This emphasis on experiential learning had certain limits, of course. When there was insufficient time or when there was a life or death issue, the staff became quite didactic. There was instruction, for example, in pitching the tent and cooking one's food in the field. The course was short and such minimum instruction was necessary to get students out into the field, to get them started. If one met a section of coast which was particularly difficult to navigate, or if one was heading towards a particularly difficult section of white-water, the staff took command. When a life was at stake, one could not afford experiential learning. The instructions on how to master the difficult section were given clearly and forcefully. This did not seem to detract too seriously from the power of the Outward Bound experience.

C. The educational method is action-oriented.

Action is constantly required. In an important sense, things don't happen at Outward Bound until people "do" something. It is almost as if the wheels are set in motion as soon as someone does something rather than just thinking or talking about it. There is an emphasis on task performance. Performance is the true measure of the man. Bravado, bragging and boasting are quickly exposed by peers and staff. Of course, not doing something is equally important. Much of the Outward Bound experience occurs during those times the student faces a particular task, for example, the next move up the rock face, and stops, hesitates, or becomes immobilized for a very long time.

There is a higher and more public evaluation of actions than thoughts and feelings. Physical prowess and conditioning become a source of pride
and interest among the students. Students talk a good deal about how heavy their pack is, or how far they ran that morning. Feelings like fear or loneliness are touched upon mainly in private or in small groups, if at all, and then they are discussed in a joking manner, in a way which minimizes their importance. The student whose contribution is mainly intellectual, for example, the one who had ideas about how to solve an initiative problem, is often more tolerated than admired. Unless this "planner" also makes a substantial physical or action contribution he does not usually exert a major influence on his peers.

Finally, two things about physical conditioning contribute to the higher valuation of actions and the physical realm: students rather quickly "get into shape"; and "being in shape" is a concrete measurable arena of accomplishment.

We have already mentioned that being in the field made the program feel like it was "in high gear". There is a general feeling among both students and staff that canoeing (or climbing or hiking or sailing) is "what we are here for". The expeditions seem more "real" and are considered more important than the time spent at the home base. A logical extension of this emphasis, courses which are held entirely in the field (mobile courses), are seen as getting that much closer to the core of Outward Bound. Being in the field also provides a more total exposure to the Outward Bound culture. Students come with fewer of their own strategies for coping with the wilderness as compared to the school compound. They are therefore more receptive to the Outward Bound approach when in the field.
The amount of delay between a lecture and the opportunity to put the message of the lecture into action is felt as critical. It felt like "you were really doing something" when you immediately had to put into action the message of the lecture. Sometimes the action was not too difficult, as when, for example, you tried out one of the drown-proofing strokes. Sometimes the action represented a major challenge, as when, for example, you checked the way you had just been shown to rope yourself in, because in the next moment you were going down the side of the cliff for the "big rappell". Those times, or those days, when lectures predominated were felt as boring or "slow days". People became restless, eager to get on with "what really mattered".

D. The Outward Bound program is explicitly uniform, yet a wide range of individual response is acceptable.

There is a strong pressure at Outward Bound for everyone to receive the standard treatment, for everyone to take the same course. This is a particularly significant pressure considering the variety of boys attending an Outward Bound school. There are actually, however, many different courses at any one Outward Bound school session. In terms of his actions, and more importantly in terms of his reactions and attitudes, each boy has essentially his own course.

The psychological requirements for a particular Outward Bound task or for an entire Outward Bound course are often modified for an individual student. The decision about how and when to make such modifications is not an easy one. But then, judgments about helping a student explore his limits are not easy. Staff had the authority to make such modifications.
They considered both the physical and when possible psychological capacities of a student. For example, they can give a lighter pack to a boy who is somewhat weaker than others; or assign a normal expedition route to a boy who can push himself in spite of a bruised ankle; or give a difficult solo site to one of the more resourceful boys. Staff members try to avoid insulting a student by saying in effect that he cannot complete the standard course. Often staff and student do not mutually recognize the need for particular modification.

Sometimes the decision to modify the requirements of the task or the Outward Bound course depends on the student's judgment and/or actions. In the climb up the rock face we described, certain students purposely took more difficult climbing routes. Students vary in the degree to which they push themselves on final expedition. Finally, student bravado is often taken literally. Students who boast about their ability to do certain things are usually challenged to put their words into action. This often creates more difficult task requirements for students inclined towards bravado.

