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An exploration of how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning

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Abstract

This phenomenological research explores how primary school children's social values were influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning, through interviews and focus groups with 26 children and five teachers from five state-funded schools in England. Children and teachers were interviewed two to three weeks after returning from residentials. The study finds that the residentials did not act as temporary communities or create connections to place. It concludes that there may have been social benefits derived from the enhancement and enlargement of social relationships within the group, but that these benefits were predominantly related to informal social interactions. It suggests that these social interactions were likely to have positively impacted on children's social agency and their sense of belonging; that there was some impact on values of fairness, particularly with relation to social inclusivity; that the children developed trusting behaviours suggestive of a positive valuation of other people; and that the children commonly exhibited empathy and care for others. However, the evidence on open-mindedness and fairness was unclear; teachers observed changes in both, but some children's responses suggested that this was a temporary behaviour change related to wanting to maximize the experience rather than a change in values. Thus, the study finds that residentials are intense social experiences that influence children's friendships, but that there was limited evidence of change in social values.

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.0 Introduction to the study

This study explored primary school children's social experiences whilst undertaking residential outdoor learning and how their social values were influenced by experiences during the residential. The study included semi-structured interviews and focus groups with 26 children and five teachers from five state-funded primary schools in England. All the children were studying at key stage two (aged 10-11 years). The children and teachers were interviewed within three weeks of returning from residentials.

Christie *et al*. (2014) observe that it is a tradition for schools in the UK to take students away on residential experiences, and a survey by the National Foundation for Educational Research (O'Donnell, Morris and Wilson, 2006) found that 78 per cent of key stage two coordinators had organised or taken children on residentials in the preceding year. Wood and Pritchard (2014) also noted the high proportion of residential providers who specialise in the key stage two age range in a survey of outdoor providers in the UK. Prince (2020a) identifies a typology of residentials, and this study explores those that she describes as 'boundaried'[1] and that include outdoor adventure activities.

Residentials fulfil several purposes for primary schools. For example, Rea (2011, p.143) suggests that there are four pillars of knowledge developed in residentials. These are cognitive (learning to know), skills acquisition (learning to do), social skills development (learning to live together), and self-awareness (learning to be). By contrast, Brown (2010) identifies that the principal idea of residential experiences is that they benefit the students in developing desirable characteristics, often referring to intrapersonal and interpersonal skills. Both recognise that residentials can also be significant life events which provide holistic experiences involving adventure, challenge, and risk, helping to develop students physically, cognitively, and emotionally. In addition, the Outdoor Education Advisors Panel (2017) suggest that residentials provide opportunities for students to manage challenges and develop self-confidence, self-esteem, cooperation, trust, and teamwork.

[1] Prince (2020a) is referring to Sail Training Voyages where the boat provides a physical boundary in which the crew (participants) experience working, living and sailing together on an offshore adventure. The term is used in relation to those residentials where all aspects of the residential are on a single site.

Thus, residentials can be seen as opportunities for enriching the curriculum, for personal and social development, and for preparing children for transition to secondary school.

Whilst this study recognised the multiple purposes of residential outdoor learning, it sought to explore the social experiences that children have during these events and the impact that these have on children's attitudes and personal and social values. As such it considers residential outdoor learning as a part of primary school provision intended to support the development of children's values in accordance with the school's interpretation of the needs of society, democracy and the economy. Thus, the residential cannot be decontextualised from the school's strategies to develop children's values, or from their interpretation. However, the study also recognises that residential outdoor learning is different from most other aspects of primary school provision. It takes place in an unfamiliar physical and social space where children are likely to encounter novel situations without access to the support of adults, and where their prior experiences may provide little direct support for individual decisions or as a basis for integrating with other children. Most residentials include stress inducing activities and situations designed to challenge children by emphasising their responsibility for themselves and their interdependence with other children. Without prior experience and adult support, the children are likely to find themselves in a social milieu where the intensity of the experiences and situations do not allow passive responses, and where the meanings of activities and situations are not prescribed and thus need to be socially constructed.

Similarly, the unfamiliarity of working in teams and sharing accommodation, may mean that individuals' previous patterns of social interaction are unlikely to provide sufficient support and children will have to agree norms of behaviour, and negotiate their own roles and responsibilities with people that they would not normally interact with. Thus, in order to participate in the residential, children have to engage with other people's views, understand their own responsibilities and find ways to meet their own and shared needs within a temporary community. All of these aspects require active engagement with other people's values and a willingness to adapt their own personal attitudes. Thus, the study suggests that changes in attitudes and social values formed during the residential are likely to reflect the individual and shared experiences of children. Consequently, the study sought to identify whether the experiences of building a community, socially constructing the meaning of activities and situations, establishing norms of behaviour

and negotiating roles are observable in children's accounts of their experiences and in the prioritisation, reflection and presentation of those accounts.

1.1 State-funded primary schools in England and their role in the development of children's social values

Education in the United Kingdom is compulsory for all children from the ages of five to eighteen. Whilst some children are educated in independent schools or are home schooled, 93% of children in England attend state-funded schools (National Statistics Agency 2023). The structure and organisation of state-funded schooling is devolved to the four countries of the United Kingdom. In England, primary schooling typically follows pre-school and precedes secondary school and caters for children between reception (aged four by 31st August so that they turn five during their reception year) to year six (10-11 year olds). The National Statistics Agency (2023) shows that in January 2022 there were 16,791 state-funded primary schools in England with a combined headcount of 4,660,264 children. These statistics include schools maintained by the local authority or operating outside of local authority control (such as academies and free schools). In both cases, the schooling is provided without charge other than for activities for which a voluntary payment can be requested. Academy trusts and free schools have different forms of governance and accounted for 39% of primary schools in England and for 40% of the primary school population in 2022 (National Statistics Agency 2023). Faith schools are also a significant aspect of primary school provision in England. Long and Bolton (2019) state that in January 2019, there were 6,179 state-funded primary faith schools in England. This represented around 37% of all primary schools and 28% of primary pupils. Of these, Church of England faith schools represented 26% of all primary schools, whilst non-Christian faith schools made up less than 1% of all primary schools. All state-funded schools are monitored by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) and are required to follow the National Curriculum.

In addition to the different types of primary schools, there are three different structures of state-funded provision in England. The most common structure is the provision of primary education from reception to year six, followed by transition to secondary school, although in some cases, pupils remain within the same school throughout their schooling (through-schools). Within this structure, some schools subdivide their primary provision into Infant and Junior, and children transition into a different part of the same school, or into a new school, at the end of year two. However, some state-funded schools operate

within a three-tier system of provision: lower, middle and upper/high school. In this structure, children typically transition twice, from lower to middle school at the end of year four (although this can vary) and then from middle to upper/high school at the end of year eight. Middle schools can be deemed to be either a part of primary or secondary school provision. The three-tier structure has declined in numbers since 1980, and there were only 107 Middle schools in England in 2019 (0.4% of all schools). However, 21 Middle schools (five deemed as primary) were located within Worcestershire (https://get-information-schools.service.gov.uk/ 01/01/2022).

Each country within the United Kingdom publishes a National Curriculum which outlines the subjects covered and the expected standards. The National Curriculum for England places a duty on all state funded primary schools to offer a curriculum which is "*balanced and broadly-based and which promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society, and prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of later life*" (Department for Education 2013a: p.5). The National Curriculum for England is updated periodically, but at the time of this study the most recent version was published in 2013 with an update in 2015. Thus, the National Curriculum for England (2013) defines the subjects taught in state-funded schools in England and identifies the standards that children should reach in each subject. The National Curriculum is divided into four key stages: key stage one (ages 4 -7 years); key stage two (ages 7-11 years); key stage three (ages 11-14 years); and key stage four (ages 14-16 years). At the end of each key stage, the children's performance is formally assessed by the teacher.

The National Curriculum for England (2013) has a common set of values that underpin the curriculum and the work of schools. The statement on the values and purposes underpinning the school curriculum (Quality and Curriculum Agency 1999, p.10) suggest that at key stage two education should "*recognise a broad set of common values and purposes that underpin the school curriculum and the work of schools*" and that education should reflect the enduring values that contribute towards: an equality of opportunity for all; a healthy and just democracy; a productive economy; and, sustainable development, and should reaffirm a commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty (p.11). These values are specifically embedded in a programme

of Personal, Social and Health Education[2] (PSHE). At the time of data collection for this study, the PSHE curriculum was not statutory[3], although it included some aspects that were mandatory. However, the Department for Education guidance at the time (Department of Education 2018) stated that all schools should teach PSHE, drawing on good practice rather than central prescription. Thus, the guidance makes clear that schools were expected to deliver the PSHE curriculum, but to tailor it to reflect the needs of students. This advice appears to tread a careful line between a formal curriculum of values education and school-specific values education. Guidance on the good practice in the development and delivery of PSHE is published by a grant-funded body, The PSHE Association. Their programme of study (PSHE Association 2014) and guidance (PSHE Association 2018) outlines the purpose of study, the aims, attainment targets and overarching concepts, as well as guidance on developing school-based approaches[4].

Despite the non-statutory status of the PSHE curriculum (at the time) and the careful advice on the Department for Education's expectations of schools, the PSHE programme and particularly the end of key stage statements provide a values-based template for teachers to support the development of pupils. Again, both documents avoid suggesting that social values should be taught by schools, suggesting instead that pupils should 'develop their sense of social justice and moral responsibility'. The Department for Education (2013b, 2021) guidance on Personal Social Health and Economic education (PSHE) provides greater detail on state expectations:

> ***During key stage 2*** *pupils should learn about themselves as growing and changing individuals with their own experiences and ideas, and as members of their communities. They become more mature, independent and self-confident. They learn about the wider world and the interdependence of communities within it. They develop their sense of social justice and moral responsibility and begin to understand that their choices and behaviour can affect local, national and global issues and political and social institutions. They learn how to take part*

[2] The Department for Education published Statutory Guidance for Relationships Education, Relationships and Sex Education (RSE) and Health Education in June 2019. This sets out what schools must cover from September 2020 - though not all they should cover as part of broader PSHE education).
[3] Most of these became statutory requirements from 2020 under the Children and Social Work Act 2017 but were not statutory at the time of this study.
[4] PSHE Association guidance was updated after the inclusion of RSE and Health Education in June 2019. More recent guidance (2021) is available at: https://pshe-association.org.uk/guidance/ks1-5/planning/long-term-planning

> *more fully in school and community activities. As they begin to develop into young adults, they face the changes of puberty and transfer to secondary school with support and encouragement from their school. They learn how to make more confident and informed choices about their health and environment; to take more responsibility, individually and as a group, for their own learning; and to resist bullying. (*Department for Education 2013b)

The wording of this advice appears careful not to endorse didactic values education nor to suggest that education is value-free. Rather, the National Curriculum for England (2013) places an expectation on all state funded primary schools to support the development of children's values in accordance with the needs of society, democracy and the economy, whilst carefully avoiding any definition of these needs or values. The corollary to this careful wording, and to the increasingly diverse economy of state-funded primary schooling, is that schools have some freedom to define the needs of society and the values that children should develop, although these are subject to inspection.

Tsirogianni, Sammut & Park (2014) define social values as,

> *Social values are defined as standards, which individuals and social groups employ to define personal goals and essentially shape the nature and form of social order in a collective i.e., what is acceptable and not acceptable, what ought or ought not to be, what is desirable or non-desirable*. (p.1)

These standards arise through negotiation within a collective and can be either conceived values (guiding principles) or operative values (in-practice values). Furthermore, Tsirogianni, Sammut & Park (2014) suggest that, within small collectives, both forms of social values can be changed as a result of explicit or implicit group decisions. Within larger collectives, the standards may reflect explicit or implicit societal debate and decisions, and individuals may have little input into the social values. Thus, social values can be seen as a set of standards of appropriate behaviour (often with hierarchical aspects) within a social group, and these values may be malleable in small groups and inflexible in larger groups.

Palaiologou (2019) notes that there are three main domains of child development in primary schools. These are physical development, cognitive development and social-

emotional development. The latter relates to changes that occur in the way children understand themselves, regulate their emotions, and connecting with others to form relationships. As child development at school tends to happen within small collectives (school, class or friendship group), it follows that appropriate socio-emotional development must be aligned to the social values of the community. Thus, social-emotional development can be characterised as children learning what is acceptable, normal or desirable in different social groups that they may inhabit simultaneously. However, Palaiologou (2019) notes that primary schools are not culturally detached, and the values of the school are likely to reflect the priorities and values of the wider community. Consequently, the social values of primary schools are likely to reflect broader societal expectations of primary education in the development of people who can function within society.

Thus, this doctoral study looks at social values as the standards of what is acceptable and not acceptable, what ought or ought not to be, what is desirable or non-desirable within the social interactions between individuals. These are considered both as normative standards - using the PSHE descriptions as a proxy for societal expectations – and as negotiated and socially constructed standards of interacting within the group. Thus, changes in an individual's social interactions might indicate socio-emotional development towards societal expectations, or engagement in social construction of norms within the group.

The values of a school are often explicit in the school's statement of values. Teachers delivering PSHE or other aspects of curriculum and school life are therefore likely to base their teaching on the school values. Thus, faith schools tend to teach PSHE that includes social values derived from religion, whilst other schools may teach PSHE in ways that reflect the social values of staff, governors or investors. Indeed, Keddie (2019) suggests that school values are becoming increasingly influenced by commercial performativity, which sees education as 'investment in society' (p.15) and that this has led to a view that the development of national values can be characterised as 'value for money' for society.

However, Keddie (2019) perhaps overstates the influence of commercial performativity as most primary schools put great care into defining their school values and supporting children to develop positive values through programmes of teaching, projects,

assemblies and out of school experiences, as well as through the expected behaviour of staff and pupils. Commonly, primary schools have a value of the week, month or term that children explore across all aspects of their schooling. It is also common practice to present the development of values as an important aspect of the preparation of children for transition to secondary school or middle school, and consequently this receives additional focus towards the end of key stage two. It is also common that schools see out-of-school experiences, including residential trips, as a significant part of developing children's values.

1.2 Residential outdoor learning and its role in the development of children's social values

Residential outdoor learning in England is an established part of the calendar for most primary schools. However, there is no central register of school trips, out of school learning or residential outdoor learning in England, and consequently the exact number of residentials undertaken by children in key stage two is unknown. In a large-scale study, Learning Away (2017) estimated that on average educational establishments arrange 2.5 residentials per year, for approximately 1.8 million children, although most pupils do not have the opportunity to participate on an annual basis, meaning that around 21% of children attend a residential in any year. However, these findings did not differentiate between primary and secondary pupils, and the data included independent schools, academies and special schools.

Whilst some residential outdoor learning in England is organised and run by schools, most schools choose external organisations to provide their residentials. In part the decision to outsource these events reflects the complexity of organising residentials and in part it reflects pragmatic decisions about cost, predictability of outcomes and risk management. The provision of residential outdoor learning is a mixed economy with a wide range of state, charity and private providers. There are several accreditation schemes[5]. Wood and Pritchard (2014) found that 61% of accredited providers were in the private sector, whilst 19% were charities and 20% were state run. However, given the large scale of many of the private providers it is likely over 80% of primary school residentials are provided by commercial organisations.

[5] The main accreditation schemes are Adventuremark, Council for Learning Outside the Classroom Quality badge, Association for Heads of Outdoor Education Centres and licencing through the Adventure Activities Licencing Authority

Simpson (2007) identifies three dimensions of residential outdoor learning: adventure, learning from experience, and new space. This latter dimension is highly characteristic of primary school residentials, where the children are transported to a new space in which they remain for all or most of the time. Gee (2010) suggests that the physical remoteness and the limited opportunities for interaction with the outside world, serves as the basis for the strengthening of existing friendships, the formation of new friendships and the retrenchment of existing friendships. Gee (2010) uses the term 'temporary community' to describe this spatially and temporally bounded setting. In most residentials, the physical context is characterised by shared accommodation, communal eating areas, specific activity locations and specified meeting points. The day is separated into clearly timetabled sections. The children are then divided into rooming groups and activity groups. The proximity of teachers and other adults is managed to balance the need for support with opportunities for independence and interdependence. Most residentials have restrictions on mobile phone and computer use. However, the most unfamiliar aspect of the setting are the activities, which typically include such things as abseiling, archery, air-rifle shooting, assault courses, bushcraft, canoeing, challenge tasks, climbing towers, crafts, high ropes courses, kayaking, low ropes courses, nightline, orienteering, problem solving, raft building, tunnelling, sailing, tree-climbing and zip-wires. These are clearly flagged in the pre-arrival information, and the imposing structures and briefings tend to accentuate the adventure.

Scrutton (2020, p.46) suggests that residentials can be divided into four course types: adventure courses; residential curriculum-related courses; courses combining adventure and curriculum components; and bespoke courses tailored to customer needs. Of these, he notes that two are common at primary school level. These are 'adventure courses' aimed at delivering personal and social development, and 'courses combining adventure and curriculum components'. These two course types differ in their approach to learning, with the former using challenge-based team projects to stimulate personal development. This course type is likely to include a progression of adventurous activities that require social interaction, collaborative working and problem-solving. By contrast, 'courses combining adventure and curriculum components' are presented as combining exciting activities with curriculum content to support learning. The rationale for the latter is that "*affective learning engendered by the adventure component stimulates parallel or subsequent cognitive learning*" (p.46), and Scrutton (2020) suggests that this is likely to

include individual and shared adventurous activities that encourage an emotional response (excitement, fear) in response to heightened sensations, interspersed with activities and reflection on curriculum components. However, it seems unlikely that these two forms are identifiably different to children for whom the purpose of the activity is less important than the activity itself. Thus, the residential is an intense experience for most primary school children that combines unfamiliar adventurous activities in a strange context with a significant level of independence from adults and interdependence on other children.

However, beneath the surface of the residential is a structure that is designed to support the development of children's social values. The division of children into small activity groups is intended to develop collaborative relationships through developing better understanding of other people and through finding ways to work together more effectively. In most activities, the activity is designed so that groups with collaborative relationships will have an improved experience over those with less effective teamwork. Thus, the children receive reinforcement feedback that supports the development of social values such as tolerance, respect, care and responsibility. These values may be embedded in briefings and reviews and children are often encouraged to explore how they could improve the ways that they work together. Many organisations also use elements of competition to emphasise the benefits of teamwork. Social values are also embedded in the way that the activities are facilitated by staff. This characteristically includes modelling positive social values such as positivity, compassion and dependability as well as politeness, respect and fairness.

Away from the activities, the communal life of the residential is also arranged to support the development of children's social values. Children are expected to live and eat together. Children are expected to resolve differences and be fair to each other. Children are expected to take responsibility for themselves and support each other. In most cases these tenets will be laid down by the teachers. However, again the design of rooms gives small groups of children the independence to experiment with negotiating their own rules about bedtimes, behaviour, sweets and stories. Unbeknownst to the children, this freedom (and a degree of wildness) is expected by teachers and staff and seen as an important learning experience. As in the activities, reinforcement feedback means that the children's attitudes and behaviours are adapted over the course of the residential, through negotiation of norms of behaviour. The process of negotiating these norms

means that children need to understand and engage with alternative opinions and establish their own values through that engagement.

Thus, residential outdoor learning can be seen as an intense period for children in which they learn about themselves and other people outside of the close supervision of adults. The designed context of the residential provides freedom to explore their friendships and the values that underpin them, and incentives for children to change the way that they live and work with other children. This is very different from the structured approach to teaching social values as part of PSHE in primary schools.

1.3 Research aims

This thesis argues that current research into the ways that residential outdoor learning supports the development of children's social values does not fully explore the lived experience of children. It proposes that the extant literature focusses on activities and skills (both physical and social) and is overly dependent on ideas of experiential learning and place-based learning rather than considering how social values emerge from formal and informal social interactions. The thesis stems from the insight of Gee (2010), who suggests that the main outcomes of residentials are around the strengthening of existing friendships, the formation of new friendships and the retrenchment of existing friendships.

This insight forms the starting point for exploring whether there are changes in children's social values within their social interactions during and after residentials. As such the research considers the interactions in terms of social capital formation, rejecting the concept of social skills development, rather it seeks to understand children's narratives of their social interactions and to seek explanations of the processes by which their social values change. As the narratives are likely to be social constructions, and as the children may lack capacity for self-reflection, the study seeks additional insights into the processes from the teachers who were on residential with the children.

This thesis reports evidence and explanations for the development of social values through formal and informal social interactions through residential outdoor learning. It presents implications for the practice of teachers and residential providers in relation to the commissioning and designing of residential programmes that allow opportunities for

social interactions that are likely to support the development of children's social values and that support teachers in the delivery of the PSHE curriculum.

To this end, the research aimed to explore how primary school children's social values were influenced by their social experiences during residential outdoor learning. Specifically, to consider:

1. whether structured team working during the residentials led to changes in social values.
2. whether unstructured social interactions during the residentials led to changes in social values.
3. how the residential impacted on the values identified within the PSHE curriculum.
4. in what ways, if at all, children's and teachers' accounts support existing explanations for changes in social values: the creation of temporary communities; developing an ethos of care through the establishment of a connection to place; and establishing general and specific reciprocity during social capital formation.
5. implications for primary school teachers and providers of residential outdoor learning.

1.4 The structure of the thesis

Having introduced the context of the study, Chapter 2 explores relevant literature including: the contested theoretical basis for residential outdoor learning; the origins and historical development of practice; and the role of risk, narrative building, temporary communities and social capital in children's experiences of residential outdoor learning. Chapter 3 identifies the methodology and methods, positioning the study, and discussing the research design, research questions, research context, sampling strategy, methods of data collection and analysis, and research ethics. Chapter 4 presents the findings within four overarching themes: pupils' perceptions of the residential experience; pupils' experiences of peer collaboration and support; pupils' and teachers' experiences of social interaction, and pupils' and teachers' perception of changes in social interactions. In Chapter 5, the findings are discussed alongside the literature to consider how the children's social values were influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning. Finally, in Chapter 6, the conclusions and implications are presented.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature relating to the development of children's social values through residential outdoor learning. After establishing definitions (2.1), it develops the position for the study through the consideration of the theoretical foundations of residential outdoor learning. In particular, it looks at the existence of two parallel explanations for the learning process during residentials and explores the limitations in the evidential basis of both explanations (2.2). The chapter then considers the literature around the current provision of residential outdoor learning and how the origins and historical development of practice has influenced the nature of such provision (2.3). The review then inspects previous research on residential outdoor learning, exploring the concept of risk, narrative building, social interaction in temporary communities, and the development of social capital through the development of networks, norms and trust (2.4). The review seeks to evaluate the evidence and theoretical approaches associated with this topic to determine whether there is an agreed basis for exploring children's social experiences during residential outdoor learning (2.5-2.9). The review concludes by stating the research questions. Thus, the review seeks to identify the current state of knowledge and the gaps in the literature to establish the structure of the study and the investigative approach taken in the doctorate.

This chapter draws on a UK literature to explore the history, practices and impacts of residential outdoor learning as the nature of residential provision varies widely across the globe. However, it draws on an international literature to establish the theoretical framework for considering residential outdoor learning and social value formation. Such inclusion of international texts is common to doctoral studies in the area (Nundy 1998; Nicol 2001; Christie 2004; Simpson 2007; Telford 2010; Gee 2010; Rea 2011; Scrutton 2011; Williams 2012; Keeling 2017) and is due to the limited scale of the literature relating specifically to residential experiences in the UK, which has been described by Higgins and Christie (2012, p.45) as 'scarce'. Whilst most texts were published after 2009, older texts are included where they have relevance to the topic and provide historical or theoretical perspective. The scope of the texts includes book chapters, journal articles, research papers, commissioned research papers, doctoral and masters' theses, UK policy papers and peer-reviewed opinion pieces.

2.1 Definitional issues

The term ‘residential outdoor learning’ is widely used in UK literature (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2010, p.18; Christie, Higgins and McLaughlin 2014; Higgins and Mclaughlin 2014). Christie and Higgins (2012) use this term as a conscious alternative to ‘residential outdoor education’ to include informal, experiential and serendipitous learning during an organised residential experience, and to emphasise the agency of the learner above that of the educator. However, the term is often used interchangeably with the more traditional terms of ‘residentials’ (DVL Smith 2004; Paul Hamlyn Foundation 2015; Loynes 2017), ‘outdoor residential’ (Fuller, Powell and Fox 2016), ‘residential outdoor education’ (Bogner 2002; Simpson 2007; Telford 2010; Rea 2011), ‘residential learning experiences’ (Christie 2010), and ‘outdoor residential education’ (Keeling 2017). Various other terms seek to identify sub-classifications of residential outdoor learning. These include those where adventure or adventurous activities are central to the educational process: ‘residential adventure education’ (Williams 2012; Williams 2013; Meese 2015) and ‘outdoor adventure residentials’ (Prince 2020a), and those where curriculum enhancement is central to the experience, such as ‘outdoor classroom’ (Stan 2008), or ‘residential fieldwork’ (Nundy 1998; Gee 2012; Gee 2015; Gee 2019).

The existence of numerous terms may reflect the lack of a single agreed definition of residential outdoor learning, but also delineates differences in the forms of provision and in the pedagogic understanding of residentials. For the purpose of this thesis, the term ‘residential outdoor learning’ will be used throughout and will be treated as broadly synonymous with the term ‘residential outdoor education’. All other terms will be considered as sub classifications within a single body of literature and research evidence. Thus, the literature is presented using the broad definition of activity by Christie and Higgins (2012), who define residential outdoor learning as,

> *outdoor learning trips to residential outdoor centres and/or expeditions that involved being away from home overnight.* (p.47)

In common with most academic writing in this area, the term ‘residential’ is used as a contraction of the longer term within the body of the work.

Secondly, the term ‘social values’ is used widely in primary school teaching literature and practice. It is used in conjunction or interchangeably with terms such as ‘core values’ and

'school values' and is often seen to incorporate 'citizenship values' or, more recently, 'British values' in formal documents. These values are usually identified on school websites and are seen to underpin social interactions within the school and their development is seen as a part of the social-emotional development of the child (Palaiologou 2019). In most cases such values are presented as uncritical statements of values that are seen by the school of socially beneficial for child development, but they also reflect the political agenda and the needs of the local community.

Woolley (2010) suggests that they are sometimes about societal needs rather than the rights of the child. He states,

> *First, children are citizens. They are not the citizens of the future; they are living in society in the here and now. Whilst the National Curriculum has a focus on preparing children for adult life, schools also need to consider how they are supported in the present… they have rights, enshrined in national and international law, and need to be enabled to take an increasing responsibility for their own ideas, actions, attitudes and values.* (p.135)

Thus, Woolley (2010) starts from the perspective that education is about providing a scaffold to help children to develop their own values. However, he somewhat undermines this by suggesting that valuing similarity and difference should be central to children's values and that an appreciation for the identities of others should be upheld and exhibited by teachers and encouraged in learners. Thus, he combines the concept that children have the right to their own beliefs, with a professional imperative to support development of values that encourage social integration. Woolley (2013) again explores the nature of values and vision in primary education. He uses the seven strands of active citizenship identified by Claire (2001) namely: Empowerment, Empathy, Identity, Diversity, Ethics, Action, and Vision, and sees these as areas for development. Woolley (2013) states that,

> *These are not areas that can be taught per se. Rather, they can be nurtured through exploration and engagement with ideas and with issues.* (p.191)

Thus, he again suggests that the role of the teacher is to scaffold the empowerment of children to develop an ethic of care that helps children to appreciate similarities and celebrate differences between people so that they learn to accept and value those

around them. Whilst Woolley (2010, 2013) is careful not to recommend the prescriptive teaching of social values, he clearly sees that primary school teachers have a duty to support the development of a set of values that will have an enduring effect as they grow and mature.

Barnes (2015) extends this beyond the concept of citizenships and empowerment to suggest that primary schools are themselves set within communities and that the values of the school reflect the priorities and values of the community. Furthermore, he suggests that schools often form "a social and symbolic hub within the community and as such continue to exemplify and lead on social values" (p.126). Thus, schools have dual roles in the construction of social capital and the transmission of cultural capital. However, he cautions that values are social constructions too and the championing of values by a school must be judged by the correspondence between rhetoric and deed.

The creation and maintenance of social capital is discussed later in this review (section 2.8), but it is interesting that Barnes (2015) sees the development of social values as a means of developing individual and shared value through the creation of networks. Implicit in this is the assumption that children's participation in such networks is based on norms of reciprocity (Putnam 2000) and that norms of behaviour within the network are located, created and reinforced within the relationships. The basis for such norms of behaviour then can be described as 'social values' – either conceived or operative – as the values act as the foundation for predictions of accepted behaviour.

Thus, the term 'social values' is used within the literature to refer to standards (both conceived and operative) of what is acceptable and not acceptable, what ought or ought not to be, what is desirable or non-desirable within the social interactions between individuals.

2.2 Theoretical bases of outdoor education and residential outdoor learning

Brown (2009) suggests that there is a limited history of theoretical research about outdoor learning and outdoor education. Although modern forms of outdoor education have been existent since the 1960s (Waite *et al.* 2012; Cook 2000), and have origins in educational practices related to colonialism, militarism and religion in the Victorian era (Ewert 1989; Smith *et al.* 1992; Loynes 2008; Loynes 2017), the professional practice literature was largely practical in nature, with a predominance of 'how to do books' that

stemmed from Robert Baden Powell's influential text 'Scouting for Boys' (Baden Powell, 1908) until the 1980s when more academic texts emerged. Since then, there have been significant changes in professional practice and continued growth in research and theoretical development. Indeed, Allison (2015) suggested that there had been six waves of outdoor education, but that the theory base was still in a state of confusion.

Allison (2015) suggests that outdoor education theory commonly makes a '*category mistake'* by seeking to identify the context or aims of learning rather than the approach. Thus, Allison (2015) locates outdoor education as an experiential approach to learning rather than as a field of activity (outdoor activity, environmental education, curriculum connections) or as learning aims (personal and social development, sustainability, skills). He recommends that the research focus concentrates on experiential learning rather than outdoor education. Allison's article highlights a key theoretical divide within the literature on outdoor education and, by extension, residential outdoor learning. This divide is best characterised as two alternate positions: experiential learning and place-based learning.

Whilst both positions have long histories, experiential learning has had a longer history and until recently has been the theoretical underpinning for most major textbooks on outdoor education (Ewert 1989; Hopkins and Putnam 1993; Miles and Priest 1999; Barnes and Sharp 2004; Priest and Gass 2005; Prouty, Panicucci and Collinson 2007; Berry and Hodgson 2011). By contrast, the outdoor education literature around place-based learning emerged in academic papers and conferences in the period 2003-2009, but now forms the basis for a number of textbooks (Wattchow and Brown 2011; Beames and Brown 2016; Humberstone, Prince and Henderson 2016).

As the experiential learning and place-based learning positions have conflicting theoretical antecedents and recognise different forms of evidence, they are considered separately in this review. Although a number of authors have sought to sidestep this theoretical conflict by describing the practice-theories (Thomas 2015), by seeking to unify these theories (Quay and Seaman 2016) or through the developing theoretical explanations that draw on both approaches (Mullins 2014; Prins and Wattchow 2020), the continued existence of these schools of thought is apparent in the decisions and outputs of academic journals, conferences and publishing houses as well as in the content of research and writing in the area.

Whilst this review considers the positions separately, it is notable that both approaches were significantly influenced by the sustained evidential and theoretical challenges to the validity of *experiential learning theory* (Brookes 2003a; Brookes 2003b; Quay 2003). This led to a significant revision of the experiential learning position (Ord and Leather 2011; Quay and Seaman 2016) to better align with research evidence and with emerging theory on psychological resilience (Neill and Dias 2001; Beightol *et al*. 2012). It also led to the emergence of an alternative theoretical basis for outdoor learning in *place-based learning* (Orr 1992; Wattchow and Brown 2010; Waite 2013). This alternative theory was broadly based on situated learning theory (Brown 2009; Beames and Attencio 2008; Bowridge 2010), emphasising that learning is a process of relationship building through engagement with shared activities in the environment.

Humberstone, Prince and Henderson (2016) state that

> *During the last decades, research into outdoor studies has grown significantly, yet haphazardly and erratically*. (p.1)

Indeed, it is noteworthy that the haphazard and erratic growth of research has led to significant challenges to previous orthodoxies, to new understanding of aspects of outdoor learning, and has spawned the development of specialist areas of research in residential outdoor learning, including: the importance of place (Wattchow and Brown 2010; Waite 2013); the affective experiences (Humberstone and Stan 2011; Coates *et al.* 2015), the development of relationships with nature (Clarke and McPhie 2016; Mullins 2014), and around the development of resilience (Neill and Dias 2001; Hayhurst *et al.* 2015; Ewert and Yoshino 2015).

Despite the continued existence of two schools of thought and the increase in evidence-based understanding of the area, Allison (2015) suggests that outdoor education research has increasingly conceptualised outdoor learning as a pedagogic process occurring over an extended period. This is in marked contrast to the writing of the 1990s which were commonly based on the *Adventure Programming models* (Priest 1990) and the *Outward Bound process model* (Walsh and Golin 1976) which suggested that behavioural or character change resulted from structured reflection on intense experiences and could thus be facilitated within a short period of time. As a result, the

research focus has swung towards the consideration of longer experiences, or of short experiences within the longer sociological context of school, work or family. Thus, the theoretical basis for residential outdoor learning sits within a larger but problematic theoretical framework of outdoor education that is characterised as 'limited', 'confused', 'haphazard', influenced by two contrasting theories of learning, and, despite developments, can still be seen as 'an activity in search of an appropriate theory' (Brown 2009).

2.2.1 Experiential learning approaches

Itin (2000) identifies experiential education as a philosophy of education defined as:

> *Experiential education is a holistic philosophy where carefully chosen experiences supported by reflection, critical analysis, and synthesis, are structured to require the learner to take initiative, make decisions, and be accountable for the results through actively posing questions, investigating, experimenting, being curious, solving problems, assuming responsibility, being creative, constructing meaning and integrating previously developed knowledge*. (p.93)

This definition (Itin 2000) reflects a coherent position that is developed by Kraft (1986) and underpins the approach of the influential textbook by Miles and Priest (1990) which formed the basis for professional practice and academic study across US, European and Australasian practice for much of the next 20 years. Thus, Miles and Priest (1990) were rooted in an understanding of experiential learning as defined by Kraft (1986), who suggested that experiential learning incorporated the philosophy of John Dewey (Dewey 1938), the experiential learning cycle of David Kolb (Kolb 1984), and the educational imperative of Kurt Hahn (James 1990, Itin 1999). The resultant text adopted, adapted and developed a number of process models (e.g. Walsh and Golin 1976) where educational inputs led to personal development through a facilitated process of reflection and application. Miles and Priest (1990) also incorporated psychological theory including arousal theory (Carpenter and Priest 1989), flow (Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi 1990), peak experiences and comfort zones (Luckner and Nadler 1997). It included leadership theory (from a wide range of management literature) which was later developed into a typology of 12 core competencies of outdoor leadership (Priest and Gass 1997) and the conditional outdoor leadership theory (Priest and Gass 1997). The

ideas in Miles and Priest (1990) were revised and refined in Priest and Gass (1997) and influenced US academic writing and practitioner textbooks such as Martin et al. (2006) and Stremba (2009), and UK textbooks such as Barnes and Sharp (2004) and Berry and Hodgson (2011).

The structure of outdoor adventure education theory developed by Miles and Priest (1999) with its complex interweaving of educational and psychological theories also became central to research and practice (Brown 2009). During the 1990s and early years of the new millennium, research studies applied this structure to explore or prove the impact of outdoor education programmes and these were drawn together in several meta studies (Hattie *et al.* 1997; Rickinson *et al*. 2004). Whilst the unified structure was not universally accepted it became the dominant research paradigm for a decade.

However, in 2003 the evidential and theoretical base of experiential learning was challenged by an Australian academic, Andrew Brookes (Brookes 2003a, 2003b, 2003c), who took issue with the persistence of *character building* as a justification for outdoor adventure education and particularly the underlying concept that personality traits (or character) could be changed by certain one-off experiences. He suggested that researchers, facilitators, and participants wrongly attributed changes in behaviour (state) to changes in trait (character), and that this was reinforced by confirmation bias and consistency bias. He cited an earlier meta-study by Hattie *et al*. (1997) that noted that many research papers 'read like advertisements', and that many failed to separate observable changes from the participants' beliefs about their own behaviour. In two papers, Brookes (2003a, 2003b) described the theory base of Miles and Priest (1990) as *Neo-Hahnian*, a term that reflected the educational philosophy of Kurt Hahn and particularly the proposition that there is a direct relationship between adventure and character building. Brookes (2003b) cautioned that Neo-Hahnian practice that was based on the uncritical acceptance of this thesis risked the development of harmful interventions based on false premises and might also lead to lost opportunities to solve educational problems.

Brookes (2003) and later Brown (2009) identified two significant flaws. Firstly, the lack of an agreed definition of *experience* meant that it was difficult to identify the inputs that were being related to changes in personal development. Secondly the lack of a clear definition of *personal development* meant that assessment of impact was largely

anecdotal or based on change in a single psychological measure. Taken alongside the assumption that changes in behaviour relate directly to changes in character, this meant that even short-term changes in behaviour could be interpreted as evidence that a particular experience was impactful and could lead to permanent changes in behaviour. Brookes (2003) suggested that these theoretical flaws meant that research and professional practice became increasingly based on the assumption that personality (or character) could be changed by one-off experiences, so long as the experience was adequately impactful and was appropriately supported by a process of reflection.

The exploration and reinterpretation of the theoretical coherence and evidential base of experiential education has led to a vigorous debate (Seaman, Brown and Quay 2017; Seaman 2008, 2009, 2019; Quay and Seaman 2016; Smith, *et al*. 2011; and Roberts 2012). The debate has been reinvigorated by the development, validation and widespread use of research tools around resilience (Ewert and Garvey 2007; Hayhurst *et al.* 2015) which have been increasing viewed as a metric for personal development and character change.

One model that was incorporated in Miles and Priest (1990) and many subsequent texts has particular relevance to residential outdoor learning: The Outward Bound process model (Walsh and Golin 1976). Sibthorpe (2003, p.81) states that "*it is difficult to find a text on adventure-based programs without the Walsh and Golin citation*", and Gass, Gillis and Russell (2012) describe it as central to adventure therapy. The Walsh and Golin (1976) model identified the important components of residential outdoor learning, gives guidance on the function of these components and suggests outcomes that include increased self-awareness, self-esteem, self-efficacy and belongingness, and thence to changed behaviour. It has been explored in detail by MacKenzie (2003) and Sibthorpe (2003) and relies on two concepts: adaptative dissonance and the development of a support community. Gargano and Turcotte (2021, p.89) suggest that adaptive dissonance provides 'a destabilizing context in which participants are immersed (forests, weather conditions, unfamiliar environments, unknown peer groups), and challenging activities' and which requires the participants to call upon personal resources that are seldom used, resort to new adaptation strategies, and develop adjustment mechanisms. Gargano and Turcotte (2021, p.89) also suggest that the model depends on the development of a support community, such that "the *presence of a structure of collaboration and support that arises from participant interdependence enhances the use*

of cognitive and psychological spheres and creates a laboratory of interpersonal experiences".

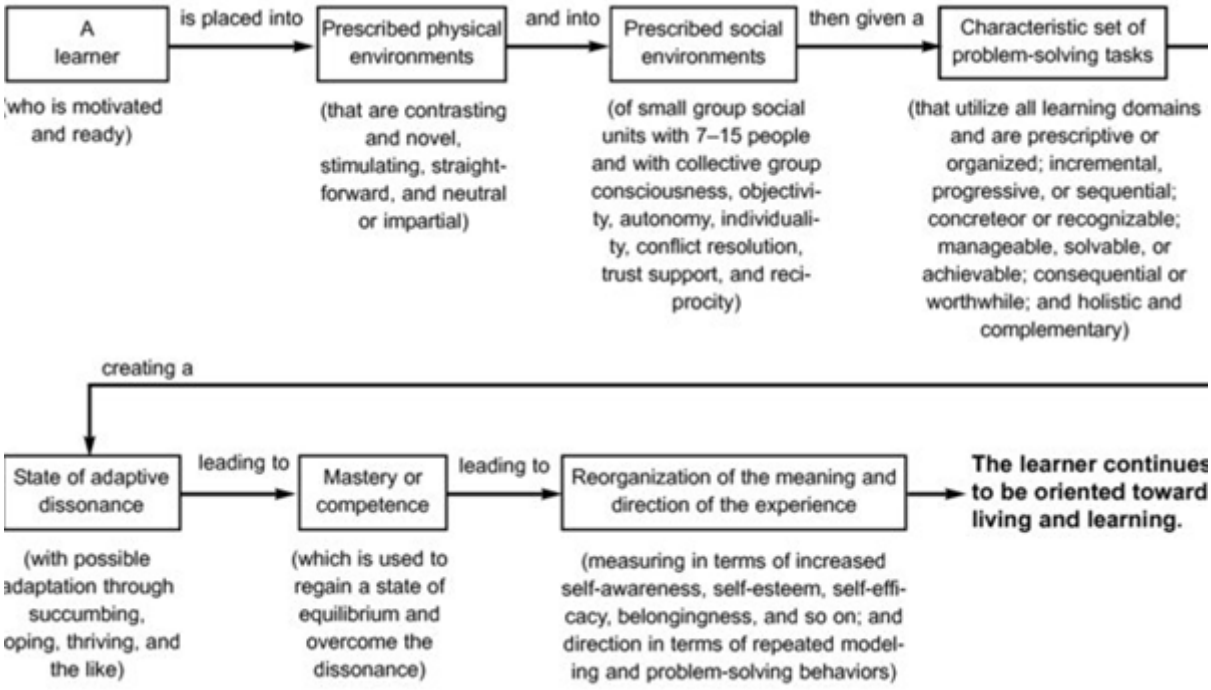

Figure 1: Walsh and Golin (1976) model of the Outward Bound process (source: Priest and Gass 2005, p. 140.)

Whilst Figure 1 lacks mention of the reflective aspects of the experiential learning cycle (Kolb 1984) it provided an exemplar for the application of experiential learning theory in residential outdoor learning (Priest and Gass 2005; McKenzie 2000; Sibthorpe 2003; Beames 2004), justifying particular practices and providing a model for designing and evaluating programming and staffing. In addition, its structure provided a simple, logical progression towards personal development that justified suffering and discomfort as educational tools.

In a review of recent writing on experiential learning, Seaman, Brown and Quay (2017) suggest that experiential learning's…

> *…conversion into a general theory of learning… sustained an ideology and related set of practices that had begun to fall into disfavor as the public lost*

> *interest in new-age retreats and as critics assailed the human potential movement for sponsoring a 'culture of narcissism*. (p.16)

Within this, they suggest that modern authors identify problems with experiential learning's focus on individual learning, it's presentation as a "*timeless and ubiquitous psychological process*", and the adherence to canonical models (such as Kolb 1984 and Walsh and Golin 1972).

Thus, experiential learning provides a well-established and coherent model of learning in residential settings but has been subject to significant evidential and theoretical challenges.

2.2.2 Place-based learning approaches

Following the publication of Brookes' work (2003a, 2003b), there was an intense period of philosophical, practical and theoretical research with a number of authors seeking an alternative theoretical basis for outdoor education. This led to the development of a parallel theory based on the concept that learning is embedded within the social, historical and natural context rather than the experience (Brown 2009; Wattchow and Brown 2011). *A pedagogy of place* (Wattchow and Brown 2011) laid out an alternative educational agenda based on connection with place and with aims of personal development and societal transformation towards ecological sustainability. Their emphasis was not on adventure or risk, but on the slower processes of developing respect for nature through a holistic engagement with place where,

> ...*place is suggestive of both the imaginative and physical reality of a location and its people, and how the two interact and change each other*. (Wattchow and Brown 2011, p. xxi)

They suggest that the use of such a place-responsive pedagogy involved explicitly teaching *by-means-of-an-environment* with the aim of understanding and improving human–environment relations. Whilst broadly supporting this thesis, Nicol (2014) suggests that the nature of the nature-based experiences is still important, and Higgins (2009) sees that the sustainability agenda may be too complicated for experiential learning and thus there may be a role for more didactic teaching. In addition, Lynch and Manion (2016) differentiates between place-based learning and place-responsive

learning, where the educator has to make decisions about the appropriate educational use of the context.

Brown (2009) suggests that this approach derives from situated learning (Lave and Wenger 1991) and that outdoor education can be seen as situated within places that are ascribed with social and cultural-historical meanings which combine with the physical features to afford and constrain activity. He argues that learning is tethered to a particular terrain of resources and relationships and that,

> …*from a situated perspective, the context, the activity, the participants and the tools (physical and cultural) do not merely influence learning and what counts as knowledge – they constitute learning and knowing.* (p.9)

Furthermore, Brown (2009) explores two aspects of situated learning theory, the *community of practice*, and *the legitimate peripheral practices,* and considers how these provide an explanation for personal development within an outdoor setting. He suggests that envisaging outdoor education as a community of practice "*sites the learner as a co-participant in a community of learners, not as an independent and autonomous actor who has either succeeded or failed to learn.*" (p.10)

The development of knowledge and skills is thus contextually specific to the social situation and becomes part of a negotiated process where individuals learn from each other. Here learning occurs as newcomers move towards full participation in the group by engaging with the activities, identities and artifacts of the 'old timers'. However, a supportive community has approaches to developing its members. Newcomers may be supported to move from the periphery of the community (newcomers) to the core ('old timers') through undertaking activities that are less intense, with special assistance, with help to reduce the consequence of errors, or through the close supervision of those who are less peripheral. Thus, the situated learning approach suggests that learning is concerned with engagement with activities, identities and artifacts of the community of practice, but is also influenced by the social dynamics of that community and the ways it encourages and supports membership.

The socio-cultural approach to learning also changes what is counted as knowledge, which is considered as contextual to the social and physical situation. Brown (2009) suggests,

> *What is counted as knowledge depends on the particular task, the skills and relationships that are found and evolve in the new situation. Acting appropriately is not simply a matter of applying 'x' solution from 'y' situation, rather it is a matter of negotiating the highly nuanced and interactive systems that are valued in this community practice. Implicit in this process is the recognition of affordances and constraints that may occur across situations.* (p.10)

Thus, the community does not have a fixed canon of knowledge, rather it has shared values that inform and constrain the ways that solutions are found for new situations. Brown (2009) acknowledges that this challenges the claims that outdoor education can develop generalised learning or to transfer specific skills into different contexts but suggests that claims about learning should be more modest: the ability to cook for a group, to navigate, and to consider the well-being of others when planning a journey.

Brown (2009) concludes that situated learning approaches present:

> *a subtle but important shift in focus and emphasis. Recognising that outdoor experiences, like all lived experiences, are conducted within particular communities of practice, places OAE programmes within in a vast web of communities of practice. On the one hand OAE experiences are no longer 'unique' sites of learning - they are another community of practice with particular goals and outcomes. On the other hand however, they are 'unique' or 'special' in the same way that all communities of practice are. An acknowledgement of this is both restricting and liberating*. (p.10)

Whilst Brown (2009) provides a clear link between place-based learning and situated learning it is worth noting that the approach also has strong antecedents in the environmental education literature where place and nature are often considered as interrelated concepts. As such Gruenewald (2003) differentiates 'place' from community and argues that place-based learning is not anthropocentric, recognises the agency of the non-human world and should synthesize critical and place-based approaches with

the twin objectives of decolonization and reinhabitation. Thus, he argues, place-based leaning must address critical ecological challenges including sustainability and disengagement from nature and should seek to reconnect people to the ecosystem. He concludes that educators need to reflect on the relationship between the kind of education they pursue and the kind of places we inhabit and leave behind for future generations.

