THE UNIFORMED CADET FORCES: UNREPORTED BARRIERS TO YOUTH ENRICHMENT OUTCOMES IN COMMUNITY-BASED CADET UNITS

By

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Abstract

The uniformed cadet forces (UCFs) are volunteer-led, armed forces inspired, providers of out-of-school enrichment provision for young people similar to the scouts, church groups or sports clubs. In a context of neo-liberal style state retreat from community-based youth enrichment provision, it is unclear as to whether the UCFs can fill this provision gap. Largely Ministry of Defence sponsored, the existing literature lacks a critical analysis of claimed outcomes. This research addresses this gap in the literature, highlighting unreported impediments to service delivery. Using the Sea Cadet Corps (SCC) as a case study, it employs the autoethnographic reflections of an ex-cadet leader to develop a quantitative survey of 405 Cadet Force Adult Volunteers (CFAVs). Bourdieu's constructs of field, habitus, and capital are used as a conceptual framework to analyse the data, using the SpSS software package, discovering seven barriers to youth outcomes missing from the literature. These impediments are 'path dependency' of cadet units, 'cultural transition' problems for CFAVs, the requirements of volunteers to commit their 'central life interests' to the SCC, the needs of 'serious leisure' participants, the problems of 'marginal volunteering' for those wishing to leave, 'efficacy' limitations, and the predominance of 'situated-volunteers.' The policy recommendations arising from these findings are aimed at both the SCC and stakeholder government departments. It is recommended that the SCC need to explicitly focus on the volunteer-experience comparable in importance to the cadet-experience, acknowledge and address volunteer shortages and training qualification shortfalls amongst CFAVs, and to address the ambiguity of whether it is a military recruitment organisation or generic youth enrichment provider. It also needs financial support to appoint paid volunteer enablers, introduce reservist style status for key volunteers, and to bring each unit under central control, ending their charitable status, which is the cause of so many barriers to claimed outcomes.

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Preface

"…this has been one of the most rewarding things I have done, but also one of the most stressful and demoralising too."

The quote above was provided by a volunteer with 36 years' service in the Sea Cadet Corps. It illustrates, I believe, how a significant number of committed volunteers feel as they approach the end of their time as a volunteer. Clearly proud of the work they have done yet frustrated in the obstacles that were placed in their way, preventing them delivering a better service. As a Sea Cadet volunteer, and unit manager myself, such feelings inspired this thesis. I worked for nine years as the chairman of my local Sea Cadet unit, dedicating thousands of hours to providing training opportunities to young people in the local area. However, as I reflect on this time my main emotion is that of frustration. Firstly, frustration that no matter how much time and effort I gave, the cadet-experience as delivered at my community-based unit, was never able to reach the standard of the cadet-experience as designed, and sold in promotional material, owing to the limitations of relying solely on volunteers and volunteering systems. Secondly, frustration that so few people are aware of these limitations. From parents to local government officials, national policy makers, or even Sea Cadet paid national managers, expectations are placed on Sea Cadet volunteers, and the service they offer, that in my opinion are unrealistic and potentially damaging to individuals who try to meet them. The rationale for this research, therefore, is to use the SCC as a case study of the broader uniformed cadet forces, to highlight the extent, causes and consequences of failing to understand the difference between the cadet-experience as designed and the variability of the cadet-experience as delivered. In doing this, a fuller understanding of the capacity of out-of-school volunteer organisations and their role in broader education policies can be achieved.

Declaration

I hereby certify that the work presented in this thesis is my original research where due reference is given to the literature. No part of this thesis has been submitted previously for a degree at this or any other university.

Name **Paul Barber**

Signed

Date **17/07/2022**

List of Abbreviations

ACF	Army Cadet Force
AFC	Armed Forces Covenant
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
ATC	Air Training Corps
BERR	Business Enterprise & Regulatory Reform
C4EO	Centre for Excellence and Outcomes in Children's Services
CBI	Confederation of British Industry
CCF	Combined Cadet Force
CEP	Cadet Expansion Programme
CFAV	Cadet Force Adult Volunteer
CO	Commanding Officer
CVQO	Cadet Vocational Qualifications Organisation
DERS	Defence Employer Recognition Scheme
DfE	Department for Education
GPYE	Global Partnership for Youth Employment
HOV	Homogeneity of Variance
MMR	Mixed-Methods Research
MoD	Ministry of Defence
MOO	Memorandum of Understanding
MSSC	Marine Society and Sea Cadets
MSSCC	Marine Society and Sea Cadet Council
NCS	National Citizen Service
NCVO	National Council for Voluntary Organisations
NMW	National Minimum Wage
NSCAC	National Sea Cadet Advisory Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OiC	Officer in Charge
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
RAF	Royal Air Force
RFCA	Reserve Forces and Cadets Association
RM	Royal Marines
RN	Royal Navy
SCC	Sea Cadet Corps
SCVS	Sea Cadet Volunteer Survey
SpSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UCFs	Uniformed Cadet Forces
UK	United Kingdom
UMT	Unit Management Team
VCC	Volunteer Cadet Corps
VIF	Variance Inflation Factor

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The uniformed cadet forces (UCFs), inspired by the ethos and traditions of the British armed forces, are described by the Ministry of Defence (MoD) as volunteer youth organisations that "offer challenging and enjoyable activities for young people and prepare them to play an active part in the community while developing valuable life skills" (GOV.UK, 2021), accessible to young people between the ages of ten and twenty (Wood, 2014). The MoD sponsor the five UCFs comprising the Sea Cadet Corps (SCC), Army Cadet Force (ACF), Air Training Corps (ATC), Volunteer Cadet Corps (VCC), and Combined Cadet Force (CCF), supported by thirteen regional Reserve Forces and Cadet Associations (RFCA) who advise the Defence Council[1] on cadets related matters (GOV.UKa, n.d.). They are, by tradition, military training inspired providers of development activities for young people, similar in philosophy to service providers such as local authority youth centres, the scouting associations, police cadets, church groups or sports clubs, each providing their own version of skills development opportunities aimed at generating positive adult outcomes. Most cadet units are community-based, but some are located in schools. The *raison d'être* of all such organisations is to provide enrichment opportunities to young people, supporting their personal growth and transition to adulthood, with a theme particular to each organisation. The theme of the SCC and VCC is the history and values of the Royal Navy (RN) and Royal Marines (RM), the ACF is inspired by the British Army, and the values of the ATC are driven by a Royal Air Force (RAF) ethos. The school-based CCF differs slightly, being able to take the shape of any combination of SCC, ACF, or ATC cadet unit(s).

Existing literature on the UCFs is rooted within government and military policy agendas. Writing in 2011 for the MoD, Brigadier James Plastow CBE wrote when discussing youth engagement in the UCFs that “all who take part, even for a short time, are better for it.” (Plastow, 2011, p.2). This uncritical view was reflected by Denny *et al.,* (2018) who published an academic report, again sponsored by the MoD, on the social impact of public expenditure on the UCFs. They cited almost universal praise for the cadet forces. Indeed, commentators such as Sangster (2017) writing for the campaigning organisation ForcesWatch was struck how there were zero negative comments from cadets. I argue here that these, and other publications

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[1] The Defence Council is the government body with legal responsibility for the defence of the United Kingdom, headed by the Secretary of State for Defence, who is accountable to the Queen and Parliament.

on the UCFs, originating within the government/MoD, have lacked a critical analytic assessment of the cadet-experience. See *et al.,* (2017) agree. They conducted a peer reviewed control trial of cadet outcomes, randomised at school level for groups of children aged thirteen to fourteen. They reported that previous government/MoD sponsored material suffered from a conflict of interest and that it was open to selection bias. However, even though this research was not government or military sponsored, it too had its problems. The focus was purely on outcomes in school-based cadet units, ignoring entirely the community-based units that constitute the majority of the UCFs.

1.2 Problem Statements

It is proposed here that existing studies into the cadet forces have suffered from a 'grand narrative' (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) style of research, where the 'facts' deriving from the research are tied to the language and methodologies used to collect them (Kuhn, 1996). In this instance the prevailing narrative is that there is a standard Sea Cadet product that all cadets receive, and that this product is equitable to that seen in promotional material (Figure 1.1). As such, all existing research focuses on evidencing the outcomes associated with the narrative, rather than questioning the narrative itself. Questions of volunteer shortages, variable cadet engagement, restricted access to training, qualification shortages, gender imbalance, financial concerns, geographical disparities, support issues or volunteer stress levels are examples of questions that are missing from the debate owing to ontological assumptions that these issues do not exist, or sometimes just because no one thought to ask. The major concern here is that none of the existing government/MoD sponsored research or previous school-based academic research has had either the desire, or capacity, to illuminate the day-to-day difficulties community-based cadet units face in operating a youth provision programme reliant on volunteers and volunteer institutions. As a consequence, there is a general lack of understanding within both the UCFs and amongst its broader stakeholder community that the cadet-experience[2] as delivered at a local level may not always resemble the cadet-experience as designed or advertised in promotional material. This issue is a major constraint on outcomes at community-based youth training providers and raises broader concerns regarding political moves to replace what was once local-government funded youth provision with organisations such as the UCFs. Indeed, David Cameron's 'Big Society' initiative, continued by Theresa May's 'Shared Society' iteration (Mills & Waite, 2018) *require* organisations such as the UCFs to take over the

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[2] The term 'cadet-experience' is used throughout this thesis when referring to the idealised product that is sold in promotional material, and to contrast the real-world experience of the cadet product.

Figure 1.1 Typical Promotional Material

(Sea Cadets, 2021a)

provision of youth services from local government. However, as an ex-cadet leader, formally responsible for a community-based SCC unit for nine years, I am concerned with the capacity and availability of volunteers to deliver a youth services product that was previously delivered by full-time, qualified, paid professionals. I am also concerned with the institutional capacity of the UCF systems at national, regional, and local levels to support product delivery at a level commensurate to local government funded youth providers.

What needs to be made clear at this point is that although this PhD thesis will look critically at the capacity of the UCFs to deliver their product reliably and consistently as advertised, including how volunteer limitations play a role in this, it is not a general denigration of the men and women who offer their spare time as volunteers. Most volunteers work hard to create the best cadet-experience that they can, and this research aims to show how these efforts can be made to be more consistently productive.

1.3 Research Aims / Objectives

Aims:

The capacity of the UCFs to deliver youth development opportunities in an environment of scaled-back state provision is poorly understood, with the current discourse dominated by those within the government/MoD. The aim of this thesis is to look beyond the rhetoric of the literature commissioned by those with an interest in positive reporting, by considering the volunteer and institutional limitations that can produce a cadet-experience that is inferior to that which was designed. By doing so this thesis aims to highlight what the limitations of the UCFs are, and the implications of these limitations for both those delivering and receiving the UCF product.

Objectives:

1. To conduct a review of the UCF literature, my own experience as a cadet leader, and the academic literature to seek evidence of the current situation in the UCFs.
2. Design and conduct a quantitative survey for completion by CFAVs to seek issues that are missing from the current literature, specifically, constructs surrounding volunteer commitments, workloads, stresses, and shortages, in addition to institutional constraints such as organisational structures, facilities and training capacities.
3. Analyse the difference between what is reported in the current literature, and what CFAVs are saying, and highlight the implications for the broader UCFs.

1.4 Research Question

What personnel and institutional factors cause the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units to fall short of the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

This research question was developed based on my own concerns as a cadet leader and a detailed review of the literature, however, in seeking a more nuanced approach to answering this question, three research sub-questions linked to the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu were developed:

Research Sub-Question One

To what extent does Bourdieu's 'field' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

Research Sub-Question Two

To what extent do the 'rules of the social game' as expressed in Bourdieu's 'habitus' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

Research Sub-Question Three

To what extent does the possession, or lack of, Bourdieu's 'capital' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

The personal reflections and literature reviews to follow provide the reader with a pathway to the development of the research question and sub-questions, specifically regarding the relevance of Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, and his constructs of field, habitus, and capital (Bourdieu, 1977). In brief, Bourdieu's theory provides the ideal conceptual framework to aid the exploration of the issues in this PhD thesis. Much of my experiences as a cadet leader has highlighted that the shortcomings of either volunteers or the SCC structures they work within are rarely binary, with each impacting the other. As such, Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, which is his response to the dichotomy of the structure/agency debate is an ideal framework in which to study the issues important to this research.

1.5 Original Contribution to Knowledge / Significance of Study

This research makes a critical and original contribution to knowledge situated at the intersection of debates on military ethos providers, volunteering, and informal education drawing on human geography, education studies, and sociology literature. Existing research in this field is obsessed with making claims regarding the outcomes associated with attendance. However, evaluations and assessments of outcomes are based upon a 'best-case-scenario' cadet-experience as

designed on paper and sold in promotional material. All research regarding the UCFs in recent years has either been commissioned from within government/MoD (Moon *et al.,* 2010; Plastow, 2011; Wood, 2014; Bertram, *et al.,* 2018; Denny *et al.,* 2018), or restricted to school-based units. (See *et al.,* 2017), creating doubt regarding the reliability of these findings, especially relating to community-based cadet units. This research refuses to accept these claims of what the cadet-experience looks like at face-value. It focuses solely on the community-based units that constitute most of the UCF estate, and where the limitations of volunteers and volunteer systems are more likely to impact the cadet-experience. It is the first to be conducted using 'insider research.' Fleming, (2018, p.312) described the benefits of this research method as being able to "develop research questions based on rich understandings of the issues needing investigation, providing information about what an organisation is really like and what is significant." This will allow me, an ex-cadet leader to challenge "taken for granted attitudes," providing "access to data off limits to others" (Chang, 2013, p.108), utilising a 'bottom-up' approach consciously looking to address what is missing from the literature, based on personal 'insider' experience. As such, the original contribution to knowledge that this PhD thesis makes is that it highlights the potential shortcomings of the cadet-experience as delivered on a day-to-day basis in community-based cadet units, compared to that which is designed. In highlighting these shortfalls, it will necessitate the claims of the existing literature regarding outcomes to be reassessed, based on a more realistic experience of attendance. The significance of this research is that government policies regarding a reduction of state-sponsored out-of-school youth provision is continuing. Between 2012 and 2019, for example, £400m was removed from youth services budgets in the UK resulting in over 4500 professional youth workers lost and 760 youth centres closed (Unison, 2019, p.2). This means that organisations such as the UCFs are left to provide the services formerly provided by full-time, qualified professionals. However, as I have outlined above, and detail below, the decision to move to a 'big society' style model is justified on research findings that lack a critically robust ontology, epistemology, and methodology, meaning that one of the most significant changes to how central/local government support youth development is based on incomplete data, that can, at least in part, start to be addressed in this study.

1.6 Structure of Thesis

In addition to this introduction there are nine further chapters that are used to achieve the aims and objectives of this PhD research. I introduce in Chapter 2 my reflections of what volunteering in the UCFs is like and what challenges exist, creating a context for what is to

come in subsequent chapters. In Chapter 3 I explore the SCC in detail as a case study of the UCFs, enabling refinement of the research aims to meet the specifics of the issues found in the SCC. In Chapter 4 I conduct a literature review to provide a conceptual framework from which I can address the concerns outlined in previous chapters. In Chapter 5 I then detail the methodological processes involved in choosing my primary research methods, the processes of conducting the research and any difficulties that were encountered. Chapters 6 to 8 are the empirical results chapters of this research, framed around Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and his constructs of 'field,' 'habitus,', and 'capital' (Bourdieu, 1977). I break the results down into three sub-questions, one per chapter, and include an analysis within each chapter, developing 23 'truth claims' relating to problems associated with delivery of the cadet-experience. Chapter 9 returns to the original research question, creating a thematic narrative from the truth claims that presents seven answers to the research question, before ending with a discussion regarding the limitations and implications of the findings. Finally, Chapter 10 contains the broader research conclusions summing up the methodologies used and important insights this research has uncovered, what these imply for the future of the UCFs, and the significance of the conceptual approaches used.

1.7 The Uniformed Cadet Forces

1.7.1 Background Information

The UCFs have a national footprint with an estate comprising some 3,300 local units, in addition to regional and national training centres. The ACF and ATC occupy around 90 percent of this estate, with RFCA responsible for approximately 2,500 sites. In addition, 80 percent of all reserve forces establishments include one or more cadet unit (Plastow, 2011, pp.9-15). With over 130,000 young people taking part in a combination of community and school-based UCF activities (MoD, 2020a), as seen in Figure 1.2, the cadet forces can certainly claim to be a significant contributor to youth enrichment provision within the UK. It is difficult to produce direct comparisons with other youth providers as age categories vary. However, the Scout Association, (Mills, 2011; 2013; Mills & Kraftl, 2014) who are the largest provider of youth activities in the UK with 480,000 members across all age groups, have approximately 179,000 young people of similar age (Scouts, 2020) in their Scouts (10½-14) and Explorer Scouts (14-18), making the UCFs approximately 72 percent the size of the sector leader.

There are significant variations in size between the different cadet forces as seen in Figure 1.2. The ACF, ATC and CCF are significantly larger than the SCC (which includes Royal Marine Cadets), with the VCC little more than a niche south coast-centric provider. Owing to

a lack of national impact, the VCC is usually omitted from the literature and features only briefly in this study.

Figure 1.2 UK Cadet Forces Structure

Cadet Force	Year Founded		No. of Cadets	No. of Volunteers	Age Range
Community Based Units Typically, two evenings per week & occasional weekends					
Sea Cadet Corps (SCC)	1856	6 Regions 47 Districts 400 Units	14,670	4660 (instructional)[3]	10-18
Army Cadet Force (ACF)	1860	4 Regions 13 Brigades 1680 Detachments	37,410	9100	12-18
Air Training Corps (ATC)	1941	6 Regions 34 Wings 1009 Squadrons	32,760	11680	13-20
Royal Navy Owned					
Volunteer Cadet Force	1901	8 units across southern England + Arbroath	650	150	9-18
School Based – Typically during school day - specialise in any of the three parent forces or any combination					
Combined Cadet Force (CCF)	1948 origins 1850's	400+ schools: 125 Royal Navy sections 19 Royal Marine sections 260 Army sections 200 RAF sections	45,020 (RN & RM, 6140) (Army, 29,920) (RAF, 8960)	3370	12-18

(MoD, 2020a)

The large number of school-based CCF cadets can be explained, at least in part, by the relative ease of setting up a unit in a school with facilities, staff, and resources largely in-built within existing infrastructure. A significant factor is also its long-standing links to the independent school sector which traditionally places greater emphasis on programmes that develop 'soft-skills,' than is typical in state-schools (Jerrim, *et al.,* 2015), with many making attendance compulsory (Wood, 2014), resulting in 80 percent of CCF units being situated in independent schools (Independent School Parent, 2020). One further driver of size differences is that both the ATC and ACF are institutionally more closely linked to their parent force, but the SCC made an operational decision approximately 100 years ago to distance itself slightly from the RN to gain somewhat more independence. The implication of this all these years later is that SCC units are independent charities, meaning that the ATC and ACF both receive significantly more public funding than the SCC whose cost to the public purse per cadet has traditionally

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[3] SCC units, being charities, have trustees and other support staff who play no role in training cadets, in addition to all the instructional staff who do the training.

been smaller at only 78 percent to that of the ATC and 49 percent to that of the ACF (Plastow, 2011, p.9), with the shortfall addressed by the trustees of each cadet unit.

1.7.2 Individual Cadet Forces

The Sea Cadet Corps (SCC), traditionally inspired by a RN and RM ethos, operate with a geographically diverse footprint throughout the UK, with additional units in Bermuda, Malta, the Channel Islands and the Falkland Islands. The SCC joined together with the Marine Society in 2004 to form the Marine Society and Sea Cadets (MSSC) and it is the MSSC, through a memorandum of understanding with the RN who have oversight of SCC operations. However, as registered charities the day-to-day activities of each unit are the responsibility of the charity trustees and instructional staff. The SCC claim a range of activities, often referred in the corps as the 'hook' to get cadets through the door, regardless of actual local provision. This 'hook' could be the possibility of week-long trips on its own tall ship, yachts, and large powered training ships. Locally, cadets are promised access to water sports such as power boating, sailing, kayaking, windsurfing, and rowing, in addition to other opportunities like adventurous training, 5-a-side-football, and trips out to local facilities such as swimming pools, climbing walls, shooting ranges and laser quest facilities. In addition, there is a detailed national training plan that includes classroom and other unit-based training such as navigation or even being part of a band. The SCC claim that being a cadet makes young people more confident, in charge of themselves, a leader, a more confident speaker, a brilliant team player, skilled, qualified, adaptable, and motivated (Sea Cadets, 2021a).

The ACF is embedded into the regular British Army command structure at a national level meaning that there are no cadet commanders above county level. RFCA recruit all ACF non-commissioned officers and manage all the permanent staff at regional level and below. This is a complex structure where the Army command the ACF, whilst RFCA manage the key staff that are not officers. As Plastow (2011, p.15) points out, "it is unusual for one authority to manage an organisation in which another authority manages the majority of its key people." According to the ACF website, cadets will be spending their spare time "taking part in adventurous activities like rock climbing, mountain biking, archery and abseiling." Potential cadets are informed that they will "learn a wide range of transferable skills such as: the ability to command tasks; make decisions under pressure; plan and organise tasks and work as an effective team player as well as independently" (Army Cadets, 2021).

Established in 1941, the ATC, with strong links to the RAF, has a countrywide command structure with national and regional headquarters sub-divided into local 'wings' and

'squadrons,' making good use of RAF and army bases for their training outside of the individual unit (Plastow, 2011, p.14). Their website asks potential cadets if they are "up for fun, adventure, incredible experiences and making new friends?" It states that their three aims are to promote and encourage a practical interest in aviation and the RAF among young people, provide training which will be useful in the Services and civilian life and to encourage the spirit of adventure and develop qualities of leadership and good citizenship (RAF, 2021). The ATC offer similar activities to the other UCFs including Duke of Edinburgh awards and adventurous training, however, with their links to the RAF it is not surprising that they offer airborne activities such as gliding, air experience flights, the air cadet pilot scheme, and the air cadet pilot navigation scheme (ibid).

The VCC is operated directly by the RN and was formed to "keep mariners' children out of mischief" (Volunteer Cadet Corps, 2021). Originally only open to children of RN and RM personnel it is now accessible to all children in the local community unless the unit is at capacity in which case priority is given to service children. The stated aims of the VCC are "to provide opportunities for young people to develop into responsible, dependable and useful members of society, employing the traditions and practises of the Naval Service as the basis for their activities" (VCR01, 2017, p.1-6). The VCC is headquartered at HMS Excellent in Portsmouth and its operational command consists of serving RN and RM personnel. The commanding officers of individual units are usually MoD CFAVs but can be serving forces personnel (ibid). The VCC accept cadets between the ages of 9 and 16 with cadets able to serve until their 18th birthday. VCC cadets enjoy sports and adventure training, attend weekend and summer camps, public events, and develop military and naval skills, usually having access to the gym and sports facilities of their parent RN or RM establishment. The VCC has eleven training themes that cadets follow: turnout, drill, military knowledge, skill at arms, navigation, fieldcraft, seamanship, first aid, fitness and wellbeing, community engagement and music. With such a military styled syllabus, and direct RN stewardship, it is fair to state that the VCC are more closely aligned to their parent force and have a stronger military ethos than the other UCFs.

The Combined Cadet Force (CCF) can trace its roots back to the 1850s when some schools formed Rifle Volunteer Battalions (Wood, 2014, p.6). The modern-day iteration of these is funded by schools with initial funding support from the MoD providing uniforms; training; and access to facilities, stores, and equipment (ibid). The CCF in schools can comprise of up to three service sections from the RN, Army and RAF (Wood, 2014, p.7). The unit is run by a team of volunteers in much the same way as a community unit, however, these are drawn primarily from teachers within the school, supported by outside volunteers (ibid). CCF units

are usually different to community units in that they are managed by the head teacher (who is likely to have different aims) and are often within the school day, meaning the motivations for joining can be different.

It is important to note that not all school-based units are CCF units. There are several hundred cadet units utilising school premises. These units can run outside of the normal school day or within the curriculum. They can be either ‘closed units’ run by the school, for the students at that school only, or ‘open units’ freely accessible to the local community (Plastow, 2011, p.15). Whether CCF or school-based SCC, ACF or ATC, these facilities have found favour at governmental level in recent years with the £10m Cadet Expansion Programme (CEP) initiated in 2012 by then Prime Minister David Cameron aimed at adding 100 units in state schools by 2015 (Wood, 2014). Such was the success of this programme that £50m of LIBOR fines[4] was allocated and the aspirational increase in cadet units was adjusted to 500 by 2020, reaching the target in November 2019 (GOV.UK, 2019). It is easy to understand why schools might want cadet units. The benefits of uniformed cadet force participation are generally reported to be significant; including development of teamwork skills, reflection and initiative, an increase in academic achievement amongst participants, a decrease in anti-social behaviour, and improved school attendance for previously excluded pupils (Moon *et al.,* 2010; Denny *et al*., 2018). Also, many head teachers consider them as being a good recruitment tool for the school (Moon, *et al.,* 2010) based on parents’ desiring more holistic development beyond an academic-only curriculum. Also, (Wood, 2014) suggested that the higher levels of behaviour expected of cadets was transferred into the larger school community and that some students who had been academically struggling in school found that they could demonstrate their abilities in different ways in the cadet unit and gain recognition for it. This model does have its problems though. Many schools struggle to recruit and retain UCF staff owing to existing workload pressures on teachers (ibid). Also, because it is usual for units to operate within school-time, many find it difficult to partake in external activities typical in community-based cadet units that operate during evenings, such as water sports activities that require travelling time (See *et al.,* 2017). There is also concern regarding children’s exposure to everyday militarism (Hörschelmann, 2016) and a military ethos in schools (Sangster, 2017; ForcesWatch, 2018), particularly relating to schools that include the UCFs as a compulsory part of the curriculum.

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[4] Starting in 2012, LIBOR fines were issued to a number of banks in the UK for financial irregularities relating to the manipulation of interest rates. The government distributed some of this money across a number of military charities, including financing the expansion of the CEP.

1.7.3 Who Attends?

There has always been a significant gender imbalance in the UK armed forces. Latest figures show that just over 1 in 10 (11%) forces personnel are female (MoD 2020b). The MoD provide similar data for the UCFs. Across the community cadet forces there are more male cadets than females with the SCC having the highest percentage of females at 39 percent, with the VCC lowest at 23.8 percent. This is reflected in a similar fashion with regards to CFAVs. The ATC has highest female numbers at 33.7 percent closely followed by the SCC at 33.6 percent, with the ACF lowest this time at 29.9 percent. Overall, the percentage of female cadets averages 34 percent and female uniformed CFAVs 31.1 percent across all community cadet forces (MoD, 2020a). This gender ratio in community-based cadet units is similar to that in the CCF with 33.5 percent of cadets and 36 percent of CFAVs being female. With gender ratios between cadets and CFAVs being similar there seems little need for concern regarding the capacity of the UCFs to cater for female cadets. However, one area of caution might be applied here. Although the UCFs are national organisations, most volunteers join a single unit, usually near to where they live. This leaves minimal capacity to 'deploy' staff to areas where they are needed. As such, and with over 50 percent more male volunteers than female, it is possible, despite a national gender balance between cadets and CFAVs, for individual cadet units to struggle for sufficient female volunteers, with minimal likelihood of being able to transfer female staff from elsewhere.

With regards to age, Moon *et al.,* (2010, p.4) states that after-school programmes are more likely to be appealing to young people in their early and middle teenage years and as young people get older other factors such as socio-economic and cultural influences direct them to different pursuits. This is backed up by those attending the UCFs. Latest figures (MoD, 2021a) show that the SCC have a lower age limit of ten (with a trial for nine-year olds) and the largest age group within the SCC is those aged thirteen (17 percent) despite the upper age limit being eighteen. Similarly, the largest age group in the VCC is twelve-year olds (18 percent) even though cadets can stay until their eighteenth birthday. The largest age group in both the ATC and ACF are those aged fifteen (24 percent & 25 percent), again despite upper age limits of twenty & eighteen, respectively. The significance here is primarily related to attendance lengths. If fewer cadets remain into the later years, much of the beneficial training and development opportunities are missed, meaning that claims regarding outcomes cannot be relied upon, as fewer stay engaged long enough to achieve the reported outcomes. Much of the training, for example, is restricted to older cadets, or those who have worked through the ranks to higher positions, which takes time. If cadet numbers reduce from age thirteen or fourteen

then many have left before higher-level training opportunities have become available to them. This concern is backed up by further data. Moon *et al.,* (2010, p.12) illustrated that over 65 percent of cadets had attended for two years or less. More recently, data for the SCC showed that the median length of engagement per cadet was only thirteen months, (Denselow & Noble, 2018) suggesting that only a small percentage of cadets benefit from the full spectrum of UCF training if the median stay is little over a year.

Social status is also believed to play a significant part in determining who attends the uniformed cadet forces with See *et al.,* (2017) informing us that those from families in higher socio-economic groups are, in general, more likely to attend. The difference in social status is not only seen between those who partake and those who do not. Bertram explains that there is a discernible difference between who participates in each cadet force. Cadets in the ATC are more diverse in terms of ethnic and linguistic background. ATC cadets are also more likely to come from a higher socio-economic background and have higher academic grades at Key Stage 2 than other cadet force participants, and also non-cadets (Bertram *et al.,* 2018). In comparison, ACF cadets are more likely to come from a disadvantaged background, have achieved lower academic results at Key Stage 2 than non-cadets and are more likely to have Special Educational Needs (ibid). This renders direct comparisons between outcomes of cadets in each UCF difficult as the baseline metrics for each cohort are different. Furthermore, this also fits into critics' narrative regarding the recruitment of vulnerable young people from poorer neighbourhoods (CRIN, 2019), or those who have failed their GCSE examinations (Morris, 2018), into the Army. It makes it difficult, particularly for the ACF, to deny accusations of being a recruitment tool, if the same characteristics of vulnerable young people joining the army, is mirrored in those joining the ACF.

1.7.4 Government Position

The Government are strong advocates of the UCFs with particular interest in the CEP. The Defence Secretary, Ben Wallace, commenting on the success of the CEP in 2019 stated that, "being a cadet offers young people the chance to develop key life skills, meet new people and be inspired by our Armed Forces," and that "the programme has gone from strength to strength, demonstrating the benefits we see in those young people who gain such important, practical and useful skills and experiences" (GOV.UK, 2019). This was echoed by the then Education Secretary, Gavin Williamson, saying "we want every young person to feel like they can be part of something rewarding and Cadets offer young people the opportunity to build vital life skills including teamwork and resilience. The units help young people to grow in confidence, build

loyalty and respect, and develop a sense of service to others" (ibid). This Government push for more cadet units in schools is best understood by contextualising it within the broader 'military ethos in schools' programme that promoted improved outcomes for disengaged young people in school through the adoption of a military ethos (ForcesWatch, 2012). This programme included the CEP in addition to 'Alternative Provision with a Military Ethos' (DfE, 2012), 'Troops to Teachers' programme (DfE, 2013) and a cadet-based National Citizen Service (ForcesWatch, 2014).

The Department for Education provided £8.2m for a Military Ethos Alternative Provision programme aimed at tackling student disengagement from school. This programme aimed to instil Service values such as leadership, confidence, and self-discipline in the hope of providing a more equitable education for those not in mainstream education (Clay & Thomas, 2014), as part of a broader 'big society' policy (HM Government, 2010a) as discussed later. The programme reported improved behaviour, increased self-confidence, resilience, and inter-personal skills. The National Citizen Service (NCS), with a variant delivered by cadet units, is a social action programme aimed at fostering social cohesion, community action and personal and social development for young people. It brings together sixteen and seventeen-year-old's from across the country to develop skills that will help them in their personal life and in work (GOV.UKb, n.d.). The UCFs' version of NCS is designed to match cadet activities to the NCS programme where NCS become partners with UCF institutions who deliver the NCS product using their existing staff, facilities, and training methods (Sea Cadets, 2021b). Additionally, in September 2018 the government were offering £40,000 bursaries for ex-forces personnel to retrain as teachers (DfE, 2018), offering the benefits of their military training to schools. It is worth considering why the government believe so staunchly in the compatibility of military training and teaching in schools. The consequences of not following instructions in the military are severe, even for minor infringements, with military style punishments that might include stoppage of leave, loss of pay, or extra duties. Transitioning from such an environment to a school, where the consequences of not following instructions are not nearly as clear cut, could leave ex-forces personnel feeling somewhat frustrated. Also, these ex-forces personnel would not be in a position to offer the benefits of their military training to school children, as they are not providing military training to them, rather educational tuition. With approximately 90% of UK regular forces personnel being male (MoD, 2020b), this problem speaks to the study of military masculinities. In discussing this, Atherton (2009, p.822) describes the "cultural repertoire of masculinities" that men adopt in different situations, be that military or domestic. I add to this the context discussed here, the school classroom. The repertoire of masculinities

employed by ex-forces personnel to be effective in a classroom may or may not be successful. But what is clear, is that the version of masculinity employed is likely to be very different from that employed in their military training, meaning any perceived benefits of bringing their military training background to the classroom are largely lost. It is perhaps unsurprising that this initiative has spectacularly failed. In an earlier iteration of the scheme between 2012 and 2018 only 363 trainees were recruited, with 65 leaving before they qualified. Even after the 2018 reboot, only 22 ex-forces personnel entered the programme. (Kinross, 2019). This must lead to questions regarding the broader military ethos agenda, and is an issue picked up by a number of commentators. For example, Emma Sangster, a leading commentator for ForcesWatch, an organisation dedicated to "investigating militarisation, military ethics and human rights concerns," (ForcesWatch, nd), commenting on the original iteration of the programme, said "we question the one-sided view of 'military ethos' being promoted here and whether it is appropriate within an educational context (Sangster, 2012). The National Youth Agency also expressed concerns questioning the lack of evidence that such a programme actually works (Boagey, 2015). Indeed, the acting general secretary of the National Union of Teachers said there were "many ways to improve children and young people's confidence and character. A 'military ethos' approach is one greatly favoured by government, but it is neither the only way nor the most desirable way to engage with students" (Whittaker, 2016).

It is clear that there is a significant amount of debate regarding the adoption of military themed training opportunities within the school environment and most of the recent literature (Wood, 2014; See *et al.,* 2017; Bertram *et al.,* 2018; Denny *et al.,* 2018) regarding the UCFs has focused on school-based units. It is argued here that this focus on the merits of military style training in schools, albeit valid, has led to one important issue being missed. Namely, a significant majority of cadet units are still community-based, where young people make a conscious choice if they wish to attend, based on their own personal interests. Thus, the discourse on the UCFs needs to address this by acknowledging that universal conclusions cannot be drawn reflecting the UCFs, without research that specifically addresses the issues relevant to each cadet force and unit type.

Government policy favouring the UCFs appears to stretch beyond military ethos agendas with policy moving away from central control (Halsall *et al.,* 2015) for a number of years, from the Conservative Governments of Margret Thatcher, New Labour Governments of Tony Blair and through to the coalition government of 2010 - 2015. Indeed, Powell (2012) argued that there is cross-party consensus regarding decentralising former state services to the voluntary sector. The coalition government of 2010-2015 pushed this ideological position further with then

Prime Minister David Cameron's introduction of the 'Big Society' concept. Ishkanian & Szreter (2012, p.179) highlighted the 3 key components of Big Society:

1. The promotion of volunteering and philanthropy
2. Community groups should play a central role in running public services
3. Redesigning public sector services

Big society was a Conservative Party policy first mentioned in David Cameron's speech at his party conference of 2009, becoming official party policy in the first few weeks of the coalition government in 2010 (Macmillan, 2013). The benefits of Big Society were sold as local communities profiting from a power transfer from Whitehall to themselves, with help from government to encourage local people and businesses to support voluntary sector community groups (HM Government, 2010b). This policy needs to be considered in the context of the UK austerity agenda (Berry, 2016). The implications of the financial crash of 2008 were very much being felt and the coalition government were looking to make savings in order to balance the books. It is not surprising, therefore, that a striking manifestation of 'big society' has been the reduction in local authority after-school youth provision reported above.

1.7.5 Claims and Omissions

In 2010 the RFCA commissioned a report out of concern, at least in part, that recently introduced austerity measures might negatively impact on the UCFs. Concerned with the likely consequences of competing for funding directly with front line military spending, the RFCA sought to demonstrate the non-military benefits of the cadet forces to highlight potential avenues of funding beyond the MoD. Entitled, '*The Societal Impact of Cadet Forces*' the stated aims of the report were identifying the benefits to individuals and society of the UCFs and to canvass the views of cadets and those involved in delivery regarding the effects of participation (Moon *et al.,* 2010). The researchers used a combination of online surveys of cadets (n=5100), and CFAVs (n=5342) and telephone interviews with a small number of CFAVs to add further substance to survey responses. The research covered both community cadet units and school-based units. They cited several benefits of participation such as qualifications gained, better preparation for adult life, CV enhancement, development of self-confidence and improved teamwork skills (Moon *et al.,* 2010). This research appears initially both substantial and methodologically robust. However, upon closer inspection there is concern of confirmation bias relating to the motivation behind the research beyond funding implications. If the aims of the research at outset are to demonstrate the positive nature of the UCFs, there is a danger that

positivity is all that one will find. Indeed, this is evidenced in Moon's conclusions where there is not one even partially negative finding or acknowledgement of areas requiring improvement. So, although the stated benefits are likely accurate for some, the lack of a 'big picture' to include limitations reduces the impact of the claims. This 'conformation bias,' I argue, is prevalent in much of the UCF literature, and forms a fundamental cornerstone of why this PhD thesis is needed. Schumm (2021, p.287), writes that such bias creates "overconfidence in research findings." This is exactly the concern here. If the existing literature places too much faith in the capacity of UCF units to deliver their product, then a continued state retreat from youth after-school provision becomes an "inappropriate application to public policy" (ibid).

In 2010 The MoD created a serving senior military 2-Star (Major General equivalent) position to "develop a more coherent and integrated approach" (Plastow, 2011), to the young people the military engage with and are responsible for, within the broader Directorate Children & Young People Department. In the process of developing a 'children and young people policy,' the MoD sponsored, 'Youth Engagement Review' (Plastow, 2011) was created. The aims of this review were to determine the MoD requirement for engaging with young people, secondly, to recommend the posture they should take within the wider government youth agenda and finally to propose options to deliver the MoD requirement. The methodological approach to this review included significant consultation with a range of stakeholders in the government, the MoD and each of the three separate armed forces, in addition to a review of existing literature. The review also includes 4700 completed surveys by CFAVs; however, the review explicitly admits that the findings of these surveys have not been professionally examined, whilst offering no reason for this, raising questions regarding the validity of conclusions. Plastow began by acknowledging that the external engagement operation of the MoD is aimed at raising awareness of the role of the armed forces and its personnel in addition to recruiting young people into the services. However, Plastow, as with Moon *et al.,* (2010) was keen to illustrate the cross-governmental role of the cadet forces, explaining that the cadet forces:

> "…are doing some really outstanding work in communities and schools. But this activity is not recognised as a formal Defence task, and so suffers from being both a low priority within Defence and not sufficiently on the radars of the other departments who are the primary beneficiaries."
>
> (Plastow, 2011, p.ii)

So, during the early years of the coalition government of 2010-2015 there appears to have been a genuine attempt within the military community to situate the cadet forces across multiple governmental departments to mitigate possible defence funding shortfalls. As with Moon *et al.,*

(2010) it seems that the preferred method of achieving this is to report the potential outcomes, whilst underplaying, or entirely ignoring, potential barriers to such outcomes.

Plastow, (2011, p.j-1) identified a series of benefits to both the community and the individual of cadet attendance. Individual benefits were reported to include the development of self-reliance and confidence, self-discipline and respect for authority, commitment and perseverance, initiative, loyalty, duty to others, practical leadership, communication skills, robustness and stamina, self-assurance, physical and moral courage, and resilience. Benefits to the community included heightened understanding of community, commitment to others, collective efficacy, creation of role models and charitable support.

As a former cadet leader, many of these stated benefits are familiar to me and I have witnessed them in action. However, the problem arises when these benefits are taken as universal. To claim that every cadet that attends, regardless of duration, engagement or quality of the individual unit is 'better for it,' (Plastow, 2011, p.2) is pushing the limits of credibility. It reduces trust in the claimed benefits as laid out in his skills/benefits framework (Appendix 1), that aimed to map specific activities that cadets partake in, with the individual benefits associated with each activity. This framework was clear in pointing out the broader benefits of cadet engagement and is a useful tool, but without critical qualifications such as time duration, repetitions or level/grade needed to be reached, it fails to achieve the impact it could otherwise achieve.

The next major piece of research into the cadet forces, entitled '*Combined Cadet Forces in state funded schools: Staff perspectives.*' was published in 2014 by the Department for Education (DfE) focusing exclusively on the role of the CCF in schools. The purpose of this work was to understand the effects CCF units have on schools and cadets and to learn from examples of good practice (Wood, 2014). This was a small-scale study utilising qualitative data derived from seven unit-leaders, and seven school-leaders, in seven different state schools, where the researcher used telephone interviews to gain in-depth knowledge of how CCF units operate. Here, Wood (2014) claimed that cadets are less likely to be socially excluded from school and that cadet engagement benefits young people by showing them different possible ways of life. However, what this paper does not cover is the appropriateness of siting cadet units within schools rather than community locations. My own experience suggests that many young people join cadets precisely because they offer opportunities away from the school environment such as offering a different adult power relationship to those they have with teachers, being able to attend with friends from other schools, meeting new friends, distancing

themselves from school peers they do not get along with or offering a safe place for young people struggling at school and unwilling to spend more time there than is necessary.

See *et al.,* (2017) also conducted a school-based study, becoming the first to conduct a peer reviewed control trial, randomised at school level for groups of children aged thirteen to fourteen, totalling 7781 participants. Out of seventy-one schools, thirty-eight were randomised to treatment and thirty-three to control. The study was entitled '*Does participation in uniformed group activities in school improve young people's non-cognitive outcomes*?' It discussed the role participation in civic activities plays in influencing the attitudes and behaviours of young people. The research was explicit in claiming that previous work in this field had largely been small-scale, correlational, open to selection bias, suffering from conflict of interest as it was conducted from within the cadet forces community. The researchers also highlighted that much of the previous literature regarding the benefits of cadet force participation focused on improved academic achievement rather than non-cognitive outputs such as the resilience, happiness, and aspirations that their work was focusing on.

The researchers used the Sea Cadets as a case study; however, the Fire Cadets, Scouts and St John Ambulance Cadets were also included meaning that the findings of this research are not exclusively relating to the UCFs, so direct comparisons are difficult. The trial was 1 year in duration, based in schools and operated as extra-curricular provision delivered by trained staff from each organisation, with support from volunteers and some teachers. The trial concluded that engagement helped develop leadership skills, improve teamwork, build self-esteem, confidence, and a positive attitude, improve happiness, civic action, and empathy, with free school meals students receiving highest value-added benefits. Although more robust than previous studies, this too is flawed. Once again, the work is restricted to school-based cadet units meaning that community-based units are left unrepresented despite making up the bulk of the UCFs. School-based unit finances, resources and facilities are likely to be very different than community-based units meaning direct comparisons are difficult and may even be misleading if accepted as universal. Also, the research draws conclusions based on a one-year trial. It is difficult to see how much benefit or progress could be measured in such a short period of time, with so many of the development opportunities within the UCFs requiring several years to undertake. Leadership development, for example, is cited by the researchers as an observed benefit of their work, yet progression to leadership positions (and courses) takes several years and is restricted to older cadets.

In 2018 the DfE commissioned research to better understand how being a cadet can affect educational progress in young people, entitled *The Cadet Experience: Understanding Cadet*

Outcomes (Bertram *et al.,* 2018). It was aimed at evaluating the role of cadet units in schools (again) in relation to the CEP. The research included a qualitative case study of nine CEP schools, a survey of 348 young people in fifty-five CEP schools, a comparison of cadet characteristics and educational outcomes from matched samples. The research illustrated the differences in educational value-added between the different UCFs. Young people in the ATC receive significantly better grades at Key Stage 4 (KS4) than the matched comparison group and they are also less likely to have low attendance or to have been excluded from school (Bertram *et al.,* 2018). By contrast, young people in the ACF do not demonstrate better academic grades at KS4 than those in the comparison group and have higher levels of school exclusion (ibid) compared to that group. If Bertram and colleagues are correct that the academic outcomes of cadets owing to UCF attendance are variable, then it seems reasonable to assume that the same applies to non-academic outcomes that is prevalent in the discourse and relied upon for policy making. This is significant and typical of the theme developing here. Headline claims are often made regarding the benefits of UCF attendance, however, they are almost always homogenous in nature leaving the reader with the impression that the benefits are universal, despite reality being much more complex.

In October 2017, an academic report on the social impact of public expenditure on the uniformed cadets (Denny *et al.,* 2018) was published called '*What is the social impact resulting from the expenditure on the cadet forces*?' This report cited a four-year study and had three questions to consider:

1. What is the social impact resulting from the UK (MoD) spending on cadets?
2. What is the benefit of the qualifications provided by CVQO?[5]
3. What is the social impact of the joint MoD/DfE Cadet Expansion Programme (CEP) on the individuals who join the cadet units, their schools, the adult volunteer instructors, their local communities, and wider society?

(Denny *et al.,* 2018, p.8)

This report was produced by the University of Northampton's Institute for Social Innovation and Impact, sponsored by the MoD, the Cadet Vocational Qualifications Organisation, an education charity developed to offer vocational qualifications to young people and adults working in youth groups (CVQO, 2020), and the Combined Cadet Force association. The research methodology for the report consisted of semi-structured interviews (n=202) with parents, cadets, school staff, and governors. CFAVs and head teachers also completed online/paper surveys (n=3753) and an economic analysis of primary data from a sample of

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[5] Vocational qualification provided to youth group members

schools was also undertaken (Denny *et al.,* 2018). In the autumn of 2018, it published its Year Two interim report focusing on social mobility and cadets' attendance, in addition to behaviour and attitude at school. In this instance positive outcomes were reported in the form of higher self-efficacy, improved school attendance, homework completion & attainment, improved confidence, becoming a responsible citizen, improved mental wellbeing, a development of resilience and building friendships (Denny *et al.,* 2018). Once again, a major report into the UCF's is, to a large extent, dominated by research into school-based units in-keeping with the 'military ethos in schools' inspired CEP. However, as above, there are glaring omissions in this study which detract from the otherwise positive findings. There is zero acknowledgment of the militarisation concerns of cadet units in schools as expressed earlier in this chapter, or that some young people have compelling reasons for not wanting to partake in activities that prolong their exposure to the school environment. Once again, in focusing solely on the positives, whilst neglecting other concerns, doubts are raised that would likely not exist if a more balanced approach had been adopted.

1.8 Conclusion

I have shown that there has been a desire at governmental level for some time to replace state-funded youth provision with volunteer led local services. Whether the motivations underpinning this are based on the claimed social benefits of a 'big society' style system such as a transfer of power away from central government or more relating to ideological cuts to the size of government, the result is a gap in local provision (Kisby, 2010). Such a gap has implications for organisations such as the UCFs as they would, in this scenario, have a significant role to play in plugging this gap. The concern here is that decisions regarding youth services are based on incomplete research, focusing on best case scenarios, and ignoring potential limiting factors. This issue alone provides this research with the confidence to proceed, in the knowledge that it can play a significant role in developing a more accurate picture of UCF provision and capabilities.

Further to this, I now postulate that the UCFs cannot be considered a single entity, with variation within and across cadet forces institutions. The implication is that it is very difficult, in my view, to produce a single piece of research that can reliably make some of the claims found in the existing literature, which has failed to either account for or even acknowledge the variations within and between the UCFs. Therefore, if this PhD thesis is to claim that there is no single UCF product, and that as a result previous claims in the literature are also flawed, care must be taken not to make similar claims as to what this research can achieve. As such, to

effectively locate my work and avoid these pitfalls I first propose, based on the text above, nine distinct areas of research currently in need of further exploration within the UCFs field: gender ratios, funding, community-based units, outcomes, cadet intake characteristics, engagement, institutional limitations, volunteer limitations, and the role of social-class.

The first area of further research that I suggest is needed is in the area of gender ratios. Although the gender ratios between female CFAVs and female cadets is quite similar nationally, there is concern regarding local disparity with each cadet unit acting often in isolation. As such, research into the precise number of female/male volunteers in each unit is required. Much of the research produced directly after the coalition government of 2010 came to power was concerned with funding shortfalls during the period of austerity introduced by the government. Attempts were made to highlight the benefits of the UCFs across government but little or no progress seems to have been made in attracting funding from elsewhere. Further research is needed to clearly define a set of activities that benefit each government department and the financial savings that the UCFs create for the Education, Health & Social Care; Housing, Communities and Local Government; and Work and Pensions departments, in the hope of creating a broader funding base. There are concerns that funding considerations have also played a significant role in the emphasis of recent UCFs literature being on school-based units, which are cheaper to operate, utilising significant contributions from the school. As a result, very little research has focused on community-based cadet units, even though these constitute most of the UCF estate. Further research needs to be conducted which focuses on the problems facing community-based cadet units such as variable quality of facilities and equipment, financial constraints, and limited access to volunteers.

The research that has been produced is largely focused on theoretical outcomes. It uncritically assumes best case scenarios and reports outcomes as almost universal. Further research is required to ascertain the difference between claimed outcomes and actual outcomes. One obvious improvement would be to continue research in the years after UCF attendance and prove developmental outcomes based on what young people go on to achieve as adults. Also, most of this existing research has not considered how the differences in cadets on entry impacts outcomes. Only one piece of research has used control groups and that was only with the SCC out of the five UCFs. Further research on outcomes needs to better address the variation in cadet intake as well as better identify the role of cause and effect regarding outcomes. Furthermore, previous research pays little to no attention to how long cadets engage with the UCFs. Outcomes are again reported uncritically and assumed to be universal regardless of engagement length. Further research is required to ascertain the extent to which length, variation, and intensity of

attendance impacts cadet outcomes. The governmental push for big society style volunteer groups pays no attention to potential limiting factors of the institutions and volunteers involved. Further research is required to ascertain the extent to which UCF institutions can support their volunteers, and whether CFAVs have the time, training, and capacity to produce the cadet outcomes as sold in promotional material, and if these volunteers could fill the gap left by a government retreat from youth services provision. Finally, the differences in socio-economic circumstances of cadets requires deeper understanding, specifically, the difference in outcomes between young people from more or less affluent backgrounds.

The nine areas of potential UCF research as outlined above should now illustrate how multiple studies are required to even begin to make strategic decisions regarding the future direction of the UCFs. This thesis cannot hope to cover all areas outlined here and I have had to exercise careful judgement as to which areas this work has the scope to tackle. As a former chairman of a community-based Sea Cadet unit it makes sense to apply my research to the issues facing community units within the SCC only, especially considering the general lack of research in this area and the role community-based units would have in a 'big society' style future model. This limitation to the SCC immediately prevents a focus on the broader macroeconomics of UCF funding which will need to be covered elsewhere. The issues of engagement and cadet intake are of significant interest, and are discussed more in Chapter 4, however, there is no scope for these issues to be included in the primary research element of this work owing to the requirement for significant longitudinal research needed to reach useful conclusions. Similarly, cadet outcomes, and the differences as per socio-economic group, cannot be the foci of my work. Much of the existing literature has fixated on this without critical review, and any future research aiming to add to this debate would benefit from randomised control trials covering the years before, during and after UCF attendance to build up a better picture of how the UCFs impact life chances for young people, which is of course well outside of the capacity of this thesis. What I can contribute to the discourse is a deeper understanding of the complexities and limitations of volunteering and volunteer institutions. This is entirely missing from the current debate, and as an ex-cadet leader it is something I can come to from a position of authority. Finally, although the issue of gender imbalance is of interest to this research, without access to confidential volunteer data, I would need to travel to each cadet unit to gain a deeper understanding of the spread of male/female volunteers throughout the UCFs. As this is not possible within the constraints of this research it will need to be covered elsewhere.

So, this research focus, restricted to volunteering, volunteer institutions, and the specifics of community-based units has been chosen, firstly based on the research that is currently missing

from the debate, then refined based on what this research can realistically achieve. What is now required is to conduct a thorough analysis of my own experiences to draw out the specifics of volunteering, volunteer institutions, and community-based units as I experienced them. As such, the next chapter explores my autoethnographic reflections as a SCC community-based cadet leader.

Chapter 2: Autoethnographic Reflections

2.1 Introduction

Whilst fully acknowledging that many young people may receive the cadet-experience as designed and seen in promotional material, my previous experience as a cadet leader in the SCC is that for many others, the cadet-experience as delivered may be very different owing to the limitations of delivering a professional product entirely reliant on volunteers and the institutional limitations of volunteer organisations. As such, this chapter uses my own 'insider research' to explore this issue. Insider research has been described as an "organisation, group or community where the researcher is also a member" (Fleming, 2018, p.311). Fleming continues that one of the benefits of insider research is that individuals can "develop research questions based on a rich understanding of the issues needing investigation, providing information about what an organisation is really like and what is significant" (Ibid, p.312). To this end, what is presented below, written in the first person (Ellis and Bochner, 2000), to allow the reader to "feel part of the story" (Dewan, 2017), where all names have been changed to protect anonymity, are my own autoethnographic reflections of having been a cadet leader, managing a community-based cadet unit for nine years. A methodological justification for the use of autoethnography in this study is detailed in Chapter 5, however, in summary here, I argue that the existing literature has relied upon a grand narrative style of research, unaware of many of the issues that would be highlighted by closer ties to those being observed. These reflections overcome this problem. In utilising my own experiences and 'insider' knowledge, I can provide "access to data off limits to other researchers" (Chang, 2013, p.108).

2.2. Reflections

2.2.1 Personal Background

Upon leaving school I joined the Royal Navy (RN) as a weapons engineer. I served mainly on Type 42 Guided Missile Destroyers, working in ship departments such as Sea Dart Guided Missiles, Internal Communications, Navigational Aids, Small Arms, and Air Weapons. Duties could be demanding and a failure to maintain at least a minimum standard of competency was not taken lightly. Indeed, serving in high tension situations such as the First Gulf War of 1990/1991, Operation Desert Storm, raised such competency expectations to an even higher level. Over 10 years of this military regime allowed me to develop a work ethic that has stood me in good stead since. On leaving the RN, and after four years of university I entered the teaching profession. Working in two schools over a period of 16 years, the work ethic and

capacity to cope with long hours and stressful working conditions developed in the RN became a pivotal attribute that allowed me to work in Ofsted rated 'outstanding' schools whilst others came and went. It was a combination of my experience in the RN and in youth education that led the local SCC unit to approach me to take over the unit as chairman after the previous board of trustees had stood down. As my own child was a cadet, and I did not want the unit to close I reluctantly agreed. Reluctant because I was already working long hours as a schoolteacher and had also recently started a master's degree in Education. I was extremely concerned that the time-commitment would prove problematic, and as I explain later, it did. Regardless, I was now chairman of a SCC unit. Having worked in the RN and in a professional education environment I had certain expectations, albeit briefly considered, of what the standard of youth provision would be like in a UCF unit. My expectations were soon brought down to earth.

2.2.2 The Appointment

Upon taking over as chairman I was immediately faced with financial, volunteer, and facilities related problems that, unresolved, could each close the unit. Although I had been in the building entrance once or twice to pick up my child, I had not given any real consideration to the quality of the facilities, assuming any RN linked organisation would be adequately supported. I soon understood that being independent charities, SCC units are largely left to manage their own facilities. As illustrated in Figure 2.1, the roof leaked in multiple places, there were holes in the floor, the entrance was dangerous in winter, mould was growing on some walls, the building had no heating, and without outside storage, the few rowing/sailing boats we had were stored on the main deck, leaving little space for cadet activities. To make matters worse, the unit was in a dire financial state, operating hand-to-mouth from cadet donations. The situation with volunteers was also a significant problem. Those listed as volunteers were not obliged, of course, to attend every session and, as such, the training staff could never plan ahead with any degree of confidence as work commitments (or apathy) would often lead to last minute changes in available volunteers. Furthermore, those who did attend, often struggled to arrive early owing to work commitments, meaning the night usually began as a disorganised exercise of determining what could be done with the available staff in attendance[6]. This problem was made worse as some of the available volunteers were support volunteers, with no role in cadet training.

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[6]Although volunteers, non-trustees are often referred to as 'staff.'

Figure 2.1 The Dire Cadet Facilities Upon Taking Post

All-in-all, my first impressions of what was now my own unit was that the range of activities were very limited and the standard of what took place was unrecognisable to that which I had experienced in either the RN, a school environment or that cadet-experience I had seen in promotional material. Indeed, these problems had been noticed elsewhere. Within weeks of taking over I was given an ultimatum by area managers that the unit had to move out of those facilities and that the training team needed to be replaced (by myself) or the unit would be closed.

At this point a senior district level volunteer took me to another cadet unit to show me what he described as the real cadet-experience. Although I saw nothing that approached the RN or school level professional operation I had naively expected, it was a significant improvement on my own unit and what was now my responsibility to remedy. The facilities were significantly larger, boats were stored in a dedicated garage, there were more uniformed staff to train the cadets, the building was heated, and the place had a much more welcoming feel than that which I had inherited. I wondered at this point how representative of the SCC each of these units were. Were the majority of units like the 'good' unit I had witnessed or was the situation I had found at my own unit more common than many would care to acknowledge. Either way, and although I did not realise at the time, the seeds of this research had been sown.

2.2.3 Volunteer Recruitment

As I suspect is typical with many voluntary organisations one of the biggest challenges is providing sufficient volunteers to deliver the product as designed. My new unit had six volunteers when I took over as chair of trustees. Four of these were instructional staff and two were support volunteers, helping out at the breaktime known as 'standeasy' in naval parlance. At this point I was the only trustee. Of the four members of training staff, the commanding officer and her second in command were usually tied up with management duties, meaning that it was typical to have a maximum of just two training staff available to train the cadets. Indeed, even my own addition to the team did not help this situation as my role, as mandated, was restricted to charity management responsibilities (see Chapter 3). Clearly, any attempt to improve the service we offered to cadets would require an increase in volunteer numbers. Not only increasing the number of training staff, but also trustees and support staff, as these would act as enablers for the training staff to excel.

The process of recruiting new volunteers was not easy and is almost entirely the responsibility of unit leaders. Typical techniques involved social media posts, discussions with local council employees working in community development, word of mouth, and letter writing. The

frustration here was not so much the amount of time taken to advertise positions, rather, the hours, days and even weeks wasted in following up on potential volunteers. Numerous local people responded to volunteer requests during my period in post, unfortunately, they rarely amounted to new ‘feet on the ground.’ What presumably seemed a good idea responding to a social media post on a Friday night let us say, usually turned out to be very different from actually attending the unit for an interview the following week. I lost count of the number of arranged meetings with potential volunteers that turned into no-shows. Often excuses would be given for not attending when chased up, promising ‘next-time,’ which usually never arrived. Even when new volunteers were secured, they were often for reasons of self-interest and were short lived. Rebecca, for example, joined the unit with a promise of delivering the multiple outdoor and sailing qualifications she possessed to the cadets. However, it transpired that she was only looking for a period of youth work experience to add to her CV in order to apply for similar remunerated positions in industry. As soon as she found a position, (within weeks of joining) she resigned from her post. Similarly, Yasin took on a junior training role in the unit, claiming to want a long-term commitment. On this occasion, it transpired that Yasin was looking for travel and volunteering opportunities in South America and again needed volunteer experience. As soon as he was accepted on the South America programme he resigned. Beyond self-interest, issues of suitability were always present. One example was when weeks of work went into enrolling a new volunteer only to find unacceptable convictions on her DBS. This individual had been given ample opportunity to disclose these convictions but chose not to. This does of course prove that the system works, and safeguarding will always be the priority. However, my frustration here was not with the system, rather, the attitude of some potential volunteers who gave little or no consideration to wasting my valuable time. Over the years a number of volunteers went through the joining process, only to leave within a short period of time. One volunteer when asked to complete a particular task stated that he had envisaged his role as a strategic one so resigned the same day. Others attended one or two meetings/sessions then never returned when realising the workload requirement of the role. Of those who did stay, few had usable qualifications. Although an extra ‘pair of hands’ was always welcome, positively impacting on the quality of the cadet-experience required volunteers with SCC relevant qualifications such as power boating or sailing experience, or at the very least a commitment to gaining such qualifications. Sadly, the number of qualified volunteers available to the cadet unit I managed never reached a satisfactory level in all the years I was involved. This is a situation that I feel typifies the difference in the cadet-experience as designed and that which is delivered. The SCC can advertise powerboating, sailing, windsurfing etc., as much as

they want, but if local units struggle to attract qualified volunteers, then such promotional claims can never be applied fully across the corps.