If one looks at content alone, one can say there are many different Outward Bound courses at any school. The course each student takes become even more individualized when one considers his reactions to the tasks, his attitudes, his emotions, etc. Students experience self-confrontation in different ways, at different times. Fear of the open sea may be different from the fear of not finishing the marathon. A student can be challenged by loneliness on the solo, or by the need for group co-ordination on the climb. The variety of subjective reactions to the "same" course seem endless.
The fact that each student takes essentially his own course increases the educational potential of Outward Bound. Certain problems, however, prevent this potential from being realized to any large extent. Outward Bound is not really prepared for such individualized instruction and treatment. As we will discuss in the next section, staff cannot provide individualized attention. Nor is there psychological preparation available which would facilitate the individual educational experience of a student in one of the "standard" tasks. Moreover, there are no easy guide lines for the decision about when a modification in the course is necessary, appropriate or a "cop-out". This creates some confusion in both students and staff. And since the general expectation among students is that everyone should do the same course, you often hear unconstructive complaining about modifications: "some guys aren't really doing their job", "some guys are getting off easy".

E. Psychological preparation for and follow-up after an experience are not emphasized.

As social scientists, we must be especially careful at this point in the report. We must try to control our professional bias toward emphasizing psychological functioning. We will try not to misinterpret Outward Bound so as to confirm our bias. Outward Bound draws some of its unique educational impact from its very avoidance of "psychologizing".

First let us make clear what we mean by psychological preparation for and follow-up after an experience. We do not mean intellectualizing about an experience. We do not necessarily mean talking about or conceptualizing an experience, though one might. As demonstrated by "basic encounter" groups (T-groups), talking about things can be an intense
experience. "Psychological" also includes emotional and non-verbal preparation and follow-up. By "psychological" preparation we mean being psychologically ready to learn from an experience not being told what to experience. By "psychological" follow-up we mean being psychologically able to sustain the educational impact of the experience, not being told what you experienced.

At Outward Bound, preparation for and follow-up after an experience is handled effectively on the physical dimension. For example, students are adequately clothed, and receive adequate medical attention. They gradually build up their physical climbing skills by working on the "ropes course" and the rock slabs. Debriefing sessions were most often skill-oriented.

Attention is paid to psychological factors at Outward Bound. Work on the ropes course also prepares students psychologically for their climb, e.g., it develops confidence. But there are two particularly important areas in which psychological preparation and follow-up seem inadequate, thereby decreasing the educational effectiveness of experiences. First, the intense, volatile emotions (e.g., fear) generated by some experiences seem inadequately handled. Second, the variety and range of particular experiences seem inadequately explored. Though some staff worked effectively in these two areas, there are few formal structures supporting them in this effort.

Many of the experiences at Outward Bound involve intensely felt and volatile emotions such as fear. When a student confronts himself, such emotions usually arise. Psychological preparation and follow-up becomes
particularly acute at those times. Generally, however, it seems inadequate. Fear, for example, is often engendered without an appreciation of the effects it might have on an individual. Follow-up is often too minimal to direct the fear into productive directions. In such cases the student was less able to deal with and/or understand the fear. An emotion experienced in such a way was too often gladly forgotten or avoided. The potential learning that could have occurred, which was great, is severely limited.

The three-day solo exemplifies an experience whose range of possibilities seems inadequately explored. Preparation and follow-up was primarily on the physical dimension. Many students spent their solo "caught" in one or two routines (e.g., getting wood for the fire, thinking about food). They were not able to learn more by examining alternative behaviors. Others found themselves unable to do even the simplest things. They became disappointed in themselves. There was little post-solo examination of such "limited" behavior, which could have turned that behavior into an educational experience. Instead of merely being disappointed in himself, a student could understand how his behavior explained something about himself.

There are students who "came prepared" to enhance the educational impact of experiences. They naturally consider the meaning of their behavior or the implications of an action. The vast majority of students, however, need guidance. They cannot by themselves turn Outward Bound experiences into educational experiences. These students might benefit from more psychological preparation and follow-up both at critical points
in the course (e.g. before and after the solo) and at critical points in their own course (e.g. when they must exercise leadership for the first time). Perhaps discussions might be helpful, e.g. describing how the fear felt, and sharing this description with others who also give their reactions to fear. Being able to clarify or conceptualize an experience, even in a very rudimentary form, is often helpful in understanding the experience. The danger, of course, is over-psychologizing. Then the concept becomes substituted for the experience; introspection leads to immobility. But Outward Bound seems far from this danger.