Gruenewald's ideas have been influential in the outdoor education literature and his relational materialist approaches can be seen in mainstream texts (Wattchow and Brown 2011; Waite and Pratt 2011; Lynch and Manion 2016) and in texts on eco-philosophy of outdoor education (Clarke and McPhie 2014; Rose and Cachelin 2014; Mikaels and Asfeldt 2017) who consider the connection to non-human nature as a reciprocal relationship characterised by agency and imbued with values.

Lynch and Manion (2016) suggest that 'place' is being reasserted as a key unifying concern that makes outdoor pedagogy viable, meaningful and worthwhile. They posit a pragmatic differentiation between teaching strategies to include place-ambivalent, place-sensitive and place-essential teaching, and consider that the choices depend on the teacher's lived experience of teaching outdoors and (by extension) their theoretical orientation. Lynch and Manion (2016) characterise these theoretical orientations as: i) the critical socio-historical explanation of place-person relationships where outdoor education facilitates relationships and encourages critical discourse (Gruenewald 2003); ii) the post-phenomenological and pragmatic traditions that see place as co-created by teachers and students and thus relationally pedagogic (Somerville 2008); and iii) the socio-ecological approaches where outdoor education is place responsive such that the relationship with place is co-created and emergent, and learning is embodied in stories, bodies and within the community.

It is, perhaps, this last orientation that links most closely to Brown (2009) and to the concept of situated learning, but Lynch and Manion (2016) indicate that the orientations are not mutually exclusive. Thus, teaching in the outdoors can simultaneously be a connection to the more-than-human aspects of place and social engagement with a community of practice.

Furthermore, Brown (2010) recommends that situated learning approaches should move away from the idea of knowledge being transferred and suggests adopting a more process-evoking term such as 'knowing' to recognise that learning is embedded in interactions and can be seen as the ability to successfully interact in society. He sees outdoor learning as a powerful socialisation process where students learn within the community of practice. Whilst the 'knowing' may have limited direct relevance or utility in other contexts, the students may be equipped with the consciousness and skills to recognise how to negotiate their way to fuller participation in social communities.

Although the outdoor education and outdoor environmental literature cited often uses the generic term 'outdoor education' it seems likely that most authors would consider residential outdoor learning as central to this definition. Indeed, the examples in most texts cited in this section are predominantly related to residential or expeditionary outdoor learning as the attributes of these include immersive experiences, living in close proximity to others and physical interaction with an unfamiliar place and activities provide. Thus, it seems appropriate to suggest that the theoretical approaches related to place-based learning can be applied to consider learning within residential outdoor learning.

2.3 The history of residential outdoor learning in the UK

This section explores the history of residential outdoor learning in the UK from the late 19th century to the present day. It provides context for the content and approach to current provision and for the types of experiences that young people have at outdoor centres.

Ogilvie (2013) traces the history of residential outdoor learning in the UK to the voluntary youth movements of the late 19th century, particularly the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, the Catholic Young Men's League, the National Sunday League, the Girls Friendly Society, the Army Cadet Force and later the Boys Brigade and Scout Association which all used outdoor residentials as part of larger programmes. Many of these movements were inspired by ideas of 'Muscular Christianity' (Freeman 2011, p.23) and the examples of colonial explorers, and echoed approaches already existing in Public Schools, a form of UK independent school. Ogilvie (2013) notes that they were often concerned with the moral welfare of young people, in particular concerns that the increase in leisure time for the working class would lead

‘young idlers’ to fall into bad ways. As such they combined fresh air, camping, physical exercise and military drill in rural locations.

These origins show how the earliest forms of residential outdoor learning engaged with social concerns and sought to develop socially acceptable behaviours. Indeed, Venable (1997), Neill (2001) and Ogilvie (2013) identify earlier antecedents in traditional rites of passage, again linking residential learning to social expectations of young people. Brookes (2015) cautions that the claimed origins of modern forms of centre-based residential outdoor learning (tracing their roots to Robert Baden-Powell and Kurt Hahn) are largely mythical but provide insight into the persistence of practices with militaristic roots and in the ways that outdoor learning responds to societal anxieties about the decline of youth.

However, the provision of residential outdoor learning for school children in the UK is perhaps more accurately located in the period of 1940 to 1965, beginning with the development of residential field studies centres in 1947, and local education authority (LEA) centres in 1949. The LEA outdoor residential centres began with Denton House in Cumbria (1949), White Hall in Derbyshire (1950) and Plas Gwynant in Snowdonia (1957). White Hall is notable as it sought to develop complementary educational provision for schoolchildren from Wigan using methods drawn from existing programmes such as Scouting, Outward Bound and the Duke of Edinburgh scheme (McDonald 2018). The LEA centres established a pattern of residential facilities located in rural areas and for the educational use of outdoor activities to support formal education. Ogilvie (2013) notes that Denton House (Cumberland LEA) was possibly the most advanced Local Education Authority centre in the 1950s and its philosophy saw outdoor education as a vital ingredient within educational provision.

> *Because OE transcended traditional subject boundaries and disciplines it was seen as a means of approaching educational objectives using the resources of the environment as a medium to stimulate learning about: Activities and subjects either separately or integrated; the nature of the environment including life in its many forms, within the differing environments and the inter-dependence of living things; and the self and others through study and adventure.* (Ogilvie 2013, p.284)

The pattern of LEA residential provision, the activities and the educational approach grew throughout the 1960s and by 1973 there were 161 LEA centres, 10 Field study centres, 23 YHA centres and 104 other centres across England and Wales (Ogilvie 2013, p.384). In addition, the 1970's saw the emergence of significant private sector. This was spearheaded by PGL Adventure, originally started in 1957 the company expanded rapidly offering outdoor recreational experiences to schools.

In parallel to the development of provision for schools, Freeman (2011) shows how the philosophy and early history of Outward Bound (1941-1965) led to a widespread and longstanding belief among educationists in the importance of character. Freeman suggests that this discourse was particularly resonant in the post-year wars and that it was proposed as a solution for multiple social problems ranging from 'fitness for war' to delinquency. Beneath these issues, the development reflected its founder Kurt Hahn's concerns about diseases of affluence, and the Outward Bound experience in the 1940s and 1950s was designed as a tough regime with cold showers and increasing physicality throughout. Freeman (2011, p.36) suggests that the 1960s saw changes in the practices and self-presentation of Outward Bound and a shift to peace-time models of masculinity. However, not all aspects of martiality were jettisoned, the courses continued to use challenge activities, expeditions and drills but started to focus on individual young people and personal growth. Whilst the focus of Outward Bound throughout this period was primarily on adolescents, it was often cited as an exemplar of experiential learning, was influential in establishing patterns of provision, and research based on Outward Bound became the basis for outdoor education theory that was applied to schools as well as to other populations. Thus, patterns of provision in LEA and commercial providers were influenced by debates about character and personal growth.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the number of centres continued to grow. With this growth came increasing conformity, and Ogilvie (2013, p.466) suggests that the provision became 'more restricted, stereotyped and uniformly packaged' (Ogilvie 2013, p.466). This conformity was described by Loynes (1995) as 'adventure in a bun' and he suggested that it resulted from the increasing commercialisation of outdoor experiences.

Thus by 1980 there was a significant shift towards private sector provision; 364 LEA centres, 296 Field study centres and 556 private or charity-based centres. Thus, the 1980s is characterised by Ogilvie (2013, p.588) as a time largely focused on internal

development, growth and consolidation, but also as characterised by outdoor providers chasing the market. This period of growth and consolidation was disturbed by The Education Reform Act (1988), which had a significant impact on LEA centres. The Act introduced Local Management of Schools which gave most state-funded schools control of their own budgets. The LEAs were only allowed to retain ten per cent (later 7%) of the educational budget. The impact on residential outdoor learning was two-fold. Firstly, the Local Education Authorities struggled to fund their centres within reduced budgets, and at the same time schools were increasingly drawn towards cheaper (and often more fun) private sector providers. Thus, the early 1990s saw a decline in the numbers of LEA centres and an increase in private residential centres. The Lyme Bay Tragedy of 1993 in which four sixth form students sadly drowned, led to a difficult period for outdoor residential providers. It impelled the sector into developing a statutory scheme of regulation, consolidation of the non-state sector and a rapid decline in the numbers of LEA centres, many of which transitioned into privately run or charity run centres (Cooper 2018a).

The period of 2000-2020 was perhaps less dramatic. The introduction of statutory regulation and inspection brought stability to the sector; the unification of the multiple representative bodies into the Institute for Outdoor Learning brought improved training and a greater sense of unity; and the development of the Manifesto for Learning Outside the Classroom (2006) and the establishment of the Council for Learning Outside the Classroom (2008) formed a bridge between schools and outdoor residential providers. This charity was established by the Secretary of State and supported schools through information about the educational opportunities of outdoor learning and helped them to make informed decisions about the types of residentials undertaken. At the same time, the scheme encouraged outdoor residential providers to review the educational basis of their provision through an accreditation scheme. The period also saw considerable UK government interest in residential outdoor learning with the publication of two parliamentary white papers, two reports by the Department for Education and Skills, two reports by the Countryside agency, an Ofsted report on good quality residentials and significant activity in support of the development of a Curriculum for Excellence in Scotland. The research activity around the writing of these reports marks a formalisation of the evidence and ideas on residential outdoor learning and includes a meta-analysis of the benefits of Outdoor Learning (Rickinson *et al*. 2006).

As part of this governmental interest, research was funded by the Department for Education and Skills in 2004. DVL Smith Ltd (2004) surveyed 100 schools from each of the nine government regions in England and Wales as well as 50 outdoor residential providers comprising 35 youth organisation centres, six children's activity centres and nine youth hostels. This large-scale research provided a rare overview of the type of residential opportunities available/ undertaken, the extent of availability/ take up, age ranges of pupils catered for, objectives/ outcomes of these opportunities, the success criteria and evaluation of that success and the costs and subsidies. The survey found that 72 per cent of pupils in England and Wales had the opportunity to participate in a residential experience, but that only 66 per cent of pupils actually undertake a residential experience. The survey explored the frequency of residentials with primary schools going on residentials 1.2 times per year and found that larger schools were more likely to arrange more residentials. Summer term is the most common time for residentials, and whilst secondary schools run many residentials in holidays and weekends, primary schools are very unlikely to do so. The research also considered how trips are organised and found that school staff are the most active force in organising residential trips, with only 29 percent bought from an all-inclusive provider. Only 7 percent of residentials went to local authority outdoor centres whilst 12 percent went to a single commercial provider - PGL Ltd. The study found that the choice of venue was completely dominated (94%) by teachers' decisions with tried and tested and long-term relationships coming to the fore. The study shows slightly larger group sizes in primary schools, but a 'typical' residential experience across both primary and secondary would include 30-40 children and three to four teachers. When surveyed about the types of residential experiences, 79 percent of primary schools that organised residential trips undertook *outdoor education* residentials with almost all of these residentials occurring in years five and six.

In the period 2004 to 2014, there was increased pressure on local authority provision and a generalised move towards private sector provision. In a survey of 222 UK secondary schools, Taylor, Power and Rees (2009) find a very uneven pattern of access to local authority residential outdoor centres. They identify two trends: a decline in the number of residentials being organised by schools and a shift towards the market-driven model of funding for local authority outdoor education facilities. These trends were also recognised in changes in the number of organisations in the sector. In a national survey of registration to licencing schemes, institutional membership and accreditation data,

Wood and Pritchard (2014) found that provision in the outdoor sector was 61% private sector, 20% state and 19% not-for-profit organisations. However, the overall size of the sector remained fairly small with 675 organisations involved in the outdoor sector in 2013. Of these 62 organisations operated from multiple sites.

Within primary schools there have also been significant changes in the range and number of residential experiences provided for children. Prince (2019) maps the changes in outdoor learning in primary schools in England from 1995 to 2017. Amongst findings that indicate that the frequency of outdoor learning on school grounds and involving day trips has changed little, she finds that 78% of surveyed schools ran residentials and that there was a marked increase in the use of residentials over the period. She notes that such a trend is not reflected in research by Prince *et al*. (2018) and suggests that it may reflect national initiatives. However, it is notable that the 78% identified in her research is similar to the findings of DVL Smith Ltd. (2004), and it seems likely that this represents a good estimate of the proportion of schools running residentials. Interestingly, the findings of Prince (2019) would seem to show a continued upward trend in residentials in the period when Local Education Authority Centres declined in number, and in the period when schools gained greater control of their budgets. The research does not address changes in the types of residential, but it seems likely that the increase in numbers reflects increasing use of private providers of residential outdoor learning.

The convergence of the findings of Prince (2019), DVL Smith Ltd (2004) and Wood and Pritchard (2014) provide reasonable evidence for claims about the mixed market for outdoor residential learning and for a frequency of about four out of five schools undertaking outdoor residentials in key stage two. However, Williams (2012) finds that this is not evenly distributed. In an analysis of the number of residential nights offered to year 6 students and OFSTED assessments he shows that there is less residential provision in failing schools.

However, within the literature there is a significant strand that sees a diminution of the quality of residentials over the last few decades. This literature has two key arguments: firstly, that the boundary between educational and recreational activities has become increasingly blurred; and secondly, that commercialisation has led to increased standardisation and market-oriented values and a consequent reduction in child responsive and educational values. These arguments are developed by Loynes (1995),

Varley (2006), Cooper (2007) and Beames and Brown (2016) who all argue for an increased focus on educational aims through improved decision making about the types of residentials that schools undertake. Whilst the critique of commercial provision tends towards the polemic, they reflect concerns about the mismatch between the development of large residential centres, groups of centres and the intense competition over the costs of outdoor residential learning, and a theory base that considers individual and shared experiences in nature. Whilst this discussion continues, it is notable that there is also significant continuity in the patterns of provision. Ogilvie (2013) shows that there is a long tradition behind the activities and educational approaches, but that there have also been significant changes in the duration, types, and aims of residentials.

As a caveat to this section, it is significant that Freeman and Seaman (2020) identify a number of concerns with using historical approaches to considering current practice. They note the limited discussion of place, the underrepresentation of religion, the retrospective focus on key personalities as part of 'foundation myths' and an overall approach to the history of outdoor education that ignores gender, race, class and cultural context of the historians and their subject (Humberstone and Brown 2006). This suggests that historical approaches to residential outdoor learning may be unrepresentative of the diversity of current practice and that the identification of historical narratives may reflect the belief structures of senior practitioners who are predominantly white and male. In doing so, Freeman and Seaman (2020) are expanding on concerns raised by Brookes (2016), who suggests that current practice is influenced by a belief in foundation myths rather than in empirical evidence. They are also reflecting concerns that women's contributions are commonly overlooked in histories of outdoor and environmental education (Mitten *et al*. 2018). Thus, this review recognises the limitations of exploring literature that may include uncritical assumptions about the representation of practice.

2.4 The nature of residential outdoor learning in the UK

There is relatively little written about the structure and format of outdoor residential learning. It is perhaps best explored in Rea (2011) and Telford (2010), who both focus on children's learning experiences whilst on residential.

Wild Country Hall is the pseudonym given to a Local Authority Centre in Tony Rea's ethnographic study which looks at children's learning at a residential outdoor education centre (Rea 2011). As well as observations over 5 years, Rea interviewed 22 children

(age 8-11) and three adults. Rea (2011, p.3) finds that learning may be most usefully conceptualised as 'discursively re-positioned identity'. The findings show that there are three overarching discourses that dominate the pedagogic approach: place (an appreciation and care for the environment); risk, challenge and adventure; and confidence and resilience building. He suggests that these discourses were so unfamiliar to the children that they might be considered as a rite of passage, and that encountering these unfamiliar discourses may explain the efficacy of learning.

Rea's thesis is based on a social constructivist understanding of learning that is strongly influenced by Foucault (1972), and he sees learning as embedded in social discourse where reality can only be understood as socially constructed meaning. This argument is extended to consider the residential centre as an 'imagined community' (Stables, 2003) where Wild Country Hall is considered to exist simultaneously within three distinct spaces: in its geographical space, in its temporal space, and in a discursive space where it is imagined and constructed in text. Furthermore, the argument is extended to suggest that learning in the outdoors may be best understood as a reified theoretical concept for explaining how individuals make sense of their experiences. As such, Rea (2011, p.23) argues from a Foucauldian position that outdoor learning should be seen as discursive positioning and that power should be conceptualised as agency.

Rea (2011) thus argues that the practices of the residential outdoor centre must be seen as part of wider discourses around concepts such as adventure, education and environmental awareness and that the specific outdoor centre that he studied may have been colonised by performativity and classroom orthodoxy. Rea's use of Foucauldian philosophy provides an interesting perspective. In this approach, the elements of a child's residential experiences are not programmed aspects of a pedagogy based on experiential education but are the result of ongoing social discourse on meaning and function. The discourse recognises the child as part of the discourse but sees that they have limited agency.

Later in the thesis, Rea (2011, p.52) explores the theoretical lenses through which residential outdoor learning is considered. He extends Hager and Hodkinson (2009) four lenses (the propositional learning lens, the skills learning lens, the learning as participation lens and learning as transformation lens) by adding an experiential education lens. He also categorises these as acquisitional lenses – where education is

seen as focussing on the acquisition of procedural knowledge and skills, and socio-cultural lenses where learning is seen as a socio-cultural process of adaptation and transformation. Rea argues strongly that the approach to experiential learning used in residential outdoor learning is wrongly seen in terms of the acquisition of learning through reflection on experiences. He argues that this acquisitional approach and the limited agency / power of the children neglects the young people themselves and prioritises discourse that is often at odds with the experiences of the children. Thus, adherence by those with power / agency (instructors and teachers) to predetermined learning outcomes related to curriculum may reword the dialogue and reviewing based on reflective learning models may reword children's learning experiences. Rea (2011) suggests:

> *What I observed at Wild Country was a complex entanglement of power, discourse and discursive practice. A combination of the discourses of romanticised 'Great Outdoors' associated with images of the countryside and a 'rural ideal' (Muhoz 2009), with the discourse of innocent childhood (Jones, 2007) and rites of passage (van Gennep1909/1960) as children are removed from home to the centre. All of this is combined with discourses of risk (Brown and Fraser, 2009; Loynes, 1996), adventure (Mortlock, 1984, 2002) and challenge (e.g. Brookes, 2003a. 2003b)*. (p.290)

Rea's approach (Rea 2011) develops a vision of residential outdoor learning as a socially constructed concept that is strongly influenced by external expectations and has limited engagement with the lived experiences of the children involved. Despite that, his work finds that children's social behaviour is changed by the residential and that they engage with each other in novel ways during the visit, and that this extends to relationships at school and home after their return.

By contrast, Telford (2010) considers participants' retrospective understanding of their experiences at a Scottish residential centre from 11-25 years previously. The study includes 14 interviews and 110 questionnaires from participants who were teenagers when they attended the centre, and these are triangulated with interviews and documents from other stakeholders. The study has a strong historical focus but recognises that the centre although starting in 1975 was a product of the educational reforms of the late 1960s. He finds that for much of the time prior to its closure in 1996,

the centre benefitted from clarity of strategic educational intention, clear institutional processes and was focussed on the personal and social development of young people.

Whilst the quotations from participants provide a fascinating insight into long-term impacts of the experiences, it is Telford's analysis that develops the most fascinating discussion. This analysis is based on Bourdieu's (1977, 1990a, 1990b) work on social practice. Telford (2010) sees that:

> *The interplay of the concepts of habitus and field offered a framework for analysing the social structure of a residential outdoor education experience (macro level) and the impact, or not, of that residential experience on returning to everyday life (micro level).* (p.166)

With regard to habitus, Telford explores Bourdieu's contention that neither subjectivism nor objectivism alone can provide a sufficient explanation of the complex dynamics of social practices. He shows how Bourdieu (1977, 1990b) proposes an interdependent relationship within which human agency (subjectivity) is an important element in social practices but works within the limits made available by objective social structures (objectivity). However, the nature of this interdependent relationship means that individuals become a part of the regulatory, constraining structures through their social behaviour, and in this way social actions are regulated without conscious compliance to externally imposed frameworks. These relationships occur within a field, in which social agents act and strategize in order to maintain or improve their standing in relation to the capital or status that defines the field. Further, Telford (2010, p.175) locates the outdoor residential centre within the field of education and the sub-field of outdoor education. He differentiates the sub-field from the main field 'by the symbolic capital it attaches to the use of the outdoor environment for facilitating learning'.

Telford (2010) findings show a continued influence in the lives of 72% of the participants and qualitative responses are coded into four themes: satisfaction, adulthood and independence, environment, skills and knowledge and negative experiences. Telford (2010) finds:

> *For many participants the outdoor activities at Ardentinny provided the opportunity to experience strong feelings of satisfaction. These feelings related to engaging in challenges of various different kinds, of looking back on*

> *experiences that had been difficult and arduous, and of enjoying being successful in tasks that had been set. For many students Ardentinny was an experience which allowed them to explore concepts of adulthood and independence. Being away from the home environment for an extended period of time in a different social environment provided students with the opportunity to behave and interact in ways that were more adult in nature. The feelings of independence, personal responsibility, and freedom that were associated with these more adult behaviours were strongly valued by the participants.* (p.221)

In his discussion of the meaning of these findings, Telford (2010) explores the social experience of the residential:

> *Participants' accounts of their experience at Ardentinny generated a number of themes relating to interpersonal meanings and values. The communal nature of the simple acts of everyday living such as eating and sleeping were considered as important and meaningful events. The fact that Ardentinny encouraged pupils to integrate with peers from outside their normal friendship groups was also seen as an important element of the social experience. This required the young people to forge new relationships and allowed them to see others in a new light. Although these friendships did not necessarily continue on returning to the home environment the social process of adapting to a new social grouping at Ardentinny was considered an important experience. The teamwork that was often integral to the outdoor activities at Ardentinny was considered a valuable aspect of the experience. Finally, for many students the different relationships that they felt they had with adults whilst at the Centre was a particularly significant aspect of their stay*. (p.235)

Here it is evident that many of the most memorable and impactful aspects of the participants' experience at the residential outdoor centre were concerned with the development of social relations and the understanding of difference as well as finding common ground with other people. These impacts also appear to be sustained as the minimum gap between attending and participating in the study was 11 years. Thus, it seems very significant that 72% of the questionnaire respondents claimed that their experience continued to influence their adult lives in ways ranging from a love of the

outdoor environment to their use of leisure time and including in their employment choices.

Although considering older children, Gee (2010) explores a single week at a residential centre as a spatially and temporally bounded setting and focusses on space/territory, social relationships and common experiences. He posits that the physical remoteness and the limited opportunities for interaction with the outside world, serves as the basis for the strengthening of existing friendships, the formation of new friendships and the retrenchment of existing friendships. This ethnographic study explores the concept of temporary community in the experiences of 36 A-level students, three teachers and five centre staff involved in a geography field trip to a residential centre. His research finds that the residential is widely perceived as fun and identifies five factors that contribute to a sense of temporary community: space, informality, shared adversity, teacher control and work. His study finds that the nature of the relationships (including those with teachers and staff) whilst on residential are more informal than those back at school, and Gee (2010, p.156) suggests that this is due to community sentiments of inclusivity, tolerance and social cooperation. Furthermore, he found that the 16/35 students stated that they most enjoyed socialising and personal relationships, and that this was within a context of feelings of adversity with regard to sharing rooms etc. Whilst the specificity of the ethnographic approach and the older age range makes it hard to generalise the observations and findings of this study to other situations of residential outdoor learning and to a younger age range, it is clear from the approach and findings that the residential experience can be seen as an intense social experience for the participants and that the group becomes a temporary community within a short period of time.

Christie and Higgins (2012) finds that provision is variable across regions, between schools and between individuals and that provision is vulnerable to a number of factors. He identifies three fundamental aspects of residential outdoor learning: progression; connection; and relevance. With regard to progression, they explore empirical studies (including Christie 2004) to show that the most positive effects and the highest retention of the experience after 6 months were in schools that had a good post-residential infrastructure. In addition, they explore the value of residential outdoor learning for developing curriculum links and as a part of whole school approaches to raising achievement. Here they suggest that curriculum connections to and from the residential allow students to build on previous experiences and identify limitations in the transfer

between the classroom and the residential. With regard to relevance, they recommend that the residential experience should be relevant to the school context and location and draw on ideas by Wattchow and Brown (2011) to suggest that the connection to place should be a key element of outdoor learning. Christie and Higgins (2012) provide a detailed review of the empirical and philosophical aspects of residential outdoor learning in Scotland, identifying three key areas of progression, connection and relevance.

Telford (2010) provides a concise identification of the intended learning outcomes of outdoor programmes: field studies with a subject-specific focus, commonly biology or geography; skill and knowledge acquisition in specific-physical activities, e.g. kayaking or rock climbing; personal and social development (which may also be conceived as the acquisition or development of social skills) as a result of group experience; or a combination of these.

Cooper (2007) argues that there are also differences in the quality of the educational and developmental experience. He seeks to draw clear differences between outdoor education centres and activity centres. He argues that there is a significant difference between these two forms of provision. Overall, he suggests that there is little educational quality in activity centres where the focus is on fun and thrills. Cooper (2007) states:

> *A major drawback of Activity Centres is that the programmes are largely limited to on-site activities, and they often have more resemblance to an adventure playground or theme park than an educational facility. Groups can choose from a limited menu of high buzz, quick thrill activities which may include ropes courses, zip wires, archery, go-carts, quad biking, indoor climbing and abseiling. They are instructor-led, give minimal responsibility to young people and are heavily dependent on the use of equipment. Children are not involved in managing their own risk. Many of the activities require queuing to take part and don't represent continuous movement, involvement or teamwork. Overall, there is much less physical activity and little sustained exercise. There is an emphasis on the quantity rather than the quality of activities offered during the visit*. (p.12)

This is a significant challenge to the inclusive definition of outdoor residential education. Cooper (2007) proposes that commercially run activity centres lack appropriate contact with wild places, that their programmes and staff are limited, and that the commercial

ethos makes it unlikely that children will learn to take responsibility or will develop a sense of place. He concludes:

> *The ethos of Activity Centres is based on providing fun, quick thrills and instant gratification and very much reflects the aims of our high energy, over-commercial society. In contrast, the ethos of Outdoor Education Centres is more likely to question these values and promote the concepts of quality of life and more sustainable lifestyles.* (p.13)

Simpson (2007) uses the concept of the community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991) to explore the literature and the views of 15 outdoor education practitioners and to develop a Practice Model that combines the three dimensions of 'adventure', 'learning from experience' and 'new space' Simpson (2007) considers the origins and use of the Purpose Model described in Higgins (1995) and explains that it represents professional practice by presenting outdoor education as a means to an end. Thus, the three circles show alternative purposes for the practices of outdoor education. However, Simpson argues strongly that the lack of detail on content and practice, and the lack of clarity on the anticipated outcomes of these purposes provides little support for practitioners. He argues that the focus on purpose is, in itself, problematic and argues that a model that focuses on practice would better reflect the discourses within outdoor education.

Simpson's Practice model (Simpson 2007) presents the three dimensions of 'adventure', 'learning from experience' and 'new space' as the three axes of a three-dimensional scaffolded framework. He suggests that "*The Practice Model brings advantages to thinking about outdoor education. It describes the content and provides boundaries of practice without the obfuscation of multiple constructs of outdoor education for a variety of purposes*" (Simpson 2007, p.16). He uses this model as a basis for an inquiry into the understandings of professional in the field of residential outdoor education. He further narrows this by considering only the "*outdoor education that is predominantly offered as adventure activity programmes in residential centres to pupils in Primary 7 to Secondary 4*". Although the approach taken is primarily social constructivist, Simpson (2007) incorporates elements of Foucault's ideas of power and relationships to knowledge (Foucault 1972) and uses the concept of discourse as a means to explore the meanings and understandings of residential outdoor learning, whilst recognising the contested nature of knowledge and the relationships of power.

From the literature review and interviews, Simpson (2007) finds that there is a strong similarity between the understanding of the field in the outdoor literature and the practice theories of practitioners. He found that the understandings of professionals were primarily descriptive and concerned with the purposes for which outdoor education was being used. Indeed, the interviews related strongly to activities and reflection and had very few mentions of social interaction or unsupervised experiences. It can be argued that by exploring the understanding of residential outdoor education from the perspective of academics and practitioners, Simpson (2007) has excluded the participants voice and consequently that the discourse includes only the elements of a residential experience that are prioritised by those delivering. This is starkly apparent, where instructors talk about their 'difference' from their students (p.255) and see their role as leading students, and in the lack of discussion around the residential aspects of the residential experience.

2.5 Impacts of residential outdoor learning on primary school children

This section explores the literature around the impacts of residential outdoor learning on young people. This area of literature is highly fragmented with a preponderance of small case studies and an emphasis on exceptional examples. This was augmented by a significant body of work, largely commissioned by Learning and Teaching Scotland, that looked at all aspects of residential provision in Scotland, but particularly the links between residentials and the Curriculum for Excellence (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2010). Whilst some of this research is presented below, it is notable that the structure and history of Scottish educational provision and the curriculum in Scotland differs significantly from the English equivalents. Despite this, the quality and scale of the research provides some evidence for the impacts on primary school children. However, the research base in England has also been significantly enhanced in the last few years. This was spearheaded by the completion of *Learning Away*, a large-scale study into the impacts of residentials funded by the Paul Hamlyn Foundation (Kendall and Rodger 2015) and a range of related research outputs (Loynes 2016; Dudman, Hedges and Loynes 2019).

Christie and Higgins (2012) provide a detailed review of the empirical and philosophical aspects of residential outdoor learning in Scotland, identifying three key areas of progression, connection and relevance. Whilst their work is based on Scottish provision and specifically on the links between Scottish residential education and the Scottish

curriculum for excellence, many of the themes that they explore are common to the UK. With regard to progression, they explore empirical studies (including Christie 2004) to show that the most positive effects and the highest retention of the experience after 6 months were in schools that had a good post-residential infrastructure. In addition, they explore the value of residential outdoor learning for developing curriculum links and as a part of whole school approaches to raising achievement. Here they suggest that curriculum connections to and from the residential allow students to build on previous experiences and identify limitations in the transfer between the classroom and the residential. With regard to relevance, they recommend that the residential experience should be relevant to the school context and location and draw on ideas by Wattchow and Brown (2011) to suggest that the connection to place should be a key element of outdoor learning.

It is notable that there is a parallel literature that considers the impact of residential outdoor learning on older school children, much of which considers the links between curriculum and outdoor residentials (Christie, Higgins and McLaughlin 2014; Christie 2004; Christie and Higgins 2012) and particularly the development of the personal 'capacities' specified in the Scottish Curriculum for Excellence. Thus, the evidence from Scotland suggests that residentials can support curriculum, raise achievement and develop personal capacities, but that this requires alignment between the classroom and the residential, such that the residential supports curriculum and personal development through practical experiences.

Learning Away involved 60 primary, secondary, and special schools in research into residential experiences. The schools undertook residential experiences of varying length that included camping, residential centres and school exchanges and the results of these studies were evaluated by Kendall and Rodger (2015). The evaluation sought to test four propositions that high quality residential learning:

- has a strong, positive impact on academic achievement and provides a wide range of student-level outcomes,
- can transform the learning experience of students,
- can help transform schools,
- and does not need to be expensive.

The key findings of *Learning Away* are considered in relation to the nine hypotheses. With regard to peer relationships, Kendall and Rodger (2015, p.6) found that this was one of the most significant impacts of *Learning Away* across all ages. The primary aged focus groups found that residentials provided opportunities for students to develop new peer relationships, including vertical relationships across age groups; the development of more trusting and respectful relationships, including a change in existing power relationships, and opportunities to develop social skills, as well as skills to form relationships. In addition, the post-residential and longitudinal surveys of primary school children identified that 71% felt they got on better with their peers as a result of their residential experiences. Another interesting finding was the impact on cohesion. Here Kendall and Rodger (2015) found that the sense of community developed on the residential and the memorability of the experiences boosted cohesion, interpersonal relationships and a sense of belonging, and survey results showed that key stage two pupils were more likely to think that everyone in their school got on well together.

The evaluation (Kendall and Rodger 2015) considered the impact on transition between primary and secondary school. The focus groups identified that primary pupils who had been on residential felt better prepared for secondary school and had developed skills and relationships that they needed to manage with the secondary school environment. This was reflected in the surveys where 64% identified that they were happier about changing class or school after the residential. Kendall and Rodger (2015) also explored how the residentials contributed to impact through the development of a strong sense of community and belonging. They suggested that the key aspects were the time, space and intensity of the residential; residentials as a leveller; relationships developed through sense of community / living together; challenging activities and opportunities to experience success; and new ways of learning/ ownership of, and engagement with learning.

The findings and scale of the *Learning Away* study provided significant support for prior research and theoretical explorations of the social context and social experiences of primary school children during residentials. In addition, the evaluation provides strong evidence that these aspects have an impact on the social skills and social preparedness of children about to transition to secondary school.

This specific area is addressed by Loynes (2016) who presents one of the case studies within the Learning Away study. In the case study, pupils from various primary schools camped together and took part in adventurous activities. The groups were arranged to combine children who were all starting at the same secondary school. Although they stayed in friendship groups whilst sleeping, they were mixed in activity groups to demonstrate how they could work together as a team. The evaluation notes that school exclusions were reduced, and that students reported that on arriving at secondary school they made friends easily, settled into class quickly and experienced little bullying during breaks. Similar findings and conclusions are arrived at in Slee and Allan (2019). This study also looks at the role of outdoor residentials in the transition between primary and secondary education. The study considers 100 schoolchildren (mean age 11) transitioning into three inner city schools in the north of the UK. It uses two psychological measures to consider changes in wellbeing and self-determination resulting from three interventions: a school-based induction, a generic outdoor adventure residential, and a tailored outdoor adventure residential. They find that the tailored residential, where the teachers designed the programme to align with school values and co-delivered it with the outdoor instructors, had a greater effect on both well-being and self-determination than the other two programmes. They suggest that:

> *…[the] OA residential programme exposure which helps pupils to (i) feel proud and content (well-being) (ii) become independent (autonomy), (iii) be good at something (competence) and (iv) feel valued as a group member (relatedness) can produce a range of adaptive capabilities that help transition to secondary school* (p.145)

Interestingly, both Loynes (2016) and Slee and Allan (2019) find that residentials that align to the school curriculum and ethos have greater impact on children's preparation for transition than generic residential programmes. This is explored further in second article exploring two Learning Away case studies (Loynes (2017) which highlights the importance of integrating residentials into the curriculum, and shows how the residentials impacted on classroom progress, skills, motivation and attitudes.

Another report of the *Learning Away* project (Dudman, Hedges and Loynes 2019) concentrates on the data on the impact of residential experiences on pupils' progression and attainment in year six at eight schools in England. The report compares the impact of residentials undertaken before and after SATs to evaluate the impact of residentials

on test results. The study found that vulnerable learners benefitted from going on a residential before their SATs, that curriculum-related residentials supported SAT scores in those areas, but that pupils who attended a residential before their SATs progressed in reading and writing more slowly than pupils who went on residential after the SATs. However, they also found that residential experiences had a significant impact on self-efficacy and locus of control (measured using ROPELOC), and that it developed a learning community that impacted positively on socialisation, maturation and pro-active learning. They suggest that SATs results 'are a poor measure of progress or attainment as they measure the use of skills as opposed to understanding and application' (p.35) and point to the positive changes in self-efficacy and locus of control (Richards, Ellis and Neill 2002) and the development of a learning community are more important indicators of the value of residential experiences.

Taken together, the results of the *Learning Away* study seem to provide good evidence for the importance of the development of community and the memorability of the experiences, and sees these as boosting cohesion, interpersonal relationships and a sense of belonging that supports socialisation, maturation and pro-active learning which prepare children for transition to secondary school.

Whilst the Learning Away study included some longitudinal data, it was predominantly based on case studies with pre-residential and post-residential data collection. This is addressed by Prince (2020a). In a systematic review of the long-term impacts of outdoor adventure residentials she explores four retrospective research studies. From these, she identifies lasting impacts on self-confidence, independence and communication in 'young people'. The four studies represent very different residentials with data collected in a mixture of ways. The studies all consider impacts more than 12 months after the residential experience but cover a very wide age range (11-25 years). The review recognises that the limitations inherent in considering very different studies presents methodological problems, but concludes:

> *This comparative research of retrospective studies in the UK has identified self-confidence, independence and communication as key lasting impacts for young people from outdoor adventure residentials* (p.273)

Furthermore, it suggests that such causes of these lasting outcomes can be explored through a 'steps of change process', and they find that,

> *It also supports other data and literature in defining why such experiences achieve the lasting outcomes through the intensity (not the duration) of the residential and the importance of overnight experiences and the power of groups sharing space and working towards a common goal with peer-peer and peer-adult interaction, often involving unfamiliar people. The outdoor adventure residential must be authentic with a degree of challenge that is the nature of adventure. It is acknowledged that these findings may not be easy to implement for policy makers and funders, given the costs involved for residential group experiences*. (p.274)

Thus, despite the methodological limitations of combining retrospective studies, the findings present strong evidence that participants gain lasting impacts from the intense social interactions on residentials, and that there is a considerable degree of similarity between diverse age groups and outdoor adventure residentials.

In contrast to the preceding studies, Scrutton (2015) surveyed 360 10-12 year old children in Scotland to measure changes in their Personal and Social Development (PSD) before, after, and ten weeks after a one week residential. The study used a tailor-made 52-item questionnaire. The study found that there was a significant gain in PSD over the residential compared to the control group, but that there was also a significant loss of benefit when measured ten weeks later. However, when correlated against the children's initial perceptions of the PSD it found that the children with the lowest perception of their PSD gained most, whilst those with the highest perception lost benefit. Whilst the findings of the study provide good evidence of positive change during the residential, the decline afterwards is most notable. The study explains that this might have related to the disconnect between the experiences on the residential and the return to school and Scrutton (2015) suggests that this might be avoided by better integrating the residential with curriculum.

The Learning Away project, Prince (2020a) and Scrutton (2015) provide a significant boost to a limited literature. Indeed in 2011, Rea (2011, p.13) stated that the only research that focussed on residential outdoor education in the UK was found in the work

of McCulloch (2002), Nundy (1998), Stan (2008) and Telford (2010), and that of these only Stan (2008) and Telford (2010) investigate mainstream residential outdoor centres. However, it is clear that since Rea's comments, there has been a significant growth in the research base on the impacts of residential outdoor learning on primary school children. This has been led by the Learning Away project but has also included a number of other smaller studies, particularly those considering social inequality and transition to secondary school.

Interestingly, Prince (2020b) identifies the important role of motivated teachers in a study of teachers' attitudes to outdoor learning in 1995 and 2017. She finds that,

> *the importance of teachers' beliefs, drive, effort and enthusiasm was paramount to enabling outdoor learning in both years*. (p.607)

This reflects the findings of Loynes (2016) and Slee and Allan (2019 who found that the impact of residentials on transition was strongly linked to the teachers' active involvement and agency.

In conclusion, the literature shows that residentials provide opportunities for students to develop new peer relationships, more trusting and respectful relationships, and opportunities to develop social skills and that they provide some support for transition to secondary school. However, the literature also finds that residential experiences are complex and that there are many factors that influence the outcomes, including the quality of the residential and the interconnection between the residential and the curriculum and ethos of the school.

2.6 Developing resilience and life effectiveness through residential outdoor learning

A key part of the thesis developed by Miles and Priest (1990) was the presentation of Priest's "Adventure Experience Paradigm" that identified 5 distinct states of psychological experience based on the balance of individual competence and risk. These ranged from 'Exploration and Experimentation' to 'Devastation and Disaster' and included an optimal midpoint of 'Peak Adventure' where the balance of personal competency and risk meant that the individual's learning was optimized. This established a causal relationship between risk, defined as "*the potential of losing something of value*"

(Priest and Gass 2005, p.49), and personal development. The relationship had earlier been expounded by Kurt Hahn and closely reflected the Spartan educational principles espoused by many British public schools in the late Victorian and early Edwardian eras (Mangan 2000; Loynes 2008). The adventure experience paradigm was closely aligned with the methods and philosophy of Outward Bound and particularly the Outward Bound Process model (Walsh and Golin 1976) which relied on challenging tasks to create a state of adaptive dissonance from which personal development arose. The relationship was further explored by Mortlock (1994) citing evidence from expeditionary learning with young people. These ideas were later developed to include the concept of 'comfort zones' (Luckner and Nadler 1997) and 'edgework' (Lyng 1990) where individuals placed in stressful situations will respond by overcoming their fear and therefore grow as individuals.

Ewert and Garvey (2007) represented the dominant approach when they stated that,

> *inherent in adventure education is the inclusion of activities and experiences that often include elements of danger or risk and uncertain outcomes.* (p.22)

However, the link between risk and learning has been challenged by a number of authors. Leberman and Martin (2002) questioned the link between risk and peak experiences. In their study of participants on Outward Bound courses in New Zealand and in the Czech Republic they showed that peak experiences were not necessarily linked to activities where participants were pushed out of their comfort zones. Similarly, Wolfe and Samdahl (2005) questioned the assumption that learners have the ability to recover from negative situations and suggested that the pedagogic use of risk may lead to negative outcomes. More recently, Brown and Fraser (2009), Brown (2010), Beames and Brown (2016) and Brown and Beames (2017) have suggested that the evidence of a benefit from educational practices based on risk is poor and reject the educational case for adaptive dissonance.

However, there has also been considerable unease with the assertion that risk-taking is improper or socially unacceptable. Beedie and Bourne (2005) suggest that the media pressure following fatal accidents risks removing the development of human potential brought about by engaging with risk activities. They argue that schools need to recognise their role in promoting a balanced understanding of risk in contemporary society.

It is unclear where this leaves residential outdoor learning, when the provision of adventurous activities often includes fear, thrills and a sense of risk. Brown and Beames (2017) suggest that the inclusion of adventurous activities is often based on commercial reasons and has little or no educational purpose. However, this is somewhat challenged by Prince (2020a) and Beames, Scrutton and Mackie (2020) who find that lasting impacts are often associated with challenging activities, and Hayhurst *et al*. (2015) who find that increases in resilience are positively correlated to more challenging conditions. Thus, there seems to be a curious tension between the practices of creating a sense of risk, the pedagogic intentions, and the evidence of psychological change, and in particular the growth of resilience.

Sheard and Golby (2006) identify more than 40 measures of positive psychological development used in outdoor research. Of these, two have received considerable attention: the Resilience Scale (Wagnild and Young 1993) and the Life Effectiveness Questionnaire (Neill 2000). Whilst these are different in focus and approach, they both measure changes in psychological phenomena related to life skills that are beneficial to successful living and working. Although developed for adults, both of these instruments have been adapted for use with primary school children.

The consideration of resilience is commonly traced to Wagnild and Young (1993) and Werner and Smith (1982). It is defined as the ability to react to adversity and challenge in an adaptive and productive way, and its development is therefore considered crucial to healthy development (Brooks, 2005; Ewert and Yoshino, 2011). Whilst the use of questionnaires such as Wagnild and Young Resilience (1993) scale has provided an approach to measuring differences between individuals and across time, there is no consensus on how to develop resilience. Indeed, studies of the relationship between outdoor experiences and the development of resilience have concentrated on teenagers and students and have provided wildly differing results. However, Rutter (1990) suggests that the pathway to resilience does not develop through the avoidance of risk but through successful engagement with it and may be likened to the physical process of immunisation (Rutter, 1987).

The Resilience Scale has been used in several studies of adolescents and socially excluded children. In a study of teenagers, Hayhurst, Hunter, Kafka and Boyes (2015) explored the development of resilience in two studies of adolescents over the period of

a 10-day voyage on a New Zealand sail training vessel. The studies used the Wagnild and Young (1993) Resilience scale and considered the pre- and post- experience responses of 126 and 146 teenagers and equivalent control groups. In addition, the second study (n=146) also measured the resilience scores of participants and control group one month prior to the experience and five months afterwards to track the longevity of changes in resilience. They found that increased resilience was maintained five months after the experience, and that changes in resilience were related to increased social effectiveness, self-effectiveness and were also related to the weather at sea. This somewhat contradicts the findings of Scrutton (2015), who found that there was a significant loss of benefit when measured ten weeks later. Similarly, Ho (2015) considered the impact of three-day adventure-based camping programmes for primary five (age 10-11) children in Singapore on the perceptions of life effectiveness. The study used the Life Effectiveness Questionnaire (LEQ-H) a 24 item self-report measure designed to measure developmental changes in participants perceptions of their overall life effectiveness (Neill 2000). The study found small positive effect on the overall life effectiveness and two other measures, whilst there was no significant effect on the control group. This suggests that the camping programmes had some effect on the children's perception of their development.

In a large-scale study (n=800) of the effectiveness of residential outdoor learning in Scotland, Christie, Higgins and McLaughlin (2014) evaluate the relationship between outdoor learning and mainstream education, and the development of resilience and personal dispositions as defined in the Scottish National Curriculum for five- to fourteen-year-olds. The study results were largely inconclusive with a marked difference between the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the study. With regards to the quantitative aspect, when compared against a control group, the study found a '*remarkable stability in the pupils' self-perception as measured by the life-effectiveness questionnaire (LEQ)*' (p.13). This provided no statistically significant evidence of a change in self-perception despite a residential outdoor learning intervention. However, observations and interviews found that participants identified and valued changes in their self-confidence and social competence particularly where these were closely related to their classroom settings. These are related to Waite's (2010) discussion of the micro-contextualisation and macro-contextualisation of schooling and the reconstruction of relationships between individuals, community and place in outdoor learning. They conclude that there is no clear evidence for a simple relationship between residential outdoor learning and the

development of resilience but suggest that the relationship is influenced by the complexities of the relationships between individual, community and place.

These findings differ slightly from a US study relating to primary aged children. Beightol *et al.* (2012) explored the changes in resilience in fifth grade Latino students as part of an anti-bullying campaign that used outdoor educational programmes focussed on team building and problem-solving projects around bullying. The study used a control group and children completed a bespoke research tool, focus groups and the study also included interviews with teachers. The study did not find a significant change in the self-efficacy scores but found a notable gender difference with girls showing greater changes in their scores.

By contrast to the use of Resilience Scale and Life Effectiveness Questionnaire (LEQ), Keeling (2017) explores the perceived effect of an outdoor residential experience on the psychological well-being of primary aged pupils. Her research used the Stirling Children's Wellbeing Scale to measure children's psychological well-being before and after a residential experience. The quantitative data was considered alongside qualitative data derived from field notes, a group interview of 24 pupils, individual interviews with two school staff and a group interview with three outdoor centre staff. Keeling (2017) found a small, but non-significant increase in psychological well-being, but also developed four programme theories concerning Risk and Challenge, The Natural Environment, The Supportive Community and Independence. Whilst this study was largely interested in changes in pupils' well-being, there was considerable focus on the social aspects of the residential experience within the quantitative data and discussion. In part this was because the theoretical basis of the study is drawn from the World Health Organisation's (2012) identification of the protective factors that contribute to psychological well-being, which highlight the importance of the social circumstances of young people.

Keeling (2017) considers the literature on outdoor residential education within four categories: Natural Environment; Temporary Community; Risk and Challenge; and Mutual support. She uses these categories to develop a mapping of the programme theory, and each area is then further explored in subordinate programme theories that show the relationships between the context, mechanisms and outcomes. Thus, the mapping of the Supportive Community suggests that the residential context provides an intense level of social interaction, group work activities, shared tasks, space and/or

resources and opportunities to demonstrate previously unseen skills. Participants then feel an improved sense of group cohesion, shared experience of adversity, development of group work and wider social skills and the teachers develop an improved understanding of pupils' skills. These are considered as the mechanisms for change in well-being and are assumed to lead to outcomes that include improved self-efficacy beliefs and existing relationships with peers and staff, a feeling of 'togetherness' and an increase in confidence.