All in all, the recruitment of volunteers is not just a difficult one, but a demoralising one. Any occasion when new volunteers were joining the unit was a period of hope for a better experience for the cadets. However, when, as was so often the case, such hope is immediately proved false hope, one is bound to question if the effort is worth the sacrifices.

2.2.4 Volunteer Workload/Stress

The recruitment of volunteers, even if successful, is of course tied inextricably to retention. If volunteers keep leaving, then recruitment can never keep up. In order to understand retention, the 'outsider,' including the researcher, needs to fully appreciate the commitments of volunteering in the SCC and the stress and strains that these can cause. My story below, is of course unique to my own experience, but others will have their own experiences, equally compelling and every bit as intense. Soon after taking post, I set about addressing the problem of inadequate facilities. This was an intense period of fundraising, project managing, and conflict resolution as laid out below. However, the day-to-day delivery of the cadet-experience also had to be maintained, particularly trying to retain the small group of cadets who had persisted despite less-than-ideal facilities, making the process more difficult still.

The requirement to move the cadet unit to a facility that was suitable as a modern youth training centre was a monumental undertaking. As an independent charity, we were reliant on our own trustees to achieve this. However, building a team of trustees proved almost impossible. Although I managed to recruit just enough over the years to meet charity regulations, almost all had stated prior to joining that their commitment would be very limited. As such, all of this relocation workload was left to me. The process started in November of 2011. A fifty-page business plan, as requested by the local council before they would even consider funding support illustrates the level of work that was required. It is difficult to overstate the workload this single document created. I have often wondered over the years whether paid employees in local authorities or grant making organisations truly understand the impact on volunteers of the requests they make of them. I do understand that funding cannot be provided without safeguards, however, there needs to be limits. This business plan took approximately 3 months to create. Once in place the process morphed into searching for a venue, fundraising applications, architects' meetings, committee meetings, solicitor communications, planning and building regulations applications and local council meetings. This whole process dominated my life for almost two years to get to the point in August of 2013 where the legal process of buying

a new property started, having raised approximately £45,000 at this point for purchasing a rundown property and associated legal fees. It took two more years of complex legal obstacles and dozens of funding applications, of which thirty-eight were rejected, before we owned the property and had in excess of the £200,000 that would be needed to complete the renovations. This had been a period of intense pressure for me. I was reminded more than once by district/area managers that the unit would have been closed if the move were not ongoing, and that the process needed to be concluded. What those doing the warning did not know, was that the move almost fell through multiple times over a period of two years and that the pressure of keeping the unit open was a burden I carried alone through the whole process. During this period, I was also instructed by senior managers that any continuation of the unit would require a new training team. Essentially, I was forced to terminate the volunteering of the two senior staff or the move to the new facilities would not be allowed to take place. I understand that senior managers 'hire & fire' employees in industry on a regular basis. However, I found the pressure of releasing long-term volunteers incredibly difficult and began to form an opinion that my new role felt more and more like a full-time stressful management position.

What may seem a strange admission, having spent four years of almost all my spare-time working towards the goal of buying a new property and raising the funds for renovation, I had not given any consideration as to the workload involved in project managing the renovations themselves. I simply had not been able to look past raising the finances and navigating what turned out to be the extensive legal minefield of purchasing the chosen property. Indeed, the workload, on top of my day-job proved insurmountable. I could not do both. However, having given so much of my life over the previous four years to this project I could not walk away. As a result, I cut my hours at work in order to be able to continue with both, with all the financial consequences involved. By the summer of 2016, having project managed the whole process alone, most of the renovation work was complete as shown in Figure 2.2, with new facilities capable of attracting and retaining far more cadets. At this point, in what proved to be the most gut-wrenching moment of my time as a volunteer, a number of those training staff who had refused to help in the process tried to undermine my efforts, making formal complaints that I had made all the decisions without consultation. I go into more detail in Chapter 3 about the differing roles of training staff and trustees. At this juncture it is sufficient to understand that trustees manage the charity, and that training staff manage the cadet training, with no crossover. I found out on day one that this divergence of roles can cause conflict. Of the four commanding officers I appointed during my time at the unit, three, at various points, raised strong objections to the decisions of the trustees, despite role descriptors being very clear. Still, I found this an

astonishing situation. What should have been a moment of triumph for me personally and the cadet unit, turned into, from my point of view, an attempted power grab, trying to assert training staff authority over that of the trustees.

Figure 2.2 Much Improved New Facilities

As I reflect back on this, I dwell on two questions. Firstly, is the somewhat contested nature of dual responsibility between trustees and training staff in SCC units a significant cause of conflict elsewhere in the corps, and if it is, how is it manifest? Secondly, although the specific nature of my story is unique to me, how many other SCC volunteers (and by extension

volunteers elsewhere) have given everything they can to a project/charity only to feel that their efforts have not been appreciated?

As I mentioned above, all of the work related to moving building went on parallel to the day-to-day training of cadets and the workload this entails. One of the most pressing issues was keeping hold of the cadets we had. As such, a number of external trips were planned for parade nights simply to give those attending something to look forward to. What became clear from the outset was that virtually none of the parents were prepared to transport their children to the events we had arranged. The feeling I had at this time was that the cadet unit was being utilised by many as a cheap babysitting service, where parents were happy to use the service we provided, perhaps genuinely grateful for this service, but not if it meant extra effort on their part. So, on top of all other workload commitments we had as volunteers, trips to the local climbing wall, bowling alley, laser quest etc.., necessitated volunteers driving around the local area to pick cadets up from home and then return afterwards. Although only a small inconvenience that added perhaps sixty minutes to the evening, the effect was to create something of a siege mentality, affirming that we were largely on our own in trying to improve the service we offered. This made me dwell on the role the UCFs offer society. The meta-narrative is that well intentioned parents looking to provide enhancement opportunities for their children send them to the UCFs to get help with this. I wondered again at this point how many parents used us rather as an extension of the welfare state, doing a job they did not want to or could not do.

Undeterred we pushed on and week by week the commitment continued. The local mayor requested cadets in uniform for an event, so volunteers needed to attend and provide transport. The County Council wanted cadets at a local church event, again, volunteer attendance and transport were provided. Additionally, school assemblies to increase recruitment of cadets, visiting naval ships when in the area, cross country running, sailing, and powerboating competitions at the district boating station, armed forces memorial days, and summer civic events, all required similar commitments. Still, we pressed on. I raised £3250 for all of our cadets to spend a week on an offshore powered vessel sailing around the south coast of England. Two of our staff took a week off work to drive a minibus to Portsmouth, staying in military accommodation for 1 week then driving them back afterwards in order to save costs compared to purchasing train tickets for all cadets. Although the trip was a success for the cadets, the volunteer workload and stress problem persisted. In addition to the two volunteers taking a week of holiday to save transport costs, I myself, although at home, was under daily scrutiny from parents complaining about issues their child had phoned or texted them about that day.

Indeed, within an hour of them setting off I was being messaged about the behaviour of cadets in the minibus despite not being there. The main issue for me personally here, was that it became almost impossible to escape the role to the extent of it feeling like full-time employment. There were long periods whilst I was chairman that required some kind of commitment 7-days per week, any hour of the day. Many of these issues were mundane and stress free in and of themselves, yet the compound time commitment required to deal with them was a constant source of stress.

In hindsight, I feel that this issue may be one of the most difficult to deal with, especially for management level volunteers. Of course, there are high workload positions in the jobs market and many people manage these daily with few problems. However, I was a professional elsewhere, working 50+ hours per week during the school term. Indeed, the role *required* someone with the professional skills and experience to manage what is effectively a small business. I feel this is a fundamental conflict. The position requires professionals, but professionals are usually busy elsewhere. I have often wondered what a difference having a single paid employee at each unit could make, however, I witnessed executive level paid managers at yearly conferences treat such thoughts as borderline heresy, insisting that the SCC is a volunteer organisation. Beyond financial, I have no knowledge of why this was the case, but I have also mused over whether society would tolerate tax-payer pounds paying for such a service. It would certainly make a huge difference.

Complaints were rarely far away causing further stress. One parent, for example, complained bitterly over protracted emails that we were charging £3 for a Halloween party, despite the usual fees being £2 and the extra money going towards food, drinks, and a disco. Another parent spent two weeks messaging and complaining daily that their child had no uniform that fitted her. I explained that we get our uniform from the RN and that, at well under 5 feet tall, their child did not fit any we currently had. This parent sent a series of aggressive emails threatening complaints to the newspapers, national management, local council, ombudsman etc. It was only when I had explained that we were a group of volunteers working in an independent charity, working elsewhere, trying our best to provide development opportunities to his child in our spare time that he relented. Herein lies a major issue. I felt he, and I suspect many others, genuinely saw our service as an extension of the welfare state, where it was our legal duty to provide a service to his child akin to that of the child's school. I would have loved to have offered this level of service, however, with the financial and volunteer limitations we had, this was simply impossible.

2.2.5 Quality of Training

To illustrate the difference between what some parents expected and what we were in a position to provide I will share my experience of the boating provision we could offer at our unit. The SCC promotes boating as a specialist selling point of what they offer. However, I became increasingly aware that what was sold in promotional material is not always reflected at unit level. On joining my unit, we had no access to boating locally. There was a district boating station about 30 minutes' drive from our location which could be used occasionally at weekends, but parents were rarely prepared to transport cadets to it, and our staff, struggling with workload commitments as it was, found it difficult to give even more time. As such, I set about raising £5000 to buy a rigid inflatable power boat to use from the local marina. I recall the day it arrived. The feeling of turning a corner was palpable and the cadets were clearly excited about getting to use the boat. Indeed, we involved the local newspaper and spread the word as far as we could that we now had more boating facilities, hoping to gain publicity and more cadets. However, this positivity did not last. The single member of staff I had who was qualified to operate the boat found it almost impossible to find time to take the cadets on boating sessions. I recall only 3 occasions when cadets got to use the boat and after approximately 2 years of not being used, we were forced to sell the boat at a significant loss, as it was rotting away unused in the local marina.

A similar experience occurred a year later. With a new training team in place, we discussed how we could get our cadets 'on the water' locally. We had no one qualified at sailing or powerboating at this point. As such, we decided that if we were to purchase kayak equipment it would be relatively easy to get the training staff qualified to deliver kayaking locally. I duly raised £10,000 to purchase a dozen kayaks and associated equipment and booked the staff on kayaking courses. Within weeks all of the staff had either stopped attending the unit or dropped out of the training course citing a dislike of kayaking. I did manage to get the cadets some time on-the-water that summer by paying commercially for a qualified paddle sport coach to deliver some training using our equipment, but this was limited, and required further fundraising efforts, increasing my workload still further.

I am familiar with cadet units who do not have this problem with adequate water sport qualified personnel, perhaps sited within their local marina, perhaps utilising volunteers with their own boats in that marina. I suspect that these units provide a cadet-experience at least approaching that seen in promotional material. However, I suspect that our unit was not unique in falling well short of this.

2.2.6 Institutional Limitations

Finally, my concerns regarding the capacity of at least my own unit to match the cadet-experience as illustrated in promotional material was not restricted to the internal limitations of the unit. I found it increasingly difficult during my time as chairman to utilise the institutional system to effect change. One of the major stumbling blocks was with recruitment. Although a volunteer role, the recruitment process is, as one would expect in the 21st century, as rigorous as that for a paid position, however, the infrastructure to implement this was painfully slow and unreliable. Each new volunteer began the joining process by either me or the commanding officer completing an online joining form which was sent to area headquarters. In addition to this an enhanced disclosure was also produced locally before going through the Sea Cadet 'system.' On multiple occasions I had volunteers waiting up to six months for these pieces of paperwork to be actioned, requiring phone calls and emails to chase up. Often volunteers left, frustrated with the process, before they had even started. It soon became apparent that not only did each cadet unit, being an independent charity, operate on a tight budget, but so did the national corps, struggling to manage the support requirements of almost 400 cadet units. The system had, as I saw it, a further fundamental flaw. Support and management processes locally were managed by more senior volunteers. I found out through experience that these district managers were under the same workload issues as unit-based volunteers and the available support reflected this. On one occasion, when the district team and I had agreed to appoint an inexperienced new commanding officer, it was felt that regular support from senior volunteers locally would guide this leader of the training team through the process. In the first 12 months of his tenure, the unit was visited only twice, and both of these occasions was to conduct an inspection, not to provide support. I make no nefarious claims regarding motive here, rather, that a district, area, and national hierarchy works fine with paid full-time employees in post but is far less effective when reliant on volunteers. The consequence of course, as with all the issues outlined above is that the quality of the training provided to cadets often fails to match that as advertised in promotional material.

2.3 Reasons to Stay

Despite the concerns raised above I stayed on as a volunteer for nine years. I believe that for myself, and for the vast majority of CFAVs, the reason for accepting the difficulties associated with volunteering in the SCC is a genuine belief that the work we do can make a difference. Many CFAVs in my experience give more to their volunteering role than anyone could ask of them, over a period of not just years but decades. The positive influence these volunteers have

on cadets is almost immeasurable, and any failings of volunteers highlighted in subsequent chapters of this thesis should not be automatically seen as a criticism of the efforts of volunteers, rather than an attempt to improve the cadet-experience. Likewise, any failings highlighted regarding the SCC as an institution needs to be considered in the context of exemplifying areas for improvement. Essentially, what this research aims to achieve, and why myself and many other volunteers persist in difficult circumstances, is to make the cadet-experience as delivered as close in quality as possible to the cadet-experience as designed. To achieve this, one must look for areas in need of improvement, and then address these, which is why I stayed in post, why others stay for much longer, and ultimately why I am conducting this research.

2.4 Conclusion

This brief outline of some of my reflections of being a Sea Cadet manager highlight a number of issues that, in my personal experience, make the delivery of the cadet training programme a variable process that does not always reflect the cadet-experience as designed. This autoethnographic account identifies a number of broad areas of concern, closely aligned with the structural, cultural, institutional, and social issues proposed by Stahlke Wall (2016, p.3), adding substance to the broad research focus established in Chapter 1. The structural issues largely relate to volunteering, focused on issues such as low volunteer numbers, volunteer attendance, lack of qualifications and limitations of support that is provided by other volunteers. Cultural concerns relate to the internal workings and traditions of the SCC and its personnel, particularly the manner and extent to which training staff conflict with trustees, the high workload culture expected of volunteers and the culture of employment-level responsibilities placed on managers. Institutional concerns broadly relate to the capacity of a charitable organisation to provide institutional support at a consistent and professional level, specifically in the form of finances, recruitment, equipment, and administration. Social concerns are focused on the manner in which society as a whole, and individuals within society support the SCC. Examples here include how many see the SCC as little more than an opportunity to progress their career, the role of parental involvement, and the extent to which some see the UCFs as an extension of the welfare state. The themes introduced above underpin the investigation that follows. This investigation takes the form of a full review of the SCC in Chapter 3, followed by a comprehensive academic literature review in Chapter 4, both of which further refine the focus of this PhD thesis.

Chapter 3: The Sea Cadet Corps

3.1 Introduction

To tackle the research question, the SCC is used as a case-study owing to the opportunity to conduct ‘insider research’ (Fleming, 2018), achieving ‘access to data off-limits to others’ (Chang, 2013, p.108). The SCC were formed in 1856 when coastal towns started setting up ‘Naval Lads Brigades’ for orphans of the Crimean War (Sea Cadets, 2021c) so sailors could provide nautical training that would afford the orphans an opportunity for a brighter future. In 1899 the organisation gained royal patronage from Queen Victoria, gaining further support in 1910 with ‘Navy League’ sponsorship. In 1976 the Navy League was renamed the Sea Cadets Association, merging with the Girls’ Naval Training Corps in 1980. In 2004 the Sea Cadets Association merged again, this time with the Marine Society[7] to form the Marine Society and Sea Cadets (MSSC, 2018), with the MSSC as the parent charity providing equipment, logistical support, training, business support and DBS checks. Now almost 400 Sea Cadet units are located across the UK as shown in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, with 127 units incorporating a Royal Marine Cadet Detachment.

Figure 3.1 Sea Cadet Units

Areas	Location	Districts	Units
Eastern	East of England & Malta	11	68
London	Essex & within M25	4	45
Northern	Scotland, Northern Ireland, Northeast England, and Bermuda	11	70
Northwest	Cumbria to North Wales	8	59
Southern	Southern England, Isle of Wight, Channel Islands & The Falkland Islands	8	69
Southwest	From the tip of Cornwall, South Wales, West Midlands	9	80
Total			391

In all, the Sea Cadet Corps is home to almost 15,000 cadets and over 8000 CFAVs (ibid).

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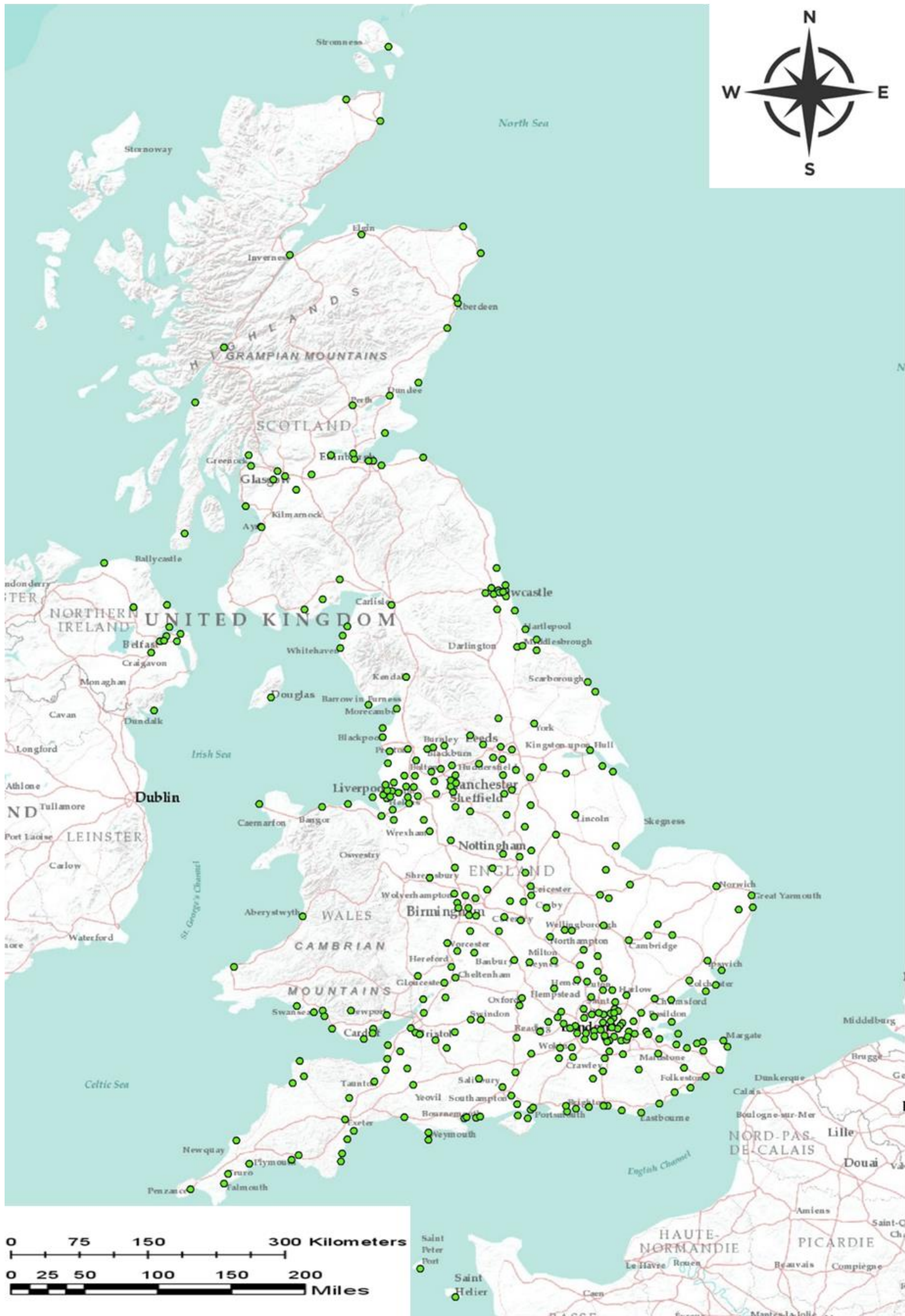
7 Established in 1756 to supply and train men and boys for the Royal Navy, later branching out into educational grants to individuals and naval charities as well as broader training and wellbeing support. As the aims of the Marine Society and the Sea Cadet Association converged, amalgamation took place.

Figure 3.2 Location of Sea Cadet Units



3.2 Sea Cadet Corps Operation

The Sea Cadets operate through a memorandum of understanding between the MSSC and the MoD with the aims of inspiring the next generation to realise their potential and seize a better future through nautical adventure "based on the customs and traditions of the Royal Navy" (MSSC, 2020, p.8). Not dissimilar to the original aims of those early 'Naval Lads Brigades.' Oversight of the SCC within the MSSC is conducted by the Marine Society & Sea Cadet Council (MSSCC) which acts as the governing body of the Sea Cadets, advised by The National Sea Cadet Advisory Council (NSCAC), comprising members of the Sea Cadet executive branch as well as various 'area' representatives (Sea Cadets, 2019a). Overall control of the yearly budget and direction of Sea Cadet activities is in the hands of the CEO of the MSSC. However, Head of the Sea Cadet Corps and the Director of Operations is a serving senior RN officer, responsible, through the CEO, to the MSSCC for controlling and directing all Sea Cadet activities.

The SCC is unique within the cadet forces with each individual unit being a registered charity, meaning that the MSSC does not have control over the day-to-day operations of Sea Cadet units. Rather, each unit has a board of trustees and Unit Management Team (UMT) tasked with running the charitable and business operations of the unit. The Director of Volunteer Support runs and manages the charitable element of the SCC assisted by a team of Business & Support Managers running each of the six areas, supported by development workers and area and district chairpersons. This team is designed to provide the support each unit requires to comply with charity legislation such as financial accounting, property maintenance, and charity compliance support.

The uniformed and non-uniformed team dedicated to the training of cadets is led at unit level by a commanding officer (CO), or officer in charge (OiC) if awaiting completion of a 'command' course. The CO reports to the Director of Operations via district and area officers (Appendix 2). The commanding officer and the chairperson of the UMT share the responsibility of running each unit, although the chairperson appoints the commanding officer and has ultimate responsibility for the unit. Importantly, their roles are distinct and should not encroach on each other. UMT members have no role in cadet training, and training staff have no role in charity and business management issues. Personal experience suggests that this 2-tier system of unit management, consisting of instructional staff focused on training cadets and trustees focused on charity management, may create friction at times that can disrupt the smooth running of units and is something that this thesis explores in later chapters.

As with any large organisation the SCC is further staffed with departments that are non-customer facing including Human Resources; Policy & Young People Support; Finance, IT & Trading; Fundraising, and Communications & Learning. Although vital to the operation of the Corps, these departments are mentioned only in passing and are not discussed here beyond the structure diagram seen in Appendix 2. The command structure of the SCC appears comprehensive, but as a unit leader of nine years' experience I am aware of many CFAVs who feel that the experiences of running units on a daily basis does not always reflect this, which concurs with my own reflections shared in Chapter 2. Many CFAVs question whether there are sufficient personnel in full-time positions to support the volunteers and whether the administrative branch provide the training and resources needed for units to operate effectively. Also, there is significant anecdotal evidence that there is inconsistency in product quality across the corps. With approximately 400 units stretched across the UK and beyond, each reliant on local volunteers, the maintenance of a standard cadet-experience is clearly challenging for a host of reasons, including adequate facilities and trained staff, sound finances, access to local boating equipment, proximity to regional boating centres, local deprivation, and socio-economic circumstances.

The breakdown of staff in the Sea Cadets by role is 3890 uniformed instructors, 1365 civilian instructors, 2059 management trustees and 913 other volunteers (Denselow & Noble, 2018), with approximately 120 remunerated staff at any time, working in national and regional positions. So, the largest number of CFAVs within the SCC are uniformed instructional staff and these will be the most visible volunteers to cadets, families, and the wider community. Much of the literature that highlights SCC volunteer numbers report the total figure, usually around 8000, however, we can see that over one-third of these are in non-instructional roles and less than half are uniformed instructors, who are most likely to have the experience and qualifications to deliver the full cadet-experience. This is of concern as it can lead to an overly optimistic impression of the number of front-line staff. Furthermore, unit leaders are judged by how many cadets and staff they have on their roll. As such, it is very common for units to keep volunteers on role for a period after they have stopped attending, meaning the published volunteer numbers can be seen as inflated, giving the impression that there are significantly more volunteers training cadets than is the case.

3.3 Volunteer Roles

The Uniformed CFAVs are the volunteers that drive cadet training and for that reason are the focus here. They operate within a rank structure like that of the RN and RM, with some minor

additions (Figure 3.3). It is important to explain that although the command structure works as per military hierarchy, the nature of volunteering can often complicate matters significantly. For example, it is common for an officer to step down from a commanding officer's position yet remain with the Sea Cadets and even the same unit. On such an occasion a Petty Officer, let us say, may be the only volunteer able to commit the time required to be a commanding officer.

Figure 3.3 Adult Volunteer Ranks & Rates

Sea Cadet AV		Royal Marine AV
Civilian Instructor	**Non-Uniformed Instructors**	Civilian Instructor
Probationary Petty Officer	**Non-Commissioned Officers**	Probationary Sergeant
Petty Officer		Sergeant
Chief Petty Officer		Colour Sergeant
Warrant Officer		Warrant Officer
Sub-Lieutenant	**Commissioned Officers**	Second Lieutenant
Lieutenant		Captain
Lieutenant Commander		Major
Commander		Lieutenant Colonel
Captain		Colonel

(Sea Cadets 2019a)

As such, Sea Cadet units can have a less senior non-commissioned officer in command and more senior officers in junior positions within the same unit. Usually this works fine with all parties firmly focused on doing what is best for the unit and the cadets in it. However, it is not unheard of for friction to arise in such circumstances and the SCC executive try to discourage this situation from arising. The fact that this problem exists is indicative of the pressures that cadet leaders face in running a unit, creating a situation where unit leaders regularly stand down owing to workload pressures. As a commanding officer or chairperson, the responsibilities are equitable, in my view, with running a small business, with all the personnel, management, and legal responsibility that go with it. Furthermore, as a youth leader with typically between twenty to forty cadets on roll, one has twenty to forty sets of parents that need and expect regular contact, which can be a time-consuming endeavour. Indeed, it is my experience that volunteers stepping into unit leader positions take on a role that is difficult to class as volunteering, at least in the traditional sense, and this concern forms a significant element of this research.

In practice, (although not always) all ranks up to and including Lieutenant/Captain are usually held by volunteers within units or with district roles. Whereas Lieutenant Commanders/Majors will usually hold district officer/troop commander level positions or above. Ranks of

commander/Lt Colonel and above are rare and usually reserved for the senior volunteer and senior employed officer in each of the six 'areas.'

3.4 Cadet Rates

The opportunity to progress through the rates is also available to cadets through a well-structured and merit-based system (Figure 3.4). Although cadets are encouraged and supported to progress, there is no requirement to do so, and no pressure is applied to cadets who do not wish to.

Figure 3.4 Sea Cadet Rates

Junior Cadets (Aged 10-11)	**Sea Cadets** (Aged 12-18)	**Marine Cadets** (Aged 13-18)
Junior Cadet	New Entry	Recruit
Junior Cadet 1st Class	Cadet	Cadet
Leading Junior Cadet	Cadet 1st Class	-No equivalent-
	Ordinary Cadet	-No equivalent-
	Able Cadet	Cadet Lance Corporal
	Leading Cadet	Cadet Corporal
	Petty Officer Cadet	Cadet Sergeant

(Sea Cadets, 2019a)

That said, many within the SCC will say that those who have progressed through the rates are those young people who have gained most from the experience owing to the courses and qualifications required to do so. This relates to the earlier discussion regarding outcomes and experience, suggesting that those engaging for the median time of only thirteen months are unlikely to progress beyond 'Cadet 1st Class.' Additionally, deprivation data gathered by the SCC themselves shows that cadets in the least disadvantaged decile engage for 564 days on average, whilst those from the most disadvantaged decile engage on average for only 348 days. Furthermore, median engagement days for the 30 units with the most deprived intake shows mean engagement time per unit as little as 126 days at its lowest (Denselow & Noble, 2018, p.39), creating further questions over claimed outcomes if engagement is restricted for many.

I have illustrated above that the focus on UCFs research to date has been on outcomes with a tacit acceptance that outcomes are homogenous across the UCFs. These figures shine a further critique on previous research and throw into question any findings regarding outcomes that have not taken engagement variation into consideration. In contrast, the data shown here for median engagement lengths and likely cadet rank reached are at odds with observations of those volunteers who were cadets themselves. A significant number of ex-cadets still in the SCC as

adults appear to have been those of very senior cadet rank (Leading/Petty Officer Cadet), raising concerns as to how much the SCC rely on senior ex-cadets transitioning to volunteers and where avenues for further volunteer recruitment can be found.

3.5 The Cadet Programme and Militarisation

I illustrated above that much of the criticism towards the UCFs fits into a wider debate regarding the recruitment of young people to the armed forces. The UK is currently the only country in Europe, and one of only a handful in the world, that recruits under eighteens into military service despite the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child recommending a minimum age of eighteen (Bostridge, 2015). Concerns are rooted in the effect recruitment has on younger people. The youngest recruits are thought to be more at risk of developing mental health issues such as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and are more likely to die in action than older recruits (Williams, 2017). The role of the UCFs as potential recruiting tools for the armed forces have pulled them into this controversy with experienced cadets, even at age sixteen, having developed many of the qualities desirable to recruitment officers. It is clear that there are entrenched views on the role of the military, or even simply a military ethos, in the education of young people. In a 'Mumsnet'[8] thread information request, for example, about joining the Sea Cadets a parent replied:

"I definitely wouldn't send a kind-hearted child there…" "It was full of military discipline – having to stand at attention until the leader cared to show up."

(Mumsnet, 2018)

It has been my experience that the military influence on young people in the SCC is far smaller than many believe. Ceremonial activities such as raising and lowering the flag each night, can be construed as a military activity, as can wearing a uniform. However, would, for example, a uniformed Salvation Army volunteer, carrying their flag in a ceremonial event be classed as operating in a military organisation? I can understand the concerns from the parent in the above quote, but I wonder to what extent activities requiring ceremony or discipline can be said to be purely military? One suspects that children in a sports team, for example, will be required to demonstrate discipline regularly and in multiple situations? I further question the relevance of waiting for a leader to 'show up,' and query whether it is any different than, for example, a school assembly where the children wait quietly for the head teacher to arrive? I argue here that dressing in military style uniforms and conducting military style ceremonial events is, in

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[8] Mumsnet is a UK-based online forum for parents to share knowledge and advice relating to good parenting.

and of itself, no more militarising children, for example, than sending children to church schools is, in and of itself, radicalising young people. Rather, it is how individuals within such organisation push their own agenda that is crucial. As such, this research will look for evidence of individual volunteers who are at odds with the ethos of the national SCC, pushing their own military agenda. Still, some critics do observe the SCC as a military institution to be avoided and as such it is perhaps worth taking a closer look at the values of the SCC and activities that take place within it.

In illustrating the points I make above, the information in Figure 3.5 compares the core values of the SCC with those of the Scouts. Although the Scouts do not have a present-day military connection it is clear that their core values are not entirely at odds with those of the SCC, suggesting that the SCC is perhaps more of a generic youth training provider than some believe.

Figure 3.5 Sea Cadet and Scouting Values

Values	Meaning
Sea Cadets	
Respect	To appreciate and be considerate to others
Loyalty	To be faithful to all who invest in me
Self-discipline	To do what I must
Commitment	To do what I say I will
Honesty and Integrity	To tell the truth and be a good person
	(MSSC, 2020)
The Scouts	
Integrity	We act with integrity; we are honest, trustworthy, and loyal
Respect	We have self-respect and respect for others
Care	We support others and take care of the world in which we live
Belief	We explore our faiths, beliefs, and attitudes
Cooperation	We make a positive difference; we cooperate with others and make friends

(Scouts, 2020)

Indeed, the similarities between the SCC and the Scouts do not end there. In much the same way as the modern SCC would argue that they provide generic enrichment activities for young people utilising a naval ethos, the Scouts were set up in 1907 by Robert Baden-Powell, adapting his own successful military field manual into a version for a younger audience, aiming to promote the importance of acting in a moral fashion (History, 2009). This adaptation of the original military publication known as ‘Aids to Scouting’ for a non-military audience, yet retaining many military style elements such as boating, lifesaving, camping, patriotism, and chivalry (ibid) is perhaps analogous to where the SCC finds itself today, strongly linked to their

parent armed force but using these links as a route to childhood development rather than military recruitment.

That said, an organisation's core values do not of course guarantee what is taking place on the ground, reinforcing the point above about the ability of individuals pushing a different agenda. The activities that take place within the SCC could of course be where the military influence is evident, so it is important to understand what training and education is taking place. The SCC recruit young people from aged ten. Those between the ages of ten and twelve are classed as junior cadets and have their own distinct syllabus from older cadets as illustrated in Appendix 3. What is striking about the junior cadet syllabus is that most of the activities are what could be described as generic youth programme activities and even those specific to the SCC are, it could be argued, standard activities but with a nautical theme, as one might expect from the Sea Cadets. They are largely non-military, based on games, enrichment, or life-skills (Sea Cadets, 2021a). The importance of this is that we have seen young people join the UCFs in fewer numbers as they progress into and through their secondary school years. As such, a significant number of cadets in the SCC will only ever be exposed to the junior cadet syllabus, or it will have been the largest influence on their time spent in the SCC. If the junior cadet syllabus is focused on general enrichment activities such as community and citizenship education or outdoor activities such as treasure hunts and using maps (Appendix 3), then it is difficult to classify this syllabus as military themed.

Similarly, older Sea Cadets and Marine Cadets have a diverse training programme to include some military influenced activities but rather more generic youth development activities that simply have a nautical or water sports theme as seen in Appendix 4. The specialisations seen in Appendix 4 can be considered the 'bread and butter' of cadet activities. They are usually able to be undertaken in the local unit and offer the cadet the opportunity to progress through different stages of expertise from third class through to first class. Proficiencies and water sports qualifications are usually a little more out of the ordinary, often seasonal, and often requiring travel to different locations, both within the SCC estate and through external providers. In addition to the extensive array of activities and qualifications listed here, Sea Cadets provide DoE courses and are partners with the NCS, with Sea Cadet CFAVs leading courses.

Finally, with regards to cadet programmes, the cadet-experience training programme, as seen in Figure 3.6 below illustrates what cadets could expect to achieve if they complete six years as a cadet. It can be seen that there is scope for cadets to choose the activities that facilitate progression, suggesting that young people can choose activities military related or more generic based on preference. I argue that, and believe the pages above illustrate, that the militarisation

of children plays little to no role in the syllabus of the SCC, indeed, that there is a concerted effort made at strategic level to provide a 21st century youth development programme that is simply inspired by the RN, rather than dominated by it.

Figure 3.6 The Cadet-Experience

	0-2 Years	**2-4 Years**	**4-6 Years**
Core Training Programme	New Entry to Cadet First Class	Cadet First Class to Able Cadet	
BTEC Level 1		Yes	
Specialisation	Any	x1 2nd Class	x1 1st Class
Proficiency	Combination of	1 Intermediate	1 Advanced
Waterborne Proficiency	3	1 Intermediate	1 Advanced
Boating	60 Hours	60 hours	60 Hours
Offshore or Overseas exchange		1	1
Event or competition	1	1	1
Royal Navy Event	1	1	1
External Training	14 Days	14 Days	14 Days
DoE Award	0.5	1	1

(Sea Cadets, 2019b)

However, what I cannot claim with any degree of certainty is that this ethos is always applied at the local level or that the legacy of a military-themed past is no longer in evidence. Many CFAVs working in SCC units are ex-military, and personal experience suggests that their motives for volunteering were, at least for some, to pass on the experience of their military training to young people. Furthermore, many CFAVs were cadets themselves, and for a significant number of these, their time as a cadet was during years when a military regime was the model for UCF training. It seems unlikely that all of these volunteers have simply embraced the new model and moved on from their own experiences of being a cadet, and with CFAVs having the capacity to emphasise particular training over other types, it is an area of SCC training that needs investigation.

3.6 Conclusion

I highlighted in Chapter 1 how the emphasis of this research had been restricted to a focus on volunteering, volunteer institutions and the specific problems associated with community-based cadet units. My autoethnographic reflections developed in Chapter 2 drew out some specific fields of interest within these research areas. Having reviewed the SCC in closer detail I can

now confirm and be even more specific regarding the areas of interest for this research. With regards to the issues surrounding cadet institutions, I will be focusing on the capacity of the national SCC, its full-time paid staff, and district managers to support the operations of the CFAVs that deliver the service, and whether the nature of the 2-tier system of instructional staff and charity trustees helps or hinders product delivery, including investigating potential friction between instructional and non-instructional volunteers. I will also consider if the national organisation is able to deliver a consistent product across both geographical and socio-economic boundaries. A significant element of this research will be an in-depth analysis of the difficulties cadet units face in delivering their product. I will look at where staff are recruited from, including an investigation into a possible over reliance on ex-cadets, and issues around retention of these volunteers. I will investigate whether individual cadet units have sufficient staff numbers and whether these staff have the qualifications and knowledge to deliver a full cadet-experience. This research will also consider if there are workload issues for senior volunteers and the potential implications if this is the case. I add a further area of research to this thesis. I seek evidence as to the extent to which, at least some, CFAVs have maintained a military emphasis to their training of young people and whether the historical links of the SCC to the RN act as a break on a move to a less military style youth training programme. With regards to specific analysis of community-based units this research will consider how the charitable nature of each SCC unit impacts on the volunteer and institutional issues discussed above, with specific interest in any area that could impact on a 'big society' style youth services model.

This production of a clear research focus now leads to Chapter 4, where I provide a conceptual framework of the research to be undertaken, based on a thorough review of the academic literature to add a final refinement of the research aims before producing research sub-questions to investigate.

Chapter 4: Literature Review

4.1 Introduction

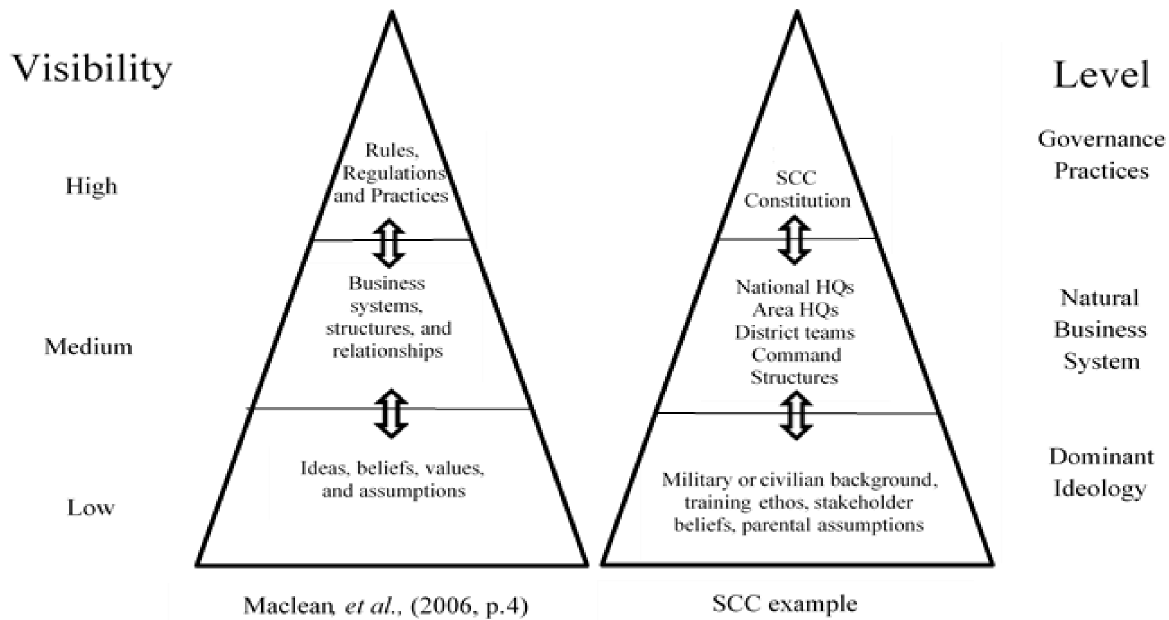
It was shown above that this research bridges debates on military ethos youth providers, volunteering, and informal education, situated within human geography, education studies, and sociology literature. This chapter draws these seemingly disparate entities together to present a coherent and contextualised narrative of the problems outlined above. I begin this chapter by illuminating the problem of visibility using governance regime theory (Maclean *et al.,* 2006), where the dominant ideologies of business systems are understood to be hidden from view to outsiders. This theory provides a useful analogy of how the problems facing UCF units can be easily missed by those without first-hand experience of the issues. I complement this by introducing elements of organisation theory, where the disconnect between macro-policies and micro-histories (Maclean *et al.,* 2017) can further exemplify the underrepresentation of factors that limit outcomes. I use these theories as a springboard to explore how the conceptual model of participation (Bohnert *et al.,* 2010) can help us understand what is missing from the current discourse. Specifically, the conceptual model of participation guides the research to explore claimed outcomes of participation in out-of-school programmes for young people balanced against the issues of 'predictors of participation,' 'participation metrics,' and 'programme characteristics.' I make a particular case that the eight different elements of programme characteristics, as illustrated in Figure 4.2, need to be understood in terms of their quality as experienced by the end user and not as advertised in promotional material.

This resultant 'real-life' programme quality, or the cadet-experience in SCC parlance is reliant on two key features: Firstly, the ability of the institution to deliver what they claim to be available, and secondly, the capacity of volunteers to support the institution in this delivery. I offer the French philosopher Bourdieu's Theory of Practice as a conceptual framework that illuminates this critical relationship between the volunteers running cadet units and the institutional capacity of the SCC. I explore how Bourdieu's work on habitus, field and capital provide a road map for understanding the relationship between the SCC and the volunteers running units. Also, in considering the capital SCC staff bring to their role and develop thereafter, I explore the work of authors such as Stebbins (1996; 2001a; 2001b; 2007; 2011) and others on the construct of Serious Leisure and how this and other constructs of volunteering impact on programme characteristics and ultimately SCC outcomes.

4.2 Governance Regime

Governance regime theory aims to look 'beneath the surface' at corporate governance and beyond the rules and regulations visible to all, towards the hidden values, beliefs, and dominant ideologies of organisations. This theory has been driven in no small extent by the requirement for greater transparency and accountability in corporate governance (Maclean *et al.,* 2006) in the wake of high-profile financial irregularities such as that of the Enron accounting scandal in 2001, which cost shareholders $74billion in the four years leading up to bankruptcy and employees billions more in lost pensions (Segal, 2021). The basic premise is that changes taking place in the rules, regulations, and practices of organisations "are only ever likely to be stable if matched by parallel changes in assumptions, values and beliefs at the ideological level" (Maclean *et al.,* 2006, p.5). I argue that this model of corporate governance helps us better understand the true nature of the UCFs, providing a theoretical route map for exploring the dominant ideologies, in this instance, of the SCC and how this exploration of issues not visible to previous research can shed light on the differences between the cadet-experience as designed and that which is delivered. Maclean, *et al.,* (2006) illustrate in Figure 4.1 the Elements of Governance Regime, demonstrating which areas of institutional practice are clearly visible and which are hidden.

Figure 4.1 Elements of Governance



The model shows how it is the macro constitutional components of institutions such as financial reports and mission statements that are most visible, with the "underlying ideologies, assumptions and deeply held values" (Maclean, *et al.,* 2006, p.5), being the most opaque, with

business structures somewhere in between and linking the two together. The model in Figure 4.1 includes examples that help us understand the current situation in the SCC. For example, the governing documents of the SCC such as the Sea Cadet Constitution are freely available for all to see, marking out the rules, regulations, and practices of the corps. The systems of the SCC, such as areas supporting districts, and districts supporting individual units, and the hierarchical relationships between national paid staff and local volunteers are by no means hidden but need a little effort to locate. However, the underlying belief systems and ideologies of the volunteers running units, or the assumptions and values of parents, for example, is much less transparent. I add my own observation to this model in relation to the SCC. The authors postulate that it is the base of the pyramid that is least visible to others. I suggest that although this is the case, it is paradoxically the area that stakeholders claim to know the most about. Whether it is government ministers making claims regarding the benefits of UCF values, or the belief of some parents that cadet units will 'sort out' their child, the underlying theme is that people across the stakeholder spectrum make assumptions and create policies or expectations that are unrealistic at best, and at worst can guide national policies in a particular direction, without solid evidence that this direction is reflected in the modern values and beliefs of the SCC. Maclean *et al.,* (2006) use an apt analogy to illustrate the difficulty in characterising this base level. They compare it to an iceberg, where most of what exists is unseen, but is often the most important. I argue that this is analogous of the dominant ideologies seen in the SCC, torn between a quasi-military model and generic youth organisation philosophy, and the variabilities inherent in 400 discrete, locally embedded, independent charities. As such, I maintain that claims regarding SCC outcomes that do not appreciate the variation created by predictors of participation, participation, and programme characteristics, as seen in Figure 4.2 below, are fundamentally flawed.

4.3 Organisational Theory

The way in which this problem persists over time can be understood through the lens of organisational theories, which are the exploration of the structures, relationships, and design of organisations (Daft, 2007), including constructs such as hierarchy, complexity, and strategy. Organisation theory in some form has been applied by humans for thousands of years with the pre-classical era (Oyibo & Gabriel, 2020) dating as far back as 5000 years to the ancient Egyptians and their management systems applied to building the pyramids. The theory traces its modern roots to the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), who coined the phrase bureaucracy (Daft, 2007), and more recently to Simon (1953) who was key in developing the

phrase ‘organisation theory’ seeing it as “management, industrial engineering, industrial psychology, the psychology of small groups, human-resources management and strategy” (Starbuck, 2003, p.144).

Three main organisational theories have developed; namely, classical, neo-classical, and modern. Classical organisational theory sees organisations as a machine, largely focusing on the capacity of managers to improve the efficiency of the machine and utilising a division of labour to achieve this (Önday, 2016). This theory gives little credit to the complexities of human behaviours, viewing the machine as a closed system taking no account of the environment in which it exists. I argue here that much of the existing UCFs literature has been produced, even if unconsciously, following the classical organisational theory model, seeing CFAVs as little more than cogs in the UCFs machine. Neo-classical organisational theory, on the other hand, considers the organisation as a social system consisting of interrelated elements, where informal organisations can operate inside of formal organisations (Oyibo & Gabriel, 2020). In neo-classical theory the human is no longer simply a single part of the larger machine but are actors with ‘social needs’ (ibid) who can have different motivations and goals than the larger organisation. This is precisely the situation that the SCC finds itself in. The ‘social needs’ and motivations of the volunteers that run each cadet unit appear to have been given little consideration by contemporary SCC management, focusing solely on the needs of the cadets. The motivation for volunteering, is just one example, with personal experience suggesting that many volunteers attend local cadet units to support their own child, then leave when their child leaves, creating a scenario where such volunteers are only ever likely to be loyal to their own unit where their child attends, with little interest beyond to the national SCC, and the implications arising, regarding, for example, training opportunities. Classical theory makes no allowances for such diversity of motivations, despite the significant impact volunteering patterns such as this create for the SCC.

Modern organisational theory attempts to overcome previous shortcomings, considering organisations as systems with internal and external variables, allowing the organisation to be studied in totality “as a system of mutually dependent variables” (Oyibo & Gabriel, 2020, p.225). Adopting the philosophy of modern organisational theory could well contribute to a smoother running and more efficient SCC, considering all stakeholders and variables that impact the cadet-experience. The research in subsequent chapters will be on the lookout for such variables.

Further to the three types of organisational theories, organisational behaviour is an area of study related to the broader concept “that investigates the impact that individuals, groups and

structure have on behaviour within organisations, for the purpose of applying such knowledge toward improving an organisation's effectiveness" (Baijumon, 2015, p.5), focusing on issues related to the individual such as personality, attitudes, motivation, diversity, values, emotions, group dynamics, leadership and stress management (Silva, 2018). Again, the research to come will consider such issues and the implications for the cadet-experience of any variations that are found. Of particular interest is stress management, which appears to be given little or no attention by SCC executives, despite the significant pressures placed on CFAVs.

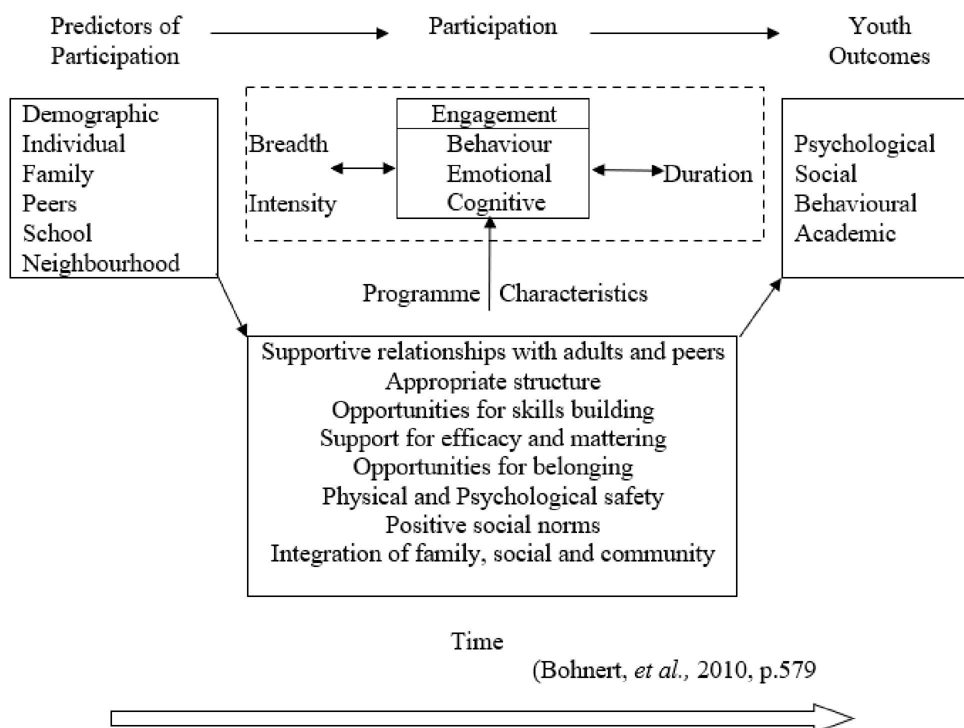
Finally, with regard to organisational theory there is a further principle that illuminates the problems facing the SCC. This is the disconnect between macro-conditions and micro-decisions (Gharajedaghi, 2011). In the world of business this is usually considered to be as a result of incompatibilities between 'top down' initiatives to drive down costs, whilst simultaneously expecting increasing productivity from the workforce (ibid). I argue that in regard to the SCC this relates to the disparate nature of what I refer to as the 'cadet-experience as designed,' and how this differs from the 'cadet-experience as delivered,' owing to institutional and volunteer limitations. It has been shown that the SCC as an institution have devised, what many would describe as an exceptional youth training model, but it has also been shown that frictions and problems can arise in expecting a volunteer led 'workforce' to deliver the product with limited resources. Brown (2003, p.7) explores concepts that explain the difference between the cadet-experience as designed and that which is delivered defining meta-narratives intensifying "the voices of the articulate elite whose documentation is so abundant." This articulate elite relate directly to those producing either academic literature or promotional material pushing a narrative that can be misleading and not reflecting the cadet-experience as delivered at a local level. On the other hand, Maclean *et al.,* (2017, p.480) recognise the 'microhistory' of distinct communities. Here the authors are acknowledging the "daily experiences of individual firms and actors," and in doing so are describing the complexities and difficulties that lead to a lesser cadet-experience as delivered, in the SCC, owing to variations in local level resources and circumstances. Abdelnour *et al.,* (2017, p.8) add depth to this concept when they describe this as 'patchwork institutions.' In this instance, the diverse nature of institutions is "glossed over by simplified assumptions of institutional inertia," perhaps reflecting the classical organisation theory, where human complexities are ignored. This scenario fails to acknowledge that frictions can arise as a result of diversities in rules, routines, working traditions, actors, skills profiles, and competences. To acknowledge this, accepting a modern organisation theory model and that of organisational behaviour, is to bridge the gap between the existing literature and my own

experiences as a cadet leader, opening up space for research looking for examples of, and implications arising from such patchwork institutions.

4.4 Conceptual Model of Participation

Having articulated the observed disconnect between the cadet-experience as designed and the cadet-experience as delivered within the SCC, it is necessary to understand the competing forces that create this disconnect, namely the way in which outcomes are accepted without critical assessment. The traditional methods of comparing the outcomes associated with third sector youth enrichment activities is a dichotomous distinction between participants and non-participants, where those taking part do so in an identical fashion and benefit from these activities in the same way (Bohnert *et al.,* 2010). The conceptual model of participation seen in Figure 4.2 offers a clear framework in understanding how participation in organised activities is far more complex. Emanating from educational research, this model adds the predictors of participation, participation, and programme characteristics to discussions on potential outcomes and they are explored in detail throughout this chapter.

Figure 4.2 Conceptual Model of Participation in Organised Activities



This is helpful in understanding the product as offered by the SCC being, as it is, a more complex concept than much of the current discourse would have us believe. As much of the conceptual background to this research is underpinned by Bourdieu's rejection of a structure/agency dichotomy, the conceptual model of participation, with its complexities provides the vehicle for transcending this voluntarism/determinism dichotomy making it an ideal model to utilise in conjunction with the use of Bourdieu's field, habitus and capital constructs that underpin the three sub-questions in this thesis.

Predictors of participation essentially relate to which young people are more or less likely to join an out-of-school programme and how a form of selection bias might distort outcomes. Participation relates to the variables determining how young people participate. It seems obvious that young people who attend more often than others, for longer, and are more engaged whilst in attendance are likely to take more from the experience. However, little is made of this in the existing literature. Outcomes (hopefully positive) are of course the reason out-of-school programmes exist in the first place. I have expressed above that the current discourse focuses on this without critical assessment of the role other areas of the conceptual model of participation play. Finally, the variability of programme characteristics becomes the driving force behind this research, with programme characteristics definable as what takes place, and the quality of what takes place, 'on the ground,' and how this may differ from what is sold in promotional material.

4.5. Conceptual Model of Participation - Outcomes

4.5.1 Introduction

Being the driving force behind out-of-school programmes, I begin reviewing the conceptual model of participation by exploring the claimed outcomes of participation. There is a significant body of evidence reporting positive outcomes from attending after-school programmes. Durlak *et al.,* (2010), for example, conducted a meta-analysis of sixty-six after-school programmes categorised as being of high-quality implementation, concluding that attendance in these programmes led to improved behaviour, increased academic grades at school, an increase in self-perception, positive social behaviours, and increased school attendance. They concluded that after-school programmes need to be recognised as being important in developing young people's "personal and social well-being and adjustment" (Durlak *et al.,* 2010, p.302). The Centre for Excellence and Outcomes in Children and Young People's Services (C4EO) agrees. Funded by the Department for Children, Schools and Families to gather evidence of 'what works' in children's services in the UK, C4EO produced a review (Adamson & Poultney, 2010)

into increasing engagement in young people and this review echoed much of what Durlak *et al.,* (2010) reported. The review added that structured leisure time activities, known in the UK simply as 'positive activities' [9] help young people develop personal, social and emotional skills in the form of self-esteem, confidence, socialising and team-work, as well as improved relationships with teachers and parents. The review clarified the nature of positive activities further by classifying them as an: "organised activity outside of school that provides something for young people to do and which may be beneficial for them and the wider community" (Adamson & Poultney, 2010, p.8). This definition resonates with the debate highlighted in previous chapters, where siting units within school can be problematic for a significant number of young people unwilling to increase their exposure to the school environment. If the very definition of positive activities programmes classifies them as 'outside of school,' yet the bulk of UCF research focuses on school-based units, then added emphasis is given to the need for this research to focus on the issues effecting community-based cadet units.

4.5.2 Conceptual Model of Participation - Social Outcomes

Social capital is said to be an important area of potential benefit from positive activities programmes, with Wikeley *et al.,* (2009) finding that activity-specific groups (such as cadet forces) are more likely to provide social capital than generic youth clubs. Social capital, although able to trace its roots back to the 19th Century, started gaining popularity in the 1990s through the work of American political scientist Robert D. Putnam. For Putnam, social capital is the participatory potential, civic orientation, and trust in others available to population centres of all sizes up to and including the nation state (Putnam, 1993). In perhaps his most famous work *Bowling Alone* (Putnam, 1995), took this further by expressing how he saw a collapse of social and civic society in the United States of America since the 1960s. According to Putnam, social capital consists of moral obligations and norms, social values (trust) and social networks, with emphasis on voluntary groups (Siisiainen, 2000). In essence, what Putnam said is that regions with stable and well-functioning systems of government, exist because they have accumulated significant amounts of social capital, and by definition, areas suffering from social problems, do so because they suffer from a lack of social capital (Putnam, 1993). Putnam unpacks this by explaining how regions with 'horizontal' alignments between groups within society, are able to form social allegiances, create 'citizens,' and develop social capital. In contrast, he suggests that regions that are vertically aligned in a hierarchical system produce

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[9] The phrase 'positive activities' will be used from this point when referring to generic phrases such as after-school clubs or out-of-school clubs.

'subjects,' less inclined to develop social capital (ibid). Essentially, populations that feel like equal partners in the social collective are more likely to develop social capital than those groups of people who see society as the mechanism that restricts their personal and economic progress. It is worth noting that Putnam's construct of social capital, and its impact on togetherness, has its criticisms. Perhaps most notably that the competitive nature of generating social capital (as with any capital) amongst citizens can be a driving force in preventing togetherness and creating community division (Navarro, 2002). It is argued here that these criticisms are less valid regarding the Sea Cadets, where social capital development, whether in cadets or CFAVs, is rarely a zero-sum game. In other words, the process of gaining social capital for one individual in the SCC does not prevent another gaining capital. The opportunity for a cadet, for example, to travel to a different part of the region or country for a SCC event is of course restricted by limits on participants. However, any cadet who attends regularly for an extended period will, in theory, have multiple opportunities for such experiences. Also, those unable to afford course fees can have their unit apply for a bursary, reducing uneven access to social capital developmental events owing to economic disadvantage. Although there is no claim here that this system is perfect, or that every single cadet or volunteer has equality of access, it is argued that the competitive nature of acquiring social capital is sufficiently diluted in the SCC to warrant using Putnam's social capital theories as part of the framework of this thesis.