F. Staff is critical to the success of the educational method.

Without the proper guidance from staff, the Outward Bound program (for example, tasks, events) would work only fortuitously. The physical locale, the tasks to be performed, the schedule, -- all seem ancillary to the Outward Bound experience. They are "equipment" which must be used. Depending on the quality of the staff, they are used in a way which produces more or less of an educational experience. The same climb, the same portage, the same sail affects students differently and is differentially effective with them. A student can be pushed to constructively explore his limits or pushed too far or too fast. The difference often lies with the instructor in charge of the activity. Though the point is moot whether the present Outward Bound locations and programs are necessary, it seems very clear that they are not sufficient in themselves. Staff members are often not aware of the extent of their influence on Outward Bound. We have already mentioned the feelings many staff had that the mountains, etc. and/or the Outward Bound program were automatically educative.

Staff is in constant and immediate contact with the students. The key unit in the Outward Bound experience is the "patrol" or "brigade" or
"watch". This unit usually consists of two staff members and twelve students. The patrol spends most of its time working separately from other patrols, which leads to a very decentralized quality in Outward Bound schools. The low staff-student ratio and the decentralized aspect of the program gives the instructor a great deal of influence. This influence is further enhanced by the immediacy of the contact which occurs between staff and students. On the various field expeditions, when the staff and students cook together and pitch their tents in the same area, when they have to deal with the same portage, a closeness develops.

Not only is the contact between staff and students constant and immediate, but the staff has great authority in the program. Staff in effect runs the program. Outward Bound is not a "participatory democracy". Even after students gain some knowledge of the terrain and how to travel in it, they are only rarely consulted in planning the route and length of expeditions. The 26 day schedule is largely preplanned, and number of open periods at a minimum. The mobile courses are much more flexible in this regard. Staff knows what to do and how to do it - they have the skills. Being in control of the program, and having the skills to carry out the program, heighten the degree of staff influence on the Outward Bound experience.

Outward Bound requires an exceptionally talented staff; generally it is able to recruit qualified people. An instructor's job is extremely difficult. To use the environment skillfully, in a way conducive to learning, is not easy. Nor is it easy to teach in an environment which values experiential learning. It is hard to judge when to let the student learn by trial and error, and when to offer guidance and in what amounts.
Staff must be more sensitive to the individual qualities of a student than his peers usually are. The "planner", is often overlooked by his peers, must be recognized. The value of meeting challenges must be held more sensitively and flexibly than it is by most students. Some of the Outward Bound rules, e.g. no smoking or drinking, are not adhered to by staff. Applying these rules to students becomes that much more difficult. Added to these (more subtle) difficulties is the enormous responsibility Outward Bound instructors have — their students' lives often depend on the quality of their instruction. One final element is the expectation that students will change in important ways. This puts additional pressure on the staff.

There seem to be at least three important aspects to a good staff member: technical proficiency, skill as an educator, and dedication to the Outward Bound idea. Most of the Outward Bound staff are exceptionally qualified in the technical realm. There are many professional climbers, canoeists, yachtsmen, etc. Outward Bound's "classroom" is the sea, the mountains, the lakes and streams. Before one could teach effectively there, one had to have enough technical competence to instinctively make the "right move". The instructor who had to worry about his own performance too much, was at a disadvantage. He couldn't devote enough attention to his students. Moreover, his relative lack of skill or confidence was sometimes picked up by the students, diminishing their respect for him. Also, technical competence was essential in encouraging students to test their limits. Instructors had to know about the physical and technical difficulty of the various tasks at Outward Bound. Sometimes it seemed that some staff members were "too competent" or "too professional" for
Outward Bound. At times some seemed to demand too much perfection in the way an act was performed. And other times some didn't seem sufficiently aware of how difficult the beginning stages of a climb or portage were for a student. At other times, however, their high degree of technical competence was essential for safety. Their standards of safety, often based on an experience with a tragic accident, were an essential aspect of the Outward Bound experience. And they spoke out when they felt these standards were being compromised either in the area of equipment or supervision.

Fewer on the Outward Bound staff are effective educators. It takes great skill as an educator to know when a person is stretching his limits. The effective educators usually were not among the most technically proficient. Having some instructors who were not physical "supermen" helped students communicate with staff and learn from them. An instructor who became winded in the morning run became more accessible to the student who had a similar experience. The primary teaching mode is by example.

Staff members are generally quite dedicated to their job. Without this dedication it is hard to imagine how they could accept the considerable demands on their energy, patience and understanding.

