

Chapter

7

Category Three – Past Trainees

7.1 Preamble

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

7.2 Personal Development

7.2.1 Sense of Self: Confidence

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

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

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

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

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

After her voyage, PT7 explains it this way:

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

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

For PT5, she puts it this way:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.2 Sense of Self: Accomplishment

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

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

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

7.2.3 Interpersonal Relationships

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

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

7.2.4 Teamwork

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.5 Academic Achievement

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

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

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

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

7.2.6 No Development

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

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

He continues to say:

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.2.7 Ambivalence

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

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

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

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

7.2.8 Sense of Self: Adulthood

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7.3 Adulthood: What is it?

7.3.1 Experience

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

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

Clearly, what he raises is that the age of a person does not determine maturity. Rather, it is certain experiences that contribute to their identity development. This is now a common response from all groups of trainees, that is, they all agree that age does not automatically determine adulthood. As PT2 says:

Like and I reckon anything over twenty, tends to be adulthood ... yeah, it is in that yeah. They should have been pretty much matured by then ... Of

course I am saying, not everyone is the same ... Yeah, that some people mature much younger.

7.3.2 Responsibility

Perhaps it is no surprise, even something that might have been predicted, past trainee participants also often include responsibility similar to the other trainees, in how they describe what an adult is. Like PT2 who explains, “It is like taking responsibility as well though for your actions sort of thing ... you’re, you’re responsible for whatever you do you know?” For PT5 she says:

I think adulthood today is having like, responsibility, it is about responsibility I guess but ... yeah how to handle responsibility like in, in a job and in friendships and stuff, like you are just acting responsible for other people’s feelings and other people’s and your workplace and stuff like that.

7.3.3 Respect

Furthermore, post adolescent participants, similar to other trainees, also integrate their description of responsibility in a number of different ways. For example, PT3 raises the idea of respect to describe what an adult is. As he says:

Oh, I think it is just someone who has the respect of her or his own actions. There is a lot of people going around you know they call themselves adults you know twenty-five, twenty-six year olds who you know go out and get pissed and you know you hear it seeing it on the news belted someone and thrown bottles at people and that sort of thing so. I would say an adult is someone who’s got respect for their own actions ... You know, you know a lot of teenagers who are more mature, you know it maturity as much as anything but you know they are more maturer than you know, mates the guys I work with at thirty.

He continues to say that this is not just respect for one's self but also for others. This he explains like this:

Well I think the first thing you have got to do is respect your own actions. So you know where and once you can respect yourself enough you will start to respect other people and be in a position that ... No, not so much you know you have got enough respect in yourself to not put yourself in a situation where you are not going to be an idiot. You know the wider community you know where the wider community would judge you as an idiot. You know we put age limits you know basically eighteen you're referred to as an adult but some people out there that you know you are not really an adult until you are twenty-one twenty-two and sometimes much later because just the mental maturity's not there and the respect that you know your actions actually have consequences.

What he says certainly conjures up a sense of the real inner being rather than a narcissistic one, one that indicates a genuine feeling of autonomy (Pearson 1991). From this perspective, what he perceives as an adult can be understood in terms of self-concept; an understanding that subsequently captures the idea of adulthood combined with a development of personal responsibility (Neill 2000). Clearly responsibility is a popular description of what it means to be an adult, with past trainee participants continuing to cite it as did other participants in the research.

7.3.4 Independence and Responsibility

For example, when PT1 thinks about what an adult is, he explains:

That is obviously a fairly open question in a lot of different ways. For me I moved out of home when I was seventeen. I was still at school and I was living by myself and working part-time. So to me adulthood, but I was still

a kid, the responsibility for myself that I had when I was seventeen. Having to earn my own money, pay my own bills. Do my own school work and go to work as well. Those responsibilities of being of having to provide for yourself gave me probably the strongest sense of adulthood. Or a strong sense of adulthood I would say that it is, it would be leaving home, you know leaving the nest and not having, not necessarily having food in the cupboard like you would at home. And having, not having any of those fall backs certainly gave me a pretty strong sense of I guess adulthood in terms of personal responsibility. Where suddenly you are completely self-reliant. For me adulthood's really a sense of self-reliance where you no longer need your parents to, feed you or clothe you or pay your bills.

When PT4 considers what an adult is she describes it like this:

What do I think adulthood is? I guess it is, I don't think actually probably changed too much from previous generations but, for me it is taking responsibility for your own actions and independence from the parents and you know, finding your way in the world I suppose ... Taking responsibility for any mistakes you make or things that go wrong, paying your own bills, working hard all those sorts of things.