These theories raise several interesting points in relation to this research. Putnam expresses how social networks (especially voluntary groups) make up a significant element of a region's social capital. With so many formally state funded youth centres closing, as shown in Chapter 1, organisations such as the SCC become one of the few opportunities young people have to develop social networks. Equally, for volunteers, often fitting their volunteering around an already busy life, the SCC will often be their only opportunity to develop their social networks.

Beyond cadet outcomes, an exploration of the role of social capital in cadet unit productivity is helpful. Putnam's descriptions of 'citizens' and 'subjects' resonates with my own experience as a cadet unit leader. I am familiar with stories of cadet units spoilt-for-choice regarding the 'social capital' provided by engaged individuals in the local community, parents, and other stakeholders. Conversely, I am all too aware of less favourable circumstances where cadet units have struggled to engage with other stakeholders, despite significant efforts to do so, at the cost of the cadet-experience at that unit. This research seeks evidence of any patterns of social capital, be that geographical, socio-economic, or other, in which cadet units find themselves in communities of citizens or subjects. Putnam called this "path dependence," meaning that the quality of local social capital pre-determines how much development a region can attain. In this

instance, I am interested in whether the quality of social capital at the level of an individual SCC unit pre-determines how successful that unit can be (ibid), an issue entirely missing from the current discourse, yet of fundamental importance to any volunteer organisation attempting to deliver a consistent product to a national cohort.

The term social capital is considered by some as a synonym for social cohesion (Kawachi *et al.,* 1997), yet for many others there is a more nuanced distinction. Social cohesion is seen to be what derives from the accumulation of social capital (Dayton-Johnson, 2003), loosely meaning that social capital tends to focus on the individual (Uphoff, 1999), in the form of time and effort to foster networks (Oxoby, 2009), whilst social cohesion relates more to groups and society as a whole (Easterly *et al.,* 2006). Mills & Waite (2017, p.3), echo this sentiment stating that social cohesion "refers to the notion that societies, communities or groups display certain levels of cohesiveness." This provides a useful distinction for the research taking place in this study. The social capital of individual volunteers is explored (also see Bourdieu below), with reference to the amount of social capital CFAVs bring to their role. However, the construct of social cohesion is explored as a separate entity, concerned with the experience CFAVs have of social cohesion in and around their own cadet unit.

Returning to the social outcomes of attendance for young people, the promotion of social cohesion in young people in order to 'fix society' is of growing interest to human geographers, in for example, military geographies contexts (Woodward, 2004; Benwell & Hopkins, 2016), with Wells (2014, p.340) discussing the "coercive power that lies beneath the surface of liberal politics," in her exploration of online cadet recruitment. Some of those writing in geographies of volunteering have also touched on this with Fyfe and Millgan (2003), for example, discussing how volunteering is seen as the solution to the problems facing liberal democracies. This trend is also reflected in contemporary politics. Building social cohesion has been a high-profile government policy since the Conservative coalition election success of 2010, with the introduction of David Cameron's 'Big Society,' initiative and continued by Theresa May's 'Shared Society' iteration (Mills & Waite, 2018). The theory underpinning both, in the context of young people, is that social cohesion is achievable by engineering opportunities for young people to gain social capital by meeting others from different geographical and socio-economic situations, thereby creating networks and 'good neighbours.' The vehicle for this ideology was, and remains, the National Citizen Service (NCS), described as the "fastest growing youth movement of its kind in the world" (Cameron, 2016), aimed at combating a lack of neighbourliness in modern society, engaging young people as members of society, and creating productive future citizens. NCS was sold as the reintroduction of responsibility, service, and

duty, in much the same way as National Service is remembered by many (Mills & Waite, 2017). Indeed, the name itself derives from this post-war UK military conscription model that is, even if through rose-tinted glasses, recollected by many as the source of their own character development and sense of belonging.

NCS sells itself as a tool to "engage, unite and empower young people, building their confidence so they can go out there and achieve their dreams, no matter where they're from or what their background is" (NCS, 2021). Mills & Waite, (2018, p.134) describe NCS as "a shorter burst of activities usually associated with uniformed youth organisations," and that it derives from political ideologies of how society should operate. If government see the development of social cohesion in young people as the vehicle to fix 'Broken Britain' (Slater, 2014), and this vehicle is essentially a shortened version of what is delivered by the UCFs, then the SCC, other cadet forces, and broader stakeholder community might be forgiven for accepting the meta-narrative, regarding attendance benefits at face-value. Indeed, the government have even contracted out the delivery of the NCS via a tendering process (Mills & Waite, 2018), with the SCC amongst the winners, where I myself have been involved in delivery. On initial interpretation of this, it appears that the SCC can claim this as further proof positive regarding the quality of their product. As an insider I question this. I have concerns that the same assumptions regarding outcomes, lacking robust assessment, that are applied to standard SCC activities, are applied to NCS duties with little in the way of quality assurance. I for one was given no training for my small role in NCS, and I am aware that others felt they had been 'thrown in at the deep end.' Indeed, young people's experiences of NCS outcomes in general is mixed, much in the same way as I claim with the quality of the SCC delivery. Some young people will have a positive experience of NCS, however, even a cursory glance at review forums (Mumsnet, 2015; reddit, 2019; Trustpilot, 2021;The Student Room, 2021) illustrate a deep dissatisfaction with the NCS product amongst many others, often citing a disconnect with the product as advertised compared to what is delivered, similar to that seen in the SCC, despite taking 90% of government youth club funding over the past 10 years (Cohen, 2021) costing approximately £1800 per participant (NAO, 2017, p.4), and there being no evidence of any long-term impact (Public Accounts Committee, 2017). Essentially, this brings my research back to the notion of assumptions. It is assumed that because NCS has been designed to operate effectively, it is delivered effectively, and it is assumed that because the SCC help deliver this product, they must do it well but, once again, my experience is not consistent with this, however, it is consistent with the criticism it has faced elsewhere. As a seasoned commentator on the National Citizen Service, De St Croix *et al.,* (2018) wrote that participants were simply

a "collection of data points," as opposed to "an individual who develops skills, knowledge and capacities through engagement with educational and social institutions." This description of the National Citizen Service, where substance is replaced by raw data that can be interpreted in such a fashion as to create positive marketable material, sounds remarkably similar to the UCFs, where the realities of delivery rarely see the light of day in marketing, replaced by material that may or may not reflect the reality of delivery. Whilst I do not have the scope to include a study of NCS in this research, my exploration of what factors limit assumed outcomes will be applied to the NCS/SCC partnership in the same way.

A concern about engaging or re-engaging young people in society and creating 'future citizens' is not restricted to the UK. President Macron of France is in the process of bringing back a version of National Service for young people. Alison (2018), writing in the *UK Defence Journal* explained that the purpose of this reintroduction is to "promote engagement of young people in the nation's life, to value citizenship and reinforce social cohesion." This French version of youth citizenship development is an example of how there is global concern, Holdsworth *et al.,* (2007) [Australia], Sloam, (2014) [Europe], Wray-Lake & Abrams, (2020) [USA], Natil, (2021) [Middle East and North Africa], regarding reduced civil engagement in young people. Although dubbed 'national service,' the French version is a four-week 'civic' experience with a military training theme. This appears to share characteristics with NCS, which is a civic engagement programme, which itself was described above as a shorter version of uniformed group activities. Once again, the underlying theme here is that the kind of opportunities and experiences available to young people joining the SCC and broader UCFs are consistently seen as important in youth development, and the development of civil society. This places significant pressure on those charged with delivery. The implications of poor, or even inconsistent delivery would have ramifications at governmental level owing to the political investment that has been placed on UCF programmes and NCS. Indeed, I go further. I suggest that there has been little political will to investigate the UCF product more thoroughly within the MoD or government because there would be insufficient appetite to provide financial and other support to whatever improvements were needed. As such, my concern is that it is easier to simply not ask the difficult questions at all, relying on lazy assumptions and meta-narratives that have persisted for decades without adequate critical analysis from objective sources.

The claimed benefits of attendance go beyond the benefits to society covering the psychological, behavioural, and academic benefits suggested in the conceptual model of participation seen in Figure 4.2, and these benefits are detailed below.

4.5.3 Conceptual Model of Participation - Psychological and Behavioural Outcomes

The C4EO state that there is a significant relationship between positive activities programmes and improved emotional skills (Adamson & Poultney 2010) closely associated to the psychological and behavioural outcomes seen in the conceptual model of participation. However, what is found is that the phraseology is used interchangeably throughout the literature with terms such as 'competencies,' 'personality traits,' 'character skills' (Gutman & Schoon, 2013, p.7); 'resilience,' 'social skills,' 'personality skills,' 'emotional intelligence,' 'people skills,' (Goodman *et al.,* 2015, p.14); 'non-cognitive skills,' 'soft-skills,' (Cullinane & Montacute, 2017, p.7); 'soft-outcomes,' and 'life-skills' (Bertram *et al.,* 2018). The terminology preference of the individual author can add unnecessary complications to this debate, so for the purposes of this research, and in relation to psychological and behavioural outcomes, I use the term life-skills when discussing the interchangeable phrases used above, simply because life-skills are well understood in common parlance, and it is the term the MoD use when describing the role of the UCFs (GOV.UK, 2021). Other phrases are used when citing previous research as appropriate, however, they can be considered to be referring to life-skills unless otherwise stated. Steptoe & Wardle (2017, p.4354) define life-skills as "a set of personal characteristics and capabilities that are thought to increase chances and wellbeing in life," in the form of psychological and behavioural outcomes.

There is a strong body of research (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Jencks *et al.,* 1979; Bowles & Gintis, 2002; Farkas, 2003; Heckman, 2006; Lleras, 2008; Vranda and Rao, 2011; Puspakumarag, 2013) suggesting that the development of life-skills is an essential part of growing-up, and with eighty-eight percent of young people and ninety-seven percent of teachers believing that life-skills are either equally or more important than traditional qualifications (Cullinane & Montacute, 2017), it is a belief that is widely held.

Goodman *et al.,* (2015), funded by the Early Intervention Foundation, the Cabinet Office and the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, conducted independent research and an extensive literature review of adult outcomes associated with childhood development opportunities, including a new analysis of the British Cohort Study,[10] which measured the association between life-skills development at age ten and adult outcomes at age forty-two. Their research developed a set of adult outcomes that are directly associated with life-skills developed in childhood. Many of these outcomes, as shown in Figure 4.3, can be directly

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[10] The British Cohort Study is a longitudinal study of 17,198 babies born in a single week in England, Scotland, and Wales. This was the eighth in a series of studies at age 5, 10, 16, 26, 30, 34, 38 and 42.

associated with the psychological and behavioural outcomes associated with the conceptual model of participation as seen in Figure 4.2 previously.

Figure 4.3 Adult Outcomes[11]

- **Self-control and self-regulation**
  - Greater life-satisfaction
  - Higher income
- **Emotional Health**
  - Reduced mental illness
  - Reduced BMI
  - Increased employment chances
- **Motivation**
  - Higher levels of education
  - Entry to higher social class
  - Reduced likelihood of smoking
  - Longer life expectancy
- **Social skills**
  - Improved emotional wellbeing
  - Improved socio-economic outcomes
  - Positive partnerships in adulthood
- **Resilience and coping**
  - Improved life satisfaction
  - Positive education and occupation
- **Self-perception and self-awareness**
  - Reduced malaise and mental illness
  - Reduced unemployment
  - Reduced obesity, and other clinical problems

Goodman *et al.,* (2015)

It is perhaps worth consideration at this point of the motivations for developing the 'adult' that is characterised by the skill-set shown above and the extent to which producing the 'neoliberal citizen' influences this. Neoliberalism had its beginnings around the time of the second world war, with the publication of *The Road to Serfdom* (Hayek, 2006), and *Bureaucracy* (Mises, 1944), both pushing an ideology counter to a Keynesianism philosophy of government intervention (Jahan *et al.,* 2014) in economic development. This neoliberal ideology was opposed to social democracy and was supported by the wealthy who viewed its adoption as an opportunity to avoid the tax and regulation that social democracy entailed. Although its broader adoption was initially curtailed by post-war social movements such as the UK's welfare state, by the time of the Thatcher administration in the UK, and the Reagan administration in the US, neoliberal policies such as deregulation, tax cuts, privatisation, and the demise of trade unionism were well underway (Monbiot, 2016), and not even the global financial crisis of 2008, largely blamed on deregulation, has led to a successful challenge to the ideology. Part of the fundamental philosophy of neoliberalism is managing social issues with minimal input from the state, and this is achieved by consciously moulding the neoliberal citizen. Randles & Woodward, (2018), for example, explore how the motivations for government funded schemes to develop life-skills such as self-sufficiency, personal responsibility, and self-control were

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[11] Text in bold refers to skills development training in childhood, and small text refers to adult outcomes associated with that training.

inspired by a desire to develop neoliberal citizens able to fit into a neoliberal society of reduced social service provision. Mills & Waite (2017, p.72), argue that the growth of NCS, as discussed above, can be considered in a similar fashion where NCS is an "encouragement of neoliberal citizen-subjects for a neoliberal state in neoliberal times, encouraging a 'type' of citizen that performs 'safe' and compliant acts of youth citizenship." Although this PhD thesis is not focusing on the ideology of neoliberalism, it is situated within an understanding that little in society can be understood outside of this construct, and as such the analysis and discussion chapters that follow will consider the implications of any link between the results of this research and neoliberalism or 'big society' style ideologies (Kennedy, 2014).

4.5.4 Conceptual Model of Participation - Academic Outcomes

In discussing a skills/education discord, the Global Partnership for Youth Employment (GPYE), part of the International Youth Foundation, set up to drive global youth development (GPYE, 2014), argues that some young people who pursue an academic framework, at the expense of other skills, find themselves unprepared for the world of work owing to a skills mismatch between what they have studied, and the life-skills employers want. The notion of life-skills as being of equal importance to school is in many ways the *raison d'etre* of the SCC and other cadet forces and being able to demonstrate how the tuition that takes place in positive activities programmes is different from what takes place in school is the ideal way to promote the benefits of attending positive activities programmes to a wider audience. However, defining and explaining the difference between what is done in school and what is done in positive activities programmes is problematic. Steptoe & Wardle (2017) suggest that life-skills can be considered as 'non-cognitive' to differentiate from the 'cognitive,' intellectual skills associated with traditional classroom style learning. However, writing in the journal *Contemporary Issues in Education Research,* Prajapati *et al.,* (2017) explain that there are three categories of life-skills: Thinking Skills, Social Skills and Emotional Skills. The problem here is that the development of thinking skills such as problem-solving and decision making is not dissimilar to what most observers will recognise as formal 'cognitive' schooling and has been an established field of educational research (Lipman *et al.,* 1980; Leat and Higgins, 2002; Higgins, *et al.,* 2005; Moseley *et al.,* 2005) for many years, explicitly taught in schools. Similarly, longitudinal research by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) illustrates that social and emotional skills such as self-esteem, perseverance and sociability are critical to the development of the 'whole child' and provide a platform for future success (OECD, 2015), and it is built into 'cognitive' school curricular for this reason. So, if

life-skills are to be categorised as thinking skills, social skills, and emotional skills, then positive activities programmes, in developing life-skills, cannot easily be differentiated from school-based learning. Borghans *et al.,* (2008, p.3) sum this discrepancy up well when they explain that the term non-cognitive is useful only to distinguish between traditional and non-traditional learning as "few aspects of human behaviour are devoid of cognition." Indeed, it is likely that there is no satisfactory descriptive phrase that separates the type of life-skill development that can take place in positive activities environments compared to that which take place inside school. There will always be elements of crossover. A young Sea Cadet, for example, learning orienteering will inevitably require some degree of mathematical knowledge normally taught at school, and school students studying, say, citizenship, will no doubt work on community issues often developed in positive activities programmes. As such, my argument is not that what is taught in positive activities programmes cannot be adequately delivered in schools, rather, that it is an increasingly low priority!

With significant pressures regarding results and league tables, schools find it difficult to look at the broader educational ideologies, focusing rather, on immediate examination results. Indeed, school curricular have become a 'political football' to be kicked around by consecutive governments in what Marshall (2017, p.31) has called the "marketization of schools," where what is best for young people is often of secondary importance to what makes schools look best on the open market of education. The concern that life-skills education is often absent from traditional school curricular is shared by the GPYE (2014), owing to external pressures to achieve higher examination results. This problem is aggravated by international benchmarking. Since the year 2000 the OECD have produced an internationally comparable assessment framework called the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) which measures the mathematical, reading, and scientific literacy of those youngsters at the end of compulsory education, in addition to other competencies, such as financial literacy and problem solving (OECD, 2018). Successive UK Governments have placed great emphasis on these PISA rankings to justify their ideological proposals for change to the education system. Indeed, Michael Gove MP, (2011), then Secretary of State for Education, writing in The Independent newspaper said that the German researcher and Head of PISA, Andreas Schleicher, is "the most important man in English education." Little surprise then, that with such emphasis on international comparatives, schools can at times feel like exam factories, to the detriment of a broader education. In the early days of the PISA rankings, Dadds (2001) agreed with this concern explaining that decisions made at governmental level were about raising standards, in order that Britain became competitive internationally, and as such pedagogical decision making

had, to some extent, been taken out of the hands of teachers. In other words, what was being taught in schools, and even how it was taught, were the product of a desire to climb the international league table, rather than what was best for students.

Unfortunately, such strategies are very often achieved through a 'transmission pedagogy,' (Scott, 2015, p.2) with passive students retaining few facts beyond the short term and, with greatest relevance to the narrative I am building here, developing few, if any, transferable or life-skills, in what Lingard (2007, p.257) called "pedagogies of indifference." Perhaps one could understand a degree of pedagogical indifference if the UK were setting the standard in international league tables. However, despite this push towards a higher league table position the UK's position in Mathematics, Science, and Reading have remained essentially static since 2006, despite spending twenty-seven percent more on education than the OECD average (OECD, 2015) on those between the ages of six and fifteen. Moreover, with a focus on the subject of Science, the 2015 PISA report stated that schools in the UK are better equipped and have teachers who are more efficient at explaining scientific principals than the OECD average. So, with better than average teaching methods, greater expenditure on education and better resourced schools, it is perplexing that the UK made little progress across the three core areas of Mathematics, Science, and Reading.

Herein lies a link to the state of life-skills development in the UK and the need for an outlet for delivering it if schools cannot. In the highest performing OECD countries such as Hong Kong and Vietnam, more than fifty percent of disadvantaged students are classed as resilient, where resilience refers to a young person's ability to overcome obstacles in their way owing to their level of disadvantage, and still perform in the top twenty-five percent. However, in the UK the OECD (2015, p.8) classify only thirty-five percent of disadvantaged students as resilient. This is above the OECD average but significantly below the top performing nations.

This seems to be a catch-22 situation. The UK overly focus on academic qualifications at age 16 to progress up international league tables. This over reliance on academic measures comes at the expense of life-skills development such as resilience, but without resilience many students struggle to meet academic goals, in turn leading to a lower position in the PISA rankings. Such league table data is, of course, eagerly analysed by the media in such a way to maximise headlines. Hopfenbeck & Gorgen (2017), analysing UK media coverage of the 2015 PISA results illustrated how only one of the top 20 UK newspapers (The Telegraph) reported the 2015 PISA results in a positive fashion, despite there being reason for optimism in some of the data. With government answerable to public opinion, and public opinion swayed by media headlines there seems little immediate prospect of the UK Government reducing emphasis on terminal

academic examinations and PISA rankings during compulsory education. Subsequently, one must conclude that the development of life-skills, such as resilience, will remain a low priority in schools for several years yet, making the role of positive activities programmes all the more critical.

There is evidence within the UK education system itself as to how much difference the development of life-skills such as resilience can make. Jerrim *et al.,* (2015) writing a report for Oxford University highlight this clearly in their comparison of post-secondary school outcomes differences between state and independently educated students. Having accounted for family background and improved school achievement there is still a further premium to attending independent schools and they conclude that this is a greater development of 'soft-skills,' such as mental toughness. Mental toughness is seen as a part of the personality that enables individuals to deal with challenges and stress, similar to the OECD's measure of resilience introduced above (Strycharczyk & Clough, 2015). A report by the Assessment and Qualifications Alliance, analysing mental toughness in UK independent schools claim that independent school students are indeed more resilient and better at dealing with setbacks than state school students, illustrating that twenty-five percent of the variation in performance is accountable to mental toughness (Strycharczyk, 2017). Furthermore, mental toughness also impacts on classroom behaviour and attendance (St Clair-Thompson *et al.,* 2015) academic engagement (Crust, 2008), lower levels of stress and higher quality sleep (Brand *et al.,* 2014; Haghighi & Gerber, 2018). Little wonder that young people with higher levels of mental toughness achieve greater academic success. It follows, therefore, that if life-skills development in the UK can be successfully provided by actors outside of the school system, school students are more likely to succeed, moving schools up national, and international league tables, reducing the need to concentrate on academic outcomes. This appears to be a positive feedback scenario that can, and should, be used by those in executive positions in the SCC, other UCFs and broader positive activities providers when canvassing government on the need for funding and other resources. There are implications of failing to do so. In recent decades it has been common for youth unemployment to be higher than that of older generations, with the days of young boys following their fathers into a job for life being long gone. Indeed, Mann & Huddleston (2017, pp.208-209) confirm that the current labour market is "unambiguously hostile towards young people," despite the current generation entering the "world of work with more years of schooling," and "higher levels of qualification" than any previous generation, stating that "the world economy does not now pay you for what you know, but what you can do with what you know." The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) in association with

Pearson, one of the world's leading learning companies, produced an Education and Skills Survey in 2016 further illustrating the implications. They state that only twenty-three percent of employers cited formal qualifications as the most important factor in considering who to recruit, and that the attributes employers are looking for most of all are resilience, enthusiasm, and creativity (CBI, 2016).

I have illustrated above that there are several beneficial outcomes associated with positive activities programmes in the form of social, psychological, behavioural, and academic benefits. However, such outcomes do not come about simply because a programme exists. I now detail how there are a number of factors, largely omitted from the current discourse, that can influence and mitigate against these outcomes. Although not covered in the primary research element of this study, as outlined in previous chapters, predictors of participation and participation are introduced below as two of these factors, leading to a detailed discussion on the main focus of this research, the impacts of programme characteristics on outcomes.

4.6 Conceptual Model of Participation - Predictors of Participation

Predictors of participation are a further significant feature of the conceptual model of participation seen in figure 4.2. Prior research has documented unequal access to positive activities programmes citing factors such as parental qualification, income, occupation, ethnic background (Chanfreau, *et al.,* 2015), age, socio-economic status, intrinsic motivation, local environment, peer influence and, parental persuasion (Mahoney *et al.,* 2009). This is important for two reasons. Firstly, and with the widest implications is that certain young people are more/less inclined to partake in positive activities programmes, meaning that the beneficial outcomes of attending these programmes is missed by large numbers of young people. Secondly, and of particular interest to this research is that reported outcomes in the existing literature have made little or no attempt to differentiate these outcomes across participants, once again making assumptions that outcomes are homogenous.

One of the 'standout' findings, for example, is that young people from poorer backgrounds are significantly less likely to take part. Callanan *et al.,* (2016) found that disadvantaged children are consistently less likely to participate in out-of-school activities and that often for them their parents' own experiences of education are a significant factor in discouraging participation. Tanner *et al.,* (2016) build on this stating that the cost of out of school clubs, in comparison to school based, are a significant factor in reduced participation by disadvantaged pupils. Indeed, Wikeley *et al.,* (2009) found that almost fifty percent of young people living in poverty did not take part in any organised positive activities programme, in comparison to only

twenty percent of their more affluent peers. The reasons for non-participation appear to be a mixture of; cost of activity, cost of transport, limited knowledge of activities available, confidence in accessing activities, attitude of parents, influence of peers and negative self-perceptions regarding attendance (ibid). However, those from poorer backgrounds that do take part disproportionately benefit in a range of ways, such as increased self-esteem and confidence, improved fitness, increased academic performance and opportunities for relaxation (Callanan *et al*., 2016), owing to having fewer enrichment opportunities elsewhere (Tanner *et al*., 2016). Although this issue of disadvantaged young people partaking in smaller numbers is important for society and policy makers it is outside of the scope of this research for reasons outlined in previous chapters. What I am interested in here is how assumptions about consistent outcomes can also be applied to predictors of participation. In this respect I refer to young people who have been persuaded to join by their parents, (Loder *et al.,* 2003) rather than of their own volition. Research has shown that those with a parenting style that combines warmth with clear rules are predisposed to encourage their children to join positive activities groups. This "parental reinforcement" (Persson *et al*., 2007, p.198) can, from personal experience in my own cadet unit, work out fine, with the cadet embracing the opportunity in a way their parents intended. However, very often this is not the case. Mahoney *et al*., (2009) describe how the motivation for joining positive activities groups is a predictor of how participants experience the activity. I can concur with this having witnessed many young people attend SCC parade nights who have openly admitted that they are only there because their parents want them to attend. Typically, such young people fail to participate with the same enthusiasm as others and are often disruptive to the process as a result. Clearly, any claims regarding outcomes that fail to acknowledge how different participants will experience different outcomes, is not accurately representing the reality of positive activities attendance. Those young people from disadvantaged backgrounds are often starting from a lower benchmark, making potential outcomes of greater significance, whereas those forced to attend by parents, in my experience, very often gain much less from their attendance. Although the topic of participation predictors is largely beyond the scope of this research, I can explore the extent to which CFAVs experience cadets who do not wish to attend, thereby giving at least an indication as to how programme characteristics, and ultimately outcomes, are affected by this.

4.7 Conceptual Model of Participation - Participation

The concept of participation as seen in the conceptual model of participation is also largely absent from the UCFs discourse. In Chapter 1 I quoted Plastow (2011, p.2) claiming that all

young people who take part in cadet activities "are better for it," regardless of how long they have attended or what activities they took part in. Such uncritical reporting illustrates how the debate, or lack of it, surrounding participation is important to understand. Participation is essentially the nature of one's attendance beyond simply showing up, and can be categorised into engagement, breadth, intensity, and duration/consistency (Bohnert *et al.,* 2010).

Engagement is seen as the most significant influence on outcomes (Bohnert *et al.,* 2010). It is a multidimensional construct, encompassing behaviour, emotion, and cognition. The characteristics of behavioural engagement are effort, concentration, attendance, and compliance. Those demonstrating positive emotional engagement have positive relationships with adults, peers, and the activities they are taking part in, demonstrating interest, enjoyment, and enthusiasm, as well as feelings of belonging (ibid). Cognitive engagement is characterised as having a psychological investment in learning, perhaps above and beyond what is required (Fredricks *et al*., 2014). In assessing levels of engagement Weiss *et al*., (2005) state that young people are said to be highly engaged when demonstrating persistence, effort, attention, enthusiasm, interest, and pride in success, whereas low engagement is identified by apathy, boredom, inattentiveness, and passivity (Larson, 2000; Weiss *et al*., 2005).

Some studies have attempted to measure engagement. Mahoney *et al*., (2009), for example, developed a 10-item descriptive scale evenly divided by positive and negative phrasing on how a child engaged with a particular activity. McGuire and Gamble (2006), on the other hand, developed a self-report measure of psychological engagement that includes items about interest, enjoyment, and value of the activity. There are, however, inherent problems with measuring engagement. Engagement encompasses behavioural, emotional, and cognitive domains and young people can show different patterns across these domains (Blumenfeld *et al*., 2005). Young people can, for example, attend with high intensity but be going through the motions, others may follow rules but may not be motivated (Bohnert *et al.,* 2010). I previously made it clear that any study that claims to have developed the full picture in UCF delivery will need to incorporate participation, and metrics such as engagement are included in this, although, it is clear that developing a methodological approach that incorporates the study of engagement will be a challenge.

Bohnert *et al*., (2010) explain that the greater the breadth of activities the greater the potential positive outcomes, and that activities across different contexts are most beneficial, (i.e., sport, prosocial, performing arts), with more activities correlating to more personal growth (Hansen *et al*., 2003), linked to self-complexity theory, which argues that individuals are better at coping with stress if they invest time in different contextual activities (Linville, 1985). Measuring such

activities can be done in several ways such as simply adding the total number of activities undertaken, but some commentators (Bohnert *et al*., 2007; Fredricks & Eccles, 2006a; 2006b; Randall & Bohnert, 2009) suggest that it is best to categorise activity contexts using pre-determined categories. This affords a better understanding of breadth as calculating the total number of activities does not allow for analysing outcomes specific to activity contexts (Bohnert *et al*., 2010). So, more breadth equals more positive outcomes such as better academic and psychological adjustment than just one activity and is much better than no activities at all. The concept of intensity is simply relating to how often young people participate and can be measured in various ways such as hours per week or number of times per week (Bohnert, 2010). Greater intensity, or more exposure to activities is seen to afford better absorption of skills (Larson & Verma, 1999) leading to improved outcomes, and stronger relations with peers and the adults leading the activities (Bohnert *et al*., 2007). The concept of duration usually refers to the number of years a young person has participated in an activity, whereas consistency refers to the stability of this participation (Bohnert *et al.,* 2010). Although impossible to give a definitive number of years of participation required for optimal benefits, Broh (2002) & Darling (2005) found improved benefits after 2 and 3 years, respectively. All the more interesting in light of the earlier findings that Sea Cadets attend for only 13 months on average.

Thus, the concepts of breadth, duration/consistency and intensity can be described as relating to the quantity of participation, and the concept of engagement can be described as relating to the quality of participation. Clearly, the debate on participation has a far larger role to play in youth outcomes than Plastow would have us believe. Much of the current research focuses on a binary construct of attendance / non-attendance, yet it is clear that the debate is far more nuanced than that and future research on outcomes in the UCFs and broader positive activities programmes will need to adjust to this.

4..8 Conceptual Model of Participation - Programme Characteristics

The construct of programme characteristics as seen in the conceptual model of participation is almost entirely absent from the existing literature, yet it plays such an important role in determining outcomes it becomes the focus of this research. Bohnert *et al*., (2010, p.4) illustrated in Figure 4.2 that there are a number of programme characteristics that can impact outcomes. These draw on work of others such as McLaughlin, (2000) who proposed eight elements of positive activities programmes that impact outcomes, namely: relationships with adults and peers, appropriate structure, opportunities for skills building, support for efficacy and mattering/making a difference, opportunities for belonging, physical and psychological

safety, positive social norms and integration of family, school and community (Mahoney *et al*., 2009). I argue the case here that any research, and conclusions drawn to date, into the UCFs has been conducted on the asumption that the programme characteristics as listed here are positive, simply because they are part of the programme design. To be clear; I do not claim that the eight elements of programme characteristics as listed above are absent from the SCC. They are not. The 'physical and psychological safety' of cadets, 'opportunities for belonging' and adherance to 'positive social norms,' for example, are embedded into the core of Sea Cadet activities without compromise. Also, cadet units work hard to 'build relationships' and 'integrate family' (although not always with success) into the cadet-experience. My concern remains the unpredictable nature and quality of the programme elements that are susceptible to variation in volunteer limitations and institutional or financial constraints. Specifically, how volunteer limitations impacts 'opportunities for skills building,' and 'efficacy,' and how institutional constraints impact 'structure.' There is, for example, a meta-narrative that there are appropriate structures and opportunities for skills building with local, regional and national levels of infrastructure, providing significant training opportunities for cadets as highlighted in Chapter 3. However, and once again, my concern is that the cadet-experience may not always reflect the meta-narrative, owing to difficulties in delivering a product almost entirely reliant on volunteers, in a charitable institution with limited funds.

So once again we are seeing here that the key issue is avoiding assumptions to determine whether the quality of the programme characteristics at unit level match what is sold at the institutional level and in promotional material. To gain a deeper insight of this I use a conceptual framework to understand how the dynamics of a volunteer workforce, acting within a national organisation impact on the quality of programme characteristics.

4.9 The Structure/Agency Debate

Having considered the conceptual model of participation in detail, I now explore the structure/agency debate as a conceptual framework to draw out the complexities of those key programme characteristics that have been outlined as being of interest namely, structure, opportunities for skills building, and efficacy, and how they can negatively impact outcomes. Agency can be said to be the ability of individuals, or groups of individuals, to act independently and is associated with phrases such as initiative, creativity, and choice (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998). In the context of this research, I relate agency to CFAVs and their capacity (efficacy) to operate a cadet unit independently and effectively. Structure relates to the context in which social events occur (Hay, 2002) and limits available opportunities (Barker, 2005) to practice

agency either individually or as a group and can refer to either material, social or cultural phenomena. There has been considerable debate regarding the primacy of structure or agency. Prominent theorists such as Durkheim (1964) believed that structure is dominant over agency whilst Weber (1966) believed that individual decision-making and actions give primacy to agency. This argument essentially boils down to whether individuals are free to make autonomous choices or whether they are prevented from doing so by social forces, and this argument is known as the structure-agency debate (Tan, 2011). However, there have been a number of social theorists such as Giddens and Bourdieu who have proposed that the structure-agency debate should not require a distinction between the individual and society as it is an iterative aspect of social life where society and individuals impact each other (Connor, 2011).

The aim here is to explore these philosophies to ascertain to what extent they can be useful in understanding the issues that impact on SCC programme characteristics. Evidence is sought as to whether a voluntarist doctrine in the form of individual agency of SCC volunteers holds primacy, or if deterministic principles relating to the constraints of SCC institutions and other social structures dominate. Or, whether a dialectical approach as proposed by Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1977) needs to be taken when debating the primacy of structure or agency.

At its most simplistic, structure can be described as the way in which variables relate in the social world to act as either an enabling factor or constraint to individual agency (Dowding, 2008). According to Durkheim (1982), individuals are at the mercy of social facts which act to constrain their behaviour. These social facts can be understood as how individuals are subject to external forces acting upon their ability to excerpt free will. Common social facts take multiple forms from religion, marriage, and language to legal rules, institutional norms, financial systems, movements of opinion, and social conventions (ibid). In the SCC specifically, social facts might relate to what can and cannot be taught, hierarchy systems, or availability of resources. Each social fact acts as a control mechanism preventing the individual from manoeuvring beyond the norm. So, Durkheim suggests that the structure of society exists above of, and controls individual action.

For theorists such as Weber (1966) human action holds primacy over social structure where individual efficacy allows people the freedom to make their own decisions. Scott (2008, p.77) describes agency as “an actor’s ability to have some effect on the social world - altering the rules, relational ties, or distribution of resources.” This philosophy criticises deterministic perspectives which reject the capacity of ‘agents’ to make their own choices, believing instead that the characteristics of agency are “intentionality and the capacity of actors to exhibit conscious and goal driven behaviour” (Connor, 2011, pp.ii98-99). Indeed, Connor (2011,

p.108) states that "structures, in whatever form they take, are not to be seen as some 'nebulous force,' but as ongoing material processes that can not only be resisted but overturned. People collectively construct the structures of the world, and that world is alterable through and by human agency." Dowding (2008) attempted to explain this within an analogy of a political party. He explores how the rules, strategies, manifestoes etc., of a political party can constrain agents but that it is the actions or 'agency' of the individuals within the political party that have produced the structure in the first instance. I apply this concept to the Sea Cadets by suggesting the SCC curriculum, links to Royal Navy traditions, and 2-tier system of instructional staff and trustees act to constrain volunteers and other staff, but the agency of volunteers and other staff have created the SCC in its current form, meaning changes can be made if there is a need and desire to do so.

Attempts have been made to provide a dialectical reconciliation of the structure/agency debate. In such arguments "the intentionality of actors, *alongside* a consideration of the capacity of agents to perform such an action" is key (Connor, 2011, pp.ii98-99). This is consistent with the work of Elias, (1978, p.113) who questioned the validity of separating structure and agency, calling it a "senseless conceptual distinction," reminding us that society consists of people, but people develop their individual characteristics through interactions with other people in society. Another major criticism of the dualistic nature of the structure-agency debate comes from Fuchs (2001), explaining that structure and agency are not permanent entities, being both producers of and products of history, constantly reproducing social relations. As such the essentialist argument of a fixed trait of agency or structure, but not both, becomes moot. Some have tried to create conceptual frameworks that allow for both structure *and* agency, led by theorists such as Giddens and Bourdieu. The central argument of Giddens' (1984) 'structuration theory' is that whilst individuals are acting within certain social structures they are, simultaneously re-creating those structures, which themselves are the product of previous actions of individuals, and that any focus on either deterministic or voluntarist doctrines fails to understand the dualistic nature of structure (Giddens, 1984), which simultaneously aids and restricts action (Baber, 1991). There was a considerable amount of criticism of Giddens' structuration theory with Archer (1982, p.460) suggesting that "rather than transcending the voluntarism/determinism dichotomy," Giddens has them "clamped together in a conceptual vice." Other theorists have added their own criticisms (McLennan, 1984; Bryant, 1992) many of which can be summarised in Giddens' failure to express *how* structure and agency are interrelated (Tan, 2011), rather than an ideological objection to his construct.

The French philosopher Bourdieu, however, provided substance to this interrelation and

transcended this voluntarism/determinism dichotomy with his 1972 Theory of Practice. In this theory he suggests, like Giddens, that agents do have a level of agency, but that they do so within the "rules of the game" (Walther, 2014). Bourdieu, however, goes further than Giddens in finding a way to describe *how* what individuals do is regulated by social norms, "without being the product of obedience to rules" (Bourdieu, 1990, p.65). Bourdieu's theory attempts to see past the agency/structure duality by expressing their interrelation with his concepts of field, habitus, and capital and it is this version of the structure / agency debate that this PhD thesis uses as a conceptual framework to explore the limitations of the programme characteristics as seen in Figure 4.2.

Fields are "arenas of production, circulation, appropriation and exchange of goods, services, knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors in their struggle to accumulate and monopolize these different kinds of capital" (Swartz, 1997, p.117). They are made up of key elements such as markets, institutions, individuals, organisations, and groups, and can be meta-fields, made up of multiple sub-fields, such as the army being made up of regiments (Cooper *et al*., 2017). Put simply, they can be understood as where agents operate such as society, education, law, art, religion, or hobbies. These social fields derive from "an historically generated system of shared meaning" (Lellatchitch *et al*., 2001, p.3) where institutions and individuals interact with each other as per the rules of that field and this can be understood as the 'structure' part of Bourdieu's theory (Walther, 2014).

Habitus is the way group culture and personal history shape the social actions of an individual (Lizardo, 2004). It is described as an unconsciously acquired (Davey, 2009) "set of dispositions, internal to the individual, that both reflect external social structures and shapes how the individual perceives the world and acts in it" (Power, 1999, p.48). These dispositions are often common within a single community, be that geographical or communities of interest. As such, individuals from the same industries, professions, religions, nationalities, ethnicity, cultures, socio-economic classes etc., will often display similar habitus. An individual's habitus is understood to derive from two sources. Primary habitus is a product of one's childhood, particularly the thoughts, actions, and beliefs of parents relational to their social position, and are generally considered to be somewhat locked in. Walther (2014, p.13) called this 'internalising the external,' and was said by Bourdieu to reinforce one's place in society, leading to different lifestyles and interests (Bourdieu, 1984). Secondary habitus is a product of one's life experiences and education, more malleable than primary habitus, but influenced by it. Each can be combined as a single habitus "reinforced and modified by life experiences" (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). To summarise, habitus constructs practice but does not

determine it. A useful analogy can be applied using the SCC once again. A charity trustee for example, with responsibility for the finances of the charity has numerous rules and regulations to follow, including Charity Commission regulations, Inland Revenue rules and stringent SCC procedures, including yearly inspections. However, the charity trustee has full autonomy in how she/he managers these finances and how funds are raised. Applications to trusts and foundations, cadet sponsored activities, supermarket bag packs, or commercial use of facilities can all be applied at the charity's discretion, as long as it adheres to 'the rules of the game.'
For Bourdieu, habitus demonstrates a shared acceptance in these "rules of the social game" (DiGiorgio, 2009, p.187) [illusio], and that individuals operate as per their own position on a field [Doxa], which is itself dependent on their personal capital (Walther, 2014). Bourdieu elaborates that agents in a field who are not in accordance with field specific norms [nomos] tend to have little success [avant-garde], unless they manage to overturn the nomos and their ideas become accepted [consecrated avant-garde] at which point they gain high social capital. Not that this is necessarily a straightforward linear progression. Friedman (2016, p.144), describe how social progression can be a "distinctly bumpy and non-linear ride punctuated by abrupt moments of hysteresis." What Friedman is referring to by hysteresis is that individuals gaining social capital can travel (socially) so far from their previous habitus that the difficulties involved in acquiring social capital itself can cause social mobility to go into reverse. I myself have had a small sense of this in my own volunteering. Entering the SCC at chairman level with no prior experience initially left me with little social capital in the SCC field, despite being in a position of responsibility. Over a period of 5 years, I then raised over £250,000 to relocate the unit to better premises. I gained considerable social capital during this period with visits to the new property from the Captain of the SCC and other dignitaries. However, I was never one to engage that much with other Sea Cadet units or district/area personnel, feeling that the hours I gave to my own unit were quite enough. As such, over time, the social capital I had built in securing a new property diminished, and without the social networks that others had built I found myself somewhat isolated and once again lacking in personal capital within the SCC field.

Bourdieu made much of this need for capital. He believed that for agents to gain access to and excel in a social field they need to possess the attributes (capital) valued in that field. Bourdieu differentiated capital into four types: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic and one's habitus is based on the possession of such capital. Economic capital, as one would imagine, relates to monetary wealth. Social capital is the accumulation of networks of relationships affording access to resources, knowledge, and information (Gretzinger *et al.,* 2010). Cultural capital is the most important driver of gaining status within a field, taking the

form of either embodied, objectified, or institutionalised capital. Embodied capital relates to one's macro human capital (Bourdieu, 1986) such as knowledge, accent, taste, dress, and posture. Objectified capital takes the form of material possessions and institutionalised capital takes the form of testimonials proving cultural competence, such as certificates and qualifications (ibid). Symbolic capital is not an independent form of capital but a combined result of one's economic, social, and cultural capital in the form of recognition and honour accredited from the field and actors within that field (Doherty & Dickmann, 2009).

Bourdieu (1977) goes some way to overcoming the criticisms levelled at Giddens by describing the interplay between field, capital, and habitus and how this leads to practice. He shows that habitus and field construct a circular relationship between structure and dispositions where "involvement in a field shapes the habitus that, in turn, shapes the actions that reproduce the field" (Crossley, 2001, p.87). Veenstra & Burnett (2014) summarise how scholars are attracted to Bourdieu's Theory of Practice when they state that it provides a theoretical model that can transcend the divide between structure and agency. The broader constructs of structure and agency are useful in contextualising many of the SCC issues this research is interested in. Crothers (1996), for example, suggests that the best way for us to gain insight into the way society works is through the examination of structures and that the best method of testing this theory is to vary the individuals involved and assessing whether outcomes change (Crothers, 1996). This sits well within the context of this research investigating the experiences of CFAVs in SCC units across the four nations of the UK, enabling analysis of the extent to which outcomes vary depending on the CFAVs involved. If, for example, the problems found in a rural SCC unit with 10 cadets are the same as those found in an urban SCC unit with 25 cadets then Crothers' examination of structures based on varying the individuals involved will be very helpful in this study. Additionally, Connor (2011) frames the way in which volunteers can often feel isolated and lacking in support, suggesting that a focus on situated practices can lead to a form of victim blaming, directing this research towards an exploration of the extent and effectiveness of SCC support networks and CFAVs experiences of them. Further to this, Coburn (2016) describes how any constraints of agency are not universal. Rather, they apply in different ways and at varying degrees to different individuals, in different places or social structures. This is also of significant interest to this research. My own anecdotal evidence points to frustration amongst some CFAVs regarding the progress they are making at a local unit level. This research questions CFAVs to ascertain if this variation of agency is replicated across the SCC, why this might be the case, what form this variation takes and the implications arising from it.

Although utilising some of the broader constructs of the structure/agency debate as seen above, I argue that the SCC can best be studied if considered as a Bourdonian Field, where the SCC can be classed as a meta-field and smaller elements of the corps such as areas, districts and individual units can be classed as sub-fields. By situating agency as habitus, itself based on the possession of capital, Bourdieu provides a clear avenue of investigation of the issues cadet units face in delivering their product within the broader SCC field. As such, this research seeks evidence of how the nuances of sub-capitals effect, or are affected by, SCC operations and how the co-constructive relationship between habitus and field provide the ideal platform to explore the relationship between CFAV's, the units they operate from and the broader institutions they make up. I consider the role economic, social, and cultural capital play in influencing programme characteristics in the SCC. I seek clarification as to the extent to which 'networks of relationships' (Gretzinger *et al.,* 2010) impact on CFAVs effectiveness and consequences of reduced social capital. The knowledge associated with embodied cultural capital and the certificates or qualifications associated with institutionalised cultural capital are manifestly crucial to CFAVs having the experience and skills to deliver an effective product to cadets. The concept of symbolic capital is also of significant interest. Bourdieu suggests that one's capital is unlikely to raise one's social status unless it is recognised. Symbolic capital expresses itself in the form of prestige, competence, respectability, and honourability. Within the SCC the manifestation of such nouns comes in the forms of promotion, rank, and qualifications. As such, this research investigates the extent to which CFAVs enter the SCC in possession of cultural capital and the ability of the SCC to provide training opportunities for further cultural capital once in post. Furthermore, the role of capital is explored with regard to recruitment. I explore if agents' capital prior to joining the UCFs is considered, whether different avenues of recruitment produce volunteers with greater or lesser capital, whether certain groups of potential volunteers can amass the kind of capital needed to succeed as a CFAV and whether there is intrinsic drive to attain symbolic capital. In my own experiences there is a dichotomy here. Many CFAVs are ex-cadets, whilst many others arrive with zero cadet or youth training experience. The contrast is stark. Ex-cadets possess cultural capital in the form of certificates and qualifications gained as a cadet, in for example, sailing, kayaking or navigation, in addition to the symbolic capital that the qualifications provide. They also bring with them the social capital derived from years of experience and meeting other cadets and volunteers. By contrast, volunteers new to the role, perhaps joining because their child joined as a cadet, seem somewhat out of their depth, with little or no capital by comparison, and often showing little agency in acquiring capital. I explore whether the contrast in volunteer types and subsequent capital

possession has any impact in the smooth operation of the SCC and whether the training cadets receive is affected by it.

The role of economic capital is also explored. Although one might argue that the material assets agents bring to a field to be almost irrelevant, I come to this from a different angle. I explore the opportunity for agents to develop economic capital within the SCC. 'Mainstream' military organisations are generally keen to highlight any evidence of positive social mobility attributable to service (MoD, 2019). Perhaps the SCC can mirror this without the need for agents to commit to a regular or even reservist military career. This research is also greatly interested in the 'push' and 'pull' factors (Bigo, 2011) that draw agents to and from competing fields. If we consider the SCC as one field and the agent's family, work, and social life away from the SCC as separate fields it becomes useful to consider how an agents' draw towards the SCC changes over time and during different stages of one's personal life. This research, therefore, explores the triggers for 'push' and 'pull' factors amongst CFAVs and how these might impact on provision.

Bourdieu stated that social fields originate from "an historically generated system of shared meaning" (Lellatchitch *et al*., 2001, p.3) where institutions and individuals interact with each other as per the rules of that field. The SCC this research uses as a case study has gone through tremendous change in recent years, transitioning to a modern youth training organisation. This research considers what happens if an 'historically generated system of shared meaning' adapts. Specifically, what implications arise when the executive branch implement policy changes (even over an extended number of years) and some of the volunteers delivering the product are unsympathetic to the new direction? If the 'system of shared meaning' is lost can the organisation function effectively? The study of Bourdieu's 'field' concept has several other avenues of interest. Previous chapters highlighted that many CFAVs attend whilst at odds with SCC institutions, rules, traditions, policies, and procedures. Bourdieu's theory helps to provide a conceptual framework to this also. The doxa refers to unquestioned assumptions within a field and the nomos refers to field norms, policing the actions of agents. Bourdieu suggests that those operating outside of doxa, or nomos become part of the avant-garde with low cultural capital, unless they and their actions become accepted, becoming part of the consecrated avant-garde. I utilise this research to seek instances of CFAVs who have become part of the avant-garde, why this has happened, and the implications of this, in addition to seeking evidence of a route to transitioning to the consecrated avant-garde.

A further construct of Bourdieu's theories is that the rules that are imposed upon agents entering a field create a system of "cultural reproduction." Indeed, Cattani *et al.,* (2014)

suggested that dominant players in a field endeavour to maintain fields in the current form so to maintain their own dominance. This is explored here from two perspectives. Firstly, do some senior CFAVs resist change to protect their own position and, secondly, are the institutional systems of the SCC set up to either encourage or discourage appetite for change? One final advantage of using Bourdieu's theories as a framework for this research is the military links and legacy that the SCC has with the broader military establishment. Cooper *et al.,* (2017, p.54), writing in the *Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health*, wrote about a "cultural transition" people need to make when undergoing a military to civilian transition. Specifically, they explain that certain types of cultural capital are unique within the armed forces and that transitioning away from these forms of capital towards those more suited to civilian life is often problematic. Although that work focuses on the military to civilian transition that takes place when individuals leave the armed forces, it highlights the differences between military and non-military fields, which begs the question as to what extent this cultural transition takes place when volunteers join the SCC. Volunteers are, after-all, entering a uniformed organisation, with a rigid rank structure 'based on the customs and traditions of the Royal Navy' (Sea Cadets, 2021a), with over 150 years of ingrained naval traditions and culture. This research seeks evidence of any cultural transition that is needed and potential problems arising from this.

4.10 Volunteers

4.10.1 Who Volunteers?

It is clear from the analysis of Bourdieu above that the agency, or habitus, of volunteers, and their relationship with the structure, or field, of the SCC is crucial in understanding the current and future requirements of a successful SCC. As such, I now consider the nature of volunteers and how they may influence this current and future SCC operation based on the primary research to follow. Data for those volunteering at least once per month (regular) is readily available in the Civil Society Almanac, which is produced yearly by the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), the largest membership body for the voluntary sector in England that provides information on what third sector organisations do, their financial data, volunteer numbers and impact (NCVO, 2019). This data shows that in 2017-18 women took part in formal volunteering at a slightly higher rate than men (23% to 21%). However, figures seen in previous chapters have shown that there are approximately fifty-percent more male volunteers than female volunteers in the UCFs. One possible area of concern would be if this is not reflected in cadet gender ratios, rendering a male centric volunteer force inadequate to

manage a large cadet gender imbalance. This research compares CFAV gender ratios to identify potential issues.

The dominant age categories volunteers across all formal volunteering nationally may have implications if repeated in Sea Cadet volunteering. Those aged sixty-five to seventy-four volunteer in higher numbers than any other age group, with those aged twenty-five to thirty-four volunteering less than anyone else (NCVO, 2019). The nature of many Sea Cadet (and broader UCFs) activities requires higher levels of fitness than older people might be able to offer but are well suited to those younger people seemingly less prepared or able to volunteer. As such, this research investigates if the SCC struggle to attract young volunteers and the potential impacts on training.

The Civil Society Almanac details a host of further interesting volunteering data such as employment status, region, and indices of multiple deprivation. Formal volunteering by region data suggests that location is important. In four of the five years between 2014 & 2018 North East England had the lowest percentage of people involved in formal volunteering with a significant thirteen percent difference in 2016-17 between the Northeast (15%) and the Southwest (29%). This research investigates if there are differences in volunteer numbers between geographical locations within the SCC to better understand how a national organisation manages volunteers.

Employment status data is also of interest with figures for the previous 5 years showing that those in employment are consistently volunteering at lower levels than those economically inactive. Further investigations are undertaken to ascertain if this is seen in SCC volunteering, with concern that the corps could be missing out on the skills-set of employed potential volunteers. Previous research (Low *et al.,* 2007) took the employment concept further by measuring socio-economic data against volunteering types. This research found that people in management positions in their day-jobs were significantly more likely to be involved than those in 'routine' or 'semi-routine' employment. This issue is explored with reference to the SCC for two reasons. Firstly, each Sea Cadet unit is an independent charity running its own charitable affairs and directing the training of young people, meaning that having volunteers with management experience is not simply desirable, rather, essential in light of significant human resources, health and safety, charity compliance, and SCC regulations that need to be applied. This research, therefore, is interested in discovering if Sea Cadet units have adequate numbers of personnel in post with management experience. Secondly, there is concern that the number of hours volunteering per week required in a Sea Cadet management post might be a restrictive factor in recruiting already busy managers from elsewhere. This research explores if this is the

case and the potential implications.

Finally, the NCVO data shows that areas in the lowest quintile regarding indices of multiple deprivation produced formal volunteering figures significantly below more affluent areas. This is of clear interest to this research. There are approximately 400 sea cadet units in the UK and many of these serve areas suffering from high levels of deprivation. It was shown above that those from disadvantaged backgrounds are less likely to attend positive activities programmes. Clearly, this situation is exasperated if disadvantaged communities are *en masse* restricted by reduced opportunities, owing to fewer available volunteers. As such, an analysis of the research data concentrates on disparities between areas of high and low deprivation.

The use of the structure / agency debate in the form of Bourdieu's field, habitus, and capital is a critical tool in breaking down the institutional and volunteer limitations that prevents the delivery of the cadet-experience. To aid this it is necessary to take a detailed look at volunteering as a concept, and how key elements of volunteering can impact the SCC.

4.10.2 Volunteering

The Institute for Volunteering Research through its own study (Paine *et al.,* 2010, p.8) described volunteering simply as "a form of work without pay" and that it "consisted of offering time and help to others." Others have offered a more nuanced definition. The Compact, which was set up as an agreement between government and civil society organisations to work together for the benefit of communities and citizens in England, defined volunteering as: "an activity that involves spending unpaid time doing something that aims to benefit the environment or individuals or groups, other than or, in addition to close relatives" (The Compact, 2009, p.7). The Compact describe what they saw as the four principles of volunteering: choice - all individuals must have freely made the choice to volunteer; diversity - volunteering should be open to all; mutual benefit - both the organisation and the volunteer must benefit from the relationship; recognition - all volunteering should be recognised (The Compact, 2009). Evidence of these four principles is sought in this research from the point of view of the CFAVs as, if any of these are absent, there will be implications for effective provision owing to retention difficulties.

Wu (2011), writing on the social impacts of volunteering calculated that there are approximately 140 million people engaged in volunteering worldwide each year, equivalent to 20.8 million full time jobs contributing $400 billion to the global economy. Clearly, fully understanding the nature of this volunteering is of interest to organisations looking to maximise outputs. Figure 4.4 below describes the differing methods of participation in volunteering.

Clearly, involvement in delivering positive activities programmes falls into the social participation category. This kind of participation plays a significant role in the UK economy. The Charity Commission indicated that there were over 165,000 voluntary sector organisations in 2015 with an estimated income in 2016 of over £73 billion (Keen & Audickas, 2017).

Despite adding so much to economies across the world however, there is no consensus on what this sector is called. Bridge *et al.,* (2009) highlight phrases such as 'voluntary sector,' 'non-profit sector,' 'voluntary and community sector,' the 'social economy' and the 'social enterprise sector.' Whilst Halsall *et al.,* (2015) point out that internationally the phrase 'non-government organisation' is prominent, whilst in the UK the term 'third sector' is primarily used. Thus, for the purposes of this research the term third sector will be adopted from this point.

Figure 4.4 Methods of Participation

Method	Description	Examples
Public Participation	The engagement of people with the various structures and institutions of democracy. Key to public participation is the relationship between people and the state.	Voting Responding to a government consultation Signing a petition Taking part in a protest
Individual Participation	The individual choices and actions that people make as part of their daily lives and that are statements of the kind of society they want to live in.	Donating money to charity Boycotting a product Making ethical purchases Raising money for a cause
Social Participation	The collective activities that people may be involved in. The associations people form between and for themselves are at the heart of social participation.	Being a member of a community group Volunteering at a hospice Being trustee of a charity

(Hornung *et al.,* 2017, p.9)

The act of volunteering, albeit time consuming, is thought to have several benefits to those involved. Wu, (2011) highlighted a number of these, such as increasing self-esteem and fulfilment, expanding career paths, developing skills and capacities, increased mental and physical health, and the development of leadership skills. Social cohesion is believed to be a further product of volunteering. According to Mills & Waite (2018, p.133), it "refers to the

notion that societies, communities or groups display certain levels of cohesiveness (or a lack thereof) and that we can study this via measuring or interrogating individual and group-level approaches to social life." Wu develops the debate on volunteering by elucidating on the social cohesion nature of volunteering:

1. Volunteering enhances the social connections between different sectors, builds the bridges for governments, enterprises, and employees.
2. Volunteering helps build a more cohesive, safer, stronger community, increases the social networks between communities and neighbourhood.
3. Volunteering promotes people to be more active in civic engagement and concerned of citizenship.
4. Volunteering delivers some part of public services, encouraging more people to work in the public sector, helping raise the educational performance of youth, push forward sustainable development, solve environmental problems, and respond to climate change etc.

(Wu, 2011, p.18)

This construct is explored later when questioning CFAVs about their own experiences of volunteering. I am interested here in exploring whether the rhetoric, like much of the meta-narrative in this debate, is taken as fact without critical analysis, or if CFAVs experience these first-hand.

It is important to acknowledge at this point that there is evidence within the literature that volunteering can in some circumstances be detrimental. One such example is that of employment prospects. Paine *et al.,* (2013) highlight that volunteering can marginally help the move into employment (not wage progression) but only by doing not too little and not too much. The findings from the authors suggest that for those aged twenty-six to forty-four volunteering has virtually zero impact on moving into employment (positive or negative), whereas for those aged sixteen to twenty-five (especially students) regular volunteering had a negative impact on finding employment. The negative implications of volunteering are broader than acknowledged in much of the existing literature and as such form a significant element of this research, where I ask a series of questions of CFAVs relating to potential negative implications of their volunteering.

For anyone wishing to become a volunteer in a positive activities programme there will inevitably be a discussion to be made regarding the amount of spare time they feel able to give, and how often they can give it. Low *et al.,* (2007) explain that there are regular, occasional, and episodic volunteers. Regular volunteers give their time at least once per month. Occasional volunteers have given their free time less than once per month, with episodic volunteers giving time on a one-off basis. One of the problems with organised positive activities programmes

such as the SCC is that they often need adults to volunteer with a commitment similar to paid employment. Young people will turn up every session expecting adults ready to supply tuition/training in much the same way as school children expect a teacher to be there each and every lesson. It is worth considering the extent of the burden this places on CFAVs. Volunteering as and when you are free without obligation is very different from being required to attend regardless of external life pressures. This research considers if this issue weighs heavily on volunteers, its impact on retention, and its impact on the SCC in terms of current delivery and possible expansion. Required attendance is clearly an important issue. Within the SCC it is generally expected that CFAVs will be available two evenings per week and occasional weekends, placing them firmly in the 'regular' end of the spectrum. Paine *et al.,* (2010) offer a more detailed system for classifying intensities of volunteering which further illustrates the nature of volunteering in organisations such as the SCC.

Figure 4.5 provides examples of volunteering intensities. Placing Sea Cadet CFAVs into this context is interesting. Instructional staff volunteering two evenings per week (three hours each)[12] and one weekend day per month will be giving up thirty hours per month, every month, placing them way beyond what would be considered long-term or committed volunteering. One might be forgiven for thinking that this SCC volunteering is starting to sound more like (un)paid employment. Evidence will be sought in this matter regarding the existence of what Hornung *et al.,* (2017, p.25) called the 'civic core,' of volunteers where the 'primary core' element is responsible for contributing over half of the total volunteering hours in the UK, despite containing only 9% of the population. This research explores whether an element of CFAVs are *de facto* members of the primary core already and, if so, what impact this has on their private lives?