As important as it is to have good instructors, it is even more important to avoid "bad" ones. Unqualified instructors are rare, but in the one instance that we observed the effect was near disastrous. This instructor at times severely compromised safety standards, at other times perverted education into militaristic regimentation and seemed a "cheerleader" for a cause he neither understood nor participated in. Staff
selection becomes critical. Staff training programs are employed at Outward Bound schools both to understand staff better, selecting out unqualified ones, and to orient staff toward the Outward Bound approach. Another good staff selection and training procedure is the extensive in-service program at Outward Bound schools for staff-trainees, many of whom have recently completed an Outward Bound course. These staff-trainees assist instructors and there is ample opportunity to judge their potential as regular staff.
V. OUTWARD BOUND'S EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES

Outward Bound functions more in terms of experiences, actions and activities than explicit educational principles. Its theory of education and personal growth is implicit and unarticulated. There are, however, educational principles which guide the selection and development of these experiences and activities. The educational principles we discuss will not coincide exactly with the educational goals presented in the Outward Bound ideology. That is because we are trying to focus upon factors which seem to be actually operating at the schools.

A. Encouraging personal growth.

Encouraging personal growth is perhaps the basic and overriding educational principle at Outward Bound. The six other educational principles listed below are in a sense vehicles for encouraging students' personal growth. For example, Outward Bound tries to develop a student's capacity for persistence, as one important dimension of personal growth.

One very important aspect of this educational principle is that personal growth be sustained and generalized after Outward Bound. The Outward Bound idea is to educate through mountain-climbing, canoeing or navigating on the open sea. For example, overcoming a physical obstacle is a teaching analogy for overcoming a psychological obstacle. This idea of education through climbing etc. has serious obstacles to becoming operational. The problem does not seem to be that climbing is not intrinsically educational. Rather the problem seems to be that the
educational implications of climbing are not always automatically perceived or experienced.

Generally, students do not intuitively and/or immediately see the relationship between e.g. climbing a mountain and the issues which concern them back home. The most obvious case of this is the city-dweller who talks of the absence of mountains or lakes on his block. This concrete approach is quite prevalent and takes time to overcome.

The staff at times unwittingly reinforce this dilemma in students. Many of the Outward Bound staff believe that the mountains, lakes and sea are automatically educative. There is a strong feeling that all a student has to do is climb one of the taller peaks and an important and educational experience will occur for him. We talked already of areas where psychological preparation and follow-up for experience seemed inadequate. Not many students come prepared to see how e.g. their climb might relate to the problem they have in the classroom.

Moreover, students often want to become competent in the activity at hand, e.g. navigation and the activity can easily become an end in itself. As students develop skill and competence in navigation, they often become captivated by an image of themselves as being professional in sailing. This interest is in learning more of the techniques, more of the terminology, more of the "inside" information about the sea.

In addition to this tendency to think of sailing as an end in itself, there are other features of the Outward Bound experience which make it seem unrelated to the situations most students face after the course. For example, the schools are located in retreat-like wilderness settings quite unlike the urban, industrialized environments most boys are in contact with. This
difference between the Outward Bound environment and the home environment can serve as a stimulus to change while at Outward Bound. In a new environment individuals often try out new behaviors. This difference also, however, makes integrating the Outward Bound experience into daily functioning after the course more difficult.

Post-course conditions are not conducive to supporting personal growth changes in students. Students have few procedures available for integrating the important and special Outward Bound experience into their daily functioning. Some Outward Bound students can talk with, or perhaps work out with, others who have been to Outward Bound. This is especially so at certain of the large prep schools, but again this is not an extensive follow-up procedure. Other students try to bring small parts of Outward Bound into their daily functioning on their own. For example, they may run every morning. This is not easy to keep up especially when you have to run alone. A few of the Outward Bound students continue actively in the Outward Bound organization. They may come back to the school as staff-trainees, and then as staff. They still have no special help in integrating Outward Bound into their usual (non-Outward Bound) functioning.

Without such integration into a student's daily functioning, the Outward Bound experience can elicit feelings undonducive to long-term change, such as nostalgia. Students can easily become nostalgic, looking back on the Outward Bound course as one of their major life experiences. The experience may be thought of merely as a "past" event, something which could never be duplicated. They may even wonder how they were able to do what they did at Outward Bound. This can happen when, after getting distance from the Outward Bound experience, one feels more completely the
fears which accompany a particular incident. Changes in self-image felt during the course may begin to seem alien to a person. There is a tendency to exaggerate the dramatic and dangerous aspects of the course and emphasize dramatic experiences. The equally valid, and more frequent experiences of gradual personal change at Outward Bound can remain undeveloped.

B. Developing the ability to deal with danger, in particular the fear which is evoked (developing of courage).

There are many kinds of danger at Outward Bound, and many fears which are evoked. Physical dangers, at times involving a student’s life, are emphasized both in the public relations media and during the course. But there are other dangers which seem potentially to have a great impact on students. There is, for example, the danger of not succeeding, and the accompanying fear of failure. On the long hikes, or long rows in the open whale boats, one can never be sure all the time one will make it.