PT7 does not openly view independence with responsibility, although it can be argued that what she says describes being responsible for yourself, she explains it like this:

I think an adult is someone who can support themselves, um, financially. I know that sounds very old fashioned but that they are not relying on their parents for, you know, to buy them a car, to, to buy them their first house or to you know, to fund their daily life. I truly believe that if you are standing on your own two feet, to the best of your ability at that stage I think that is definitely a sign of adulthood.

Thus, even if not directly mentioned, past trainees essentially discuss responsibility and independence hand in hand, as to what an adult is. PT8 first agrees saying, "... well it would be knowing how to exist in society and functioning individual without dependence on you know parental or guardian kind of figures, wouldn't it?" She continues and says, "Maintain yourself within the law and blab la blab la blah ...". Her comments certainly can be interpreted as acting responsibly within her social milieu.

7.3.5 A Social Definition

Also similar to adolescent and post adolescent participants, past trainees include the social in the way they define what an adult is. PT2 includes this with aspects of the law in regards to the legal age of drinking. This is complicated, as he considers different social contexts, too. As he explains:

Well, I suppose it is pretty hard these days because, yeah it is, it is pretty hard these days because sort of you leave school and it means you can start drinking straight away ... in Australia. If you compare that to say like the States or somewhere, you can't really, you can't really start drinking until you are twenty-one. And that's like three years later. I suppose that even though everyone does drink it just makes it a lot harder. Like you can't go out into a pub or club or anything like that.

In sum, while there is some variation, overall there is consensus between adolescent, post adolescent and past trainee participants as to what they think constitutes adulthood. Collectively they consider responsibility, independence and social aspects as a part of this. I wonder what past trainees will contribute to how and why they think their Leeuwin II experience works? Will they concur with the others in the idea of responsibility as part of experience and their personal development? Will they indicate communitas? Being taken out of a

comfort zone? The rites of passage? A new experience? What of contrast? Will they further consolidate what adolescents and post adolescents identify? Will they support the relevance of understanding the relationship between habitus and social fields in young people's identity development in the twenty-first century?

7.4 How and Why the Leeuwin II Adventure Works

7.4.1 Responsibility

First, past trainee participants consider responsibility as an important part in why and how their Leeuwin II experience works. In this, they are united with adolescent, post adolescent participants (even if it is not as readily recognised by them), and Leeuwin II workers who all agree that responsibility plays an important part in a trainee's personal development. Indeed as LW9 indicates, given responsibility to sail the Leeuwin II tall ship is not bound by a person's age either. As he explains, "... not being able to do more or whatever your physical age but the fact that you take on responsibility ... Like if you are on the helm you're responsible for ensuring the ship is straight."

PT1 describes experiencing this responsibility when he recalls his voyage. As he says:

The last bit of that storm was great fun actually. There was, I remember quite vividly that a few of our guys were feeling really sick so they were below deck and there was only a couple of us up on deck, the other person I was with went down into the chart house to talk to one of the crew, so there was only me up on deck and one of the ship's crew members who was an old guy who was you know, one of these weathered sort of sea ... and, for some reason I was pretty shocked, or for some reason he started feeling

sick and I was pretty shocked to see him ... He goes to the side of the boat and starts, starts being sick and then I have looked around and it was basically just me with this giant ship's wheel. I knew what heading I had to have on the little compassy thing. It was just me I was the only person up on deck basically in the middle of the night in these huge seas. It was like something out of a movie and it was really quite excellent actually. I really, I really enjoyed it.

Given that responsibility is not reflected in the literature in relation to their personal development in the degree trainees and others in this research suggest, it is considered a shift in the adventure discourse, or at least a boost to the emerging focus on it (Sibthorp et al 2007). Research for example like May (1996) and Sibthorp, Paisley and Gookin (2007) both include its relevance in their studies. This includes experiencing responsibility associated to those who perceive greater developmental benefits from their participation in adventure programs (Sibthorp et al 2007), as well as its relevance in young people acquiring a sense of adulthood when these programs are transposed as a rite of passage to adulthood (May 1996). Subsequently, with the popular focus on responsibility by trainees on the Leeuwin II tall ship, it certainly makes sense that their participation on board is inevitably bound up with it. When translating this in terms of the relationship between habitus and this social field, responsibility is a critical part of the internal nature or the processes and practices of it influencing trainee's disposition, or their habitus.