Figure 4.5 Intensities of Volunteering

Type of Volunteer	How much?	How Often?	How Long?
Temporary	6 hours	Daily	Week
Occasional	1 week	Yearly	Decade
Interim	4 hours	Weekly	6 months
Committed	3 hours	Weekly	2 years
Long-term	8 hours	Monthly	Decade
			(Paine *et al.,* 2010, p.24)
Sea Cadet Teaching	30 hours	Monthly	Decade

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[12] A typical SCC evening parade session may be 2-2.5 hours in duration, but for most instructional staff there will be elements of planning, preparation, and clear up in addition to this time.

4.10.3 Serious Leisure

Research in this context leads towards the concept of 'Serious Leisure,' and its implications for volunteering, owing to the role extended volunteering hours commitment can play in the delivery of the cadet product. To understand this construct it is useful to begin with the roots of the word volunteer, derived from the Latin *voluntarious*, translated as 'of one's free will.'

In essence, although a voluntary activity may have some unpleasant elements, individuals volunteer of their own free will because, on balance, the experience of volunteering is attractive, satisfying and rewarding to them (Stebbins, 1996), which opens up the debate into whether volunteering, being rewarding, is altruistic or done out of self-interest. In this respect there has been a school of thought amongst some commentators whether volunteering, again being rewarding, is in fact a form of leisure (Bosserman and Gagan, 1972; Smith, 1975) and that those engaged in leisure do so by serving both their own self-interest as well as others, through altruistic pursuits (Kaplan, 1975; Neulinger, 1981; Henderson, 1981,1984; Parker, 1992). I have seen this myself within the SCC. A volunteer joins because they genuinely believe in the work the SCC does. However, this does not mean self-interest is absent. I have seen a volunteer use the experience of being the charity treasurer as a route into an accountancy career. I have also seen an instructional volunteer use the opportunity to gain outdoor pursuit qualifications as a springboard to a career in youth adventure training. The difficulty for the SCC, and perhaps other positive activities programmes, is not the dual nature of self-interest and altruism, rather retaining the services of these volunteers once their self-interest has been satisfied. Both of the volunteers mentioned above, for example, immediately left the SCC once they had gained the employment they had been looking for; largely secured on the back of the training and experience the SCC added to their Curriculum Vitae. Research by Chambre (1987), involving elderly volunteers developed this argument, finding that the reasons for becoming a volunteer were indeed often altruistic in the first instance, however, the reasons for continuing to volunteer were down to the rewards gained from such volunteering.

Fischer and Schaffer (1993, p.51) developed this notion further still by exploring this cost vs rewards concept. They found that costs such as time, and inconvenience were outweighed by rewards such as professional growth, social interaction, and ideological congruence. Robert A. Stebbins, working at the University of Calgary has, over a period of decades and numerous publications, been a driving force behind building a case for considering certain types of volunteering as 'serious leisure.' Stebbins tells us that this differs from casual and project-based leisure, where casual leisure is short-lived and requires little or no training, and project-based leisure tends to be one-off creative activities (Stebbins, 2011).

Thus, serious leisure is described as "the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer core activity that people find so substantial, interesting, and fulfilling, that in a typical case, they launch themselves on a (leisure) career centred on acquiring and expressing a combination of special skills, knowledge, and experience" (Stebbins, 2007, p.5). In this context amateurs are serious about their leisure and have professional counterparts (e.g., football players), hobbyists, being equally serious, have no professional counterparts (e.g., Bridge players) and career volunteers can pursue a career (Stebbins, 2001a) in much the same way as traditional work with promotions and gradual increase in qualifications. I illustrated in previous chapters that CFAVs can gain promotions and qualifications, often spending years acquiring them. This research, therefore, seeks further evidence of whether CFAVs can be classed as career volunteers and the implications arising. Furthermore, this research will explore if becoming a CFAV *necessitates* career volunteering. This is because any organisation *requiring* career volunteers is likely to be restricted in terms of the number of volunteers they can recruit.

Those engaged in serious leisure pursuits are said to be distinguished from those involved in other more casual leisure activities by six qualities. Stebbins (2007) suggests that the first quality is occasional perseverance when times are bad. From personal experience such difficulties could range from charity compliance problems, financial concerns, parental complaints, insufficient instructional staff, extended periods of cadet obligations spilling into one's private life or safeguarding issues that can drag on. Lamont *et al.,* (2014) dispute that such perseverance is occasional, suggesting that the 'costs' of participation in serious leisure is an almost constant requirement. As such, this research also investigates to what extent volunteers in the SCC need to 'persevere' to continue with their Sea Cadet activities and the consequences arising. The second and third distinguishing elements of serious leisure, Stebbins continues, is the 'career' element, with different stages and levels, and the 'effort' required to progress. These two stages are reflected well in the SCC. Instructional volunteers, it has been shown, have a clear progression path similar to RN promotional structures, and it is clear that acquiring each new promotion requires a significant investment of both time and effort. The fourth quality is that the leisure pursuit undertaken needs to contain durable benefits for those taking part where participants gain value from the experience. This element is less clear-cut and is explored in the research to come. Finally, serious leisure endeavours need to have a 'unique ethos' and participants need to 'identify' strongly with that form of leisure, above and beyond normal leisure activities. Again, this element of serious leisure is clear for all with strong traditions creating an unmistakable ethos amongst participants. So, these distinguishing

qualities of serious leisure seem to largely fit well into the SCC identity and are encapsulated well by Raisborough, (2007, p.690) where discussing the Sea Cadets she says:

> "The sense of career is heightened not only by public displays of rank (displayed on their uniforms), but by formulated entry and exit points. All new members (both cadets and staff) are placed on probation before they can start their career, after which they must resign, retire, or are formally discharged. The SCC also provided its participants with a unique social world involving naval language, traditions, uniform-wearing and prescribed ways of moving and greeting others (marching and saluting). Each training ship depends on experts' great dedication and commitment from its staff and their non-attendance or neglect could result in the failure of a ships long-term goal or the disappointment of the cadets in their charge."

Discovering whether CFAVs, or large numbers of them, can be classed as serious leisure participants has continued implications for volunteer retention. Stebbins (1996) suggests that the nature of serious leisure enables participants to form a career in acquiring skills, knowledge, and experience within a particular field, which is in contrast with other forms of casual leisure, and such 'career volunteering,' as suggested by earlier works, becomes a larger driving force than the altruism that may have initiated volunteering in the first instance. Stebbins suggests that this can be characterised by the acquisition of ten rewards obtainable from volunteering: personal enrichment (cherished experiences), self-actualisation (developing skills' knowledge etc.), self-expression (expressing skills, knowledge developed), self-image (be known to others as a participant), self-gratification (enjoyment and fulfilment), recreation (regeneration after a day's work), financial return (from serious leisure activity), social attraction (socialising with participants / clients), group accomplishment (being part of achievement) and contribution to a group (helping, being needed) (Stebbins 2011). It is likely that a career volunteer will continue to volunteer for as long as the rewards (above) offset the costs. Such costs are usually quite specific to the activity but a number of studies have highlighted some common costs such as financial strain and time constraints (Baldwin & Norris, 1999; Gibson *et al.,* 2002), internal power struggles and inter-personal relationships (Gibson *et al.,* 2002; Gillespie *et al.,* 2002; Misener *et al.,* 2010), family conflict (Goff *et al.,* 1997; Lamont *et al.,* 2012), restrictions on other leisure pursuits (Raisborough, 1999) and increased bureaucracy and criticism from others (Sharpe, 2003). This research will discover to what extent Sea Cadet adult volunteers experience these 'rewards' and 'costs,' if they impact retention, and if they believe that there are any explicit initiatives aimed at providing these rewards to CFAVs.

Stebbins (2001a) goes on to suggest the costs are usually minor compared to the rewards and that all participants face the same cost/rewards equation providing common ground for participants. Where costs require significant perseverance, participants have been shown to employ cognitive and behavioural strategies to overcome constraints. Of particular interest to this research is behavioural strategies. Jackson *et al.,* (1993) found that to negotiate costs,

participants often change their non-leisure behaviours to accommodate what they do for leisure. Indeed, the only study this research has found singularly focused on issues within the Sea Cadets makes much of this. Grounded in feminist theories, Raisborough (1999; 2006; 2007), explores how women access serious leisure. Using a combination of ethnographic immersion and interviews with 40 women volunteering in the Sea Cadets, Raisborough highlights several examples of women sculpting their non-leisure lives to meet the needs of their serious leisure, such as:

- Threats to serious leisure are either avoided or ignored. “Things don’t get done.”
- Potential partners who are not sympathetic with the amount of time spent on Sea Cadet activities are considered “not the right one.”
- Employment that would impede Sea Cadet activities are not taken such as those with shifts or requiring weekend work.
- Domestic chores are left undone.

Raisborough (2006, pp.250-251)

Raisborough terms the main justification of women prioritising serious leisure over other areas of their life as ‘chronological location’ (Raisborough, 2006, p.252). The women in Raisborough’s study mean that the Sea Cadets were part of their lives before work, partners, and other commitments, and as such, should take priority. Raisborough’s work focuses on the Sea Cadets from the point of view of women volunteers. This research is used to explore if these findings are universal or whether they are like the previous UCFs research, extrapolated to full populations without evidence to support such claims. In either case I explore whether CFAVs are actively managing threats to their volunteering as Raisborough suggests, and the implications if this is the case.

The work of Raisborough resonates with what Dublin (1992) said when he termed some peoples, leisure activities as “central life interests,” in which a significant part of their total life energies is invested in their volunteering. However, even for career volunteers, embarked on central life interest, it is thought that a form of moral coercion can be placed on participants in what Stebbins (1996) called ‘marginal volunteering,’ where the boundaries between choice, coercion, and obligation (Stebbins, 2001b) become blurred. Not that all obligation in this context is seen as problematic. Agreeable obligation can be characterised as the participant remaining enthusiastic about the obliged task such as attending a meeting. However, this is distinct from disagreeable obligation in which at least an element of one’s volunteering becomes disagreeable to the point of being characterised as essentially unpaid work and likely to lead to disengagement from volunteering entirely (Stebbins, 2001b). It should come as no surprise that for some volunteers there is a clear requirement to be at a certain place for a

particular time to do a required task, and Kaplan (1960) acknowledged over half a century ago that leisure can have this element of obligation. But even Kaplan stressed "certainly not to the extent typical of work," which is in agreement with Stebbins (2001a, pp.55-56) where he also makes it clear that "any obligation within volunteering is usually short lived, in comparison to paid work." However, further personal evidence from my own volunteering within the SCC suggests that for some, especially cadet leaders, that obligation is not short lived. As such, this research seeks evidence of 'marginal volunteering' and its impact on volunteers.

Such concerns regarding disenfranchisement becomes more evident when considered alongside the 5 career stages (Stebbins, 2007) serious leisure participants' transition through, namely, beginning, development, establishment, maintenance, and decline. Participants transition between each stage at different speeds, often unconsciously, with the maintenance stage said to provide maximum output and benefits. However, it is the 'decline' stage, and avoiding it, that may prove the more important concept here, where the net outcomes participants experience in the cost/reward equation cease to be positive. In this area there appears to be a gap in the discourse. There is an assumption that any volunteer in the 'decline' stage will simply look elsewhere for more rewarding volunteering or perhaps step away from volunteering entirely. However, I explore here to what extent volunteers in the decline stage remain in position despite ever diminishing returns, both in rewards and output, and whether the process is linear, or more complex. This is less counter-intuitive than one might expect. In the SCC many volunteers will have been involved from an early age and can have spent years, even decades, involved in their local unit. It is surely plausible that now, in a position of responsibility perhaps, the shine has worn off, enthusiasm has dwindled, and apathy has set in. However, if the cadet unit has no one to step into this difficult and time-consuming position, the weary volunteer may find themselves unwilling or unable to commit the required hours but are determined not to let the unit fail entirely. Such a scenario may lead to a volunteer remaining in position despite being in 'decline' for an extended period, with all the implications therein. Thus, this research places emphasis upon the extent to which 'marginal volunteering' and 'decline' stage volunteers exist.

Finally, in relation to serious leisure, Catignani & Basham (2020) highlight how participation in the Army Reserves is a form of serious leisure, where service is for reasons of pleasure, respite, and self-fulfilment, rather than self-sacrifice. The authors explain the orthodoxy of service for the 'greater good' normalises militarism, encouraging the state, and family, to support the 'sacrifices' being made by the reservists, continuing that the UK relies on this and the serious leisure desires of reservists to operate and prepare for war. This is of significant

interest to this research. Catignani & Basham (2020) describe how reserve service is largely transactional requiring incentives such as self-development, pay, adventure, travel, and play/recreation. If the SCC relies on the serious leisure pursuits of CFAVs it is crucial to understand the extent to which incentives for CFAVs exist in comparison to those seen for reservists, and these issues are explored in the research to come.

4.11 Conclusion

Having considered the theoretical frameworks that underpin the proposed areas of research in this thesis, I am now in a position to produce three research sub-questions that will provide extensive coverage of all the research themes I first highlighted in previous chapters. I use these, as I have shown in this chapter, to anchor the research in the academic literature, providing a solid grounding for a more informed analysis to follow.

Research Sub-Question One

To what extent does Bourdieu's 'field' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

This research question connects with the issues developed in previous chapters by considering Bourdieu's 'field' as the institution of the SCC, the internal mechanisms of the institution, and the markets available to the SCC in the form of potential volunteers and the communities volunteers and cadets are drawn from. Specifically, the research question is concerned with the difficulties involved in the joining process and how the SCC 'systems' contribute to these. It also explores issues around the physical infrastructure of the SCC such as the location, facilities, and equipment of individual units. The potential for institutionally driven conflict between trustees and instructional staff is then considered before focus moves onto potential cultural legacy issues surrounding militarisation of children. Finally, attention turns to the 'markets' that SCC units are part of including potential volunteer numbers, then geographical and socio-economic variations in these markets.

Research Sub-Question Two

To what extent do the 'rules of the social game' as expressed in Bourdieu's 'habitus' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

This research question connects with issues developed in previous chapters by considering Bourdieu's 'habitus' as the consequences of volunteers adhering to the 'rules of the social game,' in order to volunteer in the SCC. The first consideration of adhering to these rules is the time volunteers need to commit to their role in order to be an effective volunteer. Similarly, the number of years volunteers remain in post is considered to better understand the requirement of running SCC units. This leads onto an exploration of the impacts of such commitment, especially the stress, pressure, or anxiety that can be caused by extensive volunteering and the impacts this can have on other areas of volunteers' lives. This research question also covers what happens when volunteers are no longer prepared to commit to these 'rules of the social game' and the factors that impact the retention of volunteers.

Research Sub-Question Three

To what extent does the possession, or lack of, Bourdieu's 'capital' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

This final research question connects with issues developed in previous chapters by considering Bourdieu's 'capital' as the qualifications / experience volunteers either bring to the corps with them or develop whilst in post. The role of embodied cultural capital is explored to consider what attributes volunteers bring with them and whether some avenues of volunteer possess more of this capital than others. Also, the SCC relevant qualifications that volunteers bring to the role is explored as well as the difficulties some volunteers experience in finding opportunities to develop these within the SCC. Also, the way in which these issues manifest in useable qualifications is explored including variations between volunteers. Finally, the impacts of social networks and support systems is explored, looking for patterns between volunteers.

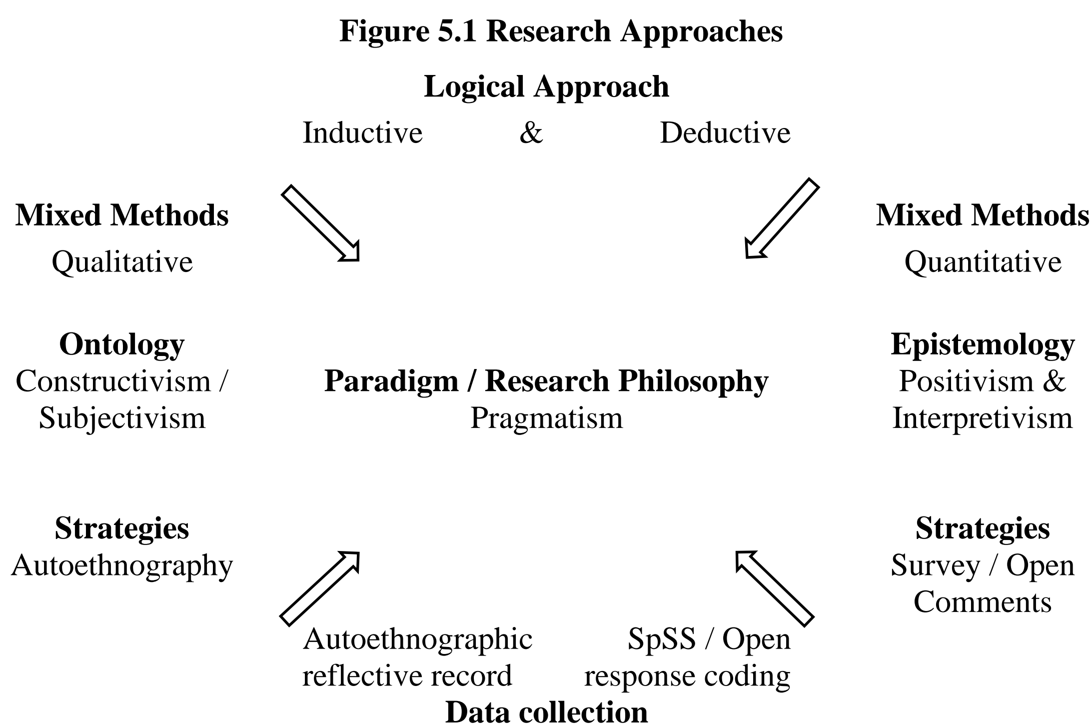
Chapter 5: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter details the processes employed in exploring the extent to which the cadet-experience as delivered fails to reach the standard of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCFs promotional material. It explores the theoretical debates surrounding the paradigm, ontology, epistemology, approaches, methods, strategies, and data collection methods employed to explore the research question identified in Chapter 1, and sub-questions subsequently developed, in addition to a justification of the data collection and analysis techniques used.

A summary of the chosen approaches is shown here and then explored in detail below:

Figure 5.1 Research Approaches



5.2 Research Process

To be confident that this study is addressing the research questions using appropriate techniques, it is important to take a broad ontological view of the SCC to understand the 'objects' (Brabazon, 2017) that, taken together, form the SCC as a whole. Ontology, which can be summarised as "what exists in the human world" (Moon & Blackman, 2014, p.1167), when contextualised to the SCC, covers a broader range of issues and stakeholders than first thoughts

might suggest. 'Objects' such as government policies, government departments with an interest, relevant UCF literature, relevant peer reviewed literature, institutional structure & ethos, community or school-based units, which young people join, why and for what benefits, how these benefits are evidenced, why do volunteers join, practicalities of running a unit, volunteer numbers, attendance, skill levels, benefits, and costs; parental motives, support, and expectations, role in society etc., are just some of the 'what exists,' when considering the SCC.

To better understand the objects in the 'SCC world' it is necessary to understand the ontological debate as to whether social entities, such as the SCC, are considered as objective or subjective (Huizing, 2007) as, depending on the stance one takes, research into these phenomena can involve very different approaches. Objectivist theories posit that the objects being studied are separate from social actors (Bryman, 2012), whereas subjectivism theories follow that objects are subject to the actions of the social actors involved (ibid). It is argued here that all existing research into the UCFs has taken a broadly objectivist approach, underplaying the role of the 'social actors' that deliver the experience, or make up the 'objects' of the system. This approach has led to assumptions that the cadet force product is inert, detached from the variabilities of running an organisation with a volunteer workforce, able to deliver the cadet-experience as designed as an exact facsimile of that seen in promotional material. This philosophy makes no allowance for the inherently variable nature of third sector provision, influenced by the unpredictability of volunteer availability, finances and structural systems. As such, this PhD thesis proposes that any study of the UCFs, and by extension broader positive activities programmes, need to adopt a subjectivist style ontology, specifically constructivism. Bryman (2012, p.20) states that constructivism implies that social phenomena are in a "constant state of revision." With particular relevance to this research, he explains how it is unhelpful to consider organisations as having "pre-existing characteristics," as they are "continually being established, renewed, reviewed, revised" (Bryman, 2012, p.19-20). Studying the UCFs from such an ontological position becomes critical, acknowledging that social phenomena such as the UCFs are not only produced through social interaction but are in a continuous state of flux where all involved experience the objects of reality differently (Chowdhury, 2014), based on the contextualised variability of the 'objects' and social actors who provide the service on a unit-by-unit basis, across differing geographical and socio-economic contexts. Volunteers, managers, fundraisers, qualified water sports instructors, serviceable equipment, district support staff etc., all come and go in the SCC, and the variability of the cadet-experience is driven by this, meaning an ontological position that acknowledges variability is crucial.

If ontology refers to our understanding of the world around us, then epistemology is the techniques we use to obtain this knowledge. As a cadet leader with nine years' experience of what it is like to run a cadet unit it is clear that an element of this research will need to explicitly acknowledge my own experiences. That said, as one of 8200 volunteers in the SCC it would be foolish to assume that my own 'truth' is the only version, so the experiences of others will also need to be considered. Meeting both needs with a single approach would be difficult as the techniques used to draw out the experiences of one person, are unlikely to be as effective in canvassing the experiences and thoughts of a population running into the thousands. Therefore, a wise course of action is to follow a dualistic model, utilising both interpretivist and positivist epistemological approaches. Positivism and the 'scientific method' of research traces its modern roots to the 'enlightenment,' where observation and experimentation became the vehicle to understanding (Hughes & Sharrock, 1997) championed by advocates such as Bacon (1561-1626), Descartes (1595-1650), Locke (1632-1704), and Comte (1798-1857), who introduced 'sociology' and 'positivist philosophy' into the lexicon (Couper, 2015).

Interpretivism was championed by eminent philosophers such as Kant (1724-1804), Hegel (1761-1831), Weber (1864-1920), Popper (1902-1994), and Kuhn (1922-1996). Kuhn criticised the scientific approach to exploring the social world, contending that people, at a fundamental level, are different from the natural world, and as such, need to be observed using different techniques (Kuhn, 1996). Chowdhury (2014) explores this idea suggesting that the past experiences of the researcher will inform how they perceive the social world under investigation and, as such, they will experience 'reality' in different ways leaving 'value-free' data impossible to find and the scientific approaches to social research redundant. Referring back to the 'objects' that make up the SCC as discussed above; volunteering hours per month, qualifications held, and attendance levels, for example, can be readily assessed using scientific approaches, or 'positivist' epistemologies (Weber, 2004). However, there are likely to be many 'truths' such as underlying ethos, and beliefs of those involved (Greener, 2008) that cannot be measured as easily or reliably using positivist techniques. In this instance, interpretivist techniques can be more appropriate. It is worth acknowledging at this point that there is a school of thought questioning whether there should be such a clear divide between quantitative/positivist, and qualitative/interpretivist methods. Yang *et al.,* (2008), for example, discuss how some elements of qualitative research reflect positive principles, and Sheppard (2001) warn against equating quantitative methods to positivism. Whilst acknowledging this debate I continue to use the terms positivism and interpretivism going forward in their more mainstream definitions, but acknowledge that the reality may be more complex.

So, positivism believes in a natural 'deductive' approach which can be taken from the general and applied to the specific. Whereas interpretivism takes an 'inductive' stance, where relationships may be transposed from the specific to the general. This research makes use of both positivist/deductive and interpretivist/inductive reasoning. My own contextualised experiences of the UCFs, influenced by nine years as a cadet leader, are being applied to the broader SCC in an inductive fashion. My observations of volunteer shortages at my own unit, for example, are put to the test by looking for the same pattern throughout a SCC sample. Based on these patterns I can then infer as to whether this is typical across the entire SCC population, and by extension the broader UCFs. A deductive approach is also applied for example, regarding what the peer reviewed literature says regarding typical hours 'committed' volunteers give in the third sector, where I hypothesise that SCC volunteers commit to a greater number of hours per month, before collecting data to test this hypothesis.

Clearly, a composite approach to answering the research question and sub-questions, requires more than one method, turning the attention of this research to the concept of mixed methods research (MMR). The concept of mixed methods research has been one of increasing debate since authors such as Campbell and Fiske (1959) started to explicitly characterise the combination of research methods for validation purposes (Johnson *et. al.,* 2007). Up until this point, researchers had been combining methods but not consciously considering this a theoretical approach. Since then Reichardt & Cook (1979), Greene *et al.,* (1989), Bryman (2006), Teddlie & Tashakkori (2006), Morgan (2007), Creswell (2008), Greene (2008), Onwuegbuzie *et al.,* (2009), and Timans *et al*., (2019) have continued the discourse well into the 21st century.

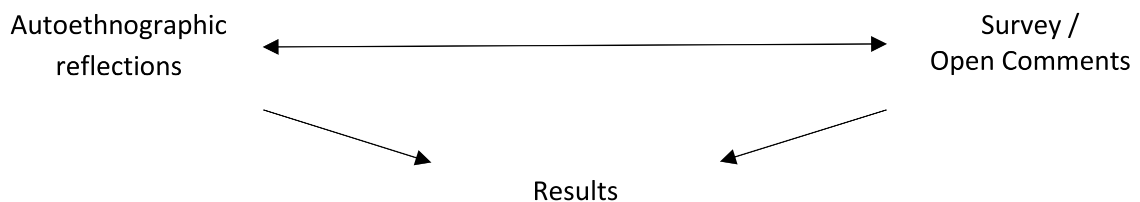
Campbell & Fiske (1959), followed by authors such as Denzin (1978) and Jick (1979) explained that triangulation is at the heart of MMR allowing a "fuller and more informative picture of what is going on," and will be more "valid than that produced by a single method" (Torrance, 2012, pp.3-4). Denzin (1978) illustrated that there are four types of triangulation:

a. Data - using a variety of data sources
b. Investigator – using multiple researchers
c. Theory – multiple theories to interpret results
d. Methodological – use of multiple methods

This study clearly employs the methodological form of triangulation. Denzin continues, stating that either inconsistencies, convergence or contradiction will be the outcome of triangulation, and whichever it is, the researcher can use this to construct a stronger argument for observed

phenomena. As the aim of this research is to ascertain if the existing literature is flawed, such 'stronger arguments' are an essential tool in testing this. Denzin describes a further technique for building this strength when he discusses the differences between 'within-methods' and 'between-methods' triangulation, suggesting that within-methods is of limited use as it simply utilises different methods within a single paradigm. On the other hand, between-methods (Denzin, 1978) overcomes the weaknesses and biases of any single paradigm. The variation in epistemological approaches discussed above helps in this study. So, the characteristic feature of MMR, as proposed by Tashakkori & Teddlie (2010) is the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods in a single project, with an explicit plan for the sequence and priority given to the quantitative and qualitative research and analysis, and how they relate to each other. This research, therefore, utilises the methodological type of MMR as illustrated in Figure 5.2. It starts with my own (qualitative) autoethnographic reflections of the difficulties associated with volunteering in the SCC. The sequence is planned to allow the findings from these reflections to inform the questions asked in a (quantitative) survey questionnaire. However, as highlighted above, the deductive element of the research also allows the general to be applied to the specific, providing flexibility of the research model, where findings from a review of the literature will also inform the design of the questionnaire:

Figure 5.2 Triangulation Research Model



Webb highlighted the benefits of this triangulation method stating:

"The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes. If a proposition can survive the onslaught of a series of imperfect measures, with all their irrelevant error, confidence should be placed in it."

(Webb, 1966)

Acknowledging Webb's 'series of imperfect measures' above, I sought to add a further 'measure' to the autoethnographic reflections and survey. As such, the questionnaire, rooted in quantitative epistemology, ends with a significant qualitative open question, in which I engage below, asking volunteers for any other comments they feel are appropriate. Such use of multiple methods reduces what Webb (1966) referred to as 'the uncertainty of interpretation,' providing this research with the confidence needed to make claims regarding the validity of the collected data.

The complex nature of the research model designed above struggles to fit into a single traditional research paradigm creating a pragmatist research philosophy. Pragmatism, as a paradigm, accepts that whatever research methods work best to solve a research problem should be used (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Kaushik & Walsh, 2019), rejecting the concept that social truth or reality is accessible using a single method (Maxcy, 2003). This philosophy is ideally suited to the needs of this research, aiming to uncover what is missing from the current literature regarding the UCFs, using an autoethnographic analysis, however, needing to confirm the findings using more traditional positivist research techniques.

5.3 Autoethnography

The postmodernist distrust of a 'grand narrative' that had been initially adopted by religion, then taken up by science during the enlightenment, was founded on the notion that one's own narrative has every bit as much a claim to 'truth' as a grand or meta-narrative (Lyotard, 1984). Despite this, and until relatively recently, even if a researcher had strong links with the topic being researched there would usually be little or no attempt to apply any emphasis on the researcher within the study (Anderson, 2006). Beginning in the early years of the 21st century, however, Muncey (2010) writes that there was a significant increase in the amount of published literature utilising an autoethnographic approach, meaning that, rather than claiming to be value-free (Bochner, 1994), researchers were beginning to feel comfortable with their research being explicitly "grounded in personal experience" (Ellis *et al.,* 2011, p.2), where the observed and the observer need not be separated (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013). This autoethnography was described by Stahlke Wall (2016, p.5) as "a systematic approach using ethnographic strategies, the linking of personal experience to social, cultural and political issues and a critique of certain discourses within a cultural context with vision and hope for change." Sparkes (2000, p.21), suggested a more concise definition describing autoethnography as "highly personalised accounts that draw upon the experience of the author/researcher for the purposes of extending sociological understanding."

One of the criticisms of the ontological, epistemological and axiological limitations of grand narrative style traditional research methods (Ellis & Bochner, 2000), was that they produced 'facts' that were tied to the language and methodologies used to collect them (Kuhn, 1996). It is proposed here that existing studies into the UCFs have suffered from the same problem. I argue that methods applied to previous UCFs research has focused unhelpfully on objectivist approaches. This has led to a failure to consider many of the most pressing issues, owing to its approach of studying a culture from a top-down perspective, unaware of many of the issues that would be highlighted by closer ties to those being observed. Questions of volunteer stress levels, access to training, qualification shortages, gender balance, poor facilities, geographical disparities, support issues or staff shortages are examples of questions that are missing from the debate owing to ontological assumptions that these issues do not exist, in some cases as a deliberate act of bias, at other times through a lack of access, or often simply because no one thought to ask.

Autoethnography has the capacity to overcome this problem as it challenges "taken for granted attitudes," and "provides access to data off limits to others" (Chang, 2013) by explicitly acknowledging and accommodating positionality and subjectivity rather than pretending none exist. With specific reference to this thesis it allowed an ex-cadet leader, familiar with the day-to-day realities of managing a cadet unit, the opportunity to conduct research from a 'bottom-up' approach, consciously looking to address what is missing from the literature based on personal experience. Autoethnography is perhaps a combination of traditional ethnography and autobiography, where the researcher selectively writes about past experiences, (Ellis *et al.,* 2011), very often in hindsight and very often using significant 'epiphanies' that lend weight to the particular discussion (Denzin, 1989). The use of terms such as auto-anthropology, self-narrative, personal narrative, and auto-biographical ethnography (Anderson, 2006) illustrates the extent to which different authors have described this methodological technique. Stahlke Wall (2016, pp.3-4) questions the commonality of these terms, clarifying that autoethnography specifically utilises "personal experience to illuminate a structural, cultural or institutional issue," and explore "substantive social issues." My own reflections here regarding the difference between the cadet-experience as advertised in promotional material and that which I have witnessed fits neatly into Wall's four categories.

With regards to producing an ethnographic account, I laid out in detail in Chapter 1 how this was achieved. Adding to this, Ellis & Bochner (2000) explain the there is a level of creative freedom when choosing how to produce text. This is evidenced by the broad sources of information that can be applied to autoethnographic writing such as emails, memos, or sketches

(Duncan, 2004), the snapshot, artifact, metaphor, personal journey memories (Muncey, 2005), field notes, personal documents, and interviews (Chang, 2013). So, unlike traditional fieldwork, autoethnographers collect their data in their homes, personal online data storage mediums, the office, or indeed anywhere the researcher can access their own personal history. Although contemporaneous taking of fieldnotes is considered the norm by many, it is also quite common for autoethnographers to write their fieldnotes based on memory (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013). This method, and the use of personal documents was utilised here. The re-immersion into several years of my own email records, photographic narratives, newspaper articles, artefacts, social media posts, official records, website information and memorabilia, aided by personal journey memories helped, in the words of Chang (2013, p.114) to "connect the present to the past."

My 'critical' autoethnographic approach (Muncey, 2005; Stahlke Wall, 2012; Adams and Manning 2015) is critical of the compliant research produced to date on the UCFs, utilising instead my personal experience to provide insight into areas of contention/bias in the current literature (Stahlke Wall, 2016), allowing "personal stories to become the vehicle for social change" (Chang, 2013, p.109). Clearly, my own personal story as a cadet leader is used here to press for the kind of social change that can illuminate the difficulties in delivering the cadet-experience in a manner as yet unreported in the current literature.

Writing an autoethnographic account is always likely to utilise different writing styles than traditional academic text, with its strong links to autobiographical writings (Anderson, 2006). Stahlke Wall (2016) explains that there are 'evocative' and 'analytic' writing styles associated with autoethnography. Those advocating an evocative style, being more closely aligned with postmodern sensibilities, are concerned that supporters of an analytical autoethnography are repositioning it back "under the control of reason, logic and analysis" (Ellis & Bochner, 2006, p.433). An 'evocative' style of autoethnography should be self-focused, narrative, emotional and therapeutic (Stahlke Wall, 2016), utilising skills perhaps more associated with the expressive writings of poets or novelists. This writing style exemplified by early adopters such as Ellis (1991) and Richardson (1994) portrays the emotional experiences of the author and is often utilised by those recalling difficult events or experiences in their lives. An evocative style could lend itself to this research. My own position as a Sea Cadet unit leader and chairman of trustees was an emotional experience filled with personal and professional struggles. However, the aim of the autoethnographic reflections in this work is not to claim any truth statements based purely on subjective autoethnographic reflections, rather, to "reach beyond" (Anderson, 2006, p.386) autoethnographic reflections to create a starting point for broader research that

"seeks connections to broader social science theory" (Ibid, p.378), and is placed at the beginning of the thesis for this reason. As such, analytic autoethnography is a more appropriate tool for this research, whilst although being evocative in nature, ultimately aims to provide the reader with an explanation of what their autoethnographic reflections mean for the subject being studied, and unlike evocative autoethnography, provides what Smith (2017, p.7) describes as a 'theoretical autopsy' of the narrative, holding "direct control over interpretation," or I would argue specific to this study, informed consideration of what needs further exploration.

Anderson, (2006) shares his five requirements for analytical autoethnography where the researcher is required to be a full member of those being researched, employs analytic reflexivity, is open about positionality in any published work, has dialogue within the community and is committed to using analytical processes to understand the "broader social phenomena" (Anderson, 2006, p.378). The requirements of membership, or what Anderson calls the 'complete member researcher' are met in my case as a Sea Cadet leader of nine years. The acknowledgement of potential reflexivity effects was mitigated here as the outcomes of my reflections act as a starting point for further research, rather than claimed results applicable to all, and subsequent research tested whether any reflexivity impacted the autoethnographic reflections presented here. The requirement for clear visibility of positionality is clear throughout this text, and dialogue with others was achieved through regular informal and formal discussions with other SCC personal at a district, area, and national level. The final characteristic of a commitment to analytics is the fundamental cornerstone of this work as illustrated above where any patterns detected from the autoethnography are subject to broader interpretations then tested through further quantitative and qualitative enquiry.

It is worth noting that autoethnography, however, does have its critics. Delamont (2007), for example, is cited to this day for his scathing attack on autoethnography claiming that it is academically and literally lazy. Delamont proceeds to outline six objections to autoethnography:

- Autoethnography cannot fight familiarity
- It is almost impossible for autoethnography to publish ethically
- Autoethnography is lacking in analytical outcome
- Autoethnography focuses on the powerful and not the powerless
- It is the job of researchers to go out and find data and not obsess about ourselves
- We are not interesting enough to write about in journals

Although a number of years old now, autoethnographers are still defending against Delamont's accusations with studies by Short *et al.,* (2013) and Grant (2020), for example, making strong defences against this critique, and I now add my own responses to this. It is argued here that in order to get access to the kind of data traditional methods have missed in UCF research, autoethnographical methods need to be employed and as such there is no requirement to fight familiarity. It is true that there are ethical implications relating to autoethnographical research, specifically relating to the anonymisation of other actors, but the same could be argued for traditional research. The researcher makes compromises on what can be included and what cannot, in the same way as all qualitative research makes compromises. Also, the usual tools of the researcher are still available, in which the researcher can alter characteristics that can identify individuals such as race, name, or appearance (Ellis *et al.,* 2011). Or, the author can use techniques such as fictionalising (Clough, 2002) or composite characterisation (Ellis, 2007). Specifically relating to this research there was sufficient rich autoethnographic material that most data relatable to individuals did not need to be used, relying instead on more general reflections, and any exceptions to this were addressed using the techniques outlined above, ensuring anonymity was maintained throughout.

It is difficult to see why Delamont assumed autoethnography does not involve analysis. The analysis of data gathered during autoethnographic reflections can be equally as valid as analysing the reflections of others in situations, for example, such as interviews. Indeed, Sparkes (2000) agreed with this, questioning the difference between reflecting on his own experiences compared to a third party interviewing him to gather the same information. In my situation, if a researcher had conducted a longitudinal study of my nine years as a cadet leader, regularly interviewing and observing, such insight would be considered as invaluable research, and I regard my own insight in the same fashion. Delamont describes concerns regarding power relationships, again, hardly a concern restricted only to autoethnographers, with similar issues in, for example, interviewing elites (Smith, 2006), young people (Kirk, 2007) and gendered interviews (Prior & Peled, 2021). Delamont's final two concerns are formed around the notion that researchers should study the social and not be the focus of the study. Taking aside the change of paradigm where the researcher does not necessarily need to claim to be value-free, there must surely be circumstances, even if rarely, where the researcher has a unique experience that justifies an autoethnographic approach, even if some of the concerns above were valid. It is the contention here that this is precisely the case with this research. I have been a cadet leader for many years with an insight into the cadet forces that justifies, indeed necessitates, an autoethnographic approach to highlight crucial issues missed in previous research. If my

autoethnographic reflections cannot be added to the discourse it is difficult to imagine where these critical conversations are going to derive from, perpetuating Chang's (2013) observation of data remaining off limits to others.

5.4 Quantitative Survey

5.4.1 Introduction

The purpose of conducting a questionnaire was to apply inductive reasoning to ascertain if the specifics of my autoethnographic reflections can be applied generally across the SCC, and by implication broader UCFs. To be able to generalise from the sample to the larger SCC population it is important to avoid bias by having a representative sample (Bryman, 2012). As a SCC leader with a number of contacts the initial plan had been to utilise these contacts and undertake convenience sampling, taking paper questionnaires to cadet units I had access to in order to obtain as many responses as possible. There are both advantages and disadvantages of convenience sampling. This method is generally accepted as being less time consuming and less expensive, however, the major downside is that findings cannot be generalised beyond the sample (Bornstein *et al.,* 2013). This plan had its strengths. I felt confident that travelling to a cadet unit, able to speak with all the staff there to personally explain my research would return a high percentage of respondents. However, this would have meant that the sample was not a good reflection of the SCC population. I had planned to accept the limitations of convenience sampling owing to the speed in which I would have been able to visit cadet units and gather responses. However, during the planning stage it became clear that the costs of travel, and potential overnight accommodation would be prohibitive. As such, an alternative method was needed. This turned out to be a blessing in disguise. The need to rethink my research method, allowed me to design a new model that was actually quicker, cheaper, and returned more results.

5.4.2 The Sample

So, through necessity I designed a web-based questionnaire. There are a number of advantages of utilising online methods over other options. They are cheap to set-up, easy to disseminate and can reach a large, difficult to reach and diverse set of participants (Wright, 2017). However, there is also a significant potential drawback. Not all members of a population are likely to have access to the online world, creating a 'coverage bias' (Grewenig *et al.,* 2018) that restricts the data from being representative. I argue here that a combination of the population being studied and the model I developed overcomes this problem. Every SCC unit has their own website with contact details. Finding these was a time-consuming endeavour. I created a 'sampling frame'

(Fricker, 2015) spreadsheet of the names of all the units in the UK by finding the names from each of the six SCC 'area' websites. I then conducted an internet search of all the near 400 cadet unit websites, finding their contact details and adding their email address to my sampling frame. My initial approach was to send an email to the CO of each unit, introducing myself, explaining what my research was about, and providing them with a link to the questionnaire to distribute to all of their volunteers. At this point I capitalised on my knowledge of the SCC infrastructure. It is usually considered that contact information of a whole population is out of the reach of the researcher. However, Couper (2000, p.485) highlights exceptions to this described as "list-based samples of high-coverage populations," where contact information for the entire population is more readily available. The SCC falls into such a category. Every volunteer provides an email address to the corps when they join, and all correspondence is conducted via this email address, usually including a weekly email to all volunteers in that area, providing a roundup of the news and events and important information of the week. Knowing this, I contacted each of the six area-headquarters and asked that they send out a request for volunteers to complete the questionnaire in this weekly email, having again provided a link. The willingness of each area headquarters within the SCC to do this was no doubt aided by my position.

Figure 5.3 Units Taking Part

I quoted Chang (2013) in Chapter 1 as saying that 'insider

researchers' have "access to data off limits to others." It is clear now that this applies not only to the autoethnographic reflections that are part of this study, as described in Chapter 2, but also for access to the quantitative data derived from the questionnaire. The initial email to each CO, I felt, put my request on the radar of each unit, and then the formal request from their own headquarters provided the legitimacy that was crucial. This proved a successful model producing 429 returns in a period of eight weeks either side of Christmas 2019. The spread of 183 discrete units (Figure 5.3) taking part compares favourably with the spread of all units presented in Chapter 3 and represents almost 50% of all cadet units in the SCC. This therefore gives confidence that statistical inference can be drawn from the data to apply to the unobserved population.

Of the 429 returns, 405 made it into the research. One participant was identifiable to the researcher through the responses given so I rejected this data, and one participant proceeded through the entire online questionnaire without answering a single question, still pressing the complete button at the end. In addition, 22 participants were removed from the data owing to their volunteering taking part in school-based units. I had published the questionnaire early in the PhD process as I needed to target emails to units on the evenings they were open to increase response rates. This process took several weeks, however, during the intervening time period it became clear (after further ethnographic reflections) that the research needed to focus on community-based cadet units, for reasons outlined throughout this thesis. As a result, the survey went out to volunteers in any setting, necessitating the removal of school-based volunteers from the final dataset. The statistical impact was that having approximately 8200 volunteers in the SCC at the time of the research[13], the number of participants required to achieve a margin of error of 5% with a confidence level of 95% is 367 as explained in Figure 5.4 here:

Figure 5.4 Calculating Sample Size

Sample for infinite population	Adjusted for population of 8200
$S = Z^2 * p(1-p)/ M^2$	$S = (S)\ / 1 + [(S-1)\ /\ population]$
$S = (1.96)^2 * 0.5(1-0.5)\ /\ 0.05^2$	$S = 384.16 / 1 + [(384.16 - 1) / 8200$
$S = 3.8416 * 0.25\ /\ 0.0025$	$S = 384.16\ / 1.046727$
S = 384.16	S = 367.01

S = Population / p = Population proportion

M = Margin of error / Z = Confidence

(Cochran, 1977)

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[13] The number of volunteers and cadets dropped significantly during the COVID-19 pandemic, so figures used are those from before March 2020. This drop in figures is likely temporary and potentially misleading if stated as being reflective or 'normal' figures.

The first step is to determine the sample size based on an infinite population. The formula used to arrive at this figure is shown above, where S is the sample size, p is the population proportion (assumed at 0.5), M is the margin of error (set at +/- 5%), and Z is the confidence (where 95% is 1.96). Once the sample size for an infinite population is known it can be adjusted for a known sample size as shown in figure 5.4.

A final point regarding the sample relates to those volunteers who act as support staff. Having originally planned to visit cadet units in person, the questionnaire was designed solely for instructional staff, as those are the volunteers likely to be in attendance on parade nights. However, with the method changing to an online questionnaire the survey was opened up to a broader audience. I adapted the questionnaire slightly to create questions relevant to support staff, but the bulk of the questions were still relating to those cadet-facing instructional volunteers. Despite this, a significant proportion of support volunteers were keen to contribute with 74 of the 405 usable responses coming from these non-instructional volunteers. The implications are that it enabled some useful comparisons between support and instructional volunteers, but also that a number of questions were non-applicable to these CFAVs, reducing the number of volunteers who could respond to some questions to a maximum of 328.

5.4.3 The Survey

The questionnaire was specifically designed to elicit information that was missing from the existing literature, (Appendix 5) specifically, any factor that can prevent the cadet-experience as designed from being delivered. Having first being submitted to ethics approval at Newcastle University, the questionnaire was piloted at my own cadet unit, with volunteers providing feedback. No substantive changes were suggested. This was expected. I had developed the questionnaire from a position of experience and weekly proximity to many other CFAVs. I had also informally discussed draft iterations with these CFAVs throughout the design. This process is in accordance with authors such as Boynton, (2004) were she stated that pilot participants should be "representative of your definitive sample." So, by the time it had been officially 'piloted' it had gone through a number of iterations with representative CFAVs on each occasion. Before proceeding to publish the questionnaire I produced an information section (Appendix 6) that required participants to agree to the terms of the research, thereby gaining informed consent in a way that ensured participants had given it with full understanding (Joffe *et al.,* 2001). As the survey had changed from a paper-based version to that of an online survey, and as the process is very similar (Varnhagen *et al.,* 2005) between the two, only a slightly different technique was required. The first page of the survey was the information, and the

participant had to click that she/he was happy to proceed under these terms before being shown question 1. I could, of course, no more guarantee that the participant had read the terms any more than I could have with a paper version, however, having provided this check I had ensured anyone proceeding without having read them did so knowingly. This section also included contact information for the researcher and university should any complaints need to be made and what would happen to the data on completion of the research, ensuring participants either had all the information they needed, or had contact details to find out more. Drawing the information from participants required careful consideration of the questions used. The questionnaire began with a comprehensive set of 22 demographic questions. One of the main benefits of including demographic questions is that they reduce the likelihood of producing false positives (Ray, 2020). This was an important consideration here. If I am to make claims, for example, that CFAVs do not volunteer for long enough to build up a strong set of skills and qualifications, I need to be certain that this applies to all sub-groups of volunteers. Those volunteers who, perhaps, were cadets as children, may not fit into this category, and such distinctions need to be drawn out through demographic analysis. Also, the collection of demographic data is another tool used to ensure that the collected data is representative of differing groups (ibid). In relation to this survey, it allows me to be certain that, for example, there are representative samples in categories such as gender, geographical area, age, occupation and so on. Much of the rest of the questionnaire focused on motives for volunteering, the impacts/challenges of volunteering, and volunteers' qualifications for their role. The concern here from the outset was that some volunteers would view these questions as inherently negative or looking for fault. This did prove to be the case, but only in a few instances, with participants making their views known in open response sections. However, there were equally as many participants commenting that these questions needed to be asked. Having laid out the reasons for needing to ask such difficult questions in previous chapters, this issue had no bearing on the legitimacy of the research design, however, for me, and I suspect for many researchers, I found comfort in the positive comments received.

One of the major decisions to be made in the design process was how many questions to include. Too few and it would be difficult to gather all the information that was required. Too many and people would be less likely to complete it. The literature, of course, cannot offer a definitive answer as to how many questions an individual questionnaire should contain, with a typical response being simply that longer questionnaires reduce rates of return (Adams & Gale, 1982; Iglesias & Torgerson, 2000; Cape & Philips, 2015), however, there are commentators such as Herzog & Bachman, (1981) and Revilla & Ochoa, (2017) arguing that different groups

of participants will have differing thresholds, with some prepared to complete quite long and complex questionnaires providing the motivation exists to do so. I was confident that volunteers in the SCC would fall into this category, having strong opinions relating to the meta-narrative, keen to make their voice heard. As such, I decided to risk a long questionnaire, totalling 59 questions, including contingency derivatives. With so many questions the styles varied including closed multiple choice, rating scale, Likert scale, matrix, and drop-down questions, in addition to an open-ended question providing qualitative data. The closed questions provided data that was easy to compare whilst the open question at the end gave participants the opportunity to provide information that they felt had not been covered elsewhere.

With 405 participants answering 59 questions a significant dataset was produced. This needed a robust method of preparation and analysis of the data. This process turned out to be far more complex and 'messy' than I had first anticipated. As I intended to test parametric and non-parametric data I decided to use the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SpSS) to analyse the data as it enables such tests with ease and has an intuitive user interface (Ong, 2017). Also, as I was new to the process, I felt that the detailed outputs provided by SpSS would aid in the development of multiple iterations that I felt would, and ultimately did take place. There are other powerful analysis tools that could be utilised here, such as PLS (Sander & Teh, 2014), or the R package (Febrero-Bande & Oviedo de la Fuente, 2012). However, I persisted with SpSS as it is widely used in the social sciences, and from a purely pragmatic point of view, as a former school ICT teacher, the features of SpSS are very similar to those I am very used to in spreadsheets and databases, meaning the lure of familiarity is strong. The data cleaning (Abdallah *et al.,* 2017), correcting errors and removing unwanted records was fairly straight forward if somewhat time consuming. Equally time consuming was the transformation of the raw data to data that could be processed by SpSS. Dichotomous variables were recoded to 0 or 1, Likert data was recoded to 1-5 and so on. Also, highlighting missing data and formatting the variables in SpSS to recognise which cells represented this missing data took a significant number of hours. However, all of this preparation work paled into insignificance compared to transforming variables to meet the requirements of underlying analysis techniques and models. The 'preparation' ended up feeling more like problem solving each time new data analysis areas were attempted. All-in-all a further 57 variables were added to the dataset over the course of several months. Little wonder that commentators such as Abdallah *et al.,* (2017, p.1) report that the whole process can "account for up to 80% of the time of the analysis cycle." I suspect that as researchers become more experienced they become better at considering the format of data

at the design stage, ensuring transformation of variables to fit analysis methods is minimised, and it is certainly a consideration that is not lost on me.

The purpose of all of this of course was to be in the best possible position to analyse the data and look for evidence that helps answer the research sub-questions. This analysis was designed to make use of both descriptive and inferential data. Descriptive data, which can be described simply as 'observations' (Bhandari, 2020), in the form of frequency data, the number of times a response was seen to a particular question was, despite its basic nature, revealing. Looking at the number of adult volunteers who, for example, used to be cadets provides powerful data on its own merit. Further descriptive data in the form of the mean and median also proved powerful. The capacity to look at the mean scores for different metrics associated with the benefits of attendance also allowed very useful comparisons to be made. Inferential statistics allow the researcher to "estimate the plausibility or likelihood of hypotheses given the observational evidence for them" (van Elst, 2019, p.44). Clearly the capacity to achieve this is crucial to this research looking to make broader claims regarding the national SCC, based on the sample used in the survey. The first inferential tests conducted were Chi square tests of independence. This bivariate analysis allowed greater exploration of the data. For example, by comparing 'current employment status' against 'hours working per week,' it was possible to ascertain if one's employment status impacts on the amount of volunteering one can commit to. Running these Chi square tests highlighted a problem with the design of the questionnaire. I had used a significant number of Likert scale and other categorical data. When running a test as in the example above, there were 10 categories for both variables, totalling 100 cells. As no more than 20% of cells in a Chi square test are allowed to have an expected count less than 5 (Yates *et al.,* 1999, p.734), the 87% of cells in this position, driven by the sheer number of cells in this example, was a significant problem. The answer to this was that I needed to transform yet more variables into different formats, often Dummy variables. Chi square tests, being inferential, afforded me the opportunity to look for differences in observed data compared to that which might be expected, helping me make inferences regarding the larger population from a smaller sample (Bhandari, 2020). A second form of inferential test was Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), which allows comparison of more than two groups at the same time to determine whether a relationship exists between them (Kenton, 2021). This proved a useful tool in providing, for example, analysis of the differences in the mean number of years adults have volunteered, split into different groups of why they joined, and importantly, as with Chi square, provided a figure for whether these findings are statistically significant.

The methods above provided useful data in search of patterns that cause the cadet-experience as delivered to fall short of that which is designed. However, any correlation found in such analysis cannot infer cause-and-effect relationships (Tanni *et al.,* 2020). Regression analysis on the other hand can, trying as it does to establish the extent to which one variable causes another to change (Calvello, 2020). This became very useful in this study. For example, in measuring stress levels of volunteers against years in post using an ANOVA test there was a correlation showing that those volunteering for longer are more stressed. However, what this test cannot tell us is whether one causes the other. When a regression model is conducted, with the addition of a variable recoded to divide all those in command level positions against those who are not, the relationship between stress and years' volunteering is no longer significant. Rather, those of senior position have usually volunteered for more years, and this stress of command is driving the correlation between years volunteering and stress.

When deciding to conduct regression models it is important to choose the type of model that is appropriate for the data. In the first instance I chose to conduct linear regression models as such parametric tests are usually considered to be a more powerful tool in detecting significance between the predictor and outcome (Sedgwick, 2015). However, before doing this, I had to make sure that the assumptions for linear regression were met. One test of assumptions involves linearity between the outcome variable and the predictors, with Osborne and Waters (2002) telling us that regression models can only provide an accurate figure for the relationship between the outcome and predictor variable if they exhibit a linear relationship. Many of the variables that would be included in my regression models were binary variables. As two points must be separated by a straight line a linear relationship, by definition, is created (Morgan, 2017). Beyond the binary variables this linearity proved of little concern proving 'deviation for linearity within tolerances. A second assumption prior to running a linear regression model is the assumption of Homogeneity of Variance (HOV), where the population variance from the mean is equal (Cribble, 2017). Yang *et al.,* (2019) explain that if large variance exists the f-test will produce inaccurate results. Again, this assumption proved to be of little concern with all predictor variances being equal. However, there is a further assumption that proved problematic. Osborne & Waters (2002, p.1) observe that variables that are not normally distributed can "distort relationships and significance tests," continuing that "regression assumes that variables have normal distributions." This is often cited as the first assumption needing to be met in articles on regression (Schreiber-Gregory, 2018). There is some debate about this. Norman, (2010) for example, explains how Pearson's *r* is not sensitive to basic violations of linear regression such as normality. Indeed, he cites the work of Havlicek and

Peterson (1976), who conducted simulations with data with a nominal Pearson *r* of 0.05. After thousands of simulations with non-normal data the Pearson *r* ranged between .046 and .053, showing that the Pearson correlation is robust to assumption violations. The problem I had is that many of my variables are Likert data, and Likert data does not produce normally distributed variables. Even taking into consideration Norman's defence of non-normally distributed data, I felt that it would be unwise to build an entire results and analysis section based on contested methods, when alternative methods are available.

As such, I decided to use logistic regression models. Logistic regression models can be used when the dependent variable is categorical or binary meaning that most of the non-continuous data in my dataset could be used within such a model, providing that the log-odds are linearly related to the independent variables. Furthermore, the benefit of this is that logistic regression is not bound by the same assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance as with linear regression (Schreiber-Gregory, 2018). These two benefits open up almost all of my dataset to tests for causation, providing greater opportunity to answer the research sub-questions. One assumption still needed to be tested for and guarded against and that was the "non-independence of the predictor variable" (Elith *et al.,* 2013, p.27) as the level of significance can be affected if this is not the case (Ibid, p.29). A model is said to be free from collinearity when the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) is below a certain level. Although exact cut-off scores for VIF acceptability are not universally accepted, and perhaps unhelpful (O'Brien, 2007), limits of '2.5' (Johnstone *et al.,* 2018), '5' (Ringle *et al*., 2015) and '10' (Hair *et al*., 1995) are reported. For the purposes of this research, I will restrict acceptable VIF scores to 2.5 based on an abundance of caution.

I decided to use a standardised approach to developing and presenting the regression models used in this study to ensure that the rules of overfitting and parsimony are met, and to ensure ease of interpretation. Overfitting is said to be fitting so many variables into a model that many of them contribute little to the overall goodness of fit (Field, 2013), instead, one should adhere to the rules of parsimony, where the dependent variable needs the fewest independent variables to explain it (ibid). From my first attempts at building a model it became clear that many of the variables I thought might be significant were not. As such, I decided to use a purposeful selection method (Bursac *et al.,* 2008), where variables I suspected might have a relation were subject to bivariate analysis in the first instance, and those not significant were omitted from the regression model.

Figure 5.5 Example of Logistic Regression Model Design and Development

	Bivariate Analysis					Model 1				Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for				95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Quality of the cadet experience at your unit (43)I Age (4*)Du - 30 and Under / Above 30 (Mean) Employment (12*)Du - employed / unemployed Why did you become an adult volunteer (16)N What is the typical percentage attendence (11)O	Output for each bivariate test here					Logistric regression outputs for all those significant, or approaching significance, here				2nd regression model for all those significant, or adding to the overall model fit from model 1, here			
						Aim to keep psuedo r² in model 2 as close to that in model 1 as possible whilst simultaneously minimising variables							
						Nagelkerke r² = .23.4				Nagelkerke r² = .21.6			
Constant						0.244	0.212			0.174	0.377		
Log likelyhood Model 3 = 491.265		Obsservations		405		LR Chi²		34.582		Prob. Chi²		<.001	
Dependant variable: What SCC 'Area' are you part of (11*)Du													

However, I included some variables approaching significance as a cut-off of the traditional .05 does not always identify important variables (ibid). The point of cut-off is taken on a case-by-case basis depending on a personal judgement call as to whether the variable is likely to add to the overall fit of the model. The results for each of these are included in the 'bivariate analysis' column of the table as seen in Figure 5.5.

Those being taken forward into model 1 are then placed in the next column where a multivariate logistic regression model is run, with those not statistically significant removed at this point (Zhang, 2016). Model 2 is then run with the remaining significant predictors to see which variables remain significant. At this point the pseudo r^2 is checked to ensure that there was not a significant drop from model 1 to 2, with the aim being to find the best compromise between the highest r^2 possible, using the fewest variables possible. Figure 5.5 illustrates how this model is presented. Both the dependent and independent variables have a number to identify which question they relate to in the questionnaire, framed in square brackets [ ], and any discussion of variables within the main text will also identify question numbers using this technique. If the variable has been transformed from the original in the questionnaire they are highlighted with a * next to the question number. Any ambiguity regarding what the transformation turned into will be explained. For example, [12*,Du], seen above to be 'employment,' would be accompanied by an explanation that the original choices have been transformed to either 'employed,' or 'not employed.' The nature of this transformation, and indeed all data types are then displayed using the following code: Nominal = (N) Dichotomous = (Di), Dummy = (Du), Ordinal = (O), and Interval = (I). So, the quality of the cadet-experience variable, as seen in Figure 5.5 above, is shown to be question 43 in the questionnaire viewable

in Appendix 5. This variable has not been transformed and consists of Interval data. Whereas the 'age' variable is shown as question 4 in the questionnaire, and that the variable was transformed into a Dummy variable. This new variable would have an explanation in the text saying it was split between those under the age of 30, and those 30 or above, and that this is because this was the mean age. In creating a standard technique and presenting style such as this it is felt that it is possible for the reader to get a fuller understanding of the link between the survey responses and the analysis of those responses.

