the influence on the personal development of young people. For adolescents participating in the Leeuwin II tall ship, this includes their relationship with all on board including the workers. In fact, according to the literature, there is evidence that points to the instructors playing a vital part in participant growth (McKenzie 2000), and adolescents – both female and male - agree with this.

The adolescent participants cite respect, trust, and support from workers contributing to how and why their voyage works. Standing out for A2's feeling more like an adult is because of the way crew/volunteers treated her. As she says, "More, they were more like your friends rather than being like a big authority figure telling you what to do." A11 agrees and says, "… just the way they like treated you and spoke to you and everything it just made you feel like an adult and everything." A8 contributes to this and says part of feeling more like an adult is "… cause they don't, they don't treat you like kids on there. They, they treat you like adults. They treat you like adults when you are on there, yeah." Others like A6 recognise the issue of trust. She understands why and how her Leeuwin II experience worked because crew/volunteers exhibit trust in trainees despite their age. She says, "Yeah ... leaders put a lot of trust in you to do things that, like they don't just say oh no you are too young or … you wouldn't be able to do it, they give you the option to do it."

5.4.3 Support

While this can be understood in terms of adolescents being given responsibility, there is a relationship of support with workers they repeatedly

raise and thus appears important for them as well. Interestingly, this consolidates workers' views of support as adolescents describe the field. For A3 it is contributing to his increase in confidence. As he says:

... like confident that I like even with like the heights and that. I didn't want to do that, climb the mast but I got there and I did it because ... of all the support that you get on the Leeuwin as well and ... just made as you say you feel a lot more confident when you get off there. I reckon ... Ah they treated us like, when you like when we had to ... furl like do plays and that on how to furl and unfurl sails and ... talking in front of people ... I mean all of that is part of the stuff like it just, I was shy to talk in front of people when I first went on there ... they pushed you like pushed you as far as you could go which that is a good thing because you learn your boundaries.

A12 agrees it is the support from workers on board when he talks about how and why he felt a sense of achievement. As he says, "… probably just the sort of … feedback you get from all your permanent crew and the captain and how you … did and what they said to you and how they made you feel what you experienced."

5.4.4 Acceptance

As such, the emphasis is on what you can do and on less about what you can't. As LW9 says, it is based on what you can provide and that makes the support, especially for people who might feel a bit socially awkward, feel a lot more comfortable. It also demonstrates the philosophy of challenge by choice that workers speak about as part of the Leeuwin II environment. This is reflected in A13's comments as she says:

Everyone accepts you for the way you were. They weren't like putting you down, teasing you – like at school I've often been teased and bullied and that

and on the Leeuwin and that, that doesn't happen. You don't get bullied or anything … Yeah and just because everyone was like so, ah, I don't know how to say it, but … just, they welcomed you into everything and you weren't, you didn't feel pressured to do something you didn't want to do.

As indicated in the previous chapter this was raised by the Board member B2 and it is something that stands out for me on my voyage also. Perhaps when framing this in light of disability, what it suggests is that supportive relationships based on inclusion and acceptance as an equal can be considered a powerful enabler. What it does highlight is that the contrast provided by the Leeuwin II experience to everyday life is contributing to this awareness.

But also as a young person, A4 understands being accepted as an important part of how and why her Leeuwin II adventure works, too. Indeed, she is aware of this in light of her life back home as she explains:

Well basically when you go out into society today, like she says with the media and everything, everyone has got their perceptions about you and it is just like you are characterised being one certain person based on your looks, upon what your behaviour and stuff like that and they don't realise there is so much more to you. But when you go on the Leeuwin it is like you are reforming, you are starting anew and you just get accepted because nobody knows anybody and it is like, I don't know how to describe it, just on there people seem to accept other people's faults because they themselves know that they have faults.

Being accepted she explains is an important part of why and how the Leeuwin II field works because "... when you are accepted you are way more confident. You are not as afraid to put yourself out there."

5.4.5 Teamwork

Participating as a team member with the others contributing to the sailing of a tall ship like the Leeuwin II becomes part of the support, too. Simply relating to others on board the Leeuwin II tall ship is inevitable as A1 says, "Well you have to have a team. You can't do it by yourself." Indeed, as LW6 says, "nothing they really do they do on their own".

McKenzie (2003) also recognises the relevance of teamwork. Couching it in terms of a group, she explains the relationships to interacting with other group members, the attitudes of other group members, relying on other group members and taking care of each other. The adolescent participants, base their reasons why and how adventure works on relationships of respect, trust and cooperation with others. A7 puts it like this:

Like the 3 watches together I thought you know my team was the … my watch there was 11 of us. Then as a group, all of us worked kind of under the crew. There is a real hierarchy on ship, it has always been like that so I thought that we worked as a team you know the ship has got to go somehow and I think that is how we did it with all of us working together you know. If it was just our watch then it would be pretty crappie having to do all night watch the whole time and stuff like that.

When understood in terms of a team, these supportive relationships are also associated with developing skills like communication. As A7 puts it:

And with knowing things yes I learnt lots of things and maybe not I don't need to know how to roll a coil properly but, for to survive in an adult world but I do think that learning things of team and communications skills that they don't teach you specifically but you learn that definitely yeah the Leeuwin helped me become like more of yep.

However, rather than identifying teamwork as such, it is understood by the relationships with others that contributes to understanding how and why the Leeuwin II experience works. As well as support, these relationships are also described as cooperative, too. A14 explains:

I would have to say the cooperation of teamwork that really built our skills – we became like, me and my watch, we really became a strong group. It kind of gives you much more people skills because you become really confident talking to complete strangers. And by the end of the boat, you are just friends with everyone. And, yeah, the cooperation really makes the difference.

5.4.6 Equality

Relationships with everyone also sits with how some Leeuwin workers describe Leeuwin II environment as a levelling one where everyone is treated the same; an environment that promotes personal growth and development of new identities based on relationships with all on board. This is something indicated by A9 who believes she feels more like an adult because, "I was the youngest on my voyage and I think just being around other people who were older and some were adults and just seeing the way that they took it and the way that I took it." As she explains, "… they acted with me like I was their age ... And, and I acted with them like I was their age as well." What A9 says again reiterates the importance of social fields on development; like the idea of responsibility, it highlights how habitus can be reproduced in social fields.

5.4.7 Peers

The adolescent participants also identified relationships with their peers as being important. Simply, the physical environment of the Leeuwin II tall ship

encourages these relationships; a place where they have to cope with the elements and connect with and support each other to achieve the goal of sailing the ship. A1 describes it like this:

I think it was all pretty tough and it sort of forced people to get together ... I remember there was that one night where we were all just freezing. It was pouring down with rain and everyone was huddling together that is how cold we were ... That creates changes.

For A7 the supportive relationships meant being part of a group. She explains:

... like you know especially in big groups. If someone else is going on about something deep and meaningful, you feel fine to do that. If you say something you are not sure of or if you want help with something then definitely they'll feel, yeah definitely you feel support and in a group.

5.4.8 Contrast

Clearly, there is a contrast of the relationships within the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship and those in everyday life when understanding how Bourdieu (1990) describes social fields as made up of power struggles based on self-interest and competition. On the Leeuwin II tall ship, rather than overt competition being emphasised, the competition is within the individual with cooperation required among the group members (Hattie et al 1997). This shifts how the game is played from internal competition and self-interest (Bourdieu 1990) to one witnessed by trainees to one of support and trust with everyone working together to sail a tall ship. Indeed, the Leeuwin II dismisses relations based on power struggles for domination over the field and creates no dividing lines distinguishing between those who belong and those who do not, a contrast to how fields are organised in everyday contemporary individualised life.

Supportive relationships on the Leeuwin II are therefore an important part of identity development and contribute to, in many ways as a contrast to their lived experience, explain why some adolescents identify why and how they think it influences their understanding and perceptions. Arguably, it is possible to consider these relationships replicated in everyday life, in social fields like educative institutions for example. But considering the influence of semi-autonomous fields, Bourdieu (1990) describes how social organisation relates in everyday life, particularly when considering it as an indirect or unconscious occurrence the replication is understood as difficult. In other words, the political, economic and media spheres that permeate Australian society make it difficult to provide what the Leeuwin II can in quite the same way being removed from this context. For trainees, this might relate to them sailing without their technology, for example, their iPhones, iPods and lap tops, as B2 and several Leeuwin II workers believe, is a contrast contributing to why and how the program works.

Thus as one of McKenzie's (2003) research participants says, the wilderness simply strips civilisation's artificial things away and as such, suggests the wilderness is a contrast from everyday life contributing to why and how adventure works. However, what is also implicated is that social fields like the Leeuwin II tall ship can be considered as communitas.

5.4.9 Communitas

In communitas, it is not just supporting each other that accompanies working in a team that makes the difference. Rather it is the meaningful engagement and participation of trainees experience in sailing it. Adolescents as they have described, are each valued members of the Leeuwin field; the ship cannot sail without their participation and working with each other. Thus, real participation

and reciprocal relationships are important considerations in understanding why and how adolescents experience personal growth. It promotes connection to others, fostering a sense of community; a sense of belonging that is believed by some as essential for the development of individuals (Lertzman 2002). This is beyond just a sense of community; as A4 explains, "... you would still be getting out and having fun and doing all that. But with the Leeuwin you are in such like short confines with people you really start to see them as more of a family rather than friends." As such the Leeuwin is a place removed from everyday life where, in this instance, trainees recognise and accept differences in each other but also realise they are in many ways the same and they tend to develop special relationships or as Turner (1969) describes, intense comradeship.

Indicators of autonomy such as, independent decisions, of learning individual skills, or of engaging in self-reflection are associated with this development. Stepping out of what they know is an opportunity for them to re-examine and explore their own values (Chapman, McPhee & Proudman 1995); it is seen to fulfil a basic human need that is not often met within today's society (Walsh & Golins 1976). Thus, according to the adolescent participants, the Leeuwin II tall ship as communitas can be considered as contrast when understanding why and how adventure works. As A10 says, "There are lots of different - you know the difference I think was not just the mateship. The, leadership skills you learnt as well as that. Everything combined just made the voyage absolutely fantastic." But it is also as he puts it:

Yes, you put yourself in a situation a lot of the time you wont get to experience anywhere else, like there are not many places you can you know get to climb up the mast and get to do this and that especially if you know a lot about the ship ... and it's just a different view ... on, on life I guess.

Thus what adolescents say contrasts their Leeuwin II experience to their everyday life and supports the idea that habitus being removed from it to a field outside it, like that of communitas can promote feelings of courage and audacity. It can contingently activate individual identity such as a sense of adulthood. Furthermore, it can also initiate and build on a sense of free agency underpinned by a confidence to act in this way as described by these adolescent participants.

As such, it supports the first stage – separation - of the rights of passage to adulthood as being an important part of their identity development. Leeuwin II Board members and workers talk about this in relation to trainees being taken out of their comfort zone. The adolescent participants also understand it in terms of it being a new experience in relation to the people on board, relationships and working together, and the environment itself. As A5 explains, the Leeuwin II tall ship is "... meeting new people ... adapting to an environment that you don't really deal with everyday."

5.4.10 New: Relationships

Interestingly, identifying new relationships as a key indicator of how and why they think their Leeuwin II adventure works is an overwhelmingly female response. Indeed, of the six adolescents who respond in this way, only one male adolescent includes this as his reason.

A4 understands it as being removed from pressures of her everyday life and meeting new people. As she says, "I think it was because of the time I just had exams and everything and I was spending a lot of my time studying whereas it gave me a chance to get out and meet new people and just have fun." She also believes it is being able to form new relationships without your parents. Being separated from them as she says:

I think so because it was a lot about leadership and working within a team so like you still had other people around you but they weren't necessarily your parents. So you got to break away from your parents and make more relationships outside of that bonding.

Other adolescent trainees who believe the building of new relationships is why they experience change include A7. As she says, it is:

Because there were lots of different people. One of the girls is going into year 12 but she is actually doing an apprenticeship and one other guy is doing extremely difficult subjects but I'm ... in the middle of doing, doing well and I have the confidence to know that it will be okay.

For A2 her feeling more like an adult stems from relating to adults on board "... I don't know it just kind of, cause there was adults on there you as like you talk to each and every one, you just felt like a bit more mature and able to talk to older people ... whereas before I was a bit shy." A3 associates the new experience as a kind of holiday and also meeting new people. As he says, "It was like sort of a holiday and I felt more able to like, confront like strangers and talk to them because as you know, well I didn't know anyone on the Leeuwin at all. So yeah and yeah it was just, yeah, like I felt really refreshed when I got off because I met some new people …" A9, also thinks her Leeuwin II experience worked because, "I think just working together with … other people in a completely different environment other than like the school or the home … and doing something that I had never done before. I think that's helped as well." But she continues to add that, it is because "… not knowing many, not knowing like most of the people." Finally, A6 also recognises new relationships as the reasons why and how her Leeuwin II experience works. As she says, "… first we have, like you make friends that you would never have thought of, people coming from everywhere." With further contemplation she adds, "I don't know

it is just people from such different like you have got kids from different like backgrounds."

5.4.11 New: Activities and Challenge

Perhaps described as being on the flip side, of six adolescents who cite experiencing new activities and challenges as to why and how their Leeuwin II experience works, only one female responds this way. While not always referred to as a new experience, male trainees overwhelmingly raise issues of overcoming challenge, a sense of achievement and that it was fun. One-way to understand this is that they are dealing with tasks and novel problems and in this respect, it is something new that can be considered in relation to their development. A2 acknowledges this. He says:

I have never really been on a boat before ... I think I had more confidence cause I was trying such different stuff ... like stuff that I had never done before and then I was able to do it ... And then to go out there, like, change directions of the sails and all that kind of stuff ... it's real like, cause I've never done it before.

And A3 says, "I've achieved things, things that I didn't think I could." And A8 explains it as, "Oh at the start I was like oh crap. But, towards the end it was like, oh yeah, you know, it was pretty fun." The female adolescent, A11 says:

Probably just when I had to climb really high up to the main mast and stuff ... getting up there and just knowing that I can do it and everything ... I was really nervous and I was like, no I'm not going to get up there. Then when I got up there it was relief.

When relating to a sense of adulthood, another male adolescent, A12, thinks why and how he felt more like an adult after his voyage is because, "… yeah it

really had a more bigger understanding of … leadership and, how like, like … I could do more things myself." This he says, "I could make more choices that made me feel a lot more older than I really was." This is also understood in terms of being away from parents as A14 recognises. He expresses this in a way that not only extends to his feeling more like an adult, but also feeling good about what he has achieved.

Interestingly, this ties up with the idea of adulthood being understood in terms of experience. As he says:

You just, you kind of feel a little bit more experienced. Like you come back you just like I've just done almost a whole week on a boat without any parents. I was like you really do feel good about yourself. You do, you do feel older.

5.4.12 A Positive Experience

Thus, the indication appears to be – although not mutually exclusive - females place emphasis on new interpersonal and intrapersonal relationships and males on the new challenge of the environment. Does this suggest that females develop through relationships and males through physical activity - challenge and achievement, which is a contrast to their everyday lives? Whatever the perspective – the people or the environment, their habitus being separated from their everyday lives, their comfort zones, away from the people they know, appears to contribute to their identity development. This is all while feeling safe with both female and male adolescents agreeing their Leeuwin II experience was fun. As many of them say: A2, "... it was lots of fun." A3 says, "... well just great fun all up." A4 puts it like this, "(Laughter) ... it was still fun because you got to challenge yourself against something rough than what a normal voyage would normally be." A5 says, "... it was fun." A6 expresses it

like this, "*...* it was good." A7 says, "Yeah, I had a great time ... it was extremely good and I suggest everyone to do it." A8 concurs by saying, "It's like it feels really good so, if anyone can get a chance to go then (Whistle.) Then they should." A10 says, "I thoroughly, I thoroughly enjoyed it." A13 says, "Oh, it was just so good. I would go on again, again, again and again".

5.4.13 Processing and Reflecting

Finally, another reason the adolescent participants explain as to why and how the Leeuwin II adventure works stems from their processing and reflections of the experience. As indicated previously LW6 believes it is an important part of trainee development because they grow when they think back and recall what they did when they went on their voyage. In essence, she believes that if they could do it on the ship, they can do other things in other parts of their lives like in school or the workforce. She refers to this as a reflective mechanism. It can also be understood as a comparative one. A6 agrees as this is how and why her experience works also. She explains it like this, "*...* if you are faced with like a situation like, it kind of puts more confidence into you because you think oh I can do this or I have done something that is like this".

When discussing adulthood, A10 believes his experience works because he reflects on his time on board as a part of genuinely achieving something, something he takes with him. Interestingly, again this supports the idea of communitas particularly in the way the experience is real. He says:

You know like you go there and you look back on what you have completed, you feel this whole, I can't explain it. It's like you have done something that you are very proud of yourself. You know, it's not like ... not like anyone else must be proud of you, you are proud of what you completed by yourself. It is sort of you know a personal pat on the back as such.