On the Leeuwin II tall ship, being given responsibility is not discriminatory either. As a young female, PT5 explains how and why she thinks her Leeuwin II tall ship adventure works by saying:

I still was obviously a kid pretty much at that age like I was still mucking around and stuff but, having like seeing that kind of responsible almost

responsibility almost like a workplace like being really involved in what was basically a workplace was, very, very maturing yeah.

Trainees with a disability also appear to experience no barriers to responsibility. A13 well describes this and indeed, I still recall, to my surprise, being given responsibility as leader of my watch. As LW6 says, “We have got watch leaders here who are barely 18 and they are in charge of groups of 10 people.” This indicates there is certainly support for responsibility as an experience being key to the Leeuwin experience and ostensibly to participant understandings of adulthood, in contrast to only considering one’s age. Moreover, when understanding this in terms of habitus as a socialisation of life experience and modification of it, being given responsibility in this social field can indeed equate to acting responsibly that relates to a shift in their sense of maturity. Indeed, in the way trainees describe this identity development in relation to their experience in the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship, this certainly has relevance in their developing a sense of adulthood underpinning their agency in the twenty-first century.

Thus, responsibility is viewed as an important part of a trainee’s development. Past trainee participants, continue to include it as to how and why they experience personal development. Not only does this equate to a sense of adulthood, experiencing responsibility on board also increases their sense of confidence. This is true for PT3 and when asked how and why he believed he experienced more confidence, he explains it like this:

There was, well one of the things, I was one of the older people who sailed at twenty-one but I was one of the older people so I tended to look after some of the young ones ... just that little bit of responsibility. It was the first time somebody you know hadn’t officially given me a role in that boat, I just took that sort of role from someone ... and it was, it was good

working for and actually seeing their development over the time period as well. You know, it was productive for me because I could actually, I actually developed the all the teaching side of it.

It is possible to view this from a leadership role but as he continues to explain, the idea of feeling more responsible for others is revealed.

Yeah, well there was a fair few as I say the youngest was, he was fifteen ... He was actually in my watch group ... so there was nine of us in the group which meant, and when you, after like two o'clock in the morning and you know you don't feel like doing anything cause all you want to do is sleep. It takes somebody about other than well a, you know your watch leader you need to look other reinforcement as you get to help you get off your arse and do something ... And, yeah that's, that's really what I was applying to. Our watch leader was quite young as well. She was only twenty, early twenties, I can't remember her age, but yeah between myself and her we tended to look after everybody.

While PT3's response is relating to why and how he thinks he experienced a sense of confidence from his voyage, what he says, when understanding responsibility in the way adolescent participants, post adolescent participants and others from the literature link it with adulthood, it is possible to apply his response to his feeling more like an adult after his voyage also. Indeed, understanding that he identified as an adult after he sailed certainly makes sense when considering his identity development in light of his experience in his everyday life. As he says:

It is like, yeah, the whole responsibility of, yeah, not only taking ownership of yourself, you know yourself and your own actions, I was trying to teach, I thought I successfully did it, but to look after somebody else. Up until that

stage I hadn't been in that situation where somebody wasn't so much relying on me but, just taking taking things off me ... well, well not so much taken off me but you know the experience, my experience, I could actually pass it on to someone ... most of the time leading up I'd been you know as I said before I had been up north where you are surrounded by people who are much older than you, so your, well your opinion's not as strong and your base of knowledge is smaller than what theirs are ... Yeah, so you tend to, absorb information off them rather than being the one that is giving out the information.

He continues to say that he thinks his Leeuwin II experience works because, "... I was given a leadership role which was the first time I had been given a position of responsibility."

Thus, what these past trainees, both female and male continue to indicate is that experiencing responsibility contributes to how and why identity development such as increasing their confidence and sense of adulthood occurs. PT3 further consolidates this by explaining that rather than age being the central factor to what an adult is, experience is arguably just as important. Given he indicates that this is the first time he has experienced responsibility, also adds to this understanding because it is in contrast to his experiences in everyday life. While understanding this in the context of the Leeuwin II tall ship, it certainly supports habitus changing when changing social fields (Shotter & Gergen 1989; Gergen 1991). Other past trainee participants also agree with adolescent and post adolescent participants in the value of contrast, when they say their Leeuwin II experience works because it is something new.