Whilst the case study is limited in scale and the quantitative findings are rather inconclusive, the theoretical mapping of the programme theory is fascinating and provides a rationalisation of the relationship between the context, mechanisms and outcomes. In doing so, Keeling (2017) provides a template for understanding the relationship between the practices and processes of outdoor residential education and identifies the proposed outcomes. Her literature review exposes the significant shortcomings of the evidence base for these concepts, but the qualitative analysis is used to explore the concepts through the experiences and understandings of the children, school staff and centre staff. Keeling (2017) cautions that the emergent programme theories are specific to the case study but suggests that they indicate a number of potential directions for future research.

In concluding this section, it is worth pointing out that there is a sizeable literature on the benefits of being outdoors for children's educational, mental and physical well-being (Becker *et al.* 2017; Edwards-Jones, Waite and Passy 2018; Hawxwell *et al.* 2019; MacQuarrie 2018). This literature is somewhat tangential to outdoor residential learning as it tends to address school practices such as outdoor teaching, learning in natural environments, learning outside the classroom, place-responsive pedagogy, forest schools, sustainability education, outdoor play and green space. However, from the research presented here, there is a reasonable evidence base that suggests that there are psychological changes, particularly in resilience, that result from involvement in outdoor adventure; there is some evidence that this relates to the experience of coping with risk and adversity; and there is mixed evidence about the durability of any such changes. However, there is a lack of clarity about the role that the outdoor context and programme components play in these changes. Despite this the relationship between risk and psychological growth is well established in outdoor literature and the concept of 'inoculation through risk' remains a common theme.

2.7 Residential outdoor learning as temporary community

This section considers the idea that outdoor residential learning can be seen as a temporary community. As this is a limited area of literature, the review considers literature from different age ranges, but seeks to develop conclusions that relate to primary school children.

The idea that residential outdoor learning occurs within a prescribed social environment has a long history, from the foundational texts of scouting and Outward Bound to the first pedagogic explanations (Walsh and Golins 1976). These ideas were articulated by Hopkins and Putnam (1993), who used the terms *temporary societies*, *experimental social laboratories* and *community living* to explain the importance of the social structure of outdoor residential learning. They state:

> *The outdoors is also a powerful medium for exploring the nature of community. When on a sail training boat, or a mountain expedition we are also engaged in constructing intricate and intense social relationships. In the pursuit of challenging physical objectives we are often engaged in creating social structures which underpin our physical successes. These temporary societies are a microcosm of the wider community. In many ways these situations are experimental social laboratories where we can explore social relationships at a level of intensity unusual in more sedate settings. This gives us the opportunity at times to behave differently, to try out a variety of social roles and see very clearly the impact we can have on others and to experience the support that is part of community living*. (p.12)

This explanation reflects the intensity or the social experiences and the sense of isolation and interdependence that is created within outdoor residential learning, but also the temporality of the social group. The participants in these temporary societies are aware that the experience will be short-lived but are also required to engage with these intricate and intense relationships in ways that they may be unaccustomed to.

However, the idea that the residential community is an experimental social laboratory perhaps misrepresents the shared experience and the sense of community that often

accompanies the residential experience. Quay, Dickinson and Nettleton (2000) use a range of foundational literature to develop the argument that community and caring are central to the practices and purpose of outdoor education. Whilst asserting a human need for community they use Priest's (1990) description of outdoor education as:

> *a place (natural environment), a subject (ecological processes), and a reason (resource stewardship) for learning. It has been called a method (experiential), a process (sensory), and a topic (relationships) of learning*. (p.113)

Within this framework they suggest that community building requires the participants to develop care for each other (*Gemeinshaft*) through strategies such as prosocial modelling, cooperative and nurturant relationships with others, perspective taking and conflict resolution. They suggest that residentials should support the development of community, caring and friendship and that this can be supported by encouraging these strategies.

Thus, Quay, Dickinson and Nettleton (2000, 2003) suggest that the community is not a context for individuals but is something that is developed through the adoption of strategies that support learning through peer relationships and thus can be encouraged by programme design and facilitation. This is also apparent in a study by Gargano and Turcotte (2021) who consider OAE programmes from a social work perspective, as a means for human development. This socio-constructivist study identifies the *helping factors* relating to individual and group actions during critical incidents in an 18-day expedition. The study uses the framework of *helping factors* developed by Yalom and Leszcz (2005) which includes 11 factors that are catalysts for change during group processes. Whilst the participants were university students, the study finds that the factors that emerged most often were: self-understanding; cohesion; altruism, interpersonal learning, and universality. However, Gargano and Turcotte (2021) note that three factors were mentioned by virtually all participants: self-understanding, interpersonal learning and socialising techniques.

Gargano and Turcotte (2021) suggest that,

> *the presence of a structure of collaboration and support that arises from participant interdependence enhances the use of cognitive and psychological spheres and creates a laboratory of interpersonal experiences*. (p.89)

Here the social structure of the residential is socially constructed, but also depends on the development of pro-social behaviours, without which the group could not move past the critical incidents.

Using a more inductive approach, Smith, Steele and Gidlow (2010) look at the residential experiences from the child's perspective and conceptualise it as a 'temporary community'. In this New Zealand study, 32 children aged 14-15 were given cameras and asked to document their residential experience and were then interviewed about their images. This photo-elicitation study explored the socio-physical context for residential campers, in order to understanding the meanings and values that adolescents placed on such events. The study finds that the residential camp can be considered as a basis for a *psychological sense of community* in that it provides: feelings of membership; integration and fulfilment of needs; and interdependence and shared emotional connection. These criteria are drawn from Chavis, Hogge, McMillan and Wandersman (1986) and had previously been considered by Breunig *et al*. (2008). From the analysis of the photo-elicitation, Smith, Steel and Gidlow (2010) derive three key themes: school camp as fun, school camp as social interaction and school camp as different. The authors propose that this sense of community can be enhanced through good programming and cite Orford (1993) to show that this can be enhanced by the intensity of the experiences, by processes of conflict resolution and perspective taking, and through structured reflection. In their findings, the degree to which these students engaged with the social community is stark. Smith, Steele and Gidlow (2010) state,

> *Students' narratives in the current study rarely included specific references to the outdoor environment in which the camp was held. Although students participated in outdoor activities in outdoor environments, their main priority was with whom they were spending time rather than what they were doing and where they were*. (p.145)

This suggests that the importance given by the children to the social experience was considerably greater than their sense of place and undermines the exceptionality of the

outdoors as a medium for learning. By contrast it also suggests that the temporary community has specific educational value that can be supported by careful facilitation. Whilst this study explores older children (14-15 years) and is conceptually dependent on the centrality of risk, the findings and recommendations emphasise the social milieu that young people inhabit and suggest that this the temporary community offers opportunities for personal and social development. Thus, Smith, Steele and Gidlow (2010) recommend,

> *In light of our findings, outdoor education practitioners should consider harnessing the social preoccupations of adolescents to achieve programme youth development goals. Enhancements to self-concept and interpersonal confidence could be driven by novel and positive social interactions with peers. The community formed in a well-planned residential camp offers adolescents not only a new way of seeing others but also, possibly, a new way of seeing themselves.* (p.148)

Here Smith, Steel and Gidlow (2010) are developing a strong rationale for harnessing the social milieu to support personal and social development. This echoes the position in Bobilya and Amey (2002) who consider the impact of residential learning on US university students. This paper provides an interesting insight into the value of residential communities in creating: connections between students and staff; self-learning and transferable skills; and support for academic and in-class learning. Interestingly the study's approach explores the individual impact of the activities rather than the shared or individual effect of being a part of a residential learning community. Consequently, its findings suggest that interactions outside the classroom support student happiness and adjustment to university, as well as promoting a sense of community. Interestingly, the study approaches the sense of community as an essential part of the pedagogic approach and does not see this as a developmental or learning process.

This seems in direct contrast to the approach of Gee (2010) who sees the temporary community emerging from the good and bad aspects of shared experience, rather than being inherent to the situation. Gee's ethnographic study (Gee 2010) is based around the experiences of 36 A-level students, three teachers and five centre staff on a geography field trip to a residential centre, Gee (2010) explores the concept of temporary community. His research finds that the residential is widely perceived as fun and

identifies 5 factors that contribute to a sense of temporary community: space, informality, shared adversity, teacher control and work. Gee (2010) explores a single week at the residential centre as a spatially and temporarily bounded setting and focuses on space/territory, social relationships and common experiences. He posits that the physical remoteness and the limited opportunities for interaction with the outside world, serves as the basis for the strengthening of existing friendships, the formation of new friendships and the retrenchment of existing friendships. His study finds that the nature of the relationships (including those with teachers and staff) whilst on residential are more informal than those back at school, and Gee (2010, p.156) suggests that this is due to community sentiments of inclusivity, tolerance and social cooperation. Furthermore, he found that the 16 out of the 35 students stated that they most enjoyed socialising and personal relationships, and that this was within a context of feelings of adversity with regard to sharing rooms. Whilst the specificity of the ethnographic approach and the older age range makes it hard to generalise the observations and findings of this doctoral study to other situations of residential outdoor learning and to a younger age range, it is clear from the approach and findings that the residential experience can be seen as an intense social experience for the participants and that the group becomes a temporary community within a short period of time.

Similarly in a major study of the impacts of residential experiences, Amos and Reiss (2012) evaluated an extensive five-year programme of residential courses for 11- to 14-year-old children living in London. The study considered data from 2,706 participating children, 70 teachers and 869 parents across 46 schools. Whilst the focus of the study is on the development of science education and includes multiple forms of residential education, this paper develops strong conclusions about the benefits of residential courses. Interestingly the paper uses a broad measure of learning derived from Falk and Dierking's (2000) work on museum-based learning and thus reflects the four interlinked contexts of the personal, the socio-cultural, the physical and time. It finds improvements in students' collaborative skills and interpersonal relationships and that the principal gains from the residential experiences were in the affective and social domains. This large-scale longitudinal study used a mixture of methods and was principally interested in the utility of such approaches for the teaching of science, but nonetheless provides a significant contribution to the evidence for quantifiable social and affective changes resulting from residentials. Although the paper does not explicitly address the development of temporary community, the study suggest that the social outcomes are

widespread and that the socio-cultural context is an important context for learning, as well as being an important area of outcomes.

In conclusion, the concept of temporary community has a long history, but interpretations differ between the idea of a temporary community as a social situation for the individual, as a sense of belonging, as a normative concept and as an educational tool. However, within this diversity is a shared understanding that the intense social experience requires individuals to behave differently and to adopt approaches that support collaborative working.

2.8 Social capital formation in residential outdoor learning

This section explores the literature on social capital formation, its theoretical basis, and its limitations as an approach for considering changes occurring during and after residential outdoor learning. Although the ideas of social capital were discussed in the early years of the 21st century (Beames and Attencio 2008), they have been somewhat overshadowed by later social approaches to outdoor learning, particularly place-based learning. This may in part be due to concerns about the conceptualisation of learning as a form of capital in a literature that is often averse to capitalism and the monetisation of outdoor learning (Loynes 2017). In addition, the ideas of social capital appeared to have found little traction in the experiential education literature. It seems likely that this arose from the significant differences in the conceptualisation of learning as a form of capital rather than as a change in cognition and psychological attributes. Despite the unpopularity of the concept amongst outdoor researchers, the ideas of social capital present a means of considering the impacts of residential outdoor learning, that recognises that interacting within a social group has benefits for both the individual and the group.

The concept of social capital was initially developed by Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1989) as an explanation for the social reproduction of inequality. However, the popularity of social capital, and its adoption into political discourse, is generally traced to Putnam (2000) who suggested that,

> *The core idea of social capital is that networks have value. Just as a screwdriver (physical capital) or a college education (human capital) can increase productivity*

> *(both individual and collective), so too social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups.* (p.18)

Thus, for Putnam (2000), the central thesis is that relationships have value and that the quality of trust, networks and norms within the relationships surrounding a social actor contribute to the capital of that social actor (Beames and Attencio 2008).

However, Putnam (2000) identifies two forms of social capital: bonding and bridging. In this construction, bonding social capital is generated within the group and represents bonds between group members characterised by thick forms of trust. This form of social capital supports shared interests and the development of aspects of shared identity. By contrast, bridging social capital describes the relationships between people in different social groups. This form of social capital supports social integration and has the capacity to generate broader shared identities. The development of both forms of social capital depends on participation in social groups that have norms of reciprocity and that are not characterised by differential power. However, Putnam (2000) suggests that the identity, values and norms of reciprocity in social groups are socially constructed, and thus that an individual's participation in a social group simultaneously changes the group and the individual. Furthermore, Putnam (2000) suggests that a societal decline in bridging social capital undermines the productivity of that society. He illustrates this point with 25 years of data from the USA that shows how declining involvement in socially interactive activities (including ten-pin bowling leagues) leads to reduced social integration and productivity.

Thus, social capital can be seen as: the individual value of social contacts through the number and quality of the individual's relationships within their networks; the value arising from engaging with different opinions and the development of trust (reciprocal relations) that provide access to resources not directly owned by the individual. With regard, to residential outdoor learning, the social capital approach offers a way of considering values formation. The concept that norms of behaviour are located within social relationships rather than being individual attributes allows discussion of social context, agency and power in the development and maintenance of social norms. It also suggests that the values that underpin such norms need not be based on ethical frameworks or moral arguments but might be socially constructed.

Within the outdoor literature one of the first texts to consider social capital was Stoddart (2004). Here the author explores the impact of a programme of outdoor education on socially excluded young people from schools in Cumbria. The young people completed an extensive programme that included: weekly school meetings; five days of outdoor activities in their own school group at an outdoor education centre; two weekend outdoor residentials with young people from the other schools; a community project; a two-week residential at an Outdoor Centre out of Cumbria for the young people who had completed the programme; and peer mentoring of the next intake into the programme. Stoddart (2004) found that:

> *The sense of reciprocity that developed amongst the group was evident in the support that the group gave each other during the programme. There were many different instances identified in the research that highlighted how the group encouraged each other. This was done without an expectation of an immediate payback for those people offering the support. A positive attitude towards supporting one another appeared to evolve amongst the group as their friendship developed*. (p.14)

Stoddart (2004) suggests that this reciprocity represents the formation of bonding social capital as they gained trust and understanding of each other. However, she also notes that the young people were keen to volunteer to be mentors, suggesting more generalised trust and the formation of bridging social capital.

> *The enthusiasm of the young people to be involved in helping others within the project also revealed another type of trust. This trust was in the structure and provision of the programme. They clearly expected the programme to continue to be run in the same way and to provide the same positive experiences for other young people in the future*. (p.12)

The paper suggests that the young people became less socially excluded and developed trust within the close network of participants, but also wider trust in the programme and in other people. This allowed them to develop socially inclusive behaviours and become more engaged with social groups.

In a significant theoretical paper, Beames and Attencio (2008) identify a number of themes within the social capital literature that relate to outdoor education and consider ways that social capital can be used in outdoor education. They consider Stoddart (2004) to be an example of one way that outdoor education can develop bridging and bonding social capital within small groups. In addition, they suggest outdoor programmes that use community education and place-based education are also areas of practice where there is an opportunity for the development of bonding and bridging social capital through the creation of community relationships and connection to place (Maeda 2005). They recommend that outdoor programmes should be embedded into the local communities. They criticise the idea of universal programmes as neo-colonialist in its use of locations as 'empty sites' for learning. Furthermore, Beames and Attencio (2008) suggest that explicitly framing outdoor programmes around the 'ethic of care' (McKenzie and Blenkinsop 2006) provides a way of ensuring that such programmes create meaningful relationships to the community and thus develop bridging forms of social capital.

Reimer, Lyons, Ferguson and Polanco (2008) explore the contribution of normative structures to the development of social capital. They suggest that there is an important distinction between the availability and use of social capital, as social capital is organized in different ways by the normative structures in which it is embedded. The authors go on to differentiate four very general types of normative structures that guide behaviour in social relations: market, bureaucratic, associative, and communal. They suggest that there are different norms that govern social interactions in each, but that social situations are complicated and there may be multiple normative structures in any situation. Thus, they take issue with Putnam's construction of social norms which they see as overly simplistic, and recommend that, as well as seeking to develop networks, there should be understanding and responsiveness to the situation in order to determine which type of social relation is most effective at fostering social capital to achieve the desired outcomes of a particular programme.

Although not considering residential outdoor learning, this text allows consideration of the nature of social relations in different situations. Thus, whilst undertaking group activities the group is operating within a normative structure that may be associative (based on shared interests) or communal (based on shared identity) or indeed may be market (based on exchange of goods and services). Thus, successful involvement of individuals in this social relation requires them to accept both the normative structure

and the norms within it. This indicates that involvement in different social activities may develop different forms of social capital, but that the norms within that social capital may be very different.

Holland, Reynolds and Weller (2007) challenge another precept of Putnam's (2000) work by exploring the significance of social capital in the lives of children and young people in minority ethnic communities. Drawing on the findings of three studies they rejected the proposal that children were passive recipients of parental social capital, instead they identify the many ways that children develop and use social capital to negotiate transitions and construct their identities. They critique the theoretical fathers of social capital (Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam) as failing to understand the social lives of children, and of being ethnocentric and gender blind. Holland, Reynolds and Weller (2007),

> *In terms of the transition to secondary school we explore how children use resources and networks to negotiate the move to a new school and become more independent social actors who are able to settle in and 'get on*'. (p.101)

Holland, Reynolds and Weller (2007) also identified the ways that friendship networks were used as positive resources by children to cope with the move:

> *Networks of friends, acquaintances and siblings help them to become familiar with the school, find their way around, learn the unwritten rules and practices, and to become confident and settled. In these terms children often use their bonding social capital with old friends from primary school, as they provide a comfort zone in new surroundings and with new people during the settling in period.* (p.102)

These networks act as a bridge by providing pre-established set of acquaintances, but Holland, Reynolds and Weller (2007) also suggest that the young participants used their understandings of community and agency to produce different outcomes with regard to identity construction and social mobility. Whilst they note large differences in children's social lives, ranging from those that were heavily managed by their parents to those with considerable independence, they found that the children drew on the neighbourhood social capital and the sense of belonging as a source of identity. They conclude that

children are active agents in the production of social capital and that they use this to negotiate transitions. They challenge the perceived wisdom that developing bridging social capital addresses social exclusion, instead they asserted that bonding and bridging social capital are interwoven and interdependent. Indeed, in some circumstances bonding social capital provided identity, resources and support to bridge into other networks, whilst at other times strong bonding networks were highly constraining.

Interestingly a study by Seaman *et al.* (2014) also suggested that children had significant agency and that levels of social capital contributed to their developmental and educational achievement. The authors surveyed rural adolescents in New Hampshire, USA, to explore the link between antecedent predictors, outdoor activity participation and developmental and educational achievement. The longitudinal study found that higher levels of outdoor activity contributed to developmental and educational achievement. They also found that the existing uneven distribution of social capital meant that children with less social capital were least likely to be involved in outdoor activities. This study again challenges the simple structure of social capital suggested by Putnam (2000). Here the ability to develop social capital through association in outdoor activities is influenced by the agency of the child and their social situation which gives different access to social capital.

Overall, the literature on social capital provides a means of considering social changes occurring during and after outdoor residential learning. This is firstly through the recognition that relationships developed within the residential may have value through the quality of the networks developed the norms of engagement in those networks and the levels of trust within the relationships. Secondly, by conceptualising two forms of social capital: bonding and bridging, both of which provide benefits to the child, the social aspects of a residential may be developing close knit teams with a strong sense of identity or engagement with more diverse social groups and a greater sense of connection to community and place. Thirdly, the literature suggests that this social engagement does not exist within a single normative structure, but that norms may differ between team activities and unstructured social time, so that children's social capital may not reflect simple norms such as those of care and compassion but may be mixed with more pragmatic norms of exchange or identity. Finally, the literature suggests that children have agency, but that they arrive at a social situation with different amounts of

social capital and consequently may have less access in order to develop further social capital.

2.9 Conclusions

This literature review has considered the theoretical and conceptual foundations of residential outdoor learning. It has explored the existence of parallel theoretical explanations for the learning process during residentials and suggested that currently there are limitations in the theoretical and evidential basis of both explanations. The review concludes that any research into residential outdoor learning must address both explanations. The chapter then considered the literature around the current provision of residential outdoor learning and considered how the origins and historical development of practice had influenced the nature of current provision. This section concluded that many historical practices have remained largely unchanged, but that in other instances the changes in the nature of provision were somewhat at odds with the claimed theoretical base, and that the research base often reflects older practices as these are more coincidental with the theory.

The review then looked at the research evidence on residential outdoor learning and explored the theory and evidence around risk, narrative building, social interaction in temporary communities, and the development of social capital through the development of networks, norms and trust. The review concludes that the evidence is partial in all areas, and that the theoretical approaches do not form an agreed theoretical basis for exploring children's social experiences during residential outdoor learning. However, the work concludes that there are four key areas for consideration: resilience, narratives, temporary community and social capital.

Chapter 3 - Methodology and research design

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology and research design are outlined and justified. In addition, the chapter identifies the steps taken to ensure that the research activities, particularly those involving children, were conducted in an appropriate and ethically acceptable manner. The chapter positions the study with regard to the research traditions, the epistemology and ontology of the researcher, and explains the theoretical choices underpinning the phenomenological approach to research (3.1). It then presents and justifies the qualitative research design and how this relates to the research questions (3.2), research context and sampling strategy (3.3). Then the methods of data collection and analysis are considered in relation to the indicators of rigour in qualitative research and research ethics (3.4). The chapter finishes with details of the pilot study and the revisions to the instruments and research questions (3.5).

3.1 Positioning the study

This section locates the study within the traditions of social science research and explores the positionality of the researcher including the epistemology and ontological perspective. In addition, it justifies the theoretical choices in the research design.

3.1.1 Researcher positionality and ontological statement

Prince (2020, p.2) argues that "*a researcher's ontological, epistemological and methodological commitments will constrain which methods will be used*". As such she suggests that the research design is dependent on the epistemological beliefs and ontological assumptions of the researcher. Indeed, Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest that the philosophical framework of research is inseparable from the research strategy and establishes the research paradigm.

One of the epistemological assumptions of the social constructivist paradigm is that there is not one reality but many realities. Thus, this thesis presents one possible interpretation of these children's experiences based on my standpoint as formerly involved in the design, delivery and management of residential outdoor learning and, currently, as a university lecturer in a role that includes preparing students to undertake work placements in such contexts. In addition, I have previously researched aspects of residential outdoor learning (Wood and Pritchard 2014, Wood 2016). Consequently, I

believe that residentials have an important role to play in supporting child development, but that many residentials are designed around the provision of activities (Cooper 2007), and that the educational and developmental purposes of residentials are often poorly understood by teachers and outdoor practitioners. My ontology was based on concerns about the appropriateness of theoretical explanations based on experiential education and place-based learning and influenced by Gee's findings about the developmental value of socialising and personal relationships within the residential (Gee 2010).

The conceptual framework of the proposed research was set within the body of research around the social aspects of outdoor learning (Coates *et al.* 2015) and specifically drew on the theoretical models of social capital developed by Roger Putnam (Putnam 2000) as applied to children's development (Holland, Reynolds and Weller 2007) and residential outdoor learning (Beames and Attencio 2008; Stoddart 2004). In seeking to explore these ideas, the research acknowledges its epistemological belief that children's adaptation to emergent social norms within a temporary community contributes to the development of social values through experience of the social interactions required to integrate into, and participate in, a temporary community. As such the researcher's epistemology asserts a conjectural relationship between social adaptation and the development of social values. It follows that the ontological position was largely aligned to social constructivism in its assumptions that it is the development of jointly constructed understandings of the world that form the basis for shared assumptions about reality. Thus, the researcher sought to engage with the phenomenon of residential outdoor learning, to explore the experiences of children and teachers, to identify shared understandings about the impact of those experiences, and thus to propose relationships between aspects of the residential experience and aspects of child development.

3.1.2 Position within the traditions of social science research

This study sits within a tradition of social science research in considering the network of relationships around the subject area, the researcher and the social context. The approach aligns with traditions of phenomenology which 'puts individuals' experience of living at the front and centre of scientific inquiry' (Telford 2020, p.51) in its exploration of children's experiences in residential outdoor learning. Allen-Collinson (2016) explores the origins, history and disputed definitions of phenomenology and arrives at the conclusion that it can be seen as a method/ology based on four cornerstones of description, intentionality, eidetic reduction and essences. Allen-Collinson (2016 p.17)

suggests that the guidance by Giogi (1985) is commonly used as the basis for this form of research:

1. The collection of concrete, 'naïve' descriptions of phenomenon from participants,
2. The researcher's adoption of the phenomenological attitude and engagement with the epoché,
3. An impressionistic reading of each transcript / description to gain a feel for the whole,
4. An in-depth re-reading of the description to identify 'meaning units',
5. Identifying and making explicit the significance of each meaning unit,
6. The production of a general description of the structure of the experience.

As the research followed this method/ology and developed a general description of the structure of the experience through the eidetic reduction of the children's experiences, it seemed appropriate to site the research within the traditions of phenomenology. Thus, The data collection methods were entirely qualitative with all primary data derived from individual semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews, and such use of qualitative data is characteristic of phenomenological approaches to research. In this study, the phenomenological approach supported the exploratory nature of the study and allowed the children's voices to emerge through the data. Telford (2020) suggests,

> *For researchers in the field of outdoor studies, phenomenology has obvious appeal given the claims made about its potential for coming to some sort of understanding about what it is that the participants experience and the meanings that they construct or interpret from their experiences*. (p.47)

However, he cautions that there is little clear guidance on how to carry out phenomenological studies and that approaches differ considerably. In part this is because the approach shies away from standardised procedures and relies on language as a means of symbolically representing experience. Thus, whilst the techniques of bracketing, or epoché, provide an approach to phenomenological description, Telford (2020) suggests that they are just means of removing the researcher's preconceptions and prioritising the participants voices in order to create a relationship of deep understanding and empathy with the participants.

The exclusive use of qualitative data also reflects the predominance of research studies using qualitative data within the social sciences (Denzin and Lincoln 2013) and in the field of outdoor learning research (Humberstone and Prince 2020). Indeed, all of the previous doctoral studies of residential outdoor learning in the UK (Simpson 2007; Telford 2010; Rea 2011) use qualitative data, and Scrutton (2011) identifies significant problems around the reliability and validity of quantitative approaches for measuring the impacts of residential outdoor programmes. Thus, the phenomenological approach, and the eidetic reduction of naïve descriptions of the phenomena, was congruent with research traditions in residential outdoor learning and provided some guidance for the exploration of the lived experience of young people.

The approach to data analysis sought to address the limitations of phenomenology and grounded theory by combining the two approaches to embrace the agency of the researcher whilst maintaining the primary aim of understanding the lived experience of the participants. It was thus located with phenomenology but drew on techniques associated with grounded theory. This meant that participant experiences were considered through analysis of language whilst the researcher's understanding of the epoché was developed and synthesized through an active process of meaning making in order to derive both contextually specific meanings and theoretical understanding of the participants' experiences. Thus, whilst the eidetic focus of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) approach sought systematic identification of themes, this was counter-balanced by structured analysis using Creswell's (2014) seven-stage progression and the application of a circular and iterative process of meaning-making in keeping with Shiva's Circle of Constructivist Inquiry (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). The subsequent text construction drew on phenomenology (Brown *et al.* 2014) embracing the agential involvement of the researcher in creating a synthesis of ideas and evidence to develop a theoretical understanding of the phenomena. Thus, the methods of data analysis were located within the interpretative traditions of phenomenology (derived from Heidegger), the emphasis on the objective reality of the phenomenal field (from Merleau Ponty) and on some aspects of the inductive reasoning of grounded theory to move beyond the lived experience and allowed the development of a theoretical understanding of the social experiences of children.

As the research explored individuals' experiences and their perceptions of the changes in their social interactions, it is important to identify the theoretical approach that explains the process of change. In this case, the research asked participants to explore their memories of the residential through questioning, but it also asked the children and teachers to interact with their memories / accounts, and to make sense of the processes. Thus, the study follows traditions of social constructivism.

Adams (2006) explores the theory and practicality of social constructivism in the context of children's learning at primary school. The exploration starts at the central tenet of social constructivism, that learner construction of knowledge is the product of social interaction, interpretation and understanding. Thus, learning is seen as 'a process of active knowledge construction within and from social forms and processes' (p.245). Here, the aim of learning is to become aware of the realities of others and to construct internal theoretical possibilities that are more able to predict behaviours that are socially acceptable. Adams (2006) suggests that this is based on individual construction of knowledge through engagement in the socio-cultural realm. Thus, social constructivism in schools sees the teachers as learning guides rather than instructors and sees learning as arising from consequential tasks and discussion. In earlier work, Garrison (1995) also explored the theory of social constructivism. He draws clear similarities between Dewey's pragmatic understanding of leaning, where meaning is a property of social behaviour and where language is a tool for creating shared understanding, and Vygotsky's concept of the ZPD (Zone of Proximal Development) where conjoint and shared understanding is derived from social interaction and where language is multi-directional process of making meaning.

Leather (2012) clearly differentiates between social constructivism and social constructionism in writing about outdoor education and forest schools. He points to the complexity of terms, suggests that social constructionism (although lacking in a single, clear definition) is an epistemological position that accounts for how phenomena are socially constructed and can be seen as responsible for the 'collective generation (and transmission) of meaning' (p.4). He shows examples of how the meanings of terms in outdoor education might reflect the dominant discourse of white, westernised male society of outdoor educators. By contrast, Leather (2012) identifies social constructivism as a part of the process of knowing, and draws on Vygotsky (1978) to suggest that it entails key beliefs,

> *Social constructivism has some key beliefs namely that a) knowledge is socially constructed, b) learners physically construct knowledge and it must be embodied for the learner to acquire it and c) learners symbolically create knowledge, by fashioning their own representations of concepts and meanings.* (p.2)

Thus, Garrison (1995) Adams (2006), and Leather (2012) stress the importance of social interaction in supporting the internal construction of knowledge that creates knowledge through development of individual representations of concepts, such that the individual is more able to understand the world, predict socially acceptable behaviour and understand other people's realities. It is this concept, social constructivism, that underpins the epistemology of the study, in its beliefs that all individuals have a unique way of making sense of the world, but that this is shaped by interactions with culture and society.

In conclusion, the research was securely located within the traditions of phenomenology but contains aspects of inductive reasoning from grounded theory approaches to embrace the agency of the researcher whilst maintaining the primary aim of understanding the lived experience of the participants. In addition, the epistemology was based on a social constructivist understanding of learning through individual engagement in the socio-cultural realm.

3.2 Research design

This section presents the research design, justifying the qualitative approach, the sampling strategy and the research context for the study. These are considered in relation to the research questions.

The overall structure of the study consisted of a literature review, a pilot study, and a main study. Both pilot study and main study used similar research methods, but the former acted as a methodological review for the main study (see appendix 2). The pilot study entailed six interviews. The main study included a larger sample (n=26) and explored themes identified in the literature review and the pilot study, as well as emergent themes. Thus, the study was informed by research throughout, and combined inductive and deductive approaches to consider primary data from focus groups and semi-

structured interviews with children two to three weeks after returning from residential outdoor learning.

Data collection for the pilot study was conducted with one school in the West Midlands and included six interviews with individual children of around 15 minutes each (in the presence of school staff) and one interview of around 25 minutes with a member of staff at the school who led the residential outdoor learning. All data collection was conducted within the school and the headteacher was considered as a gatekeeper for the research. All children participating in the pilot study were from KS2 and had attended a four-day residential that included adventurous activities. The sample included boys and girls. The transcribed recordings were subjected to primary coding and the codes were then analysed against themes identified in the literature review. As well as establishing themes, the pilot acted as a review of the methods (see section 3.5.1) and resulted in minor changes to data collection protocols and questions (see appendix 1).

Data collection for the main study involved children and adults from five schools in the West Midlands. Thirteen interviews were conducted with individual children of around 15 minutes each (in the presence of school staff), five focus groups (max 25 minutes) with three to four children, and five individual interviews with teachers who had led the residential outdoor learning. As with the pilot, all data collection took place within the schools and the headteachers were considered as gatekeepers. The children participating in the main study were from years five and six (key stage two) and had attended a 4-day residential that included adventurous activities. The sample included 11 boys and 15 girls. Children were interviewed during lesson time, were excused from their lessons singly or in groups, waited in an agreed area and took turns to be interviewed in an open space but out of earshot. The interviews were audio recorded. They followed the interview schedule (see appendix 2) with additional questioning to clarify or confirm responses, or to probe for further information. After the interview, the children returned to their lessons. Teachers were interviewed during breaks or lunchtime.

Data transcription and primary coding were conducted after each day of data collection. The process of data analysis is considered in 3.4.3. This iterative approach meant that responses to existing themes were explored in a cumulative manner and that new themes emerged at all stages of the data collection. Changes in understanding from the

earlier interviews helped to focus the later interviews and were explored through a process of analytic memo writing (see appendix 5). Whilst the iterative structure of the research meant that data analysis, the generation of theory and the progression towards saturation occurred at all stages of the research, the writing up period included intense scrutiny of the data, systematic and interpretative analysis and the development of themes. Indeed, the analysis continued into the writing up period. This reflects Marshall and Rossman's (2011) suggestion that the generation of chapters is a first step to presenting findings, but that the act of writing gives form to the researcher's carefully categorized and organised data.

3.2.1 Identification of the sample

In common with similar studies (Ashworth 2017; Bognor 2002; Christie 2016; Gee 2015; Gee 2019; Humberstone and Stan 2011), the sample was derived by purposive sampling, and participants were chosen for theoretical and not statistical reasons (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Marshall and Rossman 2011). The decision to use purposive sampling was taken for two reasons: i) the absence of any comprehensive or partial database of schools attending residential outdoor learning such that any statistical approaches to sampling would not be based on a reliable representation of the population; and ii) the complexity of engaging with gatekeepers, parents/guardians and children in seeking rich data that explore personal experiences and the meanings of those experiences. The study included two levels of sampling:

- the first level involved approaching schools through existing contacts to establish whether they were undertaking KS2 residentials. They were then approached formally to request participation in the research.
- the second level involved the gatekeeper for each school selecting the sample of children for interview based on criteria set by the researcher. This theoretical sampling approach established clear criteria for inclusion (appendix 2) but also ensured that the decisions around sampling incorporated the knowledge (and duty of care) of the children, and the existing relationships between the school, the children and their parents.

Thus, the selection of the sample of schools was based on four key criteria.

1) were located in the West Midlands,

2) followed the National Curriculum for England and Wales,
3) taught children at key stage two (KS2), and,
4) had recently undertaken residential outdoor learning.

The theoretical basis for the sample of children included those who were comfortable to talk to a researcher, and who the school felt had benefitted particularly from the experience. In asking schools to apply these criteria, it was hoped that a sample of children who were able to express their experiences, their understanding of those experiences, and the link between the outdoor residential experience and their social values would be achieved.

The use of purposive sampling (a non-probabilistic approach) may be critiqued, but the research did not seek a representative sample. Instead, in common with most phenomenological research, it sought to recruit those people best placed to help the researcher to develop ideas and theoretical understanding. Indeed, Huberman and Miles (2002, p.13) see theoretical sampling as the 'choice of cases that are likely to replicate or extend the emergent theory'. In this case, the inclusion criteria for the sample of children sought to recruit participants whose experiences and understanding could validate existing theory and extend theory through the exploration of their unique experiences. This approach aligns with Corbin and Strauss (2008) who state that

> *the purpose of theoretical sampling is to collect data from places, people and events that will maximize opportunities to develop concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions, uncover variations, and identify relationships between concepts*. (p.143)

Marshall and Rossman (2011, p.111) identify the primacy of purposive sampling in qualitative research and suggest that an important aspect is to ensure that the sampling is transparently observable, such that the constitution and bias of the sample is clear to the reader and that any theory or other outcomes are interpretable within the context of the sample. Thus, the criteria and rationale are clearly explored herein.

3.3 The research context

The research context was children at state-funded schools in the West Midlands studying at key stage two and teachers who had recently returned from outdoor adventure

residentials. The pilot study considered the experiences of children and teachers from a small rural primary school, and the main study considers the experiences of 26 children and five teachers from a further five schools. All the participants had recently returned from residentials; that is, all of the children had attended a residential, and all of the participant teachers had led the respective experience.

This section explores the research context in more depth, and identifies considerable variety in the schools, children, teachers and residentials. The variety recognises the interpretation of experience by children and adults, the individual experiences of residentials and the differences between schools and providers. However, the section also identifies that, within that diversity, there are shared elements such as travel, activities, being away from home, sleeping in shared spaces, collaboration, friendship, fear and trust. These elements may relate to the shared features of the residential provision, they may relate to the similarities of childhood development of children in year five and year six, or they may relate to the intentionality of the schools and the way that the experience is integrated into the school's ethos and approach to education. This research project sought to explore this complex context to understand how primary school children's social values were influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning.

3.3.1 The schools

All the schools were state funded and taught to the National Curriculum for England. They range in size from one class per year group to two classes per year group.

School	Type	Location	Years	School capacity	Year group interviewed	Children interviewed	Teachers interviewed
Pilot	primary	rural	1-6	150	5&6	6	1
1	middle	urban	5-8	559	5	4	1
2	primary	urban	1-6	420	6	4	1
3	first	rural	1-5	125	5	6	1
4	middle	rural	6-8	336	6	6	1
5	primary	semi-rural	1-6	420	6	6	1

Table 1: Nature and scale of the schools included in the study

School one

This was an urban middle school with a capacity of 559 pupils (Ofsted 2020) with two classes per year group. The school had used residential outdoor education for many years and residential learning was clearly embedded in the school year. The year five children had all attended a three-day residential at a local outdoor centre that included a range of exciting activities alongside teamwork projects. The structure and content of the residential seemed aligned to Cooper (2007) and the children's recollections centred on the most exciting activities and the dormitories.

School two

This primary school, with a capacity of 420 pupils (Ofsted 2020), was in an urban area of a small town. The residential was planned by the year six form teacher as a memorable life experience that would bond the children together after SATs and before finishing school. As such it was scheduled into the period of the year when much of the curriculum had been covered and where children's motivation for school was waning. The teacher clearly identified the impact of the residential on classroom motivation, on a reduction of 'niggles', and in developing a shared narrative amongst children and staff.

School three

This school was a small first school with a capacity of 125 pupils (Ofsted 2020). Children from the school generally progress to school 004 at the end of year five where they are joined by children from other feeder schools. The year five residential took place at a local outdoor education centre in the autumn and involved a standard programme of adventurous activities alongside residential living in dormitories. Children (n=6) represented the residential as an enjoyable and highly social experience with their comments focussed on the most exciting activities and on the dormitories.

School four

This rural middle school with a capacity of 336 (Ofsted 2020) was part of a federation of schools. The year six children had transitioned from feeder schools (including school 003) to the middle school earlier in the year and the teacher saw the residential as a means to develop greater understanding and cooperation and to mix friendship groups from previous schools. The three-day residential took place in an outdoor education centre and included a range of adventurous activities.

School five

This was a semi-rural primary school with capacity of 420 pupils (Ofsted 2020). They take year six children to a three-night residential outdoor education centre every year as part of a process of preparation for transition to secondary school. This was a large trip of around 60 children comprising two classes. Six children and a teacher were interviewed for the research. The teacher explained that the school was seeking shared novel experiences that would support children in developing resilience and independence.

3.3.2 The residentials

All of the residentials were arranged by a nominated teacher in each school with well-established and accredited providers of school residentials. The data relates to five residential providers as two of the residentials took place at the same venue but on different dates. Four of the residentials were within one hour's coach travel from the schools. The exception was the residential which entailed a longer journey.

The planning of each residential was led by one person in the school, but they were supported by senior and other members of staff. All schools had previously run residential trips and had staff with a depth of experience and well-established systems in place to ensure the safe and equitable organisation of the trips. Programmes of activities and arrangements for accommodation and meals were arranged in collaboration between the school and the provider. Accommodation in all instances was in shared rooms or dormitories, and bedtimes in all cases were set by the teachers.

Residential provider	Accreditation	No of beds	Activities	Duration
1	IOL[6]	300	Onsite multi-activity	3 nights
2	IOL	80	Onsite multi-activity	3 nights
3	BAPA[7]	240	Onsite multi-activity	3 nights
4	IOL	98	Onsite multi-activity	3 nights
5	BAPA	200	Onsite multi-activity and visits	3 nights

Table 2 - Residential providers included in the study

[6] IOL – Institute for Outdoor Learning - https://www.outdoor-learning.org/
[7] BAPA – British Activity Providers Association - https://www.thebapa.org.uk/

For all residentials, the children were divided into groups and the activity programme was planned to give equality of experience to all. In the residential centres this was achieved through a 'round-robin' approach to programme design. The programmes of activities at the residential outdoor learning centres included a mixture of individual and team activities that can be classified as challenge exercises, trust building exercises and problem-solving exercises. All activities involved physical tasks requiring interaction between children. Many of the challenge activities entailed some aspect of sensory stimulation such as height, darkness or motion and were designed to engender emotional responses such as anxiety and exhilaration.

Some activities were completed in small groups (e.g. canoeing, team building tasks, obstacle courses, tunnelling, trust walks) with most members of the group active throughout. In the more complex activities, or activities where the children were off the ground (e.g., quad pole, crate stacking) children were separated into sub-groups and given specialist roles, including controlling safety ropes. In some other team building tasks children were asked to take on roles designated in the briefings. In most small group activities, the groups were required to work out their own solutions and implement these. Often, they were able to take multiple attempts and to discuss their ideas before and after the attempt. The aims of the activities were generally very clear and tended to be the successful completion of the task. Activities were designed so that most groups could be successful. Some aspects of debriefing were common for these activities, but generally limited in duration and depth.

Other activities were primarily carried out on an individual basis (e.g., zip wire, giant swing, abseiling, climbing) with one or two children engaged in the activity whilst the remainder of the group were waiting for their turn or in supporting roles such as resetting the equipment and providing motivational support. The overall aims of the tasks were successful completion of the activity, but commonly there was a series of intermediate aims that allowed a sense of achievement to children who completed a part of the activity. All the centres appeared to be using a 'challenge by choice' approach as the individual activities were optional, but children were encouraged to attempt the activities. The programming of these activities within a set period of time meant that the groups that were fast could have multiple attempts, but groups that were slower might only have one go each. Thus, there was considerable similarity in the residentials, the activities and organised experiences that each of the groups went through.

3.3.3 The children

The main study included 11 boys and 15 girls studying at key stage two in state funded schools. All children in the study came from classes with a mixture of genders and academic abilities. As is common in UK primary education, most children would have been assigned to specific classes on entry to the school and would have progressed within a cohort of children. In each year of schooling, they would have a designated classroom and a teacher with pastoral responsibility. Children were not asked how long they had attended the school, however several mentioned previous years, and it was therefore likely that most of the children sampled from each school would have been in the same cohort as the other children for several years.

For most children, this was their first residential experience. Although they were not asked specifically about previous residentials, two children mentioned prior experiences at different outdoor providers.

Although teachers had the opportunity to be selective about which children attended the residential, there was no evidence that children had been excluded for financial or behavioural issues. However, both children and teachers mentioned other children who had not attended the residential, and it was possible that there were explicit or implicit barriers to participation.

Children were not asked about their home circumstances, but several mentioned parents, siblings and pets. It was not possible to draw conclusions about family circumstances, ethnicity, race, socio-economic group or other social indicators.

3.3.4 The teachers

The main study included five qualified teachers. This did not include any newly qualified teachers, or teachers with less than a year's experience at the school. All of the teachers had prior experience of running residentials and were form teachers with pastoral responsibility for children. As is common in UK primary education, all teachers had specialist teaching areas and additional responsibilities within their schools. As all the teachers worked in state funded schools it is highly likely that all the teachers were subject to regular inspection and were engaged in ongoing professional development, including in organising residentials.

Organising residentials requires agreement with head teachers and other school staff, communication with parents and carers and discussion with children, as well as significant internal and external administrative procedures. These agreements include decisions around duration, cost, time of year, location, staffing, risk management and eligibility to attend. As the costs of the residentials were passed to the parents and carers, the schools had to address issues of equality of access. In consequence, the teachers had all given detailed thought about the residential over an extended period of time and were able to articulate the aims and experiences with clarity, detail and theoretical coherence. Whilst the teachers differed in their approaches to running residentials, all appeared convinced of the educational and developmental value.

3.4 Methods of data collection and analysis

This section presents the methods of data collection and analysis.

3.4.1 Development of the interview questions

The interview schedules (see Appendix 3) were initially developed from the literature review but also reflect guidance on constructing questions for interviews (Foddy 1994), on phenomenological interviewing (Marshall and Rossman 2011), and on conducting research with children (Greig, Taylor and MacKay 2007).

As the interviews sought to explore the narratives of children and adults, the approach and the questions were based on existing literature on the role of narratives and memories in outdoor residential learning. This has received recent attention by Prince (2020a) and by Beames, Mackie and Scrutton (2020), and has been considered in relation to outdoor residentials with primary school children by Knapp and Benson (2006) and Waite (2007). The reasons for recalling memories of residential outdoor learning are explored by Liddicoate and Krasny (2014) who propose that recalling positive experiences gives participants a sense of continuity to their life, strengthens social bonds or establish connections with new acquaintances, and directs their future actions or solidifies their prior interests.

Prince (2020a) explores the evidence of the impacts of outdoor adventure residentials in a review of four research studies. Her thematic analysis of the findings of these studies draws together a wide range of participants' recollections of residentials to identify areas

of impact. In this study the memories are largely considered as data. The author does not consider the retrospective construction of memory or the social construction of meanings. Instead, the memories are considered as evidence of the importance of the experiences during the residential. Thus, the study seeks to draw themes from an aggregated body of reflections and to relate these to a process model (logic model) that explains the causal relationship between programme elements and lasting impacts. The thematic analysis shows that self-confidence, independence and communication are predominant themes in the narratives and thus concludes that these are areas of lasting impact for young people from outdoor adventure residentials.

Prince's approach to recollections (Prince 2020a) uses a similar approach to Beames, Mackie and Scrutton (2020). In this paper, the authors use data derived from surveys and focus groups with alumni from a private boarding school to explore their outdoor education experiences whilst at school. Again, the memories are presented as data for thematic analysis. The study finds that out-of-classroom learning experiences at Gordonstoun school have a powerful and enduring influence on students' personal growth, that students become accustomed to 'giving it a go', and that they appear to develop a generalised personal confidence and resilience. As with Prince (2020a) the paper uses a pragmatic assumption of a causal relationship and does not seek to explore the meaning of the memories. Thus, both Prince (2020a) and Beames, Mackie and Scrutton (2020) seem to use a positivist approach to qualitative data (narratives, memories and ascribed meanings) in order to demonstrate a causal relationship, but do not consider the limitations of memories that relate to incidents that in some cases occurred 50 years previously and that are presented in the context of a survey of alumni. Thus, in common with many historical studies, it seems likely that the findings are influenced by both confirmation and attribution bias. However, the study's analysis of the patterns of memories does seem to demonstrate that narratives carry meanings and that they provide a means for investigating the experience of outdoor learning.

In earlier work, Waite (2007) suggests that there is a substantial literature about how the outdoors provides 'good memories', but that much of the literature fails to explain what memories endure and the impact of memories on later life. As part of a study of staff involved in outdoor learning, she interviewed 18 primary school children about their memories of residential outdoor learning and collected 334 questionnaire responses from adults. She found that 72% of the adults shared memories of the outdoors and

grouped these under four themes: social aspects; outdoor contexts; active investigation; and adventure, risk and challenge. Of all of the memories shared only six reported negative experiences and 195 signalled positive experiences. She found that the 'vast majority' of outdoor memories included a social aspect often signalled by the use of 'we', but with 78 responses referring specifically to peers. Reference to the natural context was also commonly reported and appear to have produces long-lasting learning. Fewer responses considered active investigation and many of these included animals - ranging from worms to horses. Interestingly, she also finds that *Exploration* was a predominant subtheme about adventure, risk and challenge and that *overcoming difficulty* appeared to make this more memorable.