As we have suggested, it did not seem that Outward Bound handled the emotion of fear in a way necessarily conducive to learning. Too often the experience of fear was not a learning experience. There can be little doubt, however, that confrontation with what is subjectively felt as dangerous is a crucial part of a student’s Outward Bound experience. Were it not for this, Outward Bound would become just another summer camp.

In examining the element of danger and its accompanying fear we will focus on physical danger. There are several reasons for this focus. We mentioned the emphasis on physical danger in the public relations media and during the course. Students point toward situations involving physical
danger. They anticipate these situations, though rarely do they eagerly enter them. Moreover, of all the dangers present at Outward Bound, physical danger seems the best understood, and the most carefully worked on.

An educationally-effective amount of danger, involving a balance of "objective" danger and what is "subjectively" felt as dangerous, is not easily attained at Outward Bound. Tasks which are objectively dangerous are not always synonymous with tasks which are subjectively felt as dangerous. Climbing up loose rock is in fact quite dangerous, but students do not instinctively feel it as too dangerous. The rappell on the other hand, is usually felt as being quite dangerous, though the way it is set up makes it in fact fairly safe. A task which is both objectively dangerous and subjectively felt as dangerous is canoing in difficult white water. Most often tasks which are subjectively felt as dangerous depend on the student's inexperience with the task requirements.

The first time one climbs a rock face, or "shouts the rapids" or is on the sea at night in an open boat, is entirely different from the second or any succeeding time. The unknown is critical to generating a feeling that one is involved in a dangerous task. Often, as a student gains experience with such tasks they feel less dangerous and can become objectively less dangerous. But students can make the tasks objectively more dangerous through over-confidence. At times tasks are designed whose major purpose seems to be to provide the students with a "new thrill", a new danger experience. Some of the more professional staff objected to this type of task, particularly when the task did not seem central to pre-
paring students for functioning in their wilderness environment. Yet if objective physical dangers were eliminated, the Outward Bound experience would possibly be much less intense than it now is. It seems likely that many of the instructors would no longer operate as effectively. Since they know there are objective dangers, they retain a more intense, and active participation. They make extraordinary demands on their own time, energy and involvement.

One of the more prevalent approaches to the question of physical danger is shared by the more professional staff members. They believe in exploring limits but with continued knowledgeable and careful assessment of the dangers involved, and the probabilities of surviving those dangers. Their approach is safe and reasonable, while they continue to extend themselves and confront danger. Their approach is perhaps the main reason why they are still alive after their many climbs and wilderness experiences. The importance of technical competence and judgment again becomes clear. Instructors must be able to assess the objective dangers of a situation, and take into account the level of competence students may have for dealing with the situation.

Tasks which involve physical danger are clearly defined. Rules for meeting these tasks are specified and adherence is demanded. When one is learning about climbing, the technique is fully explained. The dangers inherent in the task are explained and methods for dealing with them are outlined, for example, what to do in case of falling rock. It is made very clear that "one wrong step" often does mean the difference between life and
Students are instructed against doing things which would be considered "reckless". There is an emphasis on appraising the situation, and determining the probability of success, the degree of danger. When a particular action is considered appropriate, the emphasis is on the task. The student should think of himself only in regard to how he can complete the action successfully. His concern is how he can make the difficult part of the climb, hugging the mountain on the ledge with nothing below but an enormous fall. He literally cannot afford to think about how frightening that moment is, until he has performed the action. Too much introspection at moments like that could lead to dangerous self-consciousness, even physical immobilization. That's likely what happened to the boy who froze on the rock face. It is not easy for students to focus on the next hand hold or foot hold and ignore the fact that they may be more frightened than they have ever been in their life.

The fact that certain procedures and rules are necessary to meeting dangerous tasks has important implications. A student cannot participate in certain parts of the course if he hasn't mastered the rules. Having a boy on a climb who has not mastered the safety rules is quite different from having a student in a class who does not understand the math problem as well as others in the class. A boy on the mountain who is not aware of the safety precautions can endanger his own life as well as the lives of others. Because of the cumulative nature of the learning at Outward Bound and because techniques are taught rapidly as time is short, unless a boy participates from the beginning it is likely he will not be able to participate later during the course. When a student has not participated in the early stages and is not prepared to go into the field or climb a
mountain, special instruction usually takes place. This, however, becomes a severe strain on the already limited instructional staff.