7.4.2 A New Experience

In fact, what PT6 reveals is indeed understood as instrumental to a new experience away from everyday life being a key reason to explaining how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works, particularly as a fifteen year old initiating adulthood. Simply, unbeknownst to me, this is because it is not his first voyage he is discussing. As he explains:

I have actually done two voyages, that was my second one that we are speaking about ... the first one I did was a fully day sail around Fremantle which includes a Rotary youth scheme or something along those lines and that had been only about five months prior to this one and basically getting on well, getting on with people has never been a problem with me so I pretty much put myself in the deep end and it was pretty easy ... you know with people and I particularly remember the fact that a lot of the people on there were quite older than I am and ... at that stage so I, but I didn't have any trouble interacting with them at all.

As such, this may explain why he did not feel any personal development as an adult when he first returned from his voyage, a voyage initially understood as his first. That is, is it possible he had already experienced a sense of adulthood from his first voyage? This indeed supports habitus responding to the production of something new away from what is known supplying the means of initiation (Giddens 1990). As a fifteen year old, his response certainly agrees with what adolescents say about experiencing an increased sense of confidence and sense of adulthood also. But of further interest, is that while the second voyage he is talking about does not invoke a deepening sense of adulthood, it does continue to increase his confidence and therefore his agency. As he explains his second voyage:

I kind of went in with, into the voyage with knowing, with a confidence like you know I felt at the time that you go on these things to try and build confidence, to interact with people and I saw that on the voyage itself. Like people obviously trust that situation because they were trying to learn how to become people, person's, so to speak ... and I, didn't think that I ever lacked any sort of ability to interact with people and I guess, really the voyage just reaffirmed that for me because I came off you know, with a hundred new friends.

Interestingly, what PT6 contributes fits well with the understanding that motivation can play a part in developmental outcomes (Csikszentmihalyi & Csikszentmihalyi 1999; Miles & Priest 1999; Priest & Gass 2005). In the first instance, given he understands young people participate in programs like the Leeuwin II tall ship adventure to learn how to become people and person's as he puts it, it is possible when he did not experience a sense of adulthood after his second voyage might explain his frustration with his voyage on his return. But in the second instance, it makes sense that, as he is aware that these programs can develop confidence, too, his enrolment in the Leeuwin II tall ship ocean adventure contributes to this. But did his first voyage initiate his sense of confidence and he is seeking to continue it? Without really knowing here, what is reasonable to assume is that trainees experience an increased sense of confidence from their first voyage, even if they boarded feeling confident as A7 did for example, or like others who did not, and now through what PT 6 says, a subsequent voyage can be considered to increase it as well. In other words, it is possible their sense of agency continues to grow and be set free!

Thus, understanding PT6 had sailed twice puts into context why he felt more like an adult when he boarded the Leeuwin II tall ship for the second time rather than when he disembarked. While this is not discussed with him, and indeed

there is scope for further research into investigating the impact of the length of a voyage less than five days discussed by the trainees in this research on their identity development (Cason & Gillis 1994; Hattie et al 1997; Russell 2003), it appears his first voyage, even though it was only a day sail, contributed to his personal development as an adult and his sense of confidence. Hence, whatever he says in relation to his second voyage, as it is influenced by his first, is regarded as instrumental evidence of a new experience beyond everyday life being an important part of how and why the Leeuwin experience works. This is particularly true in relation to initiation to adulthood relevant for this age group, given PT6 was aged fifteen years old when he sailed, subsequently agreeing with what development adolescents describe also.

In this way, it is not unreasonable to draw on communitas as a rite of passage to adulthood as explanation of why and how this occurs. However, initiation does not explain developing confidence especially in relation to trainees who are already confident before they sail, and now with an increase of it as PT6 experienced on a subsequent voyage. But with further attention to what he says, it is also possible to understand communitas providing additional explanation not only in relation to his initiation to adulthood, but in his increased sense of confidence as well, and is returned to below.

Nonetheless, other past trainee participants also recognise the relevance of a new experience in regard to their personal development. Like PT1 who says, “Certainly probably wouldn’t have done it a second time. You know, if the following year they said do you want to do it again, probably would have said, no thanks I have already done it.” PT2 also contributes to this when he says, though in his everyday life he is often on the water sailing, he views his Leeuwin II experience as a contrast and being new. As he explains, “I was a state sailor ... I trained sails so it was really good to go like onto a different sort

of set up, a different sort of boat ... like everything is completely different. I mean trying to learn how to, get everything going and running.” In fact, there are other trainees who indicate having experience on the water also but what he says is important as it highlights the uniqueness of the tall ship that makes the difference. This surely highlights the relevance of habitus experiencing something new outside the realms of their everyday lives contributing to how and why adventure works. Still while this is true, there is more to consider and part of this includes what happens within the field.