The memories of the primary school children appear different in emphasis to those of the adults. When asked to recall occasions when they had learned outside, the emergent themes were active investigation, multi-sensory experience, attention to detail, enjoyment, social and emotional experience and challenge. With relation to social and emotional experiences she finds:

> *The experience had been harrowing at times, but problems had been resolved and the children were unanimous in their determination that they would repeat the experience. This accords with some adult memories, where pleasure lay in recollection rather than the experience at the time and suggests challenge was also valued by the children*. (p.342)

Thus, she concluded that adult memories are more concerned with informal learning, whilst the children appreciated the authenticity of the learning, but felt little freedom. In addition, Waite (2007) found that challenge and overcoming difficulties seem important for memorable outdoor learning experiences. Although Waite's findings (Waite 2007) might suggest that residentials have become more formal over time, they also highlight the importance of social interaction within residentials and how these interrelate with overcoming difficulties. These findings suggest that these aspects emerge in the process of recalling and story-telling, and this may relate to the different personal values at the time of telling as well as the context. Overall, Waite (2007) indicates that memory is a complex subject, and that memory combines emotion and imagination as well as recall. As such memories are neither accurate recollections nor purely cognitive post-hoc rationalizations but are likely to involve post-hoc affective response.

In a US study, Knapp and Benson (2006) interviewed ten fifth-grade students (aged between 10-11 years old) from a single school about their memories of a residential environmental education programme that had taken place 12 months previously. They found that the recollections were strongly influenced by the actions taken by the students; that content/subject matter was retained by all the students to varying degrees; and, that the participants retained emotional reactions to the experiences. The authors suggests that their findings support the proposal that active experiences have an important role in episodic recall. Their work was based on Tulving's notion (Tulving 1972) that there are two primary memory systems—*remembering* and *knowing; w*here remembering is the recollection of experiences or information from a particular event, and as such is episodic memory, and knowing is a person's conceptual knowledge about the world. Such knowledge does not need recollective cues and is thus considered as semantic memory.

Knapp and Benson (2006) found that the children recalled incidents where they had taken action including activities and incidents. The study showed that this extended to visual memories, where children had clear memories of seeing things that they had looked for rather than those that they had not been asked to look for. Interestingly this aspect of the study includes many quotations that use the pronoun 'we' although this is not identified by the authors. This perhaps suggest that the study's conclusions that link action to memory, overlooks the shared aspect of experience. Interestingly the study also finds that emotional reactions that are recalled are mostly positive, or positively framed, with reference to words such as 'liked,' 'had fun' and 'enjoyed', but that memories were more detailed in remembering activities that were seen as most fun. Whilst these responses were predominantly remembering, the study finds that they are also related to conceptual understanding.

Taken together, these two studies show that the physical, social and emotional context of the experience was of importance in the process of recall and storytelling and that memories are not simply factual recollections of episodes but are narrations for an audience with evidence of prior interpretation of the meaning of the recollection in the selection and choice of terms such as 'we' or 'I'. As such the selection of memories acts can be seen as a filter, prioritising emotional memories, where the child was actively engaged in the task and where the story could support the development of a narrative that could be positively framed.

Although not related to primary school children, Liddicoat and Krasny (2014) also explore the impact of residential programmes through the development of autobiographical episodic memories. They consider the experiences of 54 teenagers, and identified the memories generated within these programmes as episodic rather than as significant life experiences. They suggest that theory focussing on the use of memories may be a more appropriate way of considering the lasting impacts of participation than the concept of transfer. Their study explored how participants' memories of a residential experience can direct their environmental attitudes and behaviours, foster related social interactions, and contribute to their understanding of self. Through individual interviews they identified two areas of memory use: in the development of social skills, where the memories of social interaction were used to direct future actions and interactions; and where memories were used as the basis of the social interaction in activities such as maintaining intimacy with friends or sharing prior experiences to help others to get to know them.

Liddicoat and Krasny (2014) found that the broad goals of experiential education align well to the three memory-use categories defined in the psychology literature: self, social, and directive. They posited that the *self function* of recalling positive experiences gives participants a sense of continuity to their life and that reviewing situations in which they were successful may relate to development of self-confidence and a sense of empowerment; that the *social functions* of sharing memories to strengthen social bonds or establish connections with new acquaintances may support participants in the formation of, and participation in, communities, and that the *directive function* of memories may influence their future actions or solidify their prior interests. Whilst this study relates to older children, these three memory-use categories do not appear to be age-specific of related to particular stages of life. Indeed, this approach, seems to support the approaches and findings of Waite (2007) and Knapp and Benson (2006). In all three studies there is a recognition that children have reasons for selecting and presenting their memories of residential outdoor learning and that these relate to self-concept, social connections and personal agency as well as to the physical, social and emotional context of the experience that the narrative relates to. Thus, it seems likely that by overlooking the function of the memories, Beames, Mackie and Scrutton (2020) and Prince (2020a) are analysing recollections that have been filtered, selected and presented to support personal identity and a socially constructed narrative.

Taken together, the literature identifies the value of children's memories and narratives but cautions that the presentation of experiences is not simply an act of recalling an episode but is a semantic memory with layers of meaning. As such it is more akin to storytelling and the memories are used to support self-identity, social connections and as a basis for future actions. Whilst applying the concepts of semantic memory and memory-use functions was significantly more complex than treating memories as recall, it allowed the researcher to explore the narratives as a complex and interwoven fabrication that provided insights into the individual and social context. In addition, the concepts of semantic memory and memory use functions allowed the researcher to recognise the individual agency of the child and the social landscape of childhood.

Miller and Gassner (2016) argue that researchers should abandon the dualistic tendency to see interviews as either subjective or objective, and that the stories that participants shared about their perspectives, experiences and beliefs have value in understanding their social words. As such, the interviews are grounded in the philosophical tradition of phenomenology in considering lived experience and on understanding those experiences. Marshall and Rossman (2011:148) suggest that phenomenological interviewing should be structured into three stages: focussing on the past experiences of the phenomenon, the present experience of the phenomenon and combining both of these into questions on the essential experience of the phenomenon. Thus, each of the individual interview schedules and focus group schedule (Appendix 3) had four question areas underpinned by this 3-stage progression. Here the progression was presented as:

1. questions asking participants to recall the experiences,
2. questions asking them to reflect on the experiences of being in formal and informal social situations,
3. questions asking for their perceptions of changes in their social values.

Thus, the interview schedules led participants to explore how the lived experiences of shared residential experiences had changed their understanding of themselves and their social values – the essential experience of residential outdoor learning.

As the proposed data analysis was a combination of inductive and deductive data analysis, the questions were designed to support analysis of existing and emergent

themes against the research literature. As such, each question was mapped against the literature review (see Appendix 3) to allow the development of research informed questions and to facilitate theoretical coding. Although these did not include the investigation of experiences between different stakeholders, the common structure and similar wording of the three interview schedules did allow some aspects of comparative analysis of each of the three stages. However more importantly it allowed the triangulation of data sources, thereby contributing to the richness of the data.

All interview schedules designed for use with children were piloted and amendments to question wording and questioning style were incorporated in the later versions. As the interviews were conducted as semi-structured interviews, the wording of questions was adapted to each situation, and prompts and follow-on questions also varied. The variations of interviewer questions and prompts were considered as a separate part of the iterative data analysis to minimize theoretical drift and to better understand how 'the hierarchical relationship with asymmetric power distribution' (Kvale 2006, p.484) that underpins interviewing children varied across the interviews (Appendix 3).

3.4.2 Data collection procedures

Data collection was conducted by arrangement with the school and during the school day. Interviews and focus groups were conducted in spaces provided by the schools and all interviews were audio recorded. Data collection in each school was conducted in the morning to minimize disruption to the school and the participants. The children were released from their classes to participate and returned to their classes after the interview. The teachers were only available in the lunch break and were thus interviewed after the children. Prior to the day, the school identified the number of children to be interviewed, and on the day presented a list of the children to be interviewed. These were matched against the completed parent/carer consent forms. Interviews and focus groups followed the agreed interview and focus group structure. Parental consent was rechecked, and children were briefed on the issues agreed in the ethics consent. Children provided verbal and written assent before and after the interview or focus group. The interview was recorded on a digital recorder which was placed within sight of the participants. Questioning practice was based on the precepts of semi-structured interviewing, with a progression from closed and open questions, and with supplementary questions to probe participant responses. Questions were presented in child appropriate language and the interviewer endeavoured to maintain an open manner throughout in line with guidance

in Greig, Taylor and MacKay (2007). At the end of each interview, the participants were thanked, and assent was rechecked prior to switching off the recorder.

3.4.3 Data analysis and text construction

The analysis of qualitative data was based on the seven-stage progression (Creswell 2014) and used an adapted form of Strauss and Corbin's (1990) grounded theory. Thus, it applied inductive approaches identifying novel and emergent themes, and consider these in relation to themes developed from the literature and from previous interviews. The data was processed manually using a structured hierarchy of Word tables in line with La Pelle (2004). La Pelle (2004) explores the limitations and complexities of coding software, and suggests that coding,

> *For many, though not all, data management and analysis functions, Microsoft Word can be used as QDA software. There are clearly some instances in which dedicated QDA software is superior (e.g., in handling visual data and in doing complex Boolean searches across text-based categories). However, for those who do not need these features, the approach I described provides an inexpensive path with a short learning curve to semi automation of many QDA tasks.* (p.106)

In alignment with La Pelle (2004), the use of manual coding of a relatively small data set allowed close engagement with the text and the accounts of the children and teachers. Within this process, the texts were subject to open coding, thematic coding and reflective memoing without disassociation between the original discussion and the emergent meanings. This seemed theoretically conversant with the social constructivist concept and allowed the open coding, thematic analysis and memo writing to be imbued with the sense of the individual. The structure of tables was: theme codebook, individual interview data table; individual interview memo; school-level data table, school level memo; theme coding table and combined coding table. As such the data was analysed to develop a theoretical explanation around the influence of experiences within residential outdoor learning on children's social values. Data from children was analysed separately to teacher data, with both data sets being brought together in the second cycle coding.

The approach to first cycle coding of the primary data was *open coding*. Saldana (2015, p.9) suggests that open coding can be seen as a heuristic activity with the researcher

attempting to link data to create meaning. Thus, the approach was based on identification, codification and categorisation of the salient features of the data but recognised that in vivo coding was supported by prior understanding. Following data collection, the recordings of the interviews and focus groups were transcribed, organised and prepared for analysis. This stage entailed removal of identifiers and preparation of the transcripts into a format for analysis. The data was then read through prior to coding to allow general reflection. A reflective note was then created that provided a personal understanding of the interview (see Appendix 5), identified emergent themes within the data, key passages for quotation and links to prior interviews or literature. Thus, the first cycle coding, entailed heuristic development of the meaning of the data and the reflective development of understanding.

Alongside the open coding approach, the research used a form of phenomenological bracketing (from Husserl) through analytical memo writing. Telford (2020) suggests that this approach allows the researcher to suspend judgement and focus on the lived experience. Rapley (2011, pp.274-5) reiterates the importance of memo writing as a means of refining ideas throughout the process of analysis. In the first cycle coding, memos were written on the school, the children and on each interview. The analytical memos provided an opportunity for unstructured reflection or bracketing, for the capture of meanings related to the whole interview, for links to theory, links to contextual and individual factors. As such, the memos were a part of the meaning making process and informed future data collection.

After these first cycle methods were applied, descriptive codes were developed relating to the context of the data to allow the analysis of contextual patterns in the data. Memos and codes were combined into key themes. All codes were then transposed and combined with data from previous interviews in a single coding sheet. The second cycle of coding was used to:

- consider patterns in the data,
- develop major themes,
- search for rules, causes and explanations in the data,
- examine social networks and patterns of human relationships; and
- develop theory (Saldana 2009, p.152).

Second cycle coding included systematic analysis and analytical memo writing. This reflected the approaches developed by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and the use of a systematic coding framework that was 'underlined by the philosophy of pragmatism' (Kenny and Fourie 2014, p.4). However, the research also recognised the position of Charmaz (2006), who insisted that researchers construct their grounded theories through past and present interactions with people, perspectives and research practices. Thus, the second cycle coding applied both a systematic coding framework and acknowledged the process of understanding through analytical memos. The analytical memos supported the development of nascent ideas (Charmaz 2006, p.3) about the meaning of the data and allow codes to be aligned to theoretical constructs from the literature. However, Hall and Callery (2011) suggest that by locating grounded theory within a post-positivist paradigm there is little recognition of the constructed nature of data and theory, and that this reinforces the position of the researcher as an expert and thus locates the creation of meaning with the researcher. They suggest that the dependence on theoretical sensitivity tends to produce reproductions of participant realities that are strongly related to theory, do not recognise how these reproductions are constructed, and fail to acknowledge the ways that a power imbalance between the researcher and the participant influences the making of meaning. These concerns were addressed in the data analysis by the inclusion of analytical memos, the adaptation of questions to test the emerging themes and the development of descriptive codes that incorporated the social and interpersonal context of the data. Consequently, the pragmatic use of techniques from grounded theory derived from Strauss and Corbin (1990) provided a well-established, systematic and rigorous approach to meaning making through data reduction, analysis of patterns and theory generation and was suited to this research as it seeks to develop theory from empirical data.

Strauss and Corbin (1990) define theoretical saturation as the point where incremental learning is minimal, and this is seen as the point of closure for qualitative research (Huberman and Miles, 2002). Whilst Huberman and Miles (2002) acknowledge that it is hard to identify the moment of theoretical saturation, the point of closure was thus determined as the point at which further analysis ceased to provide additional insights into the research aims.

In accordance with Creswell (2014), the text construction was based on the development of analytical memos to explain the patterns derived from the second cycle coding within

a structure based on the themes. This meant that participant experiences and understandings were synthesized to draw contextually specific and generalised meanings that relate to the experiences of the participants and to prior research in the area. Internal validity was established by demonstrating the chain of evidence and the systematic development of themes and codes through a rigorous process of making meaning out of complex data. The presentation of the resultant themes, links and the evidence supporting them constitutes the final aspect of this qualitative process. As the process of codification, categorisation and memo writing ran throughout both cycles, the analysis moved from listing and reflecting on the codes, to synthesis of ideas and evidence, to developing a theoretical understanding, and finally to generating theory (Silverman, 2015). Whilst this progression from data to theory forms the basis of the development of grounded theory, it underrepresents the cyclical and non-linear nature of making meaning from data. Thus, the writing up process, sought to present the data in a meaningful manner, whilst acknowledging the important role that early missteps played in making meaning. Indeed Saldana (2014, p.11) explains that the recoding and recategorization of data is an important part of the process as it allows alignment of emergent meanings with existing literature. Thus, the findings are presented within the areas of questioning, and each is supported by quotations and linkages. The findings from the interviews with the children and the teacher were separately aligned to theory and then brought together to support meaning-making and the establishment of conclusions.

3.4.4 Ethical considerations

The study considered the individual and shared experiences of young people. As such the study required careful planning to ensure that it was conducted in an ethically appropriate manner. Ethical issues were identified using the University of Worcester research ethics procedures. Procedures were agreed with the research supervisors and permission was sought and obtained from the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee. These were subsequently amended due to changes in the ethics policy and the updated approval formed the basis for the study. Within this process, four areas of ethical concern were identified:

- the collection of data from participants,
- the involvement of children who are unable to give informed consent,
- the requirement for the cooperation of headteachers for initial access to the participants; and,

- the possibility that the research might induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life.

The strategies for minimizing these risks were agreed in advance and implemented within the design and implementation of the study. No deception or covert research was used within this study and all parties were informed about the study before agreeing to participate.

Letters with information about the study were provided to all potential participants, their parents/guardians and the gatekeepers. These included details of the study, what was required from the school and the participants, as well as an overview of the ethical issues. As it was inappropriate for the schools to pass contact details of children or staff to the researcher, the correspondence with parents/guardians and with the participants was conducted through the schools. The information about the study was distributed through parent-mail or through letters taken home by children, however all correspondence included contact details for the researcher and the research supervisor. As the research did not cover sensitive areas and as the school was acting as a gatekeeper, the involvement of the school in distributing informed consent forms and information about the study ensured that the gatekeeper was aware of those who agreed to participate. The involvement of the school in distributing and receiving forms was explicitly referred to in the information and in the informed consent forms for participants and parents/ guardians.

All participants gave prior consent to their participation and recording. Participant information sheets and Parent/ guardian consent forms were provided to schools and were forwarded to the parent/ guardian through the gatekeeper. Completed parent/ guardian consent forms were returned to the schools and passed to the researcher. The interviewees were checked against a list of those with parental/carer consent. Prior to the interview, each participant was given an age-appropriate participant information sheet, informed verbally about the interview and asked to confirm assent to participation and to being recorded. All participants were reminded of their right not to participate (or to withdraw from the study at a later date), not to answer questions and to withdraw their data. The participants in this study confirmed their continued assent in writing at the beginning of the interview and verbally at the end.

The study sought to ensure the confidentiality of participants. All correspondence with schools, participants and parents was treated as confidential, and email correspondence was managed from a University of Worcester account that was password protected. In addition, all correspondence, notes, recordings, transcripts, working documents and drafts were stored in electronic folders with password protection. Any paperwork, including completed informed consent forms, were stored in a locked file.

The study also sought to ensure the anonymity of all data. During the transcription process all references to the names of participants and other identifiable elements of data were removed and (where appropriate) replaced with generic terms in square brackets. After transcription, permission was gained from the Director of Studies for the recordings to be deleted.

The researcher recognised that participation in the research entailed a small amount of risk to the children from recounting experiences and stating opinions in front of other children. This was mitigated by:

- the involvement of the school in the selection of participants,
- the provision of clear information prior to the participation,
- the management of the focus group; and,
- clear guidelines on procedures should the risk of psychological harm be higher than anticipated to include termination of the data collection session and/or referral to school.

There was also a risk of reputational harm to children, teachers and the schools. This was minimised by:

- the provision of clear information prior to participation,
- the removal of identifiable elements from all data prior to analysis,
- the exclusion of all identifiable elements from all published or publicly accessible outputs; and,
- the password protected storage of all documents that include the names of participants, parents, participating schools and related residential outdoor learning providers.

There were two areas of potential risk to the researcher. The first related to children disclosing information where confidentiality and anonymity may result in continued illegal behaviour or harm to the participant or others. This risk, in alignment with guidance from BERA (2018) section 29, was mitigated by the involvement of the school in the selection of participants and staff attendance during data collection. The second related to the physical and emotional safeguarding of children during research. To lessen this risk, all interviews and group discussions took place in the participant schools and were subject to the schools' safeguarding policies and procedures, as well as to the University of Worcester research ethics policy (University of Worcester, 2018). The researcher made a current DBS clearance available to schools for consideration, and all interviews and group discussions were conducted in areas approved by the school and appropriate for the safe interviewing of young people.

3.5 The pilot study

The pilot study provided an opportunity to practice and refine the procedures for data collection and analysis, as well as to explore the research aims through engagement with primary data on the lived experience of children and teachers. The pilot study was conducted and analysed in accordance with the agreed procedures and aimed to provide an opportunity to:

- review the practicality and appropriateness of the procedures,
- support a review of the procedures to enabled refinement of interview questions, data collection procedures and data analysis procedures ahead of the main study,
- identify emergent themes,
- evaluate the appropriateness of the theoretical framework,
- identify the limitations of the study.

The findings of the pilot study are presented below This section covers the research context (3.5.3), the principal findings (3.5.4) and reflections on the pilot study (3.5.5). A more complete summary of the review is presented in Appendix 1.

The pilot study was conducted three weeks ahead of the main study. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with six children and one teacher at a small rural primary

school, not involved in the main data collection phase. Written consent from the headteacher, parents / guardians and children was arranged through the school and the interviews were conducted in a single visit during a school day. The children were interviewed in an open-plan learning area during morning lesson time. The venue provided confidentiality but meant that the researcher was not alone with any child. The teacher provided a list of interviewees, and each child collected the next child from a classroom at the end of their own interview. Before the piloting, the estimated time for each interview was ten minutes. The teacher was interviewed in a vacant classroom during lunchtime. Data was recorded on a digital recorder and some additional notes were taken. Data was then transcribed verbatim and subject to open coding, recoding and categorization (Saldana 2014, p.11). Analytical memos were developed during the coding process and aligned to theoretical constructs from the literature, drawing together the children's responses and the teacher's responses.

3.5.1 The pilot school

This was a rural school with capacity of 150 pupils (Ofsted 2020). As the roll numbers are small, they take year five and year six children together to residential every other year. Even with two year groups this was a small trip (n=15), and all the children knew each other and the staff before attending the residential. The teacher explained that her intentions in taking the group were around the development of social cohesion and personal responsibility for sorting interpersonal issues. However, the key themes that emerged from the interviews with children (n=6) were about homesickness, the novelty of sharing a room, and the development of confidence in each other through undertaking activities that were scary or fun. Across the interviews, the most memorable incidents for children were those that involve fear, particularly the zip wire. Team working and free time were generally recognised as important and fun, but less memorable than zip wires, raft building etc. Interestingly, many of the children's responses seemed to reflect the school values. By contrast the activity that was seen by children as most impactful was the zip wire and the children were keen to talk through every step of the experience and the personal feelings of fear and excitement. Discussion of other children was mostly limited to turn taking and as a means of comparison to themselves, suggesting that the experience was perceived as deeply personal and not about responsibility for others. The children and teacher talked about the accommodation and the sharing of rooms. For the children this was described as a mixture of a sleepover and an extended opportunity for chatting. By contrast, the teacher saw sharing dorms as a way of reducing children's

dependence on adults and allowing children the opportunity to resolve their own problems and to rely on each other. Curiously, gender issues were largely absent in the interviews, indeed children's interviews indicated that they tended to identify with their year group rather than with their gender groups.

3.5.2 Findings of the pilot study

Children's responses

The analysis of the interviews within four topic areas produced 14 themes concerned with the social interactions during the residential.

How it was remembered	Risk-taking/ thrill seeking	Carefree awesomeness	Embodied experiences and spatiality		
What it was like being together on residential	Temporary community	Taking personal responsibility	Difference from normal life		
Changes in social interaction during the residential	Improved social relations / interactions	Better emotional coping	Improved relationships with teachers	More inter-actional skills	Adapting to social norms
How the changes in social interaction occurred	Understanding values	Understanding the social system	Becoming more aware of social justice		

Table 3: Themes derived from children's responses in the pilot study

Teacher's responses

The teacher's responses were analysed and presented under four headings:

- Changes in children's social interactions during residential
- Interaction in teams for activities
- Interaction during unstructured times
- Changes since returning

As the data is clearly identifiable to the participant the codes are presented here and the data is combined with that of the other teachers within the main study.

Social context	Away from parents	Out of comfort zones	Teacher input	Routines

Social behaviours on residential	Helping others	Working together in teams	Problem solving	Resolving Social problems
Social outcomes	Social bonding			

Table 4 - Themes derived from the teacher's responses in the pilot study

3.5.3 Reflections on the procedures used in the pilot study (appendix 1)

Challenges relating to timing

The data collection with children went smoothly with six semi-structured interviews conducted over the space of two hours from break to lunchtime and with a minimum of three minutes between interviews. The interviews had taken 15-20 minutes each. The venue was familiar to the children but provided an appropriate level of confidentiality as teachers normally use this space for individual support with children. Consequently, the children appeared to be comfortable to be interviewed and no other children or staff could overhear the questions or responses. Another probable reason that the data collection went well was that all the interviewees were in a single classroom close to the interview space. The teacher leading that lesson had a list of the children who were participating and could see when children left and returned. Consequently, she had limited concerns about children moving around the school and was aware of any aspects of her lesson that individuals might have missed. The timing of data collection between morning break and lunchtime also fitted well with the school timetable. Interviewing during breaktime or lunchtime would have been more inconvenient to the children, might have led to more difficulty locating children, and could have presented problems regarding the privacy of interviews in a communal space. The semi-structured interviews followed the planned questions but were slightly longer than the expected timescale.

Issues relating to data collection procedure

The memories that children shared during the interviews appeared to be highly selective with an emphasis on short periods of intense experience and on activities that were unusual or outside of their previous experience. By identifying and sharing these memories the children seem to identify their significance as well as their memorability. By contrast, whilst children responded to questions about unpleasant experiences such as homesickness, fear, boredom, tiredness or personal conflicts, they seemed to prefer to discuss aspects that they considered positive or novel. This may be an instance of rosy retrospection, or unintentional selection bias towards more confident and self-reliant

children or towards those who had had a largely positive experience. Secondly, because the focus of the interviews was on social interaction during the residential, there were no questions concerning time spent alone so loneliness or social isolation was probably underrepresented in the findings. Finally, it is likely that there was a positive responder bias, as the children preferred to talk about the best bits of the residential, those aspects where they were most involved, and were more reticent to talk about the bits that they did not enjoy or where they were more peripheral. This might be due to selectivity or because they were talking to an adult. Thus, whilst the children appear to be assigning significance to the memories that they share, it is probable that the physical, social and temporal context of the reflection had some influence on the selection of the memories that were shared.

Children's analysis of their own experiences was often limited. Although the quality of analysis varied, the analysis by younger children tended to be limited to assent or dissent, they often used the same terms as those used in the question and tended to apply simplistic logic. In addition, the analysis was also couched in terms that related to the school's values. Following the review of the pilot study, several changes were made to the data collection procedures.

Firstly, whilst the potential for positive bias through selection of participants by the gatekeeper was identified in the pilot study, the decision was made to retain this method of sampling. The process was thus retained: the headteacher, as gatekeeper, identified possible participants and distributed a letter, briefing sheet and informed consent forms to the parents/guardians of possible participants. Thus, the sampling process had two levels of filter: school selection of possible participants; and parent/guardian consent to their child's inclusion. In order to mitigate positive bias in the school's selection of participants, the gatekeepers were asked that they select a group of children who were comfortable to talk but had had different experiences during the residential.

Secondly, changes were made to the way that ongoing assent was confirmed with children. In the pilot study, the child was given a copy of the ongoing assent form and asked to read and sign it. However, it was identified that the form was overly long for children to read at speed. Consequently, the decision was made to read the form to the child and to record the reading and verbal assent in addition to the child's signature on

the form. This allowed rephrasing into age-appropriate terms, allowed the children opportunities to ask questions, and reduced the overall time of the interview.

Challenges related to the pupils' interviews

A problem arose after the first interview when it was clear that the lapel microphone had failed. This was only apparent at the end of the interview and the microphone was changed for a freestanding data recorder. This interview was written up from the notes. Although this formed a reasonable basis for recalling the content of the interview the subsequent notes lacked detail and examples. Whilst the recording of the semi-structured interviews with children went positively (for the most part), several poor interview techniques emerged when transcribing the data. These included too much talking, the overuse of closed questions, echoing and repeating children's responses, and affirmative comments. A further issue arose when transcribing the recordings as many of the children's voices sounded very similar and it was necessary to refer to interview times to ensure that transcripts were aligned with data on gender, age and residential experience.

Following the pilot, changes were made to the interview procedures and techniques. These included using a freestanding data recorder instead of lapel microphones, keeping more structured notes, ensuring access to spare batteries and to a second voice recorder. The researcher also added a note on the data collection forms as a reminder that interview numbers need to be included on field notes, data recording and on the assent form. In addition, the interviewer sought to reduce the use of closed follow-on questions, positive affirmation and echoing participants' responses as overuse of these techniques appeared problematic.

Challenges with the teacher interview

The interview with the teacher was more straightforward and was completed in ten minutes. The teacher read the forms, gave written assent and provided long and well thought out responses to the questions. The interviewer made few interventions other than to seek explanations and clarifications. However, as the interview progressed it was necessary to reword the later questions to reflect earlier answers and to avoid repetition. Unlike the interviews with children, the teacher had received a copy of the interview questions beforehand and had a copy in front of them during the interview. This seemed to help the teacher to focus the discussion on the questions and provided structure to

the discussion and the subsequent data analysis. Following the pilot, no changes were made to the teacher interviews, other than to colour code the questions to make it easier for the researcher to follow the questions without looking down so often.

Issues relating to analysis of interview data

The proposed data analysis included a cycle of deductive and inductive coding as a pragmatic combination of approaches. In practice, this was problematic as there was a lack of clarity of the themes within the literature that were used for the first cycle (deductive) coding. In particular, where areas of literature had limited depth (e.g., temporary community) the themes lacked conceptual detail, and where the literature included contradictory theoretical approaches (e.g. the role of risk in outdoor learning) the themes required clear definition. This meant that data could sometimes sit in multiple categories. Although a codebook had been devised from the literature review, the analysis of the data from the pilot required pragmatic interpretation and numerous clarifications of these themes and codes. This had the consequence of introducing meaning-making into the first cycle and thus the second cycle (inductive) coding played a smaller than anticipated role in interpreting the data. Whilst not intended, this meant that data analysis was more closely aligned with the approach of Charmaz (2006), who suggested that the researcher cannot be an impartial observer but must construct their grounded theories through past and present interactions with people, perspectives and research practices.

The second issue with the data analysis was that children's statements were sometimes direct responses to questions, were often partial and ambiguous, and commonly tangential to the discussion. Careful listening was required to make sense of these statements and researcher interpretation was needed to understand the relationship to the literature. After some frustration, the partiality of the data was addressed through reflective memo writing, and a reflective memo was created for each interview. Individual memos then were brought together and used to form interpretative conclusions on the data. Thus, the inductive cycle was supported by reflective memo writing (Rapley 2011, p.274-5) rather than through inductive analysis of the transcripts such that the context and meaning of the interviews were retained.

Following the pilot, the data analysis was adapted to focus on deductive analysis of the transcripts and supported with inductive memo writing. This more closely aligned the

analysis to the grounded theory approaches of Charmaz (2006). In reflection on the pilot study, it was noted that whilst the reflective notes were enjoyable to write but tended towards storied narrative and needed to be better aligned to research aims, and better incorporated into the data analysis.

3.6 Conclusion

The methodology and methods reflected the research aims, the phenomenological approach, the complexities of conducting researching with children, and the dual needs for systematic reduction of complex data, and the development of meaningful theoretical understanding. The dual approach to data collection (children and teachers) and the dual approach to data analysis (systematic and reflective) sought to address these issues in a trustworthy manner, whilst still recognising the compromises inherent in the research approach.

Chapter 4 - Findings

4.0 Introduction

This research explored how primary school children's social values were influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning, through interviews and focus groups with 26 children and five teachers. The children's responses are presented in relation to the four overarching themes:

Pupils' perceptions of the residential experience (4.1)
Pupils' experiences of peer collaboration and support (4.2)
Pupils' and teachers' experiences of social interaction (4.3)
Pupils' and teachers' perception of changes in social interactions (4.4)

The teachers' responses are presented in relation to the last two areas of questioning to provide some triangulation for the children's identification of changes in social interaction, to provide external perspective and to provide greater explanation. Within each section of the chapter, the children's responses are thematically coded and presented in descending order of frequency. Quotations are selected to illustrate the themes and the variety of responses within that theme. Some quotations include interviewer questions where the exchange or pattern of questioning clarifies the meaning or context to the response.

Each section starts with a diagrammatic presentation of the question, the form(s) of data collection and the emergent themes. This provides a visual guide to the structure of the section. This is followed by a listing of the number of children's interviews that the code appeared within. This is presented to support the inclusion of the codes, and to represent how the code fits within the totality of the interviews.

4.1. Pupils' perceptions of the residential experience.

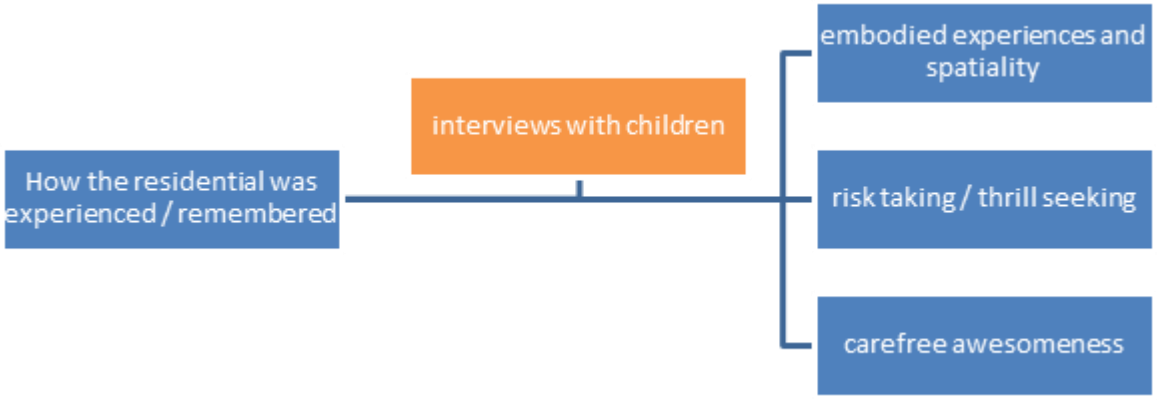

Figure 2: Diagram of pupils' perceptions of the residential experience

Children were asked to describe the experience of undertaking the residential. Responses were often illustrated with anecdotes, stories and examples, and children of all ages were able to recall details of their experiences. The children's responses ranged from sequential recall to seemingly random recall of incidents, and in all of the focus groups there were differences in the recollection of the sequence of events. Children's experiences were presented in different ways. The data were coded and three main themes emerged which reflected those identified in the pilot study.

Code	**Number of children's interviews including this code (out of 26)**
Embodied experiences and spatiality	20
Risk taking / thrill seeking	15
Carefree awesomeness	12

Table 5: Frequency of codes – pupils' perceptions of the residential experience

The responses explore positive and negative experiences. Most responses were characterised by positive wording even when referring to negative experiences of fear and physical or psychological discomfort. This is particularly relevant to the discussion of intense emotions where comments often combined negative emotions such as fear with more positive emotions such as relief or excitement.

4.1.1 Embodied experiences and spatiality

Over three-quarters of all child participants (n=20) discussed their experience in relation to this subtheme. The comments included a sense of the physicality of the experience, either by describing the event with sensory terms related to touch, sight, smell or sound, or with detailed recall of the physical motions.

> *Oh yes, my favourite was the zipwire, because it felt like you were flying*. (Year 5 girl)

> *Oh yes, I liked that – that tunnelling, I couldn't see a thing that we were doing. I smashed my head in the wall.* (Year 5 boy)

An example of detailed recall was the pragmatic description by two boys of an activity, which despite lacking sensory terms, was recounted with physical actions, suggesting embodiment of the physical experience,

> [Boy 1] *And before the person jumped off they went like this* [Boy 1 mimics action] *to make sure that was ok and then there was sort of like a box, like a square, that everyone was stood in so that they didn't get hit…*

> [Boy 2] *And then once they were down and hit the tyres at the end it just shoots back and then we had to grab the pole and then…* (Year 6 boys)

Often *Embodied experiences and spatiality* was coded alongside *Risk taking / thrill seeking* where children discuss the sensory and physical aspects of the adventurous activities.

> *And you had to swing on a rope and then you jump onto a net – that was fun.*

> Interviewer: *What was the best bit of doing that then?*

> *It was night, and it was really cool it looked cool with all the lights on* (Focus group of Year 6 girls)

Some examples include sensory language even where the experience was not enjoyable. In this instance, a child who expressed a strong dislike for the risk-taking aspects of the residential throughout her interview, nonetheless described her experiences with reference to the physical actions and sensations,

> *It was like really scary because the tree was like really tall – it was really scary, but I climbed up the tree.* (Year 6 girl)

Another boy uses sensory terms to explore his frustrations and (perhaps) jealousy of others.

> *We had to take turns and it was quite boring when you are at the bottom because you are watching them having fun and you are just pulling it through and getting tired.* (Year 5 boy)

Embodied experiences and spatiality was also used to indicate sensory memories such as midnight feasts and illicit play and here it was often aligned with *Temporary community* (section *4.2.1)* or *Carefree awesomeness* (section 4.1.3).

4.1.2 Risk taking / thrill seeking

The second way that the residential was remembered or experienced relates to *Risk taking / thrill seeking.* Children from all schools and across all year groups discussed the thrilling aspects of their residential experience with frequent mention of activities that were perceived as risky. Predominantly, these include reference to activities that were off the ground such as zipwire, abseiling, king swing, crate stacking and quad pole, although there was also reference to tunnelling, obstacle courses and canoeing. Other activities such as team games and problem-solving tasks were generally associated by children with teamworking and were thus only included where the interviews include mention of risk or thrills. Interestingly there was no clear difference in the distribution of this code by gender or age.

> *Zip line… Yeah – that was fun, just climbed up a tree and just jumped out of the tree.* (Focus group of year 5 boys)

My favourite was the zip wire because it was really fun. When I first got there, I thought it was really high, I didn't like it, and then when I tried it, it was a lot more better. (Focus group of year 5 girls)

The word 'fun' was used frequently during interviews as associated with *risk taking / thrill seeking*. However, the word was used to describe the sense of elation rather than carefree activity as in quotations related to *carefree awesomeness*. Indeed, it was notable that many children made specific reference to the safety equipment, showing some differentiation between the thrill of the activity ('fun') and the sense of endangerment.

[Interviewer: What about the activities, what was your favourite?] *The kings swing. You go on a high platform; you have something like the seat of a zip wire and then you jump off the platform while the harness is doing the work.* (Year 5 boy)

I think the best thing was the zip wire… [Interviewer: why was that?] *I think because you are strapped on really safely and then when you go really fast. It is really fun* (Year 5 girl)

Whilst all the preceding examples describe experiences that are characterised by thrills, it was notable that the focus was on the individual's actions in an adventurous situation. However, some references to *Risk taking / thrill seeking* also provided a social context for the individual's action.

The thing I felt quite nice about was when I was doing the rock climbing. I wasn't very confident in myself but then the people who were in my group were cheering me on and making me feel more comfortable about myself. (Focus group of year 5 girls)

And intriguingly,

Interviewer: *What was the best thing you did there?*

Probably my worst fear which was caving… because I didn't want to do it, but then they said if you just want to do it, knock on the trap door, and I did and every time I did they lift up the trap door and I can see out… Yeah… they were really supporting and actually it was my most favourite thing. (Year 6 girl)

Similarly, some descriptions of *Risk taking / thrill seeking* are linked to emotionally judgemental terms like ‘love’ and ‘hate’ or to intense emotions described in terms such as ‘scary’ and as such these are sometimes coded alongside *Emotional coping*.

4.1.3 Carefree awesomeness

The third way that children remembered their residential experience is grouped under the term *Carefree awesomeness.* This was characterised by descriptions of unsupervised activities and childish pleasures and was commonly associated with the word ‘fun’ but within the context of unplanned and shared incidents. Some children recall unsupervised and sometimes illicit activities in the evenings and night times, funny incidents or consider the whole residential through the lens of *Carefree awesomeness*. Activities in the evenings and night times include:

> *We didn’t get to bed until 4 o’clock, because someone, called [boy’s name], he kept doing...* [trying not to laugh] *and saying “me no like what me see” and then got up and pretended to be a grandpa holding his fat*. (Focus group of year 5 boys)

> *And mostly in the night we kept on talking, talking and [name] from [school] was eating our sweets!* (Focus group of year 5 girls)

> *Got to meet new people…We just like hanged out with them – in the dormitories and stuff like that (and) in the common room.* (Year 5 girl)

This theme was also apparent in the discussion of unexpected, and usually funny, incidents.

> [Boy’s name]’s *trousers fell down because people were pulling him as he was going down to pull them up...*
>
> Interviewer: *Oh dear! Was he embarrassed about that?*
>
> *Yes.*
>
> Interviewer: *Did everybody laugh?*
> *Yes*. [All laughing followed by a pause] *I didn’t*. (Focus group of year 5 girls)

However, some children remember the entire residential as an opportunity for *Carefree awesomeness*.

> *So instead of doing schoolwork it was just a treat, because obviously we had had SATs and it just let us unwind, let everything out and being there with our friends.* (Year 6 boy)

> *Ummm – Well, being on residential is nice because you get out of school for a bit and you can play with your friends and stuff.* (Year 5 girl)

It was perhaps indicative of the hectic nature of residentials and the intense memorability of the adventurous activities that only 23% of children identified personal freedom as part of how they experienced the residential, whilst all of the teachers referred specifically to this.

4.1.4 Theme summary

This section has reported on how children remembered their experiences of the residential. The residentials were remembered as embodied experiences, as exciting activities, and as fun time away from the norms of home and school. Whilst embodied experiences are mentioned more frequently within the data it was not possible to conclude that this was a more common way of remembering residentials. Indeed, it might be suggested that the being interviewed, and the narrative traditions, mean that children's accounts tend to centre around dramatic incidents and personally meaningful experiences.

4.2 Pupils' experiences of peer collaboration and support

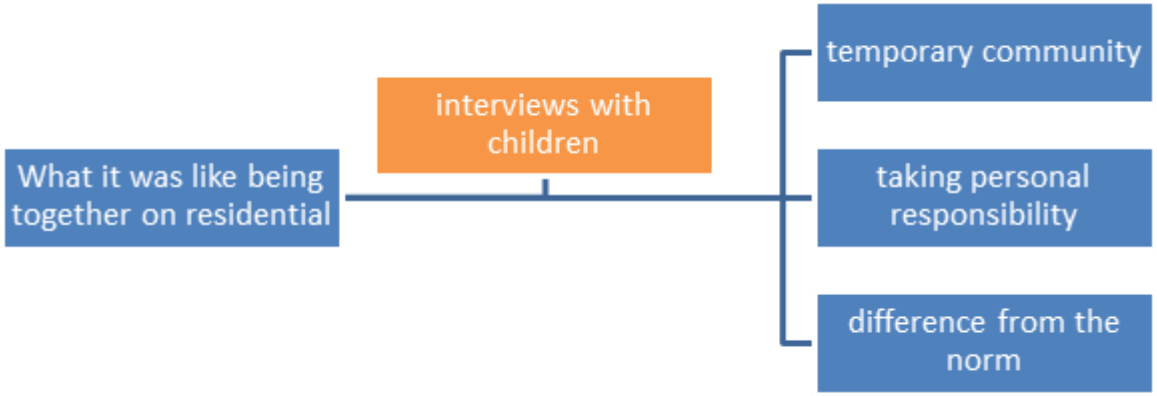

Figure 3: Diagram of pupils' experiences of peer collaboration and support

Children were asked about the experience of being together on residential. Interview questions sought to differentiate this from how it was remembered, by using questions like 'how did that feel?' and 'what was that like?' The questioning focussed on social aspects, either team situations or shared free time and tended to move from general experiences to specific. The data was grouped into three emergent sub-themes.

Code	Number of children's interviews including this code (out of 26)
Temporary community	19
Taking personal responsibility	17
Difference from the norm	15

Table 6: Frequency of codes – pupils' experiences of peer collaboration and support

4.2.1 Temporary community

The concept of a temporary residential community was developed by Slater (1984) and refers to an inward-looking and short-lived social community created within the remote physical setting of a residential outdoor education. All aspects of the interviews that alluded to the children being part of a temporary community were coded as *Temporary community*. Particularly with younger children, positive aspects of the sense of community were generally expressed as 'being with friends' whether in groups or rooms,

and the word ‘friend’ appears frequently in the data as an indicator of a supportive social community.

> *There was, like, people who could support you… if you didn’t want to do something you still have loads of fun, ‘coz I didn’t want to do a couple of things but I still had loads of fun. I still did those things, those couple of things, that I didn’t want to do.*
>
> Interviewer: *Was that because you had some freedom to make choices?*
>
> *Yeah, they said, they did try to tell you to do it, did try and encourage you, but if you were scared… they tried to encourage you to do it, but if you really didn’t want to then you didn’t have to… my group was quite supportive I think, all my friends were like ‘don’t worry you’ll be fine, you’ll be ok.* (Focus group of year 5 girls)

In this example, the child was showing considerable understanding of the social environment within the residential and how the community responded to her dislikes and fears. Interestingly the girl shifted between the personal pronoun ‘I’ and ‘You’ in her response – perhaps unwilling to acknowledge fear – but finishes with repeated use of the possessive article ‘My’ suggesting identification with the group. This differs somewhat from the repeated use of the pronoun ‘We’ in another discussion.

> *When we found out we were having a dorm together we all made friends, and we had bunk beds, and mostly in the night we kept on talking, talking and [NAME] was eating our sweets!* (Focus group of year 5 girls)

Here the temporary community was focussed on unstructured and unsupervised time in the dorm and the dialogue emphasised values of inclusiveness, assigned positive value to informal communication and perhaps hints at social norms around the sharing of resources (the sweets). The emphasis on communication was reinforced in another quotation, but here the communication was specifically linked to shared expectations for the following day.

Like playing with our friends and chatting about what we were going to do in the next day was great. (Year 6 boy)

Interestingly, even when asked about social interactions within activity teams a year 6 boy chooses to respond by highlighting the importance of unstructured and unsupervised time, or 'hanging out', as an important part of the temporary community.

Interviewer: *What was it like being in teams with people that you didn't know?*

It was actually quite nice, because you got to make quite good friends with them as well.

Interviewer: *How did you do that?*

Got to meet new people…We just like hanged out with them – in the dormitories and stuff like that... in the common room. (Year 6 Boys)

Thus, the temporary community is closely related to 'friendship' and appears to develop away from adults and outside of the formal timetable of the residential. Within the data, the concept of *Temporary community* was closely related to *Difference from the norm* and it was notable that 80% of interviews and focus groups that included codes for *Temporary community* also included codes for *Difference to the norm*. This suggests that the children experienced a community that had different rules and structure to those that they were familiar with.

4.2.2 Difference to the norm

Difference to the norm indicates where children explicitly or implicitly compared the implicit values or behavioural patterns of the residential to those at home or in school. Whilst all of the data indicated that children noticed the differences, it was somewhat complicated by the emotional difficulty of dealing with the difference. Thus, many of the comments had an emotional component, particularly those concerning homesickness in younger children. The frequent conjunction with *Temporary community* suggested that children were aware that they were part of a discrete community and that those that were aware of being part of a community were able to identify how aspects of its social

structure and norms differed from those that they were familiar with. Sometimes the differences were explicit in the comments:

> *We weren't allowed our phones… We made our own entertainment; we did talent shows and things.* (Year 5 boy)

Other comments were less explicit. The following quotation does not mention that these are strange and unfamiliar events, but that is implicit in the excited telling of a story and the focus on details about the time and antics.

> *We didn't get to bed until 4 o'clock, because someone called* [NAME], *he kept saying 'me no like what me see' and then got up and pretended to be a grandpa holding his fat.* (Focus group of year 5 boys)

In another quotation the *Difference to the norm* was implicit in the emotional subtext. Here the child was clearly identifying her nervousness and her emotional needs, and this was implicitly linked to the unfamiliarity of the situation.

> *I wanted* [NAME1] *and* [NAME2], *but at least I had one friend to stay with me as well. So we stay in the same dorm and we had hot chocolate and biscuits for bedtime and I snuck sweets in under my pillow – lots of sweets.* (Year 5 girl)

Indeed, it seems likely that this code was significantly under-represented as most of the children sought to present the aspects of their experience that were amusing, unusual and noteworthy and thus all interviews tend to be about the aspects of the residentials that differ most from the norms of school and home life.

4.2.3 Taking personal responsibility

Another way of experiencing the residential that appears frequently within the data relates to children *Taking personal responsibility*, and this describes how children felt responsible for themselves, their actions and sometimes for others. In some cases, this relates to taking leadership or other roles in the activities, but more frequently it involves children caring for each other when they were scared or homesick.

> *Because* [NAME] *was in the bed under my best friend, because it was a bunk bed, I got out of my thing and said* "[NAME], *its ok… you're going to go home soon, its not going to be long because you are with all of your friends*. (Focus group of year 5 boys)

Sometimes, these examples of *Taking personal responsibility* seemed misjudged, such as when dealing with other children who were frightened in the tunnelling activity.