His comments certainly conjure up the idea of him being "inwardly transformed" if not "outwardly changed" (Turner 1992, pp. 48 – 49). He is certainly aware of how his experience on board impacts his everyday life.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

Overwhelmingly, these adolescent trainees expressed that they feel more confident about themselves after their voyage on the Leeuwin II tall ship. This reflects literature that cites a sense of self, of which confidence is a part, as the most common personal development experienced by young people who participate in adventure programs. On the Leeuwin II tall ship, this appears to be regardless of their gender and age. They are more confident to take on challenges and make decisions in their everyday lives. Further, this sense of confidence accompanies their sense of accomplishment, as well as their sense of feeling free. Furthermore, feeling more like adults and their definition of adulthood as being more responsible and independent, feeling free to take control of their lives is an important and relevant development. What they indicate is their habitus is set free to do this. But as they still acknowledge legalities and their age as significant factors, they also consider the social as influencing their negotiation. Perhaps this is evidence of their personal development also, acting responsibly in an individualised society?

Indeed, responsibility is a reoccurring theme the adolescent participants raise in relation to them developing as adults and building their sense of confidence. In fact, they indicate that being given responsibility translates into them acting responsibly. Relationships based on teamwork, trust, respect, cooperation, acceptance, equality, and support contributing to their transformation. The question still not yet adequately answered is that would habitus respond the

same way if they were given more responsibility in their lives back home? Perhaps post adolescents will answer this in the next chapter?

Habitus being removed from what and who they know in their everyday lives to return back home does appear to be another part of it and highlights the role of communitas in their development. The suggestion is that overcoming challenge, gaining a sense of achievement and widening points of views by meeting and connecting to new people, and having a real experience in a new environment allows habitus to free itself and have control over actions. Regardless of personality type – being shy or outgoing – this is true for either adolescent trainee.

It is interesting that the responses of these participants experience of how they were treated by crew and volunteers on board the Leeuwin II is an androgynous one in that they perceive they are all treated the same, there are clear differences in gender perceptions. That is, females tend to consider new relationships being important while for males it is new activity they understand as to how and why their adventure on board works. This raises the debate surrounding it being a lingering sign of their habitus being determined by past experience, their socialisation or is it an innate quality of the different sexes? There are differing views according to the literature (for example, Hattie et al 1997, Culp 1998 & Humberstone 2000). In fact, this discourse reflects an on going conundrum of a nature – nurture debate, but one not being taken up in this book. Whatever the answer, the view being portrayed by the adolescent participants is that they have experienced personal development such as feeling more confident and more like an adult.

With curiosity aroused, wondering what themes will emerge from older trainees and if what they say will shed more light on what the adolescent participants raise, I now turn to the next chapter – the category of post adolescents.

Chapter 6

Category Two –
Post Adolescents

6.1 Preamble

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of category 'Post Adolescents'; a group of six trainees aged eighteen years of age through to their twenties. To protect their identity and ensure their anonymity, they are coded from P1 to P6. Similar to the group of adolescents, gender is evenly distributed across this group – three females and three males - with some irregularity when gender is distributed between the ages of the trainees. However, there are a reduced number of trainees compared to adolescents who volunteer to take part in the research. It is possible this reflects the reduced number of older trainees in comparison to the number of younger ones who sail. Post adolescents are made up of one eighteen year old – P4 male, one nineteen year old – P1 male, one twenty year old – P6 female, one twenty-two year old – P3 female, and two twenty-four year olds – P2 female and P5 male. All post adolescent trainees sailed as individuals and not as part of a school or organisation. P1 indicated knowing a Leeuwin volunteer, and this is actually the reason why he sailed. On his voyage, he considers himself on his own though as he reveals he sailed with others from a school he did not know. P2 sailed with work colleagues but did not know them. P3 sailed with two other girls who were sponsored by girl guides but she did not meet them until catching the flight together to Exmouth where they boarded the Leeuwin II ship. P5 also sailed with a sponsorship but did not know anyone else. According to these trainees, their voyages ranged from seven to nine days. Finally, none of them indicated how they felt prior to their voyage except P2 who expressed initial nervousness but excitement about the opportunity to be in the outdoors.

6.2 Personal Development

6.2.1 Sense of Self: Confidence

There are similarities and differences between adolescents and post adolescents when these trainees describe how they felt about themselves after their voyage. Similar to adolescents, the literature and what Leeuwin workers believe, is their reference to feeling confident about themselves. As P1 explains, "Ah, I would have to say, not wanting to sound cliché or tacky, but I did definitely have a great more confidence …" For P3, after thinking about it, she says, "… it is quite sort of yeah, confidence boosting and very enjoyable." For P6 she says:

… as far as, a bit more confident sort of in work and that. A week isn't much time to start learning all the lines that are on there and different sails and how to set them and what the procedure is, but when you start towards the end going, that someone yells out a command and you know what to do … yeah, yeah… well you go, well I didn't expect that I would learn that this quickly.

In everyday life, this feeling of confidence continues for P1 who says:

… just cause of, like what you have just done you just feel really good about yourself and, I like I just couldn't stop smiling and I got off and it was you know, great, you know went back to work with a lot more confidence.

When P6 thinks about her life back home, she also believes her voyage has given her more confidence to do things. She explains it like this:

I think it has, in the fact that you know, you have so much stuff to do in such short time that if I had a reasonable amount of, things I had to do I

think I would have better time management and stuff for, you know a bit more confidence in knowing that I can get it done so that will help me stress out a little bit less from it.

It is interesting P6 raises stress in her life. Together with the female adolescents' reference to it, her comment contributes to the idea that females' lives are sprinkled with more ambiguity and contradiction (Van Newkirk 2006) than males in contemporary life. While this is something that continues to contribute to this way of thinking, what she conveys very well, from her experience on the Leeuwin II, is an image of having more control over her life, having more confidence to organise it for example, and as such, contributing to her sense of free agency enabling success in it as well.

6.2.2 Sense of Self: Accomplishment

Another response that is similar to the adolescent participants is having a sense of accomplishment when initially returning after their voyage. Like P2 who says, "Probably that I could accomplish more things that I didn't think I could have." But different to the adolescent participants' responses she also considers this in terms of, while she was accomplishing, she was setting examples and helping others to do the same. She explains it like this, "And yeah I mean, and it helped being a role model, too that, if I did certain things then it gave a bit of encouragement to the younger people in my group that they could actually do it as well." What she says can also be interpreted as being a role model associated with leadership.

6.2.3 Leadership

This is the same for P4 who actually identifies feeling more like a leader. Apart from A5 who associates leadership with having more confidence, it is something

that while the literature refers to it as a developmental outcome (see for example, Garst, Scheider & Baker 2001; Hobbs & Spencer 2002; Park 2004; Paisley et al 2008), the adolescent participants did not directly refer to it as something they felt about themselves once they finished their voyage. As he says:

I think the major thing I felt from it was I'm not usually like a leading kind of person. Like during the voyage I was kind of, like what they call a trainee watch leader … so in a sense it like made me teach the people that were like new and that kind of thing.

So for P4, being eighteen years old, he was given a role of authority, responsibility and leadership on his voyage. Back at home, he also discusses this sense of leadership. As he says:

Yeah, I guess it gave me a like an experience of leading people the same age I guess … Yeah cause … I am not used to doing it but from the experience like without knowing the other age sort of thing I was, you know, like just kind of stepped up sort of thing so yeah.

But when asked if this meant he felt more like a leader back at home, after thinking about it, he explains it is more an awareness that he is capable of leadership. As he explains:

… I wouldn't put it that way … I just realise that normally I like to observe rather than lead that is like my personality sort of thing. But like, by going through it, it kind of gave me a taste of being a leader and like in a sense, how teaching people can really be you know quite interesting.

Still, while not being able to think of an experience to share how this has changed or made a difference to his life, he agrees that it has, "I guess so, yeah in a sense."

6.2.4 Awakening Identity

Although there are only a small number of post adolescent participants, one notable difference about their development from the responses of adolescent participants is, it is often understood in relation to the younger trainees. Thus unlike the adolescent participants who describe their development in terms of being treated equally on board, particularly in reference to Leeuwin II workers, post adolescents, both female and male, recognise their older age and experience in relation to an awakening of their identity. This awareness and subsequent strengthening of self is described by P3 when she says, "… it certainly made me more aware of how I get, of how I guess, interact with other people."

P5, who sailed at the age of twenty-four, also contributes to this discourse. According to him, when asked him if he felt different about himself after his voyage he initially indicates he didn't. As he says, "If I was younger definitely." But this is because being older means for him, having life experience like, "Since I've graduated from high school I've done quite a bit of travel and teaching roles at Murdoch University." In this way, age relates to his experience and identity development. It supports A7s idea of experience being bound with what it means to be an adult as indicated in the previous chapter. But with further consideration, P5 agrees that his experience on board did change him in some way. He says, "… it had less an effect but it still changed me yes, yes." This is as he says, still in relation to how he identifies himself with the young trainees, "… well considering I was about ten years older than everyone else on board, I felt a lot older."

In essence, this illustrates that rather than initiation to adulthood as the adolescent participants experience, their identity as older individuals is being awakened and strengthened. Thus, this suggests that they already identify as older individuals, something that has occurred in their everyday lives before

their voyage but they are not necessarily aware of, and as such, they relate an awareness of this in their response to how they felt about themselves post voyage. This awareness of self is a sentiment conveyed by other post adolescents also and is continued when they specifically discuss their voyage and its impact on their sense of adulthood.

6.2.5 Sense of Self: Adulthood

It is not surprising most post adolescent participants differ to adolescent participants when discussing their feeling more like an adult after their voyage. Not differentiated by gender, they overwhelmingly indicate they already considered themselves an adult before they sailed. For example, when asked if he felt more like an adult when he finished his voyage P5's response was, "… well not really because I feel I was an adult when I went on the voyage." P1 responds similarly saying, "… I am not sure. I wouldn't say that for me. I think maybe for the young kids … 17 years that would definitely feel that, that 16 you know, these guys still in high school but yeah, for me it didn't really have, I don't know, a bearing on that."

There are some other thoughts expressed around this theme also. For P2, while she considered herself an adult before her voyage, her voyage became more a realisation rather than a change in herself as she related with the younger trainees. As she explains:

Yeah, I did. But I never really had thought about it from that point of view. Like I still felt young … It wasn't until I saw myself through the young kids' eyes that I went oh hang on, no I am not young to them … Oh I always thought that, where I work I am young for my work environment so I thought I was quite young … and then I went on the Leeuwin and I felt like the old person … so, it was pretty interesting. I guess, yeah there were

people asking me and that's how it is to be in the workforce and I haven't really been around fifteen year olds since I was fifteen. Yeah, it was a bit interesting. It did make me feel older against, more like an adult I guess. That you realise that you've grown into being older.

P3 also takes up the idea of adulthood being considered in relation to the younger trainees. She agrees with the others that her experience on board did not change her identity as an adult. Rather, she was able to observe the interactions between the younger and older trainees. As she says:

I'm not sure that it affected how I felt as an adult so much ... The thing that was really actually quite interesting was, the way that the Year tens interacted with the adults. They saw the three of us who were sponsored by Guides we were, 17, 19 and 22 that they saw us all three of us as adults ... which was, quite funny for us. And that, the way that everyone interacted was just really quite interesting because I think it is the first, one of the first experiences that they'd had where there were adults in their team but who were you know as, uneducated about them as how the ship works and that sort of thing. So that everyone just worked on the same level ... For young people, I think it would have really brought home to them that you know, adults, I mean they are not necessarily that different. They just feel that they were able to work on an equal footing with adults ... I think, the adults, the older adults, which there were a few older adults, I think quite enjoyed being able to yeah interact sort of on an equal level with some of the kids. Have fun with them ...

So while identifying the Leeuwin II environment as one of a levelling experience, she still identifies it in recognition of an adult relating to the younger trainees.

P6 also does not think her voyage contributed to her becoming an adult. She says, "… that's a hard call, given that sort of I've already been working full time and living out of home and all that sort of stuff that I sort of felt like I have made that transition beforehand." Thus while she links her transition to adulthood with her life experience, she also, like P5, thinks that she did grow as an adult after her voyage in what she did and how she related to the others. As she says, "… it does help to sort of knowing about, you know self-sufficiency and stuff like that. I suppose it also helped a little bit in helping others so making you feel a little bit more mature in that you can help someone else if they needed it".

6.2.6 Post Adolescents or Resisting Adulthood

There is one exception to the post adolescent participants feeling like an adult before and after their voyage. This is expressed by the youngest one, P4, aged eighteen years old, who says he doesn't believe or want to feel more, like an adult. So when asked if he felt more like an adult after his voyage he responds, "… not exactly no. I think, I like being a kid (Laughter). " But he continues to say that, "I guess it has given me like, like for example if I had to be serious or if I suddenly was put in the situation where I had to be like an adult and actually lead a group of people, I think I would be more capable of doing that."

Put simply, this can be understood as similar to the views of the adolescent participants, as he recognises a change in himself. But despite this, he openly resists taking on an identity as an adult. Interestingly, this resistance is something he also indicates when asked about his feeling like a leader after his voyage. His response definitely differs to A7's indecisiveness about her sense of adulthood also, P4 is very clear in his way of thinking. Therefore,

understanding his perspective might possibly reflect his freedom to choose his own identity.

There are many ways this can be understood though. Given his age, P4's resistance to identifying as an adult might be considered in relation to his lack of life experience. This is similar to what P5 and P6 describe as contributing to their identity as an adult. Some might explain this occurring as a result of avoidance; behaviour that can be associated with young people distancing themselves from a reality that they experience as objective. It is also not unreasonable to understand his attitude and behaviour in terms of risk. Permeating contemporary life, the idea of risk can render individuals incapable of action (Beck 1994). When I recall the words of the Program Coordinator as she read out the reading on risk to us all as we sailed on board the Leeuwin II tall ship, it is easy to understand how it can be associated to young people's identity development. Still there is another way of understanding P4's response, and that is, that he has a sense of control, therefore indicating confidence over his life choices. From this perspective it does contribute to the idea of a new and distinct life-stage between adolescence and adulthood; a stage where he is exploring different aspects of life possibilities as Arnett (2000) describes as emerging adults do in love, work and worldviews.

However, rather than referring to this life stage as emerging adulthood, as Arnett (1998, 2000) does, P4's response and the discourse of the adolescent participants can be considered as challenging the assumption that there is an automatic progression to adulthood for everyone. For as A14 points out, "an adult can be, thirty forty years old but you are not an adult if you're still acting like a kid." Instead, what P4 does indicate is a shift from adolescent to post adolescent where he considers a new role more associated with adulthood if put in particular situations. As such, his response reflects the idea that today identity

is more often than not the outcome of his own efforts left to him to worry about (Bauman 2005). Further, in this individualised society that espouses self-responsibility (Beck & Beck-Germsheim 2002), what he says certainly highlights how adulthood needs to be understood rather than just simply accepting it (Willmott & Nelson 2005).

6.3 An Adult: What is it?

6.3.1 Responsibility

The post adolescent participants think in very similar ways with the adolescent participants and others cited in the literature (Hutson and Jenkins 1989; Arnett 2000; Westberg 2004) about what they consider an adult is. They both for example commonly turn to the idea of responsibility being a key part. In fact, every post adolescent participant in his or her response takes this up in some way. However, there are some variations to this idea also. Similar to the adolescent participants, they agree that an adult is associated with independence and one's actions. As P2 says, "… I think once a kid kind of moves out of home or takes on responsibility of a job or, really I think it is about becoming responsible for your own actions that when you become an adult." P1 agrees saying, "I would define it as being independent … responsible for your own actions."

6.3.2 Consequence

The difference is that the post adolescent participants, interestingly two female ones; include the idea of consequence of one's action along with responsibility. P6 explains it this way:

… I think it's when you have reached a level of self-sufficiency. So whether, how you prove that, is obviously an individual's circumstance but, whether

it is being able to financially support yourself or, just being able to take responsibility for your own actions and knowing the consequences. So, sort of having that foresight as well. Just having that sort of maturity level to know what is going to happen with the action you choose and then choosing the most appropriate one through that.

P3 also agrees with consequence and responsibility being part of what an adult is. She says making your own choices and your actions as an adult are, "being responsible for the consequences".

Thus, including consequence with what the post adolescent participants say about responsibility and what they think adulthood is differs from the adolescent participant responses. Apart from A 14 who indicated being aware of consequences as part of his personal growth after his voyage, that is, he felt more control over his actions and aware that what he does is accompanied by consequences. Other adolescent participants did not refer to it in what they think an adult is. What is interesting from the post adolescent participants including this in how adulthood is understood is that now A 14, a fifteen-year old male, considering consequences can be understood in terms of him gaining maturity. Moreover, as he identifies it associated to his action, it also suggests adults can be understood as having certain control over the decisions they make in their lives and as such, raises the value of their sense of confidence underlying their action and therefore their agency.