7.4.3 Activities: Challenge and Risk

Part of this discourse, also similar to adolescents and post adolescents, is that past trainees recognise the experience including the activities and challenge. While this is not directly identified as new, given they describe it as something they would not confront in their everyday lives, something out of their comfort zone, it can be understood in this way. Of interest is that two male past trainee participants identify this and as such, support the idea that males tend to consider the activities as important to their development. For example, PT1 indicates feeling a sense of achievement after his voyage. As he says:

Just doing things that are out of your comfort zone. Like ... I don't like heights ... but part of the jobs we had to do was to climb up the masts and furl and unfurl the sails. We have got a little harness clipped onto a piece of wire steel cable and, to go up you know a hundred foot tall mast and then out to the edge of one of the yards, and you know the thing is all swaying in the wind, and if you slip and fall you are going to be just hanging in the air clipped to a piece of steal cable and you have to either, ... get someone to try to rescue you or somehow pull yourself back up. You knew you wouldn't die but you knew you know it was also a

pretty ... it was not ideal to obviously fall. Not being a fan of heights and to climb to the very top of the tallest mast was, was a challenge that a lot of people, a lot of us undertook just to, to do something that, something challenging ... There were a lot of different challenges, and that was probably the main personal challenge that people could choose to undertake.

PT2 agrees and says, “I suppose it was I enjoyed climbing up to the top, up the mast and reading the plaque on the top. That was pretty cool.”

These activities are certainly unique and require creativity not quite like other activities (Krakoff 2003) and as such create a challenge for trainees. Reiterating, the value of this in trainee’s personal development is well recognised by the Leeuwin II foundation reflected in their philosophy of ‘Challenge by Choice’. It is further support that the combination of challenge, mastery, and success contributes to participants’ personal growth (Conrad & Hedin 1981; Iso-Ahola & Graefe 1988; Dyson 1995; Witman 1995). It can be understood to extend their horizons, expand their being, as they revel in a mastery of themselves which gives them an impression, mainly illusory, that they are masters of their world (Hopkins 1993). Thus, overcoming challenge and being out of their comfort zone translates into them thinking and feeling in a certain way (Lehmann 2004); in essence, having confidence where they are able to envision their agency set free (Lash 1994). According to habitus, this surely highlights the value of the idea of the imagined rather than the imaginary (Jenkins 2004) particularly in regard to the confidence young people need feel to successfully relate to the Australian individualised milieu.

7.4.4 Workers

But to achieve this personal development, there need be a balance between risk and challenge. As such, this is an area that can highlight the importance of the worker in creating this as part of the experience.

Indeed, PT4 directs attention toward the value of workers contributing to why and how the Leeuwin II experience works. This is somewhat ironic given she did not feel she experienced any personal growth. When asked if there was anything she would change about her voyage. Her response related to the safety on board, or lack of it. Her comments highlight how managing safety and risk are an essential part of the workers' role on the Leeuwin II vessel. This is not only to avoid negative consequences like psychological incidents, injuries, and even fatalities as she puts it, "... cause if someone went over board, if someone didn't see them and you know and raised the alarm bell, they would have just been ... cactus. Yeah, absolutely cactus. That really alarmed me at the time."

However, workers also need to ensure a level of excitement and challenge remains, meaning they cannot emphasise safety too much (Dickson 2000). Simply, without some level of risk, there would be no genuine adventure (James 1980). Thus, workers need set the level so it avoids inaction also (Giddens 1990); this can occur if challenge is set beyond the ability of participants, potentially creating low confidence, and low self-esteem (Sennett 1998). Still, as McKenzie (2003) says, there are other ways workers contribute to developmental outcomes, like their expectations, being a role model, providing feedback, their competence, and ability as presenters of curriculum.

PT4 well explains the importance of workers in how and why she felt her Leeuwin II voyage didn't work. As she says:

I guess as one of the older people you do sort of take a bit more responsibility for that sort of stuff and you think about it a bit more, you don't take for granted that you are going to live forever like teenagers do. There were times in the dark of night where there were just really bad swells, people running around with no life jackets on. I thought that was really bad. I think that some of the leaders were really good. There was one man in particular that was very good. But the leader in my particular group was younger than me and she didn't have the, I mean she probably had the sailing skills but she didn't have the leadership to lead people older than her and the difficult teenagers at the time.

When asked if she thinks it is important to have a good crew that have got those leadership skills she agrees but adds it is the relevance of the activities also. As she says:

Leadership skills, but also some of the exercises that we did, which obviously was probably out of her control, she was just the leader of our particular group, some of the, the activities that we did I thought were a little bit even childish for the teenagers in the group. A little bit like come on you know these guys are teenagers they are not, they don't want to draw things and colour in things and stuff like that.