Moments of danger are embedded in the "daily" requirements of persistence. The times when a student has to confront danger often come unexpectedly. The climb would be going quite well when suddenly one approached a crevasse, and the moment of danger was unexpectedly at hand. The dangerous task would also be quite expected; one could work toward mastering it. For example, students were aware of the "big rappell" even before they began the course. They looked toward the rappell and thought about it. But throughout, was the need for persistence. As with the rock climb, so many of the dangerous moments had to be confronted "one by one"; the rest of the time one waited, persistently. Tasks which require persistence take up more actual time in the Outward Bound course than tasks requiring other capacities. Tasks involving danger, however, are often emphasized more and considered more significant by students.

C. Developing the capacity for persistence (developing will-power).

The persistence needed is both physical and psychological. The need for physical persistence is quite clear. The long hikes, the long rows, the long portages, the long days of paddling, all require substantial persistence. Well after fatigue has set in, when physical pain has already come and gone, students often must continue. In the conditioning exercises, for example, though a student is completely exhausted, he is asked to "do one more" pull up, etc. The need for persistence often leads to a fatigue which lowered one's "psychological resistance". Students become at times more willing and at times less willing than
usual to try things or stretch their limits.

Psychological persistence is equally important. We talked of the waiting at the rock face, the long waits before it was your turn to climb. There are many occasions when students have time to think about the danger that lay ahead. Students also have to be able to stay with a task even though the rewards were few or scattered far apart. For example, one had to continue on the long expedition despite the fact that one had not had a good night’s sleep or a good meal for several days. The three-day solo experience is primarily a test of persistence; day after day has to be faced. The solo becomes a dramatic event in post hoc descriptions. Then the solo is often considered as a single event rather than so many minutes, hours, or days, facing the ever-present traps of boredom, and loneliness.

The need for persistence seems to impart a sense of continuity to the Outward Bound experience. Were they not set within the context of persistence, the moments of danger would more likely become merely discrete "spectaculars". Set within the context of persistence, these moments of danger become more likely to have an effect on personal growth.

D. Developing a style of functioning which includes pacing oneself, living efficiently and economically, and relying on one’s natural resources.

The individual must develop a steady, regular pace. This pace is necessary to master many of the tasks and to meet the sometimes extraordinary demands made upon one’s energy. As we saw on the climb up the rock face, steady, regular movements are required. "Scrambling" makes the task extremely difficult and dangerous. The hikes, expeditions, canoe
trips — all demand energy expenditure spread over long periods of time. If one is to work at them throughout the day and sometimes into the night, pacing becomes essential. Especially in the early part of the course, students do not have a regular rhythm to their canoe paddling and will put forth spurts of hard paddling in the context of generally lackadaisical paddling. It is only in time that students realize how important it is to have a regular rhythm to their paddling, to systematically switch the sides on which they paddle. Not all students learn this, and for them a long day of paddling is extraordinarily difficult. The same is true with hiking and rowing. The urge to "work hard and get there faster" had to be subdued. Regular breaks are also essential.

There is an important difference between pacing which is externally imposed on a student, and pacing which evolves from within the student and is based on his own characteristics. The former pacing is very mechanical, the latter is more of a rhythm. Most students do not develop pacing as a rhythm though this is the ideal.

Within the context of this steady, regular pace, the individual must also be flexible, ready for unusual demands on his energy or "decisions". When one is on white water, there is a premium on being able to make "just the right stroke". One had to be able to react quickly, and one's instincts must be right more often than wrong. There are also times when a quick person's energy is essential. In mountain rescue work, if the litter starts to slip, an extreme output of energy in a very short period of time may be required. Moreover, as one is hiking, or paddling, one must adapt to changes in conditions. Students must learn to regulate their body temperature by making adjustments in
their clothing. One must also keep dry. One's rain gear must be handy, but not in the way when it is not in use. If one's pacing is merely mechanical, this flexibility is more difficult to attain.

The individual must learn to live simply, efficiently and economically. On expedition, one must take only those things which are essential because the weight of the packs must be kept down. Gear must be organized and packed efficiently. Space is also at a premium. The solo experience for many students epitomizes this need to live simply, efficiently, and economically. The idea of the body as a "machine" becomes important. One, for example, takes on expedition small amounts of high energy food, and feeds the body as one would stoke a furnace. Food is seen as fuel, whose purpose is to provide energy. The simplicity, efficiency and economy are much more prevalent in the field than at the home base or the school. Still there are very few frills at school, for example, no TVs or radios, and students live in tents.