> *We comforted them… and then we held their legs and tried to push them more to the end.* (Focus group of year 5 boys)

However, from the child's perspective this was an example of proactive decision making without adult supervision and suggests that the experience of residential outdoor learning entailed aspects of personal responsibility and greater control over their decisions than might be usual in school. Indeed, although no-one claimed to be in positions of leadership, some aspects of both *Taking personal responsibility* and *Taking on leadership* were apparent in many interviews and focus groups.

> *I was the one who was always like telling them to work … They were the ones who … we were all working together and all of us were coordinating as well, just that I was the one that was doing it the most.* (Year 5 boy)

> *I carried the bag…. and I offered to carry their things in my bag, and I brought all the keys for the room in my bag, because I thought they would lose them…* (Year 5 boy)

In both instances the child was not only taking on responsibility but was adopting a leadership role and taking responsibility for the shared outcomes of the activity or the smooth running of the residential, and it was perhaps unsurprising that these respondents have some positional power (and obligation) as they were each in the final year of primary school.

4.2.4 Theme summary

This section has explored how children remembered what it was like to be on residential. The responses were dominated by comments that describe being part of a temporary

community that was different to school or home and where children felt that they were expected to take responsibility for themselves and those around them. Whilst some children saw links to their own learning and to their school, these comments were subsidiary to the feeling of community. Surprisingly, for most children, the membership of a temporary community shows little sign of connection to the locale (the outdoor centre) or the environment. This suggests that, despite the novelty of the location and activities, the residential was remembered as a very social environment, and that the novel experiences were dominated by novel forms of social interaction where children felt that they were expected to take responsibility in order to be a part of the temporary community.

4.3 Pupils' and teachers' experiences of social interaction

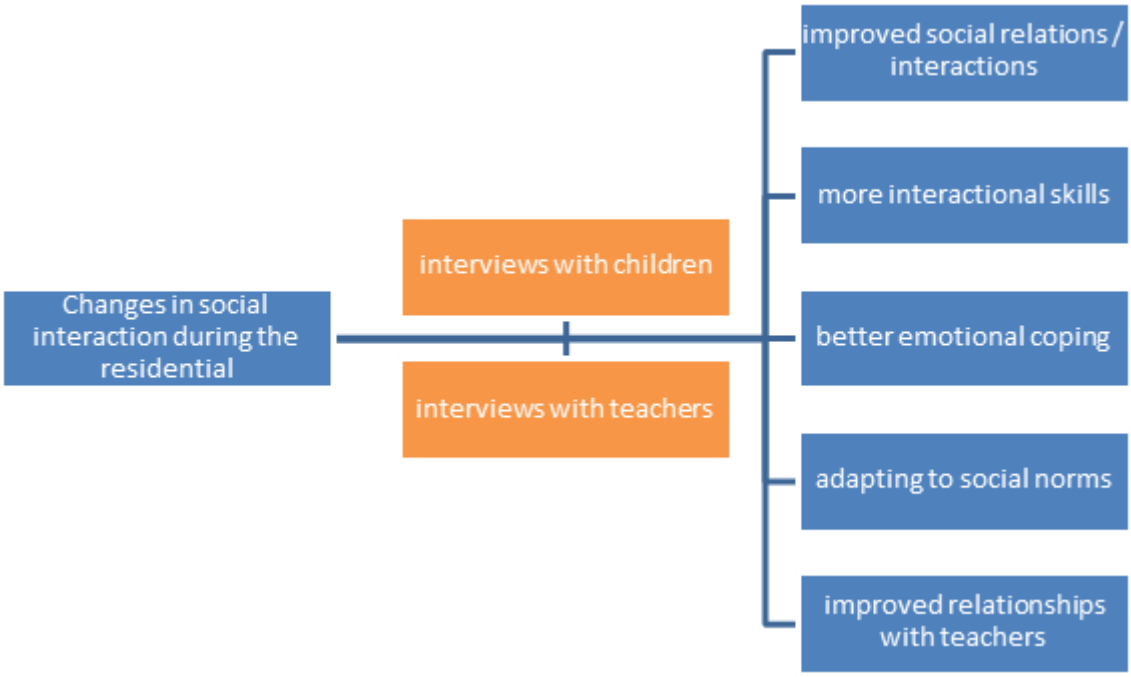

Figure 3: Diagram of pupils' and teachers' experiences of social interaction

The study investigated changes in the nature of reported social interaction during the residential. This was achieved through analysis of responses to direct questioning about their social interaction as well as indirect comments to other questions. The responses from teachers (presented later in this section) also identify this as an important area of development, and it was clear that teachers used rooming, team selection and rule setting in order to facilitate behaviour change and learning in this area.

Code	Number of children's interviews including this code (out of 26)
Improved social relations / interactions	22
More interactional skills	16
Better emotional coping	15
Adapting to social norms	11
Improved relationships with teachers	17

Table 6: Frequency of codes – pupils' and teachers' experiences of social interaction

All children identified how their social relations and interactions with other children changed during and after the residential. In general, older children were better at describing and explaining these changes, and girls described and explained changes in greater detail than boys. However, it was clear that changes in social relations took many different forms. The changes included: the expansion and development of relationships (usually friendships) because of time spent together; changes as children learned more about how to interact with other people; changes as children coped with the emotions of being away from family or engaged in frightening activities; and changes where a growing familiarity with 'being on residential' meant that they adapted their social behaviour to fit with the norms of the social context.

As well as the different forms of change, some children showed considerable agency in the development of their social relations – proactively seeking out new friendships or taking on responsibility for others - whilst others were more passive or in some cases were actively resistant to change. However, whilst changes in social relations were generally seen as positive, they were several instances where children's responses suggested less positive motives such as competitiveness and possessiveness over friendships. Despite this, as with the analysis of the previous sections, the positive wording of the interview questions may have produced a positive bias in responses which this might account for the limited discussion of more difficult social experiences such as 'fallings out', cliques, enmity, or social isolation.

The teachers also contributed to this theme, providing observation and interpretation on the interactions during timetabled activities and during less formal times (bedtimes, mealtimes, and free time). Their comments reflected the aims of the residentials, and they were often able to contextualise the children's experiences within their educational experiences. Perhaps because the teacher had a little emotional distance from the experiences, they were much more comfortable articulating the benefits of less pleasant aspects of the residentials, such as arguments, loneliness and 'fallouts'.

Thus, the section draws together data from both populations and identifies five emergent themes.

4.3.1 Improved social relations / interactions

The most frequently identified code was *Improved social relations / interactions*. This was used to denote any area where children indicated a change in their social interactions during or after the residential. An example of this from a focus group of year 6 boys who were prepared to extend their social group through working together with girls, and found that they had become friends with people who would normally be outside of their friendship group,

> *Yeah, so now we used to only go into our friendship group, but now we expand and go with other people who we wouldn't have worked with before the residential. Like, we get some girls… because before we would only be just the boys, but now we have got some good friends who are girls.* (Year 6 boy)

By contrast, a year 5 girl suggests that improved social interactions are driven by the ethos of care rather than just working together.

> *We care for the younger ones… we are the older ones and we care for all of them… we are really not just caring for ourselves, we are caring for everyone and the teachers as well.* (Year 5 girl)

This sub-theme covers instrumental changes, where the behaviour was required by the social situation, a particular task or by a physical context, such as being at height. However, this quotation also suggests a more inclusive attitude to interaction and introduces an interesting link between relative age (older – younger) and the values of 'caring' for others. The word 'care' is used repeatedly and appears to carry significance to the speaker. On a more instrumental level, another speaker identifies the need to rely on others because of external pressure as a driver for changes in social interactions.

> *You are kind of like under pressure… you kind of needed to talk so that you can rely on them. Like, can I trust you with this?* (Year 5 girl)

By contrast, the code also covered changes in social interaction that may only have been recognised whilst reflecting in the interview,

> *I learned much more than I usually do, because normally we just go out and get fresh air, we don't normally chat like grown-ups do about what you've been doing.* (Year 6 boy)

Interestingly, this code was identified in all focus groups transcripts, and when discussed by individuals tended to appear multiple times. Indeed, two interviews included over nine occurrences of this code, where the individuals explored changes in their friendships. The term 'friendship' (and variants) appears frequently with relation to this code as children explored the changes to the quantity, quality and nature of their friendships. This will be explored in detail in a later section, but here it is worth identifying that the creation and maintenance of friendships appears to be a marker of social acceptance and social integration in many of the interviews, and consequently the creation of new friendships, enhancement of existing friendships and increases in the overall number of friendships were all identified by children as improved social interactions.

4.3.2 More interactional skills

A second code identified instances where children discussed changes in their skills to interact or approach to social interaction; this was coded as *More interactional skills* and was derived from the work of Duque (2016). There was a notable link to age, perhaps reflecting greater self-awareness and self-criticism amongst older children. Thus, discussions of changes in skills in making friendships were generally not prevalent in interviews with younger children:

> Interviewer: *In that big group of 15 there must have been people with different opinions and people that you were not friends with. Has it changed the way that you deal with people with different opinions?*
>
> *No, not really, not much*. (Year 5 boy)

Whereas, a year 6 focus group participant clearly articulated the skills required to develop improved social interaction,

> *I find that the best way that I make friends is sharing – if I give something to them, they will give something to me*. (Year 6 girl)

More interactional skills also applied to improved communication and interpersonal skills within team situations. Again, the younger children seemed less aware of changes in their skills but were sometimes able to describe instances where they had learned to negotiate solutions or to collaborate and could describe the offering and acceptance of support. Regarding collaboration, a year 5 child was able to articulate the way that the children in the dormitory sorted out their disputes over space:

> *So if someone wanted to move their stuff to somewhere else where someone else wanted too, we would split that space into 2 different sections so they could both put their stuff there.* (Year 5 boy)

Here the boy was not just highlighting that the group could deal with a dispute, but was also demonstrating a sense of equality, democracy and providing evidence that they valued each other's space. In another instance, a year 6 child demonstrated interactional skills in the problem-solving tasks, by involving others in decision making and subtly challenging poor ideas.

> *I just listened to them and see what their ideas are, and if they were a little bit silly, I just said, 'can you think of a better idea than that?' and if they were alright I would just go with the idea, and see if there's any other ideas.* (Year 5 girl)

These two instances demonstrated skills of mediating between different perspectives without the involvement of adults. This was also apparent in the narratives of care, where children recognised the interactive skills of others in addressing their concerns, or where children described applying interactive skills to care for others.

> *It wasn't scary to me, but I think it was scary to other people, so I tried to help them out a bit.* (Year 5 boy)

Or perhaps more explicitly:

> *They tried to encourage you to do it, but if you really didn't want to, then you didn't have to… my group was quite supportive I think, all my friends were like 'don't worry you'll be fine, you'll be ok'.* (Year 5 girl)

Thus, children described situations where they developed or practised existing interactional skills, including those of mediation and appropriate support for others, in a range of situations without the involvement of adults. Interestingly their descriptions suggested decision making about the appropriateness of their interactions, and expectations of reciprocity.

4.3.3 Better emotional coping

Another area of coding was entitled *Better emotional coping*. This relates to the instances where the children described the development or practice of coping strategies in response to emotional experiences. The children's responses suggest that they went through intense emotions during the residential that include euphoria, fear, loneliness and close companionship. These emotions appear heightened by the unfamiliarity of the surroundings, the isolation from familiar coping mechanisms, by the pace of the programme and by close proximity to people that they may not have known well. Most of the responses were contextually specific, and although they provided evidence of emotional coping it was not possible to attribute this to changes in emotional resilience or to the development of skills in emotional coping. Despite this, the responses show individuals' pride in coping with intense emotional experiences and suggest that coping with such emotional experiences was memorable and noteworthy.

In some instances, emotional coping was described as a very individual experience,

> *The best thing was the zipwire. I was really nervous when I went on it at first, but when I went on it, I really loved it.* (Year 5 boy)

However, more commonly statements that indicate emotional coping were linked to social support as well as to the actions of the individual. One focus group explored the issues around emotional coping in some detail.

> Interviewer. *What did you enjoy most?*
>
> *Probably my worst fear which was caving… Because I didn't want to do it, but then they said if you just want to do it, knock on the trap door, and I did and every time I did they lift up the trap door and I can see out.* (Year 5 girl)

In this instance, the child's emotional coping was supported by the instructors who develop a scaffold for development. However, more commonly emotional coping was linked to the actions of other children within the temporary community,

> *The thing I felt quite nice about was when I was doing the rock climbing. I wasn't very confident in myself, but then the people who were in my group were cheering me on and making me feel more comfortable about myself.* (Year 5 girl)

These two quotations provide examples of emotional coping in response to fear but also show that emotional coping was linked to support from others rather than to independent coping. This was repeated in many interviews particularly with relation to loneliness and homesickness. Here again there was a mixture of independent and support-based approaches to coping. An example of the former was the girl's description of coping through self-distraction,

> Interviewer: *What was it like being away from school, away from home and with you friends?*
>
> *I quite liked it because you are with your friends so then if you missed your family or something, then it takes your mind off it and you can just play with your friends*. (Year 5 girl)

Through seeking support from others,

> *It's definitely made me feel that I can trust a load more people and that I can like, I can… 'cause I used to be scared of leaving my family, but now I know that since my residential I feel more confident in leaving them.* (Year 5 girl)

Or through accepting unsolicited support,

> Interviewer: *So how did the rest of you deal with someone who was having a hard time?*

> *We tried to look after them…I remember that they tried to make me feel that it will go by so quickly and by the end I will miss it, which made me feel more good.* (Focus group of year 5 girls)

Emotional coping was also identifiable within the social adaptations that children made to be part of teams. Thus, a child who had to accept being second last on the zipwire probably experienced negative emotions of disappointment, frustration and perhaps jealousy but the child coped with this by accepting that this was part of the experience.

> *Yes, I wanted to go first on the zipwire and I ended up going second last… I got on with it, because I knew that I still was going to have a go.* (Year 5 boy)

Interestingly, one child made an explicit link between emotional coping, characterised as trust in others and self-confidence in unfamiliar settings.

> *I think I've got more confident as well, so if I go for a sleepover, I can trust other people.* (Year 5 girl)

Thus, the children described a range of situations where they used emotional coping and described a range of approaches to coping. These are divisible into independent coping such as facing fears and coping through social interaction such as asking for and accepting emotional support.

4.3.4 Adapting to social norms

Children's responses showed evidence or understanding that being accepted into a community or social group entailed some adaptation to the norms of behaviour and value systems within that social group. Whilst few children referred explicitly to their own adaptation, more commonly they referred to ways that their behaviour had altered during the residential. Additionally, they referred to value-based behaviours (looking after each other, trusting, sharing, collaborating etc) that were different to previous behaviours. These responses were coded as *Adapting to social norms* and include elements of unfamiliar behaviour including turn-taking, sharing and midnight feasts as well as value-based behaviours around caring, respect and teamwork. For some children, a part of this adaptation included learning to live and work with the opposite gender, whereas for others it focused on adapting to groups that extended beyond their friendship group.

There was some difficulty in disentangling evidence of adaptation from other changes in children's behaviour or from changes in the norms and value systems of the temporary community over the period of the residential, and it was notable that there was considerable intersection with children's identification of the development of their social skills (*More interactional skills)* and a more limited connection to descriptions of being part of a *Temporary community.*

> *Kind of like, normally I would argue with them. Now I argue less with them, not like shouting, now I tell them kindly what I think should happen.* (Year 5 boy)

Other children were quite reticent about discussing 'bad' behaviour.

> Interviewer: *What was it like sharing a room with 6 people*?
>
> *A bit messy.*
>
> Interviewer: *Did you have to put up with other people's things?*
>
> *Yes*
>
> Interviewer: *And did that change from the beginning to the end?*
>
> *Yes*.
>
> Interviewer: *What happened?*
>
> *We started getting used to it and we were able to stop it from happening.* (Focus group of year 5 boys)

Or, in a more coherent expression,

> *'Coz like before that if someone was stuck on their work we would just leave (it to) the teacher or let them to do it by themselves, but after that, it made us feel we should help others*. (Year 5 boy)

These quotations show understanding of changes in behaviour across a range of social situations, and in each case are explicitly linked to the need to adapt to new norms in behaviour. This was also evident where a year 6 girl, not only showed an understanding of the changes in her own (and other's) behaviour, but can also identify the social norm that she was adapting her behaviour to fit,

> *We kind of had to rely on people – it was part of the team thing.* (Year 6 girl)

The conjunction of *Adapting to social norms* and *More interactional skills* suggests that the need to work closely in small teams (either in activities, dormitories or as a school group) may have required individuals to develop new approaches to social situations through adaptation to the values and behaviour within the group, and in many cases this may have meant acquiring new skills in managing their interactions.

For some children adapting to social norms entailed unfamiliar social engagement with the opposite gender – this was more common in girls' answers. Before reporting these findings, it should be noted that children were not asked about their gender identities and non-gendered terms were used in the questioning other than when gendered terms were introduced by the children. Despite this, two boys discussed their social interactions with girls. This included a simple expression of dislike,

> *Depends if I am in a group with girls, because every single girl is really bossy.* (Year 5 boy)

And a more nuanced response where a boy admits that he has previously had limited interaction with girls, but that after the residential he was more open to playing with girls

> Interviewer: *Did you have to work with people who weren't in your normal friendship group?*
>
> *Quite a lot, but a few girls that I don't really play with.*
>
> Interviewer: *And has the trip made you change your opinions about playing with girls or about being in teams*.

Yes… But I have been playing with [GIRL'S NAME] *doing cartwheels*. (Year 5 boy)

This was an interesting exchange as the change was not characterised as a change of opinion, but the child acknowledges that there has been a change in his choice of who to play with in his free time. By comparison, the mentions of boys by girls entails a degree of bemusement and annoyance,

I went to [NAME OF DIFFERENT CENTRE] *in first school, and it was really fun and the boys named this tree called 'Steve', and they hugged it every time that they went past, they were like 'Steve!'… Sorry* [laughs]. (Year 5 girl)

Oh, there's something else about the boys, the boys had a midnight feast in their dorm and they kept… they kept like doing weird things, running around, throwing bean bags at us in the toilets, and we were like 'we are not giving them back to you!'. (Year 5 girl)

Across both boys' and girls' responses, it was clear that the social landscape for these children was gendered and that interactions in free time between boys and girls were either rare or difficult to talk about. Despite this, when discussing classroom working, or the teamwork situations on the residentials, the children tended to use gender-neutral terms (people, friends etc) and to make little difference between boys and girls.

Thus, many of the children were aware of their own social adaptation to the norms of behaviour within the residential, but the comments of others highlighted some of the difficulties of understanding the norms of behaviour in a gendered landscape.

4.3.5 Improved relationships with teachers

Children were asked how the experience of the residential had changed their relationship with the teachers. Responses were coded as *Improved relationships with teachers*. The questions were intended to explore whether there was any evidence of a change from considering teachers as 'others' to understanding teachers as people. As children were asked directly about this aspect of the residential there was considerable data and, after grouping, the responses are presented in order of frequency. The first sub-theme

concerns comments where the child identifies the teacher primarily through their role on the residential, and where there was little evidence of the teacher as a part of the social experience.

> *Our teacher kept on coming in and telling us to be quiet when… because she was the room next to us.* (Year 5 boy)

> *It was alright because they didn't boss you around too much, it was a bit different because you haven't really met them before. But it was ok; because sort of the children were one side of the table and the teachers the other, so they didn't distract us too much.* (Year 5 boy)

In both of these instances the teacher was external to the social situation, either as a constraint, or as a distraction from having fun with friends.

The second most common response sees the teacher as a part of the community, albeit with a specific role. These responses differentiated the individual teacher from their role.

> *It was actually quite nice to spend time with our teachers, in the classroom they are teachers, and they teach, it was different to see them outside of school. Well, we have conversations with them anyway, but we could actually talk about things that are not to do with school.* (Year 5 boy)

> *Yes, because you spend quite a lot of time with them, so you know them a bit better now, so you can trust them a bit more than you did before*. (Year 5 girl)

These responses showed an understanding of the teacher as an individual and characterises the relationship with the teacher as a personal relationship complete with attributes such as trust and openness.

Other children saw the teachers as a resource that could be accessed, usually for comfort and reassurance. In these quotations there was an acknowledgement of the teachers as individuals, but this was characterised through their usefulness to the child.

With me it was not bad because I had a [subject] *teacher who was great fun and because she is actually my class teacher. So, we always felt that we could go to her and she was really there for you.* (Year 5 girl)

Well, I didn't exactly know them much better, but they told us some of their secrets - like if they are scared of heights or something… To reassure some of us, because some of us were a bit scared of heights. Luckily, I am not one of them. (Year 5 boy)

Finally, there were children who seemed largely unaware that the teachers were part of the social life of the residential, had a role in the residential, or that this role differed from their role at school. Here the teachers were not identified as part of the community and there was little or no evidence of engagement with them as individuals. It seems likely that these children had a limited understanding of the social system within the residential or that they did not identify adults as part of their social group.

No - they are just normal teachers. (Year 5 boy)

They got to take a break off as well, it wasn't like teach(ing) all of the time, they got to have fun as well and they were enjoying it as well… it's not normal for them to not teach on a school day. (Year 5 boy)

Thus, the questions about the experience of spending time with teachers produced a fascinating array of answers, suggesting that some children remembered them as part of the social experience; some remembered them as fulfilling a function; some remembered how useful they were, and others saw them as teachers and did not recognise them as a part of the community.

4.3.6 Teachers' views on children's interactions in teams for activities

The teachers all observed changes in behaviour during the residential, and particularly in how children behaved towards each other, and, to a lesser degree, towards the teachers. All of the teachers described positive behaviours through examples and drew on their previous knowledge of the children to identify differences between the behaviour on residential and the previous behaviour. Links were made between the social context and the changes in behaviour. There was only one comment on poor behaviour. This

section shows a similarity of experiences but a diversity of interpretations. The teachers all (N=6) saw learning on the residential as related to children extending their experiences and coping with the unfamiliarity of places, activities and people and the emotional issues of detachment from their homes. However, they each see a different engine for change. These included the routine, the exceptionality of the experiences and the interdependence between the children.

All teachers observed changes in the way that children interacted. The most frequent comments related to an increase in *Helping others*, which includes caring and support, taking responsibility for others but also pragmatic collaboration. In this area, teachers discussed how children helped and encouraged each other with tasks, but also relied on each other in less straightforward ways.

> *…well some of them are out of their comfort zones – quite a lot – and they very quickly realise that they won't get anything done unless they work together, so it all kind of starts taking shape towards the end and they are all helping each other out. Whereas at the beginning they are trying to do it all themselves.* (Teacher).

> *By the time it's packing up time they are all, or most of them, the majority of them are helping each other pack their bags and things like that which is great, because when they first get there, they are all… on their own.* (Teacher).

There were references to older children looking after younger ones and slower children being supported by others and also to reciprocal help – such as 'looking out for each other'.

> *Because where we go, they are in huts – it is quite separate huts, and they do have to look after each other because there is not an adult there all the time.* (Teacher).

These comments covered all aspects of the residential, but there were two subsets of comments relating to *Working together in teams* and *Problem solving. Working together in teams* included observations about changes in behaviour that showed an understanding that it was a team event – of shared interest in the success or the process.

> *Towards the beginning there are the ones that are very competitive, always want to go first and ignore the slower ones at the back, and it's a little bit, 'ooh come on get on with it', but again by the end they realise that actually it is a team event and we have got to get everybody through so if I want another go I've got to support those other people through, so they start thinking about other people.* (Teacher).

Other comments note the behaviours of children setting rules for themselves.

> *This year group did benefit also from they have been to do some team building activities… and I think I can see a big contributing factor of all of those activities, in their behaviour to each other. So absolutely, it was bonding and I think that they realised that sometimes some battles aren't worth fighting, as well, and pick and choose*. (Teacher)

There were also mentions of tears and tantrums although these were not explored in detail.

Teachers were asked about how children made decisions on residential, and the responses illuminate their social behaviours in *Problem solving*. The teachers that considered this, saw evidence of the children sorting out their own problems with an improvement in the ease of decision making over the period of the residential.

> *They tend to rely on an adult to sort out their problems, but there [on residential] we tend to leave them to it, so I think that to start with its very wobbly and they come to us and there's tears and tantrums, but towards the end they are getting better at it.* (Teacher).

Indeed, three teachers discussed the pro-active steps to encourage children to sort out their problems without adult involvement. Other teachers described behaviour that was largely argument free, ascribing this to the groups being always busy.

> *I could see them caring about one another and generally just smiling, there were no arguments about anything, no little squabbles or silliness, they really wanted to be there and enjoyed being together.* (Teacher).

Most teachers saw changes in behaviour around *Teacher-pupil relationships*. Common observations were about increased rapport, being more willing to talk openly to teachers, being able to share concerns and vulnerabilities with teachers, and simpler things like showing teachers what they have found. Teachers linked some aspects of this to their own behaviour as teachers, being more relaxed and having less teaching content to deliver.

> *Yeah, it is so nice that one particular child found communicating with us really difficult and she came away with us and since then she has been smiling at us and far more eager to participate in things… just little things that you notice as a teacher.* (Teacher).

Or,

> *I notice that the children feel they can maybe open up to you a little bit more, because they've left that comfort zone, whether on the side of a cliff – 'this is awful' and they are feeling quite scared and I am quite scared for their own welfare and because they've maybe been seen in a sort of vulnerable sort of position, and I've seen them in that position, that they might – maybe – feel that they can open up a bit more*. (Teacher).

However, one teacher explained that the contrast between his educational strictness in the structured environment of the classroom and his more relaxed and jokey teacher behaviour during the residential was of itself an important lesson for children about appropriate behaviour in different social contexts. He suggested,

> *In a classroom I am quite rigid I follow a process… I am quite [conscientious] about the process, whereas on residential I think it is a bit more relaxed, and you get that opportunity to build that rapport in a different way. I wouldn't change that structure because I think that building that rapport through sort of an element of strictness can often bring out the element of warmth a little bit better, whereas the other way I don't think it quite works. The children see you having a laugh, having a joke, being around your peers in a different environment, whereas what they see in a classroom is – 'we have got this to do today, this is our objective of today*'. (Teacher).

Finally, one teacher explored some of the *social problems on residential* ranging from fallouts and arguments amongst tired children to children who seemed unwilling to trust others, and the social isolation of children who did not want to attend.

> *There is more potential for fallouts on residential because they don't get a lot of sleep and they are all very tired and they don't stop and they go to bed later than they usually do, so we do have more fallouts however its quite nice to have those opportunities to sit and discuss this, because we are with them 24/7. And you tend to have more group discussions about friendships and getting on so I think it is useful time in that respect.* (Teacher).

4.3.7 Teachers' views on children's interaction during unstructured times

Teachers also commented on the personal and social development of children during unstructured times. These pertain to changes in the observed behaviour of individuals rather than changes in the characteristics of the relationships between children. This area includes subsidiary codes:

- Confidence
- Positivity
- Awareness of others
- Low educational attainment

Teachers noted changes in the *Confidence* of children both in their social interactions and in talking to others. Similarly, teachers noted changes in *Positivity* with children seen as bubblier at the end of the residential, more willing to have a go at new things, and having a more positive focus.

> *I guess you would see it in their general character, they are much more bubbly, they're willing to give things a go, they are quite ambitious (and) they are keen to practice, so when we have taken groups to [outdoor activity centre] before at the start of the week they are quite timid they are scared of the ropes, they are scared of the clips, and towards the end of the week they are whacking everything here, there and everywhere really, just going 'yeah I can do that!', 'that's great!' and they adapt to the people that they are with.* (Teacher).

Thirdly all teachers noted an increased *Awareness of others*. This was observed through children's interactions and their adaptations to those around them.

> *There is a big difference in terms of how gelled they are as a group when they have all been, at the start of the year compared to the year group that haven't.* (Teacher).

The last area relates to a subgroup of children, those with lower educational attainment. All teachers addressed this, and it was considered in considerable detail by one teacher who articulated the changes that were observable and the likely reasons for change. The teacher linked this to a specific child enjoying a 'clean slate' with an equal opportunity to excel. They suggested that this clean slate was distant from the self-reinforced negative perception of self-worth in school, and therefore the child felt able to engage on equal terms.

> *I think you see… two different sides to them on the residential trip itself rather than the classroom itself. They seem much more confident towards the end of the week than they were at the start and particularly those that I would argue are towards the bottom end of the attainment spectrum.* (Teacher).

4.3.8 Theme summary

This section considered how children's social relations and social interactions changed during and after the residential, drawing on their own and teachers' observations. The children's responses were intriguingly inconsistent, with older children better at describing and explaining these changes, and girls tending to describe and explain changes in greater detail than boys. However, the changes in social relations can be seen as: the expansion and development of relationships; changes as children learned more about how to interact with other people; changes in emotional coping; and adaptation to the norms of the social context. Although changes were generally described in positive terms, there were some suggestions of competitiveness and possessiveness over friendships, and the descriptions of homesickness can be seen as evidence of loneliness or social exclusion.

It is worth noting that some children showed considerable agency in the development of their social relations during the residential. These children actively sought out new

friendships, enhanced existing relationships or changed the nature of their relationships. By contrast, others seemed passive, presumably engaged in the embodied experiences or uninterested in changing their friendship group or wider social situation. Despite this, the overall picture was of a moderately fluid social environment with an expansion and enhancement of social relations through interaction with children that were outside of their previous friendship groups.

The rather timid discussion of changing relationships with the teachers seems somewhat at odds with the enthusiastic discussion of friendships, or the heartfelt moments discussing emotional coping. Indeed, in many ways the teachers were presented as outsiders to the social interactions. This was even apparent where the teachers shared vulnerabilities or adopted a quasi-parental role. Whilst this may reflect an unwillingness to talk to an adult interviewer about other adults, it seems likely that the relationships with teacher were secondary to the children than those with peers. This differed slightly from the teacher's recollections of changes in relationships with children, which were expressed in more positive terms.

The input from the teachers confirms the themes identified by the children but tends to represent social changes as resulting from 'overcoming challenges' and co-dependency rather than in terms of 'friendship'. In addition, they represent the changes in terms of characteristics of behaviour and character attaching to one or many children – helping others, confidence, positivity etc. This is markedly different from the children (particularly to the girls) who tended to represent change in terms of relationships.

Thus, the interviews provided considerable evidence for the five areas of change in children's social interaction during the residential but identifies some differences in way that these are conceptualised by the children and teachers. Despite discussion of uncomfortable experiences, all five themes are presented in positive terms as this reflects the predominance of positive expressions within the data.

4.4 Pupils' and teachers' perceptions of changes in social interactions

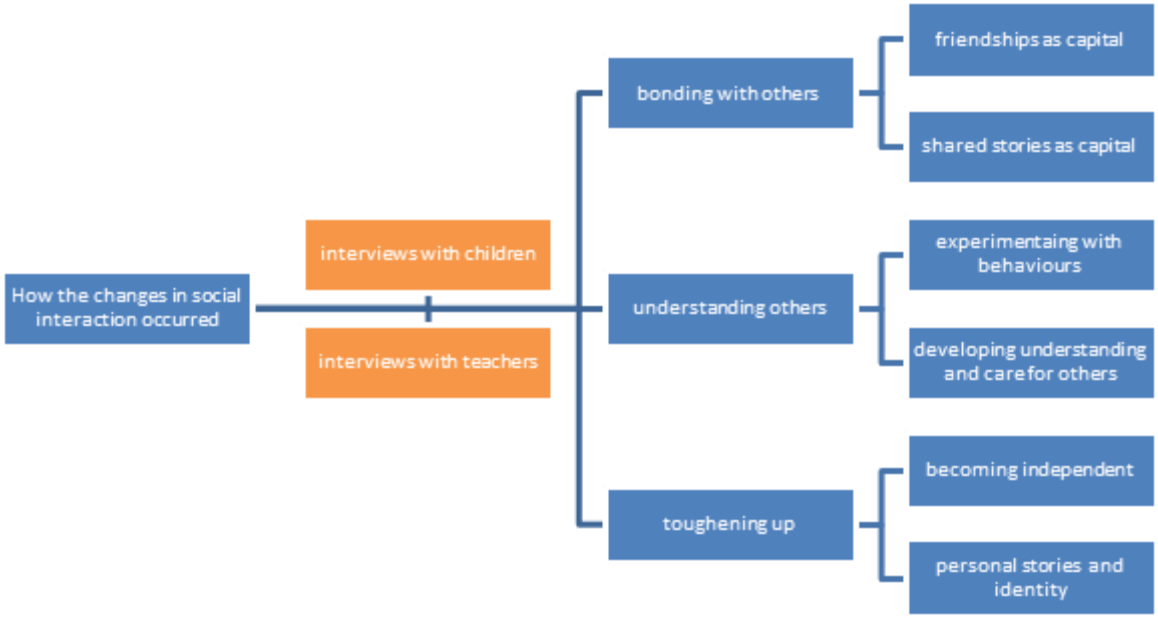

Figure 4: Diagram of pupils' and teachers' perceptions of changes in social interactions

Whilst the interviews with children were characterised by anecdotal reminiscences, assertions of behavioural change and partial analysis of their experiences during the residential, they made some attempts to explain why the changes in their social interactions had occurred. In most cases, a link is made between the explanation and specific changes in behaviour, but there is generally no direction to the link. The teachers also considered the reasons for changes in children's social interactions, and these are also discussed below. As with earlier sections, the explanations from older children tended to be more frequent, longer and clearer. The children's responses to questions are presented in three emergent codes, but also note that there are multiple facets to each explanation for changes in social interaction.

Code	Number of children's interviews including this code (out of 26)
Bonding with others	16
Understanding others	19
Toughening up	10

Table 7: Frequency of codes – Pupils' and teachers' perceptions of changes in social interactions

4.4.1 Bonding with others

A fascinating explanation provided by children relates to the strengthening of networks, through making new friends or through the enhancement of existing relationships within the context of shared experiences, group working, fluid social norms and high levels of interdependency. These explanations often centred around the overlapping concepts of friendship and trust, and commonly included a measure of personal benefit,

> *Yes, because you spend quite a lot of time with them, so you know them a bit better now, so you can trust them a bit better than you did before.* (Year 5 girl)

Here the child was discussing the enhancement of an existing network of friends. The child saw spending time and getting to know each other as an enhancement of her relationships with her friendship group resulting in changes to the quality of her own social interactions. This was an example of the difficulty that children had in recognising their own decisions. The child was presenting a logical, but largely passive, progression with no recognition of her own decisions or understanding that trust might also have been a factor in getting to know people better. Similarly,

> *It's, like, made me go and play with them more. Not play with the same people every break time. I've got more friends and choice… I was sat next to people I don't normally mix with, but then I mixed with them*. (Year 5 boy)

In this instance, enforced mixing was seen as generating greater numbers of friends and a greater choice of friends, and this was represented as providing benefits to the individual. Again, the explanation of the change in behaviour was notably passive with no explanation of how she engaged in mixing, and thus the benefits are ascribed to the context of compulsion.

Similarly, a year 6 girl saw conversations as key to the development of trust suggested that this had value within the social context of school,

> *And even if you didn't make the friends there you felt more confident to speak to different people when you got back to school, because in your group there were lots of different people that you probably wouldn't much know, and you needed to talk to them to get to know if… if you can trust them. (*Year 6 girl)

In this instance, the girl's explanation suggests agency, proactively using conversations during the residential to determine whether to trust particular children in order to strengthen her social position in school. Again, the explanation of social change is located in bonding derived from conversations, trust and friendship.

One unexpected theme that emerged was the value that children placed on the stories that they could tell about their experiences. These were described as a form of currency to be used for establishing, maintaining, and developing friendship and status in school. Stories appeared to take two forms: shared narratives that could bond together those that went to the residential; and stories that might attract others into friendship or that might raise the social status of the child. Interestingly, this theme emerged in three group interviews and only one individual interview, perhaps suggesting that the children were establishing their understanding of the social value of stories through experimentation in the interview, and possibly that participation in the interview itself influenced the children to place value on their stories.

Within these interviews, some saw the stories as providing bonding with other children:

> *It was a chance to make friends with new people and not just old people, and then making new friends, you have something to talk to them about 'oh that was really fun on the zip wire' or 'what was your favourite?'. You can make conversation. 'It was really good*'. (Year 5 girl)

More intriguingly, others suggested that their stories bestowed renown and status on them. The stories were thus seen as socially valuable, and even described as though they were tradeable for friendship and increased status:

> *I think social life will help a lot. That you can talk to new friends who, from a different school, went to the same high school. If you talk to them about it. 'Look at what happened in our school' if they've done the same in their school we might tell them about the trip.* (Year 5 girl)

> *It was really fun telling them about it, they always… mine kept asking me so many questions – I had to say 'please one at a time'*. (Year 5 girl)

4.4.2 Understanding others

The findings in previous sections show that the residential experience was seen by children as a social experience. It was therefore unsurprising that when asked how change occurred their responses often returned to social relationships. These responses can be characterised as *experimenting with behaviours* and *developing understanding and care for others*. The former provides a partial explanation of aspects of better interactional skills and the latter of adapting to social norms. These were derived from primary codes: making meaning and understanding values; understanding the social system, understanding the relationship between social group and experience, and becoming aware of social justice.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, children's responses ranged from those that explained the changes in their understanding of other people in detail (n=11) to those whose answers showed some evidence of such understanding (n=8) however there were also several students whose answers showed little understanding of others, characterised by talking about themselves or a lack of empathy (n=4).

In considering children's description of experimenting with new behaviours, it was evident that their explanations of their own actions and the actions of others were imbued with the expectation that they should be acting fairly, and when in unfamiliar situations they should seek the fairest solution. Consequently, they described their behaviours in the language of fairness, even when an external observer might question this. Indeed, when questioned, the children's understanding of fairness was often synonymous with equality, rather than respecting differences, and consequently the most common behaviour associated with it was 'taking turns'.

> *It felt like we were sticking together like in teamwork – to take turns to go who was first.* (Year 5 boy)

Here the children were experimenting with behaviours that they believed to be fair. A more troubling use of fairness was the expectation of boys in one focus group that fairness meant all team members finishing a tunnelling exercise. Consequently, this justified actions that did not respect the differences within the group and appears unfair to the children who felt scared in the tunnel.

We comforted them… and then we held their legs and tried to push them more to the end. (Focus group of year 5 boys)

Fairness was also used to judge the rules and decisions made by teachers. Commonly this related to the rooming strategies, which in all the residentials included some aspect of social mixing. This was referred to as 'sensible' and 'OK' and children accepted not being roomed with their friends if they recognised that other people were not roomed with their friends. Their own disappointment was acceptable only if everyone was also disappointed. However, children's perceptions of fairness seemed to be confused with notions of favouritism and they described experimenting with decision-avoidance techniques such as making decisions by using games such as rock-paper-scissors.

Erm, we all decided together if you wanted to go first or not, and if there were 2 or 3 people who wanted to go first then we did rock-paper-scissors

Interviewer: *Ok. Did that mean it was fair?*

Yes… they were all happy with it. (Year 5 girl)

It also seems likely that describing the unstructured attempts to complete tasks as '*just trying' may* also be seen as experimenting with social behaviour based on an expectation of fairness, rather than judging between options.

We got everyone's ideas and tried to see which one worked best, and if that didn't work, we tried to get everyone's ideas and merged them together. (Focus group of year 5 girls)

Furthermore, the behaviour of the boy who wanted to go first on the zipwire, suggests that he was anticipating that opportunities to go on the zipwire would be distributed within a norm of fairness and he could thus reasonably expect to get an equal go.

Yes, I wanted to go first on the zipwire, and I ended up going second last.

Interviewer: *OK and how was that?*

I got on with it, because I knew that I still was going to have a go. (Focus group of year 5 boys)

He was therefore upset during the focus group to hear that other children had received a greater number of turns and he realised that the nervousness of a child in his group had meant that he had not had a fair opportunity.

[Boy 2] *I got a third go*.

[Boy 3] *Lucky!*

[Boy 2] *Everyone else got two goes.*

[Boy 1] *I only got one go! ... There was one person, they were afraid to climb the ladder.* (Focus group of year 5 boys)

The boy belatedly realised that basing his behaviour on an expectation of fairness had been unrealistic.

Thus, the children's explanation of their own actions and the actions of others is imbued with the expectation that they should be acting fairly, and when in unfamiliar situations they should seek the fairest solution. Consequently, they described their behaviours through the lens of fairness, even when an external observer would question this. It is also possible to see that the choice of terms used to talk about other children (people, friends etc) was in itself a sign of awareness of social justice, in the avoidance of differentiating and derogatory terminology, and a preference for egalitarian and inclusive terms. Whilst it seems likely that this has been developed over a long period of time through teaching practice, and that it was unlikely to have been developed during the residential, it was clear that children's experiences during residential were expressed in words that have embedded values, and that their experimentation with new behaviours was framed by default expectations of social justice and fairness that had been developed at home at school.

When children were questioned about new behaviours, it was evident that their explanation of their own actions and the actions of others was based on a social norm

or expectation that they should show understanding to each other, and when dealing with other people in unfamiliar situations they should not behave considerately. As with previous sections, the responses of younger children showed less social awareness and were largely based on anecdotes and narratives. By contrast, the Year 6 children were more confident to talk about themselves, their peers and to explore themes within the residential experience.

> *I found that I had like judged people a bit, because seeing someone there that I had heard things about them, and then when I actually got to do things with them they were actually really nice and like they were different from what.* (Focus group of year 5 girls)

> *Yeah coz I helped him overcome his fears and it made him feel better and on the next day he said thank you to me.* (Year 5 boy)

However, children's accounts also described the removal of existing behaviours, such as arguing, that were not seen as showing understanding (or tolerance) of others.

> *A lot of us argued about like who was going there, who was going at the front, who was going at the back, who was going in the middle.*
>
> Interviewer: *Did that change through the week, or did you still argue just as much at the end as you did at the beginning?*
>
> *Like at the beginning we started arguing and when we got to the end we were just fine and doing it perfectly…Kind of like, normally I would argue with them. Now I argue less with them, not like shouting, now I tell them kindly what I think should happen.* (Year 5 boy)

At times, the children's interpretation of their new behaviours as understanding of others, seems misplaced. Thus, when year 5 boys are asked how they support people who are scared, they say,

> *If someone was scared, or something, we would chant their name to try and encourage them.* (Focus group of year 5 boys)

Even in this example, the children's explanation of their own actions and the actions of others is imbued with the expectation that they should show understanding to each other, and when dealing with other people in unfamiliar situations they should not behave inconsiderately. Consequently, they described their behaviours through the lens of consideration, even when an external observer would question this. As with the discussion of fairness, it is notable that the choice of terms used to talk about other children ('people', 'friends' etc) shows a preference for inclusive terms. It seems likely that this has been developed over a long period of time through teaching practice, and that it was unlikely to have been developed during the residential. However, it was also evident that children's experiences during residential were expressed in words that have embedded values of consideration for others.

4.4.3 Toughening up

This concept provides an explanation for changes in *Emotional Coping* over the residential. This position seems conceptually opposed to the preceding positions that see development as increasing engagement with others. Here development was characterised by children as an individual response to the social and physical environment and was usually articulated with the personal pronoun 'I'.

> *It's hard when* [name] *always talks to us half the night, coz we need to get to sleep… I tried to like, not being rude, but I tried to sleep with my back to them, my ears on the pillow so I don't hear them.* (Year 5 girl)

> *I think I have got more confident as well, so if I go for a sleepover, I can trust other people*. (Year 5 girl)

> *Its definitely made me feel that I can trust a load more people and that I can like, I can… (be)cause I used to be scared of leaving my family, but now I know that since my residential I feel more confident in leaving them.* (Year 5 girl)

Here the residential as a whole experience was seen to change how the individual feels about themselves, often in relation to their family. Some of the changes were represented as unidirectional and perhaps marked change from dependency to greater independence.

Yes – it brought us closer like, as friends. It's changed the way I look at things, like what I want to do when I am older. (Year 6 boy)

This suggests that she considered that addressing and overcoming emotional situations was the reason for increased confidence in herself to face future challenges and that this had resulted in a step-change in her own development from the successful completion of a life-changing trial.

Thus, whilst the preceding explanations of the reasons for change were concerned with development of social networks and support a second theme deals with the children's internal development through engagement with emotionally intense situations, during activities that induced anxiety, frustration and euphoria, and through living and sleeping in an unfamiliar environment.

4.4.4 Teachers' views on changes in children's social interactions during residential

This section includes teachers' comments that relate to the social context of the residential. This area was explored in considerable detail, and there was considerable uniformity of experience and opinion in all areas. Interestingly, despite all teachers being positive about the residentials, most of the comments identify the exceptional and problematic aspects of the social context and there was little discussion of positive aspects of social context such as community or friendship. This differs significantly from the interviews with children.

The teachers' responses included subsidiary codes: being away from parents, out of comfort zones, teacher input, teacher grouping, and the importance of routines. All teachers recognised that the experience of being *Away from parents* was an important part of the experience as it removed reliance on adults and made children feel more vulnerable. This appeared to reflect an understanding that the social context of children at home was characterised by rules set by adults, adult supervision and reliance on parents to solve any social issues. All teachers also discussed children being out of their *Comfort zones*, doing things in unfamiliar social situations that made them feel uncomfortable and unnerved by the lack of adult direction. This also reflected an understanding that children's social milieu was usually supervised or moderated by

adults, and therefore being in a social context without adults required children to accept responsibilities and adapt their behaviour.

> *When they first go there, they are a little, well some of them are out of their comfort zones – quite a lot – and they very quickly realise that they won't get anything done unless they work together. It all kind of starts taking shape towards the end and they are all helping each other out. Whereas at the beginning they are trying to do it all themselves.* (Teacher)

Most teachers considered how their own presence and participation affected the social context. This included structured *Teacher input* such as setting and enforcing rules, intervening in disputes, and encouraging sharing and reflection. It also included the inputs related to intentional social mixing and conflict avoidance through *Teacher grouping* in organising the sharing of rooms and in creating teams. All teachers described the methods and reasons for determining team membership and room sharing, and there was general uniformity of methods allowing children to form pairs so that they would always have a friend with them, but also ensuring that groups and rooms included pairs that were outside of the usual friendship groups. It was clear from the children's responses that this aspect of the social context was very important and that many understood and appreciated the approaches taken.

> *What I try and do… is put them into groups whereby they are less comfortable with the people they might be with. So I will pair them up with a friend, so you will be with that friend for the whole week. But the rest of it you will be mixed and you will have to learn to be with other people and develop those character skills that we are looking for. I think towards the end of the week there is certainly much more confidence in talking to different people, (and) in being aware of different people's limitations, and their strengths and weaknesses.* (Teacher).

Finally, one teacher explained that the *Routine* of the centre was also an important part of the social context. In particular the routines at mealtimes were unfamiliar to children, and encouraged them to interact in new ways that acted as a social leveller and encouraged social values of responsibility.

4.4.5 Teachers' views on changes in children's social interaction since returning to school

This section includes teachers' observations, comments and beliefs on the social outcomes of the residential. These were social changes that were generalised and extend beyond temporal, special and social context of the residential. These were additional to the changes that were observed during the residential, and which were, often tacitly, expected to continue. This area includes 2 subsidiary codes:

- Social Bonding
- Life experiences

Two teachers identify *Social bonding* as a key social outcome. They saw changes in behaviour after the residential that indicated increased closeness, more inclusivity and greater understanding and that manifested in willingness to participate in activities together and a reduction in arguments.

> *It just makes them see what they can do on their own and with the group together, and that if they work hard then there is a big world out there and there's lots of things that they could do, go and see. I also think that it's just a such a good skill to go away and be together and realise that you do have to be accepting with your friends and work together*. (Teacher)

One teacher explored the social benefits of significant *Life experiences* in some depth. The teacher considered these unforgettable experiences as informing the social confidence, social awareness and as an asset in their own right. These comments reflect those of several children and perhaps show a perspective that notes the asset value of shared experiences that can be spoken about with those that were there, and the asset value of noteworthy experiences or exceptional activities when speaking to people who were not there.