Of interest, is that of all trainees who have taken part in this research, PT4 is the only one who identifies worker roles rather than relationships. One explanation for this is that she did not connect with the workers, the others and even the Leeuwin II environment in the way the other trainees did. In other words, she remained detached from the rest on board. Clearly, as well as worker roles, this also raises the significance of connecting with others contributing to how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works. Not only does this include the relevance of communitas, and as such habitus being removed to a social field

like this beyond everyday life contributing to their personal development, again something that is returned to below, but the importance of understanding the relationships between each other within these social fields contributing as well.

7.4.5 Relationships

Two past trainee participants, PT5 and PT8 cite relationships on board as to how and why their Leeuwin II adventure works for them. Given they are females, they certainly continue to contribute to what other female participants say about the relevance of relationships to their development. As such, the Leeuwin II tall ship provides opportunity for female and male trainees' personal development. But given that all groups of trainees have identified responsibility as key to their development, now it is reasonable to understand responsibility permeating both activities and relationships being a significant part of how and why the Leeuwin II tall ship works for all trainees.

PT8 believes it is her relationship with workers that makes the difference or perhaps one worker in particular. As she explains:

Most, I think it was the team leader that we had. We had a nice hot young male ... yeah, well most of us were girls and you know he'd be really nice and, he was, he would, instead of telling us what to do he would ask us what, like by the same time he was asking what we thought we should be doing ... to get such result ... then on the final, day, I think we were in the Bay then, on the final day, the crew just sat on deck and made us do all the work – which was quite cool and I was elected team leader proxy for our team ... It was fantastic.

7.4.6 Teamwork

Similarly, this is true for PT5 who attributes feeling more confident after her voyage to her relating to others, which she describes in terms of teamwork. As she says:

It would have had to be like the actual being so involved in the, like in the ship running day-to-day ... That was, just like the team was, the team on the Leeuwin was really determined to get everyone involved and everyone did get involved and had a great time doing it.

She also recognises this as a contrast to her everyday life, as she says, “Yeah, yeah. It is not something you see very often like kids that age working together and enjoying the hard work that they are putting in like.”

7.4.7 Communitas

It is interesting that PT5 refers to contrast, again taking up the relevance of communitas and as such, how habitus responds to being removed from everyday life to a social field beyond it, as a part of trainees’ personal development; an idea that is continued to be included by past trainee participants in other ways, too. This includes the wilderness that not only emphasises the importance of a physical environment that is removed from everyday life that contrasts it (Greenway 1995; McKenzie 2000), but equally, it supports communitas, particularly understanding it as a social field described as them being in a place between their usual social roles and norms of thought and behaviour (Turner 1967, p. 93; 1969, p. 95; 1992, p. 132).

From this understanding, their Leeuwin II experience is a physical as well as a symbolic journey; a journey of both mind and earth (Andrews 1992) and some

past trainees indeed, describe their personal development in this way. Like PT7 who says:

I think it's, one, one of the, part of it was I think it was, for me being in the middle of the ocean in the middle of no-where with just a ship. It's quite a pleasant experience, I think, so it's something I hadn't experienced before and I think just the beauty of being under sail has had a huge impact and it really helps you to, be a little bit introspective I guess while you are on board. So I think what helped me was that I was taken away from my day-to-day life and sort of shown that day-to-day living can be interesting. It just depends how much, I think, involvement that you choose to have in it.

PT2 agrees and says:

Yeah and, I think it was also, it was really cool being in a boat out in the middle of nowhere and you are out sailing away from the nearest land ... Yeah, you are in the middle of nowhere kind of thing ... really rough weather coming in and you had to get up like on night shift and like man the deck ... in the dark while there were waves smashing over the deck and yeah, it was kind of cool.

This sense of place promotes a feeling of connectedness (Andrews 1992). In it there is a spontaneous engagement of individuals in an intense experience like the Leeuwin II tall ship that is characterised by a sense of “the generic human bond” - “a strong sentiment of “human kindness” (Turner 1969, pp. 97 - 116). According to *communitas*, this happens because when trainees come on board, their *habitus* is individuated in a leveled environment; an environment where it is in essence described as being “stripped of structural attributes” (Turner 1974, p. 202).