The individual must continually exert his own effort without employing short-cuts. There is a conscious emphasis on the use of the most basic (often archaic) modes for student training. You hike at Outward Bound whenever possible. Rides are available if the time required to travel by foot would prevent key parts of the program from taking place. For example, if one had to walk to the point from which the canoe expedition embarks, the expedition could never be held. Whale-boats equipped with oars, at times using sails, are used instead of power boats. One paddles and carries one's canoe over the portage rather than employing motor power, or flying in to the various lakes by small plane.
Modern technological aids are used primarily by staff, particularly to insure safety. Various communication devices and power boats are available for rescue operations. Staff members also "treat" themselves to the "luxury" of modern conveniences, e.g. the latest in alpine stoves on the expedition or a ride to the solo site.

The tasks which require efficiency, economy and use of one's own resources are designed, and at least implicitly offered to the student as "lessons" in getting close to one's "natural conditions". These lessons, however, seem short-lived. Perhaps the best example of this is the solo experience. Given minimum resources for food and shelter, the student must deal with these critical areas himself and in a very primitive form. He goes about foraging his own food, cooks it if he desires, and then eats it. Throughout he has been directly involved in providing energy for his body. The same holds true in his providing warmth and shelter for himself. And in a more subtle and perhaps more important area, students must learn to deal with time. For four days and three nights alone in the woods is a long time, and boredom is one of the major elements in the solo. Things such as electric blankets, bedrooms, TV and movies take on a new meaning. Without them the student must work harder and longer at meeting some of his basic needs. During the solo he comes to understand these needs more intimately for he often has difficulty in finding food and providing shelter. Unfortunately much of this understanding seems tied to the particular task of completing the solo. After solo, students very quickly "forget" many of the things they "learned".
There often seem to be insufficient amounts of fun, play, release, and exploration. These seen necessary counterpoints to the emphasis on pacing, efficiency and economy. There is a tremendous pressure to keep going, to take a longer route, to push on further before making camp. This pressure means that certain pleasures must be sacrificed, for example, an evening dip in the lake, exploring an island, or glissading down a vast stretch of snow. When such recreation is sacrificed too often, things seem to get stale. Fatigue builds to an unproductive level. The dip, or the exploration, inevitably refreshes students, and regeneration them so they can continue to put forth effort and remain involved.

E. Developing interpersonal competence and sensitivity to improve task performance.

Interpersonal relations at Outward Bound are primarily oriented toward task performance. Extensive or intensive interpersonal relationships are not encouraged, nor are they frequent. This presents a problem, for often such relationships seem necessary to the Outward Bound experience. We talked for example of how the educational impact of a fear experience might be increased if the student could share this experience with others. But sharing feelings of fear in a constructive way usually requires a good deal of understanding, and trust among people. A relationship of such depth is not frequent at Outward Bound.

The fact that interpersonal relations are oriented toward task performance also influences the concept of Outward Bound as a "melting-pot". There is great opportunity for Outward Bound to be a melting-pot experience. In any one watch, brigade or patrol, the variety is great. But what in fact happens as that a heterogeneous group of students learns
to function as a team though students generally do not come to understand each other in any depth. The initiative tests are a good illustration of how students develop teamwork. The basis of the teamwork is an appraisal of the particular strengths and/or weaknesses of the individual members. For example, someone who is quite strong fulfills one part of the task, someone who is light and can jump high fills another part. But the variety of aspects which makes up any one person is not explored. The part of him which is functionally important, that is, which will lead to the solution of a task, is emphasized. Students easily acquire labels, for example, "he can really navigate", or "he can really portage", or "he's really strong in the shoulders". These labels are misleading. Not only do they discourage in depth knowledge of another person, but also they make empty and facile the Outward Bound idea that "each boy has a contribution to make". Too often a student's contribution becomes a not too subtle smokescreen for a failure to accept him as a person. The boy who is "our fastest runner" is often denied participation in the full range of activities such as free-time horsing around, or "bull sessions". Being "the fastest runner" less frequently serves as an entree into the group.

The teamwork which develops does not seem particularly durable. It seems to belie the fact that interpersonal relations do not cover the many facets of the individual. The degree of teamwork is easily affected by the task at hand. At certain points, when the going is particularly tough, for example, on a muddy portage, teamwork often deteriorates. At other points, when the going is easier, for example, on the return trip
on the expedition, teamwork is much more in evidence.

Impressive learning could occur if interpersonal exploration were encouraged. Since the group composition is heterogeneous and there are a number of intense, shared experiences, groups could communicate about important things. This kind of interchange does happen spontaneously, on occasion, and the results seem so fruitful and important that it may be wise to encourage this interpersonal sharing more explicitly.