4.4.6 Theme summary

The children's attempts to explain how changes in social interaction occurred identified the importance of friendship, consideration and emotional resilience. However, the children may have lacked the vocabulary and ability to articulate the connections between the factors and their social interactions, or to explore alternatives, and their

answers may thus have reflected school values and the expectations of the teachers. Consequently, their explanations drew heavily on concepts that they were familiar with (friendship, trust, fairness, support, and coping) and in doing so the analysis was either oversimplified or confused by the imprecise use of terms. Despite this the children's answers raised several interesting ideas. Foremost amongst these, was the understanding that children's experimentation with novel forms of social behaviour was not specific to the context of the activity and the social group, but included prior values embedded in their existing relationships and in the words that they use. Second was the importance placed by children on *friendship* as a facilitator of changes in social behaviour as well as being a measurable outcome of changes in social behaviour. Thus, friendship appeared to play an important role in social change but was also a form of capital that children gained through novel experiences and through their own agency. Thirdly, changes in social interaction were seen as extending beyond the residential, through new friendships, new respect for self and others, and through the possession of tradeable social resources of mutual bonds (derived from inter-reliance, shared reminiscences and exposed vulnerabilities) and stories.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter the findings presented in chapter 4 are discussed alongside the literature to consider how primary school children's social values were influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning. The chapter is structured around the themes that emerged from the data and considered in relation to the social values described in the PSHE curriculum for key stage two[8] (PSHE Association 2018). It is thus presented as:

KS2 PSHE Core 2 - Relationships - Friendships

- Friendship: exclusivity and inclusivity of friendship groups (5.1)
- Trust in others: specific and generalised reciprocity (5.2)
- Responsibility for others: empathy and the ethic of care (5.3)
- Fairness: managing conflict and collaboration (5.4)

KS2 PSHE Core 3 - Living in the wider world - Communities.

- Belonging: social agency and social adaptation (5.5)
- Open-mindedness: stereotypes and self-centredness (5.6)

The discussion of children's social values recognises that these are neither universal nor discrete and that the separate consideration of social values underrepresents the holistic nature of values. Thus, this chapter concludes with a response to the idea that social learning within residentials is:

- derived from the creation of temporary communities (5.7)
- embedded in a connection to place (5.8), and
- related to social capital formation (5.9).

[8] PSHE curriculum at key stage two has three core themes: Health and Wellbeing; Relationships; and Living in the wider world. Themes associated with Health and Wellbeing are denoted by the letter H and range from H1 to H50. Themes associated with Relationships are denoted by the letter R and range from R1 to R34. Themes associated with Living in the wider world are denoted by the letter L and range from L1 to L32. Source: PSHE Association (2018)

The chapter then draws tentative conclusions about the influence that social experiences during residential outdoor learning have on children's social values (5.10).

5.1 Friendship: exclusivity and inclusivity of friendship groups

Teaching about friendship is an important part of the PSHE curriculum (R10-R18). In specific, R11 lists the attributes of a positive healthy friendship "*mutual respect, trust, truthfulness, loyalty, kindness, generosity, sharing interests and experiences, support with problems and difficulties*". Whilst this is clearly presented in age-appropriate concepts in order to support teaching to young people, it seems to develop a particular model of friendship that emphasises close friendships with a focus on the quality of the relationship underpinned by values of equality, honesty and mutuality. Healthy friendships are thus reliant on positive moral values and equality.

The theme of friendship appeared frequently within the data and seemed to be an important measure of social engagement for both children and teachers. The children discussed making new friends, broadening their friendship groups, and deepening their existing friendships. They also spoke of their reliance on existing friendships and how they provided mutual support. Meanwhile, the teachers discussed the benefits to the children of working together and particularly the benefits of working with people outside of their friendship groups. However, the teachers were also very aware of the importance of existing friendships and in all cases managed the activity team membership and rooming arrangements to provide the children with emotional support through proximity to their friends. Thus, friendship emerged as a measure of social engagement, a source of emotional support, and as a basis for social interaction with people outside of the child's friendship group, in as much it reflects the value of relationships (Putnam 2000) and their contribution to the capital of the social actor (Beames and Attencio 2008).

Whilst the term 'friendship' was used by most children and teachers, it seemed to have different meanings for different children, and often seemed at odds with the PSHE attributes. For instance, the focus group discussion of girls appeared to have a highly utilitarian view of friendship, with importance given to the number and usefulness of relationships and a clear articulation of the value of having greater numbers of friends when starting a new school. This contrasts with the more common, but looser, usage of 'being with friends', which again seemed divorced from the moral agenda, and was often used as a description of the informal social climate of the residential. In the latter usage,

the children did not seem to assign any utility to friendship beyond the temporary social experience and the embodied experiences of having fun. In addition, ‘making friends’ was often described in very organic terms – as if it happened through close contact, rather than through conscious action or mutual support. Thus, the children’s conceptualisation of friendship was wider, and appeared less related to values than the PSHE definition.

The children used the concept of friendship to describe their relationships, their social milieu and as a marker of social utility. The first of these usages has been explored in the literature. Stoddart (2004) ascribes utility value to relationships. She suggests that the development of networks of friends supports the individual and facilitates social inclusion and social integration. The second usage does not appear to set boundaries, define the extent of the friendship groups or have particular structure. The social milieu perhaps relates to Bourdieu’s ideas of Social Field, which considers settings as governed by the specific rules of the field, by each agent's habitus and their social, economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). It is noteworthy that the children appeared very aware of the social rules during activities (not arguing, taking turns, being supportive), but had greater agency in the unstructured social interactions, where rules about sweet sharing, caring for others, sleeping arrangements and pranks were socially constructed.

In the findings of the Learning Away project, Kendall and Rodger (2015) also note the importance of friendships. They found that this was one of the most significant impacts across all ages, and their primary-aged focus groups found that residentials provided opportunities for students to develop new peer relationships, including vertical relationships across age groups; the development of more trusting and respectful relationships, including a change in existing power relationships, and opportunities to develop social skills, as well as skills to form relationships. By contrast, the data provided no evidence of the development of vertical relationships across age groups other than hierarchical ones related to norms of caring for younger children, suggesting that trust and respect were highly contextual, and provided limited evidence of changes in social skills. However, the children and teachers’ comments about the social impacts after the return to school did confirm Kendall and Rodger’s survey findings, and perhaps reinforce their conclusions that the sense of community developed on the residential and the memorability of the experiences boosted cohesion, interpersonal relationships and a sense of belonging.

An interesting facet of the data was the differentiation between exclusive and inclusive friendship groups. The PSHE definition seems to emphasise close friendships, and this seemed to be integrated into the design of the residential. Gee (2010) notes that residentials support the strengthening of existing friendships, the formation of new friendships and the retrenchment of existing friendships. Gee's focus is clearly on the group and the development of their relationships with each other. This is significantly at odds with Stoddart (2004), Telford (2010) and Kendall and Rodger (2015) who all see integration with other groups as a key part of the learning experience and emphasise inclusivity of the social experience.

The findings of the current study suggested that the children had little contact with other people. The centre staff were barely mentioned, and reference to other groups was minimal. Whilst this does not indicate that the social experience was completely isolated or socially exclusive it does recognise that overwhelming importance was given to friendships within the group. Given this, it is surprising that none of the residentials had a structured process of support for friendship making, and that teachers expected this to happen because of the context. Thus there was no explicit support for three factors in friendship making: self-understanding, interpersonal learning and socialising techniques (Gargano and Turcotte 2021), there was no evidence of school based sessions to explore social issues (Stoddart 2004) and there was no mention of the types of pre-residential activities related to community and caring such as prosocial modelling, cooperative and nurturant relationships with others, perspective taking and conflict resolution as (Quay, Dickinson and Nettleton 2000).

Taken together, this suggests that friendships were considered as highly important but that the children's concept of friendship was often contradictory. Also, that there was little support for children to develop social skills, and were few opportunities to develop new relationships, to broaden social groups or to gain friendship with people different to themselves.

5.2 Trust in others: specific and generalised reciprocity

Trust in others is considered in the PSHE curriculum (R11) in the development of children's understanding of what makes a healthy friendship. Within the study, the discussion of trust is again somewhat undifferentiated in the interviews, perhaps because

the children lacked the language to explore the concept in depth and were thus reliant on examples. Their answers moved fluidly between physical trust and emotional trust and presented trust as both a personal characteristic and an external requirement of the tasks and contexts. Nevertheless, the term was used frequently, and the development of interpersonal trust was described as a part of the social experience by most children and identified by the teachers. Whilst some changes in trust might be expected as part of children's normal social maturation, it is also likely that the identification and subsequent discussion of trust may have been influenced by the educational input of the teachers before, during and after the residential experience. This input may have related to the delivery of PSHE curriculum around relationship education, to school ethos, or to both. It is worth noting that children also discussed changes in their trust in themselves, in the equipment, and in the teachers. Whilst these could be related to changes in social values, this section discusses the evidence and ideas around trust as an attribute of social relationships that are not characterised by unequal power. Thus, this section is limited to the discussion of the findings related to changes in trust between children.

Walsh and Golins (1976) argue that there is a strong relationship between risk taking, cognitive dissonance and the development of trust. The interviews provide many descriptions of trusting behaviours during the activities, particularly those activities involving sensory discomfort and heightened emotions including perceived risk from being at height or underground. In these instances, the children described an expectation of help and support from others and were aware of similar expectations on themselves. Instances included controlling ropes, taking different roles in tasks, taking turns in exercises, etc. and were commonly associated with risk taking and thrill seeking. This relationship is central to experiential education theory (Priest and Gass 2005; Ewert and Garvey 2007) and remains a common rationale for outdoor residential experiences (Loynes 2017). Such rationales are commonly based on a subjective perception of risk rather than to the real risk of loss (Loynes 1996).

Trusting behaviours were often described in vivid detail and the narratives tended to portray the speaker in a positive manner. Loynes (2003) notes that this is characteristic of narrative data about personal experiences of adventure. He suggests that descriptions are often structured around a hero narrative and that the context of outdoor learning can be seen as a *fantasy space* alongside more characteristic forms of physical, experiential, collective, and moral and social space. The potential for fantasy to embellish or re-

narrate some of the memories, might mean that the instances of trust are more likely to show children as being trusted rather than being trusting, particularly in exciting situations. This was explicit in the focus groups where positive interpretations and memories were sometimes challenged by other children. Despite this caveat, the instances of trust in activities can be seen as formal expectations for legitimate participation in the activity. Children who wish to participate on the ropes course must accept the roles given to them, including trusting others and being trustworthy. Thus, the structure of the activities, the briefings and their rules, seemed to prescribe a particular form of trust that is predominantly physical and based on compliance to rules. However, the children's narratives about trust in activities are interesting for their lack of specificity. In repeated instances, the children refer to trusting others but have difficulty remembering who they were trusting. Whilst this may relate to the fantasy space of the narrative (Loynes 2003) it might also point to an awareness that the child was trusting to a rules-based system rather than individuals, and thus that the trust is embedded in the activity and context rather than the relationships. This supports the personal development thesis within experiential education theory, which sees the individual's development of trust as a result of the activity and the context.

Interestingly, children also used *trust* to refer to their relationships with both individuals and groups. Here, trust was generally embedded in friendships and was seen as a maturation of the relationship. The children provided examples of being trusted with secrets, of sharing with each other, of relying on each to get things done or for emotional support. These instances seemed very different from the contextually specific form of trust. The children were describing the development of trust as part of a strengthening of existing relationships. This is very much aligned to the PSHE usage of trust as an attribute of healthy relationships. Here trust was conceptualised as something embedded in relationships that is incrementally developed through exchange. The residentials removed the children from their normal support and encouraged exchange through novel experiences and prolonged proximity.

Putnam (2000) considers there to be two forms of trust: specific reciprocity, and generalised reciprocity. He theorises that the strong bonds of mutual interest give rise to expectations of specific reciprocity between individuals that support collaborative working, and he terms this specific reciprocity. Whilst relationships based on this form of trust have value for the participants, he cautions that such specific reciprocity is exclusive

and does not necessarily recognise societal values. Consequently, it may lead to the reproduction and concentration of privilege through the development of exclusive networks such as cliques or mafias. By contrast, Putnam (2000) sees weaker and more diverse relationships as a way of creating norms of reciprocity that facilitates more effective social groups. The children's interviews present good evidence of specific reciprocity, but limited evidence of more generalised reciprocity. However, all of the teachers noted changes in the overall trust within the group. This suggests that the children may not have been aware of the ways that their behaviour was adapted to emergent norms, or to norms that differed from those at school.

Thus, the study found strong evidence of increased trust in existing friendships (possibly due to close proximity and the removal of normal support mechanisms), and of a willingness to trust and be trusted in situations where there was an external expectation of this form of behaviour. However, it did not find strong evidence of increased generalised reciprocity, but it is likely that children would be unable to disentangle growth of this form of trust from the process of adaptation to an unfamiliar situation.

5.3 Responsibility for others: empathy and the ethic of care

Responsibility is included in the PSHE curriculum (R14) as part of the skills and knowledge required for healthy relationships. In the study, the discussion of responsibility was one of the more enjoyable aspects of the interviews with children. Responses ranged from those who described themselves as responsible and provided examples of times that they had acted responsibly, to those who were able to describe activities that showed responsibility for others but would not consider themselves as responsible for anyone else. This was confirmed by the teachers who provided instances of children showing responsibility for each other during the residential and on their return to school. This somewhat contradicts Cooper (2007) who suggested that activity centres offer few opportunities for children to take responsibility, although it is notable that few of the examples were during the activities.

The concept of responsibility for others differs from trust in one important regard: responsibility is based in an obligation to others and is not based in an expectation of reciprocity. As such responsibility tends to derive from personal values rather than from personal interest or social expectations. Quay, Dickinson and Nettleton (2000, 2003) use the German term *gemeinshaft* to explore the ethos of care and suggest that

residentials should be concerned with developing a sense of community based on an ethos of care. They suggest:

> *Caring provides a strategy for meeting our need for recognition as individuals as well as our need to belong within a community. Caring asks us to view each in the service of the other: to act as individuals in ways that strengthen community and to create communities allow us to meet our needs for individuality* (p.7)

The ethos of care thus meets the developmental needs of young people and strengthens the community. However, within the interviews, the examples of responsibility for others were often entangled with ideas of belonging, friendship and trust. In addition, the examples of responsibility for others often appeared linked to power and social agency. Thus, it was often hard to disentangle the instances where children took responsibility for others for personal reasons, because it was expected of them, or for altruistic reasons. Despite the evidential and theoretical entanglements, the findings suggested that the children and teachers could identify responsible behaviour during the residential and provided examples of how it had increased over the period of the residential. In particular, the teachers and children identified behaviours that seemed linked to empathy and thus might have a basis in an ethic of care that extended beyond utility, benevolence or adaptation to the emergent social norms of the temporary community.

Given the paucity of opportunities for responsibility identified by Cooper (2006), and the commercial imperatives for predictable activities (Beames and Brown 2017) it seems possible that the behaviours are not strongly related to the activities on the residential but may be a result of teachers observing children's normal behaviour in different circumstances. This was described by teachers as 'seeing another side to them'. Whilst this argument somewhat undermines the thesis that residentials develop a sense of community and positive relationships, it is perhaps more likely that it shows the difficulty of intuiting children's intentions and of comparing behaviours between contexts. It also reflects the findings of Gee (2015) that the impact of residentials on social relationships is complex and multi-layered.

Thus, whilst the study found some evidence of care and empathy it was difficult to determine whether observed behaviours or children's accounts of their behaviours were based on changes in their sense of responsibility.

5.4 Fairness: managing conflict and collaboration

Fairness is identified as another attribute of positive healthy friendships in the PSHE curriculum (R17), although again this appears closely linked to the age-appropriate discussion of close relationships rather than to relationships with social groups. Within the study, this social value was again closely entwined with the social context. Children used expressions that indicated a strong belief that social relationships should be governed by principles of fairness. This was apparent in their discussions with each other in focus groups, in their individual responses and in the examples they used. Thus, the concept of fairness can be seen as a communal normative structure within a fluid social situation (Reimer, Lyons, Ferguson and Polanco 2008), and act as a form or bonding social capital (Holland, Reynolds and Weller 2007). At times this structure went against their own short-term interests (picking up socks, taking turns) but it acted to guide judgements about proper behaviour.

The children's responses tended to characterise fairness as being treated the same by others and having equal opportunities. At times the ways that fairness was articulated appeared to conflict with other social values such as empathy or open-mindedness. It also seemed apparent that children were more able to identify a lack of fairness when they perceived themselves as unfairly treated, than when others were disadvantaged. In describing the caving experience, the children felt a sense of unfairness that their experience would be lessened by team members who were frightened but did not appreciate that prioritising their own enjoyment might be unfair to others. Indeed, this was also evident in discussions around participating in other exciting activities. Here, the children seemed acutely aware of the limited timescale of the residential and fairness was often balanced against concerns about missing out on opportunities. This approach to fairness was perhaps more utilitarian than the acceptance of communal normative structures. Here, fairness was mediated by unequal agency (Seaman *et al*. 2014) and by self-interest. This aligns closely to Putnam's conception of bonding social capital (Putnam 2000) which sees relationships as individually valuable and based on norms of specific reciprocity. Thus, the children expect the same from others as they would be expected to do, and where this is not forthcoming they adapt their own behaviours.

In other instances, such as when required to make decisions during problem solving, the concept of fairness appeared to be a justification for avoiding responsibility, sharing responsibility for possible failure and as a way to reduce potential conflict. In one instance

during a teambuilding exercise, the children described their approach in terms of fairness. After brainstorming ideas, the group decided to try all of the solutions proposed by team members (even those they thought had no chance of success) because it would be unfair not to. Here the concept of fairness seemed to be being applied to avoid conflict rather than to produce an equitable (or speedy) outcome. Again, this might the prioritisation of relationships (as a part of developing bridging social capital), but it might also reflect a lack of commitment to the temporary community, or a perceived lack of agency.

In one focus group, a most intriguing discussion centred around the number of turns the children had had on the zip wire. The discussion had established the basis for fairness as turn-taking and had moved on to a positively framed discussion of how one group had supported those children who were scared of heights through verbal encouragement. At this moment, the children from two different activity groups became aware that the members of one group had had less turns than the other. This revelation appeared to challenge their understanding of fairness. Those from the group that had had less turns were upset that their positive act of support had led to a limitation of their own enjoyment. The children went very quiet and seemed very conflicted. This exchange suggests a tension between their social obligations and their desire to maximize their residential experience. Whilst the experience of the zipwire was governed by social norms associated with carefree awesomeness, the limited opportunities to participate meant that member of each group had to rely on fairness as a basis for social interactions. However, they were also aware of social expectations that they take responsibility for others. In retrospect the children were aware that the three social values were in conflict. Their adherence to communal normative structures and the contingent social obligations towards fairness and responsibility meant that they had accepted limitations to their own enjoyment. However, this had been conditional on reciprocity from other members of the group. Thus, each group had arrived at a compromise that allowed members to feel virtuous for supporting each other and for acting fairly, whilst also allowing them to have fun. However, when the social unit was expanded to include other groups, the children were aware that there had been a compromise within their decisions to be responsible and to be fair to team members, that had resulted in them getting fewer turns on the zipwire. This illustrates the social fluidity of the temporary community and highlights the difficulties that the children faced in navigating social situations where they were often uncertain of the norms of behaviour, lacked awareness of their own agency, and were

unsure of whether their actions should be determined by norms of specific and generalised reciprocity.

The examples show that the children's ideas about fairness were the basis for decision making but that there was little evidence of any adaptation of these ideas to the context. The children's understanding of fairness appeared very limited and led to poor decisions and inequitable outcomes. Given the short duration and the intensive programmes within the residentials the children had no understanding about the effectiveness of their approach and, it seems likely that this meant that there was little incentive to change. Consequently, there was little evidence of any personal growth in this area, in the responses from children or from their teachers.

5.5 Belonging: social agency and social adaptation

Belonging is addressed in PSHE Core 3 / Living in the wider world / Communities (L6-7). This explores the meaning of belonging and the feelings associated with belonging to a group. The children were asked about their social experiences and any changes in their understandings. In response, they discussed bonding and understanding others and the teachers' provided observations about social bonding. Both showed that the children felt that they had developed connections and that they valued the sense of belonging that they had experienced during and after the residential. This has been previously reported (Putnam 1993, Gee 2010) and identified as part of the reason for impactful experiences (Loynes 2017). However, there are various explanations for the identification of belonging as an area of social change, particularly at the stage of childhood development and prior to transition to secondary school.

The first explanation considers the children as discovering their social agency (Seaman *et al*. 2014) during the residential. Here the residential acts as a rite of passage for the child where they are required to interact with other people without adult supervision (Rea 2011). The child is seen as transitioning from limited social agency (dependence on adults) to greater control over their social interactions, and to greater influence within those interactions. The small scale of the residential, its limited duration, its full programme and the reassuring presence of existing social relationships with peers and teachers, limits the social risks taken by the child in experimenting with the new social interactions. Whilst these aspects limit the social risks, they are balanced against aspects that compel the children to engage in social interaction and to take individual

responsibility for those interactions. Thus, the activity programmes are designed around working in small teams and are commonly structured to discourage non-participation and to reward positive forms of social interaction such as discussion, agreement, support, talking out issues and sharing rewards. The implicit design of free time (removal of phones, sharing rooms, limited supervision) also compels children to experiment with unfamiliar social interactions such as supporting each other through homesickness, dealing with other children's messiness and setting their own social limits. The children's responses show an intense focus on the social experiences, on their own contributions and a recognition of their own responsibility. Thus, the residential can be characterised as a means of supporting the development of children's social agency.

The second explanation for the frequency of comments related to a sense of belonging considers the children's positive valuation of their own successful social adaptation. Here the residential acts as a novel and immersive social environment with unfamiliar norms – or a temporary community (Gee 2010). Within this environment, children have to adapt their existing social behaviours to a new context by applying previous experience, by trial and error or by understanding the social system. Again, the structure of the residential is designed to support social adaptation. The activities are presented as team exercises, and they are often very short to allow children to experiment with different ways of working together. The residential and the activities are commonly prefaced by terms such as 'teamwork', 'working together', and 'supporting each other' that act as a referential framework for the development of a shared set of social behaviours. Children who adapt quickly to the context establish norms of behaviour that allow other children to emulate them in a process of acculturation. This is evident in children's comments about homesickness and perhaps to teachers' observations about helping to carry bags.

The third explanation combines the previous two in suggesting that children's sense of belonging is enhanced by both their increased agency and their adaptation to the social environment. However, here the residential is of limited importance, providing little more than a context conducive to social interactions. This approach recognises that social networks have value. It suggests that the scale of the networks, alongside the norms of behaviour and the level of trust within the networks provide value to the individuals within the network. Thus, children have an incentive to seek ways to embed themselves within the networks in ways that contribute to the overall strength of the network. Here children are not seeking to exercise social control, or to blend into the emergent social structures.

Rather they are incentivised to find ways where they can contribute so that they can access the increased social capital. Thus, the residential establishes a context for children to contribute their talents in return for acceptance into friendship groups and the benefits that come from sharing. As possible evidence of this, children's comments often link their sense of belonging to their special contribution, and similarly where they recognise the individuality of others as a significant reason for seeking closer social interactions. This explanation suggests that the retrospective value given to belonging equates to generalised recognition of the value of their contribution during the residential.

These three explanations are discussed individually later. Whilst they are somewhat contradictory, they provide theoretical rationales for the frequency of comments that evidenced an increased sense of belonging. However, the data is derived from children's retrospective analysis of their experiences. Thus, the reported changes in their sense of belonging and their assertions about changes in their values may represent rose-tinted glasses. In addition, the interpretation of both within the research may well reflect selectivity, post hoc rationalisation, narrative building and may be influenced by the contributions of teachers in framing the experience. As such it is impossible to draw a simple conclusion on the relative merits of the theories, other than to say that the children appeared to i) believe that they had gained an increased sense of belonging, ii) value that increased sense of belonging, and iii) believe that it derived from their experiences with other people during the residential.

5.6 Open-mindedness: stereotypes and self-centredness

Open-mindedness is again addressed in the community section of the PSHE curriculum (L9-10). Here it relates to an understanding of stereotypes and an acceptance of difference. It also addresses the problems associated with self-centred behaviours. Interestingly, there is little prior research on the impact of stereotypes and self-centred approaches within outdoor residentials. Research based on experiential learning (Freeman and Seaman 2020) tends to anticipate that differences will be mediated through meaningful experiences and through reflection. By contrast, research approaches that explore residentials through the lens of situated learning might suggest that behaviour is adapted to the context and that beliefs are unlikely to be affected by a short residential.

Whilst open-mindedness was not a common theme in the data, there was some consideration of gender differences. Whilst the interviews were not concerned with attitudes to gender, a number of themes emerged. The most common theme was that there was a very clear divide between the genders, with boys tending to talk about boys and girls tending to talk about girls. Often this divide was obscured by gender-neutral terms such as 'people', 'friends' or 'teams', but it was generally clear from the context and from the responses to specific questions that the representation of the experience by boys and girls was gendered. Indeed, the only occasions on which there was detailed discussion of the opposite gender were in response to direct questions, and in most cases the children showed little interest in discussing this. A few interviews ran counter to this. For example, in one interview a boy expressed frustration at being with girls both on residential and at school, he characterised them as 'bossy' and had a strong dislike for working with them. By contrast another boy noted that since returning from residential he had continued to play with one of the girls after discovering that they both like climbing trees. A different perspective arose in a focus group of girls, where they recounted the 'weird things' that boys do – from naming a tree 'Eric' to running around at night and throwing bean bags into the girls' toilet cubicles.

> *Oh… there's something else about the boys… the boys had a midnight feast in their dorm, and they kept… Because we had stairs down to our dorm and then you go down the corridor where our dorm was... they kept like doing weird things: running around, throwing bean bags at us in the toilets, and we were like 'we are not giving them back to you'* (girls focus group)

These stories were told with breathless excitement and perhaps showed a degree of fascination for the boys' actions. However, they also describe discomfort at being watched by boys whilst walking back from the showers or having boys peering through dormitory window that suggests that the experience of going on residential with a mixed group was not always seen positively. It seems likely that at this age their social experience and understanding of the opposite gender was limited, meaning that the boys' behaviours were labelled as 'weird' because the girls lacked a means of assessing whether or not it was socially acceptable. By contrast, none of the boys described incidents showing the behaviour of girls, and when asked directly about going on residential with girls were either uninterested or unwilling to discuss this. Again, this seems to suggest that they lacked a means of assessing the girl's behaviours. From the

teachers' perspective, there was both an acknowledgement of difference between boys and girls and an attempt to treat everyone equally, and certainly the use of gender-neutral terms in the children's interviews suggests that the experiences have been framed by teacher in terms of friends, people and teams rather than in more divisive terms such as boys and girls.

Thus, the study found little evidence of stereotypes and self-centredness, but did seem to point to very limited social engagement between genders. As in previous sections, the short duration, the pressured timetable of the residentials, and the existence of prior social relationships meant that children were unlikely to receive feedback on their stereotypes or on their attitude to others, and the normative terminology of the residential may well have encouraged inclusive behaviours without addressing the underlying stereotypes. However, despite this caveat, the interviews show a significant divide between the social relationships of boys and girls at school and in the residentials.

5.7 Temporary communities and residential outdoor learning

The preceding part of the discussion has explored six areas of social values as largely discrete from each other and the context. In part this is a common failing of qualitative approaches to data analysis (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007), which tend to identify themes rather than holistic change. However, it also reflects the episodic nature of the children's accounts, which were often based around particular issues, and appeared at times to be consciously or unconsciously aligned to school values and the PSHE curriculum. The teachers' responses were less episodic and often generalised across several residential experiences, but again tended to be thematically aligned to school values and PSHE teaching. Thus, there is a possibility that holistic changes to social values are underrepresented in the findings. Similar concerns are expressed in Kendall and Rodger (2015) and Dudman, Hedges and Loynes (2019) when considering the evidence of residentials. These concerns are explicitly addressed in the literature that characterises outdoor residentials as temporary communities.

The conceptualisation of residential outdoor learning as *temporary societies*, *experimental social laboratories* and *community living (*Hopkins and Putnam 1993) or more commonly as a *temporary community* (Gee 2010; Gargano and Turcotte 2021) suggests that the experience of shared living provides a fertile environment for personal growth (Hopkins and Putnam 1993). Gee (2010) describes this as a 'spatially and

temporally bounded setting' and suggests that the physical remoteness and the limited opportunities for interaction with the outside world, serves as the basis for the strengthening of existing friendships, the formation of new friendships and the retrenchment of existing friendships.

The residentials described by the children and teachers certainly fit Gee's (2010) description. The residential locations were physically remote, and the experience was a discrete period of time. Both the spatial and temporal contexts were bounded by travel to and from the residential setting, and all activity took place within the grounds. The children had little opportunity for interaction with the outside world. Children discussed missing their phones, and teachers emphasised that children were not allowed to bring phones. The teachers saw this as an important way of ensuring that children interacted with each other and of reducing homesickness. Thus, the residential appeared remote, spatially and temporally bounded, and this might be seen as the basis for social development.

However, the interviews did not really support this thesis. The children's social references were already established in friendships and in identities related to participation in school (class membership, friendship groups, sporty person, etc). Whilst they talked about the residential experience as a discrete period of time, the community that they discussed was already existent before the residential. Whilst the residential entailed new social experiences these were entirely with people that they knew. Thus, the social context was partly familiar. Indeed, although it was the first residential for most children, it was not completely outside of children's experiences. Some children likened it to a sleepover and others to family holidays. In addition, preparatory work by the teachers in planning rooming arrangements ensured that the most unfamiliar aspect, sleeping away from home, was supported by existing friendships and teddy bears. Thus, although children experienced homesickness and missing their phones, family and pets none of them used terms that characterised residential as remote or isolated.

One aspect of Gee's ethnographic study (Gee 2010) that differs from the school residentials within the current study is the unfamiliarity of a regulated timetable and fixed expectations. In Gee's study the structure and expectations caused tensions for the adult participants. However, the children in this study were accustomed to limited control over their own time and to having their aims set by adults. Although a few suggested that they

would have liked more free time, there was a generalised acceptance and adaptation to the structure of the residential. Indeed, one of the teachers suggested that the structure was comforting to children as it reduced anxiety and meant that they could look forward to activities. Thus, the educational impact of isolation and structure did not seem to lead to significant discomfort that might lead to a state of adaptive dissonance.

Interestingly, Kendall and Rodger (2015) found that residentials developed a sense of community, and that the memorability of the experiences boosted cohesion, interpersonal relationships and a sense of belonging, and survey results showed that key stage two pupils were more likely to think that everyone in their school got on well together. Again, this differs from the temporary community hypothesis. Here, Kendall and Rogers (2015) pointed to the quality of the residential, particularly in creating memorable experiences, rather than the remoteness. Their review explored a range of contexts for residential learning from camping on school grounds to more distant experiences, and, across this, they found that the key aspects were the time, space and intensity of the residential; residentials as a leveller; relationships developed through sense of community / living together; challenging activities and opportunities to experience success; and new ways of learning/ ownership of, and engagement with learning. Thus, Kendall and Rodger (2015) seem to emphasise the pedagogic value of the experiences rather than the value of isolation. This was also evident in children's episodic descriptions of their residentials, their excited recounting of memorable events, and their ability to relate personal change to experiences on the residential.

Ideas about the educational benefit of remoteness and social isolation have a long history in outdoor learning in the UK, stemming from Victorian romantic concepts of the moral purity of nature (Ogilvie 2013), the historic practices of the voluntary youth movements of the late 19th century (Ogilvie 2013), Muscular Christian approaches to character building (Freeman and Seaman 2020), and the co-opting of militaristic practices (Loynes 2008). These ideas were greater theoretical structure by the wholesale introduction of therapeutic theory from the US in the 1960's which conceptualised the outdoor residential as an environment for group and individual development. This was perhaps best articulated by Walsh and Golin (1976) and Priest and Gass (2005) who saw personal growth as an outcome of reflection on facilitated experiences in a prescribed physical environment and in a prescribed social environment. Such therapeutic approaches sought to exclude extraneous factors in order to maximize the

predictability of the process and the effectiveness of programmes. As discussed in chapter 3, the evidence base for these approaches has been repeatedly challenged (Brookes 2003a, 2003b, 2006, 2012). Despite this, much of the practice of UK residential outdoor learning remains rooted in implicit assumptions of the therapeutic value of remoteness.

The findings of this study and those of Telford (2010), Rea (2011), Kendall and Rodger (2015), Dudman, Hedges and Loynes (2019) emphasise the complexity and value of the social interactions and are not dependent on the concept of remoteness. Indeed, they all recognize that one function of residential is to reconnect children to the social and natural environment. This is also considered in the literature on place-based learning (Wattchow and Brown 2011; Beames and Brown 2016; Humberstone, Prince and Henderson 2016), and was an aim of *Learning outside the classroom manifesto* (Department for Education and Skills 2006). These texts and policies see residentials as helping to reconnect children with the social and natural environment through first-hand experience during outdoor learning.

Again, there seems to be a disconnection between the practices advocated by authors writing about place-based learning and the lived experience of the children in the study. In addition, there is also a clear theoretical conflict between the therapeutic precepts of facilitated experiential learning that locates learning in the experiences and in the reflective process, and the socio-environmental approaches of place-based learning that locates learning in the development of relationships. A different perspective on holistic change is taken in Brown (2010), who considers behavioural changes during the residential as evidence of socialisation into a community of practice. Here the temporary community is conceptualised as a community of learners in which the child is a co-participant. Thus, the development of knowledge and skills is contextually specific to the social situation and is part of a negotiated process where individuals learn from each other. Individual learning occurs as newcomers move towards full participation in the group by engaging with the activities, identities and artifacts of the ‘old timers’.

Again, the interviews with children did not confirm this thesis. The children were aware that their behaviour during supervised activities was adapted to the expectations of the outdoor centre (taking on specific roles, waiting their turns, working together), but they often phrased this as compliance to rules, and seemed to see adaptation as a way to

maximize their own opportunities for enjoyment. There was no evidence that compliance to rules and external expectations involved significant negotiation or socialisation. Indeed, children understood the rules and expectations to be universal and expressed surprise when exceptions were made for them or for others. Thus, the participation in fun activities seemed to act as a reward for compliance and instrumental adaptation appears to have driven changes in behaviour rather than a negotiation of social norms, or socialisation towards an existing or emergent core of practice.

In unsupervised and less structured times, the social activities that the children described were commonly sub-divided into dormitory and friendship groups. This meant that the activities and identities were unlikely to be shared widely, reducing the likelihood of a widespread negotiation of the values within a community of practice. In addition, without the existence of 'old timers' the negotiated process of socialisation seemed likely to have lacked directionality. Similarly, the prior existence of friendship groups, social hierarchies and norms of behaviour within the school environment might also suggest that the community may have already been established around values and behaviours that were unrelated to the residential.

Interestingly, the interviews with teachers did provide evidence of socialisation. Teachers described increased children's agency, often comparing it to the lack of agency that children have at school. They described children becoming involved in new relationships and having increased confidence in forming and participating in relationships with a wider variety of people. Thus, they identified an increased plasticity in the social relations and suggested that the break from established patterns of social interaction allowed the children to recognise and develop of shared values and prosocial behaviours. Teachers described changes in how children socialised, how they looked after each other and saw the residential as a shared experience that informed identity. The teachers' perceptions of the residential seemed to see it as an opportunity for children to experiment with identity and social interactions whilst liberated from the strictures of school. They reported seeing new aspects of children's characters, children 'coming out of themselves' and children 'stepping up' to take responsibility. This seems clear reference to socialisation (Brown 2010) and suggests that the development of communities of practice within a context that is both temporary and isolated from school and home.

The divide between the teachers' observations and the children's recollections might be explained by the memorability of the children's experiences particularly around exciting activities and carefree awesomeness, or by constructing narratives. By contrast, the teachers had some distance from the activities providing more objectivity and were more aware of links between outdoor learning and child development and social values. Thus, it is hard to provide a clear conclusion, but it seems likely that the residential provided a context for social adaptation and experimentation within pre-existing social structure rather than socialisation into a temporary community, where the norms were negotiated between members.

5.8 Connection to place and residential outdoor learning

Place-based learning as a theoretical basis for outdoor learning is outlined in chapter two, which explores the ideas of Wattchow and Brown (2011), Beames and Brown (2016) and Humberstone, Prince and Henderson (2016). These authors suggest that learning is *emplaced*, embedded in a relationship to place, and that the pedagogic outcomes are related to the educational use of the context.

The findings show very little awareness of the physical place in which the residential occurred. The interviews with children and teachers were largely devoid of references to landscape, nature, weather or to forms of more-than-human relationships. The exception to this related to night and darkness, which is referred to by several children, and the constructed features such as dormitories, dining rooms and climbing towers. By contrast the responses framed the context around friends and the social context, or by contrast to home and school. Interestingly, in several instances children mixed up previous residential experiences with the recent one. Again, this suggests a high degree of disconnection from the physical place that the residentials occurred in, Thus, the place seems to be commonly conceptualised as something 'other'.

The idea of a place that is physically and socially disconnected from normal life is foundational to the literature around temporary community (Gee 2010) and experiential learning (Priest and Gass 2005). In both, learning is seen to be enhanced by the absence of distractions and the disconnection allows the facilitators to maximize learning by determining the level of challenge. However, this process model approach is challenged by Wattchow and Brown (2011), who suggest that learning is a slower process of developing respect for nature through a holistic engagement with place. Lynch and

Manion (2016) also differentiate between place-based and place-responsive learning. They suggest that learning that engages with the place as nothing more than a space for human learning (a Euclidian approach) is conceptualising that place as a passive recipient of human activity and consequently underrepresents the demands that the place puts on the attitudes and actions of humans. Lynch and Manion's (2016) approach posits a more-than-human relationship between people and place and suggests that outdoor learning has to be responsive to this relationship. Thus, personal growth is conceived as relationally emergent through the activities of people and other entities and is supported by outdoor learning that helps learners to respond with, in and through place-based experiences.

The children's interview responses show very limited awareness of the place, no awareness of non-human agency and little evidence of a reciprocal relationship to place. Whilst the children discussed becoming more familiar with the residential centre, there is no evidence that this was relationally emergent. Indeed, evidence about place is very limited when compared to the volume of evidence about formal and informal activities. Similarly, evidence of a relationship to place is highly limited when compared to the volume of evidence about relationships with other children.

There are a number of reasons that would provide an explanation for this. Firstly, the short duration and the frenetic pace of the residentials meant that there was little time for slow learning about the environment, or for more-than-human relationships to emerge. Secondly, the activity programmes were largely disconnected from the environment. Whilst most took place out of doors the activities were largely context-free and were designed and delivered to support the PSHE curriculum and, more loosely, to encourage social interaction and teamwork. Thirdly, the experience appears to have entailed considerable anxiety, often evidenced in homesickness, that tended to reinforce existing relationships to children and teachers. Fourthly, the children and teachers seemed to recognise the residential as something 'other' than school or home and may thus be defined by relationship to school or home rather than to its own non-human entity.

Unfortunately, the findings do not provide evidence to support the proposal that learning is *emplaced*, embedded in a relationship to place, and that the pedagogic outcomes are related to the educational use of the context. From the children's accounts, the residentials did not appear to be designed or run using place-responsive approaches;

there was little evidence of the development of a relationship to the place; there was little evidence that pedagogic outcomes were situated in a relationship with the place, and there was little evidence of changes in environmental values. By contrast, the responses of the children were predominantly related to existing human relationships and more-than-human relationships with home and school. From the teachers' perspectives the residential provided a context for children to have novel experiences and engage in new activities. The teachers' educational intentions were not related to the context for learning and were related to child development, classroom behaviour and preparation for transition to secondary school. Thus, the concept of emplacement seems inappropriate to the accounts of children and adults.

5.9 Social capital and residential outdoor learning

Chapter two explored the concept of social capital: originally derived by Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1989) as an explanation for the social reproduction of inequality; extended by Putnam (2000) to suggest that all relationships have value and that the quality of trust, networks and norms within the relationships surrounding a social actor contribute to the capital of that social actor; updated by Reimer, Lyons, Ferguson and Polanco (2008) to suggest that different normative structures guide behaviour in social relations; and applied to outdoor residential learning by Stoddart (2004), Holland, Reynolds and Weller (2007) and Beames and Attencio (2008) as a means of conceptualising the individual and shared benefits of social interaction.

Clearly, this is a significant move away from the consideration of the residential as a temporary community (Gee 2010) – a discrete period of change in social values or of personal growth. Similarly, it rejects the idea that the residential is a community of practice (Brown 2010) into which children are socialised. Rather, social capital approaches suggest that the relationships developed in the residential provide ongoing and tangible benefits to the children as a group and as individuals. It proposes that the quality of the shared experiences influence the quantity and quality of the relationships that exist after the residential. Thus, it proposes that effective residentials provide opportunities to develop generalised reciprocity rather than specific reciprocity; inclusive networks rather than exclusive friendship groups; and are established on associative and communal normative structures (perhaps using the 'ethic of care' (McKenzie and Blenkinsop 2006) to guide behaviour in social relations towards inclusive and meaningful relationships and thus develop bridging forms of social capital.

In accord with Kendall and Rodger (2015) and Dudman, Hedges and Loynes (2019), the findings of the study provided good evidence of relationships developing and extending after the residential. The teachers referred to changes in classroom interactions and the children talked about playing with new friends and being less likely to argue. In addition, the interviews provided considerable evidence that the children's memories of the residential included awareness of the social context of their experiences, either explicitly or implicit in the use of 'we'. Similarly, both children and teachers identified novel forms of social interaction requiring individual and group adaptation of existing behaviours.

This suggests that the residentials increased the quantity and quality of relationships. However, Putnam (2000) differentiates between bonding and bridging forms of social capital. As the relationships were within the group, based on shared interests, and entailed the development of specific trust, it seems likely that bonding social capital would be the dominant form generated. Whilst bonding social capital has significant benefits to those involved in the network of relationships, Putnam (2000) cautions that this form does not support social integration of the capacity to generate broader social identities through engagement with different people. Thus, it seems likely that the residentials helped the groups to bond together around shared interests, supported children to develop shared norms of behaviour and improved levels of interpersonal trust. However, the findings did not provide clear evidence of bridging forms of social capital. Instead, the interviews were characterised by discussions of activities where the normative structures were about achieving outcomes (problem solving, overcoming fear etc) rather than association with others or communal values. When talking about their social experiences in unstructured and unsupervised time, the interviews did demonstrate norms of care – in examples of homesickness, fear of heights, social anxiety and nervous anticipation, but this was primarily related to individuals and often entailed hierarchical relationships or mutual dependency rather than inclusivity and equality. Indeed, responsibility for others often fell to friends or older children, suggesting that normative structures around responsibility were based on an understanding of a differentiated social context where existing friendships and seniority were more important than the generalised ethic of care. This has been previously identified by Beames and Attencio (2008) who call for residentials to be framed around an ethic of care (McKenzie and Blenkinsop 2006) rather than around specific trust.

The findings differ from Stoddart (2004) who suggested that the Cumbrian residential had generated both bridging and bonding forms of social capital. Perhaps the key difference here is that the residentials that she was reporting were longer in duration, included interaction with children from other schools, and encouraged peer mentoring. As the residentials in the study were groups of children from the same schools going to an isolated venue, there were limited opportunities for social mixing beyond their school groups. This reflects Beames and Attencio (2008) concerns that outdoor programmes are rarely embedded in local communities, and that outdoor residential centres can be seen as 'empty sites' for learning. Although there was some mention of other groups attending the residential at the same time, there was no discussion of meaningful interaction, and indeed this is characteristic of child protection policies for such residentials. The lack of such meaningful interaction outside of the existing social group suggests that there were limited opportunities to generate bridging social capital in the residentials.

Reimer, Lyons, Ferguson and Polanco (2008) identify four types of normative structures that guide behaviour in social relations: market, bureaucratic, associative, and communal. Within the interviews, the children identified social relations based on explicit or implicit rules within the supervised aspects of the programmes. These bureaucratic norms ranged from mealtimes routines to expectations of working in teams, and they can be seen as impersonal and formal with an implicit recognition of hierarchies. In addition, the children's responses appear based on a recognition of their shared interests, suggesting that normative structures might reflect communal relations. These were reflected in unwillingness to argue, sharing sweets, turn taking, dealing with other people's concerns. It seems less likely that the normative structures reflected market values, although there was some discussion of exchange and barter often including sweets. Similarly, there was limited discussion of shared identity by children and thus the norms are unlikely to have been based around associative relationships. This seems rather counterintuitive. The children used the word 'we' commonly, they identified themselves by the name of the school, and yet the isolated nature of the social experience meant that they did not have to define themselves to others by stating a shared identity. Thus, it seems unlikely that the norms within the group reflected their shared identity to the same degree that it reflected the shared interests to have a fun experience.

Reimer, Lyons, Ferguson and Polanco (2008) suggest that there are important interactions between these different aspects of social capital that are often overlooked by simpler frameworks, and that some forms of interactions may lead to differentiated access to social capital, but also to differentiated use of the social capital. Thus, the consequences of a predominance of bureaucratic and communal normative structures might be to create norms based on compliance to rules and on setting aside personal interest and identity in order to achieve shared goals, such as having fun and making friends. This exacerbates the concerns of Beames and Attencio (2008), suggesting that not only is the experience divorced from meaningful interactions outside of the group, but also that the behaviours of the group are likely to be centred around maximizing utility through instrumental adherence to imposed rules and shared self-interest. In conclusion, it seems likely that the social capital is likely to be largely limited to the bonding form of social capital and have limited impact of wider social values.

However, Holland, Reynolds and Weller (2007) make the case that bonding social capital is useful for children from marginalised communities. They suggest that small networks of friendships and shared experiences build support structures for children when they make the transition to secondary school, and that the existence of such friendships allows young people to take an active part in constructing their identity. Thus, Holland, Reynolds and Weller (2007) reject the suggestion that bridging social capital has benefits for social integration, proposing instead that bonding and bridging social capital are interwoven and interdependent, and that bonding social capital can provide identity, resources and support to bridge into other networks.

In summary, the findings suggest that the children and teachers believe that the children have gained value from the residential through improved friendships and attitudes to others. This appears to support the contention that the residentials generated social capital. However, the social insularity of the residential, the existence of rules and the understandable desire of young people to get the most out of the short experience may lead to group norms around compliance to rules and seeking shared interests. These norms are likely to generate intense, but exclusive networks that are characterised by specific reciprocity and can be considered as bonding social capital. Whilst such social capital may not support social inclusivity, it may be a strong source of support for groups of children when they move into unfamiliar social situations.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explore the relationship between the findings, the PSHE curriculum and the various theoretical approaches to learning within residentials, through the consideration of explanations for observed changes in specific social values and through the consideration of more holistic explanations for change in children's social values.

The discussion concludes that the residentials did not act as temporary communities or create connections to place. It concludes that there may have been social benefits derived from the enhancement and enlargement of social relationships within the group, but that these were predominantly related to informal social interactions. The findings suggest that these social interactions are likely to have positively impacted on children's social agency and their sense of belonging; that there was some impact on values of fairness, particularly with relation to social inclusivity; that the children developed trusting behaviours – suggesting a positive valuation of other people; that the children commonly exhibited empathy and care for others. However, the evidence on open-mindedness and fairness is unclear; teachers observed changes in both, but some children's responses suggested that this a temporary behaviour change related to wanting to maximize the experience rather than a change in values.