Past trainee participants demonstrate this as an important part of how and why their Leeuwin II experience works. For example PT2 explains his reason

for his personal growth as he says, "... that everyone was treated as an equal out there ... Like the crew is treated the same as the paying customers sort of thing." But being "stripped of structural attributes" (Turner 1974, p. 202) not only means sailing away from what trainees know, it is also away from whom they know, too.

Indeed, the significance of this separation on their personal development is highlighted when PT4 indicates this did not occur for her. While all other trainees indicate being separated in their watches from whom they know, she was not separated from her boyfriend when she sailed. This is critical because now according to communitas and how habitus responds to this social field it could provide a reason why she did not connect and develop in the way the others did. As she explains:

I think it's, it was a clash in personalities but also clash in values at the time. They were just immature I suppose and they were still at high school whereas I'd started my professional career. We just didn't have anything in common at all so my then boyfriend at the time and I felt quite isolated.

This certainly points to the relevance of personal development occurring because of communitas. Arguably the connection to her boyfriend has inhibited the possibility of her being stripped of her "status and authority" (Turner 1979, p. 149) explaining why she was not "inwardly transformed and outwardly change" (Turner 1992, p. 48). In other words, being detached from the others on board, she was not "leveled to a homogeneous social state through discipline and ordeal", meaning, much of what has been bound by her social structure has not been liberated, notably her sense of comradeship and communion (Turner 1979, p. 149). Ultimately, her uniqueness in the very act of realising her commonality was not achieved (Turner 1974) and she did not grow, and as such, her habitus and sense of agency was not liberated or set free from the

conformities of her everyday life. Therefore, given all other trainees indicate sailing on their own or being separated from whom they know in different watches, what PT4 well demonstrates is the value of *communitas* contributing to their personal development and how and why the field of the *Leeuwin II* tall ship works.

What PT6 experiences on board the *Leeuwin II* vessel also adds to this discourse. Indeed, as stated previously, the relevance of *communitas* contributing to his personal growth in both his voyages can be applied as explanation of his initiation to adulthood and increase in confidence. However, unlike PT4 who did not appear to connect to her experience in any way, this is evidenced in the way he did when he sailed both times. For example, when he explains not having any trouble interacting with others the first time he sailed can be interpreted as him experiencing a sense of comradeship and communion (Turner 1979, p. 149). But more than this, because it is a day sail, his interaction can certainly be understood as him experiencing a spontaneous engagement with the other trainees (Turner 1969) and as such, as he realises his commonness, he experiences liberation (Turner 1969, 1974) and personal growth. As this was his first voyage and the experience was new, it makes sense initiation occurred, perhaps without really knowing how he felt before he sailed, in his sense of confidence, certainly his sense of maturity in the way he describes. Thus, as he indicates feeling more like an adult when he boarded for the second time, surely indicates he previously experienced *communitas*.

In a similar vein, when he describes making over one hundred new friends from his second voyage, he also indicates experiencing *communitas*. However, in relation to the connection he experiences, or him realising his commonness that liberates his personal growth (Turner 1969, 1974), rather than initiation, an increased sense of confidence occurs in the way he describes. This is significant,

because now trainees experiencing communitas is not only considered relevant as a new experience initiating personal development, it can be argued to further develop it. In other words, communitas explains how those trainees who are confident before they sail indicate an increase in their confidence on their return, as well as it providing an explanation of how post adolescents become aware of their adult identities. However, in addition to this, now as PT6 demonstrates, it is possible their development can continue on a subsequent experience of it, too.

Hence, what PT6 and PT4 contribute about communitas significantly contributes to understanding how and why the field of the Leeuwin II tall ship works. Other past trainees like PT1 agree with the value of communitas contributing to their personal development, too. As he comments, “The Leeuwin was a pretty unique experience and everyone was well outside their comfort zone so created a reasonable sense of, of a, I don’t know, comradeship or team work.” Curiously, as trainees unitedly cite responsibility as contributing to their personal development, is it possible it plays a part in this relationship, too? When understanding communitas as a place “beyond playacting” (Turner 1992, pp. 135 - 136) this question is indeed, a relevant one.

Clearly, what trainees convey supports communitas having relevance in a contemporary individualised milieu. As such, when many of their transitions to adulthood are extending, and young people require agentic capabilities and control over their lives to successfully negotiate it, something they are not always prepared for, communitas and how habitus responds to it can also be understood as an important part of their identity development in the twenty-first century.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

Given it is years since they sailed, past trainee participants contribute much to this research. This includes adding to the idea that developmental outcomes do endure over time and on a long-term basis (Neil 2003). As they describe how their experiences on board have influenced their everyday lives years after they return they well establish this. Indeed, for one past trainee this is sixteen years ago.