The survey did not end with the quantitative questions. There was an open response section that was designed to pick out any important information that the quantitative questions failed to address or indeed back-up what was found. The approach used was to highlight potential issues in my autoethnographic reflections, look for similar issues in the literature, or a lack of such issues, then seek evidence of this in the quantitative data. The role of the open questions was to add a further layer of confirmation, or otherwise, of the issues being highlighted. This open response option proved quite fruitful with 217 of the 405 participants adding their comments, many of which were detailed and impassioned. To make best use of these comments I created a manual coding frame consisting of ethos (1), governance (2), support (3), geographic area (4), volunteer issues (5), funding concerns (6), cadet issues (7) managing a unit (8) and other (9). This coding frame was developed as a combination of deductive and inductive coding. Deductive coding is described as a "coding process aimed to test whether data are consistent with prior assumptions, theories, or hypotheses" (Chandra & Shang, 2019, p.8). In this instance these were based on the topics that had arisen in the autoethnographic reflections and reviews of the SCC and academic literature. Inductive coding is described as a "process whereby the researcher reads and interprets raw textual data to develop concepts, themes or a process model through interpretations based on data" (Ibid, p.91). This method allowed data to emerge from the survey whether it has appeared in the previous work or not. Responses as diverse as marketing and health and safety, for example, although not large enough for their own categories, where not excluded simply because they had not been deductively designed.

5.5 Conclusion

To this point I have conducted an autoethnographic reflection of my own time in the SCC, then used these reflections, in addition to information gathered from a review of the UCFs and academic literature, to design a survey of CFAVs. This survey, including quantitative and qualitative elements, has now produced a wealth of information that needs drawing out and analysing. In Chapter 4 I developed three research sub-questions that, in turn, provide the

backdrop to the following three chapters. Additionally, each of these chapters include a detailed analysis of the findings that aim to answer the sub-questions, leading to a better understanding of what can cause the cadet-experience as delivered to fall below the level of the cadet-experience as designed.

Chapter 6: Empirical Results Relating to Bourdieu's 'Field' Construct

6.1 Introduction

The next three chapters present the quantitative results of the Sea Cadet Volunteer Survey (SCVS). This survey was conducted online, receiving 405 usable responses. In addition to the quantitative results presented here the SCVS also included an open question at the end where CFAVs were encouraged to leave any comments that they felt were important. These open responses are also presented over the course of the following three chapters. In this chapter I focus specifically on elements of the survey that relate to Bourdieu's 'field' construct, namely, the organisational/institutional mechanisms that impact delivery as well as the 'markets,' and 'groups' of individuals that constitute the potential volunteers available to the SCC. To this end the ensuing results aim to address the following research sub-question:

Research Sub-Question One

To what extent does Bourdieu's 'field' construct help us understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

6.2 Organisational / Institutional Mechanisms

I detailed in previous chapters how the SCC is a complex national organisation with a hierarchical system building from the local cadet unit to district teams, regional hubs, and national headquarters. It has been my experience that each layer of governance and oversight, although important and there to provide support for local units, can be a cumbersome machine, where the reality of delivery does not always reflect the system as designed. Therefore, the first aim of research sub-question one is to test the robustness and efficiency of institutional systems to ascertain what, if any, elements of the SCC as an organisation (field) might actively hinder the delivery of the cadet-experience.

6.2.1 The Joining Process

I begin by examining the process of joining the SCC as a CFAV and how the institutional systems and procedures impact this process. As a cadet leader I was often frustrated with the time it took to get willing volunteers 'signed-up,' and needed to understand whether this frustration was felt across the broader SCC. When asking CFAVs if they thought the process of joining the SCC is easy, [26,O] 48.5% (n=195) either disagree or strongly disagree. By contrast only 28.8% (n=116) either agree or strongly agree. Beyond the simple frequency data,

I was interested if there were any relationships between various CFAV groups and those who saw the joining process as a problem.

To test this, I created a binary logistic regression model (Figure 6.1) using the purposeful selection model (Zhang, 2016) as discussed in Chapter 5, adhering to the rule of parsimony (Hosmer, *et al.,* 2013). The model below illustrates the three-step process. Firstly, I conducted a series of bivariate tests using predictor variables that I thought might have a relationship with the dependent. Those proving significant (or approaching significance) were then subject to multiple regression using the binary logistic regression technique before running a final model of only those statistically significant or adding to the overall model fit. To maintain the pseudo r^2 in model 2 as close to that in model 1, I retained the 4 variables shown in the model, 2 of which were statistically significant, and 2 of which were not. The highest VIF of the predictor variables in this model is 1.116, well within the tolerance I am using of 2.5, as explained in Chapter 5.

Figure 6.1 Regression Analysis: Joining the Sea Cadets

	Bivariate Analysis					Model 1					Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Highest position: [8*,Di] - CO and Above / Below CO	<.001	0.375	0.236	0.596	12	0.168	0.590	0.279	1.249	4	<.001	0.397	0.245	0.642
Feeling part of a national team? [34,I]	<.001	1.256	1.149	1.374		0.044	1.158	1.004	1.335		<.001	1.189	1.073	1.319
Does your unit have enough volunteers [36,Di]	<.001	2.201	1.472	3.292		0.703	1.059	0.788	1.425					
Time taken from personal life [17,O]	0.001	1.491	1.185	1.875		0.848	0.959	0.626	1.470					
Highest Education [13*,Du] - No degree / Degree +	0.002	0.526	0.352	0.786		0.057	0.538	0.284	1.017		0.033	0.608	0.384	0.961
Quality of cadet experience at own unit [43,I]	0.003	1.234	1.072	1.421		0.075	1.258	0.977	1.619		0.161	1.125	0.954	1.325
Hours working per week [12c,O]	0.003	0.720	0.578	0.897		0.455	0.890	0.655	1.209					
Age [4*,Du] - 30 and Under / Above 30 (Mean)	0.006	0.521	0.328	0.829		0.111	0.548	0.262	1.149					
How many yras volunteering [5,I]	0.056	0.982	0.964	1.000		0.688	0.992	0.956	1.030					
Name of unit [10*,N] Conurbation/Town/Rural	0.058	0.707	0.494	1.011		0.500	0.844	0.515	1.383					
Marital status [15*,Du]- Single / Not single	0.074	0.690	0.459	1.037		0.287	1.441	0.736	2.821					
Reason for volunteering [16,N]	0.086	1.179	0.977	1.423		0.127	1.329	0.922	1.915					
What Sea Cadet Area are you part of? [10,N]	0.134	1.094	0.973	1.230										
Employment [12*,Du] - employed / unemployed	0.145	1.441	0.882	2.355										
Volunteer type [6*,Du] - Instructional / Support	0.503	1.190	0.715	1.981										
Were you a cadet before volunteering? [9,Di]	0.702	0.925	0.621	1.379										
						Nagelkerke r^2 = .17.0					Nagelkerke r^2 = .14.9			
Constant						0.244	0.212				0.56	0.302		
Model 2: Log likelyhood = 436.083			Obsservations	405		LR Chi²		40.616			Prob. Chi²		<.001	
Dependant variable: 'The process of joining the Sea Cadets as an adult volunteer is easy' [26*,Du] - Disagree/Agree or Neutral														

Model 2 proved to be a significant predictor ($F(4,405) = 40.616$, $p = <.001$) of whether volunteers find the joining process easy. The dichotomous variable separating those of CO position or higher from those below CO position [8*Du] was significant, where the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 0.397 as volunteers transition between junior / senior volunteers, meaning that senior volunteers are less than 40% as likely to view the joining process as easy. The variable for feeling part of a national team [34,I] was also found to be significant, where for each increase in 1, on a scale of 1-10, between feeling isolated (1) and

part of a national team (10), the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 1.189. This increases the probability that volunteers will report joining the SCC is easy by 18.9% for each change in 1 on the 10-point scale. Educational status [13*Du] was also significant when participants change from those without a degree to those with a degree or higher. In this instance the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 0.608, decreasing the probability that graduate volunteers will report getting on a training course easy by approximately 40% in comparison to non-graduates.

Now that I can be confident that this data is not being driven by other variables, I conducted a correlation test to unpack the relationships of the significant predictors in model 2. As Spearman's rank correlation does not require data to be continuous (Hauke & Kossowski, 2011, p.89) this test was chosen. The relationship between position held [8*,Du] and the dependent is a highly significant negative, weak correlation ($r_s(402) = -.226$, $p = <.001$), confirming that as volunteers reach the rank of CO their views on the joining process harden. The relationship between the dependent and variable [34,I] shows that there is a weak to moderate positive correlation ($r_s(399) = .301$, $p = <.001$), confirming that those volunteers feeling a greater sense of being part of a national team are more likely to believe that the joining process is easy. Lastly, the variable for educational attainment [13*,Du], confirms a weak negative correlation, ($r_s(402) = -.157$, $p = .002$) where the change from non-graduate to graduate reduces the chances of volunteers believing that the joining process is easy. Concerns with the joining process were common in the open responses across all areas of volunteering:

"*It takes an age to get them in the door and then we expect them to attend 5 weekends before they are substantive.*"

A male commanding officer who joined because he was ex-forces

"The process to become a uniformed instructor is far too long and requires too many long-distance trips."

A male 1st Lt who joined because his child joined

"The volunteer process is a nightmare. I understand that staff have to be DBS checked and have safeguarding training, but the process takes far too long. Many people also struggle to find 'correct' referees. By the time they have filled in the forms, we have contacted the referees, waited for a reply, filled in the CRB, waited for a reply, booked them on a training course and waited again.... they've lost interest. There must be a more efficient way?"

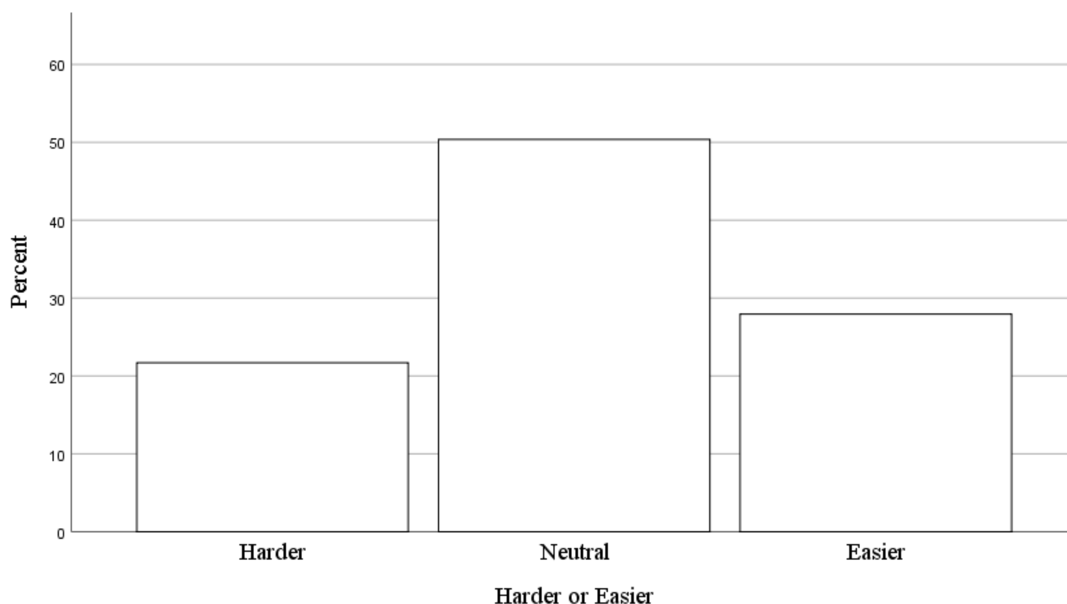
A female 'admin' volunteer who joined because her child joined

It is clear from the SCVS that the volunteer joining process is problematic across the corps, with the potential to influence the cadet-experience, and that any improvement of the cadet product, or expansion of the service will need to address this.

6.2.2 Sea Cadet Corps Physical Infrastructure

The SCC 'field' is essentially a voluntary organisation where each cadet unit is an independent charity, responsible for providing almost all physical infrastructure and equipment for their own unit. As with any voluntary organisation the strength and quality of the volunteers at each unit will vary, meaning in the case of the SCC that the infrastructure of each local cadet unit will also vary, as these are provided by the CFAVs. The next section presents the results of a series of questions aimed at exploring the nature and consequences of this variation. I was initially interested if CFAVs believe that the location 'quality' of their cadet building impacts on the recruitment and retention of cadets. By quality of unit location, I refer to what is likely to be more attractive to cadets and their parents such as a desirable area, in a central location, with good public transport links. Of those surveyed 21.7% (n=87) believed that the location of their unit [38,*O][14] made recruiting cadets either harder or much harder, whilst 27.9% (n=112) thought it to be either easier or much easier, suggesting that the quality of the locations where Sea Cadet units are sited is variable as illustrated in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2 Does the Unit Location Make Recruitment Easier or Harder?



The consequences of this are illustrated when comparing unit location quality with how many cadets each unit attracts, as shown in Figure 6.3 below. On running a Chi square test of independence it is seen that there is a statistically significant relationship ($x^2(8, n=399)$ =

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[14] Recoded from a 5-point scale to 3-point scale.

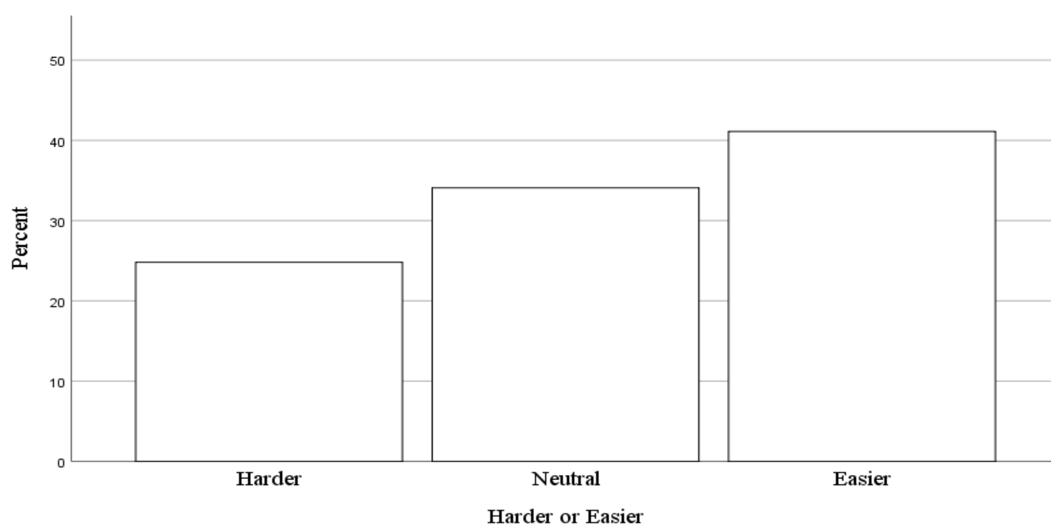
47.569, p= <.001), between the score given for quality of location [38*,O] and how many cadets individual units attract. There are more units than would be expected (n=62/46) with 25+ cadets in units in the best locations, and fewer with 25+ cadets than would be expected (n=20/35) in units in the worst locations.

Figure 6.3 Unit Location Quality Compared to the Number of Cadets Attending

			Approximately how many cadets does your unit attract per night?					Total
			6-10	11-15	16-20	20-25	25+	
Impact of building location on the ease of recruiting cadets	Harder	Count	13	20	15	17	20	85
		Expected Count	4.5	11.3	17.5	17.0	34.7	85.0
	Neutral	Count	7	28	44	42	81	202
		Expected Count	10.6	26.8	41.5	40.5	82.5	202.0
	Easier	Count	1	5	23	21	62	112
		Expected Count	5.9	14.9	23.0	22.5	45.8	112.0
Total		Count	21	53	82	80	163	399
		Expected Count	21.0	53.0	82.0	80.0	163.0	399.0

It is not just the location of the cadet building that CFAVs are responsible for, but also the quality of the building equipment and facilities. Figure 6.4[15] illustrates how almost 1 in 4 volunteers (24.8%) believe that the quality of their equipment and facilities [39*,O] makes recruitment and retention of cadets [26,O] more difficult.

Figure 6.4 Impact of Building and Facilities on Cadet Recruitment



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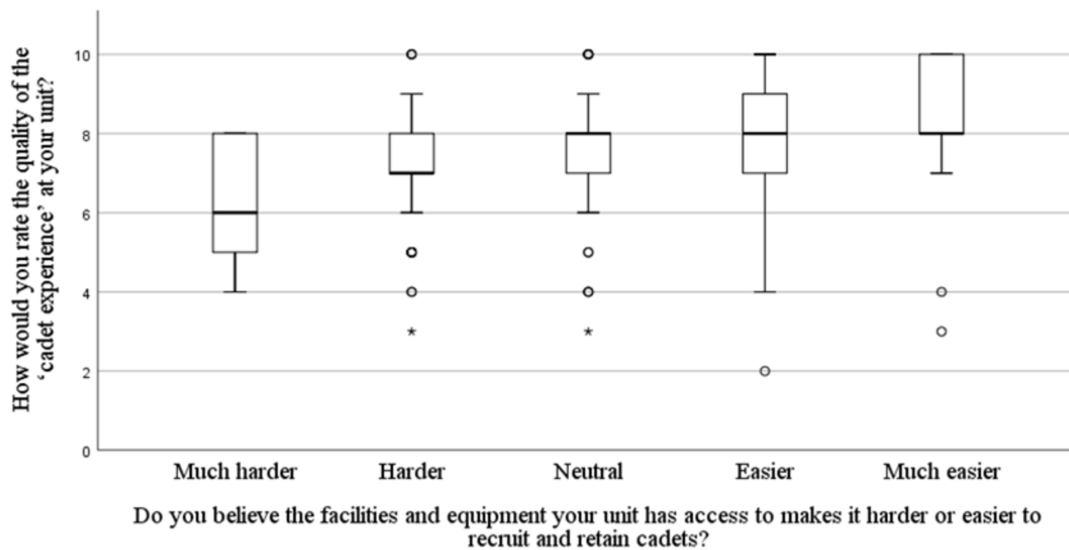
[15] Recoded from a 5-point scale to 3-point scale.

There is an impact here on the cadet-experience. An ANOVA test comparing the relationship between how volunteers scored the quality of the cadet-experience [43,I] at their own unit against the equipment and facilities [39,O] of that unit was then conducted. Here there is a further significant relationship *(F(*4, 397) =12.104, p=<.001). Those reporting that facilities make it 'much harder' to recruit give a mean score of 6.29 for the quality of the cadet-experience at their own unit on a 10-point scale. This was lower than those reporting that facilities make it 'much easier' to recruit who scored their own unit at 8.44, confirming a relationship between facilities and the quality of the cadet-experience, as seen in Figure 6.5. So, both the location and the facilities available at each unit do have the capacity to impact cadet outcomes. As location and facilities are the responsibility of volunteers, any variation in the quality or quantity of volunteers will invariably have an impact.

Figure 6.5 Relationship Between Cadet-Experience and Facilities



6.2.3 Conflict

Having been personally responsible for the quality of a SCC building and its facilities, and subsequently raising funds to relocate to a better location, I am acutely aware that Sea Cadet instructional staff rely on the charity trustees and support staff to provide an adequate platform for delivering the cadet-experience. I am as equally familiar from my own volunteering, and that of others, that friction is common between support staff and instructional staff regarding the quality of resources available. As such, I investigated the national picture regarding this conflict. In conducting a Chi square test of independence, I first needed to recode the variable for conflict [33*,O] into three categories of 'conflict,' 'neutral,' and 'non-conflict,' to avoid

cells with an expected count of less than 5 (Yates *et al.,* 1999). The subsequent test was once again statistically significant ($x^2(4, n=398) = 10.51, p=.033$), showing that those who believe that the quality of their building and facilities is lower, are more likely to report conflict between trustees and instructional staff. Once again, there are several references to this conflict in the open responses:

"...there is also too much interference from the UMT[16] at unit level, some of whom seem to think it is they who actually own the unit!"

A male volunteer at a district level position with over 15 years' service

"There is no point having an enthusiastic staff[17] all of whom are stretched to the limit with no support from an ineffective UMT."

A female instructional volunteer, with over 20 years' service

The attitude towards UMT from uniformed staff is disappointing. In a recent conversation a high ranking uniformed CFAV described UMT responsibilities as 'heat, light, black bags and toilet roll.' There is little or no respect for those of us who keep the roof over their heads. We are viewed as cleaners and people who run the tuck shop, without a uniform we are not valued, this needs to change.

A female support volunteer with 7 years' service

"...too much conflict with UMT members. Some members forget it is about the cadets, not self-gratification, and what they can gain in their given fields."

A male support volunteer new to the SCC

"I have heard it said that uniformed staff are more important than non- uniformed staff because 'they go the extra mile.' I think it is wrong to make such a generalisation. There may be many reasons for people not being in uniform." "...Being in uniform does not automatically make you more knowledgeable or experienced."

A male instructional volunteer with 7 years' service

Despite quotes such as these, only 15% (n=61) of volunteers reported more conflict than one would expect in any organisation, with 41% (n=167) reporting 'virtually no conflict.' However, this is still cause for concern as 15% is around 50 cadet units. There are many 'external' reasons why a cadet unit might be having problems, but if 50 or more SCC units are having problems because of internal volunteer conflict, then the cadet-experience is compromised, before issues beyond local control are even considered.

6.2.4 Cultural reproduction

The results presented above have covered how some of the physical and procedural elements of the SCC impact on the capacity to deliver the cadet-experience. To this I now add an exploration of how the macro-cultural traditions of the SCC might impact the effectiveness of

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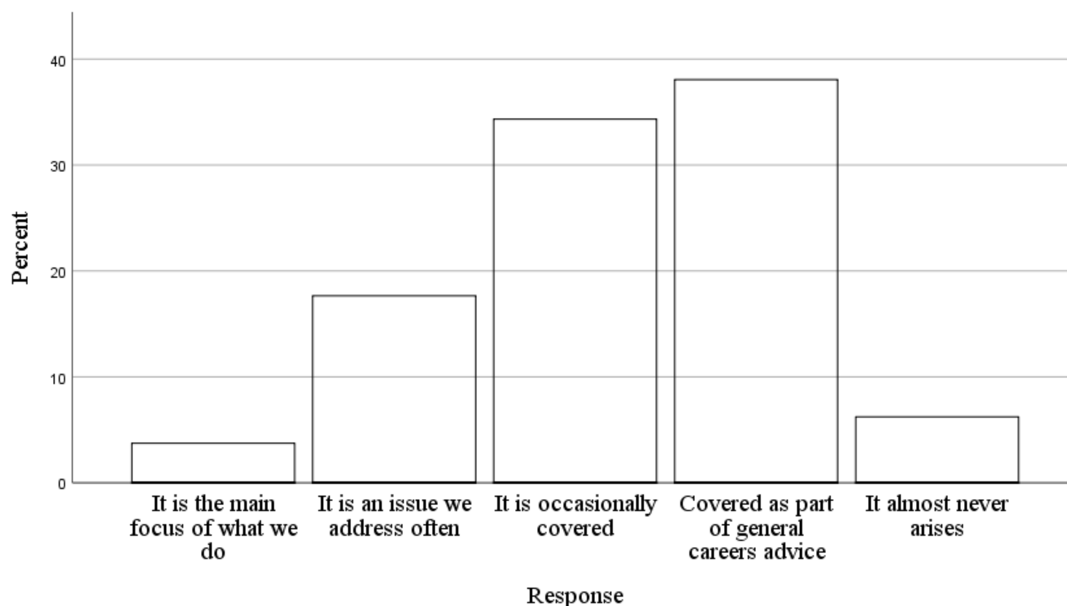
[16] Unit Management Team – The support staff responsible for the building and facilities – Including trustees and unit Chairperson.

[17] The term 'staff' within the SCC is usually used to describe instructional volunteers.

delivery. It was suggested in previous chapters that the cultural direction of the SCC was very much focused on generic youth provision, but with a nautical theme; especially important if the SCC is to develop a larger footprint amidst reduced state provision. This is, of course, a departure from the military and Royal Navy recruitment traditions of the corps. The possible issue here is whether this new direction is supported by the CFAVs who deliver the product. A cursory glance at simple frequency data as shown in Figure 6.6 suggests that only a small fraction (3.7%) of volunteers see the promotion of a military ethos [35,N] as the raison d'être of their volunteering.

Figure 6.6 Describe How Your Unit Promotes a Military Career



However, this is contradicted in the open responses from volunteers. There were 14 responses that reflected the culture of the organisation, and all were lamenting a move away from the traditional military ethos, six of which I present below:

"I fear that SCC headquarters is encouraging a civilianisation and watering down of our Royal Navy ethos. I believe all employed staff should be uniformed, the rank is not important, but the uniform wearing is. Ideally most employed staff should be ex-services or ex-cadet to ensure the SCC is not turned into a youth club."

Male volunteer, aged over 60 with 42 years' service who used to be a cadet

"I believe that the Sea Cadets needs to focus less on trying to be a youth group and focus more on the Royal Navy side of things. There are many other youth groups around such as Scouts and we should focus on what makes us more unique, and that is the affiliation with the Royal Navy. The Army and Air cadets have more than three times the number of cadets and staff and that is, in my opinion, because of their ties with the respective MoD partner. Young people need, and to a degree, want to have discipline, be smart and learn new skills while being part of the organisation."

Male volunteer, aged 31-40 with 4 years' service who was never a cadet

"I feel closer ties to the RN would help us compete with the image presented by RAF and Army Cadets of a "junior services" organisation, as opposed to a uniformed youth club."

Male volunteer, aged 51-60 with 8 years' service who used to be a cadet

"I have served on and off for 45 years and I despair at the continual erosion of our naval ethos."

Male volunteer, aged over 60 with 45 years' service who used to be a cadet

"The SCC used to be a great organisation to volunteer for. Recently, particularly in the RMC[18] the emphasis seems to be on minimising the things that make us "Different" and remove any real "Military" emphasis from us. The current ban on not parading with weapons on Remembrance Sunday / Trafalgar Day parades is a farce."

Male volunteer, aged over 60 with 18 years' service, who used to be a cadet

Why are former servicemen and serving members of the armed forces classed as unimportant to the Sea Cadet community? Cadets join Cadets to play soldiers and play with guns. If they did not, they would join other groups like scouts or a youth club. Why do Sea Cadets constantly stop RM Cadets from using weapons, ….I feel as a serving member of the Royal Marines of over 30 years, you would rather have a civilian cadet instructor teach over myself. I find it incredibly frustrating, when all I have done for the Sea Cadets is give, and all you seem to do is take.

Male volunteer, aged 41-50, with 10 years' experience, who used to be a cadet

Two things stand out from this data. Firstly, all want deeper military ties. But secondly, all of the six open responses shown here, which were chosen before attributing gender and other data, were from male volunteers. Upon further exploration, of the 14 open responses relating to a desire for a stronger military ethos only one was from a female. As a result of these findings, I ran a Chi square test of independence between gender [2,N] and how much a military ethos plays a role in each unit. The result suggested that there is no relationship ($x^2(4, n=400) = .316$, $p=.989$) between the two. It is possible that this disconnect between what volunteers are saying in open responses differs from the SCVS because of a poorly worded question. I asked, 'how would you describe how your unit promotes a military ethos,' rather than directly ask about volunteers' personal views. As such, it is possible the male dominated desire for deeper military ties by a sub-group of volunteers only shows up in the open responses because the question was not directly asked in the survey. Using a nonparametric binomial test, considering that males make up 61.3% of the SCVS survey, and 92.9% of this sub-group, shows a statistically significant finding ($p=.010$), regarding the proportion of males with this view, with only a 1 in 100 probability of this being due to chance. As such, it seems prudent to accept the open response data that there is a small but vocal cohort of male dominated volunteers who are unhappy with the move away from a military ethos. However, there is further evidence to consider. Of the 14 open responses relating to a desire for greater military ties, 10 (8 ex-cadets) were from volunteers over the age of 40, and of the 4 aged 40 or below, 2 were forces/ex-forces. It was determined in previous chapters that the SCC has been moving away from the military

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[18] Royal Marine Cadets

ethos of previous years. However, what we see here is that the majority of those wishing for a return to such times are either older volunteers that may not have moved on, or ex-forces personnel who are more likely to value the historical forces' traditions of the corps. As the armed forces, and their cadet branches, were traditionally male dominated in the past, it is likely that this accounts for the prevalence of males wishing for greater military links. This begs the question as to what impact on the cadet-experience this creates?

6.3 Markets/ Groups

6.3.1 Introduction

With continued reference to Bourdieu's field concept, I now turn to the second key element of research sub-question one; the markets and groups of individuals that make up the field, again looking for issues that might impact the delivery of the cadet-experience. I consider markets and groups in this context to be the volunteers already within the SCC, and geographical or socio-economic communities that potential volunteers are derived from. It is necessary to point out at this stage that investigating volunteer numbers is more complex than simply checking admin databases for unit volunteer strength figures. Units are judged by how many volunteers they have (amongst other criteria) and as such will often keep people on the books after they have left or even if they only attend infrequently.[19] The original plan was to attend units in person during primary data collection and do a head count for each unit. But owing to funding restraints I was forced to conduct an online questionnaire rather than travel personally to units. As such, I have tried to circumnavigate this dilemma by asking all respondents three 'proxy' questions that indirectly indicate unit volunteer strengths: 'Does your unit have enough staff?' 'How often is your unit short staffed?' 'Is your unit in a position to expand cadet numbers?' With a sub-question asking 'if not, why?

6.3.2 Volunteering Levels

When asked if units have enough qualified staff [36a,Di] to effectively operate every parade night 53.4% (n=214) responded 'no,' with 46.6% (n=187) responding 'yes.' To unpack this concept, the next question asked how often units are short staffed [36b,O] as seen in Figure 6.7 below.

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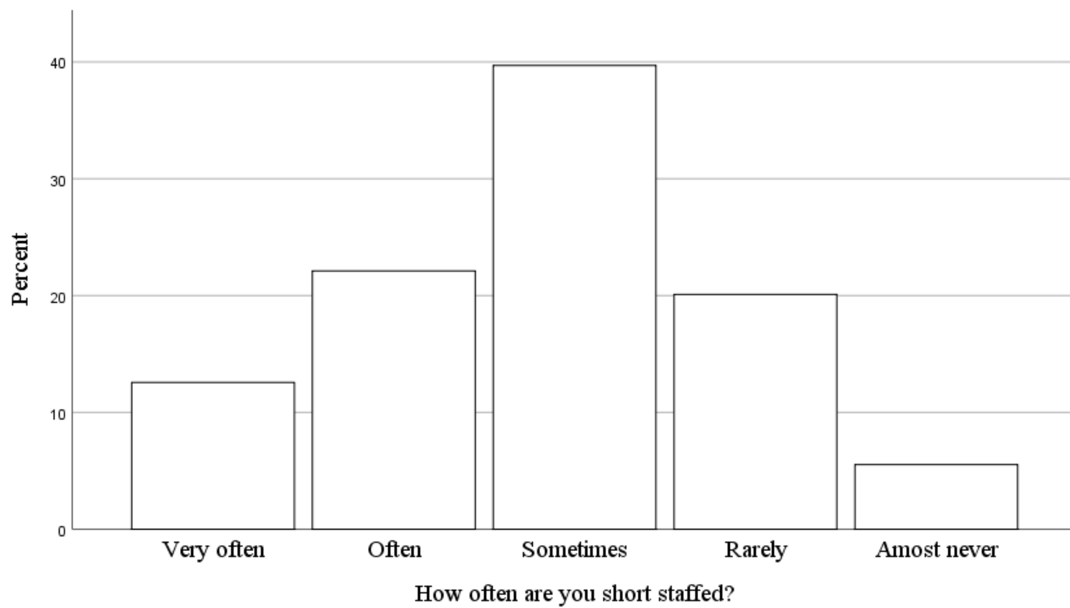
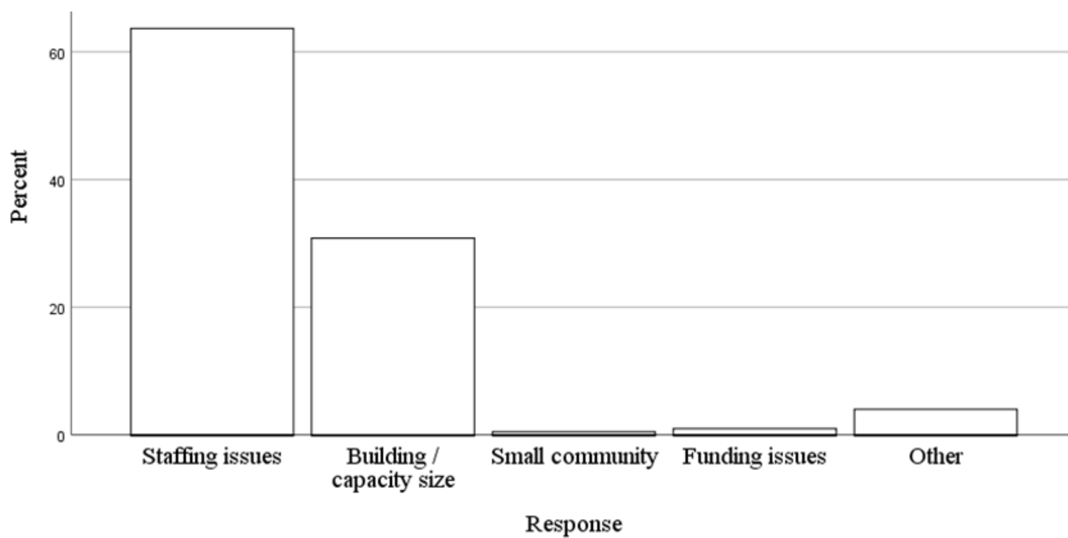
[19] Instructional staff are required to attend for a minimum of 50% of parade nights. However, in practice, unit leaders cannot afford to lose volunteers so those attending only very occasionally, such as students away at university, are often retained and counted as available staff, even if they are not.

Figure 6.7 Unit Staffing Levels



Over one third (34%) of volunteers (n=138) reported that their unit was short staffed either often or very often, with only 25.2% (n=102) reporting rarely or almost never.

Figure 6.8 Reasons Why Unit Cannot Increase Cadet Numbers



When asked if their own unit can expand cadet numbers [42,Di] the responses were split relatively evenly with 51.1% responding 'no,' (n=204) and 48.9% responding 'yes' (n=195). Figure 6.8 illustrates that the majority (63.6%, n=126) of those stating that their own cadet unit cannot expand cadet numbers, believe that staffing levels [42b*,N] is the reason for this. These

figures illustrate how the SCC has a significant percentage of cadet units that struggle with volunteer shortages, and the consequences that arrive from this.

Once again, there are numerous examples in the open responses of similar concerns:

"I would love more adult volunteers to join to take the burden off my current staff and share the load."

A commanding officer in a unit with 16-20 cadets

"…We are also desperate for new staff."

An admin officer in a unit with 16-20 cadets

"As a commanding officer my biggest worry is always volunteer staffing levels, not only on a parade night, but also when trying to deliver weekend training activities involving transport."

A water sports officer in a unit with 16-20 cadets

"I'd love to do more, and I feel we are hampered by lack of instructional staff."

A training officer in a unit with 25+ cadets

"I think being short staffed is an issue a lot of units face."

A 1st Lt in a unit with 25+ cadets

In considering if there is any geographical pattern that might shed light on this problem, a Chi square test of independence was conducted. This test compared the frequency in which units are short staffed with the six Sea Cadet 'areas.' The test confirmed the null hypothesis (x^2(8, n=391) = 8.586, p=.378) that no relation exists. So, the possibility of the cadet-experience being impacted by staffing issues is nationwide, causing my attention to turn to the possibility of deprivation levels being a driver.

6.3.3 Deprivation

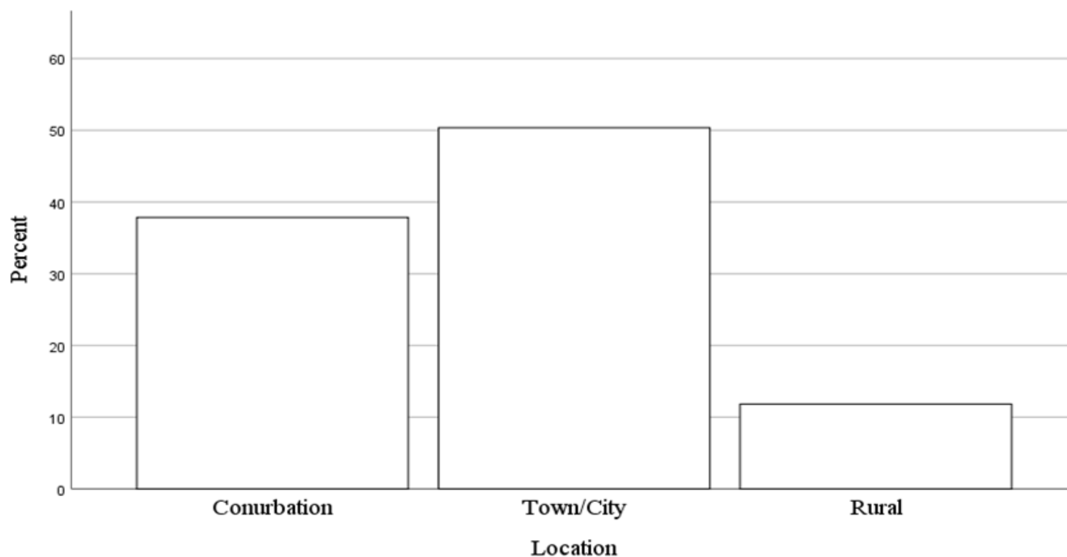
It is understood that areas of deprivation in the UK produce volunteers across the entire third sector in fewer numbers than more affluent areas (NCVO, 2019). With so many volunteers suggesting issues with volunteer shortages and there being no geographical relationship, I decided to explore the relationship between volunteer numbers and deprivation to see if the national picture is reflected in the SCC, and if so, whether it can impact on the delivery of the cadet-experience. Figure 6.9 below reminds us of the distribution of cadet units across the UK [10b,N]. The map illustrates that SCC units are largely located in urban areas such as Greater London, Birmingham, Greater Manchester/Merseyside, Northeast England, Belfast, and Scotland's Central Belt, with many others scattered around urban UK. By contrast, more rural areas, especially in the South/Southwest of England, Western Wales, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and parts of Eastern England have fewer units.

Figure 6.9 – Unit Distribution

This should be of little surprise. Sea Cadet units are always likely to be situated near to where people live, and figures from the 2011 census confirm that 82.4% (ibid) of people in England, for example, live in urban areas. Even those not sited in major conurbations are mostly found in the 'rural town and fringe' (Defra, 2015) locations, [10b*N] so not rural, as seen in Figure 6.10.

Urban areas have no monopoly on deprivation of course. The problem is that the charitable nature of Sea Cadet units regarding funding limitations is very often likely to result in cadet units being situated in the more run-down locations within these urban areas owing to higher land values, compounding potential problems associated with deprivation. In conducting a Chi square test of independence ($x^2(8, n=284) = 89.602$, p= <.001), I confirmed this suspicion. By classifying cadet units into either, rural, town-city, or conurbation,[20] I was able to check for a relationship with deprivation. Here, units in conurbations are far less likely (n=1) to be in the least deprived areas than would be expected (n=13) but are far more likely to be situated in the most deprived areas (n=55) than would be expected (n=30).

Figure 6.10 Unit Location: Conurbation/Town/Rural



This data is further backed up by a statistically significant Spearman's rank correlation ($r_s(8, 284) =.471$, p = <.001), showing a moderate to strong, highly significant positive correlation, where units in more populated areas are likely to be more deprived.

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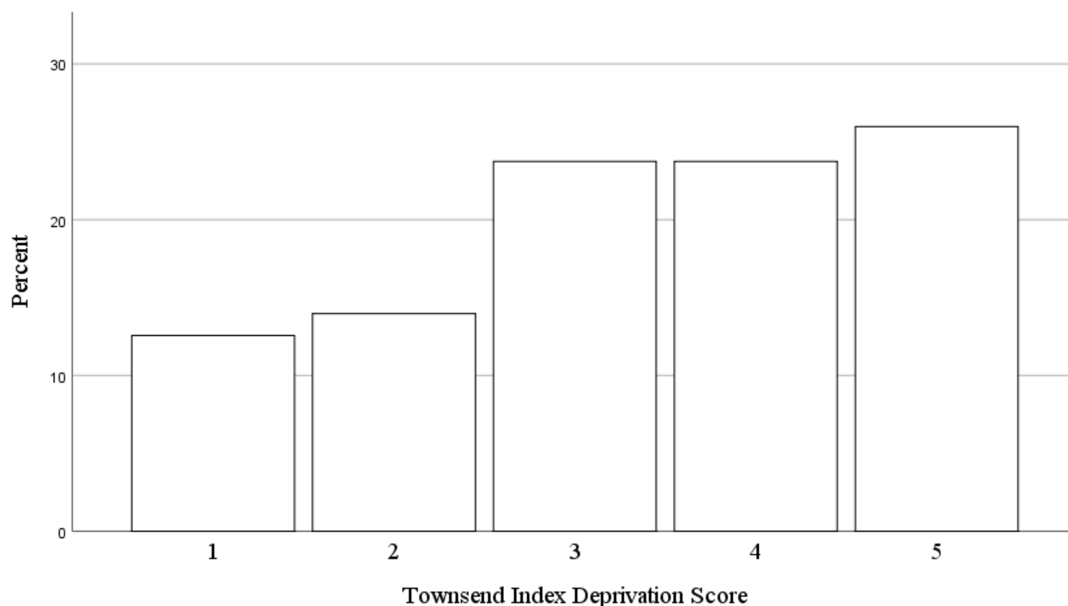
[20] Based on the classification system used by the Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs, adapted to a version using three categories, reduced from the original ten. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/rural-urban-classification

Figure 6.11 brings together the implications of all this. On a national scale, Sea Cadet units are situated in areas of greater deprivation in larger numbers than they are in areas of lower deprivation. Indeed, using the Townsend Index, [10b*,O] which creates 5 levels of deprivation (ONS, 2011) with 5 being the most deprived, there is an upwards progression through each quintile where there are more and more units as deprivation levels increase. Indeed, only 12.6% (n=45) of cadet units are in Townsend's least deprived areas, whereas 26% (n=93) are in the most deprived areas in the country.

Figure 6.11 Number of SCC Units per Quintile of Deprivation
1 = Least Deprived – 5 = Most Deprived



With this knowledge I was keen to understand what the implications are for units in such areas. Having ran a Chi square test of independence, there is a highly statistically significant relationship ($x^2(2, n=355) = 15.33$, p= <.001), between deprivation and whether volunteers believe their unit has enough staff, but the pattern that emerges is unexpected. Both those areas of high deprivation (n=76/82) and low deprivation (n=35/44) show fewer than expected volunteers reporting that their unit has enough instructional staff to effectively operate each parade night. However, areas of mid-level deprivation show higher numbers of volunteers than would be expected to be observed (*n*=55/44), suggesting that only these mid-level deprivation areas do not struggle with volunteer shortages. This observation is supported by a further Chi square test of independence relating to how *often* volunteers feel their own unit is short staffed. When the 'short staffed' variable [36b*,Du] is recoded to a Dummy variable of 'more than

rarely' against 'rarely or less,' to reduce cells with an expected count of less than 5, there is a statistically significant relationship ($x^2(2, n=352) = 16.95, p = <.001$) and the same pattern is also seen. Whether areas are more deprived (n=135/127) or less deprived (n=76/70), they report that they are short staffed more often than would be expected. Again, areas of mid-level deprivation observe, in contrast, that they are short staffed 'often' in fewer number than would be expected (*n*=48/63).

Having established the above relationships, I was keen to look for any further evidence of the impact of deprivation on the cadet-experience. There was only one to be found. In conducting a Chi square test of independence, the variable depicting those of manager/professional [12b*,Du] level against all other levels of employment[21] show a significant relationship ($x^2(2, n=254) = 8.284, p = .016$) with deprivation. In more affluent areas there are more managers/professionals (n=34/25) than would be expected, whereas in more deprived areas there are fewer (n=38/47) than would be expected.

6.4 Empirical Results Analysis

The research question for this chapter asked:

To what extent does Bourdieu's 'field' construct help us understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

So, this research sub-question, as with those in Chapter's 7 and 8, is concerned with the assumptions of what the cadet-experience entails on a unit-by-unit basis, and how a number of factors may create a cadet-experience very different from that seen in the literature, promotional material, and broader assumptions held by stakeholders. I begin this analysis of the assumptions associated with Bourdieu's 'field' concept with the joining process, and how a seemingly mundane issue can impact the cadet-experience. I have previously mentioned that as a SCC chairman, I was aware that the process of enrolling new volunteers seemed cumbersome, and often led to potential volunteers leaving before they had even begun. The national picture seems to reflect my own experiences. Almost half of all CFAVs have concerns with the joining process, with three key statistically significant relationships. Firstly, there is a highly significant relationship between those of commanding officer position or above, and an increased frustration with the joining process. These more senior volunteers have the responsibility of recruiting new CFAVs and are held accountable if staff numbers fall below a safe threshold for

[21] Based on the Standard Occupational Classification (2010).

the number of cadets attending their own unit. This process will often entail extra work at home, completing paperwork, chasing references and so on. Combining the quantitative data, the open responses from the SCVS and my own personal experiences, it seems clear that the extensive clerical procedures, which are typically dealt with by full-time, dedicated staff in industry, are problematic for an organisation reliant on volunteers, and the irregular patterns of their volunteering. The implication of this is that fewer potential volunteers are recruited as a result. I have personally been in meetings with SCC executives berating unit leaders for not chasing up potential volunteers who had shown an initial interest. But when a unit leader works full-time elsewhere, manages existing staff, cadets, and all training, chasing potential volunteers who have not returned emails or calls becomes unsustainable in a role where pragmatic workload decisions are made daily. Furthermore, with many of the recruitment issues emanating from delays in paperwork that has not been expedited by area or national paid staff (no doubt over-stretched), volunteers are left utterly frustrated by the process, meaning chasing potential volunteers can become a lower and lower priority over time, with all the obvious consequences for the cadet-experience. It may be the case that the workload created by the requirements of modern employment checks will always be problematic for volunteer led organisations. It may be a further case that any significant increase in recruitment of volunteers may require the recruitment process to be taken away from already over-stretched unit leaders and taken over by dedicated paid SCC employees. Such concerns are echoed in this SCVS open response from a male, unit training officer new to the corps:

> *"Induction into the SCC is painful with a potential for new CFAV's to leave before getting through. This is usually due to SCC headquarters processes that should be simple and managed by administrative staff."*

Failure to find a solution to this problem restricts volunteer recruitment, reduces the number of volunteers available to each unit, and ultimately reduces the breadth of qualified volunteers available to train cadets. As such, the first analysis of how the cadet-experience as delivered is inferior to the cadet-experience as designed, highlights a largely unreported problem where volunteers often do not have the time to recruit other volunteers, and that the number of CFAVs available to train cadets is restricted by recruitment procedures that are, at best, problematic for a volunteer led workforce, and at worst simply incompatible. This opens the debate up to questions regarding the role of paid volunteer-enablers taking over part of the burden from busy CFAVs, in this instance regarding recruitment, and I return to this in a broader context below.

This reliance on overstretched current volunteers to recruit new volunteers is complicated further when considering the 'cultural transition' (Cooper *et al.,* 2017, p.54) military personnel make when leaving the forces. I argue that this military to civilian transition, as detailed in Chapter 4, exists in reverse for those potential volunteers who were never cadets themselves, particularly uniformed CFAVs. This civilian to military transition is a complex process, in which regular forces personnel receive months of training. Although the civilian to military transition into the UCFs is clearly a much-diluted version of the regular armed forces, it is clearly a big step for many, and far more intense than the vast majority of less formal volunteering scenarios. This transition, I argue, requires the kind of support that busy volunteers find difficult to provide. Indeed, this lack of capacity of existing busy volunteers to support a civilian to military transition of others may well contribute to the dearth of volunteers from outside cadet/military recruitment routes as seen in Chapter 7, and contributes to the points above regarding the first truth claim I make, based on the findings of this research:

Truth Claim 1

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because existing volunteers do not have sufficient time to recruit new volunteers, leaving cadet units short staffed.

There is also a highly significant relationship between concerns regarding the joining process, and those volunteers who feel less part of a national team, and more isolated within their own unit. This could prove problematic for the SCC. Many volunteers wish to volunteer at their local 'youth centre,' for personal or local reasons. Perhaps their own child attends, or there is a volunteer drive in the local community. These new volunteers may have no interest in the broader SCC but are happy to help-out at their local centre. For reasons such as this one would not expect all CFAVs to buy into the national brand of the SCC. This is particularly evident when one considers that the commanding officer and support staff post-holders are legally culpable for problems at their unit, being trustees of an independent charity, yet are reliant on regional and national procedures they have limited control over to fully exercise their legal responsibilities. As such, procedural restrictions in areas such as volunteer recruitment, and elsewhere, from regional or national HQ are always likely to create a local/national disconnect in a significant proportion of CFAVs as was further evidenced in the open responses:

"The SCC as a national picture needs to focus and speak more with the Petty Officers and Sergeants on the ground who deliver the lessons and training programme. Ideas created in the London headquarters by people who could have never been cadets etc., sometimes just don't work in reality."

A male Lieutenant with 4 years' service

"It seems that the area organisation exists purely to criticise volunteers. The Sea Cadets could learn from other organisations on how to treat volunteers. The tone of communication from the Scouts to their volunteers is far more positive."

A female Lieutenant with 24 years' service

"The SCC bureaucracy is unreal. Laughably complex and often does not inspire confidence. I often feel that you can fall into a "rules trap" when you try to suggest anything."

A male civilian instructor with 5 years' service

"Whilst I completely understand why rules and regulations are required, at times some of these can feel unnecessary, hindering progress, and putting additional pressure on volunteers with high admin burdens."

A female Petty Officer with 2 years' service

This disconnect between local volunteers and national headquarters may well speak to the nature of each unit being independent charities. Bourdieu argued that 'fields' can be broken down into sub-fields (Cooper *et al.,* 2017). If each SCC unit is a sub-field, it is easy to understand how loyalty to that sub-field can take precedence over loyalty to the national SCC. After all, each local unit relies on local people, local funding organisations, and local government to provide the support they need on a day-to-day basis, whereas the national SCC can seem to largely focus on rules and regulations, telling volunteers what they cannot do, or what they must do, without always providing much in the way of support to comply with these rules. It is almost as if local/national conflict is built into the SCC by design and one wonders if this disconnect can ever be overcome using the current model of independent charities working within a larger system. I return to this issue in Chapter 7 with further evidence of the local/national disconnect, as well as suggestions for overcoming this, however, I can already at this stage make the next truth claim:

Truth Claim 2

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because there is a disconnect between the national corps and many volunteers, who are rooted locally and fail to buy into the national SCC ethos and systems, reducing the effectiveness of designed programmes.

The final statistically significant predictor relating to the joining process is educational attainment. The variable separating those with a degree or higher [8*,Du] showed that graduates were significantly less likely to find the joining process easy. It is difficult at this point to provide reasons for this with any degree of confidence. As such, rather than attempting to do so I will reserve judgement and look for further patterns regarding educational attainment as the analysis chapters progress.

The problems of volunteer responsibilities outlined above go beyond the recruitment process. The institutional processes of the SCC also require cadet leaders to be responsible for the unit facilities, including the maintenance and even purchase of suitable premises if existing buildings are inadequate. This leads to the second assumption of the cadet-experience I investigate. National promotional material would lead one to assume that the quality of facilities is somewhat homogenous throughout the corps, leading to an equitable cadet-experience regardless of which unit one joins. I reflected in Chapter 1 how this was not my own experience. I was co-opted in as chairman to a unit in dire need of new premises. The roof leaked, there was not sufficient storage, there were holes in the floor, the building had no heating system and was damp, and the unit was too distant from the marina to regularly get cadets 'on the water.' I was required to spend five years raising funds to purchase a new facility that was fit for purpose. In the meantime, the cadet-experience at my own unit was, inevitably, somewhat inferior to that of cadets in many other units. My own experiences here are shown to be reflected in part across the broader SCC, but this is by no means universal. Indeed, over one quarter of volunteers believe that the location of their own unit makes recruitment either easier or much easier, and four in ten believe the same regarding the facilities in their own unit, suggesting that many units have little problems in this regard. Nonetheless, between one fifth and one quarter of volunteers believe that either the location or facilities at their own unit are problematic. The implications of this are explained within the data. Units with the lowest scores for location average 6-10 cadets per session, whilst those with the highest scores for location average 25+ cadets per session. Furthermore, those units scoring higher for facilities also score significantly higher for the quality of the cadet-experience at their own unit. The problem here is that once again, the responsibility for units/facilities is placed on the shoulders of senior volunteers. This is very different from the local authority youth provision model, where paid staff would attend facilities managed by paid staff and funded via tax income. It is even very different from other UCF models. The SCC are the only UCF whose individual community-based units are registered charities, and as such the ATC and ACF receive greater central support regarding facilities and equipment. The units in the CCF are school-based, with facilities and equipment largely provided by the school. Even SCC school-based units benefit from a similar arrangement. The cadet-experience as designed differs here from that delivered as community-based SCC units cannot claim to offer a single cadet-experience as the nature of the delivery model is inherently variable. Some community cadet units will mirror the cadet-experience seen in promotional material, however, many do not. Once again, one wonders the extent to which this problem can ever be overcome in a model that relies on volunteers to manage the facilities as well as deliver

the product. Schools, after all, do not rely on teachers to generate income and maintain facilities. Perhaps the charitable status of SCC units needs closer analysis. A single cadet-experience across the entire UK can never be delivered by hundreds of independent charities, where each is reliant on the spare time and capabilities of trustees and other support staff. Putnam (1993), in reference to social capital, discussed the concept of 'path dependency,' meaning that the level of development an area can attain is restricted by the capital available to that area. I argue here that a similar concept can be applied to the SCC. The quality of the cadet-experience at individual units is 'path dependent,' based on the facilities and volunteers available to each unit, as exemplified here:

Sea cadets' standards are set for big units in cities however, for a little unit in a small town like mine it's hard to keep to these standards. It's unrealistic and there should be different standards for different circumstances. We could never compete with a big unit from a city like Liverpool let's say.

A 1st Lt from Northern Area

As such, some units, regardless of the efforts of those involved, will have an upper limit to the quality of the service that they can provide, and that service may be considerably below the standard expressed as the cadet-experience, and this fear leads to the next truth claim:

Truth Claim 3

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because there is no single cadet-experience, with individual units 'path dependent,' based on local circumstances, leaving many structurally unable to match the cadet-experience as designed.

The concern here is that the SCC model of assessing individual cadet units is universal, regardless of local conditions. As such, CFAVs at units with low path dependency potential are placed under extreme pressure to achieve assessment standards commensurate with units with high path dependency potential. This makes volunteering at struggling units more difficult, increases the stress of volunteering and makes volunteers more likely to leave the corps, exasperating the problems at that unit. The SCC currently provide some support to struggling units in the form of a development worker, who might help with recruitment campaigns for example, however, it is my experience that such support workers assist multiple units and that their net contribution to individual units is minimal. If the SCC wish to create a more equitable national product, minimising path dependency, then a more robust model of unit support will be required. Perhaps the recent focus on the school-based CEP, as described in Chapter 2, hints towards a recognition of the difficulties in homogenising the product of community-based Sea

Cadet units amongst executives within the SCC and those in government. However, as discussed in previous chapters, school-based UCF units provide a different product than community-based units, contributing little to the big-society, community-centric philosophy discussed previously. As such, it is difficult to see a solution to this that does not incorporate either units centrally managed to iron out differences in local provision, or the introduction of a paid local volunteer-enabler to do the same. The concept of central control is returned to below, but in the first instance it is worth considering the role of the volunteer-enabler. This concept of paid staff 'enabling' volunteers needs to be understood, I argue, in the context of neoliberal agendas aiming to manage social issues with minimal state input (Randles & Woodward, 2018). It is my argument here that whether one supports youth programmes as part of a neoliberal agenda, or simply as an advocate of life-skill development for its own sake, there is a route that utilises paid training staff which suits the ideology of all stakeholders. Proponents of a neoliberal agenda may argue that paying a small cohort of full-time professionals goes against their political ideology. However, the high profile NCS programme, believed by some, such as Mills & Waite, (2017), to be a tool for developing the ideal neoliberal citizen, is funded by the state to the tune of £1800 per place, for only three to four weeks of activities, with no evidence of successful outcomes (Public Accounts Committee, 2017). Surely this funding could be better spent on the UCFs. I have detailed in previous chapters the potential limitations of the UCFs, specifically, what prevents the cadet-experience as delivered matching the cadet-experience as designed. I hope, however, that I have also shown how the cadet-experience, if delivered as designed, can have significant positive impacts on childhood development. One of the biggest impediments to the successful delivery of the cadet-experience, as explored later, is the skills and capabilities of volunteers compared to paid full-time professional youth workers. Consider this in terms of NCS. This programme runs primarily over a short period during the summer months. Finding seasonal staff is difficult in any industry, but most of these are low skilled entry level positions. Finding professional, qualified youth training staff who just happen to be free during the summer months must be even more difficult. As such, much of the NCS training, in my experience, is delivered by those, either unqualified, unemployed, or young and inexperienced, perhaps university students with a free summer. So, the concerns that developed during the previous chapters regarding the capacity of volunteers to deliver the UCF product, must be present in NCS staff, and possibly to a greater extent. As such, allocating part of the existing NCS budget to fund employing a number of full-time volunteer facilitators would cost the state less than is currently spent, satisfying neoliberal agendas, whilst simultaneously developing the life-skills training advocated by UCF supporters.

This issue of volunteers responsible for facilities has a further complication. Although very much a minority, there is a statistically significant relationship between units with building/facilities issues, and units with conflict between trustees and instructional staff. The institutional model appears to create a system that pits volunteers against each other, and there is evidence of this discord in the open responses. Instructional staff rely on trustees to provide the resources to train cadets. However, trustees are volunteers also, and have the same commitments away from the SCC as instructional staff. It is not unheard of that the two discrete groups find that they can no longer work together, and the unit suffers. Indeed, I recall a conversation with a senior SCC paid volunteer manager who was explicit in claiming that most of his job was spent resolving such conflicts between volunteers. This manager even suggested that trustees should 'never' have a reason to attend the unit on the same night that cadets are trained, thereby avoiding contact with training staff. It is difficult recruiting trustees and support staff at the best of times, but if institutionally enabled conflict prevents support staff from even witnessing cadet training, it becomes difficult to sell the role to would-be volunteers, joining, as they do, largely to help young people. This point leads to a further truth claim:

Truth Claim 4

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because of conflict between support and instructional volunteers that reduces the effectiveness of some units.

I suggest that the solution to this requires a central management of facilities, guaranteeing a minimum level of provision. There is no reason why 'support' volunteers could not be maintained to add value to the basic provision, however, when such provision is 100% reliant on volunteers, problems are always likely to occur, thereby reducing the quality of the cadet-experience.

The next analytical point regarding Bourdieu's 'field' construct is that of cultural reproduction, where a small but vocal minority of volunteers are against the corps' transition from its military heritage, towards a generic youth organisation with a nautical theme. Indeed, one commanding officer from Northern area states that:

> "The Sea Cadets is an organisation with a crisis of identity. They claim not to be a feeder organisation for the Navy and yet 99% of the taught sessions and attitude is of a military nature."