However, even though the post adolescent participants include consequence in their discussion of it, raising responsibility in relation to what they think an adult is, in essence the post adolescent and adolescent participants agree with each other. Indeed, what they all raise fits well in the contemporary individualistic society where it is increasingly recognised as them acquiring a subjective sense of adulthood. That is, it comes from an individualistic quality

of character, such as accepting responsibility of oneself and making independent decisions (Shanahan 2000). But still the idea of responsibility can also be considered in relation to others. It is something A13 described well when she said, "Not doing anything stupid that can harm someone else." Not only does this convey the idea of responsibility in how to understand what an adult is, it widens the lens to view others in how adulthood can be understood. As the adolescent and post adolescent participants indicate, it is a combination of the individual within society that contributes to what they believe an adult is.

6.3.3 A Social Definition

Part of this definition relates to a legal perspective. Like P5 who says, "… well legally they're above eighteen … but how do you define it? There are subtle differences between adolescents and adults. It is more the way they look toward their outlook in the more maturity." For him an outlook means, "Looking out for others … besides yourself. Trying, doing what needs to be done whether or not it is fun or not." When asked if he thinks this is a part of being responsible he replied, "yep, that would be the word", but he continues and adds an adult is, "… if possible considerate and kind. And I guess more mature".

This places his definition of what an adult is in the realms of the social not only in relation to its rules and regulations but in how he believes adults should act in their daily interactions with others. As such, his perspective on these interactions is an interesting viewpoint, particularly when contextualising it in the way Bourdieu (1993) describes an individualised society such as Australia. According to him, in it individuals relate to each other in terms of competition and self-interest. This means the internal processes within social fields bind identities to emerge through combination and intersection with other identities

(Bourdieu 1990). Or in terms of habitus, it is understood as a reproduction through the conditions of these fields that confront it, and the practices it generates (Meisenhelder 2006). Thus it makes sense that an adult would be understood in terms of an individualistic quality of character in the way that Bourdieu describes. But because P5's response is after his voyage on the Leeuwin II tall ship, while being aware this has not been explored with him so cannot really be assumed, it is not unreasonable to consider his relationships with others on board to have influenced the way he interprets what it means to be an adult.

This entails his experiences on board being likened to the idea of communitas, those social fields that are removed from everyday life. Being between their usual social roles and norms of thought and behaviour (Turner 1967, p. 93; 1969, p. 95; 1992, p. 132), these fields clearly differentiate the norms from those of the social structure that shape their everyday lives. As such, what happens is, as Turner (1969, pp. 97) describes, they promote a sense of "the generic human bond" - "a strong sentiment of human kindness." Thus it is possible to understand his idea of what an adult is, with the reproduction of his habitus, through the conditions, namely the supportive relationships of the Leeuwin II tall ship as communitas as being considerate and kind. But perhaps more importantly, his idea of what an adult is, also demonstrates how his habitus is set free from the norms of everyday life; a life based on competition and self-interest. Indeed, from this understanding, the way P5 thinks about what it means to be an adult it is not unreasonable to consider if he is liberated from the conformities of everyday life (Turner 1974).

Understanding what an adult is from a social perspective is also understood in other ways by the post adolescent participants. Similar to the adolescent participants this is bound with ideas of the individual in interaction with the

social structure and that actual age is not a key factor for adulthood. P3 articulates this as she says:

At first there are different levels of how an adult is viewed. For a start, you know a very basic level it's somebody over 18 ... And within those people, you've got those people who act like adults and people who don't act like adults. People with a bit of, maturity and sort of common sense, that sort of thing which is almost, well mainly it's contributed to adults ... That it is not easily defined by age ...or in a legal sense ... I guess it is about having, a much kind of independence, responsibility...

She continues and thinks it is in relation to others: how people treat you and how you consider yourself with different people. She says:

But also, it's in, in relation to other people that you know, so. Unless, and something I find as a Guide leader, having so much interaction with kids makes you see yourself almost as they do as more of an adult than when I am with my friends or whatever, we're on the same age group ... You can't, or really believe we are actually adults ... So I think it depends a lot on who you interact with ... also how other people see you.

Subsequently, when understanding P3 measures her sense of adulthood by others it points to the importance of, as Bourdieu (1993) points out, how social fields can play an important part in identity development. This is true in relation to young people's identity as adults, but can also be equally understood to include developing their confidence in themselves, too. In fact, the influence of social fields in their everyday life on their identity as adults is supported by most of the post adolescent participants who already consider themselves adults prior to their voyage.

However, understanding that for some of them their voyage acted as an awakening or a realisation to their identity as an adult rather than initiation to it has certain implications. Indeed, when understanding post adolescent participants like P3 recognises her sense of adulthood against the younger trainees on board, this suggests her everyday life has not really invoked the intense transitional experience of being revitalised or what Turner (1992) describes as, "inwardly transformed and outwardly changed" (Turner 1992, pp. 48 – 49). Thus, it can be understood habitus responds differently to experience like responsibility for example in everyday life different from it in fields such as the Leeuwin II tall ship as communitas. But whatever the relationship, experience is indeed an important part of young people's development and the post adolescent participants, similar to the adolescent participants, identify it with what they think it means to be an adult.

6.3.4 Experience

Experience is indeed associated with how adulthood is understood by P4 and A7. Given their ages are sixteen and eighteen years of age respectively, is this reflective of them being post adolescents? Is the idea of experience important to them because they are themselves considering their life experience that has not yet seen them as adults? For P4, an adult is wrapped up with experience he identifies as responsibility. As he explains, "I guess being like, for me, it's probably being responsible, that's the first thing." He continues to include the idea of experience and says:

… like observing the environment that you are in and like acting accordingly, I guess. Like and one of the main things is probably like having like because you being an adult you probably have more experience for you to be able to predict what would happen. From that, you would like

act accordingly and help others to prevent for example accidents and such just because you know or you kind of have experience of what might happen.

Thus when understanding that post adolescent participants, except for P4, consider themselves already an adult before sailing on the Leeuwin II tall ship, it indeed reiterates the importance of social fields on their identity development, particularly in the way that experience in their everyday lives can be understood as having provided them personal development as an adult. But this is even while, like P6 points out, they are not always aware of it. For Bourdieu, this can be understood as a subconscious nature of habitus – as he says, "a modus operandi of which he or she is not the producer and has no conscious mastery" (Bourdieu 1977, p. 79). From this perspective, when development occurs in their every day lives without them having an awareness of it, it is indeed plausible to consider it part of the reason why habitus does not respond in quite the same way when experiencing a rite of passage or being removed to a social field like communitas where personal transformation as initiation occurs.

It will be very interesting to learn what post adolescent participants say about why and how they think their Leeuwin II experience works for them. Given their personal development is more often relating to their sense of self like that of confidence, will they link their development to their habitus being removed from their everyday lives in order for it to be set free? Will they suggest the contrast and their experience, being a new one, as contributing to their development? Will they implicate communitas in why and how they think their Leeuwin II experience works even though they already indicate an awareness of their adulthood before they sailed? Will communitas be implicated to their sense of confidence? Indeed, will they relate experience and responsibility to

their identity development that their discourse suggests so far in their personal development?

6.4 How and Why the Leeuwin II Adventure Works

6.4.1 Contrast and Responsibility

Surprisingly the first thing that is apparent about why and how post adolescent participants believe their Leeuwin II experience works, unlike adolescent participants, is their lack of reference to responsibility relating to it. Given many of them identify as adults before their voyage, it is possible this contributes to the value of contrast for personal development. That is, as adults, and according to their definition in relation to responsibility, it is possible they experience responsibility in their everyday lives so it does not stand out to them as a new experience that makes a difference. But for those who are not aware of their adult identities before they sail, it does support their recognition of responsibility. When P6 considers how and why her adventure works for her in the way it increased her sense of maturity, she sees it specifically in regards to her relationship with the younger trainees. Essentially P6 sees herself in a position of responsibility, interacting and helping them. As she says, "Yeah. Just being able to offer help. You know when you are younger you can't necessarily do what when you are older what you can do."

Similarly, through interpretation, in many ways, post adolescent participants are placed in a position of responsibility that can be understood to impact on their personal development in different ways.

6.4.2 Leadership and Responsibility

For example, when understanding leadership, as Paisley et al (2008) explain, is associated with a variety of interpretations like taking on responsibility, initiative, and decision-making roles, it is not unreasonable that post adolescent participants, like responsibility, do not recognise leadership as to how and why they think their Leeuwin II adventure works for them because they have already experienced it in their everyday lives. However, given P4 is the only post adolescent who does not consider himself an adult before his voyage, being placed in a leadership role certainly can be understood as a new experience for him that contrasts with his everyday life and therefore stands out for him. As he says:

I think it is the fact that they put me as a what they call a training watch leader. So I was basically in charge or second in charge of the group … So normally I wouldn't step up to such a, such a position I guess. I would more likely be the person to sit back and kind of watch and help when I need to …

For him this was not a choice as he explains:

I was surprised I guess cause like I was just thrown on there without much notice cause, I wasn't, originally I wasn't supposed to be on that voyage. To them I just kind of appeared in Albany on that day when they were just about to leave. And I just asking them about an extra spot and they said yeah, just jump on and so it was all of a surprise I guess … They didn't actually know that I had never done a voyage before. Um, which is what you are supposed to do before you become a trainee watch leader … because the first mate thought I had experience before which I don't. And so I kind of just served into this position without you know knowing … things like that yeah.

Subsequently, although he does not directly refer to it, what he describes can be associated with being placed in a position of responsibility that has made the difference for him. In one way, it demonstrates trust by the Leeuwin II workers in him to do this and highlights the importance of the relationships within social fields and the influence of them on young people's personal development. But what he is saying also has certain value in understanding the nature of habitus. Again, similar to adolescent participant experiences it suggests habitus is capable of reproduction, supporting, as Flurie (2003) exemplifies, the idea of it as a method of leadership development among young people.

Still, coupled with the literature, Leeuwin workers and adolescent participants, what Flurie says has certain significance toward contrast as to why and how their Leeuwin II experience works. In other words, it continues to strengthen the way contrast can be understood to contribute to awareness of personal change, something post adolescent participants demonstrate does not always occur along with their development to adulthood in their everyday lives. Thus, being taken out of their comfort zone, as Leeuwin II workers often put it, away from their everyday life to a place on board the Leeuwin II tall ship appears to create a contrast that contributes to these trainees' personal development.

6.4.3 Processing and Reflecting

Interestingly, while the discussion highlights how post adolescent participants' voyage on the Leeuwin II tall ship indicates a realisation and awareness of their self as adults, particularly as they regard themselves in relation to the younger trainees, this realisation is also recognised by them when they specifically discuss their voyage and its impact on their sense of self. Or more specifically, to why and how they think their Leeuwin II experience works in relation to their sense of achievement and confidence. Two post adolescent participants, P2 and

P1, explain this in terms of their relationship with the younger trainees as well as the challenges that come with the Leeuwin II environment. Given they are female and male respectively, their focus continues the trend according to gender provided by adolescent participants. That is, females identify with relationships and males with activity when explaining why and how they think their Leeuwin II experience works.

For P2, it is her sense of achievement that is realised after reflecting on it in relation to the younger trainees. As she says:

I got a sense of achievement cause you just go through like kind of, you do Uni or High school and then Uni and then you get into the workforce and, I guess you don't really reflect on where you, the point you have got until someone sees it? ... So when the kids were asking me oh how did you go to Uni and what did you do and why did you do this and how did you get the job? I guess that was the thing where you go oh yeah I guess I have done all that and they still have all that to come ... so it is interesting that, you know, and it was really nice, some of them were actually considering, oh well maybe, it gave them vision ... some of them thought, maybe I don't have to work in whatever for the rest of my life, maybe I could go to Perth ... You know and that is a fairly big step to them.

What she describes links her sense of accomplishment with an awareness of her influencing the younger trainees that might be described as one of being a mentor. In essence, she sees herself as enabling these young people freedom to choose, to initiate their sense of agency. It certainly can be understood as a position of responsibility that in turn contributes to reinforcing her identity as an adult.

For P1 his reflection is more of an individual nature. Like A6, this is understood in terms of how she believes she achieved an increased level of confidence – as she puts it, "Because you think I can do this, or I have done something that is like this".

As well as confidence though, P1 also describes it with responsibility, challenge and awareness of his capabilities. Similar to the experience of P4, he explains:

I think it is, the way I spoke before about how they throw you in the deep end? You just, you are not, I wasn't expected to be worked as hard as I was and I realise, made me realise what you are capable of ... what you can do and it's a, you know coming back from that you look back at it and you think well if I can do this, you know I can do anything.

It is a challenge he considers as advantageous for all and says, "… you challenge yourself and yes, I recommend that."

While not much is known about processing or reflecting (McKenzie 2000), what post adolescent participants say highlights the importance of it, particularly when understanding their perceptions contribute most to personal development (Conrad & Hedin 1982). In essence, processing and reflecting upon their experience allows them to step back and, in a sense have the impression, mainly illusory, that they are master of their world (Hopkins 1993). Underpinning this is having the confidence to choose, having control over their life and as such, habitus being set free. It clearly points to the importance of them to think and feel in this way (Lehmann 2004) to enable their success in contemporary milieu.

P1 exemplifies the relevance of this when he describes how he felt after he had just received a letter he wrote to himself while on board. This was six

months after he returned back home and as he told me, it is something Leeuwin II does with all trainees. Receiving this letter has special significance for him, as he explains:

That was really, that kind of you know renewed that feeling of confidence because of the things I had written to myself ... reminded me of the voyage and that was a really good thing that they do ... Yep. It is really boosted my confidence you know. So you know, it just stipulated, just walked off you know, that feeling that feeling I can do anything. Yeah so, that is a really nice touch.

Like many of the adolescent participants, he agrees that this is tied up with him feeling happy, too.

Moreover, according to the discourse of post adolescent participants, processing and reflecting can also be associated with the way they have become aware of their adulthood. Again, this means that what was once subconscious, their unrealised sense of adulthood that has manifested in them in their everyday lives for example, has now become a part of these trainees' consciousness because of their voyage. As such, the idea of processing and reflecting not only becomes a reason how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works for younger trainees aged in their teens, it can indeed be considered an important part of personal development for older trainees who are aged through to their twenties also.

6.4.4 Teamwork and Challenge

Similar to adolescent participants, the idea of teamwork and challenge continue to be part of understanding why and how post adolescent participants think their Leeuwin II voyage works. Given there is only one post adolescent

indicating these reasons, there is no gender differentiation. For P2, her Leeuwin II experience works because as she says it is, "Possibly the team work because that helped me coming back into the office." But she continues and adds a similar view to P 1 who recognises challenge as part of his development as she says, "… but from a personal point of view more the climbing the mast and different things like that. Self challenges were really good."

6.4.5 A New Experience

Still another similarity between adolescent and post adolescent participants is their citing of the experience as being new. What they say strengthens the idea of contrast and habitus being removed from everyday life contributing to how and why the Leeuwin II tall ship adventure works. This includes them citing new relationships as well as a new environment. Two post adolescent participants, P6 female and P5 male, provide these explanations. First P6 says:

I think it was being so far out of my comfort zone. I wouldn't normally be a sort of person who'd jump on a ship … so … yeah just being so out of it and really have no clue what was going on … All new people obviously is always an influence, too.

So for P6 it is the new environment and the new people that are the reason why and how her Leeuwin II experience works. P5 agrees but rather than including new people, he only focuses on the environment. As he says:

I think it was because it is such a different environment. That while you readjust to that, and while I was readjusting to the environment that they … all the teachings they threw in got, went through as well … I think it is adjusting to a new environment with … and ah, all those activities that are to try and teach you leadership skills.

When asked if he understood this in terms of a sense of achievement he replied, "A sense of achievement yes … but I think mainly the new and unique environment of the ship."

While P6 includes the Leeuwin II environment as part of her explanation, her reference to relationships again indicates the relevance of these for females. Likewise, P5's comments only relating to the new environment contributes to the idea that males tend to focus on this rather than relationships with others. Even though this group of post-adolescent participants is a small one, it is possible a gender difference between relationships and activity exists. This will be explored further in the next chapter when analysing the group of past trainees. Nevertheless, what P5 describes here certainly is in contrast to his everyday life; it is indeed a new experience and nothing he has previously experienced. As he says, "… no. I haven't been on a ship before".

Interestingly, during his interview, P5 thinks about why the Leeuwin II adventure works for young people because it is a new experience. Relating to his own life experience and how he developed from it, he explained how he travelled overseas on his own to different countries several times, and that is what he believes helped him build his confidence. As he says, "The Leeuwin teaches you a lot of those things in a short space of time … in the things I have done since graduating High school, I've done quite a lot of things that try to develop those skills as well."

This suggests that what young people experience on the Leeuwin II tall ship intensifies their experiences and therefore hastens or indeed initiates the transition. This concurs with LW1 who also recognises this intensity as a catalyst for change. Like she says, "If the ingredients are present in a person to grow then it's going to be speeded up being in the intense environment that is created on the ship".