In many ways, they also agree with and subsequently confirm what the adolescent and post adolescent participants say about their personal development, too. Of significance is that they feel more confident about themselves. Not only does this consolidate with the beneficial outcomes described in outdoor adventure literature, it supports the idea that the confidence habitus acquires from their voyage underpins their sense of free agency in their everyday lives. In regards to their sense of adulthood, most interestingly they highlight the contribution of experience rather than age. Exemplifying this are older past trainee participants attributing their development as adults as part of their Leeuwin II experience while younger past trainee participants indicate feeling more like adults prior to their voyage. Rather than the age of a person simply determining trainees' personal development, they all agree their previous experience is also a significant influencing factor. Further, wrapped up with this relationship between experience and their development is that of responsibility. Indeed, experiencing responsibility is repeatedly raised as an important part of trainee participants' identity development, both as them developing as adults and their sense of confidence.

Responsibility is even considered a part of activity and relationships and as such spans across and does not discriminate according to gender. Instead, the Leeuwin II tall ship is considered to provide both activity and relationships and

as such, provides personal growth for female and male trainees alike. Interestingly, responsibility is also highlighted, in the way adolescent, post adolescent, and past trainee participants emphasise it in their definition of what they understand an adult is today. In fact, this reference to responsibility is considered a shift in the discourse, that is, it is arguably a dominant reason how and why the Leeuwin II outdoor adventure works.

However, there are other similarities to the responses provided by adolescent and post adolescent participants that past trainee participant responses agree with and contribute to. Critical to this understanding is the input from PT6 and PT4. While what they convey can be understood as somewhat negative results from their participation in adventure, their perspectives are significant as they provide a depth of understanding not conveyed in the same way as other trainees do. For instance, their perspectives certainly implicate communitas as an important part in understanding how and why the field of the Leeuwin II environment works.

For PT6, this is established when he reveals the voyage he is discussing is not his first. What he contributes is that as a fifteen-year-old trainee, according to communitas his first voyage acted as an initiation to adulthood similar to the group of adolescents. In relation to confidence, as adolescent, post adolescent and past trainee participants indicate, while a maiden voyage can initiate a sense of it for those who do not feel confident before they board. It builds confidence for those who already feel this way prior to their sail and as PT 6 describes, can continue to develop on a subsequent voyage.

According to communitas, this development occurs because trainees are stripped of their everyday status and levelled to a homogeneous social state through discipline and ordeal. But what PT4 contributes clearly confirms it is more than just being separated from everyday life when she reveals she is the

only trainee who does not sail on her own. In her case, she was not separated from her boyfriend while sailing, and as such, highlights how this has inhibited her growth. This, according to *communitas*, truly being separated from everyday life means not only being separated from what you know, but whom you know, to create a levelling environment that in turn promotes a feeling of connectedness that is an essential part of identity development. Essentially, this indicates the value of trainees as liminal entities contributing to personal development in *communitas*.

Clearly, there is support that the physical location of a social field, one like the *Leeuwin II* tall ship that is removed from everyday life contributes to their identity development. For what has not been effectively internalised or activated in their contemporary lives, such as having confidence and a sense of adulthood, indeed appears to occur in these fields. However, what happens in these fields is important also, as PT4 describes, it is not just a simple separation from everyday life that makes the difference (Jung 1971 cited in Biasio & Münzer 1980). When this is understood in terms of *habitus*, it is possible for *habitus* to change when changing context, but it also changes with the experiences in that same physical setting (Shotter & Gergen 1989; Gergen 1991). What PT4 demonstrates is, if *habitus* is not stripped of status and levelled to a homogeneous state through discipline and ordeal, it inhibits personal development. But as she also points out, there is more to be considered in their development, the role of the worker as a vital component for example. This includes their instruction in activities, setting levels of risk and challenge, and their relationship with trainees also. Furthermore, according to *communitas*, because the experience need be real, or what Turner (1992, pp. 135 - 136) describes as them “being their ‘authentic self’, beyond playacting”, also raises the idea of responsibility inevitably bound with how and why the *Leeuwin II* adventure works.

Finally, given that the participant trainees in this study overwhelmingly convey a positive experience, indeed, all past trainee participants agree, except PT4 and PT6, now understood in relation to his second voyage, that their experience was a positive one, this contributes to the idea that being fun is part of how and why the Leeuwin II adventure works, too.

As adolescent, post adolescent and past trainee's views have contributed to the discourse, the next chapter now concludes this research journey.