Chapter 6 - Conclusions and implications for practice

6.0 Introduction

This research sought to explore the evidence for the development of social values through formal and informal social interactions during residential outdoor learning. To this end, the research considered primary school children's experiences through interviews and focus groups with children and teachers who had recently returned from a residential. Specifically, the research considered:

1. whether structured team working during the residentials led to changes in social values,
2. whether unstructured social interactions during the residentials led to changes in social values,
3. how the residential impacted on the values identified within the PSHE curriculum.
4. in what ways, if at all, children's and teachers' accounts support existing explanations for changes in social values: the creation of temporary communities; developing an ethos of care through the establishment of a connection to place; and establishing general and specific reciprocity during social capital formation.
5. implications for primary school teachers and providers of residential outdoor learning.

The study found that the responses of both children and teachers indicated that residential outdoor learning has a noticeable impact on children's social values specifically in their social agency, their development of friendships, their trust in others and their sense of responsibility for others. To a lesser degree, the responses suggest that residential outdoor learning had some impact on open-mindedness and reinforces the social values of fairness and empathy as a means of managing conflict and collaboration. However, the study does not find strong evidence relating to the educational benefits of temporary community. Finally, there was little evidence from the interviews that social values were developed through social capital formation during the residential.

This chapter explores the implications of the research findings for outdoor practitioners and teachers (6.1). It then outlines the implications for the theoretical understanding of residential outdoor learning (6.2). Finally, this chapter identifies the limitations of the study (6.3) and suggests possible areas for future research into children's experiences of residential outdoor learning (6.4).

6.1 The implications for outdoor practitioners and teachers

This section outlines the implications of this study for good practice in the design and management of residential outdoor learning by outdoor learning professionals and teachers. A key finding of the research was that the children reported that they had enormous fun during their residentials. They felt that they had learned about themselves and others, and had created vibrant narratives about themselves, their friends and the experience. In addition, the teachers saw evidence of pro-social change in all of the residentials. Thus, the interviewees all perceived the social value of their time away as a positive outcome. This is important for practitioners and teachers. Enjoyable social interaction is a healthy and life-affirming part of childhood and thus the provision of enjoyable experiences has value, regardless of whether the children learned anything from the experience. For practitioners and teachers, this does not dilute the educational aims and should be seen as an essential element.

Secondly, the children's belief that the residential experience had value may also have been important. Much has been written about outdoor education as a modern 'rite of passage' and it is interesting that the children also perceived it as a developmental step. In part, this may reflect the timing of the residentials, ahead of the transition to secondary school, but it is also likely that the experience was a progression for many of them from overnight sleepovers. For practitioners and teachers there is always a tension between over-emphasising the importance of the residential, and not recognising sufficiently the importance that the children place on it. The study thus suggests that outdoor residential learning has a cultural value that persists within the schools after the children have left. It fulfils a need for a rite of passage – a high-water mark at the end of KS2 – that reassures the children, parents and others that they are ready for greater independence as they progress into KS3.

The third implication relates to the length and content of the residentials. In all cases these were three nights and entailed a full programme of activities. Thus, the

programmes were more akin to what Cooper (2007) terms ‘activity centres’. Beames and Brown (2013, 2016) suggest that this type of provision arises from commercial values and is characterised by ‘McDonaldisation’ and ‘Disneyfication’. However, the economic reality for the schools was that cost and value for money were of great importance. Although state-funded schools are allowed to ask for a voluntary donation to cover the cost of residentials they must ensure that there is equality of access. Consequently, most schools are under pressure from parents and governors to limit the costs, and this results in a need to demonstrate value for money. However, value for money should not be seen as more activities for the same money. Indeed, over-filling of activity programmes leads to more time spent under adult supervision and less time for unstructured social interaction. The research clearly shows that the interstices between the programme were important to children’s social interaction, and this suggests that outdoor practitioners and teachers should resist over-filling the programme and allow children the time and space to engage in unsupervised play and unstructured social interaction.

Unlike most research, this study asked children and teachers about their free time during the residential and consequently many of the incidents that were described took place in the interstices between the programmed elements. The descriptions of social interactions in these places are very different from those during activities. Children’s stories range from anarchic misdemeanours to unsolicited support for others. Although they were often told with breathless excitement, the stories showed children engaging in novel social interactions away from adult supervision. They owned their stories, and they relived the vicarious thrills of being amongst friends in a strange place. Interestingly, the social values displayed in these stories often showed appreciation of power, reciprocity and setting standards in ways that was lacking in their stories of the activities. In doing so they were engaged in reflection and analysis, as well as perhaps in constructing their own versions of the residential. However, these stories were told to a stranger and perhaps the same stories would not be told to teachers or parents / carers. Perhaps, it is worth practitioners and teachers finding safe and appropriate ways that children can reflect on their free time and draw meaning from this important aspect of the residential.

The concept of friendship emerged from the research as very important to the children. The research findings are clear, that their memories of activities and experiences were wholly intertwined with the people that they shared them with. These were manifest in stories, shared jokes and most importantly in their descriptions of new and improved

friendships. It was also clear that the residentials impacted on their existing friendships. Indeed, the findings suggest that having friends and making friends were important to the children during their time away. This reflects the findings of Gee (2015). However, this is problematic for many providers of outdoor residential experiences as one of the principal claims for learning on residential is that it derives from working in teams with people who are not in friendship groups. This is best described in the model developed by Walsh and Golin (1976) and reflects the origins of many outdoor practices in work with teenagers and young adults and the adoption of team building concepts from corporate theory in the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, there is a disconnect between the children's descriptions (around friendship) and the language of residential provision (around teamwork, problem solving and overcoming adversity). This opens the possibility that residentials might seek to support existing friendships and provide opportunities for friendship building, rather than seek to ways of encouraging cooperation with other people. Interestingly, such approaches are becoming common in therapeutic areas of outdoor practice, where practice is increasingly envisaged as building support networks. In conjunction with this, it was also clear that many activities provided limited opportunities for children to explore their social values. In some activities, children were expected to implement turn-taking, respectful listening and show broader values of fairness, but the children were not encouraged to question or discuss these behaviours. Indeed, there was little evidence that they understood the purpose of being in teams or completing team building exercises and saw these as an imposed structure that they needed to accept in order to partake in exciting activities. Thus, their descriptions of being in teams were often stilted and formal, lacking the passionate tone of their discussion of their free-time activities. In addition, their reports of working together suggest that much of it was not inclusive, associative or communal. Indeed, as many of the ways of undertaking activities have their origins in military training and are underpinned by organisational theories that derive from corporate training, it seems probable that the children's confusion is related to the lack of a clear educational rationale for the team structures required for activities. Thus, practitioners and teachers might consider whether children would benefit more from completing activities in friendship groups or might be appropriately empowered to make their own decisions about team structure.

In conclusion, the implications for outdoor practitioners and teachers are that many aspects of the residentials were over-managed, leaving little time for children to play,

and aspects of the activity programmes were based on theory (and practice theory) that had little relevance to primary school children. The findings of the study suggest that the least regulated and most social aspects of the residential were valued most highly by children alongside those activities that engaged their senses.

The research therefore recommends that outdoor practitioners and teachers should,

- plan KS2 residentials that permit children greater freedom to socialise,
- plan KS2 residentials around activities that emphasise fun, sensory experiences,
- seek to plan KS2 residential programmes that provide opportunities for gaining mastery or improvement and are not overly reliant on one-off experiences,
- seek to plan KS2 residential programmes that avoid team building and leadership activities unless these are planned in a way that allows children the freedom to explore roles and take responsibility,
- review the practice of dividing children into activity and rooming groups with people that they were unfamiliar with, as this is based on ideas about overcoming shared adversity that seem inappropriate for very short residentials, and for primary school children,
- find ways to give greater agency to children in agreeing their activity groups and rooming groups to improve the social experience during the residential through the creation of new relationships and the development of existing friendships,
- avoid framing the residential within prescriptive values education (including explicit links to school values) and find ways to recognise the emergent social values through opportunities for peer-to-peer reflection, and
- seek ways to encourage storytelling and reflection during and after the residential.

6.2 The implications for the theoretical understanding of residential outdoor learning

The theoretical explanations of residential outdoor learning (experiential learning and place-based approaches) have been described in earlier chapters, and their limitations have been outlined within this study. This was not to undermine the scholarship of generations of researchers, but to explore how well these explanations aligned with the accounts of perceived change in children's social values, and the specific context of these residentials. In doing so, it transpired that there were assumptions within both

explanations which did not fit with the particular context of these primary school residentials. In brief, these were the existence of preceding social relationships between children including close friendships, the pre-residential teaching of social skills, the isolated social context of the residential, and the pedagogic focus on team effectiveness during activities.

The most obvious difference between current interpretations and the findings of this study related to the historically dominant theory of experiential learning. This theory locates learning in the reflection, processing and application of learning from a concrete experience. However, although the children and teachers perceived the residential as apart from their normal lives, and the activities were also described in concrete terms, their descriptions of their own experiences were often intertwined with their friendships and life experiences. As such, their descriptions of experiences were rarely contextually discrete from their social milieu. In addition, for most of the children, the residential experience was a roller-coaster ride with little opportunity for planning or reflection. This meant that there was little time to apply learning within the context of the residential and very little scope for the development of mastery. Any implementation of practices to support reflective learning (either in school or during the residential) did not appear to have made an impression on the children as there was no mention of structured reviews or of opportunities to apply learning from one activity to the next. This could indicate that the children did not engage with the meaning of their actions during the residential. Without evidence of any formal approaches to processing the experiences, it is difficult to see how changes in social values might have derived from an approach that positions learning as a cognitive process emerging from reflection on experiences and the application of new understandings.

It is worth noting that previous attempts have been made to explore the social benefits of residentials using aspects of experiential learning theory. These have tended to consider the residential as a singular educational input (a discrete and planned experience) and centre on assessing the impact of the residential, rather than on understanding the residential as a programmed sequence of experiences, or as part of the ongoing process of social development of children. As the research found little evidence of the formal use of experiential learning, and little evidence of reflection it seems to contradict assumptions about the relationship between reflection and behaviour change. Thus, it seems likely that experiential learning theory has limited

applicability to understanding the development of children's social values through residentials.

By contrast, place-based approaches tend to explore the relationships that surround the residential experience. As stated in the discussion chapter, the findings did not provide evidence to support the proposal that learning was emplaced or that the pedagogic outcomes were related to the educational use of the context. However, this does not mean that such approaches are inappropriate for the consideration of social changes during residentials. It may be that the short-time period of the residentials considered, the frenetic pace of the activities, and the novelty of the experiences provided little time for children to become familiar with the context. Thus, it is possible that place-based approaches might be more appropriate for the consideration of learning within longer residential programmes, or those that were designed to allow greater engagement with the context. More pragmatically, the concept of emplacement is also difficult to explore through research. Much of the research in this area is based around the evaluation of projects that have been set up using the principals of place-responsive pedagogy and explicitly teaching *by-means-of-an-environment*. This is somewhat different to the challenge of applying place-based approaches to explain learning in more naturalistic research. Here the lack of clarity in the conceptual framework means that the research requires considerable interpretation. This perhaps relates to the origins of place-based learning as a pedagogic approach rather than as a model of learning. Thus, the research finds that there is a theoretical case for the use of approaches such as place-based learning to explore children's experiences on residential, but that the assumptions that learning is holistic makes it very difficult (and antithetical) to identify strands within the data. Consequently, research of this kind seems likely to remain limited.

Thus, the research finds that neither experiential learning nor place-based approaches provided a clear explanation for the development of social values in residentials. Consequently, the study considered whether ideas of temporary community and of social capital formation, might provide better explanations for the data. However, once again the study found that neither approach provided a systemic explanation for the changes in social values. It seems likely that this related to the underlying assumptions about human motivation within both conceptualisations. In social capital this is a rational search to maximize capital of all types, and in temporary community the negotiated process is underpinned by the need for social acceptance. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to

explore the philosophical and evidential basis for these claims, however the existence of two irreconcilable conceptualisations of the human motivation for social engagement suggests that both are only partial representations. Whilst the study did not prove that either approach adequately explained the changes in children's social attitudes and provided tentative reasons, it was not possible to exclude either of these approaches as an explanation of change. Despite the problems inherent in using these approaches, not least their conceptualisations of human motivation, it is possible that a synthesis of social capital and the ideas of temporary community might allow study of the social dynamics of residentials.

Given that the research has struggled to demonstrate the appropriateness of these theories for considering the development of social values during residentials, it must be considered that future approaches might consider values as embedded in relationships that are rational responses to a complex social environment that are made fluid by the intensity and frequency of novel and familiar social interactions that challenge existing values. As such values might be seen to develop from the intersection of intentionality and agency, but also by the need for individuals to compromise in order to gain immediate rewards of activity participation, increased belonging and social esteem.

6.3 Limitations of the study

A study of 26 children and five teachers cannot capture the diversity of experience on primary school residentials nor the many ways that children and teachers view those experiences. As such, the generalisability, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of the study are limited. However, the study is not presented as comprehensive and does not seek to establish a universal explanation for the development of social values during residentials. Instead, the findings, discussion and conclusions of the study are grounded in the lived experiences of the interviewees and the analysis and implications are carefully delimited to avoid overstating the findings. In addition, the study acknowledges that the ontology and epistemology of the researcher affects the research focus in the questions, the analysis and in the formation of recommendations. Thus, whilst efforts have been made to establish the credibility of the findings and conclusions using good practice in research methods, the work is inevitably influenced by the ontology, epistemology, research approach and competence of the researcher. Consequently, the research can be viewed as a personal exploration of the experiences of the children and teachers and acknowledges both researcher bias and

confirmation bias within the study. That said, the findings of the study, do suggest meaningful ways in which outdoor practitioners and teachers can design, implement and reflect on the residential experiences.

6.4 Possible areas for future research

Having identified limitations in the major paradigms, it seems appropriate to recommend that phenomenological research could explore the impacts of being in a temporary community, but that social capital approaches might be used to explore the relationships between social interaction and the benefits of outdoor residential learning. Indeed, the application of social capital theory allows differentiation between the impact of intense and novel interactions tending to lead to specific reciprocity and mutual dependency, and those based on less structured and more familiar, but still novel, interactions that tend to lead to increased understanding of other people and to the development of shared social values. The approach does not rely on assumptions about the place of reflective learning in residential experiences, or on the development of a connection to place. Nor does it assume that all children are equal. Rather the approach may allow researchers to explore differences between children in their access to social capital (through existing networks, norms and trust), and the how structured and unstructured interaction during the residential can change individual and shared social capital. Thus, such approaches might actively engage with the centrality of friendship within much of the data and explore how friendships change, how the values within such friendships change, and how the engagement in friendships provides benefit within the residential and afterwards. Thus, despite the lack of clear evidence in the findings, social capital would seem to provide a means of exploring many of the concepts that seemed to have value to the children: belonging, inclusivity and exclusivity of friendships, trust in others, and responsibility. Currently, there are no peer-reviewed studies of friendship in residential outdoor learning and research in this area might establish friendship as an indicator of the quality (and success) of provision.

Some methodological issues may also have implications for future research. The first relates to the child's voice and the role of storytelling. Firstly, a limitation of some research with children is that it speaks for the child and fails to recognise the child's voice. This is present in research into outdoor residential learning in the same way that it is in other fields. By seeking to explore the changes in social attitudes through interviews with children and through structured data analysis, the research shows that it

is possible to explore the social world of the child and reduce it in a meaningful way. However, the interviewing approach used questioning approaches that reflected the research aims. In doing so, the approach somewhat underestimated the importance that children placed on stories. Many of the most interesting parts of the data were the stories that the children told. These were qualitatively different to the responses to the interviewer's questions. Rather than seeking an answer, the children seemed to inhabit the stories that they told. They added narrative flourishes with fascinating details. They did not always tell the stories in sequence, choosing instead to leap around in the timeline. They would laugh midway through sentences and repeat details that caught their attention. Their stories inadvertently exposed differences between their actions and their reasoning providing insight into their perception of incidents. And, of course, the stories focussed on what they considered to be novel, funny and meaningful experiences. As such the stories can be seen as providing a child's lens into what was most important to them about their residential. Thus, the heuristic analysis of stories that children tell might be a valuable way to understand their experiences but might also ensure that the selection of aspects to analyse reflected the children's lens rather than that of the researcher. Currently, there is a limited literature on children's stories about residential outdoor learning (Shanely 2006, Ardoin et al. 2016) and UK research in this area might contribute to understanding children's perspectives on residentials, and the aspects of the experience that they value or wish to share with others. Ardoin et al. (2016) use micro-blogging during the residential as a way of analysing the accounts of experiences, whilst Shanely (2006) identifies critical incidents in children's narratives. Both of these studies provide insight into stories and further research could confirm the themes (Ardoin et al 2018) or further explore the affective aspects (Shanely 2006) of residential outdoor learning.

Finally, this study has developed recommendations for practice (6.1) and this provides opportunities for further research that explores the feasibility, implementation and impact of these recommendations. This would be a novel area of study.

Thus, it seems appropriate to explore future research into:

- Phenomenological study into the development of children's friendships within residential outdoor learning.

- Heuristic analysis of stories that children tell about their experiences within residential.
- Retrospective analysis of children's experiences of KS2 residential outdoor learning after transition to secondary school
- Exploring the feasibility, implementation and impact of this study's recommendations for outdoor practitioners and teachers, through engagement with stakeholder (action research) and through evaluation of the impact of changes for stakeholders.

6.5 Final words

Having worked in residential outdoor learning for many years it was an eye-opener to hear children discussing their social experiences, particularly those that happen away from adult supervision. The illicit pleasure that children took in eating at night, making rude jokes and generally goofing about made the interviews very enjoyable. They also reinforced preconceptions, and the ideas of Prince (2020a), that the impact of the explicit curriculum of teambuilding, trust and respect is less memorable, and perhaps less important, than the social development that arises from the unplanned, unregulated and often covert social activities that happen around the residential. However, the study raised concerns that an emphasis on activities tends to develop normative structures for social activity that stress utility rather than an ethic of care. Similarly, the study points to limitations in viewing residentials as a temporary community, as a basis for connecting young people with nature and culture, or as a significant basis for the creation of bridging social capital.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Pilot study findings

Review of Pilot study with a rural primary school:

The pilot study was conducted with a rural primary school where the roll numbers were small, and all of the children knew each other and the staff before leaving. No specific criteria for inclusion was given to the teacher in selecting children to participate, other than their participation in the residential and parent / guardian permission. The prominent themes from the children were about homesickness, the novelty of sharing a room, and the development of confidence in each other through undertaking activities that were scary or fun. The children identified themselves differently, from the sporty girl to the boy who found all girls bossy. The most memorable incidents were those that involved fear, particularly the zip wire. Team working and free time were generally recognised as important and fun, but less memorable than zip wires, raft building etc. Interestingly many of the responses that were about *self* and *others* seemed to reflect the school values. This was not surprising as the teacher indicated that the residential experience was used as an exemplar for teaching about respect for others, facing fears and working together. However, the teacher's account of the trip differed in some details from the children. The teacher's intentions in taking the group were around the development of social cohesion and developing children's sense of responsibility for sorting out their interpersonal issues. The children seemed unaware that they were being given additional freedom and that they needed to look after each other. However, they mentioned being helped with suitcase packing and the importance of walking together to the dining area which may indicate that they were unconsciously fulfilling the expectations of the teacher.

Interestingly, a crate stacking exercise, designed to develop teamwork, appeared slightly confusing to the children. Whilst they retained a lot of knowledge of the techniques and knew that it was about teamwork, they discussed taking turns to climb the crates and the importance of belaying and did not really seem to have felt a sense of control or ownership. By contrast the most impactful activity (by comments) was the zip wire and the children were keen to talk through every step of the experience and the personal feelings of fear and excitement. Discussion of *others* was often limited to turn taking and as a comparison to themselves (commonly 'more scared' or 'less scared'). This suggests that the experience was perceived as deeply personal and that they took little

responsibility for others. However, when given the opportunity to discuss the experience of screaming or of being scared in front of others, they referred to other people's laughter and support and there was no mention of mockery or embarrassment.

The accommodation sharing aspect was also interesting – both the children and teacher talked about the accommodation and the sharing of rooms. For the children this was perceived as a mixture of a sleepover and an extended opportunity for chatting – described as 'talking like grown-ups do'. By contrast, the teacher saw sharing accommodation as a way of reducing the children's dependence on adults to solve their issues and she intentionally created distance from the staff in order to allow children the opportunity to resolve their own problems, to sort themselves out and to rely on each other. This seems to have worked with regard to dealing with night-time pranks, messy living spaces and waking up.

Curiously, gender issues were largely absent from the children's responses – one child was dismissive of the opposite gender and others discuss friendship groups that are limited to their own gender, but with regard to their experiences in residential there were very few comments that showed evidence of any gender or social divisions. Indeed, children seemed more likely to identify with their year group than with their gender.

<u>Thematic responses (pupil interview):</u>

The responses are presented in line with the questioning, which focussed on:

- How was it remembered?
- What was it like being together on residential?
- What changes in social interaction occurred during the residential?
- How did any changes in social interaction occur?

Thus, the analysis of the interviews within four topics produced 14 themes concerned with the social interactions during the residential.

How it was remembered	Risk-taking/ thrill seeking	Carefree awesomeness	Embodied experiences and spatiality		
What it was like being together on residential	Temporary community	Taking personal responsibility	Difference from normal life		
Changes in social interaction during the residential	Improved social relations / interactions	Better emotional coping	Improved relationships with teachers	More interactional skills	Adapting to social norms
How the changes in social interaction occurred	Understanding values	Understanding the social system	Becoming more aware of social justice		

Thematic responses (teacher interview)

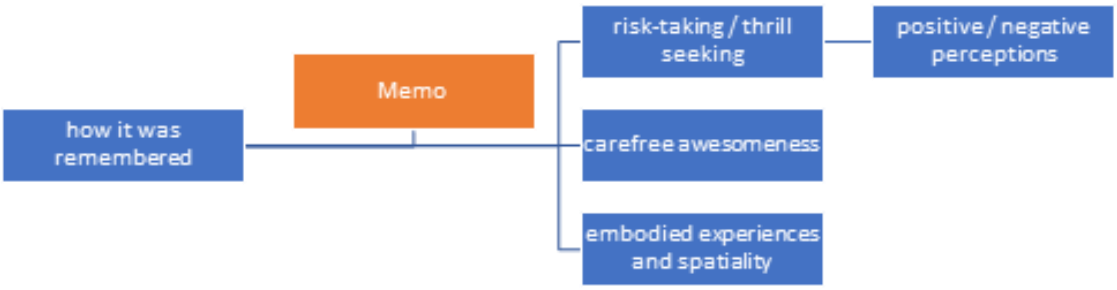
The teacher's responses were analysed and presented under four headings:

- Changes in children's social interactions during residential
- Interaction in teams for activities
- Interaction during unstructured times
- Changes since returning

As the data is clearly identifiable to the participant the codes are presented here and the data is combined with that of the other teachers within the main study.

Social context	Away from parents	Out of comfort zones	Teacher input	Routine
Social behaviours on residential	Helping others	Working together in teams	Problem solving	Resolving Social problems
Social outcomes	Social bonding			

Topic 1: How it was remembered.



The most common response concerned **risk-taking / thrill seeking** with all children recalling specific experiences (zip-lines, climbing walls, raft building) and intense emotions associated with a sense of risk and anxiety.

> *The best thing was the zipwire. I was really nervous when I went on it at first, but when I went on it, I really loved it*. (boy3)

> *[I] definitely wasn't going to fall, but it wasn't too reassuring, so they just said 'lean back' and I just screamed… basically*. (boy4)

The experiences were not all positive, with one child recalling the

> *Ermmmm – the worst bit was climbing up the tree… It was like really scary because the tree was like really tall – it was really scary, but I climbed up the tree*. (year 5 child)

In all of these examples the activity and the emotions are intertwined.

However, a second theme emerged from the data, which was much less about emotions and more about the sensory experience. These are all about the **embodied experience** and the engagement with the space. The comments are characterised by details that relate to the senses including hanging, swinging or textures of mud, water or wood.

> *Why do you like the zip wire? Because you are high and you just swung* (boy 2)

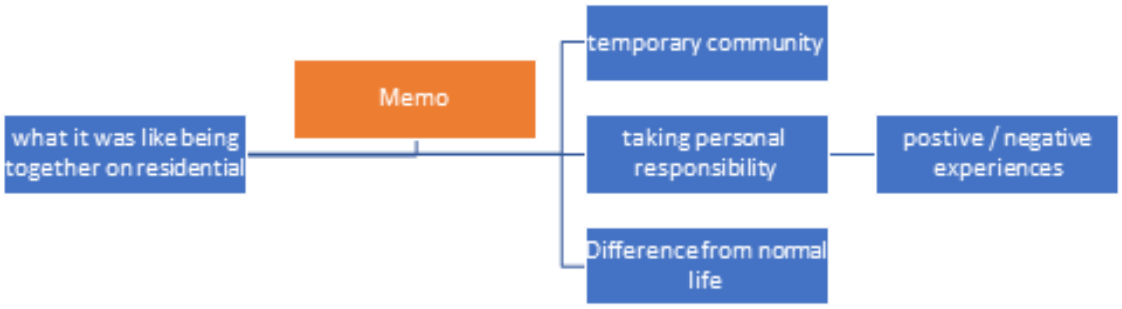
> *I was with my friends... and you had to like work together in those groups too, but there was like stacking crates and like two people, on the crates. it was like really high, but then the crates might fall and you would like hang* (girl 2)

The third theme, **carefree awesomeness,** relates to childish fun and encapsulates the unplanned, unintended and unexpected pleasures that children describe. Often the descriptions were accompanied by excitement, smiles and laughter, especially where there is an element of naughtiness to the tales.

> *It was kind of funny because in our cabin one of my friends had like bells on the bottom of his sleeping bag and he had bells – he attached it on the bottom of his sleeping bag, he was making a ringing noise, we couldn't stop laughing until the teacher told us off*. (boy3)

> *…so we stay in the same dorm and we had hot chocolate and biscuits for bedtime and I snuck sweets in under my pillow – lots of sweets!* (girl1)

Topic 2: What it was like being together on residential



All the children talked about being with other children. For some this seemed to be recalled as endless fun, but most differentiated between friends and others. Across this, three themes emerge: temporary community, taking personal responsibility and the sense that this was different from normal life.

The most common theme to emerge related to a sense of a **temporary community** within the residential, with children talking about living alongside other children. Interestingly the words used are more moderated than those used to discuss the exciting aspects, and most of the illustrations are about unsupervised experiences in the less structured times.

But then it was quite nice to sit with your friends near too… like playing with our friends and chatting about what we were going to do in the next day was great (girl2)

I liked sleeping in the cabin… Because I was with my friends (boy2)

Yeah – not all of them were my friends but I still got along with them quite well (boy4)

Taking personal responsibility was mentioned by four children and discussed in some depth by two of these. All four used terms such as 'helping' and 'trusting'. At times it was hard to decipher whether the children were talking about their responsibility for others or other children's responsibility for them as they use the pronoun 'you' indiscriminately. Despite this the responses show that helping and being helped were a memorable part of the experience, but that it was not easy.

It wasn't scary to me. But I think it was scary to other people, so I tried to help them out a bit (boy4)

Well there were three … to start with you like have to put one crate there but someone else might barge in like someone else, and someone else would say put it there and stuff, but and so they might barge into each other so you have to say "what are you going to do?" and stuff (girl2)

A fascinating glimpse of the difference made by one girl between taking responsibility for others and accepting that other children have responsibility for her.

Yeah, but there was a second belayer, and a first belayer… you have to hold this rope, and this other one has to pull the rope then you have to… if you might let go, you let go they would crash to the ground. They had to trust you…

Interviewer*: And did you have to trust them as well?*

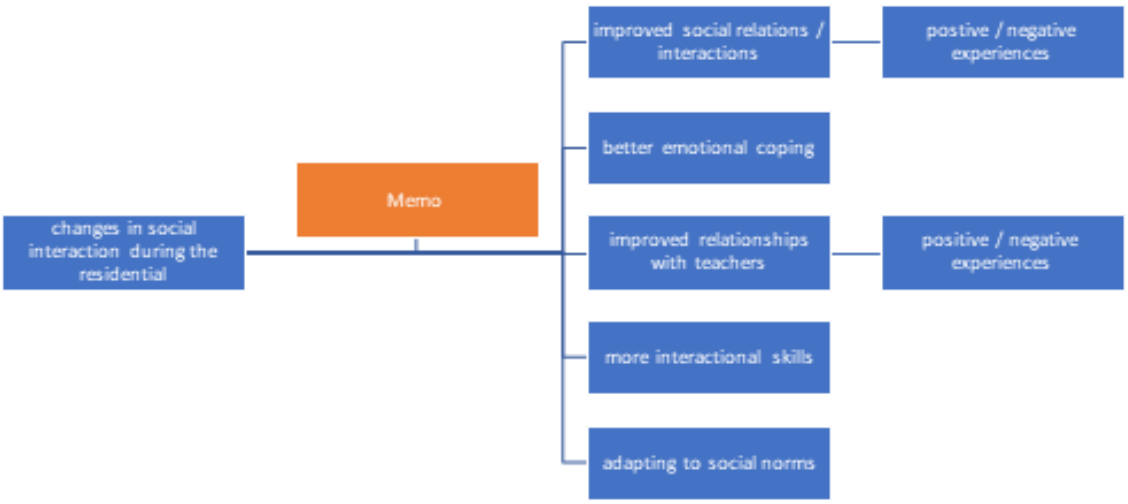
Ummmmm – not really, because they were hardly doing anything, but like they were just walking up the crates, but they had to trust us but we didn't trust them. (girl2)

Whilst being part of a temporary community and being in novel positions of responsibility were clearly memorable, there is also a theme within the responses that notes the **differences from normal life**. Here children use descriptive terms like 'weird', and verbs like 'getting used to' to indicate a sense of unfamiliarity.

It was weird because you wouldn't have thought that you would be with teachers, and like for 2 days, so it was a bit freaky (girl2)

Well I arrived – I was really amazed about the facilities, so it took a day or so to get used to and then I just knew the place inside out, because it wasn't ridiculously big, so I got to know it pretty quickly (boy4)

Topic 3: Changes in social interaction during the residential



All of the children talked about the ways that their social interactions had changed whilst on residential. Of these, one child had not enjoyed the enforced interaction with people of the opposite gender, but otherwise the children enthusiastically described intense and **novel interactions** such as chatting at night, picking up socks, carrying other people's cases, walking to meals as well as dealing with homesickness and anxiety.

Yeah – not all of them were my friends but I still got along with them quite well.

Interviewer: *Do you think that being there changed the way you work with other people?*

It did, because before I wasn't as helpful and now I am much more helpful and more reliable and more trustworthy (boy4)

Also

It's really good – all of the year 6's… we get along really well, we're a really close group, like really close. When one person has a problem the others gather around? We help them out, we cheer them on and over that (girl1)

Most children talked about **coping with their emotions**, mostly homesickness and anxiety about activities.

[Interviewer What was the worst bit of being away on a residential?]
Ummm – not seeing my mum and dad and my family and my dogs, because I am really close to my dogs. I really love them… and my laptop. (girl1)

The best thing was the zipwire. I was really nervous when I went on it at first, but when I went on it, I really loved it (boy3)

Interestingly, most children did not mention **interactions with the teachers** unless directly asked, and then answers varied widely.

[Interviewer: What was it being with teachers for 2 days?] LAUGHS – *errrrrr – annoying because they … I don't know – telling us what to do, we couldn't do anything that we wanted to do?* (boy3)

Well I guess it was quite fun because the teachers we have here are really good and they are also really friendly so it was quite fun and they didn't hassle you too much like they do in lessons and it was fun getting a bit of time off from lesson time (boy4)

It's like – you know when your mum says 'goodnight' and your dad says 'goodnight' – it was like your mum and dad, not your mum and dad… like your teacher saying 'good night' to you (girl1)

A minor theme emerged where children discussed using **unfamiliar interactional skills**. As they often lacked the words to describe these skills, they used similes or illustrations to try to explain. Thus, in the following quotations the children appear to be discussing reflection and collaborative working but lack the means to describe them.

Yes. I did. I learned much more than I usually do, because normally we just go out and get fresh air we don't normally chat like grown-ups do about what you've been doing (boy4)

Yes – (normally) I just like do what I want, what I would do, but like you had to work together when you did the rafting and the games (girl2)

Some data also appeared to show that children were **adapting to social norms** – all of the children were asked about whether they had changed to fit in with other children. The responses were mostly brief.

Interviewer: *Did (working together) take a while to get used to?*

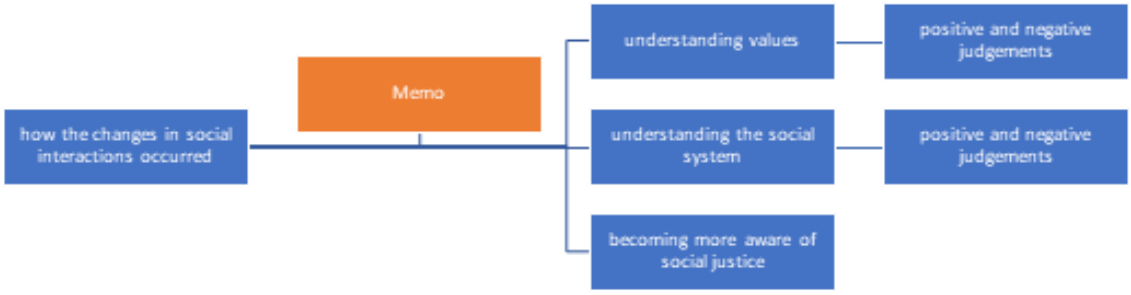
No not really (boy2)

Other responses were somewhat unclear as most children preferred to answer the question with stories about the residential. However, they do suggest that some adaptation occurred for some children, although as the two quotations illustrate this was sometimes difficult for the children.

I have and that's to respect what they think as well, you can't say 'that's wrong' and 'nah nah nah nah'. [Interviewer: So you listened to them?] *Yeah we all had to listen to everyone's ideas and some ideas might not work and others would work*… (boy4)

Well I definitely wasn't a leader because I am not good at making decisions but other people would help us out if we were scared or something so it was kind of hard because I would help out some of my friends, but it was hard to not help out anyone else, but I definitely wasn't a decision maker (boy4)

Topic 4: How the changes in social interaction occurred



The children were not asked specifically about how the changes in their social interactions occurred, but questioning sought to probe children's understanding of the incidents that they described. Although many of the incidents related to thrilling activities, the comments about changes in social interactions generally related to incidents in dormitories or in group activities. As the data was partial and complex, data analysis required considerable interpretation and initially data was identified under five codes initially which was later reduced to three.

The first theme included statements that showed the children's **understanding of the values** that underpinned their social interactions. These show an awareness that their own decisions and those of other people are informed by individual values. The awareness of other people's values allows the child to adapt their social behaviour, without necessarily understanding how the social system works or adopting the expected form of behaviour.

That quite nice of them to tell you secrets. To reassure some of us, because some of us were a bit scared of heights, luckily, I am not one of them. (boy4)

We had to walk to mealtimes together and not leave anyone behind – that was our responsibility. (boy1)

A second, theme shows individuals to be cognisant of the existence and their position within **a social system**. This social system may be characterised by friendship groups, year groups, gender or even by size, but the children show clear understanding of the role that they are expected to perform.

> *I was near the front because I was one of the smallest, so bigger people go at the back because they are really the strongest and most capable of doing the climbing over stuff easier*. (boy4)

Possibly the simplest reason presented for changes in the children's social interactions is based on their understanding of fairness. These comments were entirely related to activities and often characterised by the words 'team' and 'teamwork'. The comments do not show a refined **understanding of social justice** and are often reduced to 'taking turns', but they show a shared basis for social interactions. It is likely that these comments are influenced by the context and delivery of teamwork projects as well as the school ethos, but nonetheless children's application of principles of fairness appear to form the basis for resolving potentially conflictual social interactions.

> *It felt like we were sticking together like in teamwork – to take turns to go who was first* (girl1)

> *Well people behind me would help out and lift me over maybe, and I would help people out as well once I had already got over* (boy4)

> *So the zip wire was fun*. [Interviewer: Were you up there with other people?] *Yes, we took it in turns*. (boy3).

Conclusion

The pilot study led to minor changes in the procedures for data collection and analysis, these are identified in the main text, but it also confirmed the rationale for the study by showing that children were very aware of the social experiences and gave considerable emphasis to this in their accounts of the residential. However, children's analysis of their social experiences often appeared very limited and was further constrained by dependence on a small number of convenient terms. By contrast, the teacher's analysis of the children's social experience was detailed and nuanced, but the analysis was largely couched in terms of the developmental aims of the residential.

Appendix 2 - Methodological review of Pilot Study

Areas for improvement

	Children interviews	
1	Interviews were conducted in a public area but with some privacy as other children were in classrooms.	This seemed to work well but may have influenced the type of answers given
2	Microphone did not work and one interview came out blank –	avoid use of throat microphone - rec
3	Additional notes as a basis for data collection in extremis, was acceptable, but lacked detail and examples –	if necessary this should be written at the time
4	Importance of noting the participant number onto audio and consent forms as voices are very similar when recorded -	Add participant number – also keep record of sequence of interviewees
5	UW Under 18 consent form too complex for primary aged children. Most children do not have a signature.	Feedback to supervisors and UW ethics, but continue using until advised otherwise
6	Recording of explanation of aims and procedures of research and participant rights was important as Child's signature on form was not really evidence of understanding or of continuing assent. BUT tick list too long to cover all aspects	Standardise this. Prioritise sections and discuss with supervisor
7	Questioning – overuse of closed questions	Care when using follow on questions
8	Question on worst aspects added during interview	This was interesting, but not sure if this sits well at the end
9	Repeating / Echoing technique – overused and too often was affirmative.	Care when interviewing
	Teacher interview	
1	This worked really well, data was very useful, the attitude and level of questions seemed appropriate	No changes necessary
2	Use of a More private space worked well	If possible as aspects of the discussion would not be appropriate in front of children
3	Timing – 10 minutes produced good data and limited disruption to teacher's lunchtime	Flexible
	Arrangements for data collection	
1	School distributing consent forms worked well as they have an ongoing relationship with children and parents	Retain
2	Teacher selection of participants – request that they select children who are comfortable to talk, but with a range of different experiences based on teacher judgement	Retain this. This worked well – there was a good variety, all children were able to give consent and children presented a diversity of experiences

3	Print interview questions in colour so I don't need to look down too often	Print
	Data management	
1	Transcription of audio was slow and painful, but reviewing data whilst doing this was very useful and allowed completion of memo	Retain
2	Anonymity of texts, removal of identifiers	Standardise with [square brackets]
3	Reflective notes – after transcription and alongside research aims – this was enjoyable to write but need to be closer aligned to the research aims.	Discuss with supervisors
	Data analysis	
1	The use of existing themes is a little clunky and themes will need to be revised for use in the main study	Use themes from pilot in main study rather than those derived from the literature
2	Focus on emergent themes	
3	Hard to Reflect diversity of children's experiences	Mapping of responses to remove focus on most erudite
	Presentation of findings	
1	Presentation under themes	Themes worked well
2	Using identifiers of gender and year group	
3	Including reflective notes in the presentation	

Revised criteria for inclusion

Criterion 1 – Children must have attended the residential.

Criterion 2 – Children selected by schools to reflect teacher's assessment of their ability to participate.

Criterion 3 – Children selected by schools to reflect diversity of those attending the residential.

Criterion 4 – Parent / Guardian permission

Appendix 3 - Interview Schedule

Sample interview schedule – child / with interviewer prompts / literature links

[Tape on] I have just switched the tape on – so let's start…Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview about your residential. I will be recording our discussion and [teacher's name] will be listening to the discussion (ONLY if required by school). I am talking to children from lots of schools to try to understand more about residentials. I will be recording our conversation and using the ideas from today's discussion in my research – but what you say is confidential and your name and the name of your school will not be published. If you don't want to take part then you can withdraw – nobody will ask you why and nobody will mind and I will delete any recording and written material that I have collected from you. Please remember that you don't need to answer any questions and you can stop at any time. Two instructions: First, there are no right answers – I just want to know what you think, so please just tell me about your time on residential and your opinion. Secondly, try to talk about your own experience rather than about what other people did. OK? are you happy to start?

Q1. What was the best thing you did on the residential?

- Formal / informal Activities? Ethos? Challenge? Excitement? Instructors?
- Sense of community? Being away? Temporary community? Friendship groups

Difference from norm? Loynes 2017; Connection to environment (space/ place) Waite 2013; Connection to school (Christie et al 2014)

Q2. What was it like being in a team for activities?

- Frustrations, Nervousness, sense of isolation, new friendships, frustrations, proximity, lack of telephone?

Freedom, Flow, Fairness (Waite 2013); Adolescent social groups

Q3. What about your free time? What was it like to be with teachers and people from school?

- Differences, respect, cooperation, openness? Social judgement? Social Hierarchy?

Temporary community? (Gee 2015/ Smith et al 2010); Carefree awesomeness? (Keeling 2017); Personal responsibility? (Vernon 2014); Teacher student relationships (Gee 2012); Social relations (Hartmeyer & Mygind 2016); Affective domain (Crompton & Sellar 1981); Knowing your place (Waite 2013)

Q4. Do you think that the residential changed the way you think about being with other people?

Has it changed how you put your trust in other people?

Interactional skills (Duque 2016); Social Norms (Rutland 2005) (Nesdale et al 2009, 2011)

Has it changed the way you think about your responsibility for other people?

Social system (Sibthorpe & Jostad 2014); Social capital (Nash 1990, Mills 2008); Meanings and values (Telford 2010)

Has it changed the way you deal with other people who have different opinions?

Resilience (Ewert & Yoshino 2011); Perpetuation / social rectification (Olson et al (2011); Social exclusion? Killen et al (2009); Relationship between social group and experience (McGlothin & Killen 2005)

Thank you. I am going to switch the tape off. [tape off]

Thank you for taking part in the interview today.

Sample focus group schedule - children / with interviewer prompts / literature links

[Tape on] I have just switched the tape on – so let's start… Thank you for agreeing to take part in this group discussion about your residential. I will be recording our discussion and [teacher's name] will be listening to the discussion. I am talking to children from lots of schools to try to understand more about residentials. I will be using the ideas from today's discussion in my research – but what you say is confidential and your names and the name of your school will not be published. Please remember that you don't need to answer any questions and you can stop at any time. Two instructions: please listen to each other and try not to talk at the same time as anyone else, and try to talk about your own experience rather than about what other people did. Any questions?

Q1. You have all recently been on a residential to [name] together with your class and some of your teachers. What were the best things about the residential?

- Formal / informal Activities? Ethos? Challenge? Excitement? Instructors?
- Sense of community? Being away? Temporary community? Friendship groups

Difference from norm? Loynes 2017; Connection to environment (space/ place) Waite 2013; Connection to school (Christie et al 2014)

Q2. During the residential – you spent a lot of time working in teams and living together. How did it feel to be with your class and teachers for that amount of time?

- Frustrations, Nervousness, sense of isolation, New friendships, frustrations, proximity, lack of telephone?

Freedom, Flow, Fairness (Waite 2013); Adolescent social groups

Q3. What do you feel that you learned about living and working with other people?

- Differences, respect, cooperation, openness? Social judgement? Social Hierarchy?

Temporary community? (Gee 2015/ Smith et al 2010); Carefree awesomeness? (Keeling 2017); Personal responsibility? (Vernon 2014); Teacher student relationships (Gee 2012); Social relations (Hartmeyer & Mygind 2016); Affective domain (Crompton & Sellar 1981); Knowing your place (Waite 2013)

Q4. Did the residential changed the way you think about being with other people?

Has it changed how you put your trust in other people?

Interactional skills (Duque 2016); Social Norms (Rutland 2005) (Nesdale et al 2009, 2011)

Has it changed the way you think about your responsibility for other people?

Social system (Sibthorpe & Jostad 2014); Social capital (Nash 1990, Mills 2008); Meanings and values (Telford 2010)

Has it changed the way you deal with other people who have different opinions?

Resilience (Ewert & Yoshino 2011); Perpetuation / social rectification (Olson et al (2011); Social exclusion? Killen et al (2009); Relationship between social group and experience (McGlothin & Killen 2005)

Q5. Finally, if there is one thing that you have learned from working in teams and living together at [name] what would that be?

Impact – Williams 2013 / Christie et al 2015

Thank you. I am going to switch the tape off. [tape off]

Thank you for taking part in the discussion today.

Sample interview schedule - teacher / with interviewer prompts / literature links

[Tape on] I have just switched the tape on – so let's start…Thank you for agreeing to take part in this interview about your experience of taking a group on residential. My research is exploring how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning. I will be using the ideas from this interview in my research – but what you say is confidential and your name and the name of your school will not be published. You don't need to answer any questions and you can stop at any time. You can also withdraw from the study at any time up until submission, and your data will be removed from the study. This interview is being recorded and will then be transcribed. If you would like a copy of the transcription, then please let me know. Any excerpts or quotations that are used will have all identifying elements removed. All original data will be destroyed in line with BERA and University guidelines when the work is published. Are you happy to continue?

Q1 During the residential – did you notice any change in how the children interact with each other?

- Sense of community? Being away? Temporary community? Friendship groups
- Change over time of residential? Note timescales
- Different groups? Note for later adaptation
- Formal / informal Activities? Ethos? Challenge? Excitement? Instructors?

Difference from norm? Loynes 2017; Connection to environment (space/ place) Waite 2013; Connection to school (Christie et al 2014)

Q2. How did the children interact when they were in teams for specific activities?

- Focus on values?
- Frustrations, Nervousness, sense of isolation, New friendships, frustrations, proximity, lack of telephone?

Freedom, Flow, Fairness (Waite 2013); Adolescent social groups

Q3. How did the children interact with each other during unstructured time (meals, evening etc)?

- Differences, respect, cooperation, openness? Social judgement? Social Hierarchy?
- Ask about Values?

Temporary community? (Gee 2015/ Smith et al 2010); Carefree awesomeness? (Keeling 2017); Personal responsibility? (Vernon 2014); Teacher student relationships (Gee 2012); Social relations (Hartmeyer & Mygind 2016); Affective domain (Crompton & Sellar 1981); Knowing your place (Waite 2013)

Q4. Do you think that the residential changed the way that the children think about being with other people?

Since returning, has it changed their trust in other people?

Interactional skills (Duque 2016); Social Norms (Rutland 2005) (Nesdale et al 2009, 2011)

Has it changed the way they take responsibility for other people?

Social system (Sibthorpe & Jostad 2014); Social capital (Nash 1990, Mills 2008); Meanings and values (Telford 2010)

Has it changed the way they deal with other people who have different opinions?

Resilience (Ewert & Yoshino 2011); Perpetuation / social rectification (Olson et al (2011); Social exclusion? Killen et al (2009); Relationship between social group and experience (McGlothin & Killen 2005)

Thank you. I am going to switch the tape off. [tape off]

Thank you for taking part in the interview today.

Appendix 4 - Ethics forms

Ethics forms – Ethics committee confirmation of approval

HUMANITIES, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HASSREC)
CONFIRMATION OF APPROVAL

26 March 2018

HASSREC CODE: HCA17180044

An exploration of how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning

Dear Colin,

Thank you for your application for full review ethical approval to the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee on the 6 March 2018.

Your application has been reviewed in accordance with the University of Worcester Ethics Policy and in compliance with the Standard Operating Procedures for full ethical review.

The outcome of the review is that the Committee is now happy to grant this project ethical approval to proceed.

Your research must be undertaken as set out in the approved application for the approval to be valid. You must review your answers to the checklist on an ongoing basis and resubmit for approval where you intend to deviate from the approved research. Any major deviation from the approved application will require a new application for approval.

As part of the University Ethic Policy, the University undertakes an audit of a random sample of approved research. You may be required to complete a questionnaire about your research.