Not only does this capture the idea that one's individual identity can be 'contingently activated' in a context (Brubaker and Cooper (2000), it also supports that rather than age, it is experience like responsibility that makes the difference for young people's transition. Hence, for those who have not experienced responsibility that is associated to adulthood in everyday life, explains why those who are aged thirty or forty years old as A14 says, are not necessarily adults. But what P5 describes goes further; it promotes the importance of not only a new experience like responsibility contributing to young people's identity development, something that occurs but can be elongated in everyday life, it includes the experience beyond everyday life effectively speeding it up. For this reason, similar to Adolescents, communitas is implicated in their development in regard to some trainee's initiation to adulthood and in initiating and/or building their confidence, too.

6.4.6 Communitas

For several reasons, P3 describes what can be identified as the Leeuwin II tall ship as communitas when she discusses how and why she thinks her Leeuwin II experience works. First, her description of her voyage well demonstrates the intensity associated to it (Turner 1969). As she says:

Well, I think part of it is having everyone living together in such close conditions ... which sort of adjusts the, effects the way that you interact with the, that also, the fact that there's a powerful sense of actually, working together and getting results which is having the ship sailing and that sort of thing.

Working together and sailing this vessel also means it is a real experience. This is indeed an important characteristic of the Leeuwin II tall ship as communitas. It certainly makes sense that it means much more when they are

not simply participating in a simulation or role-play. In other words, on the Leeuwin II tall ship trainees experience responsibility because it is a "spontaneously generated relationship between levelled and equal … human beings, felt … beyond playacting" (Turner 1992, pp. 135 - 136).

P3 also includes the environment and feeling connected with it in her explanation of why and how her experience on board works. As she describes:

But I also just, I mean and we had absolutely stunning weather on our voyage but, just being outside you know, you are in the middle of the ocean. Nights were clear so there were just stars from one horizon to another and they were all reflected in the water because it was so calm. Certainly, the incredible, outdoors physical aspect of it was fantastic.

I also felt this connectedness to nature, something I describe several times on my voyage as being connected to the universe. When he talks about the Singaporean trainees and how they reacted to the environment sitting on the beach at Esperance, LW12 describes it well also. Thus, what P3 says is well supported. In fact, it promotes an understanding that the wilderness provides an experience of physical as well as a symbolic journey through a region (of both the mind and earth) (Turner 1969). It is a situation that again promotes habitus being removed from their everyday lives to a place of communitas to experience contrast and more contributing to young people's personal growth; growth that is readily recognised by them rather than a subconscious development they commonly portray as happening in their everyday lives.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

While the post adolescent participants are a small group, they add significantly to this discourse. First, for some of them, while their personal develop-

ment on board the Leeuwin II tall ship does not indicate initiation to adulthood in the same way it happens for adolescent participants, they do indicate a realisation or awakening of it; an identity they are not always aware of in their everyday lives. This is significant because it demonstrates that habitus responds differently to experiences when one changes context to experiences in the same physical setting (Shotter & Gergen 1989; Gergen 1991).

Second, similar to adolescent participants, they indicate an increase in their sense of confidence. This is also a significant development because it indicates, despite them being older than adolescents, all young people who sail on board the Leeuwin II tall ship can still increase their sense of confidence. Given this personal growth underpins their success in everyday life, it equates to an increase in their power of thought contributing to it (Bauman 2001). In essence, what this means is that they are better prepared; having agentic capabilities so they can intentionally make things happen by their actions (Bandura 2001). In other words, their experience on board, similar to that of adolescent participants gaining a sense of confidence, their increase in it can continue to strengthen their habitus and subsequently their agency.

There are other similarities in what post adolescent and adolescent participants say. First, apart from post adolescent participants including the idea of consequence in their definition of what an adult is, they are very similar in how they define it. This includes responsibility, independence, identity and social context. Given adolescent participants do not cite consequence in their definition it is possible that it reflects post adolescent participants' awareness of it because as adults they identify with it as part of their lives. Another similarity is that both adolescents and post adolescent participants indicate gender in the same way. That is, females direct their responses toward relationships and males toward activity. When they discuss this in terms of why and how their

adventure works, this is also implied as something new. As such, it again highlights the idea of contrast and communitas.

Finally, what post adolescent participants say about their identity development concurs with adolescent participant responses in that it extends over time (Hattie et al 1997). Indicating this from one week to six months after their voyage, they strengthen studies that show benefits of young people's participation in outdoor adventure over periods of months (Harris 2000; Garst et al 2001). In the next chapter, past trainees who sailed many years ago, will contribute to the evidence that trainees' personal development from participating in the Leeuwin II tall ship outdoor adventure extends over periods of years.

Chapter 7

Category Three – Past Trainees

7.1 Preamble

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of category 'Past Trainees'; a group of eight trainees who sailed when they were in their teens through to their twenties. To protect their identity and ensure their anonymity, they are coded from PT1 to PT8. Overall, gender is evenly distributed across this category; four females and four males, but similar to adolescent and post adolescent participants there is some irregularity when gender is distributed between the ages of the trainees. When they sailed there were: three fifteen year olds – PT5 and PT8 female, and PT 6 male, one nineteen year old – PT2 male, two twenty-one year olds – PT7 female, and PT3 male, one twenty-three year old – PT4 female, and one twenty-six year old – PT1, male. They sailed between four and sixteen years ago - PT1 and PT5 - four years, PT3 - five years, PT2 and PT8 – six years, PT6 and PT4 - seven years, and PT7 sixteen years. Similar to the previous trainees, all past trainees sailed as individuals and not part of a school or organisation except PT1 who sailed with other employees from various organizations as part of his work but did not indicate knowing any of them. PT4 sailed with her boyfriend and was not separated from him in different watches but was separated in some contexts as they slept in different quarters. PT5 also indicates sailing with 2 people she knew but they were separated into different watches. According to the trainees, their voyages ranged from seven days to two weeks. Most commented they were eager to sail because someone they knew had sailed and recommended it. Others were sponsored and paid for by parents.

7.2 Personal Development

7.2.1 Sense of Self: Confidence

Past trainees cite similar and different responses to the literature, adolescent participants and post adolescent participants when they recall how they felt about themselves after their voyage. But overall, they indicate that their Leeuwin II experience has affected their lives, and has indeed endured over time. Of significance, is that the most common similarity between them is feeling confident about themselves. Strengthening this similarity is the fact that past trainee's ages reflects those of the adolescent and post adolescent participants as their ages spanned from fifteen to twenty-six years of age when they sailed years ago.

There are six past trainees - three females who remember feeling like this when they first return and two males who specifically point out that their sense of confidence impacts their everyday lives now and one male, PT3 through his reference to leadership I interpret as him experiencing confidence also. As such, similar to adolescent and post adolescent participants, past trainees do not demonstrate any gender differentiation with experiencing this sense of self. However, the difference is that the female participants' memories of how they felt more confident about themselves after their voyage have endured over time and males relate their confidence to their everyday lives. For the females it is possible their return back home after their voyage is memorable because it contrasted how they felt about themselves prior to sailing? This is easy to imagine if their lives were sprinkled with more ambiguity and contradiction (Van Newkirk 2006) than their male counterparts. Nonetheless, whatever the reason, like the adolescent participants, post adolescent participants and the

literature, feeling more confident is the most common response for this group of Past Trainees.

When PT8 returned from her voyage, she explains she felt like this, "Yeah I was a lot more confident in dealing with people and dealing with situations that I wasn't quite sure of myself." She continues:

I think it was really after school holidays so, I don't really remember much, but I was more confident in myself and in, doing what I thought I should be doing instead of doing what people told me to do ... Go and for information instead of just doing what I knew should be done.

After her voyage, PT7 explains it this way:

Yes, yes, I've never forgotten. A couple of other moments on board now stand out ... One of them was furling a sail, very quickly up the front in the bow sprit, which is, there is a net underneath the bow sprit, and we had to stand up there, we could barely see because of the strong winds and the waves and we, we looked down at one point we were on a crest of a wave and it looked like we were four stories high. Then we went plunging down into the water and a wave crashed over us, and I remember thinking, this is amazing, I can do anything, you know. That was true, that's the way I felt when I got off the boat and like several experiences like that. I really honestly thought that I could achieve anything when I got off the Leeuwin. And I have always thought, if every, if every fifteen-year-old child in the world could, could do that voyage, I think the world would be different.

In trying to frame her response, I asked if how she felt was feeling like she was invincible. To this she replied, "… not, not invincible but a lot more, a lot more confident in my own ability than I would have been prior to this."

For PT5, she puts it this way:

I do remember feeling a lot more grounded I think would be the best word to say because like, the, being for me being in control of the ship like well not in control but being really, really involved like physically involved in the running of the ship was so like, it was such a physical thing to do that it was really quite grounding because it is like, well I you know I had a responsibility and, I'd done well with it and it was, it was like a very rewarding experience.

When asked if it was because she felt important she agreed and says:

Yeah, exactly. It was like; it was like boosting for confidence and stuff ... yeah. More like thinking I am able to like, I am able to do this kind of stuff. I'm able to coordinate in a team and help others out and run a ship basically.

Back in his everyday life now, PT3 explains how his voyage impacts in terms of leadership, control and the confidence underpinning it all. As he says:

Ah, very much so. It's allowed me to take on a more aggressive approach in my, in my working life. There's not too many people I would take, you know but it's say a backward step to but there's people older than me that I know I'm, I know my stuff but because they're older they just think 'oh yeah, he's only twenty-five and you know he knows bugger all' but I've got the confidence now to actually stand up and say no I know my shit and this is what is happening ... Because there have been situations where I have been put in a leadership role within a small work group where my age and experience has come into question. You know people underneath me have been either older or more experienced and for a lot of people that's a bit of a kick in the guts ... So, yeah the voyage has helped me in those situations

where yeah, you, you have got to take control of the situation and the whole leadership it started from there the, you know I was, I was leading people who were underneath me by the time, once you have done that or once you have perfected that you can start working to people who are equal and if you haven't got the confidence to you know judge to lead people that are equal, you will never lead people above you.

This is also true for PT6 who at first couldn't remember experiencing any personal growth after his voyage. But as he thinks further about it, he concludes how his experience has changed his life also. As he says:

Yes, yes it has. It has definitely … I know that I can, if I ever wanted to get on a boat with some thirty different strangers or get anywhere with thirty different strange people and be able to interact with them and never know where they are from. So, that has helped shape obviously me going to a new workplace, me going to anything new in that regard … It's, it's reinforced the confidence I had but it has instilled some new confidence in areas that I didn't otherwise have, yes.

Indeed, this sense of confidence is also interpreted in other ways for example, PT2 when he talks about having faith in himself; a sense of his inner self indicating he genuinely feels that he is in control of his actions. This is central to a feeling of autonomy (Pearson 1991) or a sense of free agency, and as such, implicates a sense of confidence underlying it. When he returns home, he explains:

I think it, cause I totally like over the water and I am always out on the water, I think it gave me a little bit of, sort of, what would you call it, faith in myself … As in like things like in driving like boats and sort of things where you can take 'em, so that, that sort of thing.

Hence, what is important about adolescent, post adolescent and past trainee participants collectively indicating they experience a sense of confidence when they first return from their voyage and back in their everyday life is that it indicates and gives merit to their agentic capabilities. Understanding agency, capable of intentionally making things happen by their actions (Bandura 2001) that has been contingently activated in this field of the Leeuwin II tall ship (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Even if they feel confident before they sail, experiencing an increase in confidence supports the physical location of a social field contributing to doing this; what has not been effectively internalised or activated in their contemporary lives, has happened in this field. As such, with confidence in their own power of thought and action, their habitus is set free. As they describe, they are better prepared to be successful in negotiating their lives (Bauman 2001). This is something also witnessed in their sense of accomplishment, too.

7.2.2 Sense of Self: Accomplishment

Of interest is that after their Leeuwin II voyage, all categories of trainees in this study specifically identify feeling accomplished while the literature does not. However, a sense of accomplishment goes hand in hand with a sense of confidence in many ways and is also interpreted as such. Clearly, when PT7 says, "I really honestly thought that I could achieve anything when I got off the Leeuwin", it makes perfect sense to understand his confidence in what he says. It certainly makes sense to understand that on the Leeuwin II tall ship, a trainee's sense of accomplishment is tied up with them confronting a situation and meeting the challenge contributing to them becoming more secure in their identity and more confident in themselves (Ongena 1982).

PT1 contributes to this discourse when he describes how he felt about himself after his voyage. After his initial relief being back on land, he says, "To begin with it was probably just relief … to be on dry land." But he continues to say:

The feeling was what an, you know that was an incredible experience. It was very challenging, very difficult ... Very, you know glad I did it. It is like anything that is really worth doing is generally not easy. There was a very good and strong feeling of accomplishment ... but there was you know I had a, I think, I think most of the people would have had a very good personal sense of achievement.

7.2.3 Interpersonal Relationships

When PT3 returned after his voyage, he remembers feeling connected to others through friendships he made. Thus interpersonal is another similarity to the literature and adolescent participants. However, it differs from post adolescent participants who do not raise it, perhaps unexpected given PT3 was aged twenty-one years old when he sailed so can be considered in that age range. Nonetheless, as he says:

I was you know very excited at that, I was at that stage, it was another group of what forty people that I got in touch with and I am still in touch with about fifteen of them ... You know really good friends and at that stage I spent probably eighteen months two years up north working and I had fallen out with most of the people I went to school with ... so it was more I developed another social group.

7.2.4 Teamwork

Furthermore, he also describes these relationships to teamwork, agreeing with adolescent and post adolescent participants who identify it in relation to how

and why they think their Leeuwin II adventure works. For instance, highlighting that feeling more connected impacts on working with others, too. As he says, "Yeah, It was with the whole, it was yeah you do feel different the fact that you have had to work as a team."

Being able to work in a team that can also be understood as communitas in the way PT7 describes it is something she feels has influenced her in her everyday life. As she says:

Yes. That the Leeuwin, the experiences I had on the Leeuwin not just then but afterwards, it really did, I don't know what need it served but it filled a space that never would have been filled by anything else I don't think. It was, and it is something that I will always refer to in memories as far as teamwork goes. I always look back to the Leeuwin and any situation I am in when I am thinking about teamwork, I look back and I think what worked then. So it has definitely made a difference.

She continues to say that this in some way carries through to her work also. As she explains, "Yes. I think I do. Not in a very systematic way but it is definitely a reference point, a strong reference point, yeah."

What PT7 says highlights the relevance of processing/reflection in how and why her Leeuwin II adventure works. While this will be re-visited later on, here, her comments add to the relevance of successfully negotiating the internal nature of fields in the Australian contemporary society. This is especially poignant in the way Bourdieu (1993) describes them as comprising internal competition and self-interest. The confidence PT6 conveys as he now interacts with different people as he puts it, never knowing where they are from also contributes to this discourse. Indeed, what PT3, PT4 and PT7 describe is certainly connected to a successful life where their habitus is freed to interact

with different habitus in different ways in most organisations (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). In essence, the interpersonal relations and teamwork that they experienced on board has been modified in their everyday life. Thus, not only through an increased sense of confidence, interpersonal relationships that trainees cite as well, can be understood to prepare young people to adapt to conditions of social fields like the labour market, the welfare state and the education system. In other words, it contributes to them becoming powerful social actors (White & Wyn 1998).

7.2.5 Academic Achievement

Interestingly, according to past trainee participants, education relating to academic achievement is identified as a personal development, too. This is another similarity to the literature and adolescent participants but not post adolescent participants. Something that can be attributed to the fact that given their age school is no longer a part of their lives in the way it is for the younger trainees. The difference between past trainee participants and adolescent participants however, is that while like A7 talks about this in terms of her confidence at school and enhancing her academic achievement, PT8 talks about it in terms of the environment.

This focus is an important one when considering what Charles et al (2008) recognise, that in the future, communities will need look for the next generation of environmental leaders and activists. However, while the literature indicates that specific learning occurs as a result of programs being targeted toward specific academic skills, this Leeuwin II tall ship voyage that is not specifically targeted toward learning about the environment, again implicates communitas through PT8's connection to the wilderness being a part of her growth. As PT8 says:

Yes, yes. It was one of the best experiences of my life so far I would have said. It helps me to, sorry, when I think about it, it helps me to realise that not, you know when I am not, doing the best at something's can be awfully fun and that there are people out there who have the compassion that my crew shared and the enthusiasm for nature that often people do not seem to express.

Subsequently, when asked how her voyage has influenced her life, she was clear that, "I ended up doing marine science as a degree … And that, yeah, I guess it kind of influenced most of my studies."

7.2.6 No Development

Yet, despite most trainees overwhelmingly indicating positive responses, surprisingly there are two past trainees, one male and one female respectively, PT6 and PT4 who first indicate no development at all. PT6 describes his returning home with frustration as he says:

We pulled into Broom and at that stage we had done two weeks of sailing and I just wanted to get off the boat because I just hadn't been on land … often enough … Yeah, so it was … ten days at least … and then … I remember thinking that we had to get on a bloody bus to drive all the way back home! … Which wasn't a good, a pleasant thought.