This "historically generated system of shared meaning" (Lellatchitch *et al.,* 2001, p.3) is a further difference between the cadet-experience as designed and that delivered. Despite a top-

down initiative to modernise the SCC closer to a generic youth training organisation, a small number of units are staffed by volunteers with historically entrenched views on what the SCC is, and what services it should provide. Despite a diverse curriculum common to all cadet units, there is little that the national corps can do to control the emphasis on what individual units or volunteers place on each element of the curriculum. Some volunteers, and indeed whole units, are more likely to encourage a military styled curriculum than others, and this can cause problems in two ways. Some young people looking for a typical 'youth club' style experience focused on water sports may end up in units staffed by volunteers determined to keep to a military curriculum. By contrast, some people may genuinely join the SCC as a route into joining the Forces, only to find that their own unit can provide little help in this endeavour. The problem arising here can be explained by elements of governance regime (Maclean, *et al.,* 2006), where dominant ideologies are seen as opaque to the outside world, explaining the problems above. Parents of children enticed by the generic water sports promotional material produced by the SCC may encourage their child to join, unaware that some units, or individuals within units, are still pushing a military theme. On the other hand, government officials pushing a military ethos programme for young people, distracted perhaps by the uniforms, may not fully appreciate the change to generic youth provision simply utilising a nautical theme. In either scenario, what seems clear is that there is a 'crisis of identity,' as expressed by the CO above, and this crisis creates a further instance where the cadet-experience as delivered fails to match that which is designed owing to some volunteers clinging to the old 'historically generated system of shared meaning' (Lellatchitch *et al.,* 2001, p.3) as reflected in this next truth claim:

Truth Claim 5

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because there is a crisis of identity in the SCC, with ambiguity between its role as a generic youth provider and that of a quasi-military organisation, meaning cadets cannot always guarantee what service they will receive.

At this point I refer again to the model where part of the huge funding allocated to NCS is redirected to the SCC. If each unit, for example, had a full-time trained member of staff, it could be possible that both the youth centre model with a nautical theme, and the military styled training ethos is accommodated. Parade nights are usually restricted to two nights per week and in many units only one, owing to volunteer availability. If each unit had access to one full time member of staff, then the nautically inspired youth club model could run as currently is the case, with those, and only those, wishing to pursue a more military styled training curriculum

attending on a separate parade night, facilitated by the paid member of staff, ensuring that exposure to even a quasi-military ethos, is optional, and only experienced by those wishing to do so. Such a major change to the operating model would of course be a significant undertaking, and the concept is returned to in Chapter 9.

The final, and significant, issue I explored related to Bourdieu's 'field' was that of unit volunteer strength. The cadet-experience as designed requires a minimum level of volunteer numbers, nationally, regionally and at a local unit level. However, as I saw it, the cadet-experience as delivered had to settle for far fewer volunteers, significantly impacting not only the quality of provision, but at times, the ability to provide at all. This concern appears to be reflected nationally with over half of all volunteers stating that their own unit does not have sufficient volunteers to effectively operate every night, and over one third of volunteers stating that their own unit is short staffed at least 'often.' Indeed, with almost two thirds of those who state that their own cadet unit cannot expand cadet numbers citing lack of volunteers, it is clearly a further potential driver of differences in the cadet-experience as expressed here:

Truth Claim 6

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because there are not enough volunteers, leaving units short staffed, unable to deliver adequate training opportunities.

The implications of volunteer shortages and the patterns of these shortages are stark. In general, CFAV shortfalls have implications for health and safety. Cadet units have little control over how many cadets will attend on any given parade night. If the unit is short staffed, and significant cadet numbers attend, units can easily fall short of minimum staff to cadet ratios, forcing cadets to be sent home. Even if minimum ratios are met, the quality of training suffers. Groups are amalgamated and training usually falls back on tried and tested methods of managing large groups such as drill, or seamanship[22], which cadets get bored of quite quickly. If this is a regular occurrence, and over one third of volunteers say that it is, then cadets get fed up with repeating the same things, lose interest and leave the corps. There are further implications here. As a result of volunteer shortages unit leaders are forced to accept volunteers who may not have the skills required to adequately manage and train young people. Indeed, I make a controversial claim at this point. Many units are so short staffed that a significant minority of the volunteers they accept are short of the required standard and could not hope to hold down a similar paid position in industry yet, they are accepted on the basis that almost any

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[22] Ropes, knots etc…

volunteer is better than no volunteer. I argue that this is where the difference between the cadet-experience as delivered falls furthest from the cadet-experience as designed. The SCC have worked hard to design a first-rate training programme that if delivered well would be commensurate in standard to that which young people receive at school in terms of preparation for adult life, albeit for just a few hours per week. Indeed, these two open responses, although against the principle, reflect the school-type nature of the curriculum:

"I feel the training now in place is too much like school and contributes to cadet numbers declining."

An instructional volunteer from Southern Area

"It is difficult to deliver many elements of the current Cadet Training Programme without the cadets feeling that they are back at school."

A support volunteer from London Area

The problem is, I argue, that the SCC has designed a modern training programme, commensurate to that provided by paid professionals in schools but the SCC, largely, do not have sufficient volunteers with professional/managerial capabilities, qualifications, or experience to manage and deliver these programmes. Despite Low *et al.,* (2007) showing that those in senior workplace positions are more likely to volunteer than those in lower positions, only 35.1% of instructional volunteers in the SCC have managerial or professional backgrounds. I do not feel that this is enough. The days of volunteers in youth environments being there simply to set up the snooker table and manage behaviour are long gone. Indeed, Sea Cadet volunteers, even junior ones, have responsibilities commensurate with any other professional 'employment' position. Risk assessments, safeguarding, formal communications with parents, organising trips, managing finances, maintaining digital management systems, adhering to charity regulations, dealing with professional bodies, teaching to a syllabus, managing differentiation issues, maintaining professional standards of behaviour, maintaining training records etc., all require competencies and personal characteristics that many volunteers struggle with, leading to this next truth claim:

Truth Claim 7

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because the professional training programme as designed, is not matched by enough volunteers skilled enough to deliver it.

Once again, the simplest solution here would be to have a small core of professional paid employees, managing the training that takes place, supporting less qualified volunteers to

deliver what they are able to, and, importantly, preventing them from having to deliver training beyond their means.

Clearly, this has now become a significant suggested solution to the issues already outlined. With 78% of CFAVs working elsewhere, I believe that more would stay for longer, and more potential CFAVs would join if they were confident that they could leave work, go home, have dinner, get changed and turn up at their local unit in the knowledge that the paid staff member had the facilities and equipment ready, and a lesson prepared and ready to deliver. If volunteering could be compartmentalised in such a fashion, volunteering becomes just that. This would not prevent career-volunteers (Stebbins, 2001a) getting more involved at their own discretion, but would help other volunteers cope with the enhanced demands of volunteering in the SCC, compared to third sector norms. Finances are of course extremely tight within the entire third sector, and the SCC is no exception. However, this model would be a fraction of the cost of the local authority provision that is being run down, and that of NCS, whilst maintaining some of the professional expertise required for success. Indeed, a single paid member of staff could manage two[23] or even three/four[24] cadet units in most cases, meaning as little as 100 employees, fewer paid staff than in a single large secondary school, could revolutionise the entire national SCC.

This research shows that there is no geographical significance to these findings. Being short staffed is common in sea cadet units across the UK. This contradicts national third sector data where the NCVO (2019) suggest significant differences in volunteering numbers between different UK regions. I argue that this is proof that the problem is structural to the SCC 'field.' Crothers (1996) said that the best way to examine structures is to vary the individuals involved to see if outcomes change. I argue that this philosophy can be applied here. I have varied the SCC areas, and by definition those involved in recruitment, and those potential recruits, without seeing change in volunteer shortages, strongly suggesting that the structural 'field' issues of the SCC must be a driving factor behind volunteer shortages, and not the fault of cadet leaders' recruitment failings in different areas. This provides further confidence that the current SCC model needs to be revised to something similar to that proposed above, where 'enablers' are used to create a more homogenous cadet-experience.

Although there are no geographical patterns regarding volunteer shortages, there is a pattern regarding deprivation. The data shows that Sea Cadet units are sited disproportionally in areas

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[23] Based on two parade nights per week for two cadet units, and one weekend per month for each unit.

[24] Based on dividing time between units on parade nights only, and leaving the volunteers to cover weekends, when many have more free time.

of deprivation and the data confirms that these units, as with the national third sector picture, are statistically more likely than expected to suffer from recruitment problems. The barriers to volunteering in deprived areas are well documented (Hurley, *et al.,* 2008; Southby & South, 2016; Evans, 2019), with only 14% of people in deprived areas volunteering regularly compared to 29% in the least deprived areas (NCVO, 2020). Indeed, the NCVO claim that the difference is even greater for the type of formal volunteering associated with the SCC (ibid). This claim is supported by clear statistics showing that these Sea Cadet units located in deprived areas are statistically less likely to attract volunteers of professional or managerial experience, further exasperating the problems outlined above, creating this next truth claim:

Truth Claim 8

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because units in deprived locations struggle to recruit volunteers in general and also those with professional or managerial experience, restricting the capacity of units to run effectively.

This speaks to the problem highlighted by Putnam (1993) where he describes the vertically aligned 'subjects' less likely to take part in activities that generate social capital. The data above showing that SCC units are disproportionally situated in areas of greatest deprivation illustrate that volunteering issues are structurally inbuilt to the SCC model for this reason. The solution to this dilemma may well be paid recruitment staff streamlining the recruitment process as discussed above. This same process can be used to create a national and regional recruitment strategy where potential volunteers are targeted where there is need, such as cadet units in deprived locations. A volunteer, with accountancy skills, for example, could be directed towards a unit in need of a treasurer, or a volunteer with experience and qualifications in kayaking could be directed to a unit without a paddle sports instructor. The small number of 'development workers' who try to assist with such policies have failed to deliver. As such, I suggest that only a properly funded national strategy, accounting again for path dependency, will succeed here.

The major surprise here is that shortages are also found in those units located in more affluent areas which is both statistically highly significant and at the same time complexing. The reason for this appears in part related to the least deprived areas being statistically more likely to be in rural locations. These rural SCC units appear to suffer from a different set of recruitment problems as the following examples from the open responses illustrate:

"Due to our rural location, finding dedicated volunteers for both UMT and instructional roles has been a massive issue for a number of years. This puts a huge amount of pressure on our existing volunteers to the point it affects their enjoyment, and many stay more out of pressure to keep the Unit going, than out of free choice, which is obviously a worrying situation to be in."

1st Lt from Southwest Area with 18 years' service

"Our Unit is adversely affected by our great distance from any other Unit."

Civilian Instructor from Southwest Area with 3 years' service

Furthermore, I hypothesise the following: Sea Cadet units in more affluent areas do not fully benefit from the increased number of volunteers typically found in higher socio-economic groups, not because these groups are not volunteering, but because they are volunteering elsewhere. Previous UCF research has been less clear regarding the Sea Cadets but has shown a clear difference between the socio-economic circumstances of volunteers in the Air Cadets compared to the Army Cadets, where higher socio-economic groups are more likely to volunteer with the Air Cadets. I suggest that we are seeing a similar pattern here, where those potential volunteers in areas with more people of higher socio-economic status are less likely to choose the SCC, preferring perhaps the Air Cadets or, perhaps more likely, other groups outside of the UCFs. This leads to the final truth claim of this chapter:

Truth Claim 9

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because units in more affluent locations struggle to attract volunteers, restricting the capacity of those units to deliver a full training programme.

Clearly more research is required to confirm this element of what we see here. However, there is evidence of socio-economic bias towards youth recruitment into the regular forces that may help our understanding of what is happening. Headlines such as "British army is targeting working-class young people" (Morris, 2017), or figures showing that army recruitment is well over 50% higher in the highest 20% of deprived areas compared to the least deprived 20% for 16-17-year-olds (CRIN, 2019) suggest that there is a socio-economic bias regarding recruitment to military organisations. It does not seem too much of a stretch of imagination to assume similar socio-economic bias is seen in SCC recruitment, and the personal experiences of this civilian instructor from Northern Area seems to confirm this:

"It certainly is worth thinking about the type of members the SCC attracts. It is often unacknowledged that the Sea Cadets is a very working-class organisation, with working class values (which should be celebrated), compared to say the Scouts which I was a member of as a kid, which on reflection was much more middle class."

The SCC is faced with a dilemma here. On one hand, they could target mid-level socio-economic areas for siting cadet units to take advantage of potential higher volunteer numbers. Alternatively, I argue more success could be derived from targeting recruitment campaigns specifically in the least deprived areas, perhaps highlighting the generic youth training nature of the modern SCC, associated in the public eye with competitors such as the Air Cadets and Scouts. Activities such as DoE, NCS, flying, community involvement and international visits are all likely to appeal to a higher socio-economic group. However, it is not lost on this research that the availability and quality of such 'big ticket' provision that would appeal to higher socio-economic groups is what much of this thesis is questioning. As such, this recommendation could not be taken in isolation without implementing the other suggestions in this chapter and beyond.

6.5 Empirical Results Analysis Summary

The results presented in this chapter relate to Bourdieu's 'field' construct, in the form of the institutional norms and procedures of the SCC itself, and how these might impact on the cadet-experience in a fashion unreported elsewhere. I have presented evidence that there are nine 'field' related causes, characterised as 'truth claims' **(TC)** for the cadet-experience as designed differing from that delivered.

I claim that the nature of the recruitment process is flawed as volunteers very often do not have the time to recruit other volunteers **(TC1)**, which inevitably leads to shortages, which in turn leads to a reduction in the quality of the cadet-experience at some units, suggesting that central control over recruitment is required to address this problem. I then suggest that there are emerging concerns regarding a disconnect between individual volunteers / local units and the national SCC **(TC2)**, where this disconnect reduces the capacity of the SCC to operate in the way it is designed, reserving further analysis of this issue until further chapters where it appears again. I move on to state that the standard of the facilities (**TC3)** at individual cadet units, including their location, are not homogenous across the SCC, meaning the cadet-experience is again not consistent. I show how units in poor locations attract fewer cadets, and units with poor facilities report an inferior cadet-experience at their own unit. I suggest that as the solution to these problems is the responsibility of already over-stretched volunteers, many problems go unresolved.

The analysis also considers the designed institutional system, in which instructional staff are separate to support staff, yet reliant upon them. I explain how this creates conflict **(TC4)** in many units that reduces the effectiveness of that unit, again reducing the quality of the cadet-

experience locally. I explore the concept of a central control being exercised of cadet facilities to provide a minimum baseline of services, utilising volunteers to 'add value,' as appropriate, yet avoiding situations where cadet units could fail entirely because volunteers do not have the spare time to supply adequate facilities. Also, despite a top-down initiative from the SCC executive over a number of years, there is still a small cohort of volunteers who disagree with the move away from the military roots of the corps **(TC5)**. Consequently, the cadet-experience at individual units cannot be considered homogenous as different groups of CFAVs will place greater or lesser emphasis on the activities that they feel are appropriate. I suggest that a broadening of recruitment to attract volunteers who have not come through the cadet or military system will help with this, explaining that more on this point is to follow in Chapter 7.

A major finding from this research is that volunteer shortages **(TC6)** are a problem in over half of cadet units. This reduces the quality of provision, and the range of activities available, which can lead to cadets leaving the corps. I propose, perhaps controversially, that this shortage of staff becomes a fundamental problem for unit leaders, ultimately leading to the recruitment of volunteers with fewer relevant qualifications, less experience, and even those unsuited to the role, on the basis that any volunteer is better than no volunteer. This, I argue, makes improvement in the cadet-experience difficult as it does not matter how good the designed development programme is if large proportions of the volunteers do not have the skills to adequately deliver it **(TC7)**.

The chapter acknowledges that there are no geographical patterns of where these CFAV shortages are, however, I analyse a strong relationship between deprivation and volunteer shortages. In areas of mid-range deprivation fewer units than one would expect report shortages, however, areas of both high **(TC8)** and low **(TC9)** deprivation report volunteer shortages in higher numbers. I illustrate how areas of high deprivation simply reflect the national picture of volunteering in challenging socio-economic environments, with more barriers to volunteering in general and fewer managers/professionals volunteering. Shortages in more affluent areas appear to be related to their predominantly rural locations and the differing nature of volunteering in higher socio-economic groups, where perceived 'middle-class' activities are more likely to be preferred. I suggest that the management of these shortages cannot be achieved using the current system, where local volunteers are responsible for recruitment on a unit-by-unit basis. Rather, national policies, able to recognise and adapt to macro deprivation trends are required.

The most critical point arising in this chapter, however, has been the emergence of a central theme regarding how to best tackle these issues. Although one or two areas discussed above are

not yet fully understood, and will be explored more in later chapters, the majority of issues highlighted in this chapter have been suggested to have a single solution. It is argued that having a full-time paid employee, 'enabling' volunteering best practice at each unit, will solve many of the problems that prevent the cadet-experience as delivered falling short of that which is designed. Furthermore, it is suggested that utilising some of the finances currently diverted to NCS will stifle the concerns of those opposed to increases in central government expenditure, as the SCC can deliver what NCS is designed to deliver for a fraction of the cost.

Chapter 7: Empirical Results Relating to Bourdieu's 'Habitus' Construct

7.1 Introduction

I highlighted in Chapter 4 that habitus describes the way group culture shapes social actions (Lizardo, 2004). Specifically in relation to this research, habitus describes how the "rules of the social game" (DiGiorgio, 2009, p.187) dictate actions. In this chapter I present results that explore the way in which volunteers in the Sea Cadets are required to adhere to these SCC social rules and how their subsequent actions impact on the cadet-experience. I consider the social rules driving the number of hours per month volunteers are required to provide to the SCC, and how this might impact the quality of the volunteer-experience. The focus of this chapter then switches to how the rules of the social game in the SCC can create stress, pressure, or anxiety amongst CFAVs, as well as the negative implications of volunteering for other areas of one's life. I complete the results section of this chapter by exploring the triggers for leaving the SCC, and how the cadet-experience can be impacted if volunteers stay in post even after the rewards of volunteering no longer outweigh the costs. Having presented the results of the SCVS that relate to habitus, I then offer a detailed analysis of how habitus, in the form of group culture, impacts volunteering habits, and how these impact the cadet-experience. I analyse how this helps explain both deficiencies and variations in the cadet-experience, suggesting what the SCC could do to address these issues. Also, having dedicated much of the analysis in Chapter 6 to the role full-time paid volunteer-enablers in cadet units could play, much of the analysis in this chapter highlights further examples of where and how such a model would be beneficial.

To this end the ensuing chapter aims to address the following research sub-question:

Research Sub-Question Two

To what extent do the 'rules of the social game' as expressed in Bourdieu's 'habitus' construct help us understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

7.2 The 'Rules of the Social Game'

7.2.1 Context

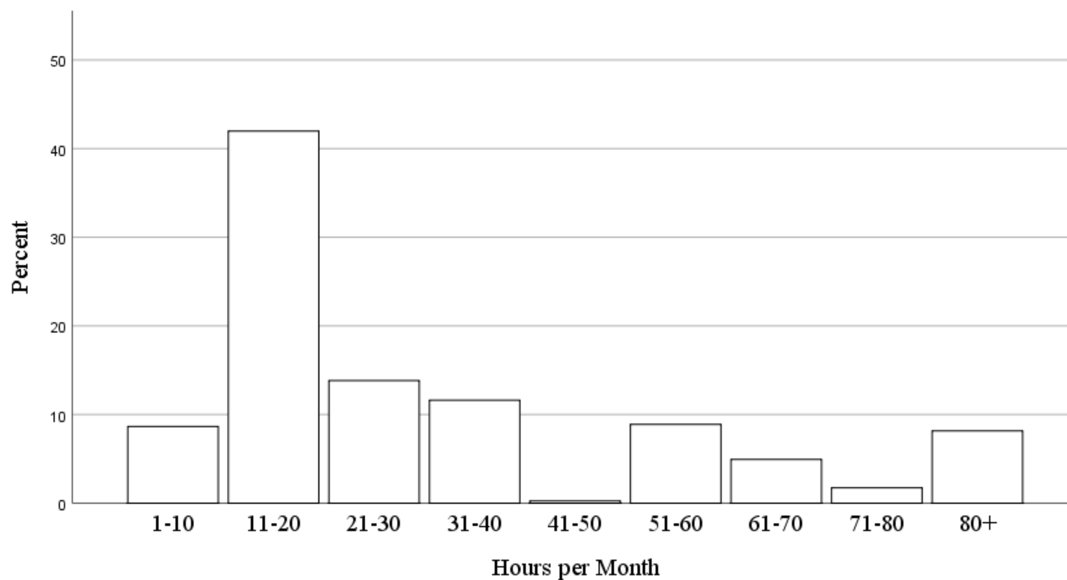
Typical long-term volunteering in the third sector is classed by Paine *et al*., (2010) as being around 8-12 hours per month commitment. These volunteers are considered to be the most dedicated type of volunteer found in the third sector. I wanted to explore how SCC volunteer commitments compare to this? My own personal experiences suggest CFAVs are required to

commit hours significantly above this figure, so I was keen to see if this is reflected nationally and whether there are any implications for the cadet-experience if it is.

7.2.2 Volunteering Hours per Month

Figure 7.1 illustrates that 91.4% (n=370) of SCC staff volunteer [47,O] for over 10 hours per month, with almost 50% (n=200) volunteering over 20 hours per month, and almost 25% (n=96) committing to over 50 hours per month.

Figure 7.1 Hours of Volunteering per Month



Beyond the simple frequency data, I thought it prudent to see if there are any patterns illustrating which volunteers are driving these high volunteering hours. Specifically, I am interested in finding evidence, or lack thereof, of what (Hornung *et al.,* 2017, p.25) called the 'primary core' of volunteers that account for most of the volunteering that takes place in the third sector. From my own experience the most obvious relationship to discover is that of senior volunteers. I wanted to know if instructional staff of commanding officer position or above were working substantially more hours than more junior volunteers, to the point of jeopardising the smooth running of their own unit. As such, I conducted a Chi square test of independence which confirmed ($x^2(1, n=350) = 35.509$, $p=<.001$) a significant relationship between the variables. Those of commanding officer position and above [8*,Du] would be expected (n=19) to volunteer for over 60 hours per month in fewer numbers than observed (n=38), whilst those below commanding officer positions are observed to volunteer (n=215) below 60 hours per

month in higher numbers than would be expected (n=196). This is confirmed with data showing that senior volunteers average in the 41-50 hours per month category, whilst the more junior volunteers average 21-30 hours per month. Upon further analysis there are no more statistically significant relationships between either: deprivation [10b*,O] ($x^2(2, n=358) = 1.985, p=.371$), unit volunteer strength [36,Di] ($x^2(1, n=401) = .089, p=.766$), occupation [12b*,Du][25] ($x^2(1, n=283) = .456$ $p=.500$), employment [12.1*,Du][26] ($x^2(1, n=386) = .371, p=.542$), education [13*,Du][27] ($x^2(1, n=403) = .648, p=.421$), or age [4,O] ($x^2(5, n=402) = 4.821, p=.438$) and those volunteering over 60 hours [47*,Du] per month. This data strongly suggests that although CFAVs across the SCC commit on average to a significant number of hours in comparison to national third sector volunteering figures, there is a further group of volunteers in senior positions who take this commitment to a level that amounts to the equivalent of part-time employment. It was shown earlier that the 'primary core' of volunteers across the broader third sector contribute over 50% of all volunteering hours despite making up less than 10% of all volunteers (Hornung *et al.,* 2017, p.25). The concern is whether a significant percentage of SCC volunteers are *required* to commit at an intensity beyond even this 'primary core' in order to run a cadet unit effectively, and the impact on the cadet-experience if a unit does not contain volunteers in a position to volunteer to such intensities.

7.2.3 Years Volunteers Remain in Post

With such suspicion that the rules of the social game, within the SCC, require volunteers to commit to a significant number of hours per month, over and above third sector norms, I was interested in what the pattern looks like for the number of years volunteers remain in post. With only 7% of volunteers across the third sector (NCVO, 2020) being heavily engaged over extended years, it seemed prudent to consider if the pressures of extended volunteering hours week-in, week-out with the SCC, impacted on how many years volunteers were able to stay with the corps, as a lack of experienced volunteers would inevitably reduce the quality of the cadet-experience. The mean number of years volunteers remain with the SCC [5,I] is 10.02, with a median of 6.0 years. This suggests that many CFAVs remain in post for extended periods despite the requirement of long hours as seen above. What it also suggests, and Figure 7.2 confirms, is that there must be a number of outliers that increase the mean.

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[25] All other occupations / Managers & Professionals
[26] Not working / Working
[27] Non-graduate / Graduate

Figure 7.2 illustrates that the range of the upper quartile is larger than the interquartile range and lowest quartile combined, with the range of outliers being as large again, highlighting that there are a large number of volunteers remaining in post significantly longer than the mean number of years. So, yes, the average number of years volunteers in the SCC have been in post is significantly higher than that of third sector norms, suggesting greater commitment, but this is not the big story here.

There is a significant element of SCC volunteers who manage to commit to their volunteering for a substantial period of their lives despite the high commitment required. Clearly, discovering who these volunteers are is important in understanding what impact this has on them and the cadet-experience as a whole.

Figure 7.2 – Years' Volunteering

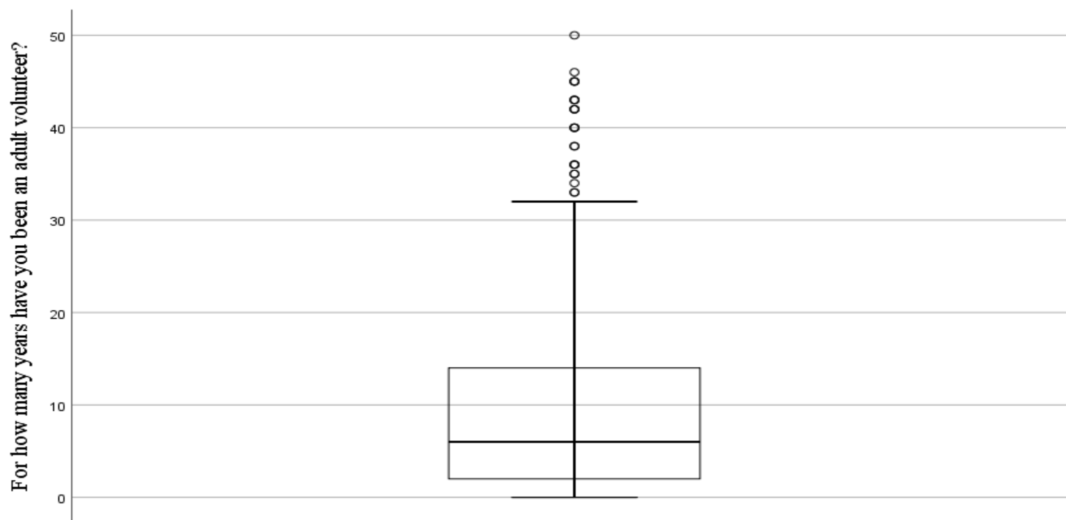
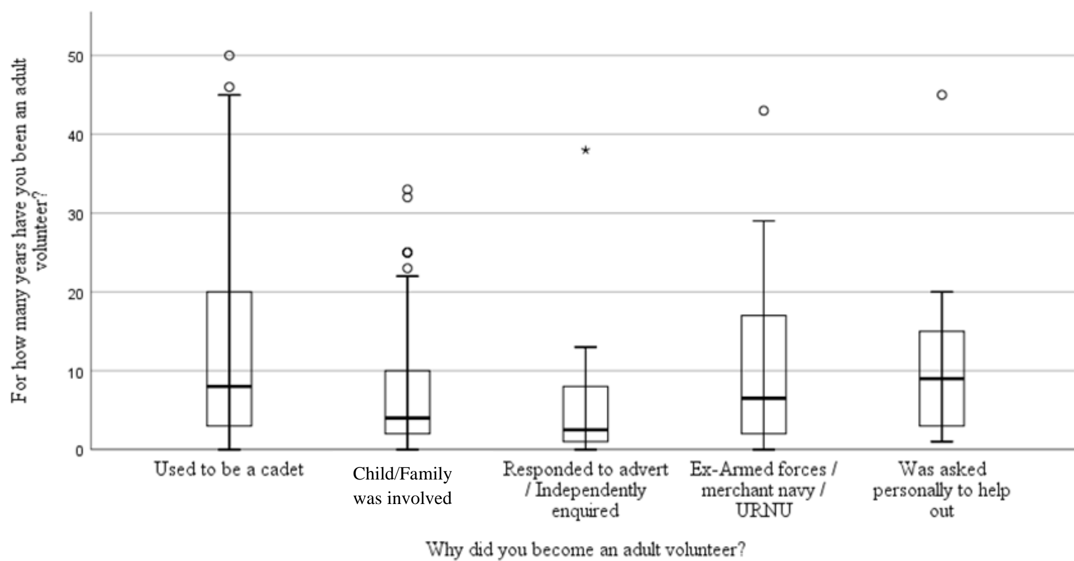


Figure 7.3 below, breaking down reasons why people become volunteers [16,N], illustrates this succinctly. Those volunteers who joined because they used to be a cadet (n=197) remain in post for an average of 12.75 years [5,I], with those asked personally to help out (n=10) by existing volunteers at 12.20 years and those who are ex-forces (n=34) averaging 11.06 years. In contrast the remaining two avenues for becoming a volunteer remain in post for a substantially shorter period. Those who joined because a child or family member was involved (n=125) average 6.86 years, and those who independently approached the cadet unit (n=38) to offer themselves as a volunteer average only 4.95 years' service. What transpires is a two-tier system of those with pre-existing links to the SCC or armed forces forming a 'military' recruitment route, and volunteering for significantly longer than those in the groups who joined via a 'civilian' route.

Figure 7.3 Years Volunteering Against the Reason People Become Volunteers



In conducting an ANOVA test there is a statistically significant *(F(*1, 404) =32.632, p=<.001) relationship between the 'military' group and 'civilian' group, with those from the 'military' group volunteering for an average of 12.49 years and the 'civilian' group averaging 6.41 years' volunteering. In continued pursuit of volunteer patterns I then looked for further evidence of who the outliers are. Using a Chi square test of independence testing those with equal to or greater than 30 years' service, [5*,Du] I found a statistically significant relationship (x^2(4, n=398) = 18.559, p=.001), where ex-cadets make up 91 percent of all CFAVs who have volunteered for 30 years or more.

Further to this, there is a pattern within those ex-cadets. In conducting an ANOVA test, those ex-cadets who were the most senior ranks[28] [9b*,Du] are statistically likely *(F(*1, 226) =285.051, p=<.001) to volunteer for many more years (14.24y) than those ex-cadets of more junior rank (6.00y). What these data suggests is that although there are some routes into volunteering within the SCC where recruits do not stay as long, there are large groups of volunteers, particularly ex-cadets, for whom workload or other issues do not appear to impact the length of their volunteering. In addition, we then see that the longest serving senior members of the SCC are taken from a tiny percentage of the UK population; not only largely restricted to ex-cadets, but those small number of ex-cadets who had risen to very senior cadet rates. Clearly, the quality of the cadet-experience is dependent on the SCC retaining experienced volunteers, however, if a huge percentage of those volunteers retained for prolonged periods

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[28] Leading Cadet or Petty Officer Cadet

come from an extremely limited recruitment avenue, overall recruitment rates are always likely to struggle.

7.3 Impact of Being Committed to the 'Rules of the Social Game.'

7.3.1 Introduction

The results above strongly suggest that the SCC 'rules of the game' require or encourage volunteers in general to volunteer with greater intensity than the third sector standard, and that there are groups within the corps that volunteer at a higher intensity still. However, these results cannot tell us whether this volunteering intensity comes without cost. Based on my own experience as a cadet leader, I am familiar with many of the day-to-day pressures CFAVs live with because of their volunteering. Before analysing any of the quantitative data I can highlight how other volunteers have had similar experiences:

"The Sea Cadets are asking unit staff to do more and more. They seem to forget that most of us have full time jobs and families.

A S/Lt with 15 years' experience who is employed full time

"Unfortunately, I've had to step back from volunteering for the time being due to the stress/pressure of being on the UMT after approximately 3 years. There were so many demands made of the UMT members which proved incompatible if you work full time and have other family commitments…"

A support volunteer with 3 years' experience who is employed full time

"Relieve the pressure on our adults and the cadets will benefit."

A Lt Cdr with 36 years' service employed full time

"Too much pressure on staff to attend weekends. Some people work every, or every other weekend, and barely get to see their family."

A Petty Officer with 5 years' service employed full time

"There is a huge amount of responsibility resting on our shoulders."

A support volunteer with 12 years' experience who is retired

"Sea Cadets are making it harder and harder to run a unit, you feel they want teachers not volunteers, and that we should see it a career not a hobby, we do not work full time at the cadets but the more you put in the more they take."

A CPO with 25 years' experience who is employed full time

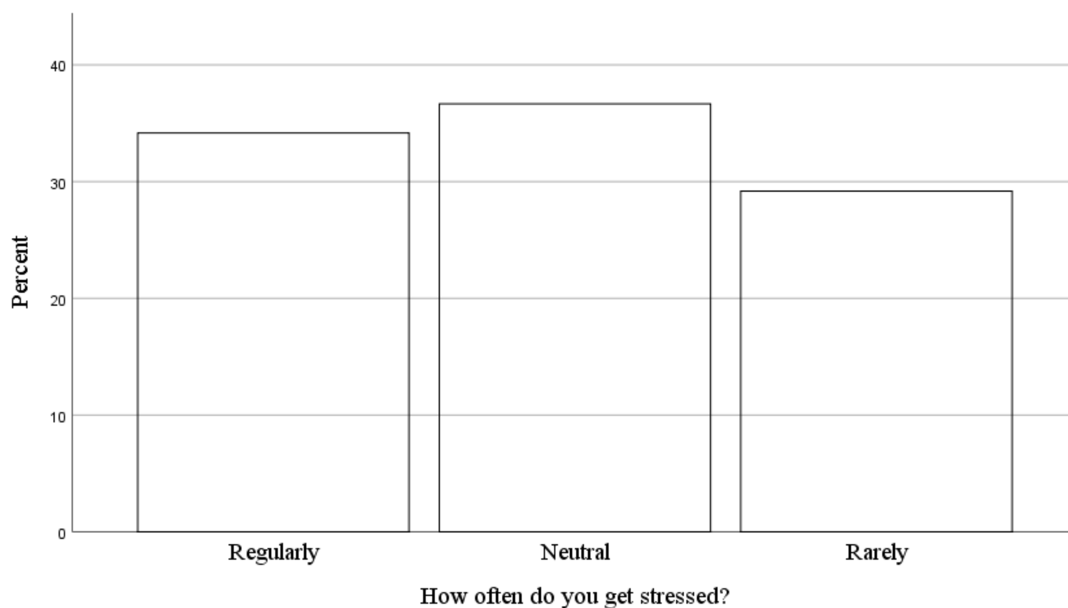
Confident that there are others within the SCC that had witnessed some of the difficulties associated with volunteering as I had witnessed myself, I sought to unpack these sentiments into quantifiable figures that could shed further light on the situation.

7.3.2 Stress, Pressure, or Anxiety of Volunteering in the SCC

The first question I asked was simple: 'On a scale of 1 (regularly) to 10 (not at all) does volunteering with the Sea Cadets [44,I] cause you stress, pressure, or anxiety?' The frequency data (M = 5.31, SD = 2.89) on its own tell us little. With exactly 10% (n=40) giving a score of

1 out of 10, highlighting significant stress, and exactly the same number for those scoring 10 out of 10, highlighting little or no stress, there is clearly a spread of responses. To understand this better I recoded scores of 1-3 as ‘regularly,’ 4-7 as ‘neutral,’ and 8-10 as ‘rarely.’ Figure 7.4 illustrates that this spread of responses remains, however, it also shows how over one third (n=137) of volunteers ‘regularly’ suffer from stress, pressure, or anxiety as a result of their volunteering, with the obvious implications that arise for their capacity to deliver an optimal cadet-experience.

Figure 7.4 Does Your Volunteering Cause You Stress, Pressure, or Anxiety?



Where the dataset becomes useful, therefore, is in uncovering relationships between this variable and volunteer sub-groups. As such, I produced a regression model (Figure 7.5) to test for variables that I believed could have a relationship. In line with the methods outlined in Chapter 5, I used a logistic regression model, meaning that the dependent needed to be transformed to a Dummy variable. The original variable had been on a continuous scale from 1-10, with participant responses giving a mean of 5.31. As a result, I split the variable [44*,Du] into equal halves, characterising higher stress (1-5) as 1 and lower stress (6-10) as 0. Model 2 proved to be a significant improvement in fit over the null model ($x^2(3, n=405) = 68.876$, $p = <.001$) predicting what variables influence how much stress, pressure, or anxiety volunteers face. The rules of parsimony were met having reduced model 2 to only 3 variables yet showing only a minor reduction in the overall model fit. Also, the assumptions of multicollinearity were not violated with the highest VIF of 1.075 amongst the three predictors. So, there were three

variables that proved to be significant predictors. The question 'how much time is taken up from volunteers' personal life' [17,O] is a highly significant predictor of feeling stress, where the change in odds for the dependent variable moving from 'less stress,' (0) to 'more stress' (1) is multiplied by .535 for each of the 5 Likert scale categories in the predictor. This means that as volunteers move from a feeling that they are volunteering 'a lot more than I would like to give,' (1) to 'a lot less than I could give,' (5) the probability that they will feel stressed drops by almost 50% in each of the 4 transitions, strongly suggesting that encroachment on personal life is a significant issue causing stress.

Figure 7.5 Regression Analysis: Stress Associated with Volunteering

	Bivariate analysis					Model 1					Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Time SCC takes up Life [17,O]	<.001	0.476	0.371	0.612	6	0.005	0.639	0.468	0.872	3	<.001	0.535	0.411	0.698
How often short staffed [36b,O]	<.001	0.617	0.504	0.756		0.002	0.693	0.550	0.875		0.001	0.683	0.549	0.85
National team / Isolated [34,I]	<.001	0.788	0.720	0.862		0.002	0.845	0.761	0.939		<.001	0.837	0.759	0.923
Cadet Issues [30a-d*,'I] 'total score'	0.001	0.899	0.845	0.956		0.176	0.931	0.838	1.033					
Percentage attendance [11,O]	0.023	1.194	1.025	1.391		0.779	1.041	0.785	1.380					
Highest position [8*,Du] CO and above / Below CO	0.026	1.169	1.065	2.684		0.580	0.823	0.413	1.640					
Employment allowances [12.d,Di]	0.210	0.703	0.405	1.220										
Marital status [15*,Du] Single / Not single	0.285	0.800	0.531	1.205										
Number of cadets at unit [37,O]	0.768	0.977	0.834	1.144										
Ex-Cadet? [9a,Di]	0.859	1.037	0.695	1.548										
Job title [12b*,Du] - Workers/Managers-professionals	0.893	1.007	0.908	1.117										
Hours Working per week [12c,O]	0.970	1.004	0.813	1.239										
						Nagelkerke r² = .22.6					Nagelkerke r² = .21.6			
Constant						0.244	0.212				0.174	0.377		
Model 2: Log likelyhood = 470.463	Observations		405			LR Chi²		68.876			Prob. Chi²		<.001	
Dependant variable: Stress, pressure & anxiety as a result of volunteering [44*,Du] Lower stress / Higher stress														

The second statistically significant predictor is that of how often units are short staffed [36b,O]. Moving through a 5-point Likert scale from units that are very often short staffed (1), towards almost never short staffed (5), the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by .683 for each of the categories in the Likert scale variable, meaning that volunteers in cadet units that are 'almost never' short staffed are far less likely to feel stress, pressure, or anxiety as a result of their volunteering. Finally, the variable for feeling part of a national team [34,I] was also found to be significant, where for each increase in 1, on a scale of 1-10, between feeling isolated (1) and part of a national team (10), the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by .837, increasing the probability that volunteers will feel less stressed the more they feel part of the national team.

One surprise from this regression model is that there is no significant relationship between those more senior volunteers of commanding officer level or above, and stress levels, despite several other metrics previously showing that this group take a greater proportion of the

workload than others. Indeed, the pressures placed on senior volunteers crops up regularly in the open responses:

"I do think that there is a lot of pressure applied from the district officer and other staff onto the commanding officer. The SCC forgets that this is a volunteer position not a permanent one."

Instructional staff below command position

"…Commanding officers are often asked to do things that are very time consuming and stressful."

Instructional staff in a command position

"…When I was a cadet you had commanding officers in place for years. Now it feels like it is for only a few years. There is so much paperwork to do people can only cope for a short time."

Instructional staff below command position

"If I had known what the commanding officer's job fully entailed, then I would not have taken it…"

Instructional staff in a command position

In conducting a simple ANOVA test there is in fact a statistically significant relationship between those of commanding officer level or higher [8*,Du] suffering more from stress. With that scale of 1 being 'regularly' and 10 'not at all,' these senior volunteers record a statistically significant difference ($F(1, 346) = 11.303$, $p = .001$), with a mean of 4.49, compared to more junior volunteers reporting a mean of 5.59. So more senior volunteers do report more stress than junior volunteers, but the model suggests that this is being driven by one or more other variables. On conducting a Spearman's rank correlation between those of junior/senior position against the amount of time that Sea Cadet activities take from your life, [17,O] there is a moderate, highly significant negative correlation, ($r_s(349) =.360$, $p<.001$) where those of commanding officer position or higher report in lower numbers that their volunteering takes up less time than they could give. Therefore, the data suggests that being a senior volunteer, of commanding officer position or above, in and of itself is not what causes stress, rather, the time that is taken from one's personal life as a result of holding that position.

7.3.3 Impact of Volunteering

Clearly, by focusing on those volunteers most embedded into the SCC way of life I was more likely to find examples of greater impact on the individual of one's volunteering. As such, I sought those volunteers embarked on 'serious leisure' careers (Stebbins, 2007, p.5) to find what Lamont *et al*., (2014) describe as the uninterrupted adverse impacts of volunteering, that continue for the majority of one's volunteering 'career.' In search of the most dedicated volunteers, I used four proxy questions that indicate whether volunteers might fit into the category of intense volunteering that Dublin (1992) termed "central life interests." These four variables were 'years volunteered,' 'volunteering hours per month,' 'total SCC qualifications,'

and those in command positions or above. Years volunteered was an Interval variable [5,I] ranging from 1 to 50 years. Volunteer hours per month was a Dummy variable [47*,Du] designed to highlight those volunteering above and beyond 'standard' committed volunteering hours elsewhere usually considered to be around 8-12 hours per month. As such, this variable separates those volunteering above 20 hours per month and all others. The mean number of SCC qualifications held per volunteer is 3, so the variable for qualifications [19-21*,Du] distinguishes between those who have 3 or more qualifications and all others. Finally, volunteers at CO level and above [8*,Du] requires significant commitment, therefore, this variable distinguishes between those of CO level and above against all others. To seek evidence of impact in these I analysed them against the variable on how volunteering has negatively impacted progress in other areas of volunteers' lives [46,I].

As above, I felt it prudent to test if any of these data were being driven by other variables in a regression model (Figure 7.6). Once again utilising binary logistic regression, the dependent variable was recoded to those expressing negative impacts of their volunteering on other areas of their life (0) and those suggesting their volunteering has had neutral or positive impacts (1). The independent variables proved not to be correlated, with the highest VIF of 1.252 amongst all four predictors, meaning that I can confirm that the predictor variables did not violate the assumption of multicollinearity. Model 1 was proven to be a significant improvement in fit over the null model ($x^2(4, n=405) = 26.762, p=<.001$), where 'hours volunteering per month' proved to be a statistically significant predictor on the dependent variable. When 'hours volunteering' increase from below 20 hours per month to 20 hours or greater, the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by .350, reducing the probability of volunteers feeling that their volunteering has impacted positively on their ability to progress in other areas of their life.

Figure 7.6 Regression Analysis: Impact of Volunteering on Life

	Bivariate Analysis					Model 1					Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Highest position: [8*,Du] - CO and Above / Below	<.001	0.376	0.217	0.652	4	0.244	0.685	0.363	1.295		Not required			
Volunteering Hours Per Month [47*,Du] =<20/20+	<.001	0.357	0.209	0.611		0.002	0.350	0.180	0.683					
Total Qualifications [19-21*,Du] =<3/3+ (Mean)	0.012	0.504	0.296	0.860		0.218	0.683	0.373	1.252					
Years Volunteering [5,I]	0.025	0.976	0.956	0.997		0.202	0.983	0.958	1.009					
						Nagelkerke r² = .120					Nagelkerke r²			
Constant						<.001	39.161				0.174	0.377		
Model 1: Log likelyhood = 308.790		Obsservations		405		LR Chi²		26.762			Prob. Chi²		<.001	
Dependant variable: Impact of volunteering on other areas of life [46*,Du] - Negative / Neutral or positive														

So, each of the 4 'proxy' variables I highlighted as potential indicators of Dublin's 'central life interests,' where statistically significant in bivariate analysis, however, when compared in

regression analysis, the number of hours volunteers commit per month seems to be the driver of all of these, and the driver of those feeling that their volunteering negatively impacts other areas of their lives.

One further impact of volunteering I was interested in exploring is what (Raisborough, 2006, p.252) coined 'chronological location.' What Raisborough meant by this is that for many volunteers, the rules of the social game in the SCC were part of their life before many other life events took place. As such, the Sea Cadets need to take preference above other elements of their life such as work and family. To test this, I decided to compare marital status [15*,Du][29] with a number of variables. If 'chronological location' does exist amongst CFAVs, no relationship should be found that drive differences between those who are single or non-single. Six Chi square tests of independence were conducted showing no relationship: 'hours volunteering per month' [47*,Du] ($x^2(1, n=403) = 1.127, p=.288$), 'progress in other areas of life' [46,I] ($x^2(4, n=402) = 4.973, p=.290$), 'remain out of obligation' [45,O] ($x^2(4, n=402) = 5.925, p=.205$), 'volunteering causes stress' [44,I] ($x^2(9, n=399) = .7.529, p=.582$), 'amount of time Sea Cadets takes from life' [17,O] ($x^2(4, n=402) = .667, p=.955$), and 'percentage attendance' [11,O] ($x^2(4, n=391) = 5.506, p=.239$). This suggests that Raisborough is correct that Sea Cadet volunteers often put other life priorities behind their volunteering. However, the open responses add a strong element of caution to this assumption as chronological location, albeit common, is certainly not universal:

"Being an adult volunteer is incredibly tough, but my biggest challenge has been the transition from being a very active and strong commanding officer to that of being a mother, full time worker, alongside self-employment and continuing to give the same amount to my cadets. The corps is poor in supporting new mothers (and fathers) and the transitions and inevitable changes. I feel like being a mother and cutting my commitments slightly has led to me being overlooked for roles - there is a growing culture of "whose face fits" and if you're not giving 110% you aren't going to be moving on any time soon."

Female under 30 years of age, above commanding officer position

"This can feel sometimes frustrating as an individual who is passionate but can no longer commit as much as I wish to due to work."

Male under 30 years of age, above commanding officer position

"I have a huge love and respect for the Sea Cadets. However, as I mature with age, marry, have a child on the way, have residence out of my Sea Cadet town and work in the city, I find it increasingly challenging to attend as I used to when younger."

Male under 30 years of age, 1st Lt[30] position.

Clearly, the disconnect between the quantitative data and the open responses need further analysis to draw out what is driving this difference and I will come to this later.

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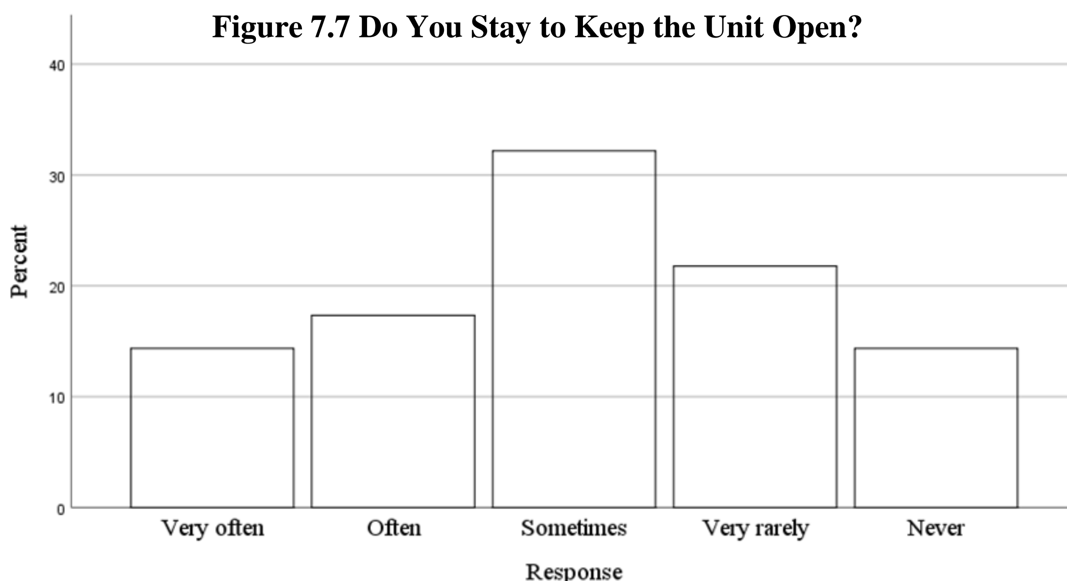
[29] Recoded to Single/Not single

[30] Second in command of a cadet unit

7.3.4 Habitus No Longer in Accordance with the Field

For Bourdieu, agents who have dropped out of harmony with the norms of their field (*nomos*) tend to have little success (*avant-garde*), no longer playing to the 'rules of the social game' (DiGiorgio, 2009, p.187), unless their own ideas become the accepted norm and they become the 'consecrated *avant-garde'* (Walther, 2014, p.15). In any voluntary organisation with thousands of personnel, the chances of changing the organisation to suit one's own views and becoming 'consecrated *avant-garde*' are slim to say the least. Yet, I have seen many volunteers in the '*avant-garde*,' with no illusions of becoming part of the 'consecrated *avant-garde*,' who continue to volunteer. This is reflected in the volunteer survey where almost 2/3 of volunteers at least 'sometimes' (n=258) report staying in post simply to keep their unit open, [45,O] with almost 1/3 (n=128) citing 'often' or 'very often' (Figure 7.7). What is more, there is no pattern of who these volunteers are. Whether it is units in deprived areas [10b*,O][31] ($x^2(8, n=357) = 7.934, p=.440$), those that are short staffed [36a,Du][32] ($x^2(4, n=397) = .873, p=.928$), whether volunteers are managers or workers [12b*,Du] ($x^2(4, n=349) = 1.230, p=.873$), experienced or inexperienced volunteers [5*,Du][33] ($x^2(4, n=360) = 2.305, p=.680$), instructional or support staff [6*,Du] ($x^2(4, n=401) = 3.919, p=.417$), working or not working [12a*,Du] ($x^2(4, n=385) = 2.047, p=.727$), or regardless of why they joined [16.1,N] ($x^2(16, n=403) = 11.219, p=.796$), remaining in post simply to keep the unit open is ubiquitous, in what Stebbins (2001b) called 'marginal volunteering,' as shown in Figure 7.7:

Figure 7.7 Do You Stay to Keep the Unit Open?



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[31] More affluent/Mid-level/More deprived
[32] More than rarely/Rarely/Less than rarely
[33] 1-10 years/11+ years

Evidence of this is also observed in the open responses:

"...Many stay more out of pressure to keep the unit going, than out of free choice..."

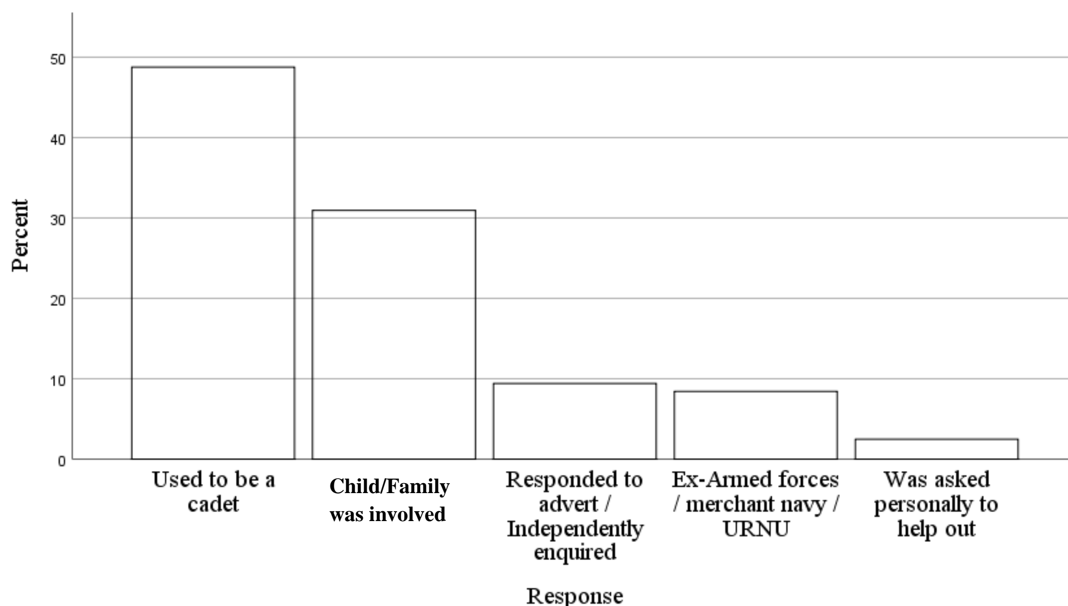
Instructional volunteer with 18 years' service scoring their own unit as 7/10

"…commanding officer position was not the plan, but became a necessity to keep the unit alive…"

Instructional volunteer with 5 years' service scoring their own unit as 8/10

So, volunteers no longer in harmony with the rules of the SCC social game, often feel compelled to remain in post, with the associated consequences for the cadet-experience delivered by volunteers who would like to leave but feel that they have to stay. This has implications regarding 'choice;' one of the four principles of volunteering (The Compact, 2009) which also include open to all, mutual benefit, and recognition. The concern here is whether the 'rules of the social game' have a particular twist within the SCC, where the four principles of volunteering disappear. As such, further consideration is needed. Whether entry into the SCC as a volunteer is 'open to all' is simple to answer in theory, but worth exploration in practice. Figure 7.8 below illustrates that almost half (n=197) of volunteers joined because they used to be a cadet [16,N]. Furthermore, 57.6% of volunteers (n=230) used to be a cadet, [9a,Di] regardless of reason for joining.

Figure 7.8 Why Did You Become an Adult Volunteer?



For instructional staff this figure jumps to 65% (n=188), and 74.9% (n=170) of those were either a Leading Cadet or Petty Officer Cadet, both rare cadet rates, meaning that almost 2/3 of all instructional staff (who are those volunteers cadets are exposed to) come from a tiny sub-

group of the population who were Sea Cadets as children, and almost 1/2 of all instructional staff come from a tiny sub-group of these, who rose to the highest cadet ranks.

There is some mention of this ‘closed shop’ within the open responses and I offer an example below:

“The recruiting of adult volunteers seems primarily geared to people who have been in Sea Cadets before….”

A male volunteer over age 60 who is not an ex-cadet

So, what we are seeing here is that although being a CFAV in the SCC is of course open to all, in practice, the rules of the social game within the SCC produce a situation where, instructional staff particularly, draw primarily from a tiny cohort of the wider population.

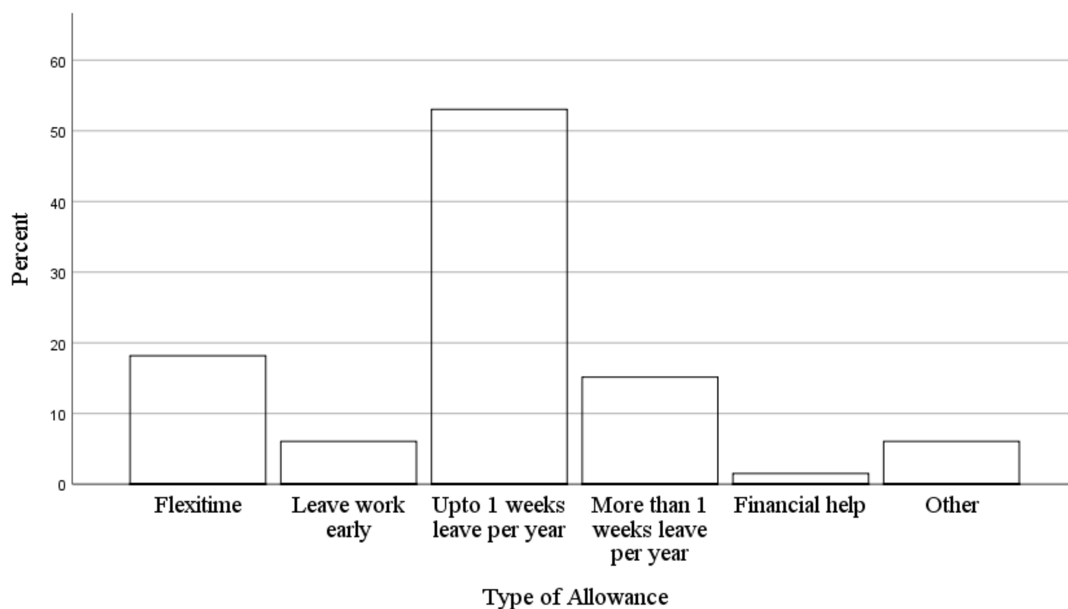
The third principle of volunteering is there being mutual benefit for the volunteer and the stakeholders from where the volunteering takes place. To test this, I used the volunteer survey to ask a series of four Likert scale questions on the benefits volunteers gain from being in the SCC and four on the benefits others gain. The questions on personal benefits [24,N] asked about self-confidence, self-worth, job prospects, and teamwork skills. The questions on benefits to others [25,N] asked about improvement to the community, improved childhood for cadets, help to parents and plugging gaps in depleted children’s services. Having converted the categorical data (4 questions scoring 1-4) from both sets of questions into two sets of Interval data (4-16) I was able to produce a Pearson *r* correlation ($r(394) = .407$, $p < .001$) which shows that there is a moderate, highly significant positive correlation, where those who believe that they gain benefits from their volunteering also believe that their volunteering benefits others.

So, I have shown that the third principle of volunteering is evidenced in the SCC. However, as with much of what I have reported above, there are variations within this dataset. Conducting a statistically significant ANOVA test ($F(4, 390) = 2.772$, $p = .027$), the data shows that those volunteers who are ex-cadets score the benefits of volunteering higher (16.26/20) than any other group, with those who joined because a family member was involved scoring the benefits at (15.35). Although only a small difference, the statistical significance of the model suggests that the difference is commonly found. Similar results are found when comparing benefits of volunteering against different metrics. A statistically significant ANOVA test ($F(9, 385) = 4.223$, $p = <.001$) found that volunteers scoring the quality of their own unit [43,I] higher, gain more benefits from volunteering than those in units with lower scores. Also, those feeling isolated [34,I] and not part of a national team ($F(9, 384) = 3.667$, $p = <.001$), and those who do not feel they get recognition [31,O] from the local community ($F(4, 388) = 4.565$, $p = .001$)

score the benefits of volunteering lower. These statistics confirm that the third principle of volunteering, is not present to the same extent across all CFAVs in the SCC.