Yours sincerely

Bere

BERE MAHONEY
Deputy Chair of the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HASSREC)
Ethics@worc.ac.uk

Date:

'Gatekeeper' Ethical Consent for Data Collection (for Participants Under 18 Years)

Dear [insert name of Headteacher],

As part of my Doctoral studies at the University of Worcester, I am undertaking a Dissertation under the supervision of my Director of Studies, Professor Alison Kington. I am contacting you to request your informed consent to collect data from your school to assist me in the completion of my research project.

My research project looks at how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning. The current literature considers impacts such as curriculum-related learning, personal development and resilience but there are currently no studies that look at how young people's attitudes to society, and their understanding of the relationship(s) between themselves and broader social groups, are influenced by the context and nature of their experiences in residential outdoor learning. I hope that my study will help to better understand children's experiences and inform future practice for teachers and also for providers of residential outdoor learning.

As part of this study, I am interviewing children and staff who have recently returned from residential outdoor learning in a range of primary schools across the West Midlands. The interviews should last for 10 minutes, and the group discussion (with 4-6 children) for about 25 minutes. Interviews and group discussions will be recorded. The findings of the study will be anonymised, and no school, teacher, child or residential provider will be identifiable in any outputs. The study is conducted in accordance with the recommendations of the British Educational Research Association and has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Worcester.

I have attached copies of the 'Informed Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet' which will be distributed to all participants in the study in order to provide you with clear information on the aims, procedures, potential risks, safety measures and benefits of the research study.

I have also attached a copy of a 'Parental/Guardian Ethical Consent Form' which will be distributed to all parents/guardians of participants in the project who are under the age of 18 years, as appropriate. However, if your organisation already has 'blanket' parental consent which permits you to grant permission on behalf of parents for participation in research projects, then I would invite you to indicate this in the appropriate section overleaf. If you are able to provide 'blanket consent', then I will not

distribute the parental/guardian consent forms unless you expressly wish for me to do so.

I hope that this information will provide you with sufficient information on the nature of the proposed research project before you decide whether you will be able to provide formal permission to collect data from your organisation.

The form at the end of the letter asks for your consent to collect data at your organisation. It also indicates how the material will be used. Participation in this study is completely voluntary.

If you decide that you wish/do not wish for individuals at your organisation to participate in this project, then please indicate appropriately at the bottom of the form and return it to me.

Should you require further information please do not hesitate to contact me, Colin Wood, as the researcher by e-mail c.wood@worc.ac.uk. Or alternatively you can contact Professor Alison Kington, Director of Studies, at a.kington@worc.ac.uk .

Regardless of your decision, I thank you for your time.

Yours faithfully,

Colin Wood
MSc, SFHEA, PGCE, BA (Hons)

Doctoral student and Course Leader in Outdoor Education
University of Worcester

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (child)

Project title: An exploration of how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning

Hello. My name is Colin Wood and I am doing research into your experiences during the residential outdoor education and whether that changes the way you feel about other people.

I would like you to take part in short interview and/or a group discussion about your outdoor education residential. Your parent or carer has given permission for you to take part but this is completely voluntary. If you wish to take part, then please sign this form and return it to your teacher. If you do not want to take part, then give the form back to your teacher. Thank you.

What will you be asked to do?

If you agree to take part, you will take part in an interview for 10 minutes and/or in a group discussion with 4-6 children for about 25 minutes. I will ask you some questions and listen to your answers. It will be recorded.

Where will it take place?

The interview and/or group discussion will take place at your school.

How will you feel?

You might feel uncomfortable talking about your experiences on the residential. If this happens then you can stay quiet, or you can tell me and we will stop the session.

Will I get anything from doing this?

No, you will help me understand more about residentials.

Can I withdraw from this study?

You can stop taking part at any time. Nobody will mind, and you do not have to give any reason for stopping. If you choose to withdraw, then I will delete any recordings and materials from you.

What information will be collected, and how will it be used?

I will ask you about working in a group on the residential, and how the group worked. I will also ask you about your views about society. You will be able to hear each other's' answers and you can discuss and share your ideas. The questions are not set in advance. If you feel uncomfortable about any questions, remember that you do not have to answer them, and that you can stop taking part at any time. I will record the discussion and some of it may be published, but I will not publish your name or the name of your school. The recording will not be kept after the project is finished, but the written notes (transcript) will be kept for other research, but all names will be taken out.

Thank you.

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET AND PRIVACY NOTICE

TITLE OF PROJECT: An exploration of how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning

Invitation

The University of Worcester engages in a wide range of research which seeks to provide greater understanding of the world around us, to contribute to improved human health and well-being and to provide answers to social, economic and environmental problems.

We would like to invite you to take part in one of our research projects. Before you decide whether to take part, it is important that you understand why the research is being done, what it will involve for you, what information we will ask from you, and what we will do with that information.

We will in the course of this project be collecting personal information. Under General Data Protection Regulation 2016, we are required to provide a justification (what is called a "legal basis") in order to collect such information. The legal basis for this project is "**task carried out in the public interest**".

You can find out more about our approach to dealing with your personal information at https://www.worcester.ac.uk/informationassurance/visitor-privacy-notice.html.

Please take time to read this document carefully. Feel free to ask the researcher any questions you may have and to talk to others about it if you wish. You will have at least 7 days to decide if you want to take part.

What is the purpose of the research?

This study aims to find out about your experiences during the residential outdoor learning and whether that changes the way you feel about other people.

Who is undertaking the research?

Colin Wood, Senior Lecturer in Outdoor Education and Doctoral student
c.wood@worc.ac.uk

Who has oversight of the research?

The research has been approved by the Research Ethics Panel for the College of Business, Psychology and Sport in line with the University's Research Ethics Policy. The University of Worcester acts as the "Data Controller" for personal data collected through its research projects & is subject to the General Data Protection Regulation 2016. We are registered with the Information Commissioner's Office and our Data Protection Officer is Helen Johnstone (infoassurance@worc.ac.uk). For more on our approach to Information Assurance and Security visit: https://www.worcester.ac.uk/informationassurance/index.html.

Why have I been invited to take part?

You have received this invitation because you have been on an outdoor residential. We are hoping to recruit 20 participants from several schools for this study.

Do I have to take part?

No. It is up to you to decide whether or not you want to take part in this study. Please take your time to decide; we will wait for at least 7 days before asking for your decision. You can decide not to take part or to withdraw from the study until 14 days after the interview. If you wish to have your data withdrawn please contact the researcher with your participant number and your data will then not be used. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What will happen if I agree to take part?

If you agree to take part, you will:

- Take part in an interview for 10 minutes
- I will ask you some questions and listen to your answers.
- I will be recording the discussion on a digital recorder

What are the benefits for me in taking part?

There are no benefits to you in taking part.

Are there any risks for me if I take part?

- There should not be ant risks associated with your participation

What will you do with my information?

Your personal data / information will be treated confidentially at all times; that is, it will not be shared with anyone outside the research team or any third parties specified in the consent form unless it has been fully anonymised. The exception to this is where you tell us something that indicates that you or someone else is at risk of harm. In this instance, we may need to share this information with a relevant authority; however, we would inform you of this before doing so.

During the project, all data / information will be kept securely in line with the University's Policy for the Effective Management of Research Data and its Information Security Policy.

We will process your personal information for a range of purposes associated with the project primary of which are:

- To use your information along with information gathered from other participants in the research project to seek new knowledge and understanding that can be derived from the information we have gathered.
- To summarise this information in written form for the purposes of dissemination (through research reports, a thesis / dissertation, conference papers, journal articles or other publications). Any information disseminated / published will be at a summary level and will be fully anonymised and there will be no way of identifying your individual personal information within the published results.
- To use the summary and conclusions arising from the research project for teaching and further research purposes. Any information used in this way will be at a summary level and will be fully anonymised. There will be no way of identifying your individual personal information from the summary information used in this way.

If you wish to receive a summary of the research findings or to be given access to any of the publications arising from the research, please contact the researcher.

How long will you keep my data for?

Your personal data will be retained until the project (including the dissemination period) has been completed

At the completion of the project, we will retain your data only in anonymised form. This anonymised data will be archived and shared in line with our Policy for the Effective Management of Research Data

How can I find out what information you hold about me?

You have certain rights in respect of the personal information the University holds about you. For more information about Individual Rights under GDPR and how you exercise them please visit: https://www.worcester.ac.uk/informationassurance/requests-for-personal-data.html.

What happens next?

Please keep this information sheet. If you do decide to take part, please either contact the researcher using the details below.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

If you decide you want to take part in our project, and we hope you do, or if you have any further questions then please contact: Colin Wood at c.wood@worc.ac.uk

If you have any concerns about the project at this point or at any later date you may contact the researcher (contact as above) or you may contact the Supervisor / Principal Investigator / Project Lead: Professor Alison Kington a.kington@worc.ac.uk

If you would like to speak to an independent person who is not a member of the research team, please contact Karen Dobson at the University of Worcester, using the following details:

Karen Dobson

Secretary to Research Ethics Panel for College of Business, Psychology and Sport
University of Worcester
Henwick Grove

Date:

Participant Ethical Consent for Data Collection – Participants Under 18 Years

Dear Participant,

As part of my Doctoral studies at the University of Worcester, I have to complete a research project under the supervision of Professor Alison Kington. I am contacting you to ask if you would be happy to take part in my project and to help me complete my research project.

I have attached a copy of an 'Informed Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet'. This document explains:

1) why I am carrying out this research project
2) what you will be asked to do as part of the study
3) any risks and safety measures used to keep you safe during the study
4) how the research will help me, yourself and others interested in this topic

This information sheet should provide you with all the answers to questions you may have before deciding whether you would like to help me by taking part in my project. However, if not, then you will have the opportunity to ask me any other questions or worries you may have before you agree to help me by participating in the study.

At the end of this form, there is a sheet which asks you to fill out your details to say that you are happy to take part in the study. However, you should remember that you can change your mind at any time, and you can stop taking part in the study at any time without explaining why. Your participation in this project is completely voluntary.

If you have any questions then please ask your parents to contact me, Colin Wood, at any by e-mail (c.wood@worc.ac.uk), or Professor Alison Kington, Director of Studies, at a.kington@worc.ac.uk.

I thank you for your time.

Yours faithfully,

Colin Wood
Doctoral student and Course Leader for MA in Outdoor Education
University of Worcester

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of Project An exploration of how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning

Participant identification number for this study:

Name of Researcher Colin Wood, Senior Lecturer in Outdoor Education, University of Worcester

I, the undersigned, confirm that (**please initial boxes as appropriate**):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated 30th April 2019 or it has been read to me.	
2.	I have been able to ask questions about the project and my participation and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.	
3.	I understand that taking part in this study involves taking part in a short interview or a group discussion. The interview will be about 15 minutes long. I will be asked questions about my experiences, thoughts and feelings about the residential outdoor learning experience.	
4.	I understand that talking about some topic may be uncomfortable	
5.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	
6.	I understand that the information I provide will be used for: a Doctoral thesis, academic articles and conference presentations	
7.	I agree that my information can be used in the research	
8.	I understand that my real name will not be used for quotes	
9.	I understand that you will not use my real name or the name of my school in the research	
10	I understand that any personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name, or where I live, will not be shared beyond the study team.	
11.	I consent to the audio recording of the interview	
12.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	
13.	I give permission for a written copy of my interview (with all the names taken out) to be kept in University of Worcester data storage so that it can be used for future research and learning, and understand that access to this data in future will not be given for commercial use.	
14.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	
15.	I know who to contact if I have any concerns about this research	

Date:

Parental/Guardian Ethical Consent for Data Collection

Dear Parent/Guardian

As part of my Doctoral studies at the University of Worcester, I am undertaking an independent research project under the supervision of my Director of Studies, Professor Alison Kington. I am contacting you to request your informed consent for the participation of your child to assist me in the completion of my research project.

My research project looks at how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning. I hope that my study will help to better understand children's experiences and inform future practice for teachers and for providers of residential outdoor learning. As part of this study, I am interviewing children and school staff who have recently returned from residential outdoor learning in a range of primary schools across the West Midlands. The interviews with children should last for 10 minutes, and the group discussion (with 4-6 children) for about 25 minutes. Interviews and group discussions will be recorded. The findings of the study will be anonymised, and no school, child, teacher or residential provider will be identifiable in any outputs. The study is conducted in accordance with the recommendations of the British Educational Research Association and has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Worcester.

I have attached copies of the 'Informed Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet' in order to provide you with clear information on the aims, procedures, potential risks, safety measures and benefits of the research study.

I hope that this information will provide you with sufficient information on the nature of the proposed research project before you decide whether you will be able to provide formal permission for your son/daughter's participation.

The form at the end of the letter asks for your consent for your son/daughter's participation. It also indicates how the material will be used. Participation in this study is completely voluntary, and your son/daughter will also be asked for their own consent separately by completing the attached 'Informed Consent Form and Participant Information Sheet'.

If you decide that you wish/do not wish for your son/daughter to participate in this project, then please indicate appropriately at the bottom of the form and return it to the school for the attention of …. This means that the school will be aware that you and your son/daughter has consented for your son/daughter to participate in this study.

Should you require further information please do not hesitate to contact me, Colin Wood, as the Researcher via e-mail c.wood@worc.ac.uk , or Professor Alison Kington, Director of Studies, at a.kington@worc.ac.uk .

Regardless of your decision, I thank you for your time.

Yours faithfully,

Child's Name		Signature		Date
Name of Researcher		Signature		Date

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of Project	An exploration of how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning
Name of Researcher	Colin Wood, Senior Lecturer in Outdoor Education, University of Worcester

I, the undersigned, confirm that (**please initial boxes as appropriate**):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated 30th April 2019 or it has been read to me.	
2.	I have been able to ask questions about the project and my child's participation and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.	
3.	I understand that taking part in this study involves taking part in a short interview or a group discussion, and that my child will be asked questions about her/his experiences, thoughts and feelings about the residential outdoor learning experience.	
4.	I understand that talking about some topics may be uncomfortable	
5.	I understand my child can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will she/he be questioned on why she/he has withdrawn.	
6.	I understand that the information provided will be used for: a Doctoral thesis, academic articles and conference presentations	
7.	I agree that my child's information can be used in the research	
8.	I understand that my child's name will not be used for quotes	
9.	I understand that you will not use my child's name or the name of my child's school in the research	
10	I understand that any personal information collected about my child that could identify her/him, such as name or address, will not be shared beyond the study team.	
11.	I consent to the audio recording of the interview with my child	
12.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	
13.	I give permission for a written copy of the interview with my child (with all the names taken out) to be kept in University of Worcester data storage so that it can be used for future research and learning, and understand that access to this data in future will not be given for commercial use.	
14.	I voluntarily agree to my child's participation in the project.	
15.	I know who to contact if I have any concerns about this research	

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (NON-NHS RESEARCH)

Title of Project An exploration of how primary school children's social values are influenced by their experiences during residential outdoor learning

Participant identification number for this study:

Name of Researcher Colin Wood, Senior Lecturer in Outdoor Education, University of Worcester

I, the undersigned, confirm that (**please initial boxes as appropriate**):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated 30th April 2019 or it has been read to me.	
2.	I have been able to ask questions about the project and my participation and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.	
3.	I understand that taking part in this study involves you taking part in a short interview. The interview will be about 15 minutes long. You will be asked questions about your experiences, your thoughts and feelings about how the children worked in groups and lived with other people during the outdoor learning experience. The Interview will be recorded and transcribed.	
4.	I understand that talking about some topic may be uncomfortable	
5.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	
6.	I understand that the information I provide will be used for: Doctoral thesis, academic articles and conference presentations	
7.	I agree that my information can be quoted in research outputs	
8.	I understand that my real name will not be used for quotes	
9.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	
10	I understand that personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as my name, or where I live, will not be shared beyond the study team.	
11.	I consent to the audio recording of the interview	
12.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	
13.	I give permission for de-identified (anonymised) transcripts of the interview that I provide to be deposited in University of Worcester data storage so that it can be used for future research and learning and understand that access to this data in future will not be given for commercial use.	
14.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	

Child's Name				
Name of Parent / Guardian		Signature of Parent/Guardian		Date
Name of researcher		Signature of researcher		Date

15.	I know who to contact if I have any concerns about this research	

Name of Participant		Signature		Date
Name of Researcher		Signature		Date

Appendix 5 - Data

Example of Interview transcript - child

School 001		interview 3	Girl yr 5

This year 5 child sees the residential as an opportunity for fun and friendship. The activities that she describes are individual, low skill thrills and she enjoys the sense of motion and of being high up. When asked about the social aspects of the residential these are clearly secondary to having fun, and she is largely unaware of social issues. Interestingly, her group decides on a conflict-avoidance approach to decision making by using rock/paper/scissors. This is a limited approach to social situations – leaving decisions to chance. She is however aware of the teachers but characterises them as not being bossy or distracting the children from playing with friends. There are several mentions of homesickness and how this is exacerbated by the quiet of the night and the lack of fun and talking.

31 I quite liked it because you are with your friends so then if you missed your family or something then it takes your mind off it and you can just play with your friends

37 That was good because I made quite a lot of new friends there and now I play with some other friends as well and we all play together

39n Ummm – well being on residential is nice because you get out of school for a bit and you can play with your friends and stuff

41 It was alright because they didn't boss you around too much, it was a bit different because you haven't really met them before. But it was ok, because sort of the children were one side of the table and the teachers the other, so they didn't distract us too much

45 Yes, because if you are upset or something you can go and tell them because you trust them now

47 Yes, because you spend quite a lot of time with them so you know them a bit better now, so you can trust them a bit more than you did before

51 Um well the people that we didn't really like, we talked to them and that and now back at school we like them a bit more than we did before

63 Probably at night because everything was quiet and you are not having a fun time then because you are not talking to people, so some people remember they are not with their families

1		Information and informed Consent	
2		Which residential did you go on?	
3		In first school I went to … and recently I went to	
4		[Centre] was quite recent was it	
5		Yes	
6		What was the best thing you did when you were there	
7		I think the best things was the zip wire	Zip wire
8		Zip wire – why was that?	
9	Risk taking / thrill seeking	I think because you are strapped on really safely and then when you go really fast it is really fun	This is a statement that shows the predominance of fun, particularly excitement.

			This is an individual activity and she uses the word I to explore the experience
10		And were you on it with all your friends	
11		Yes	
12		What was it like being with them doing these activities	
13	Risk taking / thrill seeking	It was really fun, because if you like felt scared they say you don't have to go on it if you don't want to	Shift into you? This is an odd response and presumably the 'you' here relates to peers – so some recognition of the emotions of others
114		Did you or anyone else get frightened	
15		Yeah quite a lot of people did	Again recognition of the emotions of others
16		What happened when one person gets scared	
17		Well the instructor says you don't have to go on it, but it would be better if you do and that it is your decision	Ah – the response shows that the responsibility sits with the adult, and that the social responsibility for each other is secondary to personal choice
18		What other activities did you really enjoy	
19	Risk taking / thrill seeking	The king swing	
20		What's that?	
21	Risk taking / thrill seeking	Its basically when you are half way up a tree and there's loads of ropes attached together so you are safe and then this harness and you sit on this seat and then you go really high like you swing off the tree	Here the you – seems to relate to self. Again this is an individual activity and involves thrills with little skill involved
22		And are you on your own? Where's the rest of the group at the time	
23	Making meaning and understanding values -NO	They were down at the bottom of the tree watching so they don't get hit	Passive – no recognition of their role in support, Very pragmatic response – it is hard to appreciate that these are friends
24		You are taking turns/	
25		Yes	She is aware of the social structure
26		In some of the other activities you had quite big groups. In big groups I am guessing that there are quite a lot of people who want do different things or want to go first… how did those things work out?	
27	More Interactional skills - NOT	Erm we all decided together if you wanted to go first or not and if there were 2 o r 3 people who wanted to go first then we did rock paper scissors	This is an interesting solution to conflict – the group have taken judgements away from decision making and are trusting to chance. This

			may not relate to the individual
28		Ok – did that mean it was nice and fair?	
29	More Interactional skills - NOT	Yes… they were all happy with it	Clearly for this group there was a prioritisation of conflict avoidance over structured decision making
30		In your residential – you had quite a bit of free time in the evenings and mealtimes, what was it like being away from school, away from home and with you friends?	
31	Better Emotional coping	I quite liked it because you are with your friends so then if you missed your family or something then it takes your mind off it and you can just play with your friends	Enjoying the difference, the freedom and the community and relates this to homesickness – clearly this was an underlying concern
32		So were you in the same dorm with your friendship groups	
33		Yes we had like this list before we went and we decided who we wanted to be with and then they put all the people together so you definitely were in a room with at least one or two friends	
34		And did you talk to people that you wouldn't normally talk to	
35		Yea	
36		And what was that like	
37	Improved social relations / interactions	That was good because I made quite a lot of new friends there and now I play with some other friends as well and we all play together	The focus here is on play, and who she plays with
38		So you made new friends coming back. Is it really different being on residential to being in school?	
39	Carefree awesomeness Improved social relations / interactions	Ummm – well being on residential is nice because you get out of school for a bit and you can play with your friends and stuff	Again – the residential is seen as play with friends. This is a nice conceptualisation
40		Cool – what about the teachers, you wouldn't normally spend that long with teachers at	
41	Improved relationships with teachers - NOT	It was alright because they didn't boss you around too much, it was a bit different because you haven't really met them before. But it was ok, because sort of the children were one side of the table and the teachers the other, so they didn't distract us too much	This is a really interesting quotation that recognises the different facet of the teachers, but ultimately sees then as distractions from playing with friends
42		Did you get to know the teachers, when you came back did you think you knew them differently	
43	Improved relationships with teachers - NOT	Yes I think I knew them better than I did before	Some idea that the knowledge of teachers is

			improved, but the relationship is largely unchanged
44		And does that make a difference when you are back at school?	
45	Improved relationships with teachers	Yes, because if you are upset or something you can go and tell them because you trust them now	This is still a fairly limited construction of the relationship.
46		So coming back from the residential, do you think that being in those groups and being in those dormitories and having to look after each other? Do you think that has changed anything about the way you trust other people?	
47	Improved social relations / interactions	Yes, because you spend quite a lot of time with them so you know them a bit better now, so you can trust them a bit more than you did before	Again – trust is seen as developing through time spent together
48		Because you understand them better or because you just know them better?	
49	Improved social relations / interactions	Um because – well both really – you talk to them a lot and you have been with them quite a lot of times	This is fascinating, trust is seen as developing through the sharing of conversations, but also has an element of temporality to it, repeated conversations / experiences
50		What about the people that you might not have got on with when you were there	
51	Improved social relations / interactions	Um well the people that we didn't really like, we talked to them and that and now back at school we like them a bit more than we did before	'We' – impersonal term? Groupthink? shared blame? Some suggestion of changes in friendship groups – expansion
52		And you must have been one of the older children on the residential – did you have to take responsibility for some of the younger ones	
53		Yes we all looked after each other really	Rejection of the suggestion of personal responsibility for a more generalised reciprocity
54		So if someone was feeling homesick what would you do?	
55	Improved social relations / interactions Better Emotional coping	We would all tell them it would be alright and they will have a fun time here as well, and that when you get back you will be fine again	Again 'We' Comforting and helping homesick children
56		And when you got back to school, did any of that experience of sorting our peoples problems for them, have you used that in school?	

57	Improved social relations / interactions	Yes when people are upset, me and my friends always go over and help them	Personal pronoun change again -
58		And what about those people who are very different to yourself, who are outside of your friendship groups, that may be quite different – has anything changed in the way you work with them	
59	Improved social relations / interactions Developing social capital	I think I talk to them way more than I used to because I didn't know them much then	
60		It broke some barriers	
61		Yes	
62		What was the worst bit of being on residential	
63	Improved social relations / interactions Better Emotional coping	Probably at night because everything was quiet and you are not having a fun time then because you are not talking to people, so some people remember they are not with their families	So the worst aspect is when the fun and the chatter stops – clearly she is referring to her own struggle with homesickness and the unfamiliar quietness -
64		So the nighttime was strange – not being in your own bed. And by the end of the week were they still having	
65	Better Emotional coping	yea Some of them were, but the number got lower and lower	Some change over the week
		Thank you for answering my questions	

Example of Interview transcript – teacher

This teacher has been engaged with residentials over a long period, and sees them as a very valuable experience. His emphasis is on the differentness of the experience and how children adapt to the patterns and routines of the residential. However, in his decisions on grouping the children, it is clear that he sees children's social mixing as equally important aspect. Fascinating discussion on low attaining children that looks at the self-fulfilling prophecy of children in school who believe that teachers don't like them and seeing the residential as a clean slate with instructors who treat everyone equally a they are only with them for a few days.
Interesting discussion at the end about the link between vulnerability, openness and the development of teacher –child relationships

1	Thank you for taking part etc [consent]		
2	yeah		
3	So tell me, have you have taken groups away to residential outdoor learning before?		
4	Yes		
5	Whereabouts did you take them to		

6	It started in my training year where I took them to a [large outdoor centre] in [midlands], I also went to the year 5 [outdoor residential centre] residential, just down the road, and more recently we have moved the year 7 residential to [outdoor activity centre] in North Wales, so I have started to take on a lead role I guess	Nice indication of progression, which is probably similar to most other teachers in the sample	
7	So, when kids are going away – can you tell me a bit about what you see of the children when they are there, and their progression		
8	I think you see a vast significance sides to them, two different sides to them on the residential trip itself rather than the classroom itself. they seem much more confident towards the end of the week than they were at the start and particularly those that I would argue are towards the bottom end of the attainment spectrum,	This is an interesting mixture. At first it reads as a way of seeing another side, but then segues into a change in a personal attribute. The comment about most impact for those that are most marginalised in education, is again reflective of other teachers	
9	How would you see that in reality?		
10	I guess you would see it in the general; character they are much more bubbly they're willing to give things a go they are quite ambitious they are keen practice, so when we have taken groups to [outdoor activity centre] before at the start of the week they are quite timid they are scared of the ropes they are scared of the clips and towards the end of the week they are whacking everything here, there and everywhere really, just going yeah I can do that, that's great and they adapt to the people that they are with, so what I try and do personally is try and put them into groups whereby they are less comfortable with the people they might be with, so I will pair them up with a friend and so you will be with that friend for the whole week, but the rest of it you will be mixed and you will have to learn to be with other people and develop those character skills that we are looking for and I think towards the end of the week there is certainly much more confident in talking to different people in being aware of different peoples limitations and their strengths and weaknesses so…	The progress is nicely explained	
11	So, the activity groups that you put them into where they are mixed with other people – are those the same groups that they share dormitories with or is that a different process		
12	No, so what I try to do is to pair them up , say person a with person b, but there area with person b for everything, so they stay in the dormitory, they are in the activity group and at [outdoor activity centre] for example they have dinner	Clear emphasis on social mixing	

	groups as well 0- so sit with them at the dinner table, and apart from that I try and mix everything up, after that so pair a might be with up to pair 5 in a group, and after that we'll have pair 1 and I would pair 6 78 9 in a dormitory and for dinner they are with pair 11, 12, 13, 14 to try and get an eclectic mix of everything, and everyone so they get a broad spectrum of people that they have been with,		
13	So, the activities are often quite controlled and there are people there, it's a structured process to team working there… that free time, that dormitory time, that meal time is much less structured, do you see a progression from beginning to end of the week in that?		
14	I would say so, yeah, when the children are more used to the routine at the centre. At [outdoor activity centre] they structure dinner quite a lot actually. the meal times, they have designated roles, for each table they have a server, they have people to clean the plates up, or stack the plates till…, and then they have chores following that period so table 1 you are going to wash the dishes, table 2 you are going to sweep the floors, and so on. But at other residentials that I have been on or been a part of, where they are less structured, you do see a change at the start they become quite high I guess on the Monday, the first day, and it takes them a while to settle in such that they are into a routine, erm	Routine becomes a bit of a theme – possible link to boot camp approaches? Or temporary community	
15	Then do you see, things like helping out ...		
16	Yeah absolutely yeah		
17	And a sense of responsibility building?		
18	Yeah, I would say so, so particularly I guess at [outdoor activity centre] because they do push that element of personal responsibility, but at a lot of the centres I have been to its is a case of well…… you must take your plate when you have finished and you must do that of your own accord and here is the cloth if you spill anything on your table, here is the salt and pepper, we are not going to do it for you. This is where the cutlery lives etc etc so, that element of responsibility and I think once they get used to that element of structure and what the centre is asking for	Link made between routine and personal responsibility	
19	You mentioned that some of those you see most change in are those who come from more difficult backgrounds, without naming names, could you just talk a little bit about the process or what you observe there as the changes	Useless question	
20	Well I think I mentioned that the lowest attaining children benefit the most because these type of activities re less academic there is less of an academic structure to it, I think they excel in those	This is a fascinating section – the residential acts as a leveller and a clean slate which benefits those who have	

	roles slightly differently, I think that there is less pressure on them to succeed then if they were in a classroom they've got this negative perception of their own self-worth and self-belief is quite low, because they might have that drummed into them, but at a centre I think the instructors don't know that child from the next and its about giving them that fresh opportunity, about giving them opportunity to excel I guess, so I see that even their relationships with the instructors are often vastly different to their relationships with their teachers, because they do have, sometimes, they have a negative perception of what the teachers think of them, whether that is true or not, whereas the instructors just go well we've got a week together lets try and enjoy it as much as we can really so	negative self worth or feel that the teachers have a negative perception of them. The distance, the instructors, and the timescale all mean that they can grow Interesting as well that the distance from academic learning is seen as important	
21	Final question, relationships with teachers -when you bring the kids back, do you feel there is a difference A in their behaviour and B in the way they understand being around teachers?		
22	That's a difficult one, ermmm		
23	That's why I saved it for last…		
24	Pause – I would say there is a difference, I would think that the way I operate in a classroom is different to the way I operate on a residential, me personally, so I would think in a classroom I am quite rigid I follow a process that process, I am quite anal about the process, so yeah, whereas on residential I think it is a bit more relaxed, and you get that opportunity to build that rapport in a different way. I wouldn't change that structure because I think building that rapport through sort of an element of strictness can often bring out the element of warmth a little bit better, whereas the other way I don't think it quite works, erm but the children see you having a laugh, having a joke, sort of being around your peers in a different environment, whereas what they see in a classroom is – we have got this to do today, this is our objective of today,. Whereas the objectives for a residential are a bit looser, so as a result they do take a bit more time to accumulate and you sort of build your evidence towards that elements of , are they a better team player than what they were at the start often week and you accumulate… whereas in a room I have got an hour and they've got to learn fractions today for instance… so I definitely see a change I notice that the children feel they can maybe open up to you a little bit more, because they've left that comfort zone, whether on the side of a cliff – this is awful and they are feeling quite scared and I am quite scared for their own welfare and because they've maybe		

	been seen in a sort of vulnerable sort of position , and I've seen them in that position, that they might – maybe – feel that they can open up a bit more, because I have seen them in their vulnerable state and everything was ok and I said really well done, at the end that I was quite difficult or maybe I say, they ask me this quite often, I was quite scared up that cliff as well, so they see me in a vulnerable position as well and that they are toing and froing…		
25	So you are stepping out of role gives you an opportunity to develop relationships …		
26	I would say so,		
27	Interesting – you need to get back to your class – anything that you want to add		
	No		
	Thanks [END]		

Example of Reflective memo on children

School 001:

Boy: This year 5 boy sees himself as 'argumentative' and 'shouty' and clearly feels that he is fairly dominant, particularly in small groups. He is competitive and task focussed in his responses, but recognises the complexity of decision making in large groups compared to smaller groups. However his conceptualisation of working with others and of taking responsibility is generally expressed as him 'telling' others what to do. He recognises early in the interview that he is often in a leadership role, but is unable to articulate the relationship between leaders and others, instead returning to the idea of telling in order to make sure the group arrives at the right decision. When dealing with a homesick child – his response is to tell the child what to do. His examples of transfer to school include changes in behaviour – largely concerned with changes in the style of telling to be more supportive and less argumentative. However he recognises change in his approach to other people with a clear understanding that talking is better than shouting.

Boy: This year 5 boy has a very clear memory for the technical details of the residential, but only mentions one other child in the entire interview. The descriptions are very mechanistic and he rarely mentions sensations or emotions. When pushed to talk about the social aspects, these are again described with little empathy. When asked about leadership, trust, responsibility the answers are very limited and passive.

Girl: This year 5 child sees the residential as an opportunity for fun and friendship. The activities that she describes are individual, low skill thrills and she enjoys the sense of motion and of being high up. When asked about the social aspects of the residential these are clearly secondary to having fun, and she is largely unaware of social issues. Interestingly, her group decides on a conflict-avoidance approach to decision making by using rock/paper/scissors. This is a limited approach to social situations – leaving decisions to chance. She is however aware of the teachers but characterises them as not being bossy or distracting the children from playing with friends. There are several mentions of homesickness and how this is exacerbated by the quiet of the night and the lack of fun and talking.

Boy: Overall, this felt rather like an interview with 'young Sheldon'. This boy was very hard to interview as he specialised in short and polite responses. These were delivered after a moment of thought. Interestingly his favourite aspect was the food and his least favourite was being separated from his phone. His responses were short and factual, with few opinions made (other than the food) and almost no recognition that he was with other people. The resolution of rooming issues was interesting – no mention of difficulty, argument etc this is descried as a logic problem and is solved as such. Indeed throughout the interview the interactions other people. His concept of teachers was also very utilitarian – they provide structure, but do not seem to be seen as social beings.

Even with the short answers, the interview is interesting. There are very few mentions of communal activity or social interactions, and this seems very normal. The presentation of life as logical problems suggests a very structured understanding – and unsurprisingly his example of school related to solving maths problems. His favourite activity was a low skill, high thrill activity that was done individually.

Example of Reflective memo on school

Memo on school 005

The data collection for this school entailed two extended focus groups with three girls in each group. The children had transitioned to middle school earlier in the year and the teachers (and school) saw this residential as a way to develop greater understanding and cooperation and (perhaps) disrupt friendship groups from previous schools. Both focus groups engaged well with the questions and their comments focused on the social aspects.

The first focus group was very enthusiastic, but a little dominated by one speaker. They thoroughly enjoyed the high risk activities – citing the sensations and the pride in coping with the fear. However despite identifying individual activities it was clear that their prime interest was in exploring the social aspects of the experience. They discussed the issues around making new friends (something that seems very important to them) and interestingly all three relate this to different things: working together, sharing things, and getting to know each other. Some of the discussion about new friends seems almost to suggest that the residential provided a welcome opportunity to move into new friendships and (perhaps) away from some existing ones. However aspects of the discussion are about building trust and networks and this links closely to the concept of building social capital

The second focus group was also very interested in discussing the creation of new friendships and the development of existing friendships during the residential. They also discussed in considerable detail the ways that the groups bonded, and made links between effective team and the development of friendships. They explained that the communication and trust that was necessary for the team to function, meant that they came to understand each other very well and this in turn led to friendship. This is very much the argument about temporary community and the development of intense relationships over short periods of time. Interestingly they also saw that the continuation of respect is as important as the continuation of friendships and the experience of being in a small group is seen as empowering. Overall this is a very strong rationale for residentials

This both groups looked at the development of trust and respect during activities. However the discussion of free time and time in the dormitories was significantly less important to the group than to younger participants. They discussed these aspects briefly and made limited reference to homesickness and no mention of messing around in dormitories. Possibly this is because these children are slightly older, and have completed the transition from one school to another. Indeed the maturity of the group is evident in the way that they discuss behaviour and balance social justice with team efficiency through careful language that recognises all ideas.

Again, there was little mention of teachers or staff – the description of the experience almost entirely focussed on the groups. Similarly, there was no specific mention of boys, with terms such as people being used. Although I used the word boy in both focus groups, neither responded to it, suggesting that this was not an area of interest.

Example of Coding by school

Coding table for school 003

		1 b	2 g	3 2g
How it was experienced / remembered	Freedom		3	
	Carefree awesomeness	7		30
	Embodied experiences and spatiality	3 5	3	3 4
	Risk taking / thrill seeking			
What it was like being on residential	Difference from the norm	19		
	Temporary community	7 19	9	
	Connection to the environment			
	Connection to school		3	
	Taking personal responsibility	31		58
	Taking leadership	31		
	Engagement with learning			
	Competitive environment			
Changes in social interaction during the residential	Increased Wellbeing		5	
	Improved relationships with teachers	17	19	19 42 43
	Improved social relations / interactions	25 31	9 25 29	6 8 10 12 24
	Better Emotional coping			
	More Interactional skills	27		
	Understanding the opposite gender			
	Adapting to social norms	27		
	Defusing tensions at school		31	
Understanding how any change in social interaction occurred	Developing resilience / life effectiveness			
	Rites of passage	21		
	Developing social capital	21	31	

	Social exclusion			
	Perpetuation and social rectification			
	Being able to tell people about it	23		21 22 53
Processes of changing social understanding	Making meaning and understanding values	23		49
	Understanding the social system			
	Understanding the relationship between social group and experience.		25 29	
	Becoming aware of Social justice			
	Knowing your own place			

Example of Quotations for school

School 004 - Focus group 1 – 3 boys

12 Yeah – that was fun, just climbed up a tree and just jumped out of the tree

33 You were in my group, do you remember when everyone as soon as they got to the top just jumped off when I jumped off I hit the pole in my… ,

38 if someone was scared or something we would chant their name to try and encourage them

53 We just tried our best, to keep going, iit took us about 5 attempts in my group to get the last person up

62 Oh yes – I liked that – that tunnelling I couldn't see a thing that we were doing. I smashed my head in the wall

71 [dealing with people who felt scared in the tunnel] We comforted them … And then we held their legs and tried to push them more to the end

78 Got to meet new people…We just like hanged out with them – in the dormitories and stuff like that.. in the common room

82 We didn't get to bed until 4 o'clock, because someone called [name] he kept doing trying not to laugh and saying "me no like what me see" and then got up and pretended to be a grandpa holding his fat

86 We scoffed sweets for the first night… Before even the first night I ate all of my Haribo's and didn't have any left… I ate them before it was even night… I took 5 packets of sweets… [boy] kept crunching mints in the night, it was really annoying

93 Because [name] was in the bed under my best friend, because it was bunk bed, I got out of my thing and said "{name} its ok you're not, you're going to go home soon its not going to be long because you are with all of your friends" so its going to be fine

101 Our teacher kept on coming in and telling us to be quiet when… because she was the room next to us and

111 Yeah, so now we used to only go into our friendship group, but now we expand and go with other people who we wouldn't have worked with before the residential. Like, we get some girls [assent from others] because before we would only be just the boys, but now we have got some good friends who are girls

123 Yeas, I wanted to go first on the zipwire and I ended up going second last… I got on with it, because I knew that I still was going to have a go.

129 Everyone else got two goes… I only got one go!

145 Now I feel a lot more confident with things that I would find difficult before I went on residential

147 I ask for help loads more now

7 It was night, and it was really cool it looked cool with all the lights on,

29 It was good meeting new people because – we made friends – that was the only time we first saw [school], so that was our first time meting them, I like, on the first day we already made friends with them

31 When we found out we were having a dorm together we all made friends, and we had bunk beds… And mostly in the night we kept on talking, talking and [name] from [school] was eating our sweets

44 And the other obstacle course we did, we had to have a blindfold and we had our partner guiding us around it. We had to trust them…So I couldn't see anything and [name] had to try and guide me, so if there was a tree, she had to go 'there's a tree there you need to move or you have to go under so basically its about trust and it was fun

73 I remember that they tried to make me feel that it will go by so quickly and by the end I will miss it which made me feel maore good

89 I wasn't so nervous because I knew that I could trust our teacher

92 Oh there's something else about the boys, the boys had midnight feast in their dorm and they kept.. because we had stairs down to our dorm and then you go down the corridor where our dorm was.. they kept like doing weird things, running around, throwing bean bags at us in the toilets, and we were like 'we are not giving them back to you'

99 Its definitely made me feel that I can trust a load more people and that I can like, I can… cause I used to be scared of leaving my family, but now I know that since my residential I feel more confident in leaving them

100 When I got back I am glad that I met [other school], and that we made new friends, and I am glad we are all back together instead of being in separate groups but I still miss [centre name] please can we go there again

101 I think I've got more confident as well, so if I go for a sleepover, I can trust other people

105 Well, I was opposite one of my friends and she always tried to… see I never really go to sleep at night and my friend she goes to sleep about 7 o clock, so whenever I was awake she's like you need to get to sleep so it was hard

107 Well, I think I just…tried to get myself to sleep and when she was asleep I just sat up again

108 My opinion is that [name of previous speaker] is a real big fidgetter because when I was asleep its hard because [name of previous speaker] always rattles the bed, and its hard when [name] always talks to us half the night, coz we need to get to sleep… I tried to like, not being rude, but I tried to sleep with my back to them, my ears on the pillow so I don't hear them

Note: The Coding tables that follow (coding table 1, 2, 3 and 4) are presented in column form to allow easy visualisation of the sources (schools and individual). This shows the spread of responses across schools and individuals and thus provides some guidance on the ubiquity of codes, but also of the ways that some children's accounts were focussed on some areas of the experience. As such, percentages are presented to show the ubiquity, whilst the depth of each section provides a visual indication of the participants whose responses were more or less focussed on this theme.

Coding table 1 - Question area - How it was experienced / remembered

How it was experienced / remembered	School 001				School 002						School 003			School 004		School 005		tot als	%	We ighted %
	1 y 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 G	4 yr 5 B	1 yr 6 B	2 yr 6 B	3 yr 6 B	4 yr 6 B	5 yr 6 G	6 yr 6 G	1 yr 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 x2 G	1 yr 5 X3 B	2 yr 5 x3 G	1 yr 5 x3 G	2 yr 5 x3 G	26		
Freedom	9				2							3		78				4	24	23%
Carefree awesomeness			3 9		4		3 3	5 4 3	5 9 1 3	6	7		3 0	82				9	53	46%
Embodied experiences and spatiality	9	7 9 1 1 1 5 1 7 2 3 3 1		5	4	1 1 2 2		9 1 3 5 1 6 2		6 8 1 2 1 6 2 0 2 2 2 4 3 8	3 5	3	3 4	97	33	16 18		13	76	77%
Risk taking / thrill seeking			9 1 3 1 9 2 1	1 5	2 7	5	5, 1 0	7 6 2	7 2 9	5 6 5 8				14		10 11 27	11	11	65	58%

Coding table 2 - Question area – What it was like being on Residential

What it was like being on residential	School 001				School 002						School 003			School 004		School 005		totals	%	Weighted %
	1 yr 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 G	4 yr 5 B	1 yr 6 B	2 yr 6 B	3 yr 6 B	4 yr 6 B	5 yr 6 G	6 yr 6 G	1 yr 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 x2 G	1 yr 5 x3 B	2 yr 5 x3 G	1 yr 5 x3 G	2 yr 5 x3 G	26		
Difference from the norm				43888		13		35	13115	28300	19			82	21	72		9	53	58%
Temporary community	29			13173388	56710	7	33	212765	15235153	22242638 6	7 19	9		33		20 27 29 72	5 7 9 15	13	76	73%
Connection to the environment															37			1	6	12%
Connection to school									19 39			3		12				3	18	19%
Taking personal responsibility	27 43				6	54		11 15 53		3841	31		58	15		66	47 78	10	59	65%
Taking leadership	13										31			22				3	18	19%
Engagement with learning				17 3337				29						43	5			4	24	31%
Competitive environment	23													7				2	12	15%

Coding table 3 - Question area – Changes in Social interaction during the residential

Changes in social interaction during the residential	School 001				School 002						School 003			School 004		School 005		totals	%	Weighted %
	1 yr 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 G	4 yr 5 B	1 yr 6 B	2 yr 6 B	3 yr 6 B	4 yr 6 B	5 yr 6 G	6 yr 6 G	1 yr 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 x2 G	1 yr 5 x3 B	2 yr 5 x3 G	1 yr 5 x3 G	2 yr 5 x3 G	26		26
Increased Wellbeing												5		12				2	12	15
Improved relationships with teachers	2 9 3 1	5 1	4 1 4 3 4 5	6 5 6 8			40 43	4 3 4 5	3 3 3 5 3 9		1 7	1 9	19 42 43	56			76	12	71	65
Improved social relations / interactions			3 7 3 9 4 7 4 9 5 1 5 5 5 7 5 9 6 3			65	61 63	1 1 1 5 2 1 2 3 2 7 2 9 3 1 3 9 4 9 5 9	1 7 1 9 2 5 4 3 4 5 4 7	3 4 4 1	2 5 3 1	9 2 5 2 9	6 8 10 12 24	62	3	20 33 34 54 64	43 60 63 69	13	76	85
Better Emotional coping			3 1 5 5 6 3 6 5		9	32 68	57 1	6 4	1 3 3 3 3 5 3 9 5 6						62	54	13 19 21 31	9	53	58
More Interactional skills	3 5 4 1	1 5 1 7 3 3 5 9	2 7 2 9	7 6 8 0 8 2				2 1 4 9 5 7	4 9 4 1		2 7			64		37 41 47 49 56	38 40 45 47	10	59	62
Understanding the opposite gender							55 57 63			5 1 5 3				67				3	18	19
Adapting to social norms	3 5 4 1	4 5 5 5				42		5 5			2 7			92			36	7	41	42
Defusing tensions at school												3 1		97		29		3	18	27

Coding table 4 – Question area – understanding how any change in social interaction occurred

Understanding how any change in social interaction occurred		School 001				School 002						School 003			School 004		School 005		totals	%	Weighted %
		1 yr 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 G	4 yr 5 B	1 yr 6 B	2 yr 6 B	3 yr 6 B	4 yr 6 B	5 yr 6 G	6 yr 6 G	1 yr 5 B	2 yr 5 B	3 yr 5 x2 G	1 yr 5 x3 B	2 yr 5 x3 G	1 yr 5 x3 G	2 yr 5 x3 G	26		
Toughening up	Developing resilience / life effectiveness	4 3 4 5			5 9 9 2										2 0			1 9 3 1 8 0	8	24	31%
	Rites of passage				5 9 9 2	8						2 1			2 1			8 0	9	29	35%
Bonding	Developing social capital			5 9								2 1	3 1		5 7		3 6 3 9 4 1 4 9 6 3 7 2	5 8 6 9	12	35	42%
	Social exclusion														7 6				2	6	12%
	Perpetuation and social rectification								4 9						7 8				4	12	15%
	Being able to tell people about it											2 3		2 1 2 2 5 3		1 3	6 3		9	24 %	35%

Coding table 5 – Question area – Processes of changing social understanding

Processes of changing social understanding		School 001				School 002						School 003			School 004		School 005		totals	%	Weighted %
		1 y 5 B	2 y 5 B	3 y 5 G	4 y 5 B	1 y 6 B	2 y 6 B	3 y 6 B	4 y 6 B	5 y 6 G	6 y 6 G	1 y 5 B	2 y 5 B	3 y 5 x2 G	1 y 5 x3 B	2 y 5 x3 G	1 y 5 x3 G	2 y 5 x3 G	26		
Understanding others	Making meaning and understanding values		2 5 2 9 3 9 5 7	2 3	2 1 4 5 5 9	8	28 40	35	2 9 3 1 3 9 4 7			2 3		49	31			61 74	17	65	62%
	Understanding the social system	1 5 1 9	2 5 2 9 3 9 5 7				28 40	71 01 41 9 29 55	5 5						92				8	35	31%
	Understanding the relationship between social group and experience.	1 9	2 5 2 9 3 9 5 7		2 1				1 5 1 9		4 1 4 3		2 5 2 9		97		36	52	14	53	58%
	Becoming aware of Social justice		5 7			5		7 55		2 3 5 3					10 8		47 50 52 56	38 54	7	41	50%
	Knowing your own place							27	1 7 5 5	4 1						3			4	24	23%