He continues to say:

And then … I didn't really feel any sort of emotion until I got off the bus to be quite honest because I was there still with most of the people on the boat and I didn't have any sort of attachment to the ship itself – I just wanted to get off so … In terms of the emotion side of things, I was

probably a bit sad when I got off the bus to see the family when I got off but that's about it.

For PT4, she simply stated, "No. No not really … had it been a different voyage with a different group of people in different conditions, I do think it could have been a life changing experience but it wasn't for me."

However, remembering what some Leeuwin II workers believe, that it is hard not to experience some sort of growth after a voyage on the Leeuwin II tall ship even if they are not aware of it, it would make sense that PT4 and PT6 may have experienced some sort of growth, too. Indeed, when understanding their habitus is attached to the conditions that form it, the social fields that confront it, and the practices it generates (Meisenhelder 2006), it makes perfect sense that some change would occur. So after they think about it, they do realise that they have experienced a change in themselves. PT4 for example, when first considering this says, "Quite honestly no." But after further contemplation, she realises "… I mean I certainly still enjoy being out on the water and doing water activities and things like that but yeah, it did, it did put me off going on holidays with children – giggle – In that regard yes." For PT6, even though inconsistently, he also indicates his voyage increasing his confidence in everyday life, (while not clear initially, this inconsistency is clarified as the discussion unfolds). Thus, while they think they have not experienced any change, they really have in some way.

Friese et al (1995) believe that participation in adventure programs overwhelmingly result in positive benefits such as enhanced self-esteem and sense of personal control while negative outcomes are virtually non-existent. This appears to be true, and what these two trainees say certainly highlights not all voyages on the Leeuwin II tall ship contributes to trainee's developing their sense of confidence and adulthood. However, rather than only just substantiat-

ing outdoor adventure does not necessarily work in a positive way for everyone, what both these Past Trainee participants soon contribute to this discourse, what they experience, or not experience is critical to understanding how and why the Leeuwin II adventure does work. This entails their views contributing to the relevance of contrast, the experience being something new, and habitus being removed from everyday life as well as what happens within the field, subsequently implicating communitas, making the difference to trainee's positive personal development.

7.2.7 Ambivalence

It is not surprising that some memories about how past trainee participants felt about themselves after their voyage have faded. After sailing six years ago, this is true for PT2. As he explains, "Yeah, I think I did, like cause I think my voyage was two weeks. So it was two weeks away from home, all by yourself and cause I only just left school, sort of like it was an adventure … I don't know, it was really good fun." What he indicates is positive but when asked if he could describe this, he was unable to. As he says, "Yeah, I don't know … I can't think that far, I don't know how I felt then."

While over time articulating his specific memories of how he felt about himself after his voyage is difficult, it still indicates an enduring sense of a positive experience. This is also something PT5 indicates when thinking about how her voyage affects her everyday life. As she says:

I would have to say yes but I couldn't really pinpoint how. It was just, I always like remember it with like really like fond memories and, yeah, it was a really happy time for me but I couldn't say how it like it's affected my ... everyday life.

But after a little thought, she articulates that her experience affects her everyday life like this, "Yes. I feel I came off like more mature as a person and that has just carried through till today sort of thing."

7.2.8 Sense of Self: Adulthood

When considering that adolescent and post adolescent participants respond differently in how they felt about themselves in relation to adulthood, it is not surprising that past trainee participants do also. But perhaps what is surprising is what past trainee participants say and that is, how some of the younger trainees indicate not feeling more like an adult after their voyage because they already felt like one before they sailed. Alternatively, some of the older past trainees indicate feeling more like an adult after they return home. Subsequently, what they say contributes to the relevance of experience, rather than a person's age associated to a sense of adulthood.

For PT5 who was fifteen years of age when she sailed, she describes feeling more like an adult when first returning back after her voyage. She says, "Yeah, I think I did. It was sort of a maturing experience I guess." Similarly, PT2 who was aged nineteen back then says:

… yeah in a sense I suppose you could say yeah I did … Cause like I was able to do like go out there and show that I could do it by myself sort of thing … so yeah in a sense I suppose yeah, definitely.

PT3 who was aged twenty-one when he sailed simply says, "I did definitely."

PT4, who was aged twenty-three when she sailed, considers the possibility of some growth as an adult through being put in a position of responsibility but then after reconsidering it, already recognises herself as an adult due to her life experience. As she explains:

I'd say, well in a way feeling responsible for other people's safety in considering those things I guess it did make me feel like an adult because you know I felt that I was more sensible than the other teenagers on the ship and perhaps could have done things better than the adults on the ship (Laughter). But in terms of I guess those are probably things I had already developed, over time through other, other things that I have done ... Yeah, I remember you know moving to the city as a seventeen year old girl and doing things like that, you do grow up pretty quickly.

PT1 who was aged twenty-six when he sailed explains that he also felt more like an adult due to his life experience. He says:

I felt like an adult before I went on. I've been in the workforce, with our company for well since I was seventeen. I was in a reasonably senior role at the time anyway ... I guess my employment had really done a lot for me beforehand anyway.

When contemplating if she felt more like an adult after her voyage, PT7 aged twenty-one when she sailed says:

I wouldn't, I wouldn't have ... conceptualised it like that, I don't think. But ... like an adult, gosh ... Yeah, I guess I was, I've always raised, I was raised to be independent, I was already living out of home at the time, so possibly it didn't have such impact but I imagine that if I had come from home that I would have felt like a lot more like an adult.

Two fifteen year old past trainees explain it like this. PT8 says:

I don't think I really ever put it into that kind of term ... I guess I grew up on a farm and I was always expected to be the mature one, the oldest on a farm. So I don't think it was more it gave me more adulthood just more confidence in doing without my parents watching me.

Similarly, when PT6 thinks about it, he considers his actions contributing to his identity as an adult before his voyage before he sailed. As he explains:

I know the feeling ... And it definitely felt it in that period back when I was fifteen, but I probably felt that feeling more when I was about to get on the boat. The fact that I was by myself and what not, as opposed to getting off. I didn't really feel any sort of, personal adulthood growth so to speak ... Yeah. Yeah, definitely I was looking forward to it and I definitely felt, yeah even the, the initial stages of packing to get onto the boat, I remember that sense of I'm going away and I'm doing it on my own and that's, in my eyes would have been more of an adult's way of thinking than as opposed to getting off and being well I've just done this voyage and, I feel more grown up.

Thus, what past trainee participants say, together with adolescent and post adolescent participants, clearly identifies experience contributing to their sense of adulthood rather than their age. Interestingly, of those older past trainee participants who identify as an adult before they sailed, they do not indicate a realisation of their adulthood in relation to younger trainees on their voyage like post adolescent participants do. This might suggest that further experience over the years has well established their adult identities as they explore numerous possibilities in love, work and worldviews (Erikson 1968; Rindfuss 1991; Arnett 2000). It certainly supports their reference to leaving home and experiencing responsibility in work for example, as part of their developing maturity. Clearly, what trainees say is important to understand that experience rather than age contributes to what an adult is and adds to the discourse, including the relationship between habitus and social fields, that surrounds identity development in the twenty-first century. Indeed, when considering their experience, perhaps in relation to experiencing responsibility in the way adolescent and post adolescent participants raise for example, it challenges the

idea that their personal development in contemporary milieu is more puzzling than ever (Sennett 2006)?

7.3 Adulthood: What is it?

7.3.1 Experience

Coincidentally contributing to this discourse is the comments by PT6 as to how he understands what adulthood is. As he explains:

I think adulthood is very much to do with experience and that it, in terms of what your experience is and after adolescence … is how you describe your adulthood. So that, suffice to say that, had I not been on the Leeuwin, I wouldn't have that experience, I would not have been able to grow in the areas of interacting with other people and as such, as an adult I need perhaps learn then. I don't know, maybe I would have learned it from some other experience I'm not sure but because I've been on the Leeuwin I've had that experience, I know I have had that experience, I know I will be able to grow in that area and it has in some ways shaped my sense of being an adult. So, I don't know I don't know if I were to define adulthood I would say that it was your personal experiences prior to, I don't know, full-time work?

Clearly, what he raises is that the age of a person does not determine maturity. Rather, it is certain experiences that contribute to their identity development. This is now a common response from all groups of trainees, that is, they all agree that age does not automatically determine adulthood. As PT2 says:

Like and I reckon anything over twenty, tends to be adulthood … yeah, it is in that yeah. They should have been pretty much matured by then … Of

course I am saying, not everyone is the same ... Yeah, that some people mature much younger.

7.3.2 Responsibility

Perhaps it is no surprise, even something that might have been predicted, past trainee participants also often include responsibility similar to the other trainees, in how they describe what an adult is. Like PT2 who explains, "It is like taking responsibility as well though for your actions sort of thing … you're, you're responsible for whatever you do you know?" For PT5 she says:

I think adulthood today is having like, responsibility, it is about responsibility I guess but ... yeah how to handle responsibility like in, in a job and in friendships and stuff, like you are just acting responsible for other people's feelings and other people's and your workplace and stuff like that.

7.3.3 Respect

Furthermore, post adolescent participants, similar to other trainees, also integrate their description of responsibility in a number of different ways. For example, PT3 raises the idea of respect to describe what an adult is. As he says:

Oh, I think it is just someone who has the respect of her or his own actions. There is a lot of people going around you know they call themselves adults you know twenty-five, twenty-six year olds who you know go out and get pissed and you know you hear it seeing it on the news belted someone and thrown bottles at people and that sort of thing so. I would say an adult is someone who's got respect for their own actions ... You know, you know a lot of teenagers who are more mature, you know it maturity as much as anything but you know they are more maturer than you know, mates the guys I work with at thirty.

He continues to say that this is not just respect for one's self but also for others. This he explains like this:

Well I think the first thing you have got to do is respect your own actions. So you know where and once you can respect yourself enough you will start to respect other people and be in a position that ... No, not so much you know you have got enough respect in yourself to not put yourself in a situation where you are not going to be an idiot. You know the wider community you know where the wider community would judge you as an idiot. You know we put age limits you know basically eighteen you're referred to as an adult but some people out there that you know you are not really an adult until you are twenty-one twenty-two and sometimes much later because just the mental maturity's not there and the respect that you know your actions actually have consequences.

What he says certainly conjures up a sense of the real inner being rather than a narcissistic one, one that indicates a genuine feeling of autonomy (Pearson 1991). From this perspective, what he perceives as an adult can be understood in terms of self-concept; an understanding that subsequently captures the idea of adulthood combined with a development of personal responsibility (Neill 2000). Clearly responsibility is a popular description of what it means to be an adult, with past trainee participants continuing to cite it as did other participants in the research.

7.3.4 Independence and Responsibility

For example, when PT1 thinks about what an adult is, he explains:

That is obviously a fairly open question in a lot of different ways. For me I moved out of home when I was seventeen. I was still at school and I was living by myself and working part-time. So to me adulthood, but I was still

a kid, the responsibility for myself that I had when I was seventeen. Having to earn my own money, pay my own bills. Do my own school work and go to work as well. Those responsibilities of being of having to provide for yourself gave me probably the strongest sense of adulthood. Or a strong sense of adulthood I would say that it is, it would be leaving home, you know leaving the nest and not having, not necessarily having food in the cupboard like you would at home. And having, not having any of those fall backs certainly gave me a pretty strong sense of I guess adulthood in terms of personal responsibility. Where suddenly you are completely self-reliant. For me adulthood's really a sense of self-reliance where you no longer need your parents to, feed you or clothe you or pay your bills.

When PT4 considers what an adult is she describes it like this:

What do I think adulthood is? I guess it is, I don't think actually probably changed too much from previous generations but, for me it is taking responsibility for your own actions and independence from the parents and you know, finding your way in the world I suppose … Taking responsibility for any mistakes you make or things that go wrong, paying your own bills, working hard all those sorts of things.

PT7 does not openly view independence with responsibility, although it can be argued that what she says describes being responsible for yourself, she explains it like this:

I think an adult is someone who can support themselves, um, financially. I know that sounds very old fashioned but that they are not relying on their parents for, you know, to buy them a car, to, to buy them their first house or to you know, to fund their daily life. I truly believe that if you are standing on your own two feet, to the best of your ability at that stage I think that is definitely a sign of adulthood.

Thus, even if not directly mentioned, past trainees essentially discuss responsibility and independence hand in hand, as to what an adult is. PT8 first agrees saying, "… well it would be knowing how to exist in society and functioning individual without dependence on you know parental or guardian kind of figures, wouldn't it?" She continues and says, "Maintain yourself within the law and blab la blab la blah …" Her comments certainly can be interpreted as acting responsibly within her social milieu.

7.3.5 A Social Definition

Also similar to adolescent and post adolescent participants, past trainees include the social in the way they define what an adult is. PT2 includes this with aspects of the law in regards to the legal age of drinking. This is complicated, as he considers different social contexts, too. As he explains:

Well, I suppose it is pretty hard these days because, yeah it is, it is pretty hard these days because sort of you leave school and it means you can start drinking straight away … in Australia. If you compare that to say like the States or somewhere, you can't really, you can't really start drinking until you are twenty-one. And that's like three years later. I suppose that even though everyone does drink it just makes it a lot harder. Like you can't go out into a pub or club or anything like that.

In sum, while there is some variation, overall there is consensus between adolescent, post adolescent and past trainee participants as to what they think constitutes adulthood. Collectively they consider responsibility, independence and social aspects as a part of this. I wonder what past trainees will contribute to how and why they think their Leeuwin II experience works? Will they concur with the others in the idea of responsibility as part of experience and their personal development? Will they indicate communitas? Being taken out of a

comfort zone? The rites of passage? A new experience? What of contrast? Will they further consolidate what adolescents and post adolescents identify? Will they support the relevance of understanding the relationship between habitus and social fields in young people's identity development in the twenty-first century?

7.4 How and Why the Leeuwin II Adventure Works

7.4.1 Responsibility

First, past trainee participants consider responsibility as an important part in why and how their Leeuwin II experience works. In this, they are united with adolescent, post adolescent participants (even if it is not as readily recognised by them), and Leeuwin II workers who all agree that responsibility plays an important part in a trainee's personal development. Indeed as LW9 indicates, given responsibility to sail the Leeuwin II tall ship is not bound by a person's age either. As he explains, "… not being able to do more or whatever your physical age but the fact that you take on responsibility … Like if you are on the helm you're responsible for ensuring the ship is straight."

PT1 describes experiencing this responsibility when he recalls his voyage. As he says:

The last bit of that storm was great fun actually. There was, I remember quite vividly that a few of our guys were feeling really sick so they were below deck and there was only a couple of us up on deck, the other person I was with went down into the chart house to talk to one of the crew, so there was only me up on deck and one of the ship's crew members who was an old guy who was you know, one of these weathered sort of sea … and, for some reason I was pretty shocked, or for some reason he started feeling

sick and I was pretty shocked to see him … He goes to the side of the boat and starts, starts being sick and then I have looked around and it was basically just me with this giant ship's wheel. I knew what heading I had to have on the little compassy thing. It was just me I was the only person up on deck basically in the middle of the night in these huge seas. It was like something out of a movie and it was really quite excellent actually. I really, I really enjoyed it.

Given that responsibility is not reflected in the literature in relation to their personal development in the degree trainees and others in this research suggest, it is considered a shift in the adventure discourse, or at least a boost to the emerging focus on it (Sibthorp et al 2007). Research for example like May (1996) and Sibthorp, Paisley and Gookin (2007) both include its relevance in their studies. This includes experiencing responsibility associated to those who perceive greater developmental benefits from their participation in adventure programs (Sibthorp et al 2007), as well as its relevance in young people acquiring a sense of adulthood when these programs are transposed as a rite of passage to adulthood (May 1996). Subsequently, with the popular focus on responsibility by trainees on the Leeuwin II tall ship, it certainly makes sense that their participation on board is inevitably bound up with it. When translating this in terms of the relationship between habitus and this social field, responsibility is a critical part of the internal nature or the processes and practices of it influencing trainee's disposition, or their habitus.

On the Leeuwin II tall ship, being given responsibility is not discriminatory either. As a young female, PT5 explains how and why she thinks her Leeuwin II tall ship adventure works by saying:

I still was obviously a kid pretty much at that age like I was still mucking around and stuff but, having like seeing that kind of responsible almost

responsibility almost like a workplace like being really involved in what was basically a workplace was, very, very maturing yeah.

Trainees with a disability also appear to experience no barriers to responsibility. A13 well describes this and indeed, I still recall, to my surprise, being given responsibility as leader of my watch. As LW6 says, "We have got watch leaders here who are barely 18 and they are in charge of groups of 10 people." This indicates there is certainly support for responsibility as an experience being key to the Leeuwin experience and ostensibly to participant understandings of adulthood, in contrast to only considering one's age. Moreover, when understanding this in terms of habitus as a socialisation of life experience and modification of it, being given responsibility in this social field can indeed equate to acting responsibly that relates to a shift in their sense of maturity. Indeed, in the way trainees describe this identity development in relation to their experience in the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship, this certainly has relevance in their developing a sense of adulthood underpinning their agency in the twenty-first century.