The helping relationship provides a further example of the task oriented nature of interpersonal relations. "To help" and "to be helped" are important aspects of Outward Bound. Students depend on each other in an ultimate but circumscribed way. As we described in the climb up the rock face, the climber depends in an ultimate way on the belayer. But the person who belays is more a role than a person. Within very broad limits, any student could belay for any other student who was climbing. Very often the student upon whom you ultimately depended while climbing is one you do not turn to for help in other situations. The classic example of a patrol helping the "fat guy" over the wall or beam is likewise often a very circumscribed helping relationship. The exigencies of the task seem to bring out the helping response, which in other less demanding situations is conspicuously absent.

Competition with standards of excellence, the concern with effective performance is one issue which is rather fully explored. Intergroup competition is an explicit issue at Outward Bound. There are days set aside for group competition and daily scores for group competition on tasks like drown-proofing and conditioning are often kept. Competition with oneself is also stressed. Students are encouraged to improve upon their
past performances, to outdo themselves. On the rock face, the need to immediately climb again and this time not fall, was in complete harmony with the Outward Bound idea. Tasks like drown-proofing and conditioning encourage the individual to gradually improve his skills and better his prior performance. Inter-individual competition, though not encouraged, is allowed. The marathon, for example, is often an opportunity for individuals to compete against each other, in spite of the fact that group scores are kept.

Much of the impetus for competition comes from the staff. The staff members are continually trying to improve upon their own performance. They are either trying to do a task more efficiently, or trying to present themselves with a harder task to complete. The staff members also compete with each other. They very often use their groups in this inter-staff competition. For example, there is competition to see which brigade can take the hardest route on the expedition. This intra- and inter-staff competition helps the staff avoid boredom or disinterest in doing the same task at least three different times in any summer session (there are three courses each summer).

There is little support for expressing what are traditionally considered more feminine concerns, for example, tenderness, caring about others, sensitivity to others' needs. There is a tremendous force to "get on with the job". Someone who wants to "take time out" to inquire about how others are doing or what they may need, does not often occupy a valued role. Over-protective concern for others is often ridiculed. A student who checks on whether others are dressed to meet the weather may be dismissed with the label, "hey mother". There is a
tendency to polarize these expressions of tenderness and sympathy into a concept of femininity (and weakness) as contrasted with masculinity. The general realm of feelings and appreciation of beauty also tend to be pushed into a concept of femininity.

The de-emphasis on exploring interpersonal issues seems to result from both characteristics of the Outward Bound program and staff preferences. The Outward Bound schedule is a tight one. As we saw in the climb up the rock face, there is little time left over after all students have had a chance to perform the task. The time students spend waiting for their turn invariably remains waiting; rarely does anything with interpersonal intensity get started. Moreover, there is an understanding that exploration of interpersonal issues can make task performance ineffective, at least in the early stages. Again, because of constraints of time, as well as the fact that real dangers exist with many tasks, tasks must be performed effectively quite soon. In isolated instances, for example, in some of the initiative tests, interpersonal issues are allowed to intrude upon the effectiveness of task performance. But one's life does not depend upon the way the initiative test is solved. Finally there are few structures which encourage exploration of interpersonal issues. There are, for example, few times devoted to group discussions; and not enough time is given to develop the discussion in depth.

Staff preferences in this area are critical. Most of the Outward Bound staff do not see their jobs as encouraging interpersonal exploration. They feel that task performance is the essential aspect of Outward Bound, the key challenge experience. Interpersonal understanding, if it occurs, is seen as an outgrowth of task performance. And because they too are
pressed for time, with so many things they have to attend to, they do not often specifically encourage interpersonal understanding.

The emphasis on action does not explain fully the emphasis on task performance and de-emphasis on interpersonal exploration. In actuality, some of the most important instances of interpersonal exploration at Outward Bound are pure actions. When you're struggling to get your heavy pack up on your back, the person who comes over to lend a hand says something quite special. Moreover, students must think things out in solving tasks. For example, learning to use a compass is critical to the trek in the woods; developing a plan of action or solving a problem is critical to meeting the initiative tests.

F. Developing a desire to serve others.

Outward Bound works in three areas which are essential to developing the desire to serve: (a) confidence in being able to help others; (b) the development of certain service skills, e.g. first aid; and (c) a service attitude or orientation. There is a strong interest in developing students' confidence in their ability to help others. In belaying, for example, the student is told that another's life literally depends on his skill and attention to the task. Students are also given responsibility for larger groups and even parts of the school, for example, the duty patrol and in particular the duty captain. Helping skills, such as first aid, are important parts of the Outward Bound program. During both mock and actual rescue operations these skills are further developed and tested. There is finally the general service attitude which pervades the schools. The schools serve as official rescue centers for their areas.