The final principle of volunteering is that of recognition for the work a volunteer does. As such, I was interested in discovering if there is any evidence showing that CFAVs receive recognition or rewards for their service. Using 5-point Likert scale data [31,O], the results show only 36.9% (n=148) of volunteers reported that they get recognition for their volunteering at least 'often,' with 63.1% (n=256) reporting that they receive recognition at best 'sometimes,' and almost one in four (n=98) reporting rarely or less. Having managed a cadet unit, I can understand how important local government support can be in terms of financial and even political support for the services you provide. Using a similar Likert scale [41,O], only 3.5% (n=14) of volunteers report more than partial support from local government, with 51.9% (n=136) reporting no support at all. Perhaps of greater importance is the support and recognition volunteers gain from their employers, which can act as an enabling force for what they do, providing the opportunity and time for volunteers to provide a positive cadet-experience.

Figure 7.9 Employer Allowances



In this instance, 73.1% (n=193) of CFAVs report that they receive no support from their employer [12d,Di] at all. Those who do receive support do so in a number of ways as illustrated in Figure 7.9. We can see that just over 50% (n=35) of those reporting benefits from their employer receive up to 7 days paid leave per year, with the other benefits occurring in much smaller numbers. What we can take from this is that the 'recognition,' one gets for volunteering is by no means universal and that many volunteers will receive little to no recognition at all.

7.4 Factors that Influence the Retention of Volunteers

Stebbins (2011) suggests that there are a series of ten rewards serious leisure participants receive from their volunteering and that volunteers continue in post until these rewards no longer outdo costs. The ten rewards as explored in Chapter 3 are personal enrichment, self-actualisation, self-expression, self-image, self-gratification, recreation, financial return, social attraction, group accomplishment, and contribution to a group (Stebbins, 2011, p.243). I am interested in discovering if the 'rules of the social game' within the SCC apply to CFAVs in the same way as reported by Stebbins. To test this, I wanted to compare the external metrics that might impact on a CFAVs capacity to volunteer, such as home circumstances or working situation, as well as the self-reported positives of volunteering against the dependent variable [18*,Du] of all those who intend to leave the SCC within 12 months or are pressured to stay to keep the unit open. As the dependent was a Dummy variable, I once again ran a logistic regression model.

The model (Figure 7.10) proved to be a significant improvement in fit over the null model (x^2(3, n=405) = 35.364, p = <.001) predicting what variables influence which volunteers wish to leave the SCC within the next 12 months.

Figure 7.10 Regression Analysis: Intentions to Leave

	Bivariate Analysis					Model 1					Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
I am Happier [23a,I]	<.001	1.479	1.285	1.701	7	0.001	1.412	1.162	1.737	3	<.001	1.381	1.165	1.638
Improved social life [23b,I]	<.001	1.274	1.141	1.423		0.018	1.195	1.032	1.384		0.046	1.144	1.003	1.305
Healthier lifestyle [23f,I]	<.001	1.280	1.138	1.439		0.482	1.054	0.911	1.219					
Skillset improved [23d,I]	<.001	1.133	1.021	1.258		0.544	1.060	0.877	1.282					
Highest position [8*,Du] CO and above / Below CO	0.005	0.434	0.243	0.775		0.066	0.555	0.295	1.041		0.038	0.522	0.282	0.966
Sense of community [23e,I]	0.021	1.147	1.021	1.288		0.255	0.899	0.747	1.080					
Leadership skills improved [23c,I]	0.079	1.098	0.989	1.218		0.277	0.903	0.751	1.086					
Closer to other groups [23g,I]	0.137	1.078	0.976	1.189										
Marital status [15*,Du] Single / Not single	0.146	0.657	0.373	1.157										
Age [4,O]	0.295	0.911	0.766	1.084										
Employment status [12a*,Du] - Working/Not working	0.309	1.438	0.714	2.893										
Percentage attendence [11*,Du] <80% / => 80	0.318	1.310	0.771	2.225										
Reason Joined [16,Du] Cadet or military links/None	0.509	1.199	0.699	2.055										
Gender [3,Di]	0.718	0.905	0.528	1.553										
Hour's volunteering/month [47*,Du] <60 / =>60	0.826	0.882	0.290	2.685										
Instructional/Support Staff [6,Di]	0.868	0.945	0.486	1.838										
						Nagelkerke r² = .179					Nagelkerke r² =.167			
Constant						0.560	37.438				0.16	0.461		

Model 2: Log likelyhood = 267.344 | Obsservations 405 | LR Chi² 35.364 | Prob. Chi² <.001

Dependant variable: What are your intentions regarding future [18*,Du] - Plan to leave SCC in next 12 months or pressured to stay / No immediate plans to leave

Model 2 indicates that those volunteers who are happier and have a better social life [23,I] as a result of their volunteering are significant predictors of those who do not have any plans to leave. For every increase by 1 on a 10-point scale for 'volunteering makes me happier,' with the happiest being (10), the probability that volunteers will be in the 'no immediate intention to leave' category increases by 1.381 times, or 38.1%. Similarly, for every change in 1 on the scale of 'improved social life,' with the best social life being (10), the probability that volunteers will be in the 'no immediate intention to leave' category increases by 1.144 times, or 14.4%. This shows that two of the three drivers of volunteers wishing to stay in post are the benefits they gain from their volunteering, specifically, being made happier and gaining an improved social life. Clearly, such a revelation must impact the cadet-experience, as volunteer policies that do not take this into consideration will struggle to maintain volunteer numbers. Also, for the change from those below CO to those of CO and above [8*,Du] the probability that volunteers will be in the 'no immediate intention to leave' category is multiplied by 0.522, meaning that management level volunteers are almost 50% more likely to want to leave within 12 months. Again, with such management positions key to a voluntary service with few paid managers, it is an issue that will need addressing.

7.5 Empirical Results Analysis

The research sub-question I proposed at the beginning of this chapter asked:

To what extent do the 'rules of the social game' as expressed in Bourdieu's 'habitus' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

I begin to analyse the answers to this research question by considering what many would be surprised to associate with volunteering, namely, the stress, pressure, or anxiety volunteers suffer from because of their volunteering. The cadet-experience as designed requires CFAVs, first and foremost, to be available in numbers, but just as importantly, to be enthused by their volunteering and performing at their best. It follows that any volunteering-related barriers to this, reduces the likelihood of the cadet-experience as delivered matching that of the cadet-experience as designed. It is with concern, therefore, that a significant proportion of the open comments from the SCVS are related to the undue pressure and workload that being a CFAV entails. Indeed, these additional two quotes from volunteers sum this situation up well:

"There is little recognition of the impact volunteering has on people by the paid employees of the MSSC, who have limited experience in a volunteer setting themselves."

Male volunteer with 26 years' experience who is employed full time

"We are often treated as if we are full time employees rather than volunteers."

Male volunteer with 12 years' experience who is retired

With over one third of CFAVs reporting that their volunteering causes them 'regular' stress, pressure, or anxiety, it is clear that a significant minority of cadet units will, at any one time, have volunteers not performing at their best, or worse still, not attending. This is evidenced in the regression model seen in Figure 7.5. Volunteers in units that are short staffed are statistically more likely to suffer from high levels of stress. This of course then sets off a catch-22 situation. Volunteers are stressed by their volunteering, so they stop attending, as a result, the volunteers remaining, as confirmed by the regression model, get more stressed because their unit is short staffed. As such, with over one third of units being short staffed either often or very often (as shown in Chapter 6), there will be many cadet units where the stress, pressure, or anxiety faced by volunteers regularly causes the cadet-experience as delivered to drop below the minimum requirement of the cadet-experience as designed, leading to the first truth claim of this chapter:

Truth Claim 10

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because 1/3 of volunteers suffer regular stress owing to their volunteering, causing units to be short staffed, creating more pressure on volunteers, which reduces their capacity to operate effectively.

It is at this point that I begin to refer back to Chapter 6 and the suggestion of employing a single paid, full-time member of staff at each cadet unit. Such a post holder, as discussed earlier, would address this problem as the volunteering commitment is reduced, encouraging many more potential volunteers to join, and preventing existing volunteers from leaving. Whereas without such an initiative, it is difficult to see how volunteer shortages can ever be fully addressed.

There are other variables that are shown by the regression model seen in Figure 7.5 able to impact stress on a unit scale. Those volunteers who do not feel part of a national team also report suffering from stress more often. A picture is building regarding this issue. I highlighted in Chapter 6 that there appears to be a disconnect between many CFAVs who seem to be what I am terming 'situated-volunteers,' not necessarily enamoured by a national ethos or corps policies and procedures. Indeed, the disconnect between local units and national headquarters appear time and again in the open responses, and I provide 5 more examples here:

"The MSSC need to realise we are only affiliated to them as individual charities. If they want to bust our chops, tell us to do this, do that, then fund us properly…"

A commanding officer with 32 years' service

"There are times when it feels like headquarters don't listen to us and just go ahead without considering how units are going to manage it."

A training officer with 24 years' service

"Support from Area office could be better. Lack of trust."

A member of UMT with 4 years' service

"Not supported in our Area by business manager. Not much contact between Area paid staff and units to inform and support units. i.e., fundraising."

A member of UMT with 8 years' service

"We are often told this is ONLY our hobby and we are ONLY volunteers; however, we are the people that keep the headquarters teams in the particular job that they do, we are also the people on the ground level that have the qualifications and have to implement the changes that are often forced on us."

A commanding officer with 36 years' service

It appears here that the same volunteers who hold these kinds of sceptical views regarding the national management of the SCC are more likely to suffer from the stresses of volunteering. It is possible that those volunteers who buy in to being a Sea Cadet volunteer, rather than a situated-volunteer at a Sea Cadet unit could be more willing or more able to accept the stress, pressure, or anxiety that comes with the role. However, I suggest that it is more likely that these volunteers who feel less part of a national team, simply do not have the same support networks within the SCC as others. Herein lies a problem. I argue, and develop below, that there are barriers to the SCC 'establishment.' The 'networks of relationships' (Gretzinger *et al.,* 2010) that many units and individuals within those units take for granted are considerably more opaque for many volunteers, and even entire cadet units. If a unit with no members of the district 'establishment' are suffering from problems, calling on support networks can be very challenging, increasing the stress, pressure, or anxiety felt by volunteers. A final point on this topic requires consideration. Many units do not want to be part of a wider network. Being registered charities in their own right, especially those staffed with the situated-volunteers I mentioned above, significant numbers of cadet units are much happier to operate outside of the SCC structure as far as the rules will allow. It is of course units such as these that find themselves less able to call upon local networks when in difficulty. This sentiment is conveyed in a number of open responses:

"Sometimes it frustrates me at the lack of support from neighbouring units."

An instructional volunteer who is an ex-cadet

"Some units only bother with their own. More units need to get together and work as a district."

An instructional volunteer who is an ex-cadet

"There is very little co-operation between units on any aspect. There is often a feeling of its every unit for themselves."

A UMT member who is an ex-cadet

It has been my experience that sentiments such as these are common-place and not always for the same reasons. Some units will be dominated by situated-volunteers with little interest beyond helping out at their local 'youth centre,' whilst some will have had disagreements in the past that create a 'them and us,' mentality. Indeed, I am aware of cadet units in the same city that have not spoken to each other for decades because of historical disagreements. Those individuals involved in these disagreements are long gone, yet the animosity continues. This highlights a problem that I feel exists in the SCC. Individual charities, rooted in their local communities, are pre-disposed to foster an isolationist ethos. Afterall, the trustees of each unit are legally responsible for that charity, and with minimal national financial support, are reliant on the local community in which they reside, for financial backing as well as volunteers, confirming that the 'rules of the social game,' locally, are seen by many as more important than national policies, which leads to a further truth claim:

Truth Claim 11

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because of issues related to isolation. Many volunteers lack networks that could provide support that would improve the cadet-experience locally, or simply do not want closer ties, being, as they are, rooted in the local community.

As such, producing a homogenous cadet-experience across hundreds of situationally rooted cadet units becomes almost impossible, driving the emerging pattern of disconnect between many volunteers and the national SCC. Perhaps the only solution to this, would be for the national SCC to discontinue the charitable status of each unit and fund / support these units in a way that fosters a national identity, rather than a local one. If support networks within the SCC become sufficiently effective and robust to negate the need to rely on the good will of the local community then the disconnect between the individual unit and the national corps will largely disappear. However, this would of course come at a financial cost, meaning that a scenario similar to that in Chapter 6 is needed, where funding currently spent elsewhere, such as NCS, is diverted to the UCFs instead.

The final variable showing a statistically significant relationship with stress is that of those volunteers who feel their volunteering takes too much time from other areas of their life. This suggests that, at least for some CFAVs, the stresses of volunteering are not related to what happens when they are volunteering, rather, their inability to compartmentalise this away from their private lives. This is in congruence with the finding of Moreno-Jimenez & Hidalgo

Villodres (2010, p.1798), who reported that "the time dedicated to volunteering," is the significant driver of volunteer burnout, and that reducing burnout requires the number of hours per month spent volunteering to be limited (ibid). This rings true with my recollections of managing a cadet unit. Working at weekends, writing funding applications during holiday periods, responding to parental queries during evenings at home, answering emails whilst at work, attending weekend courses, travelling to regional centres for conferences, managing the building on nights additional to parade nights, are just examples of the demands placed on CFAVs in the SCC, and these are often not highlighted during the joining process as one volunteer confirms:

"Certainly not the limited commitment I was sold!!!!"

Female volunteer with 6 years' experience who is employed part-time

I suggest that this highly significant relationship as shown in Figure 7.5 is the most significant driver of volunteer stress and that any initiative to improve the cadet-experience by reducing stress on volunteers, will need to focus its efforts on reducing how volunteering impacts on other areas of volunteers' personal lives, as expressed in the next truth claim:

Truth Claim 12

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed owing to volunteer burnout, where volunteers are unable to separate their volunteering from other areas of their lives.

Once again, the paid volunteer-enabler can help here, incorporating many of the 'out of hours' tasks associated with SCC volunteering into her/his weekly workload. This argument is backed up further by the results of the logistic regression model seen in Figure 7.6. The only statistically significant relationship with 'impact on progress in other areas of your life,' is the number of hours volunteers commit per month. Cadet units are usually only open for about 4-5 hours per week, adding up to approximately 20 hours per month. However, this research has shown that almost half of all volunteers commit over 20 hours, almost one quarter over 40 hours, and almost 1 in 10 over 60 hours per month. So, by definition, this work must be done outside of usual parade nights, thus, taking time away from one's personal life and family time. Specifically, it is those volunteers of senior position, shown to average between 41-50 hours volunteering per month who are spending most time working away from the unit and regular parade nights, compared to the 21-30 hours per month observed for junior volunteers. However, in national third sector volunteering Paine *et al.,* (2010) suggest that long-term volunteering is

around only 8 hours per month, and committed volunteering only 12 hours per month, confirming these SCC senior volunteers as committing even beyond typical 'primary core' levels (Hornung *et al.,* 2017). This brings into question concerns regarding the *requirements* of being a senior volunteer in the SCC. If running a Sea Cadet unit *necessitates* volunteers to commit hours comparable to part-time work, then finding enough volunteers for these important roles is always likely to be a problem. This certainly reflects my own experiences. Part of my role as chair of trustees was to appoint the commanding officer of my own cadet unit each time one left the post. On each occasion this occurred I struggled to find anyone willing to take up the role, eventually appointing, on each occasion, the single candidate that came forward, despite concerns such as insufficient experience, complex work patterns elsewhere, and significant distance lived from the cadet unit. As it is these senior volunteers who have most impact on the cadet-experience, reducing the difference between the cadet-experience as delivered, compared to that as designed will need to specifically focus on the tasks that force these senior volunteers to spend time working beyond the normal parade night times. This sentiment is advocated by a senior long-serving volunteer:

"The challenges for commanding officers are far more demanding than they were 30 years ago. The paperwork is relentless and has become the master and not the servant. If the Corps is to exist in the future these and many other issues need addressing."

A commanding officer with 42 years' service

This concern for senior volunteers leads to the next truth claim:

Truth Claim 13

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because the unreasonable commitments of being a unit leader is incompatible with consistent long-term volunteering for many CFAVs.

I have already highlighted a number of areas where a single paid member of staff at each unit would enable the volunteering of others. I propose that such an operational model would have its highest effect on reducing the impact of volunteering on other areas of senior volunteers' lives, and those tasked with significant administrative duties. Such a move would enable more experienced CFAVs to take up senior roles, without fear of increased workload, enabling commanding officers to volunteer in the traditional sense, compartmentalising their volunteering separate from other commitments such as family and work.

Turning to the length of time volunteers remain in post, the data shows that the mean for all volunteers is 10.02 years, with a median of 6.0 years, suggesting that there are outliers driving

this disparity. Upon exploration these outliers are overwhelmingly ex-cadets. Specifically, over 90% of these outliers, serving 30 years or more, are the senior cadet rates of Leading Cadet and Petty Officer Cadet. I suggest that these volunteers are the 'career volunteers' described by Stebbins (2001a, p.54) as viewing their volunteering as a lifetime commitment with qualifications and promotions to be gained in a process that consumes a significant percentage of all their spare time, a lifestyle Dublin (1992) called self-chosen, central life interests. Although these volunteers in the SCC can be said to be the backbone of the organisation, often having gone through 8 years as a cadet, then decades as a volunteer, providing a wealth of experience and expertise, I argue that the existence of these career volunteers opens up what could be described as a 2-tier system in which those who joined via a 'civilian' route served on average for 6.41 years, whilst those ex-cadets who reached the highest rates were outliers averaging 14.24 years' service. With continued regard to exploring the 'rules of the social game,' it appears that the SCC 'social game' relies heavily on ex-cadets who achieved either Leading Cadet or Petty Officer Cadet Rates. It is important to understand that these are extremely rare in comparison to the number of cadets who join. Although this research has uncovered no data to give precise figures for the percentages involved, I have personal experience to draw upon. In the unit in which I was chairman, during my 9 years in post, the unit had only one Leading Cadet and no Petty Officer Cadets despite averaging 25+ cadets per night in the latter 3-4 years. I suspect that this is likely to be an under-representation of the national picture, however, it strongly illustrates how few young people reach Leading Cadet or above. There are implications here. A pattern emerges suggesting that there is a cohort of 'institutionalised' senior ex-cadets at the core of volunteering in the Sea Cadets. Indeed, a significant percentage of SCC 'career volunteers' secondary habitus (Bourdieu, 1984), derived from education and life experiences and described as the more malleable form of habitus, appears to be developed within a SCC setting, meaning, from personal experience, that many of these career volunteers come to identify themselves as Sea Cadets over and above other areas of their lives, and that they are not always receptive to those new to the corps. Many of these ex-cadet volunteers will have known each other since their cadet days, and these ties often run deep. Davey (2009) describes how the dispositions of individuals within communities of interest can be homogenous, compounding a 'them and us' mentality, which I feel goes a long way to describing the situation within the SCC. Furthermore, it has been my experience that as family members join, some units can become not only dominated by ex-cadet friendship groups, but also single-family groups, who, at times, view the unit as 'their' unit. Cattani *et al.,* (2014) describe this process where those influential in a field preserve the field, allowing them to

dominate it. For an outsider, understandably, this can prove intimidating, and this is reflected in the open responses:

"...from the start there has been an issue of nepotism in the unit and if you are not part of a certain family you are not welcome."

A support volunteer who was not a cadet

"...you are either 'part of the 'establishment' or you're an outsider."

A commanding officer who is an ex-cadet

"There is far too much politics within the SCC, and one only gets on if your face fits."

A CPO who was not a cadet

Bourdieu provides a conceptual framework for this situation, where he describes hysteresis as being when one's personal habitus is not aligned with the field in which one operates (Bourdieu, 1990). I argue that for many CFAVs, outside of those career volunteers dominating the corps, their time within the SCC can be characterised as being in a constant state of hysteresis, never really feeling that they belong in the field. This goes a long way to explaining why senior ex-cadets serve on average for over 14 years, whilst those joining from a 'civilian' route average less than 6.5 years, perhaps leaving as soon as their child leaves. In my experience the only route to breaking into this community is through the uniformed route, at the expense of all others, and again, this view seems to be shared by others where non-uniformed volunteers are classed as lesser volunteers:

"As a civilian instructor, I have noticed that there is a corps-wide "view" that we are a form of second-class citizen. There is no career path for civilian instructors in the corps and certain types of training are not open to us because we aren't in uniform. Whilst I appreciate that the corps is a military organisation, I do feel that a lack of progression opportunities for civilian instructors is rather short-sighted on the corps' part."

A civilian instructor with 1 years' service

"Recently I was a qualified supervisor on a course but was informed I wouldn't be paid (unlike the uniformed staff attending) as I'm not in uniform[34], even though I was one of the two highest qualified staff, and put in at least as much hard work as any other."

A civilian instructor with 2 years' service

"There is little or no formal training on offer for UMT roles. Instructors are provided with full training for their roles, they have a choice of progression routes and specialisms to choose from and develop these throughout their service."

A member of the UMT with 7 years' service

These responses add weight to the suggestion that the route into the Sea Cadet 'establishment' is blocked to anyone who was not a cadet or is not prepared to commit to an intense uniformed

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[34] Uniformed instructional staff only are occasionally capable of receiving limited renumeration for some events away from their own unit.

career, driving the shorter engagement of non-establishment volunteers. This issue leads directly to a further truth claim:

Truth Claim 14

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed owing to ex-cadets, particularly senior ex-cadets forming an 'establishment' of volunteers dominating local volunteering, driving the reduced years of service seen in those volunteering from 'civilian' routes, driving down recruitment from the broader population.

The answer to this may well lie in creating a more formal status for civilian instructors within the SCC. If these non-uniformed volunteers can rise to appropriate senior positions, many of the problems associated with the 'establishment' of ex-cadets will be solved. For example, an instructor, not in uniform, but with significant qualifications in say, kayaking, could rise to District, Area, or even National kayaking lead, based solely on their expertise in kayaking, without the need to spend years working through the uniformed instructor route. Of course, recruiting in higher numbers from non-cadet/military backgrounds would also solve this problem, but requires improving the volunteer-experience for the situated-volunteers I mention above and develop further below.

Raisborough (2006) coined the phrase 'chronological location,' explaining that SCC volunteers place their commitments to the Sea Cadets before other life commitments, including partners and work, as they were in the Sea Cadets before these other elements of their lives came along. The research in this PhD thesis proved this concept, at least in part, with no statistically significant differences between several volunteering metrics and those CFAVs either single or non-single. However, as illustrated above regarding those who were senior ex-cadets, there is contradictory evidence, especially in the open responses. As such, I propose that Raisborough did not develop the full picture. There clearly are many CFAVs who fall into this 'chronological location' category as described by Raisborough, and in enough numbers to explain how less robust analysis could take this to be a more common position. However, where Raisborough makes no distinction is between this group of CFAVs and, what I refer to as 'situated-volunteers,' not wishing to sacrifice as much of their spare time and wishing to contain their commitment to the local unit. Although the SCC may not use the term 'chronological location,' to describe the commitment of their volunteers, I suggest that the principles behind it are taken for granted amongst SCC paid executives, leading to the next truth claim:

Truth Claim 15

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because volunteer recruitment policies do not recognise the need to cater for volunteers not exhibiting chronological location, meaning that the pressures placed on many volunteers are simply beyond what they either can, or are prepared to accept.

I argue that volunteering and recruitment policies need to recognise the difference between volunteers embarked on 'central life interests' and the situated-volunteers in the SCC. By providing greater scope for increasing the numbers of situated-volunteers able to work alongside the uniformed career-volunteers, CFAV numbers will rise, and the cadet-experience will improve. Also, the cadet-experience will become less variable as units with fewer career-volunteers can be supplemented more easily by increased numbers of situated-volunteers. Achieving this requires returning to one of the main issues analysed in Chapter 6; namely, the joining process. The difficulties many CFAVs experience regarding the joining process relates to the formal cadet/military courses volunteers are required to attend which put many potential situated-volunteers off, as illustrated by this CFAV:

"Some of the accommodation on offer at some units for staying overnight needs to be improved for officers. As a retired Merchant Navy Captain in my 70s, I am too old for bunk beds!!"

A Lt with 5 years' service who was not a cadet

If situated-volunteers can bypass much of this military styled joining process, having no aspirations of entering uniform, many of the problems associated with recruitment and retention could be resolved, reducing the reliance on CFAVs that exhibit chronological location.

To illustrate the difference between 'typical' volunteering and that which occurs in the SCC it can be useful to analyse the four principles of volunteering (The Compact, 2009) and how these play out in the SCC. The first principle of volunteering is that it is 'open to all.' Although almost anyone *can* join the SCC, it was previously shown that routes into volunteering from the wider public are woefully under-represented, and that even those who do join from this cohort face barriers to progression. The prospect of the SCC expanding or even just improving their product seems intrinsically linked to this problem. Yet, whilst the SCC maintains a military 'image' amongst the wider population and is dominated by 'establishment' volunteers, progression into SCC volunteering, although open to all in principle, restricts access in practice, questioning if the first principle of volunteering can be fully applied to the SCC. I discussed above how a paid member of staff at each unit could address militarisation issues, and I argue the same could be applied here. If a demarcation of generic youth engagement / military themed

youth training were applied using this full-time post-holder, those put off by the military image of the corps is mitigated against, increasing recruitment from other avenues, reducing the influence of 'establishment' volunteers.

A further principle of volunteering is 'choice,' yet, the data suggests that this principle is less clear cut in the SCC. This research has shown that 2/3 of volunteers stay to keep the unit open at least 'sometimes,' whilst almost 1/3 stay on to keep the unit open 'often,' or 'very often.' These findings are in accordance with my own experiences. Any CFAV invested in the cadet unit they have volunteered at, finds it difficult to walk away if this impacts the operation of the unit, with volunteering becoming akin to unpaid work (Stebbins, 2001b). In the case of senior/key volunteers, this can even cause the closure of a unit. In a process that Stebbins (2001b, p.1) calls 'marginal volunteering,' volunteers are obliged to continue volunteering long after they would have liked to leave. In returning to the research question and how the cadet-experience as delivered can be inferior to that as designed, consider the implications of this. The commitment of volunteers, often busy elsewhere, will, at the best of times, rarely match that of paid staff. Consider how much worse this becomes if volunteers are essentially forced to remain in post simply because no one else is available, and despite wanting to leave, they have invested too much in their own unit to allow it to fail, such as this CFAV:

"…often consider giving up but the unit would struggle without me."

Instructional volunteer with 22 years' service, scoring their own unit 10/10

It is my experience that this situation can continue for protracted periods for many CFAVs. If key individuals within a unit are in this position, or perhaps even several, it is inevitable that the cadet-experience at that unit will fall below that designed and marketed in promotional material. The only solution to this is to increase recruitment and retention of volunteers, but as I have shown, there are multiple barriers to this, and although the full-time 'enabler' proposed above would again address some of the issues of recruitment, and even more of the retention difficulties, senior SCC executive seem against the entire principle of paid staff at this point.

The concept of 'mutual benefit' is a further principle of volunteering. The data shows that there is a statistically significant correlation between feeling that one's volunteering benefits others and also oneself. However, the results are not homogenous across all volunteer types. Once again, ex-cadets stand out. These volunteers stand out as viewing the self-benefits of volunteering more positively than the larger CFAV population, feeding into the narrative that is building regarding the prevalence of ex-cadets in volunteering ranks and how much they

dominate the SCC. However, there are also more nuanced patterns that emerge here. CFAVs in less effective units, in units not supported by the local community and those isolated from the national corps all record lower levels of self-benefit from their volunteering. If retention of volunteers is a goal of the national SCC, then these issues will need to be explored. One imagines that relying on the good will of volunteers to deliver a cadet-experience to young people, regardless of the benefits that they receive is likely to severely impact retention. At this point I introduce the concept of the volunteer-experience, and how the SCC will need to give this as much consideration as the cadet-experience in the future if progress is to be made regarding retention, and I return to this concept later.

The final principle of volunteering is that volunteers should be recognised for what they do. There is no clear definition of what this recognition needs to look like, however, recognition and support from one's employer, I suggest, is the single biggest issue that would make volunteering significantly easier, in much the same way that army reservists, for example, receive recognition and have established agreements between the armed forces and employers regarding periods of 'service.' However, the data suggests that few CFAVs receive such recognition, with 73.1% of volunteers receiving no employer support at all, and of those that do receive support, approximately 50% of this is what might be classed as 'marginal' support, in the form of flexitime etc. The lack of support, and concerns regarding other principles of volunteering leads to a further truth claim:

Truth Claim 16

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because the principles of volunteering very often cannot be applied to those volunteering in the SCC, reducing their capacity to deliver.

I argue here that the pattern that is emerging of the commitment needed to deliver a professional, consistent cadet-experience requires some kind of intervention. In this respect I agree with this open response from the SCVS:

"I personally think the cadet forces should have become closer to their parent services with some sort of volunteer reserve status."

Instructional volunteer who was not a cadet

Having spent time in the armed forces I feel that the commitment required to deliver the cadet-experience as designed is more closely equivalent to a reservist role than it is to typical

volunteering. I have highlighted above that much of what the SCC deliver has moved away from its traditional military roots and that any expansion of the service will require a larger role for non-uniformed volunteers, as such, this reservist status cannot be applied to all in the SCC. Yet, I have shown that those in critical senior positions and other key CFAVs, commit at levels equivalent to part-time work, often suffering stress, pressure, or anxiety at a level unacceptable for a volunteer position. As such, I propose that, even in an organisation delivering generic youth training programmes simply utilising a military ethos, senior SCC manager positions need to attract a form of reservist status. In much the same way as the single paid employee I proposed above could cover the administrational and logistical workload of a number of units, thereby reducing the workload for all other volunteers, a cadet unit manager with a form of reservist status, paid for their time pro-rata, in a typical reservist style arrangement, and with greater access to employer benefits, could enable the volunteering of others in a fashion that would transform the cadet-experience at the local level. I argue that much of the difference between the cadet-experience as designed and the cadet-experience as delivered is owing to unrealistic and unsustainable requirements placed on senior volunteers in the SCC. It is, I argue, only through some kind of change to the national discourse, where key CFAVs are recognised as a public service, similar to that of reservists, that this dilemma can be resolved. Indeed, even in reservist discourse the notion of service being transactional is understood (Catignani & Basham, 2020), where undesirable service leads to situations where "we just don't come back" (Ibid, p.106). Having shown above that 'not coming back' is sometimes not an option owing to the consequences for the unit and young people in it, I argue that a form of reservist status is in many ways needed more in the UCFs than it is in the reserves. Specifically, this should be easier access to a version of the Armed Forces Covenant (AFC) and/or 'DERS,' the Defence Employer Recognition Scheme (MoD, 2021b). The AFC (Brooke-Holland & Mills, 2020, p.2) set out the "moral obligation to members of the Armed Forces Community in return for the sacrifices they make." With commentators such as Catignani & Basham, (2020, p.100) questioning the role "sacrifice and service" play in reservist attendance, rather, placing primacy on self-fulfilment, in the form of 'serious leisure' (Stebbins, 2007), one suspects that the time and commitment required to make a difference in the UCFs is at least on a par with reservist roles, and often even more intense. Clearly, CFAVs will never face the prospect of being called up into frontline military action, and as such the exact nature of any future role in any AFC style arrangement would need careful consideration. Perhaps greater prominence within the DERS can provide all the access to the AFC that the UCFs need. For example, DERS 'Gold Award' holders must provide a minimum of 10 days extra leave (MoD, 2021b), fully paid, to

reservists for training. Employer allowances such as this would take away much of the pressure of being a senior/key CFAV. Much of the stress, pressure or, anxiety resulting from volunteering in the SCC was shown above to be as a direct result of the impact this volunteering had on other areas of one's life. If all, or a significant element, of a CFAVs yearly training requirement could be encapsulated into these 10 days, then 10 days of family time do not need to be sacrificed.

Finally, in pursuit of further understanding of what is likely to enhance volunteer retention, the data from this research shows that those whose volunteering makes them happier, and also provides a better social life are statistically less likely to be planning to stop volunteering within 12 months. This is a crucial finding that I believe to be almost entirely overlooked in the UCF literature. Improving the cadet-experience is a phrase all CFAVs will have heard from national paid staff and area representatives. However, in my nine years as a unit leader I recall not one single conversation or policy from senior paid staff that directly target improving the experience for volunteers. This open response reflects my experiences well:

"Headquarters concentrates on the cadet-experience and yes, we are about the cadets, but there would be no cadets if you didn't have the staff to instruct those cadets. So, headquarters should also spend some time concentrating on the adult experience too."

A female Lt with 36 years' service

Evidence seems to suggest that CFAVs are largely taken for granted, indeed, I would venture further. Very often CFAVs are exploited, perhaps I argue, even emotionally blackmailed, into committing time to the SCC beyond what is normal for 'typical' volunteering, on the premise that to not adhere to such commitments would be letting the cadets down.

Truth Claim 17

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because the SCC makes no attempt to create a volunteer-experience, and uses coercion and even emotional blackmail to get more work from volunteers.

I propose that there needs to be an institutional re-balancing of the role CFAVs play in the SCC. Yes, the purpose of volunteering in the SCC is to help deliver the cadet-experience for young people. However, we now know that volunteers across the third sector do this for reasons of personal enrichment, in addition to reservists (Catignani & Basham, 2020). I see nothing wrong in acknowledging this and developing policies that are specifically aimed at increasing the benefits volunteers get from 'working' in the SCC. After-all, ensuring volunteers are happy in

their volunteering is surely the best method of guaranteeing that the cadet-experience as designed, is reflected in the cadet-experience as delivered.

7.6 Empirical Results Analysis Summary

The results presented and analysed in this chapter relate to Bourdieu's 'habitus' construct, in the form of the shared acceptance of the 'rules of the social game' (DiGiorgio, 2009, p.187), specific to volunteering in the SCC, and how the acceptance and perpetuation of such rules impact on the cadet-experience. I have presented evidence that there are eight 'habitus' related causes for the cadet-experience as delivered falling short of that designed. All of these issues, to a greater or lesser extent, impact on both the quality and consistency of the cadet-experience, and as in Chapter 6, in a way that is unreported in the literature or SCC and UCF promotional material.

Despite being a voluntary role, the research shows that being a CFAV in the SCC causes regular stress for over one third of volunteers. Clearly, volunteers suffering from stress are less able to deliver a cadet-experience matching the quality of that as designed. This problem is felt across the spectrum of volunteers, but specific challenges such as units being short staffed **(TC10)**, feeling isolated in a local unit **(TC11)** and an inability to compartmentalise volunteering separate from one's personal life **(TC12)**, are particular drivers, and mean that the cadet-experience will deviate from one unit to another, depending on the local 'stress' conditions of CFAVs. I propose that stress brought on by isolation from the national SCC can only be reduced by removing the driver of isolationist tendencies, namely, the charitable nature of each Sea Cadet unit, requiring staff to be focused on the local community for support, rather than the national corps. Then, regarding the stress associated with how much time volunteering takes from one's personal life, I return to the theme of introducing a relatively small number of paid unit staff to reduce the requirement to work outside of usual parade times. Addressing this issue, I have argued, will also tackle the issue of stress associated with units being short staffed, as introducing paid volunteer-enablers at unit level will make it easier to recruit new volunteers.

I have shown that the commitment of volunteers in the SCC far outstrips that of third sector norms, with even just the average commitment of CFAVs being equitable to that of the 'primary core.' Furthermore, volunteers in senior positions **(TC13)** are forced to commit significantly more hours still, averaging in the 41-50 hours per month category. The delivery of the cadet-experience can suffer here if senior volunteers are *required* to commit such hours simply to deliver the standard SCC product. As is normal with volunteers, availability cannot be guaranteed, so any time in which volunteers cannot commit beyond third sector norms, the

cadet-experience is unable to be delivered as designed. I continue the argument that the simplest solution here is to employ a relatively small number of paid staff at unit level to act as 'enablers,' doing much of the admin and out-of-hours work volunteers, especially senior ones, would normally be required to undertake.

This concept of commitment is also important regarding years in post. There is a clear pattern where those following the 'military,' route into the SCC, I defined as ex-cadets or ex-forces, remain in post for significantly longer than those joining via other 'civilian' routes such as parents of cadets. Specifically, a significant majority of the longer serving, senior, experienced volunteers are senior ex-cadets. These 'institutionalised' ex-cadets, making up the 'establishment' of local SCC volunteering, are derived from a tiny pool of potential volunteers, often creating a feeling of 'them and us' amongst many 'civilian' volunteers, potentially driving fewer years of volunteering seen in 'civilian' recruits **(TC14)**. The concern for the cadet-experience here is that so many cadet units are reliant on ex-cadets, finding experienced replacements for senior positions from outside this 'establishment' can be almost impossible. I make a case for creating a path into senior positions for volunteers who do not wish to become uniformed volunteers, thereby negating the effect of the ex-cadet 'establishment,' and improving retention.

These long serving volunteers, often ex-cadets, have been shown to exhibit what Raisborough (2006) described as "chronological location" putting their volunteering before other elements of their lives. What this research has shown, however, and what Raisborough failed to show, is that chronological location is not universal and that many volunteers leave because volunteering within the SCC almost necessitates career volunteers exhibiting chronological location. I argue in this chapter that any improvement in the retention of volunteers, and performance of existing volunteers needs to explicitly account for the fact that a significant percentage of CFAVs in the SCC are simply situated-volunteers, wishing to help out in the local community, with no desire to become career-volunteers or develop chronological location **(TC15)**. In accounting for this, I argue that the SCC will need to adjust the joining process to reflect how many potential CFAVs would benefit from a route not aimed at uniformed volunteers.

The next focus of this chapter further analysed the social rules that impact volunteer recruitment and retention, and ultimately the cadet-experience. Specifically, how the four principles of volunteering (The Compact, 2009) as experienced in the broader third sector, differ when played out in the SCC, thereby impacting the cadet-experience. The findings highlight that although the SCC is open to all in theory, the practice is that volunteering, particularly as instructional volunteers, is dominated by a tiny percentage of the broader

population, who used to be senior cadets, and those who do join from outside this cohort do so in small numbers and remain in post for significantly shorter periods of time. This of course reduces volunteer numbers, and in the same measure makes replacing these volunteers ever more difficult. I have suggested that further reducing the image of the SCC as a military recruitment tool and making strides to end the domination of the corps by ex-cadets is the route to positive change in this matter. The second principle of volunteering is that of choice. Again, the research highlights problems here similar to what Stebbins (2001b) described as marginal volunteering. What we see is that CFAVs are very often *required* to remain in post long after they would wish to leave simply to keep the cadet unit operating. The implications for the cadet-experience here are clear. Volunteers staying just to keep the unit open are never likely to operate with the enthusiasm the cadet-experience as designed needs. I explain that the simple solution to this is to increase recruitment of volunteers, negating the need for volunteers to remain in post. However, this is of course dependent on solutions being found to the problems of volunteer numbers discussed above. The third principle of volunteering relates to the mutual benefit of volunteering between the organisation and the volunteer. The data shows that there is, once again, a disconnect between ex-cadets and other volunteers, where ex-cadets feel the benefits more than others. This of course causes problems as other groups are already under-represented, so if they do not feel the benefits of volunteering, it will be difficult to improve retention. I have proposed that solutions here require the SCC to place as much emphasis on the volunteer-experience, as they do the cadet-experience. The fourth principle of volunteering is recognition. I have focused this pursuit of recognition on that given by one's employer. This research has clearly illustrated the increased commitment of SCC volunteers compared to standard third sector volunteering. If this enhanced commitment is to be made easier, then the recognition of employers for what CFAVs do is essential. Unfortunately, nearly three quarters of volunteers receive no support from their employers. Taken as a whole, the four principles of volunteering are simply not applicable to SCC volunteers **(TC16)**, which reduces their ability to volunteer to their full capacity. I argue that the best solution to this problem is some kind of cadet status similar to that given to military reservists, acknowledging the enhanced commitments required from key volunteers in the SCC compared to typical third sector volunteering.

Finally, I have demonstrated that there are only three statistically significant predictors of why volunteers are planning to either stay in or leave the SCC. Two of these are improved happiness and improved social life owing to volunteering. I argue in this chapter that such considerations of what volunteers gain from their volunteering are rarely recognised in the SCC,

and that future improvements to the cadet-experience are reliant upon acknowledgement of what makes volunteers stay in post, then devising policies that place the volunteer-experience **(TC17)** on a par with the cadet-experience. I argue that this is especially relevant for those of CO level and above, as these are the final variable statistically more likely to be planning to leave the SCC within 12 months.

Chapter 8: Empirical Results Relating to Bourdieu's 'Capital' Construct

8.1 Introduction

I argue that the concept of 'capital' is as integral to the SCC as it is to Bourdieu's 'Theory of Practice.' For Bourdieu, to be a productive member of a 'field' one needs to excel in the attributes required for that 'field.' The implications for the SCC are that the 'capital' that volunteers bring to the corps, or develop in the corps, dictates the quality of the cadet-experience. I begin with a consideration of the role 'embodied cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1986), plays in the cadet-experience, specifically referring to the skills and experiences volunteers bring to the role, looking for patterns of volunteers in possession of more of this form of capital in order to inform recruitment initiatives.

This chapter then explores 'institutionalised cultural capital,' in the form of qualifications held by CFAVs that qualify them to teach in the SCC. I consider, in the first instance, how easy volunteers find it to transfer existing qualifications into the SCC, and then how easy it is for CFAVs to acquire new qualifications from internal SCC training avenues, before taking a detailed look at how these issues impact on the number of qualifications volunteers hold. I conclude the results section of this chapter by considering how social capital, in the form of 'networks of relationships' (Gretzinger *et al.,* 2010) impact volunteers' capacity to deliver the cadet-experience, before finishing with a detailed analysis of what all of this means to the SCC and the delivery of the cadet-experience. To this end the ensuing results aim to address the following research sub-question:

Research Sub-Question Three

To what extent does the possession, or lack of, Bourdieu's 'capital' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

8.2 Impact of Embodied Cultural Capital on the Cadet-Experience

It has been shown in previous chapters that there are five routes into volunteering [16,N] with the SCC. Those who were cadets when younger, people who joined because family members (mainly children) are already involved, ex-forces personnel, people who have been asked to help out by existing volunteers and those independently approaching the corps or responding to an advertisement, although some may of course be able to cite more than one of these as their reason for joining. I myself joined as my child was a cadet but had also been asked to join as the existing volunteers were aware of my teaching background. Knowing how existing unit managers target those with relevant experience, I was keen to understand the extent to which

CFAVs had qualifications or experience in working with young people [22,Di], as attracting a significant proportion of volunteers with such a background would of course be beneficial to delivering the cadet-experience. The simple frequency data shows that 53.5% of volunteers had no previous qualifications or experience working with young people, leaving 46.5% that do. I then explored if those in instructional positions showed higher levels of youth qualifications/experience than support staff. In conducting a Chi square test of independence ($x^2(4, n=397) = 2.854, p=.091$), there is no statistical significance in youth qualifications or experience between those directly involved in training, and the support staff [8*,Du] prohibited from training. However, in conducting a further statistically significant Chi square test of independence ($x^2(4, n=397) = 17.871, p=.001$) of the original reasons for joining variable [16,N] I found that those who joined because a family member was involved were more likely to hold qualifications or have experience working with young people than would be expected, suggesting that cadet units, as was the case for myself, try to maintain volunteer numbers by approaching the relatives of cadets who might be in a position to contribute. This suggestion is aided by further evidence from the data. There is a statistically significant relationship ($x^2(1, n=392) = 4.141, p=.042$) between those with qualifications or experience in working with young people, and whether volunteers used to be a cadet. Those who were cadets have experience or qualifications in working with young people in lower numbers (n=95) than would be expected (n=105), compounding the need for cadet leaders to find volunteers with more experience.

My next step was to look at embodied cultural capital in the form of educational attainment. I have previously outlined that volunteering in the SCC, and especially at senior levels is akin to running a small business. As such, the skills often acquired during higher education, although able to be developed elsewhere, become very useful, such as practical skills in the form of competence in using computer software packages, letter writing skills, or presenting to an audience, in addition to other 'soft-skills' that higher education can develop, such as greater exposure to different cultural and social communities. To this end I used the variable [16*,Du] of those with a cadet/military background against all others. The purpose of creating this Dummy variable is to discover if those recruited from a 'civilian' route bring higher levels of educational attainment to the corps. So, the first test I conducted was a Chi square test of independence between this Dummy variable and educational achievement [13*Du]. There was found to be a statistically significant relationship ($x^2(1, n=402) = 4.393, p=.036$), where ex-cadets/military have less embodied cultural capital in the form of lower numbers (n=86) educated to degree level than would be expected (n=96), whereas those without military/cadet links have higher numbers (n=83) with a degree than would be expected (n=73). Although the

differences between expected numbers and actual numbers is not huge, it is statistically significant, suggesting that a statistically significant number of volunteers from the SCC ‘establishment’ of ex-cadets have missed at least one avenue of opportunity to develop some of the skills that would be useful in running a Sea Cadet unit. Continuing with this theme I was keen to understand how this might impact the cadet-experience. The next significant Chi square test of independence ($x^2(1, n=401) = 24.347, p=<.001$) was conducted to highlight any difference between military/civilian entry routes and whether these volunteers become instructional or support staff. Those from the ‘civilian’ route are much less likely (n=113) to enter the SCC as instructors than would be expected (n=132), whereas those from the ‘military’ route do so in much higher numbers (n=215) than would be expected (n=196). So ‘military’ volunteers provide training to cadets in greater numbers, as opposed to being support staff, and these same volunteers are educated to degree level in lower numbers than would be expected, meaning that the efficient running of cadet training programmes may, at times, be impacted by too few instructional staff having developed the skill-set that can be established in higher education. This is confirmed by a further Chi square test of independence, testing the relationship between educational level and those volunteering either in an instructional or support capacity showing significance ($x^2(1, n=400) = 6.698, p=.010$), where instructional staff hold a degree in lower numbers (n=127) than would be expected (n=137), again begging the question as to whether occasions may arise when the cadet-experience is hindered by lower levels of embodied cultural capital in instructional volunteers. This concern is compounded further when considering senior instructional volunteers. On this occasion the Chi square test of independence ($x^2(1, n=348) = .725\ p= .395$) reveals no significance in those educated to degree level between those in senior / junior positions [8*Du], despite the challenging requirements of managing a cadet unit, raising further questions as to possible skills-set shortfalls of, on this occasion, some senior volunteers. Such concerns are reflected in this response from the SCVS raising concerns regarding the skill set of unit leaders:

“The Sea Cadets needs to take a long hard look at the kinds of people they put into positions of authority. It also needs to ask itself why attending a couple of weekends and bootlicking qualifies one to be an officer.”

A commanding officer planning to resign within 12 months

It is possible that the sentiment in this response reflects the point I raise above, that managing a SCC unit requires a strong skill-set, that many incumbents do not possess.

8.3 The Development of Institutionalised Cultural Capital

In running an ANOVA test there is a statistically significant finding *(F(*1, 402) =43.145, p=<.001) regarding volunteer entry routes, where those with military/sea cadet experience [16*,Du] hold more SCC recognised qualifications (2.92), on average, than those without these links (1.32). I was interested in discovering if there were any patterns why this might be the case, and in analysing the open responses it appears that many CFAVs believe that the SCC is reluctant to honour qualifications from outside of the corps:

"The sea cadet corps won't recognise any past experience over 5 years old. I understand the purposes of this but if that individual has done nothing else for over half their adult life, then surely at least instructor status in that discipline should be considered."

An instructional volunteer who is employed elsewhere in an associate professional role.

"I totally understand the need for policies and procedures (in particular with safeguarding) but in other areas where staff have been working in industry and being told if they want to teach particular aspects that they have to travel to a course and train again at a much more basic level to what they already have makes no sense."

An instructional volunteer who is self-employed

"As a retired senior teacher with extensive relevant knowledge not least as a rowing coach, I find the Sea Cadet Corps unbelievably reluctant to recognise prior knowledge and experience."

An instructional volunteer retired from a professional role

"No recognition of prior knowledge and skills.....i.e., years in RN not recognised in SCC context."

A member of Support staff employed elsewhere in a professional role

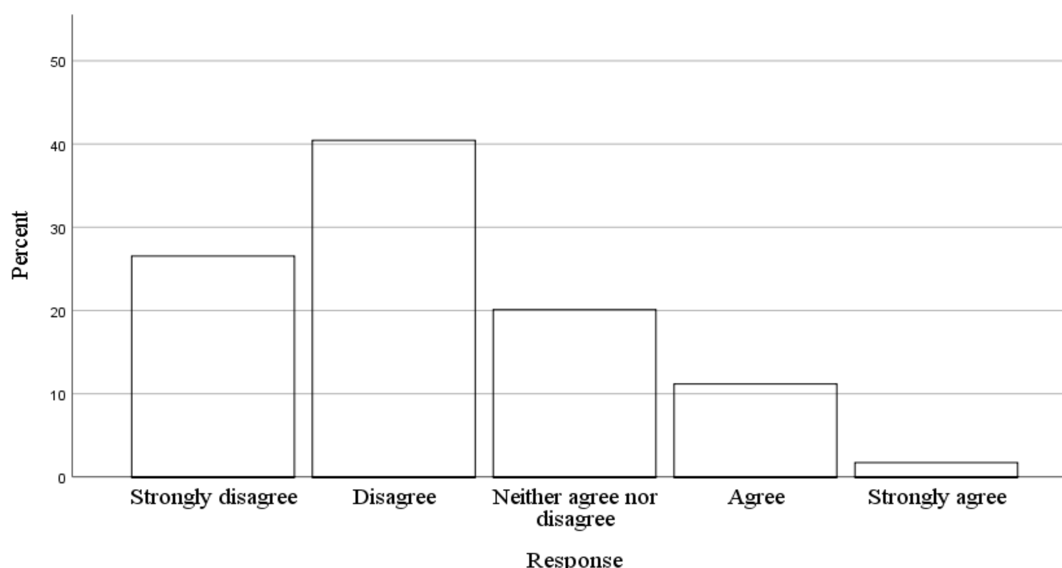
"...I'm a lecturer with a level 7 teaching qual but I still can't assess others under L&D without going on a 'conversion' weekend which is not regularly available. I get frustrated by the processes and the obstacles put in our way (the military way I guess)."

An instructional volunteer employed elsewhere in a professional role

These open responses suggest that those from a non-cadet background are structurally inhibited from holding as many qualifications as they are more likely to have gained them externally and have difficulty bringing them into the role. If this is the case, then it is important that volunteers are trained internally in adequate numbers to deliver the cadet-experience. However, when asked if finding a training course [27,O] that is local and at the right time is easy, (Figure 8.1) 67% of volunteers (n=270) responded that they disagree or strongly disagree, with only 12.9% (n=52) stating that they agree or strongly agree.

One of the potential issues here is that most of the volunteer training provided by the SCC institution is itself delivered by volunteers, who need to fit this training into their already busy lives. As a result, it has been my experience that getting volunteers trained in numbers and with speed can be problematic.

Figure 8.1 Finding a Training Course is Easy



I decided that this needed further exploration to see what was driving these figures, so I created a binary logistic regression model (Figure 8.2). Model 2 proved to be a significant improvement in fit over the null model (x^2(4, n=249) = 37.32, p=<.001). The rules of parsimony were adhered to with four variables being retained in the final model and only a small reduction in overall model fit. Also, with the highest VIF of 1.048 amongst all four predictors, it means that I can confirm that the predictor variables meet the assumption of multicollinearity.

Figure 8.2 Regression Analysis: Finding a Training Course

	Bivariate Analysis					Model 1					Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper		Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
National team / Isolated [34,I]	<.001	1.288	1.171	1.416	6	<.001	1.274	1.123	1.444	4	<.001	1.268	1.128	1.425
Hours working [12c*,Du] - <=20-/20+	0.007	0.321	0.140	0.736		0.015	0.334	0.138	0.809		0.017	0.343	0.142	0.825
SCC Area [10*,Du] - All other areas / London	0.004	2.100	1.261	3.496		0.026	2.068	1.089	3.927		0.039	1.943	1.035	3.649
Volunteering leave you out of pocket [32,O]	<.001	0.696	0.583	0.831		0.047	0.784	0.617	0.997		0.016	0.758	0.604	0.950
Impacts other areas of life [46,I]	0.009	2.258	1.228	4.153		0.181	1.709	0.780	3.748					
Volunteering causes stress [44I,]	0.005	1.111	1.032	1.196		0.709	1.020	0.920	1.130					
Marital status [15*,Du] Single / Not single	0.701	0.920	0.599	1.412										
Job title [12b*,Du] - Workers/Managers-professionals	0.259	0.737	0.434	1.251										
Stay to keep unit open [45*,Du] Never-Rarely/Sometimes+	0.079	0.672	0.431	1.048										
Employer allowances [12d,Di]	0.238	1.413	0.796	2.510										
Reason joined [16*,Du] Cadet or military links/None	0.306	1.246	0.817	1.900										
Hours volunteering/month [47*,Du] <60 / =>60	0.460	0.796	0.434	1.459										
Ex-Cadet? [9a,Di]	0.697	0.920	0.603	1.402										
						Nagelkerke r^2 = .189					Nagelkerke r^2 = .167			
Constant						0.042	0.102				0.174	0.377		
Model 2: Log likelyhood = 328.824			Obsservations	249		LR Chi²		37.32			Prob. Chi²		<.001	
Dependant variable: Finding a training course that is local and at the right time for me is easy [27*,Du] - disagree / Agree or Neutral														

The variable for feeling part of a national team [34,I] was found to be significant, where for each increase in 1, on a scale of 1-10, between feeling isolated (1) and part of a national team (10), the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 1.268, increasing the probability that volunteers will find getting on a training course easy by 26.8% in each increase

in 1, moving towards feeling part of a national team. Similarly, regarding location [10b*,Du], the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 1.943 when moving from non-London volunteers to London volunteers, meaning that London-based volunteers are 94.3% more likely to agree that finding a training course is easy compared to volunteers from elsewhere. Conversely, for those working full-time, compared to part-time [12c*,Du][35], the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by .0343, meaning that when moving from part-time to full-time work, the probability of full-time staff agreeing that finding a training course is easy reduces by 65.7%. Finally, feeling out-of-pocket [32,O] as a result of one's volunteering also impacts how volunteers view training course access. For each change in one on a 5-point Likert-scale between very rarely (1) and very often (5) the change in odds for the dependent variable moving from disagree to agree are multiplied by .758 or reduced by 24.2%. In other words, those responding that they are out-of-pocket owing to their volunteering are less likely to agree that getting on a training course is easy. There were a number of responses in the open question to training courses, which unanimously concur with the survey:

"The organisation could possibly do more to allow staff to qualify locally as opposed to having to give up a weekend to go on area courses - especially those with a cadet/military background (possibly more online courses)."

Male training officer, from Southwest Area

"Someone seriously needs to look at costing of training courses - it would be more cost effective to send 2 trainers to Northern Ireland to run a course than send 10 CFAVs to the mainland (when I worked as a trainer for Defence Management Training that's what we used to do to keep costs down), and CFAVs are keener to attend local courses than be away all weekend."

Female instructional volunteer, from Northern Area

"...I also have been staff for 2 years. I have only missed 2 weekends towards my Petty Officer's rank, and I'm still not qualified. These weekends don't run anywhere near enough and if they do, they are always cancelled. No wonder you can't hold onto staff in this organisation."

Male instructional volunteer, from Northern Area

The open responses seen above are representative of those responses related to training courses. What stands out is that almost all the responses above, and also those referred to later, are from volunteers in SCC areas some distance from London, where the SCC HQ is located, providing further confidence that there is a statistical relationship favouring London-centric volunteers with respect to how easy it is to find a suitable training course in the SCC.

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[35] Categorised here as up to 20 hours per week / 20 hours or more

8.4 The Possession of Institutionalised Cultural Capital

The total number of relevant qualifications volunteers can amass, either from what they bring to the corps or develop within the corps, will clearly impact on the product as delivered at the local unit level. I illustrated in Chapter 3 how CFAVs can gain either specialisations, proficiencies, or boating qualifications [19-21,I]. Specialisations come in the form of communications, cook/steward, drill, first aid, engineering, physical training, navigation, and seamanship. Using simple frequency data shows that 56.3% (n=228) of volunteers hold no specialisations at all with the median number held being just 1. Specialisations can be said to be the 'bread and butter' of cadet unit activities, and those that take place largely within the unit and all year round. When broken down into the individual specialisations it is clear that some are held in much smaller numbers than others. What Figure 8.3 illustrates is that the likes of first aid, seamanship, and navigation are represented well, but that others are around the 10% level or below. However, even these figures seemed a little high in comparison to my own experiences. I was keen to understand what might make the theoretical number of specialisations held by volunteers appear less in practice. As such, I decided to compare this with those in command positions and those in lower positions [8*,Du] as I knew those in command often do not teach cadets regularly owing to the other responsibilities they have during parade times.

Figure 8.3 Specialisations Held by CFAVs

Specialisation	Percentage of volunteers with the qualification	Number
Catering	8.1%	33
Communications	9.9%	40
Cook/Steward	5.2%	21
Drill	10.4	42
First aid	27.2	110
Engineering	9.1%	37
Physical training	3%	12
Navigation	14.3%	58
Seamanship	18%	73

What was found confirmed my suspicions. Conducting a Chi square test of independence I found a statistically significant ($x^2(1, n=350) = 21.135, p=<.001$) relationship where those in command positions are far more likely (n=59) to hold 2 specialisations or more than would be expected (n=40), whereas more junior volunteers are less likely (n=60) than would be expected

(n=79), leaving 49.9% of senior volunteers with 2 or more specialisations, but only 25.1% of junior volunteers. This is confirmed in an ANOVA test ($F(1, 350) = 21.135$, $p = < .001$), where those instructional volunteers in command positions average almost double (n=1.79) the number of specialisations than more junior volunteers (n=.93). There was another cohort of volunteers for whom I thought a relationship may exist. Those with either military or cadet backgrounds [16*,Du] in my experience had more opportunities to develop specialisations than those taking a 'civilian' route into the SCC. In conducting an ANOVA test this proved to be correct ($F(1, 402) = 30.405$, $p = < .001$), with those volunteers who had joined because they were ex-cadets or ex-military holding more specialisations on average (n=1.37), than all other volunteers (n=0.65).

Beyond specialisations there are 'proficiencies' in which volunteers can gain qualifications. These are more likely to be the kind of qualification that a cadet might have to travel in order to train for and are generally less common as a result, however, they are often the kind of qualification that takes a prominent position in promotional material as the kind of activity that is more likely to attract young people to the SCC. As such, I wanted to dig deeper into the figures to see what the situation is regarding the propensity of proficiency qualifications as shown in Figure 8.4.

Figure 8.4 Proficiencies Held by CFAVs

Proficiency	Percentage of volunteers with the qualification	Number
Adventure Training	15.8%	64
Band	3.2%	13
Communications	5.4%	22
Meteorology	7.9%	32
Shooting	4.0%	16
Piping	9.1%	37
Diving	1%	4
Aviation	0.5%	2

Across the SCC 56.6% of volunteers have no proficiency qualifications at all. Once again, there are variations in the numbers involved in each. In breaking these figures down as with specialisations, a similar pattern is seen with senior volunteers and ex-cadets/ex-forces volunteers. A significant 63.6% of junior volunteers have no proficiencies, but this figure drops to 31.6% for senior volunteers in unit level commanding officer positions or higher. Likewise, those with a cadet/military background are statistically likely ($F(1, 402) = 15.594$, $p = < .001$), to

hold almost double (n=0.58) the average (n=0.30) proficiency qualifications compared to all others.