Thus, responsibility is viewed as an important part of a trainee's development. Past trainee participants, continue to include it as to how and why they experience personal development. Not only does this equate to a sense of adulthood, experiencing responsibility on board also increases their sense of confidence. This is true for PT3 and when asked how and why he believed he experienced more confidence, he explains it like this:

There was, well one of the things, I was one of the older people who sailed at twenty-one but I was one of the older people so I tended to look after some of the young ones … just that little bit of responsibility. It was the first time somebody you know hadn't officially given me a role in that boat, I just took that sort of role from someone … and it was, it was good

working for and actually seeing their development over the time period as well. You know, it was productive for me because I could actually, I actually developed the all the teaching side of it.

It is possible to view this from a leadership role but as he continues to explain, the idea of feeling more responsible for others is revealed.

Yeah, well there was a fair few as I say the youngest was, he was fifteen … He was actually in my watch group … so there was nine of us in the group which meant, and when you, after like two o'clock in the morning and you know you don't feel like doing anything cause all you want to do is sleep. It takes somebody about other than well a, you know your watch leader you need to look other reinforcement as you get to help you get off your arse and do something … And, yeah that's, that's really what I was applying to. Our watch leader was quite young as well. She was only twenty, early twenties, I can't remember her age, but yeah between myself and her we tended to look after everybody.

While PT3's response is relating to why and how he thinks he experienced a sense of confidence from his voyage, what he says, when understanding responsibility in the way adolescent participants, post adolescent participants and others from the literature link it with adulthood, it is possible to apply his response to his feeling more like an adult after his voyage also. Indeed, understanding that he identified as an adult after he sailed certainly makes sense when considering his identity development in light of his experience in his everyday life. As he says:

It is like, yeah, the whole responsibility of, yeah, not only taking ownership of yourself, you know yourself and your own actions, I was trying to teach, I thought I successfully did it, but to look after somebody else. Up until that

stage I hadn't been in that situation where somebody wasn't so much relying on me but, just taking taking things off me … well, well not so much taken off me but you know the experience, my experience, I could actually pass it on to someone … most of the time leading up I'd been you know as I said before I had been up north where you are surrounded by people who are much older than you, so your, well your opinion's not as strong and your base of knowledge is smaller than what theirs are … Yeah, so you tend to, absorb information off them rather than being the one that is giving out the information.

He continues to say that he thinks his Leeuwin II experience works because, "… I was given a leadership role which was the first time I had been given a position of responsibility."

Thus, what these past trainees, both female and male continue to indicate is that experiencing responsibility contributes to how and why identity development such as increasing their confidence and sense of adulthood occurs. PT3 further consolidates this by explaining that rather than age being the central factor to what an adult is, experience is arguably just as important. Given he indicates that this is the first time he has experienced responsibility, also adds to this understanding because it is in contrast to his experiences in everyday life. While understanding this in the context of the Leeuwin II tall ship, it certainly supports habitus changing when changing social fields (Shotter & Gergen 1989; Gergen 1991). Other past trainee participants also agree with adolescent and post adolescent participants in the value of contrast, when they say their Leeuwin II experience works because it is something new.

7.4.2 A New Experience

In fact, what PT6 reveals is indeed understood as instrumental to a new experience away from everyday life being a key reason to explaining how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works, particularly as a fifteen year old initiating adulthood. Simply, unbeknownst to me, this is because it is not his first voyage he is discussing. As he explains:

I have actually done two voyages, that was my second one that we are speaking about … the first one I did was a fully day sail around Fremantle which includes a Rotary youth scheme or something along those lines and that had been only about five months prior to this one and basically getting on well, getting on with people has never been a problem with me so I pretty much put myself in the deep end and it was pretty easy … you know with people and I particularly remember the fact that a lot of the people on there were quite older than I am and … at that stage so I, but I didn't have any trouble interacting with them at all.

As such, this may explain why he did not feel any personal development as an adult when he first returned from his voyage, a voyage initially understood as his first. That is, is it possible he had already experienced a sense of adulthood from his first voyage? This indeed supports habitus responding to the production of something new away from what is known supplying the means of initiation (Giddens 1990). As a fifteen year old, his response certainly agrees with what adolescents say about experiencing an increased sense of confidence and sense of adulthood also. But of further interest, is that while the second voyage he is talking about does not invoke a deepening sense of adulthood, it does continue to increase his confidence and therefore his agency. As he explains his second voyage:

I kind of went in with, into the voyage with knowing, with a confidence like you know I felt at the time that you go on these things to try and build confidence, to interact with people and I saw that on the voyage itself. Like people obviously trust that situation because they were trying to learn how to become people, person's, so to speak ... and I, didn't think that I ever lacked any sort of ability to interact with people and I guess, really the voyage just reaffirmed that for me because I came off you know, with a hundred new friends.

Interestingly, what PT6 contributes fits well with the understanding that motivation can play a part in developmental outcomes (Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi 1999; Miles & Priest 1999; Priest & Gass 2005). In the first instance, given he understands young people participate in programs like the Leeuwin II tall ship adventure to learn how to become people and person's as he puts it, it is possible when he did not experience a sense of adulthood after his second voyage might explain his frustration with his voyage on his return. But in the second instance, it makes sense that, as he is aware that these programs can develop confidence, too, his enrolment in the Leeuwin II tall ship ocean adventure contributes to this. But did his first voyage initiate his sense of confidence and he is seeking to continue it? Without really knowing here, what is reasonable to assume is that trainees experience an increased sense of confidence from their first voyage, even if they boarded feeling confident as A7 did for example, or like others who did not, and now through what PT 6 says, a subsequent voyage can be considered to increase it as well. In other words, it is possible their sense of agency continues to grow and be set free!

Thus, understanding PT6 had sailed twice puts into context why he felt more like an adult when he boarded the Leeuwin II tall ship for the second time rather than when he disembarked. While this is not discussed with him, and indeed

there is scope for further research into investigating the impact of the length of a voyage less than five days discussed by the trainees in this research on their identity development (Cason & Gillis 1994; Hattie et al 1997; Russell 2003), it appears his first voyage, even though it was only a day sail, contributed to his personal development as an adult and his sense of confidence. Hence, whatever he says in relation to his second voyage, as it is influenced by his first, is regarded as instrumental evidence of a new experience beyond everyday life being an important part of how and why the Leeuwin experience works. This is particularly true in relation to initiation to adulthood relevant for this age group, given PT6 was aged fifteen years old when he sailed, subsequently agreeing with what development adolescents describe also.

In this way, it is not unreasonable to draw on communitas as a rite of passage to adulthood as explanation of why and how this occurs. However, initiation does not explain developing confidence especially in relation to trainees who are already confident before they sail, and now with an increase of it as PT6 experienced on a subsequent voyage. But with further attention to what he says, it is also possible to understand communitas providing additional explanation not only in relation to his initiation to adulthood, but in his increased sense of confidence as well, and is returned to below.

Nonetheless, other past trainee participants also recognise the relevance of a new experience in regard to their personal development. Like PT1 who says, "Certainly probably wouldn't have done it a second time. You know, if the following year they said do you want to do it again, probably would have said, no thanks I have already done it." PT2 also contributes to this when he says, though in his everyday life he is often on the water sailing, he views his Leeuwin II experience as a contrast and being new. As he explains, "I was a state sailor … I trained sails so it was really good to go like onto a different sort

of set up, a different sort of boat … like everything is completely different. I mean trying to learn how to, get everything going and running." In fact, there are other trainees who indicate having experience on the water also but what he says is important as it highlights the uniqueness of the tall ship that makes the difference. This surely highlights the relevance of habitus experiencing something new outside the realms of their everyday lives contributing to how and why adventure works. Still while this is true, there is more to consider and part of this includes what happens within the field.

7.4.3 Activities: Challenge and Risk

Part of this discourse, also similar to adolescents and post adolescents, is that past trainees recognise the experience including the activities and challenge. While this is not directly identified as new, given they describe it as something they would not confront in their everyday lives, something out of their comfort zone, it can be understood in this way. Of interest is that two male past trainee participants identify this and as such, support the idea that males tend to consider the activities as important to their development. For example, PT1 indicates feeling a sense of achievement after his voyage. As he says:

Just doing things that are out of your comfort zone. Like … I don't like heights … but part of the jobs we had to do was to climb up the masts and furl and unfurl the sails. We have got a little harness clipped onto a piece of wire steel cable and, to go up you know a hundred foot tall mast and then out to the edge of one of the yards, and you know the thing is all swaying in the wind, and if you slip and fall you are going to be just hanging in the air clipped to a piece of steal cable and you have to either, … get someone to try to rescue you or somehow pull yourself back up. You knew you wouldn't die but you knew you know it was also a

pretty … it was not ideal to obviously fall. Not being a fan of heights and to climb to the very top of the tallest mast was, was a challenge that a lot of people, a lot of us undertook just to, to do something that, something challenging … There were a lot of different challenges, and that was probably the main personal challenge that people could choose to undertake.

PT2 agrees and says, "I suppose it was I enjoyed climbing up to the top, up the mast and reading the plaque on the top. That was pretty cool."

These activities are certainly unique and require creativity not quite like other activities (Krakoff 2003) and as such create a challenge for trainees. Reiterating, the value of this in trainee's personal development is well recognised by the Leeuwin II foundation reflected in their philosophy of 'Challenge by Choice'. It is further support that the combination of challenge, mastery, and success contributes to participants' personal growth (Conrad & Hedin 1981; Iso-Ahola & Graefe 1988; Dyson 1995; Witman 1995). It can be understood to extend their horizons, expand their being, as they revel in a mastery of themselves which gives them an impression, mainly illusory, that they are masters of their world (Hopkins 1993). Thus, overcoming challenge and being out of their comfort zone translates into them thinking and feeling in a certain way (Lehmann 2004); in essence, having confidence where they are able to envision their agency set free (Lash 1994). According to habitus, this surely highlights the value of the idea of the imagined rather than the imaginary (Jenkins 2004) particularly in regard to the confidence young people need feel to successfully relate to the Australian individualised milieu.

7.4.4 Workers

But to achieve this personal development, there need be a balance between risk and challenge. As such, this is an area that can highlight the importance of the worker in creating this as part of the experience.

Indeed, PT4 directs attention toward the value of workers contributing to why and how the Leeuwin II experience works. This is somewhat ironic given she did not feel she experienced any personal growth. When asked if there was anything she would change about her voyage. Her response related to the safety on board, or lack of it. Her comments highlight how managing safety and risk are an essential part of the workers' role on the Leeuwin II vessel. This is not only to avoid negative consequences like psychological incidents, injuries, and even fatalities as she puts it, "… cause if someone went over board, if someone didn't see them and you know and raised the alarm bell, they would have just been … cactus. Yeah, absolutely cactus. That really alarmed me at the time."

However, workers also need to ensure a level of excitement and challenge remains, meaning they cannot emphasise safety too much (Dickson 2000). Simply, without some level of risk, there would be no genuine adventure (James 1980). Thus, workers need set the level so it avoids inaction also (Giddens 1990); this can occur if challenge is set beyond the ability of participants, potentially creating low confidence, and low self-esteem (Sennett 1998). Still, as McKenzie (2003) says, there are other ways workers contribute to developmental outcomes, like their expectations, being a role model, providing feedback, their competence, and ability as presenters of curriculum.

PT4 well explains the importance of workers in how and why she felt her Leeuwin II voyage didn't work. As she says:

I guess as one of the older people you do sort of take a bit more responsibility for that sort of stuff and you think about it a bit more, you don't take for granted that you are going to live forever like teenagers do. There were times in the dark of night where there were just really bad swells, people running around with no life jackets on. I thought that was really bad. I think that some of the leaders were really good. There was one man in particular that was very good. But the leader in my particular group was younger than me and she didn't have the, I mean she probably had the sailing skills but she didn't have the leadership to lead people older than her and the difficult teenagers at the time.

When asked if she thinks it is important to have a good crew that have got those leadership skills she agrees but adds it is the relevance of the activities also. As she says:

Leadership skills, but also some of the exercises that we did, which obviously was probably out of her control, she was just the leader of our particular group, some of the, the activities that we did I thought were a little bit even childish for the teenagers in the group. A little bit like come on you know these guys are teenagers they are not, they don't want to draw things and colour in things and stuff like that.

Of interest, is that of all trainees who have taken part in this research, PT4 is the only one who identifies worker roles rather than relationships. One explanation for this is that she did not connect with the workers, the others and even the Leeuwin II environment in the way the other trainees did. In other words, she remained detached from the rest on board. Clearly, as well as worker roles, this also raises the significance of connecting with others contributing to how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works. Not only does this include the relevance of communitas, and as such habitus being removed to a social field

like this beyond everyday life contributing to their personal development, again something that is returned to below, but the importance of understanding the relationships between each other within these social fields contributing as well.

7.4.5 Relationships

Two past trainee participants, PT5 and PT8 cite relationships on board as to how and why their Leeuwin II adventure works for them. Given they are females, they certainly continue to contribute to what other female participants say about the relevance of relationships to their development. As such, the Leeuwin II tall ship provides opportunity for female and male trainees' personal development. But given that all groups of trainees have identified responsibility as key to their development, now it is reasonable to understand responsibility permeating both activities and relationships being a significant part of how and why the Leeuwin II tall ship works for all trainees.

PT8 believes it is her relationship with workers that makes the difference or perhaps one worker in particular. As she explains:

Most, I think it was the team leader that we had. We had a nice hot young male … yeah, well most of us were girls and you know he'd be really nice and, he was, he would, instead of telling us what to do he would ask us what, like by the same time he was asking what we thought we should be doing … to get such result … then on the final, day, I think we were in the Bay then, on the final day, the crew just sat on deck and made us do all the work – which was quite cool and I was elected team leader proxy for our team … It was fantastic.

7.4.6 Teamwork

Similarly, this is true for PT5 who attributes feeling more confident after her voyage to her relating to others, which she describes in terms of teamwork. As she says:

> *It would have had to be like the actual being so involved in the, like in the ship running day-to-day … That was, just like the team was, the team on the Leeuwin was really determined to get everyone involved and everyone did get involved and had a great time doing it.*

She also recognises this as a contrast to her everyday life, as she says, "Yeah, yeah. It is not something you see very often like kids that age working together and enjoying the hard work that they are putting in like."

7.4.7 Communitas

It is interesting that PT5 refers to contrast, again taking up the relevance of communitas and as such, how habitus responds to being removed from everyday life to a social field beyond it, as a part of trainees' personal development; an idea that is continued to be included by past trainee participants in other ways, too. This includes the wilderness that not only emphasises the importance of a physical environment that is removed from everyday life that contrasts it (Greenway 1995; McKenzie 2000), but equally, it supports communitas, particularly understanding it as a social field described as them being in a place between their usual social roles and norms of thought and behaviour (Turner 1967, p. 93; 1969, p. 95; 1992, p. 132).

From this understanding, their Leeuwin II experience is a physical as well as a symbolic journey; a journey of both mind and earth (Andrews 1992) and some

past trainees indeed, describe their personal development in this way. Like PT7 who says:

I think it's, one, one of the, part of it was I think it was, for me being in the middle of the ocean in the middle of no-where with just a ship. It's quite a pleasant experience, I think, so it's something I hadn't experienced before and I think just the beauty of being under sail has had a huge impact and it really helps you to, be a little bit introspective I guess while you are on board. So I think what helped me was that I was taken away from my day-to-day life and sort of shown that day-to-day living can be interesting. It just depends how much, I think, involvement that you choose to have in it.

PT2 agrees and says:

Yeah and, I think it was also, it was really cool being in a boat out in the middle of nowhere and you are out sailing away from the nearest land ... Yeah, you are in the middle of nowhere kind of thing ... really rough weather coming in and you had to get up like on night shift and like man the deck ... in the dark while there were waves smashing over the deck and yeah, it was kind of cool.

This sense of place promotes a feeling of connectedness (Andrews 1992). In it there is a spontaneous engagement of individuals in an intense experience like the Leeuwin II tall ship that is characterised by a sense of "the generic human bond" - "a strong sentiment of "human kindness" (Turner 1969, pp. 97 - 116). According to communitas, this happens because when trainees come on board, their habitus is individuated in a leveled environment; an environment where it is in essence described as being "stripped of structural attributes" (Turner 1974, p. 202).

Past trainee participants demonstrate this as an important part of how and why their Leeuwin II experience works. For example PT2 explains his reason

for his personal growth as he says, "… that everyone was treated as an equal out there … Like the crew is treated the same as the paying customers sort of thing." But being "stripped of structural attributes" (Turner 1974, p. 202) not only means sailing away from what trainees know, it is also away from whom they know, too.

Indeed, the significance of this separation on their personal development is highlighted when PT4 indicates this did not occur for her. While all other trainees indicate being separated in their watches from whom they know, she was not separated from her boyfriend when she sailed. This is critical because now according to communitas and how habitus responds to this social field it could provide a reason why she did not connect and develop in the way the others did. As she explains:

I think it's, it was a clash in personalities but also clash in values at the time. They were just immature I suppose and they were still at high school whereas I'd started my professional career. We just didn't have anything in common at all so my then boyfriend at the time and I felt quite isolated.

This certainly points to the relevance of personal development occurring because of communitas. Arguably the connection to her boyfriend has inhibited the possibility of her being stripped of her "status and authority" (Turner 1979, p. 149) explaining why she was not "inwardly transformed and outwardly change" (Turner 1992, p. 48). In other words, being detached from the others on board, she was not "leveled to a homogeneous social state through discipline and ordeal", meaning, much of what has been bound by her social structure has not been liberated, notably her sense of comradeship and communion (Turner 1979, p. 149). Ultimately, her uniqueness in the very act of realising her commonality was not achieved (Turner 1974) and she did not grow, and as such, her habitus and sense of agency was not liberated or set free from the

conformities of her everyday life. Therefore, given all other trainees indicate sailing on their own or being separated from whom they know in different watches, what PT4 well demonstrates is the value of communitas contributing to their personal development and how and why the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship works.

What PT6 experiences on board the Leeuwin II vessel also adds to this discourse. Indeed, as stated previously, the relevance of communitas contributing to his personal growth in both his voyages can be applied as explanation of his initiation to adulthood and increase in confidence. However, unlike PT4 who did not appear to connect to her experience in any way, this is evidenced in the way he did when he sailed both times. For example, when he explains not having any trouble interacting with others the first time he sailed can be interpreted as him experiencing a sense of comradeship and communion (Turner 1979, p. 149). But more than this, because it is a day sail, his interaction can certainly be understood as him experiencing a spontaneous engagement with the other trainees (Turner 1969) and as such, as he realises his common-ness, he experiences liberation (Turner 1969, 1974) and personal growth. As this was his first voyage and the experience was new, it makes sense initiation occurred, perhaps without really knowing how he felt before he sailed, in his sense of confidence, certainly his sense of maturity in the way he describes. Thus, as he indicates feeling more like an adult when he boarded for the second time, surely indicates he previously experienced communitas.

In a similar vein, when he describes making over one hundred new friends from his second voyage, he also indicates experiencing communitas. However, in relation to the connection he experiences, or him realising his commonness that liberates his personal growth (Turner 1969, 1974), rather than initiation, an increased sense of confidence occurs in the way he describes. This is significant,

because now trainees experiencing communitas is not only considered relevant as a new experience initiating personal development, it can be argued to further develop it. In other words, communitas explains how those trainees who are confident before they sail indicate an increase in their confidence on their return, as well as it providing an explanation of how post adolescents become aware of their adult identities. However, in addition to this, now as PT6 demonstrates, it is possible their development can continue on a subsequent experience of it, too.

Hence, what PT6 and PT4 contribute about communitas significantly contributes to understanding how and why the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship works. Other past trainees like PT1 agree with the value of communitas contributing to their personal development, too. As he comments, "The Leeuwin was a pretty unique experience and everyone was well outside their comfort zone so created a reasonable sense of, of a, I don't know, comradeship or team work." Curiously, as trainees unitedly cite responsibility as contributing to their personal development, is it possible it plays a part in this relationship, too? When understanding communitas as a place "beyond playacting" (Turner 1992, pp. 135 - 136) this question is indeed, a relevant one.

Clearly, what trainees convey supports communitas having relevance in a contemporary individualised milieu. As such, when many of their transitions to adulthood are extending, and young people require agentic capabilities and control over their lives to successfully negotiate it, something they are not always prepared for, communitas and how habitus responds to it can also be understood as an important part of their identity development in the twenty-first century.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

Given it is years since they sailed, past trainee participants contribute much to this research. This includes adding to the idea that developmental outcomes do endure over time and on a long-term basis (Neil 2003). As they describe how their experiences on board have influenced their everyday lives years after they return they well establish this. Indeed, for one past trainee this is sixteen years ago.

In many ways, they also agree with and subsequently confirm what the adolescent and post adolescent participants say about their personal development, too. Of significance is that they feel more confident about themselves. Not only does this consolidate with the beneficial outcomes described in outdoor adventure literature, it supports the idea that the confidence habitus acquires from their voyage underpins their sense of free agency in their everyday lives. In regards to their sense of adulthood, most interestingly they highlight the contribution of experience rather than age. Exemplifying this are older past trainee participants attributing their development as adults as part of their Leeuwin II experience while younger past trainee participants indicate feeling more like adults prior to their voyage. Rather than the age of a person simply determining trainees' personal development, they all agree their previous experience is also a significant influencing factor. Further, wrapped up with this relationship between experience and their development is that of responsibility. Indeed, experiencing responsibility is repeatedly raised as an important part of trainee participants' identity development, both as them developing as adults and their sense of confidence.

Responsibility is even considered a part of activity and relationships and as such spans across and does not discriminate according to gender. Instead, the Leeuwin II tall ship is considered to provide both activity and relationships and

as such, provides personal growth for female and male trainees alike. Interestingly, responsibility is also highlighted, in the way adolescent, post adolescent, and past trainee participants emphasise it in their definition of what they understand an adult is today. In fact, this reference to responsibility is considered a shift in the discourse, that is, it is arguably a dominant reason how and why the Leeuwin II outdoor adventure works.

However, there are other similarities to the responses provided by adolescent and post adolescent participants that past trainee participant responses agree with and contribute to. Critical to this understanding is the input from PT6 and PT4. While what they convey can be understood as somewhat negative results from their participation in adventure, their perspectives are significant as they provide a depth of understanding not conveyed in the same way as other trainees do. For instance, their perspectives certainly implicate communitas as an important part in understanding how and why the field of the Leeuwin II environment works.

For PT6, this is established when he reveals the voyage he is discussing is not his first. What he contributes is that as a fifteen-year-old trainee, according to communitas his first voyage acted as an initiation to adulthood similar to the group of adolescents. In relation to confidence, as adolescent, post adolescent and past trainee participants indicate, while a maiden voyage can initiate a sense of it for those who do not feel confident before they board. It builds confidence for those who already feel this way prior to their sail and as PT 6 describes, can continue to develop on a subsequent voyage.

According to communitas, this development occurs because trainees are stripped of their everyday status and levelled to a homogeneous social state through discipline and ordeal. But what PT4 contributes clearly confirms it is more than just being separated from everyday life when she reveals she is the

only trainee who does not sail on her own. In her case, she was not separated from her boyfriend while sailing, and as such, highlights how this has inhibited her growth. This, according to communitas, truly being separated from everyday life means not only being separated from what you know, but whom you know, to create a levelling environment that in turn promotes a feeling of connectedness that is an essential part of identity development. Essentially, this indicates the value of trainees as liminal entities contributing to personal development in communitas.

Clearly, there is support that the physical location of a social field, one like the Leeuwin II tall ship that is removed from everyday life contributes to their identity development. For what has not been effectively internalised or activated in their contemporary lives, such as having confidence and a sense of adulthood, indeed appears to occur in these fields. However, what happens in these fields is important also, as PT4 describes, it is not just a simple separation from everyday life that makes the difference (Jung 1971 cited in Biasio & Münzer 1980). When this is understood in terms of habitus, it is possible for habitus to change when changing context, but it also changes with the experiences in that same physical setting (Shotter & Gergen 1989; Gergen 1991). What PT4 demonstrates is, if habitus is not stripped of status and levelled to a homogeneous state through discipline and ordeal, it inhibits personal development. But as she also points out, there is more to be considered in their development, the role of the worker as a vital component for example. This includes their instruction in activities, setting levels of risk and challenge, and their relationship with trainees also. Furthermore, according to communitas, because the experience need be real, or what Turner (1992, pp. 135 - 136) describes as them "being their 'authentic self', beyond playacting", also raises the idea of responsibility inevitably bound with how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works.

Finally, given that the participant trainees in this study overwhelmingly convey a positive experience, indeed, all past trainee participants agree, except PT4 and PT6, now understood in relation to his second voyage, that their experience was a positive one, this contributes to the idea that being fun is part of how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works, too.

As adolescent, post adolescent and past trainee's views have contributed to the discourse, the next chapter now concludes this research journey.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Beginnings

8.1 Preamble

We have sailed,

We have sailed,

Home again cross the sea.

We have sailed,

Stormy waters,

To be near you,

To be free,

(Sutherland 2012).

What were once only words I sang along with in my youth now have particular meaning for me, meaning that is created through undertaking this research. With these words in mind, I climb back up my conceptual crow's nest to reflect upon trainee participants' perceptions of their relationship between their identity development and their participation on the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of the Australian context in these emerging decades of the twenty-first century. While I make my ascent, I think that in this individualised contemporary milieu, one where it is often considered difficult to understand the experiences of young people as they transition to adulthood, they have contributed much that requires careful contemplation. As they sail into shore, like the song suggests I am aware it is true, in many ways they really have been set free!

Indeed, I consider how trainee participant perspectives, the literature, Leeuwin board members and workers, even my own experiences on board, and

the theoretical understanding, or more precisely, how the nature of habitus and its relationship to social fields all contribute to this discourse. While continuing my climb, I also consider the image of the elephant and the blind men [sic]. But this time, what I realise is that the blind men [sic] are starting to look around, this study, through understanding the relationship between trainees and the Leeuwin II tall ship, is shedding light on the relevance of outdoor adventure as it relates to young people's personal development in an individualised contemporary life. It is an important insight as this, to my knowledge, is a perspective that has not yet been considered in quite the same way.

While understanding their relationship with the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of their everyday lives is clearly complex, what trainees discuss about their development they experience, how and why they think it happens, what this means in their everyday lives, and what they think it means to be an adult raises several common themes. In many ways, what they say is nothing new and adds to the already vast amount of adventure literature. However, as the discourse unfolds, what they say emphasises certain aspects of it also. For example, they overwhelmingly cite feeling more confident about themselves after their voyage, something they indicate continues to influence their lives over many years. How they cite the value of contrast, or the experience being something new in relation to initiation contributes further to an explanation put forward by others as to how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works. But the theme of responsibility adds to this, too. While this is often relating to their reference to adulthood, they also cite it to include their sense of confidence. As such, the idea of responsibility is regarded as an important part of their identity development and subsequently a shift in outdoor adventure discourse particularly as to how and why it works. This is certainly an important insight. So too is the nature of habitus and its relationship to social fields; something that demonstrates the value of the tenets of communitas as an integral part of

understanding this relationship. Thus, communitas emerges as having particular relevance in their identity development in the twenty-first century. Clearly, what trainees and others contribute certainly provides insight into the relationship between their identity development, their sense of self and adulthood, and their participation in the Leeuwin II tall ship adventure program as it relates to the Australian contemporary milieu.

8.2 A Sense of Confidence

In an individualised society like Australia that is understood as a cloud of possibilities where young people need to contemplate and negotiate, a society that can also promote insecurity at nearly every level of it (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2002), having a sense of confidence in oneself is a significant personal attribute. Indeed, it is a necessary power of thought (Bauman 2001) when understanding young people need to be deliberative and simulative as they pursue opportunities available to them (Côté 2000). As such, acquiring a sense of confidence through their experience on board the Leeuwin II tall ship translates into trainees and their habitus acquiring agentic capabilities, or a sense of confidence underpinning their sense of free agency enabling them to intentionally make things happen by their actions (Bandura 2001).

Thus, from the understanding that not all young Australian people possess agency in their contemporary lives, acquiring a sense of confidence is important for many reasons. First, having confidence is understood to have better prepared them for their lives. In other words, it means they have developed a sense of control over their actions (White & Wyn 1998) and as powerful actors they are more able to take control of a situation rather than a situation taking control of them (Thoman 1999). According to an understanding of habitus, having a sense of confidence is important in a life that requires it to interact with different

habitus (Emirbayer and Johnson 2008). In addition, having confidence is also important for them when understanding how Bourdieu (1993) describes social fields. Primarily this is because social fields, in contemporary life, are informed and motivated by internal competition and self-interest. This implies they will not only need confidence to work within these struggles, they will also as new comers, need confidence to break through the entry barriers, where in some of these fields, dominant agents are defending their monopoly against the threat of actual and perceived competition. Although not elaborated on in this book, with confidence to act as free agents also extends to them contributing to society's capital as Bourdieu (1985) describes. As such, being confident and having control over their actions is absolutely tied up with contemporary life; a life where they need autonomy, personal development (Wyn 2004, p. 6) and also resilience (Neill & Dias 2001; Ungar, Dumond & McDonald 2005).

Therefore, gaining a sense of confidence from their experience on board is a significant development, one that is strengthened, as it is not necessarily differentiated by their age or gender. Furthermore, my own experience and that of A 13 who has Asperger's Syndrome, suggest gaining a sense of confidence is not necessarily differentiated by disability either. In fact, participants in this study, adolescents, post adolescents, and past trainees, are united as they describe experiencing feeling more confident after their voyage, even those who already felt confident before they sailed and back in their everyday lives. Time does not seem to erode this feeling; it is something they convey from one week to sixteen years after they return home.

There are those who indicate building on their sense of confidence and subsequent agency and others describing it as more an initiation to it, in particular those who do not have a strong sense of self-confidence before they sail. All of this certainly supports identity contingently being 'activated' in the

Leeuwin II context (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). In fact, having confidence as adults is an important part of their contemporary lives and all participant trainees demonstrate, in differing ways, the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship influences their sense of adulthood also.

8.3 A Sense of Adulthood

For some adolescent participants this is described more in terms of initiation, for some post adolescent participants it is an awareness or awakening of it. What is interesting for past trainee participants is that some of the younger ones describe feeling more like adults prior to them sailing while older ones, at least in part, attribute their development as adults to their voyage. Subsequently, what they say substantiates the view raised by all trainee participants that adulthood is understood according to experience rather than simply a person's age. This view is thought provoking, for one reason because it promotes the idea that when habitus is given certain experience, a change in identity is likely to occur (Shotter & Gergen 1989; Gergen 1991). In a similar vein, when it is not experienced, it is possible to implicate young people's extended transitions to adulthood; transitions that are more often recognised in this respect in virtually every post-industrialised society (Arnett 1998, 2000, 2004; Shanahan 2000).

In the first instance, what adolescent participants overwhelmingly portray contributes to this discourse as they convey a situation where their experience of responsibility develops in them a sense of what they perceive as adulthood. What they describe also implies a situation that where responsibility is lacking, it is likely this development will not occur or will be inhibited. Thus, it can be argued that being given responsibility on board the Leeuwin II tall ship will most likely contribute to them feeling more like adults. Many adolescent, post adolescent, past trainee participants, Leeuwin II workers, and the literature

agree with this as they describe responsibility going hand-in-hand with young people's development. In fact, all categories of trainee participants identify it as how they define what they perceive it means to be an adult. When adolescent participants raise the idea of it as the experience they cite as part of their development, in this instance in regards to their identity as an adult, it is reasonable to assume that the same opportunities for assuming responsibility may be lacking in their everyday lives. LW 6, who believes that today, more often than not, young people are not given any responsibility at all, highlights this understanding.

However, what many post adolescent participants contribute to this discourse is also important. These participants indicate that their experience of responsibility on board raises their awareness of their identities as adults rather than perceiving it as an initiation to it, implying that they have already experienced responsibility in their everyday lives. But because without an awareness of it transitioning them to adulthood or at least until their sense of adulthood is well established over time as past trainees indicate, it might indeed be associated to extended transitions, or post adolescents or emerging adulthood more commonly recognised in contemporary life. This is significant because it indicates that it is not just simply experiencing responsibility in their everyday lives, as suggested by adolescent participants, that automatically translates to their awareness of their identity development as adults. Indeed a lack of awareness of this adds another dimension to the idea that being given certain experiences, like responsibility, will invoke a change in identity as an adult.

Habitus provides an important contribution to this understanding. First, it demonstrates how their sense of self has developed as a subconscious phenomenon and they are simply not aware of their identities as adults in their everyday lives. According to Bourdieu (1977) what happens is that, an unconscious

competence develops of which they are neither the producer nor do they have conscious mastery over it. However, understanding that habitus responds differently to responsibility experienced at home to the responsibility experienced on board the Leeuwin II tall ship is invaluable learning. This is because it demonstrates the value of young people's identity developing in a context removed from their everyday lives. This is, as trainees demonstrate, not only in a spontaneous reaction to their growth in their sense of adulthood but also in their sense of self like confidence, too. This can certainly be understood as part of post adolescents testing their partially developed sense of identity in a new and more adult-like setting of the Leeuwin II tall ship as they continue to develop it (Kenniston 1971). But rather than them consciously exploring their identity development, understanding the nature of habitus supports the idea that what is not automatically activated in their contemporary lives is certainly possible when it is removed from it.

In other words, what happens is that the disruption to the continuity of habitus means that rather than it perpetuating established social differences as the basis for trainee's identities (Adams 2006), it promotes certain change in it. Therefore, understanding habitus experiencing a contrast or something new particularly away from their everyday lives is a process considered important in conjunction with their personal growth, too. This is well supported by all trainee participants. However, what happens within the field is important also, and subsequently implicates communitas in how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works.

8.4 Communitas

Indeed, all groups of trainee participants identify their experience on board being something new when they are asked how and why they think they experienced personal growth from their voyage. However, when PT6 coinciden-

tally reveals he is discussing his second voyage rather than his first, it substantiates the experience being something new contributing to their sense of adulthood. Put simply, it explains why he did not experience the same understanding of growth from his second voyage as he had already experienced some of it from his first voyage. Rather than feeling an increase in his sense of maturity as other trainees did when they returned home, PT6 felt more like an adult when preparing for his voyage and boarding the ship for the second time. What he reveals about his adult identity supports his new experience on board as an initiation to it. In other words, it means the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship, as a process of something new, is understood as supplying habitus the means of initiation (Giddens 1990).

This points to the relevance of communitas, or the principles of it bound to the idea of liminality contributing to trainee participants' personal development. This is often related to a sense of adulthood but as PT6 and others indicate, it has relevance in regards to developing their confidence also. Subsequently in the first instance, communitas is important because it promotes something new contributing to personal development. As PT6's first sail was only a day sail, and he indicates growth from it established in relation to his second voyage, The Leeuwin II tall ship in the first instance is indeed regarded as something new for him, too. Even when trainees indicate they are experienced sailors, for example, as A14 and PT2 do, a tall ship like the Leeuwin II vessel is not necessarily something they have experienced sailing in quite the same way. Thus, the experience goes beyond this because sailing out to sea on this vessel takes them to a place they have not experienced in quite the same way before. As such, the Leeuwin II tall ship as Turner (1969) describes, is a place where they are 'betwixt and between' their everyday lives. This is what he calls communitas, and as the trainee participants indicate, it is important for identity development to occur for many reasons.

8.4.1 Communitas: Removed From Everyday Life

Firstly, removed from what they know means their habitus is stripped of its everyday status or as Turner (1974) puts it, it is stripped of its structural attributes. Leeuwin II workers often describe this, but frame it as trainees being taken out of their comfort zone. But no matter how it is described, in reality what it means is that trainees are away from what they know, which means the Leeuwin II tall ship environment is a levelling one that sees them all equal with each other. Furthermore, part of being removed from what they know includes being separated from whom they know. This is potentially another crucial element in trainees' development when understanding PT4, who was not separated from her boyfriend, indicated she did not experience the same understanding of personal growth.

Thus sailing with a 'clean slate', as Leeuwin II workers put it, is one reason they indicate as to how and why the Leeuwin experience works. Trainee participants largely agree, recognising the value in this also. LW6 perceives this is one reason how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works because trainees are treated the same, there are no judgments made, and they are "given an opportunity to reinvent themselves." LW1 concurs and believes this happens because they come on board with a clean slate, allowing them to step back from the conformities of their everyday lives, a life according to her that is often influenced by peer pressure where young people mindlessly follow others even if they don't like it. Turner (1967) simply argues it is because when young people are not acting institutional roles, they can be themselves.

As well as habitus being removed from everyday life, the experience needs to be one where they are, as Liminars, able to form anew. However, it is more than this when understanding what happens in the field, too.

8.4.2 Communitas: More Than Just the Mountains Speaking

Sailing a tall ship requires teamwork; as the saying goes, 'it's all hands on deck and steady as she goes.' This raises the importance of the relationships formed and the activities associated with sailing the Leeuwin II tall ship contributing to how and why the experience works. Integral to this are the workers who are not only leaders and role models (McKenzie 2000) they are also managers of perceived risk and safety (Sennett 1998; Dickson 2000; Boyes & O'Hare 2003). Through them trainees create trust, reciprocity and they experience responsibility, too, particularly when they understand the experience is real. In other words, when out on the ocean, 'a vast and untameable beast' as LW 10 describes it, in a sailing vessel like the Leeuwin II tall ship, the mountains are not just speaking for themselves (Dickson et al 2008)!

The relevance of these relationships and activities contributing to their development is well supported when considering all trainee participants raise it in their responses. This is so even when females tend to identify new relationships and males new activities. The reason for this different gender response is not being taken up in this book, even though the literature describes outdoor adventure as an androgynous experience, something that makes sense when understanding communitas as a levelling environment. Rather, it is the idea that experiences of trust, reciprocity and responsibility that accompany these relationships and activities that are indeed understood as the essential components of participants' development. Thus, the Leeuwin II tall ship environment provides both activity and relationship and supports what happens on board for all who sail in her. In other words, there is opportunity for both young females and males to experience positive personal development in a way that is appropriate for them. This is important, for it cannot be assumed that

their development will automatically be enhanced in any situation, there is also the potential to retard that development (Pearson 1991).

Indeed, PT4, a trainee whose voyage did not work well for her supports this when she explains how she considers the relationships and activities vital to how and why a Leeuwin II experience works. This includes the role of the worker, teamwork, challenge and appropriateness of the activity. She goes on to describe how, for her, these were missing in her voyage and clearly associates it with how and why her Leeuwin II experience did not work for her. Yet according to communitas, there is more contributing to how and why she did not experience personal identity in the way the other trainees did.

8.4.3 Communitas: Feeling Connected

According to communitas, when trainees come on board they start out as a group of separate people, from different places, having different identities. But over time, they become a group with a group identity (Andrews 1999). As I recall our last group gathering, this is a sentiment conveyed by the program coordinator when she said that we were now a part of the Leeuwin II family. However, rather than lose their individual identity, what happens is that realising their commonness or connecting with each other, trainees experience liberation (Turner 1974). PT4 clearly illustrates the relevance of this separation about her personal development. Not being separated from her boyfriend meant she did not connect to the others or the experience on board and as she describes, they actually felt "quite isolated." This means she did not experience liminality and her habitus is not set free from conformities as other trainees' experience. In the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship, being separated from what and whom trainees know illustrates how their subsequent sense of connectedness promotes and strengthens their sense of self, including their feeling of confidence and adulthood.

Therefore, feeling connected, or belonging, enhances the possibility of personal growth. There is a spontaneous connection of those on board in the intense Leeuwin experience; something Turner (1969, pp. 97 - 116) describes as, "the generic human bond" – "a strong sentiment of human kindness." Indeed, it is argued that when PT6 discusses his two voyages, he demonstrates the relevance of this connection in relation to personal development, both as an initiation and continuation of it. This is certainly something other trainees appear to consistently support in relation to their confidence and adulthood. In this way, the support between each other that trainees and workers repeatedly refer to can certainly be considered an important part of how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works in relation to trainees' developing in different respects. However, as trainees and others, including myself indicate, this feeling of connectedness extends to being able to connect to the wilderness that adds significantly to the difference.

8.4.4 Communitas: Relevance in the Twenty-First Century

Clearly, communitas is an important part of understanding the trainee participants' personal development on the Leeuwin II tall ship. As such, it also raises the relevance of it in young people's lives in the twenty-first century. This is particularly so when understanding how young people's personal develop-ment can occur unconsciously and internalised, something the post adolescent participants exemplify when discussing their adult identities in their everyday lives. According to Bourdieu (1977), this happens because they are not the producer and they have no conscious mastery. Simply, they have not extended their horizon, they have not expanded their being, they don't revel in a mastery of themselves, and they certainly do not have an impression of themselves, mainly illusory, that they are masters of their world (Hopkins 1993). In other words, they have not been "inwardly transformed and outwardly changed" as

Turner (1992 p. 48) describes. In a life considered by many as lacking tradition in many respects (Neill & Dias 2001) even to the point of it being described as being in a state of ritual bankruptcy (Grimes 2000; Bell 2003), this arguably demonstrates a lack of meaningful ways of marking transitions in contemporary life (Davis 2003) and promotes young people's participation in adventure programs like the Leeuwin II tall ship as communitas in the twenty-first century.

8.5 Concluding Remarks

As I sit in my conceptual crow's nest, I think about young Australian people's transition to adulthood. Through losing Matthew, I am sadly aware that their personal development in contemporary life is cloaked with uncertainty and unpredictability (Pollock 1997). I think about what adulthood means. According to the trainees in this research, it means being a responsible and independent person; an identity they are aware of that also carries responsibility with it in their social context. Importantly, if they are to be successful negotiators and take advantage of opportunities, they need confidence as well, something that underpins their sense of free agency in this individualised milieu. I think about communitas in their personal development. At the end of this research journey, what do I think? Simply, understanding what development these trainees experienced and how it related to their voyage on board the Leeuwin II tall ship, I fully support communitas and all its tenets including experiencing something new, being separated from what and whom they know, experiencing responsibility in a real situation, and building relations of trust and a connection with others and the environment as being important and relevant in young Australian people's identity development in the twenty-first century (Neill 2003).

Interestingly, while sitting here, too, when I think about their identity development, and the Leeuwin II tall ship and its relation to communitas, I

realise, it is really true, the answer my friend, is blowin' in the wind, the answer is really blowin' in the wind!

Now I begin climbing down the rigging for the final time, and as I do, I look down toward the Leeuwin II deck. As I make my descent, I am aware that while this research journey is at its end, there is still so much more to learn.

This study, primarily through the voices of the trainees, and others as well as drawing on the concepts of habitus and social fields has explored personal development of trainees in relation to their age, gender and effects over time. But I also consider other populations of young Australians who participate in this program for example, Indigenous trainees. Will they agree with the others that the Leeuwin II tall ship acts as communitas contributing to their identity development? Or will they suggest other reasons how and why their participation works? When considering their socio-cultural context where they often experience disadvantage, and have low confidence to set high expectations and aspirations for future goals (Alloway et al 2004), better understanding positive developmental outcomes have great potential to benefit them in their everyday lives. Moreover, their insight into how and why they think their experience on board works can also contribute to understanding if their participation has relevance for their identity development in the twenty-first century.

Similarly, in a multi-cultural context such as Australia, a cultural focus can extend to include the views of other young Australian people who are born outside but live in and call Australia home, as well as those young people born as first generation Australians or belong to a minority cultural group. In fact, given culture and adventure research has been given little attention (Wetmore 1972; Bacon 1988; Purdie, Neill & Richards 2002), a cultural focus will add to this knowledge.

Further, young people who are disabled are another group who can contribute to this investigation. There is much to be learned about their personal development in Australia; it is a topical area, in the current political environment where much attention is focused on social inclusion and participation (Commonwealth Laws & Programs 2012). In fact, research shows that people with a disability have similar motivations and educational needs to others who participate in outdoor recreation activities (Ross 2001) and after one to two weeks participation, they demonstrate an increase in independence, self-esteem, and social and recreational skills that are generalised to their life back home (Ardovino 2004). Certainly, these young people with disabilities who sail on the Leeuwin II tall ship also have much to contribute to understanding the relationship between their personal development and their participation on this vessel. This includes identifying communitas as contributing to it.

Exploring the experiences of trainees who sail as part of a school group can also contribute to understanding this relationship. In relation to the relevance of liminality and communitas raised by trainees in this study, this group has particular value because it contrasts them from participants who are separated from whom they know. If they are not separated from their classmates, will they experience a voyage where they are levelled with each other? Will they connect to the wilderness around them? Will the journey have any symbolic connection? Will they connect to each other with a sense of community that liberates them? If they experience beneficial outcomes, will they endure over time? Moreover, because they are a homogenous group sailing together and not as individuals interacting with a range of people from diverse backgrounds and 'social difference', something trainees in this study recognise particularly in relation to the age of other trainees, will this inhibit their experience of feeling equality, understanding and respect (Sharpe 2005) and or more and subsequent identity development?

There is also possibility to build from this Leeuwin II study. While gender forms part of the analysis in it, likewise the same analysis can be applied to future studies across different populations of young people for example, as are included here. However, voyages where trainees are of the same-sex are another category that has possibility to extend understanding from distinct gender populations.

Clearly, these different populations of trainees can contribute to better understand the relationship between their identity development and their participation in their Leeuwin II ocean adventure. However, further investigation across programs not only out on the high seas but back on land, would strengthen it also. Young people have much to contribute to better understanding their relationship with their personal development and these programs. Indeed, they might contribute to explaining while sail training experiences are generally positive and beneficial, some appear to be more effective than others in developing social confidence' (McCulloch et al 2010). It is certainly possible their views and those of different stakeholders will continue to shed light on their relationship between their identity development and their participation in different ocean adventure programs (McCulloch 2007). But this is also true for those wilderness adventure programs back on land and thus expands the analysis to include other kinds of outdoor adventure (McCulloch 2004).

Furthermore, is it possible investigation will continue to strengthen communitas in young people's identity development in contemporary life? Indeed, given the value of communitas raised by trainees in this research, it is not unreasonable to extend it as a major focus of future analysis with an understanding that it has much to contribute to it. For example, the characteristics of communitas can certainly be used to explain why students who were not separated from their classmates on camp in a study conducted by Smith et al

(2010) identified their experience as a social one rather than a change in their sense of self. As well, communitas can explain why some participant outcomes do not extend over time when on the Nave Italia tall ship the young sailors were required to participate in an 'Inland preparation' months before their participation, making their familiarity with each other on their voyage inhibit liminality and thus the benefits of their participation over time (Capurso & Borsci 2013). Perhaps in future studies communitas will shed light on why there is a difference in results for the mid adolescents who participate in it (Neil 1999; Richards 1999; Ewert & McAvoy 2000; Neill 2007b; Sibthorp, Paisley & Gookin 2007) or even explore an optimum time an outdoor adventure program need be for young people to experience beneficial identity development?

Thus, the stage is set for further inquiry into young people's personal development and their participation in outdoor adventure and it is definitely not limitless. However, one suggestion for improvement in future explorations into the relationship between their identity development and their participation in other Leeuwin II tall ship voyages or different adventure programs in light of their everyday life would be to interview them at the same time-interval rather than broadly within a six month timeframe. Interviewing the research participants at a specified time would strengthen the similarities and differences they identify. But because the focus of this inquiry is to hear the voices and primarily learn from the young participants (in combination with other stakeholders), it is recommended to follow the same interview guide (see appendix). Extending this semi-structured approach across other investigations will allow them to freely discuss their views. This includes them providing critical and or constructive views of how and why their participation in the adventure program works, or equally, doesn't work.

So now back on shore, as I walk away from this study with Matthew forever in my heart, I look back over my shoulder and reflect for the final time. I agree with Bourdieu, understanding the concept of habitus and social fields has been instrumental to understanding young Australian people's identity development and relationship with the Leeuwin II tall ship in light of the contemporary Australian milieu. Understanding the set of durable dispositions that the trainees carry within them that shapes their attitudes, responses, and behaviours to their experiences on board (Webb et al 2007) has provided an invaluable insight into this complex topic; one that shines its light on and coincidentally supports the relevance of communitas in young people's development in the twenty-first century.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

Trainee

- What is your age? (Also, confirm gender even though this is often determined by voice over the telephone!)

- How long ago did you sail?

- How old were you then?

- Did you sail on your own?

- Would you like to talk about your voyage? Discuss anything that stands out for you? This exercise aims to provide the trainee opportunity to recall their voyage and demonstrates what is important to them.

- When you first returned after your voyage, how did you feel about yourself?

- Do you feel different about yourself now back at home?

- Has this made a difference to your life now? If so, do you have an example?

- Do you have any ideas how or why this might have happened? Is there something you think happened on board that made this difference?

- Do you feel more like an adult after your voyage?

- Has this translated into your everyday life?

- Do you have any ideas how or why this might have happened?

- What do you think adulthood is?

- Would you like to add anything else?

If response is no personal development, trainee is asked to discuss how and why they think this did not happen.

Leeuwin II Workers

- Can you describe the Leeuwin II program?

- What personal development do you understand (witness) the trainees experience?

- Do you think they mature from their voyage?

- Do you have any ideas how and why the Leeuwin II experience works?

Board Members

- This is based on an interview less structured than the others where board members freely discuss their involvement with the Leeuwin Ocean Adventure Foundation. Questions build on history, philosophy and trainee involvement as the interview unfolds.

From ancient times to modern days, philosophers have philosophised, academics have theorised and researchers conducted studies in an attempt to understand young people as they grow as individuals. In the twenty-first century as contemporary society advances, perspectives and approaches continue contributing ideas and knowledge to youth development. One distinct area that stands out in this vibrant and vast discourse, is young people's participation in outdoor adventure. While it is well documented their participation in outdoor adventure benefits their personal development, including their maturing as adults, it is not yet clear why and how this occurs. This book provides a unique and creative approach to better understand this relationship, and in turn shines light on the relevance of outdoor adventure for young people in contemporary society. As such, youth workers, teachers, academics, policy makers, funding bodies, programmers and more will find this book a valuable addition to understanding youth development in the twenty-first century.