The final type of qualification I am interested in is perhaps what most people would consider to be the main type of training that takes place within the SCC. However, my concern is that volunteers with boating qualifications (Figure 8.5) are not as prevalent as the national SCC would like the public and other stakeholders to think, in turn, reducing the amount of boating provision for cadets. As above, the majority (55.8%, n=226) have no boating qualifications at all. The mean number of boating qualifications held by volunteers is just (n=0.69), further illustrating that most volunteers do not hold any boating qualifications at all.

Figure 8.5 Boating Qualifications Held by CFAVs

Boating type	Percentage of volunteers with the qualification	Number
Sailing	10.9%	44
Rowing	20.2%	82
Paddlesports	10.1%	22
Power boating	22.0%	89
Wind surfing	2.0%	8
Offshore boating[36]	3%	12

Once again this is exacerbated by a statistically significant difference *(F(*1, 348) =18.212, p=<.001) in the mean, where senior volunteers on average hold almost double (n=1.13) the number of boating qualifications compared to junior (n=0.61) volunteers. An even starker contrast is seen when comparing ex-cadets/ex-military [16*,Du] to other volunteers where a further statistically significant difference is seen *(F(*1, 402) =32.082, p=<.001), with ex-cadets/ex-military averaging almost three times (n=0.93) the number of boating qualifications per volunteer than those from 'civilian' (n=0.34) entry routes.

There is a clear pattern across all qualification types showing that volunteers from a cadet/military background and senior volunteers hold qualifications in much higher percentages than others. To ensure that no other variables were driving these relationships and to ascertain if any other variables were significant, I conducted a regression analysis model. I used a composite variable [19-21*,I] of the total qualifications held across all three categories, creating an Interval variable in the process. However, this variable, as with much of the data above, did

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[36] The SCC has a number of powered vessels and sailing boats that are seagoing vessels, distinct from the type of small sailing boats and RIB style boats cadet units may typically use on a local river, lake etc.

not meet the assumptions for linear regression, as such, I created a Dummy variable and ran a binary logistic model. As the mean total qualifications for all volunteers was 2.23 qualifications, the Dummy variable was set to all those with 3 or fewer qualifications, against all those with more than 3. This model seen in Figure 8.6 again employs the purposeful selection model (Zhang, 2016) following the rules of parsimony. On this occasion, in order to prevent a significant drop in goodness of fit for the overall model, the variable for hours volunteering per month [47*,Du] was retained in Model 2, in addition to three significant predictors.

Figure 8.6 Regression Analysis: Total Qualifications

	Bivariate Analysis					Model 1					Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Highest position: [8*,Du] - CO and Above / Below CO	<.001	3.304	2.039	5.353	7	0.028	2.130	1.087	4.173	4	0.050	1.750	1.001	3.060
Hour's volunteering/month [47*,Du] <60 / =>60	0.001	2.618	1.481	4.627		0.027	2.503	1.111	5.637		0.207	1.531	0.790	2.964
Volunteering leave you out of pocket [32,O]	<.001	1.803	1.458	2.229		0.086	1.278	0.966	1.692		<.001	1.548	1.224	1.956
Years Volunteering [5,I]	<.001	1.064	1.042	1.086		0.101	1.023	0.996	1.050		0.001	1.040	1.017	1.064
Reason Joined [16*,Du] Cadet or military links/None	<.001	0.325	0.194	0.543		0.466	0.630	0.182	2.184					
National team / Isolated [34,I]	0.015	0.886	0.803	0.977		0.552	0.959	0.834	1.102					
What cadet rate? [9b*,Du] Senior cadet / Junior cadet	0.004	2.983	1.410	6.308		0.133	1.929	0.818	4.548					
SCC Area [10*,Du] - All other areas / London	0.627	0.865	0.483	1.552										
Employment status [12a*,Du] - Working/Not working	0.105	0.609	0.334	1.109										
Hours working [12c*,Du] - <=20-/20+	0.185	2.105	0.700	6.329										
Marital status [15*,Du] Single / Not single	0.867	1.040	0.655	1.652										
Finding a training course is easy [27,O]	0.579	0.939	0.751	1.173										
Cadet number at own unit [37,O]	0.408	1.080	0.900	1.295										
						Nagelkerke r^2 = 24.2					Nagelkerke r^2 = .218			
Constant														
Model 2: Log likelyhood = 364.418	Obsservations				350	LR Chi²		57.98			Prob. Chi²		<.001	
Dependant variable: Total qualifications held [19-21*,Du] =<3/3+ (Mean))Du =<3/3+ (Mean)														

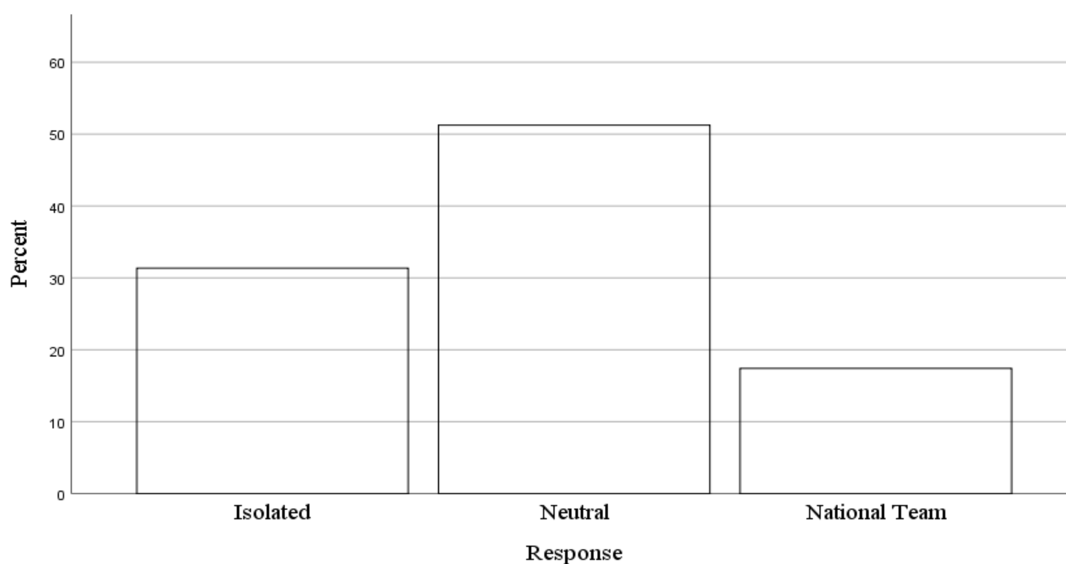
Model 2 proved to be a significant improvement in fit over the null model ($x^2(4, n=350) = 57.98$, p=<.001), and with the highest VIF of 1.284 amongst all four predictors, it means that I can confirm that the predictor variables meet the assumption of multicollinearity. The change in odds for the variable of those of CO position or higher [8*,Du] is multiplied by 1.750, increasing the probability that the more senior volunteers will have 4 or more SCC recognised qualifications by 75%. The variable for feeling out-of-pocket owing to your volunteering is also significant. For each change in one on a 5-point Likert-scale between very rarely (1) and very often (5) the change in odds for the dependent variable moving from 3 or fewer qualifications to 4 or more is multiplied by 1.548 or 54.8%, in other words, reduced by 41.2% each time. Finally, years' volunteering [5,I] is also a significant predictor, where the change in odds of the dependent variable moving to 4 or more qualifications is multiplied by 1.040 (4%) for each change in 1 in the independent variable. Although a seemingly small change, the range of

years' volunteering is <1-50 years, illustrating, as one would imagine, significant change for the longest serving volunteers.

8.5 Social Capital and 'Networks of Relationships'

The acquisition of social capital is considered to be the building of interpersonal 'networks' (Oxoby, 2009), and for authors such as Putnam (1993) and Siisiainen (2000), voluntary organisations play a significant role in building the social capital within their own region. For Bourdieu, these 'networks of relationships' provide the individual with access to the resources and information in a particular field (Gretzinger *et al.,* 2010). Of course, not everyone within a field is successful in building relationships and for these it is understood that feelings of isolation can build (Connor, 2011). The adult volunteer survey included a variable that was created to consider the extent to which volunteers have been successful in building networks, where the question asked if volunteers feel isolated [34,I] or part of a larger team.

Figure 8.7 CFAV Networks of Relationships



This variable has appeared as a significant predictor for other key volunteer issues above and in previous chapters. Now I use this as a dependent variable to look for drivers of feeling isolated in one's own volunteering.

Figure 8.7 has been transformed to display those on the 10-point scale, separated into 3 categories of isolated (1-3), neutral (4-7), and national team (8-10). It illustrates how this feeling of being isolated as a volunteer in the SCC is widely held by approaching one third (31.3%) of

all volunteers, with fewer than one fifth (17.4%) feeling part of a national team. The following open responses back this up lack of harmony between local units and the national team:

"...it would be nice if we the volunteers were shown the respect that is due to us for doing this. It is sadly often lacking from those in HQ positions."

Instructional volunteer with 36 years' experience from Northern Area

"In the last 2 years, I know personally of 5 well qualified instructors with specialist skills who have left the SCC for good because of the way they have been treated by Area or National level administrators."

Instructional volunteer with 2 years' service from Southwest Area

"The headquarters organisation does little to support the local unit and is a barrier to units actually achieving, by placing unnecessary onerous administration burdens on the local volunteers."

Instructional volunteer with 26 years' service from Eastern Area

"...I do not like the way in which Area HQ deals with the day-to-day issues, with threats of closing the unit if an action is not completed exactly to the day. With volunteers this is not always possible, we have another life apart from cadets, but this attitude leads to feelings of intimidation, and an ethos of poor management. It has led me to retire earlier from cadets than I otherwise would."

Support staff with 17 years' experience from Southwest Area

"I am not the only adult volunteer who feels that the Corps is "top heavy" and is being run by people who have no concept of what life is actually like at the coal face. These people have a tendency to implement (mostly unnecessary and unwanted) new rules and regulations without thinking about how these will affect the instructors and staff who have to try and implement them. The Corps is becoming too politically correct."

Instructional volunteer with 16 years' service from Southwest Area

"Just wish HQ could sort their act out a little more often, and maybe listen to the staff at grass roots level who are in the front line."

Instructional volunteer with 10 years' service from Eastern Area

"My personal thoughts are that the SCC/MSSC do not value and support the volunteers, whatever their role, sufficiently well. I feel lines are often blurred, whether it's calling people 'staff', treating those in uniform as reservists or not being clear about expectations of the voluntary roles."

Instructional volunteer with 3 years' service from London Area

Clearly, many volunteers feel a disconnect with national headquarters, but who are they? To find this out a further regression model was run. This model in Figure 8.8 proved to be a significant improvement in fit over the null model ($x^2(6, n=262) = 75.057, p=<.001$), and with the highest VIF of 1.161 amongst all 6 significant predictors, it means that I can confirm that the predictor variables meet the assumption of multicollinearity.

The change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by .058 when moving from non-ex-cadet to ex-cadet [9a*,Du], meaning that those former cadets are much less likely to feel part of a national team. The variables for finding a training course [27,O] and freedom to teach what you are interested in [28,O] are both on a 5-point Likert-scale between strongly disagree (1) and strongly agree (5). The change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 1.346, or increased by 34.6%, for each change in the 'finding a training course' predictor and 1.327, or 32.7%, for the 'freedom to teach' predictor moving towards those who strongly agree. In

other words, those believing that a training course is easy to find and those that have more scope to teach modules they are interested in are more likely to feel part of a national team.

Figure 8.8 Regression Analysis: CFAV Networks of Relationships

	Bivariate Analysis					Model 1					Model 2			
			95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for					95% C.I.for	
Independent Variables	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Ex-Cadet? [9a,Di]	0.029	0.636	0.423	0.955	12	0.054	0.623	0.386	1.008	6	0.021	0.581	0.366	0.922
Finding a training course is easy [27,O]	<.001	1.670	1.355	2.058		0.057	1.305	0.992	1.718		0.015	1.346	1.058	1.711
Freedom to teach what interested in [28,O]	<.001	1.545	1.261	1.892		0.025	1.327	1.036	1.699		0.017	1.327	1.051	1.676
Local government support [41,O]	<.001	1.605	1.300	1.982		0.063	1.281	0.987	1.662		0.002	1.462	1.154	1.852
Quality of cadet experience at unit [43,I]	<.001	1.557	1.319	1.837		0.018	1.257	1.040	1.519		0.005	1.291	1.078	1.544
Stress from volunteering [44,I]	<.001	1.192	1.108	1.282		0.002	1.153	1.053	1.262		0.001	1.142	1.053	1.239
Time SCC takes up Life [17*,O] - High/Neutral/Low	0.007	1.573	1.132	2.185		0.912	1.024	0.669	1.570					
Joining process is easy [26,O]	<.001	1.531	1.276	1.837		0.440	1.101	0.863	1.405					
Volunteering leave you out of pocket [32,O]	<.001	0.703	0.592	0.833		0.421	0.915	0.737	1.136					
Support from parents / community [31,O]	<.001	1.594	1.296	1.960		0.105	1.228	0.958	1.575					
Quality of cadet building [38,O]	0.017	1.291	1.047	1.592		0.413	1.110	0.865	1.425					
Enough staff to operate every night [36,O]	0.022	1.599	1.069	2.393		0.392	0.801	0.482	1.331					
Job title [12b*,Du] - Workers/Managers-professionals	0.249	1.339	0.815	2.198										
What SCC Area are you in [10,N]	0.891	1.008	0.895	1.137										
Years Volunteering [5,I]	0.125	0.985	0.967	1.004										
Name of unit [10*,O] - Local deprivatin	0.182	0.844	0.657	1.083										
Highest Education [13*,Du] - No degree / Degree +	0.937	1.016	0.678	1.523										
Highest position: [8*,Du] - CO and Above / Below CO	0.151	0.712	0.449	1.131										
Hours volunteering/month [47*,O]	0.712	0.984	0.903	1.072										
						Nagelkerke r² = .269					Nagelkerke r² = .241			
Constant						<.001	0.003				<.001	0.005		
Model 2: Log likelyhood = 439.286	Obsservations				262	LR Chi²		75.057			Prob. Chi²		<.001	
Dependant variable: Feeling part of a national team? [34*,Du] =<5 = Isolated; >5 = Supported														

Similarly, the variable for those believing they get adequate local government support [41,O] is on a 5-point Likert-scale between definitely not (1) and very much so (5). The change in odds for the dependent variable in this instance is multiplied by 1.462 when moving towards 'very much so,' illustrating that this form of external support prevents a feeling of isolation within the SCC. Next, on a 10-point scale, with 1 being poor and 10 being good, the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 1.291 in progressing through the variable for the quality of the cadet unit [43,I] each volunteer is attached to, meaning that for each increase in 1 for the quality of the cadet unit, volunteers are 29.1% more likely to feel part of a national team, meaning poorly performing cadet units feel more isolated. Finally, on a further 10-point scale for feeling stress, pressure, or anxiety as a result of one's volunteering, with 1 being 'regularly' and 10 'not at all,' the change in odds for the dependent variable is multiplied by 1.142, meaning that for each progression through the 10-point scale from regular stress to no stress [44,I] the probability of volunteers feeling part of a national team is increased by 14.2%.

8.6 Empirical Results Analysis

The research sub-question for this chapter asked:

To what extent does the possession, or lack of, Bourdieu's 'capital' construct help us to understand how the cadet-experience as delivered may be inferior to the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

I begin the analysis of the empirical results relating to Bourdieu's concept of capital by considering the embodied cultural capital volunteers bring to the SCC from different entry routes. Embodied cultural capital is described as the overall human capital (Bourdieu, 1986) individuals possess. The data provides two areas of insight into this issue that are pertinent to volunteering in the SCC, namely, experience/qualifications in working with young people, and educational attainment. The data shows that there is no statistically significant difference in the qualifications/experience of working with young people, between instructional staff and support staff. This is an area of concern. Support staff are not permitted to partake in the training of cadets, as such, one would expect instructional staff to be significantly more experienced/qualified in youth development fields. The fact that they are not raises concerns as to whether there are sufficient instructional staff with the expertise to contribute to the cadet-experience, creating the first truth claim of this chapter:

Truth Claim 18

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because instructional staff are no more qualified or experienced in youth provision than support staff, despite the training programme being reliant on a professional delivery.

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In unpacking this, there is a statistically significant relationship where those who joined because they had family/friends involved are more likely to have previous experience/qualifications. This of course has been shown in previous chapters to be problematic in a system reliant on 'establishment' ex-cadets. This finding suggests that solving the 'civilian' recruitment link will not only increase volunteer numbers, but provide more volunteers with experience and qualifications in working with young people. There is a further implication here. One of the issues arising from previous chapters was the problems associated with existing busy volunteers being those tasked with recruiting new volunteers. This further research suggests that although there is still a need for paid staff on a regional/national level to be involved in recruitment, easing the burden for volunteers, the local knowledge gained from volunteers dealing with parents and other stakeholders face-to-face at unit level provides access to information regarding potential suitability for volunteering that others would miss. As such, the recruitment

of new volunteers will always need to maintain an element of unit involvement, where local volunteers can approach those who they have learned are suitably experienced or qualified. However, I maintain that a national system is still needed, where at this point the recruitment process is taken over by a recruitment team, easing the burden on volunteers.

Also, 'military' recruitment avenues produce volunteers with lower educational qualifications than those from 'civilian' routes. The implications here are that those ex-cadets particularly, are over-represented as volunteers. They are more likely to be those most experienced and long serving volunteers and are more likely to be senior volunteers of commanding officer position or higher. I detailed in previous chapters how the SCC is much more akin to a modern small business than the informal youth clubs of years gone by. As such, much of the requirements of running a SCC unit would be aided by exposure to the rigours of higher education. Unfortunately, with the largest cohort of volunteers lacking in this respect, problems can arise. These problems tend not to be obvious to outsiders and for that reason often go unnoticed, such as written, formal communications with parents lacking clarity and/or professionalism, or perhaps the delivery of centrally prepared lesson plans delivered with reduced quality owing to poorer literacy skills, or fundraising efforts thwarted owing to disjointed applications. Although only three examples, they illustrate how these problems are unlikely to draw the attention of national headquarters staff, or perhaps external researchers less familiar with the inner workings of the corps. However, each are all likely, in different ways, to reduce the quality of the cadet-experience at a unit level. The poorly written letter to parents can easily reduce confidence in unit volunteers' ability, reducing parents' willingness to send their child to the unit. Lower quality lesson delivery can reduce the effectiveness and enjoyment of taught sessions, causing some cadets to lose interest, and failure of funding applications have obvious implications for the financial capacity of each independent charity to operate effectively. This problem is compounded by data showing that senior volunteers of commanding officer position or higher are no more likely to be educated to degree level than junior volunteers. This problem speaks to issues of time-constraints, analysed in previous chapters. Those who take senior positions in the SCC are not necessarily those more suited for the position, or those most qualified, rather, those with more spare time to cope with the burden of volunteering at a level equivalent to part-time work, despite the need for significant skills to hold down the position effectively. Bourdieu, (1986) believed that to excel in a particular field, actors need the skills and attributes essential to that field. In this respect I return again to the nature of modern SCC units, the requirements to run them, and to deliver the professionally designed training programme. I argue that there are significant shortages of CFAVs with the experience or qualifications in

working with young people to effectively deliver the training programme to a professional standard, and that there are not sufficient volunteers educated to graduate levels in key senior positions, able to manage the requirements of an independent charity and associated stakeholders, leading to a further truth claim:

Truth Claim 19

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because there are not enough instructional and senior volunteers qualified to graduate level, reducing the skill-set needed to run a modern independent charity.

.

Although a delicate matter with undertones of elitism, having suitably educated volunteers running an independent charity is critical to managing a modern organisation operating in a professional third sector and quasi-military environment. Those without such skills are still crucially important but need managers to support them. In this respect I return again to the concept of the volunteer-enabler. If such a position is staffed by personnel able to operate in this professional environment, the support some others need can be supplied locally. However, from experience of operating in this sector I am aware that it is not always easy to fill renumerated roles that require well educated, professional managers, who are also suitably qualified in the kind of outdoor / non-academic training typical in the SCC. In such circumstances, I make a case here that it would be better to employ well educated professionals, prepared to train in SCC style activities, than the alternative as I have personally found that volunteers either have the capacity to act in a well-educated, professional manner, or they do not, whereas most volunteers can be trained to, for example, drive a power boat, regardless of other attributes.

I turn now to institutionalised cultural capital, (Bourdieu, 1986), in the form of qualifications and competencies. Those volunteers from the 'military' recruitment route are, on average, statistically likely to hold more than double the number of recognised training qualifications, be those specialisations, proficiencies, or boating qualifications. It could be argued that this group are simply more interested in acquiring 'symbolic capital' (Doherty, & Dickmann, 2009). After all, they all have links to organisations where rank and hierarchy play a major role in day-to-day life. An argument that these volunteers want the prestige that comes with qualifications could be persuasive. However, evidence from the data suggests that this is not the case. Those from a non-military/cadet background appear to have problems in transferring their external civilian qualifications to useable SCC qualifications. This problem has clear implications for the cadet-experience. Although ex-cadets make up a significant proportion of instructional

volunteers, over 40 percent of volunteers derive from the civilian route mentioned previously. Clearly, at least initially, these volunteers are likely to rely heavily on the qualifications that they can bring with them to the SCC. However, there is clear concern in the open responses that the volunteers feel that the SCC is poorly set-up to allow this application of previous training as further evidenced here:

"The SCC should broaden their acceptance of prior learning / qualifications and experience…"

An admin officer who was not a cadet

"There is one thing that I feel very strongly about and that is the fact that because I am a unit assistant and not a uniformed instructor, I am not allowed to instruct the cadets due to Sea Cadet regulations. As a result of this our unit is unable to deliver navigation training to our cadets and this is extremely detrimental to the purpose of the sea cadets as I am the only person qualified. I am actually more than qualified in every other respect. I do believe that in this instance the Sea Cadets are cutting off their nose to spite their face and I would love for this to change in the future."

A UMT member who was not a cadet

This problem introduces a further impediment to breaking down the prominence of 'establishment' groups in the SCC, if outsiders cannot deliver the breadth of training that their qualifications could provide. I introduced the work of Cattani *et al.,* (2014) above, who proposed that those players who are influential in a field, maintain those fields in their current state to preserve their dominance. It appears that there is an element of this here. I have seen many highly qualified volunteers unable to deliver training to cadets because their qualifications are not recognised by the SCC, or indeed, because they are classed as 'support staff,' so are not allowed to train cadets, regardless of the qualifications they hold. I argue that there is little appetite amongst many uniformed members of the SCC, as per Cattani *et al.,* (2014), to relinquish their dominance of SCC training. It is, by and large, only those in uniform, prepared to travel to SCC training centres, that are able to become qualified to train. This of course has the dual effect of reducing the potential of many CFAVs to contribute to training, and this contributes to the higher attrition rates seen amongst those not in the 'establishment,' compounding the volunteer shortages covered in previous chapters, leading to a third truth claim of this chapter:

Truth Claim 20

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because many volunteers are not allowed to utilise externally gained qualifications, reducing the capacity of cadet units to deliver training opportunities.

Clearly a solution to this issue would increase the quality of the cadet-experience across the corps, and there has been a change in recent years, with more non-uniformed instructors accessing local units, but there would need to be a significant increase in this trend to overcome this problem. The difficulties in transferring qualifications into the SCC means that new volunteers must rely heavily on internal training procedures to acquire more qualifications. However, the issue of training opportunities appears to be a huge concern for many CFAVs. When asked if getting on a training course is easy, over two thirds of volunteers either disagree or strongly disagree,' with only one in eight volunteers agreeing or strongly agreeing, adding weight to my belief that there is little appetite for change. Further to this, there are four statistically significant predictors of which volunteers will feel that getting on a training course is difficult. Firstly, and once again, those not feeling part of the national team. I have previously described these situated-volunteers as local people keen to help out at their local 'youth centre,' but with little or no desire to engage with the broader SCC. Clearly, such volunteers will never become senior CFAVs without embracing the national corps. However, it appears here that an opportunity is being missed. If training in specialisations, proficiencies, and boating were able to be conducted at the local level, rather than travelling, or spending weekends at regional centres then many of these situated-volunteers are likely to find the training process much more amenable as illustrated here:

Weekend courses aren't always the best for adults who work particular shift patterns and would prefer to do weekday courses instead.

Male volunteer, identifying as above CO level, from Southern Area

"Too much red tape in the corps, expecting people to give up holidays to go on courses instead of holding locally."

Male volunteer, identifying as admin officer, from Southwest Area

"Adult courses need to be held more locally, it is not easy to get to Raleigh, Excellent, or Weymouth.[37] In my job I can only have school holidays, so trying to complete mandatory courses / training is difficult. This is one of the reasons why I left a few years ago."

Female volunteer, identifying as an admin officer from Southwest Area

These concerns lead to a further truth claim:

Truth Claim 21

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because volunteers cannot easily find training opportunities, especially those unwilling to travel and give up weekends, compounding gaps in volunteer training capacity.

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[37] National / Regional training centres.

To achieve this local training, I refer, yet again, to the concept running throughout these analysis chapters, namely, that of a single full-time paid employee at each unit. Even if a period of initial 'training the trainer' were required, each employee would be in a position to train situated volunteers at their own SCC unit, perhaps over a period of multiple parade sessions, negating the need for weekend residential trips as is often the case currently. Such a scenario would be transformational to the success of cadet units, enabling situated volunteers to engage more productively, providing a feeling of achievement, and enhancing the cadet-experience significantly. The next significant predictor acts to confirm what is outlined above. Those working full-time elsewhere are less likely to find the training process easy. Again, negating the need for regional/national travel or residential weekends would ensure that volunteers working full-time were not excluded from training opportunities by inflexible training provision. In addition to distributional patterns in the form of rural/urban, and high deprivation/low deprivation, a further geographical issue of significance in this thesis is spatial. Those living inside of the London SCC 'area' are statistically less likely to have issues with finding training, in comparison to volunteers from all other areas who find it more difficult. It may well be that having approximately 50 cadet units and training centres in a single urban area, well served by public transport, reduces the problems of accessing training in comparison to all other areas. However, and once again, the solutions proposed above solves this issue without the need to re-create the London area network elsewhere. Finally, those volunteers feeling out-of-pocket owing to their volunteering are more likely to feel that finding a training course is easier. This strongly suggests that despite some travelling cost being reimbursable, the process of travelling to training courses incurs a financial penalty to those wishing to develop their institutionalised cultural capital in the SCC, as this CFAV confirms.

"Most instructors are now out-of-pocket and although I can absorb it there are many who cannot. Instructors are expected to attend weeklong / long weekend courses that involve time off work. This is not always possible or financially viable for many"

Male volunteer, identifying as a CO, from Southwest Area

These costs could be for travelling, overnight accommodation or through taking time off work. I can personally recall three occasions where the costs of travelling to regional conferences or training sessions were not received within 6 months of the event, causing me to lose interest in chasing up. On other occasions the option of military style accommodation may be available, meaning if one wishes to stay in hotel accommodation costs are not covered. Alternatively,

regional training centres will often run a single day course, meaning no accommodation fees can be claimed. However, if a volunteer lives 3-4 hours' drive from the training centre, as I did, and many others do, a 6-8-hour return drive, with an 8/9-hour training day in between is unsafe to attempt, meaning overnight accommodation is needed, at one's own expense, which many CFAVs either cannot, or will not pay, further compounding the skills shortfall. Once again, the simplest solution to this would be local training by employed staff.

So, I have shown that the SCC are poor in accepting 'outside' qualifications, and that access to internal training is variable. I argue that these problems lead to fewer qualified CFAVs than is required to deliver the cadet-experience as designed, creating the following truth claim:

Truth Claim 22:

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because CFAVs do not, on average, hold enough qualifications to deliver the training programme as advertised.

The following pages support this claim. Specialisations, such as first aid, drill, physical training, navigation, and seamanship, are largely the unit-based activities that provide the standard training opportunities that take place locally. However, 56.3% of volunteers are not qualified to teach any specialisations at all. Although this figure drops to 35.7% for instructional staff, I argue that this highlights a major problem regarding volunteer numbers in the SCC. Official figures may place volunteer numbers at a little over 8000 (MSSC, 2018), however, less than 4000 of these are uniformed instructors (Denselow & Noble, 2018), meaning that the volunteer strength numbers do not accurately portray the numbers available to train cadets. Also, I illustrated above how senior instructors are usually not available for training cadets owing to management responsibilities. As such, if we count just the percentage of uniformed instructors below commanding officer position, the percentage with no specialisations climbs up to 48.5%. These figures play out in the following way. Including civilian instructors, there are 5255 instructional volunteers in the SCC (ibid). A total of 66.6% of these are below CO position totalling 3500. Of these 51.5% hold at least 1 specialisation qualification, totalling 1803. So, one can see that despite headline figures of approximately 8000 volunteers ready and able to transform the lives of cadets, not much more than 1 in 5 are in a position to regularly deliver even the 'bread and butter' qualifications known as specialisations. Further to this, those that do hold specialisations do so in by far the largest numbers in first aid (27.2%), with others held in much smaller numbers. First aid training is a fantastic programme to offer young people, but for cadets staying any length of time relying on first aid and 1 or 2 other specialisations is clearly

going to become tiresome for many cadets, leading to them leaving the corps. The outcome here is that there are simply not enough CFAVs qualified to deliver specialisations in the SCC, creating a situation where the cadet-experience as delivered falls below the standard of that which is designed.

The figures for proficiencies, such as adventure training, piping, or communications are even more stark, with 63.6% of instructional volunteers below commanding officer position having no proficiencies. Again here, even this figure is misleading. A healthy 15.8% of volunteers hold adventure training qualifications, but this skews the data somewhat, as none of the other seven categories of proficiencies are held by more than 10% of volunteers, and most of these are around 5% or below, meaning once again that the breadth of activities available are limited in most circumstances. The concern is that these proficiencies are often the high-profile activities used in promotional material, meaning that what is sold to potential cadets might be very different to what they find when attending a local cadet unit.

The final type of qualification is what the SCC, with its naval heritage, exists to provide, namely, boating opportunities. In general terms, 55.8% of volunteers hold no boating qualifications at all, which was highlighted by this example open response:

"…we need to recruit more staff to be able to give a good experience every parade night, and desperately need more qualified boating Staff…"

A boats/water sports officer from Southwest Area

One of the major patterns seen here is that volunteers from the 'military' route I have previously discussed hold, on average, 0.93 boating qualifications per volunteer, which is disappointingly low in and of itself, however, those from a 'civilian' route hold only 0.34 boating qualifications on average, confirming the issues with institutionalised cultural capital analysed above where, ex-cadets particularly, hold more SCC relevant capital than those joining from other routes. I have previously discussed how any increase in volunteer numbers is likely to need to derive from new recruitment avenues outside of the ex-forces / ex-cadet establishment. Clearly, if these volunteers are to be of practical use to the SCC, then there will need to be an improvement of the number of qualifications held by these 'civilian' recruits. Further to this, those of CO position or higher average 1.13 boating qualification per volunteer, with junior instructional staff averaging only 0.61, illustrating the reliance on senior volunteers I have already explored, despite senior volunteers having fewer and fewer opportunities to train cadets as this volunteer laments:

"As with many organisations, the people who are successful at unit level are given roles higher up and this weakens the units."

A training officer from Southwest Area

If those of senior position are less able to use the qualifications they have acquired owing to management responsibilities, and junior volunteers hold these qualifications in far fewer numbers then the ability of cadet units to deliver the breadth of the SCC curriculum is significantly reduced. Apart from the obvious consequence of reducing the opportunities for fun activities available to young people there is a further consequence hidden from the literature. Hansen *et al.,* (2003) explained how the greater range of activities young people take part in leads to greater personal development, linked to self-complexity theory, which suggests that exposure to multiple types of activity increases a person's ability to deal with stress (Linville, 1985). Finally, with regard to qualifications, looking at data for the total number of combined qualifications held by CFAVs there are three significant predictors of who will hold more than others. The first is those of commanding officer position, and the problems with this have just been outlined above. Also, and unsurprisingly, the data shows that volunteers with greater years of service hold total qualifications in greater numbers. Again however, there is a problem here. The 'civilian' recruited CFAVs commit to less than half the number of years than those from 'military' recruitment avenues, compounding the reliance of 'establishment' volunteers who have remained in post for many more years. This is another example of a catch-22 situation. The reliance on ex-cadets creates an 'establishment' cohort of volunteers who can be difficult to break into, however, those joining from different recruitment routes do not stay as long, meaning that they do not develop the qualifications to break into this establishment. The fundamental issue here is that if the SCC is going to expand to a broader cohort of young people, the only way to do this is by increasing volunteering from the 'civilian' recruitment avenues. The final statistically significant predictor of total qualifications is being out-of-pocket. This provides further evidence that volunteers are financially impacted on, as a result of their volunteering. I accepted above how the SCC is subjected to funding shortfalls in much the same way as any youth charity. I made an argument previously, and develop it in Chapter 9, that the benefits of a properly delivered SCC training programme could allow the NCS programme to be absorbed into the SCC product, using the monies saved to properly operate all the UCFs, specifically by funding a single full-time member of staff at each unit. I add to this here, that such funding needs to also cover the expenses of all volunteers as this issue

reduces the number of volunteers in the corps, and reduces the number of qualifications volunteers gain, and subjects they can subsequently teach, as these open responses reflect:

"It would be helpful if a stipend or other could be paid to volunteers for attending courses like other cadet forces, my wife is constantly unhappy with the amount of time I spend away from her, at least if it was paid, she might be more receptive."

A Petty Officer who is a student

"There is a distinct sense of change upon us in the MSSC and at a recent meeting, a member of the HQ Team stated in open forum and in response to a statement I made in respect of incentivising volunteers that "we should NOT be doing this" which I found to be an astonishing comment to make. Volunteers need to have a sense of belonging, identification, evidence of outcomes, personal benefit and we must incentivise our volunteers to ensure they recognise all of these factors. Naturally, where they don't recognise this, we put them at risk of leaving prematurely. We cannot afford to wait on statistics or evidence we need to be making these known to volunteers now."

A Lt Cdr who is employed in a management position

"If there was government funding made available for SCC staff, it could help me to find adults who were more willing to attend the unit regularly - A nominal payment made for attendance."

A Petty Officer not in employment

This issue resonates with the argument on reserve status made in Chapter 7. There are clearly a significant percentage of volunteers in the SCC whose volunteering has significant impact on their personal life, at least equal to those in a reservist position, at least in terms of commitment. I argue that the emergence of being out-of-pocket as a theme in this chapter further strengthens the argument for a UCFs version of reserve status that goes beyond making the SCC financially neutral for CFAVs, but actually pays a small reward for the commitment that is shown. This is especially relevant in light of findings in the previous chapter highlighting that three quarters of volunteers receive no recognition for their commitment, and that they remain in post not for altruistic reasons but based on what they gain from the experience. These issues have been considered by the government in the past. In 2007, the Department for Business Enterprise & Regulatory Reform (BERR) produced an impact assessment of the National Minimum Wage (NMW) on the UCFs (BERR, 2007). This assessment made it clear that the unique requirements of volunteering in the UCFs could lead to legal challenges requiring the UCFs to pay CFAVs the NMW. BERR accepted that CFAVs undertake "certain standards of behaviour associated with their position in a quasi-military role," and "undergo unique inconveniences when they join the Cadet Forces, such as accepting the need for training, undergoing special security clearance and for following strict procedures when using military facilities," (BERR, 2007, p.5-6), in addition to necessitating extended periods of time away from home. BERR was concerned that these could lead to legal claims to be paid the NMW for their inconveniences. The

objective of the assessment was to amend the NMW Act, to exclude CFAVs from qualifying for the minimum wage. BERR came up with five alternatives to not excluding CFAVs from the NMW. (i) Phase out all emoluments to CFAVs, in line with a pure volunteer ethos. This option was dismissed as likely to reduce volunteer retention as well as recruitment. (ii) Pay NMW to volunteers but reduce the hours volunteers could 'work' in order to remain within existing budgets. This was dismissed as being unworkable in regard to reducing the hours available for cadet activities. (iii) Make all CFAVs employees. This was also dismissed, citing that it goes against the principles of volunteering. (iv) Enlist all CFAVs into the reserve forces. This option was dismissed citing that CFAVs do not want this. (v) Do nothing. This option was dismissed, citing that individuals could take legal action against the UFCs, claiming NMW.

I argue here that, as with the academic literature on the UCFs, this impact assessment failed to adequately understand the nature of volunteering, both in general terms and in the UCFs. Based on the research that has taken place in this PhD thesis I offer an alternative interpretation of the dilemma BERR faced back in 2007. I agree that the requirements of volunteering in the UCFs entail 'unique inconveniences' that bring into question whether CFAVs should be paid the NMW. However, rather than amend the 1998 NMW act to exclude CFAVs, a more nuanced take on the alternatives suggested by BERR (2007) could solve the problem. The option of making CFAVs employees was rejected, citing that CFAVs see themselves as volunteers. This stance takes no allowance of the extensive literature citing volunteering, not as altruistic, rather, as a form of leisure (Stebbins, 1996; 2001; 2007; 2011), based on self-interest that can continue for a significant proportion of one's lifetime. As such, it seems likely that many CFAVs would welcome employment status for what they do, and this is evidenced in this research. However, as detailed above there would be no need to make all CFAVs employees, as a single employee for each unit would revolutionise the cadet-experience for reasons outlined above, creating a situation where the most qualified, committed, and experienced volunteers would be in a position, if desired, to apply for the remunerated post. The option of enlisting CFAVs in the reserve forces was also dismissed. Again, a more nuanced approach should have been applied. Key senior positions in the SCC, for example, such as unit commanding officers, and district officers could be positions that offer enlistment into the reserve forces. This would not need to be compulsory; some volunteers are happy as things stand. However, many senior volunteers, committing 60-80 hours per month, would find the burden of command much more tolerable if the rewards of volunteering were comparable to those found in traditional reserve status. By implementing such policies, much of the concern outlined by BERR disappear. Those situated volunteers, are now free to contribute to the cadet unit, enabled by a full-time paid employee,

even if this employee is shared between more than one unit, and further supported by a senior volunteer within the unit holding reservist status, committing significantly above third sector norms, but adequately rewarded for this commitment.

I have made a number of arguments throughout this thesis regarding issues that reduce the effectiveness of the cadet-experience as delivered. I argue that the issues detailed above regarding surprising shortfalls in volunteer qualifications is one of the most significant in terms of consequences. One of the stand-out benefits of positive activities programmes as detailed in earlier chapters is life-skills development. If a dearth of enrichment activities exists in much of the SCC owing to a lack of qualified volunteers, then the capacity of the SCC to deliver these outcomes consistently across the national corps must be questioned further still. The pages above explain how there is no one single cause of qualification shortfalls, and there is of course not one single solution. What is needed however, is an acknowledgement of the problem, which to this point is largely missing from the literature.

The final area of analysis for this chapter is the social capital (Gretzinger, *et al.,* 2010) that creates networks of relationships in the SCC, and how these impact on the cadet-experience. The data shows that nearly one third of CFAVs feel isolated in their volunteering, and not part of the national team, which leads to the final truth claim:

Truth Claim 23

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because systems of the SCC create isolationist behaviours, meaning many CFAVs do not have the networks of relationships to call upon when times are difficult, reducing the effectiveness of cadet units.

There are five significant predictors of what makes a volunteer feel isolated and each, in their own way, impact the cadet-experience as detailed below. The first variable I analyse as a significant predictor is those CFAVs who used to be a cadet. Those volunteers who are ex-cadets are less likely to feel part of a national team. This once again fits in with the narrative of an 'establishment' of volunteers at a local, and perhaps district level, who dominate their local SCC activities, perhaps to the point of excluding others, including regional and national headquarters. I suggest here that these ex-cadets play out a version of the situated-volunteers I proposed earlier. Only in this case, they are fully committed to a Sea Cadet career, but only at a local level. This assertion continues to build a narrative that it is difficult for an organisation of individual charities, rooted in their local community, dominated by local volunteers, and reliant on local support to fully engage with a national organisation. This argument is backed up by the second predictor, which is support from local government. Those supported well by

their local council feel less isolated. This supports the suggestion above and builds yet more on the narrative that the SCC model actually pushes local units away from the national corps and towards reliance, and indeed loyalty, to their local community. The issues of finding a training course have been covered above in detail, and this variable appears as a significant predictor here. What is clear is that the system of travelling across the country or even just across a single region, to find training courses is problematic for many volunteers and comes up several times in this research. I suggest that the simplest answer to this is in common with what has been said previously. Local, highly qualified full-time employees can deliver training locally, negating this issue. Even if the employee at one's local unit is not qualified in a particular skill-set, each district would have sufficient full-time employees to cover all training needs, reducing the need to travel, and perhaps reducing CFAVs feelings of isolation from the national corps. The issue of stress associated with one's volunteering is another variable that has appeared a number of times and once again this result acts as confirmation of problems, specifically that many CFAVs simply do not have the networks of relationships to deal with difficult situations, meaning that problems stay local, once again reducing the role of the national corps in local matters. The final variable that has a statistically significant relationship with isolation is that of being free to teach topics of interest. I suspect that there may well be simple congruence of ideology here between those who feel the topics they are allowed to teach are those that have a larger place in the core training programme. Some areas of volunteers' interests may only take up a very limited percentage of the training programme, causing them to feel less enamoured by the rules and procedures derived from the national SCC.

8.7 Empirical Results Analysis Summary

The results presented in this chapter relate to Bourdieu's 'capital' construct, and how this might impact on the cadet-experience in a fashion unreported elsewhere. I have presented evidence that there are six categories of capital where issues are found that can cause the cadet-experience as designed to differ from that which is delivered. Embodied cultural capital manifests within the SCC in the form of youth qualifications / experience, and educational attainment. Contrary to intuition, those within the SCC who are tasked with training cadets, have no more qualifications / experience in youth work than those tasked with support activities **(TC18)** such as fundraising, property maintenance, or balancing the accounts, raising questions as to whether instructional staff in the SCC are sufficiently qualified to train cadets to a standard even approaching that which is provided by local government, full-time, professional youth workers. The finding that did stand out, however, was that those volunteers who joined because friends

or family were already involved have qualifications / experience in working with young people in statistically significant higher numbers than all others. This finding is important for those involved in recruitment. I have argued in previous chapters that the burden of recruitment needs to be taken away from already busy volunteers. What this finding reminds us of, is that unit level volunteers still have a role to play in identifying local stakeholders who may be best qualified to help out. This is fine, as long as the recruitment process then allows volunteers to pass the administrative process over to paid staff. The second type of embodied cultural capital playing a significant role in the delivery of the cadet-experience, I argue, is educational attainment. Those entering from the 'military' route, in addition to those that are instructional staff are statistically less likely to be educated to degree level, and senior volunteers of commanding officer position or above are no more likely to hold a degree than junior volunteers **(TC19)**. I have argued throughout this PhD thesis that running SCC units, or even just acting as a senior instructor, requires the skill-set equivalent to running a small business. Indeed, I argue here that it requires a larger skill-set, owing to the extended groups of stakeholders that need to be managed, such as the parents, volunteers, national staff, and local councillors who all have vested interests, albeit very different ones. I make no claims here that graduates are the only people capable of senior training positions or managing a cadet unit well. What I do argue, is that, generally speaking, the skills and competencies developed on a degree course, and often the graduate jobs that follow, make managing cadet training and whole cadet units easier, and that there are not enough CFAVs with these skills, reducing the quality of the cadet-experience as delivered, in comparison to that which is designed. I make a claim here that the suggested volunteer-enabler would need to be in possession of such skills to aid those who are not.

So, I raised questions above as to how qualified CFAVs are in regard to working with young people. The chapter took this further by focusing on the SCC relevant qualification volunteers either bring to the corps or develop in the corps. It was found that those from the 'military' entry route discussed in earlier chapters possess, on average, more than double the number of qualifications as those from the 'civilian' entry route. On further exploration it was shown that much of this problem is as a result of difficulties 'civilian' entry route volunteers have getting externally acquired qualifications recognised by the SCC **(TC20)**. The analysis above argued that this bias towards those qualifications gained within the SCC maintains the 'establishment' of ex-cadets dominating the SCC. Consequently, the chapter then looked at how easy it is to gain qualifications internally in the corps **(TC21)**. What transpired is that access to training within the SCC is actually problematic across the board, but with two distinct themes. Firstly, all those outside of London are statistically more likely to find getting on a suitable training

course more difficult than those in London. This is thought to owe to the more condensed nature of the units and training facilities in the capital, and the availability of public transport. Secondly, there are three distinct groups who find the travel to training centres problematic. Those situated-volunteers less enamoured by the national SCC, wishing instead to restrict their volunteering to their local centre, those in full-time work, with less spare time, and those feeling out-of-pocket as a result of their volunteering. I have argued previously that the use of a single full-time volunteer-enabler at each unit would transform the cadet-experience. I now add the role of training volunteers locally to the job description of this role. By training volunteers in their own unit, ideally during normal parade sessions, the problems highlighted above of volunteers unwilling or unable to travel become moot.

The points raised above relate to the difficulties of gaining qualifications, which of course impact on the total qualifications volunteers in the SCC hold **(TC22)**. The data shows that over fifty percent of volunteers have no qualifications in either specialisations, proficiencies or boating. Having highlighted earlier that those volunteers in senior positions are usually not free to teach cadets owing to management responsibilities, it is concerning to discover that those junior volunteers hold qualifications to teach in significantly lower numbers. In specialisations, for example, only approximately 1 in 5 volunteers below commanding officer have any qualifications to teach cadets. Additionally, almost two thirds of instructional volunteers below commanding officer hold no proficiency qualifications, and junior instructional volunteers have, on average, fewer than half the number of boating qualifications than senior instructional volunteers. This problem has significant implications for the cadet-experience, reducing the opportunities for cadets to gain the full cadet-experience as sold in promotional material. With specific regards to boating qualifications, those from a 'military' recruitment route have almost three times the amount of boating qualifications than those from the 'civilian' recruitment route. The implication here is that the concept of the SCC, and by extension larger UCFs taking over from previous local government provision is reliant on broadening volunteer recruitment beyond the 'establishment' of ex-cadet volunteers. However, if these volunteers possess so few boating qualifications, the capacity of the SCC to deliver the cadet-experience to this notional larger cohort is significantly reduced. I have argued that the paid volunteer-enabler idea would solve this problem, training volunteers locally to train cadets.

The final analysis of the above issues relating to institutionalised cultural capital is that of total qualifications and the patterns of which volunteers have more or less. Although largely reflecting the patterns as described for the individual specialisations, proficiencies, and boating qualifications, the one additional category of volunteer groups to stand out is of significant

interest. Those feeling out-of-pocket owing to their volunteering hold significantly more qualifications. This opens the debate up to questions of rewards volunteers do, or do not receive for their volunteering. This chapter argued that there is a place for some senior or key volunteers to be given the option of a form of reservist status that provided compensation for the extreme commitment that they need to make to their volunteering, and that such a system would further enable other volunteers to contribute more to the cadet-experience.

Finally, social capital, in the form of 'networks of relationships,' **(TC23)** also play a role in varying the delivery of the cadet-experience. Almost one third of CFAVs feel isolated in their volunteering, driving many of the issues raised in this and previous chapters. Much of this isolation is deliberate. The nature of the SCC systems appears to drive this isolation, where volunteers and whole units are largely left to their own devices, reliant on the local community to survive. I have argued above that any national organisation that provides only minimal support to individual units within that organisation, forcing it to turn elsewhere for support, is always going to struggle to develop a sense of being part of a national team amongst its personnel and that the simplest solution is to take national control over each unit, returning allegiances to the national SCC, but providing much more support in return.

Chapter 9: Discussion

9.1 Introduction

I began this PhD thesis by introducing a problem statement. In this I explored the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units and how it is often not able to reflect the cadet-experience as designed owing to the limitations of running a modern youth training organisation utilising volunteers and volunteer institutions. The major concern I highlighted is that the existing literature has failed to take account of the practical barriers to delivering the cadet-experience, making assessments of quality and outcomes based on the cadet-experience as designed and sold in promotional material, rather than what is actually delivered. In suggesting this problem statement, I highlighted nine areas of research that are currently either missing from the UCF debate or need further exploration to take account of the above concerns. These areas are gender ratios, funding shortfalls, problems specific to community-based units, cadet outcomes, cadet intake characteristics, cadet engagement, institutional limitations, volunteer limitations, and the role of social-class. I detailed in previous chapters the reasoning that was adopted in focusing this research to the three areas that this PhD thesis could add most value. These three research areas were volunteer limitations, the limitations of volunteer institutions, and the unique difficulties community-based cadet units face in delivering the cadet-experience. These three concerns led to the development of the following research question:

What personnel and institutional factors cause the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units to fall short of the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

Chapters 6 to 8 made use of a conceptual framework, in the form of Bourdieu's field, habitus, and capital constructs (Bourdieu, 1977), drawing out twenty-three limitations or 'truth claims' regarding the day-to-day delivery of the cadet-experience in comparison to the cadet-experience as designed. This chapter, referring back to the literature where possible, and highlighting where it is not, creates a thematic narrative of these limitations, cutting across Bourdieu's field, habitus, and capital constructs, generating seven answers to the research question above. These seven thematic areas of concern are the constructs of path dependency, cultural transition, central life interests volunteering, serious leisure, marginal volunteering, efficacy, and situated-volunteering. These areas of concern are discussed in detail below.

9.2. Institutional Limitations of Community-Based Cadet Units

9.2.1 Path Dependency

The first area of discussion I present is that relating to the SCC as an institution. The SCC can trace its roots to the middle of the 19th century. Throughout the intervening years customs, traditions, mergers, prevailing ethos, and ingrained operating models have led to a modern Sea Cadet institution, that at times, I argue, actively prevents the delivery of the cadet-experience matching the standard that is designed.

The 'Elements of Governance' model, as explored in Chapter 4 illustrates how the rules, regulations, and practices of institutions are understood to be the highly visible elements of an institution, with the ideas, beliefs, values, and assumptions being the most opaque (Maclean, *et al.,* 2006). I detailed in previous chapters how this low visibility element of governance is indeed reflected in the SCC, with underlying beliefs, ethos and assumptions often misunderstood by stakeholders. I now add to this debate by claiming that the so called 'visible' practices of organisations can also be opaque, and misunderstood if, over a protracted timescale, research in the field has failed to ask the difficult questions that need to be asked. Specifically, in this instance, regarding the capacity of almost 400 disparate cadet units to deliver a standard cadet-experience. This issue is entirely missing from the literature and constitutes the first answer to the original research question:

Research Question – Answer 1

One reason why the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units falls short of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCF promotional material is the variation in quality of the SCC estate, and variation in availability of volunteers.

(Derived from truth claims 1,3,4,6,8,9 & 19)

This research has shown how variations in the quality of buildings and facilities creates quantifiable differences in the number of cadets that attend each unit and the quality of provision at each unit. The implications here are that in selling the cadet-experience to young people and their parents the SCC is never going to acknowledge that some units are unable to deliver a product that reflects what is advertised in promotional material, meaning that many new joiners are left disappointed and feeling misled. Furthermore, this research has shown that variations in facilities and equipment creates conflict between instructional staff and support

staff. This conflict appears to be somewhat of an own-goal for the SCC where the very structure designed to support delivery creates the conflict, and any programme of changes aimed at improving the cadet-experience will need to address this, as a significant minority of cadet units report conflict between instructional and support staff that compounds the inconsistency of delivery. This lack of a consistent product is exacerbated by the variations in volunteer availability across socio-economic boundaries. This research has revealed that cadet units in the more deprived locations have access to fewer volunteers and find it more difficult to attract management / professional level volunteers. This mirrors the concerns of Putnam (1993) when he discussed how areas low on social capital produce vertically aligned 'subjects,' less likely to take part in the social collective in comparison to horizontally aligned 'citizens,' better at forming social allegiances. Any shortages of volunteers are always likely to be problematic, reducing the number of cadets that can be accommodated and the range of services that a unit can offer, placing more pressure on the volunteers that are present. In addition, I have outlined how running a SCC unit is comparable with running a small business, including, for example, performance management duties, health and safety responsibilities, legal compliances and managing finances, and as such, attracting volunteers with managerial or professional experience is highly beneficial to the operational effectiveness of the charity. As cadet units in deprived areas attract volunteers with management / professional experience in lower numbers, there is a further cost to these cadet units, once again restricting the capacity of such units to excel, compounding variability. Furthermore, cadet units in affluent areas also struggle to attract volunteers in comparison to those in mid-level socio-economic locations. I have argued that this reflects the way in which people of higher socio-economic status volunteer, preferring more 'middle-class' organisations such as the Scouts as avenues to contribute to civic society. Again, the consequence is that units in such areas struggle for volunteers, which restricts what services can be offered to the young people at each unit, varying quality across the SCC.

What this research has uncovered is that there is no such thing as a single cadet-experience in community-based Sea Cadet units. The variations of service in a national organisation, reliant on volunteers is such that a consistent product is extremely difficult, if not impossible to deliver, creating what Abdelnour *et al.,* (2017, p.8) described as a 'patchwork institution,' where human complexities restrict the homogenisation of institutions. The implication of this is that SCC units become 'path dependent' (Putnam, 1993), restricted to what they can achieve based on the facilities, resources, and volunteers each cadet unit can access, which may or may not be equitable to the cadet-experience as advertised. This issue is missing from the existing debate yet, as 'path dependent' community-based units find it almost impossible to break out of a cycle

of underperformance, it is a crucial omission. These units, already low on material and human resources, place greater pressure on the volunteers that remain, causing them to leave post or underperform. Potential new volunteers can see that 'path dependent' units are struggling immediately and are less likely to join as a result, compounding staffing issues. Also, those in the local community in a position to contribute such as local councils or businesses are less likely to do so knowing that the unit has underperformed in the past. Furthermore, cadet units rely heavily on the financial contributions or 'subscriptions' that cadets pay. In struggling units, with fewer cadets, these subscriptions amount to little more than spare change, meaning the financial capacity of the unit to deliver a cadet-experience is compromised. Over time, these 'path dependent' units struggle to maintain cadets, meaning that few, if any, progress to become senior long serving cadets. This research has shown that it is those long-serving cadets that stay on to become future volunteers, meaning a further negative feedback cycle is created, where struggling units do not produce the cadets to become new volunteers, who could help with the struggle, further compounding variation and path dependency. I suggest that any initiatives aimed at matching the quality of the cadet-experience as delivered, with that which is designed can never be successful until the concept of path dependency is addressed. Some units, perhaps a significant minority, simply cannot prosper in the existing model as independent charities without significant and regular external intervention, and support that does little to remedy the underlying issues discussed above. There are further implications. In a 'big society' style system of youth provision where the SCC might be expected to play a larger role than at present, the impact of the variation in provision quality seen currently across the SCC is multiplied owing to the role positive activities programmes play in the development of the life-skills (Bertram *et al.,* 2018), and resilience (Goodman *et al.,* 2015) discussed in Chapter 4. Whether the motivation for this life-skills development in young people is based on simply improving adult outcomes as discussed by Goodman *et al.,* (2015) or to create the perfect neoliberal citizen as discussed by Mills & Waite (2017), the variation in delivery across SCC community-based units would lead to many young people developing fewer life-skills than those in other cadet units, an inconsistency that would be seen as unacceptable if seen, for example, in the school system. Again, greater emphasis is applied to this issue in a 'big society' style future model. It was shown earlier that a desire to climb international league tables forces the school system to focus on academic examinations, often at the expense of developing life-skills attributes such as resilience and mental toughness, even though there is evidence from the private school system showing that 25% of variation in performance between independent and state school students is down to greater levels of mental toughness and resilience (Strycharczyk, 2017). As

such, variation in the quality of provision has implications beyond the SCC, reducing opportunities for life-skills development generally for young people in the UK.

9.2.2 Cultural Transition

If much of the variation in the cadet-experience discussed above is owing to volunteer shortages, then the nature of volunteer recruitment needs consideration. I highlighted in previous chapters how armed forces' leavers go through a military-to-civilian transition (Cooper *et al.,* 2017). I have argued that this plays out in reverse in the SCC where joiners experience a civilian-to-military transition, that many potential volunteers who are not either ex-cadets or ex-forces struggle to overcome. Indeed, this research has shown that approximately two thirds of all volunteers used to be a cadet or have previous military experience, despite having the entire UK adult population to draw from, suggesting that the cultural transition into the SCC is a difficult one to overcome, reducing recruitment numbers from the broader population. Furthermore, with ex-cadets volunteering for double the number of years in comparison to those who were not, and making up over ninety percent of all volunteers with thirty years' service or more, it is clear that recruitment from the general public requires improvement. This leads to a further answer to the research question:

Research Question – Answer 2

One reason why the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units falls short of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCF promotional material is because a finite cohort of ex-cadets make up a disproportionate number of the total volunteers in the SCC, highlighting a dearth of volunteers from the broader population as a result of the 'cultural transition' difficulties associated with joining a quasi-military organisation.

(Derived from truth claims 5 & 14)

I argue that this problem is inextricably tied to a historic public image of the SCC as a recruitment organisation for the Royal Navy. One of the open responses to the survey claimed that the SCC 'is an organisation with a crisis of identity.' This respondent was referring to how the SCC still feels like a military organisation at times, with its "historically generated system of shared meaning," (Lellatchitch *et al.,* 2001), linking back to the 'Naval Lads Brigades' (Sea Cadets, 2021c), of the 1850's, whilst simultaneously claiming to be a modern generic youth training provider, simply with a nautical theme. If the SCC aspires to expand it needs to lose the ambiguity. I suggest that there are three routes the SCC could take. The SCC could either make a clear return to its Royal Navy roots and role in recruitment to the armed forces. It could

continue on its current path of providing generic youth enrichment activities utilising a nautical theme, albeit in a less ambivalent fashion, or it could develop a hybrid model as touched upon in Chapter 8.

Prior to leaving the SCC in 2020 I had more than one meeting with a senior remunerated SCC manager who told me that the SCC executive had conducted meetings with the Royal Navy, looking at pathways to greater funding from them. In return the SCC would return to playing a role in recruitment. Previous chapters highlighted the concerns of commentators such as Hörschelmann, (2016), Sangster, (2017), and ForcesWatch, (2018) regarding youth exposure to militarism. Such a return to acting as a conduit for recruitment would no doubt exacerbate the number and intensity of commentators expressing such concerns. However, purely in terms of building a stronger SCC and even increasing capacity to take over 'big society' style youth provision, this model would work. It would of course intensify the predominance of ex-cadet / ex-military volunteers and drive most of the broader population further from volunteering in the SCC. However, the potential of extra funding could mitigate the need for these 'civilian' volunteers. Rather, the SCC could target even more ex-forces personnel, with incentives, to deliver an enhanced quasi-military programme. Such a situation could even expand the role the SCC plays in future youth provision. Although many young people would distance themselves from an overt military-centric youth development organisation, a properly funded version of the SCC could significantly increase its size by attracting young people keen on military styled training, previously unimpressed by what the SCC had to offer, or confused by mixed messages regarding its core ethos. The ACF and ATC attract well over double the number of cadets in comparison to the SCC, largely owing to their closer ties to their parent branch of the armed forces, less ambiguous messaging, and the extra funding this provides. It is reasonable to assume that the SCC would see similar numbers if they were funded and supported in the same way.

By contrast, the SCC could fully commit to the current generic youth training philosophy, explicitly selling itself as a provider of youth development opportunities utilising a water-based theme. This approach would attract 'civilian' volunteers in greater numbers, increasing the quality of the cadet-experience in many units, and attract the kind of young people who had previously attended local authority youth centres. I suspect that what has prevented the SCC executive from committing to such a transition is the fear of losing the limited Royal Navy funding it currently receives, making such a move, although potentially viable, a financial risk that is too large to take. I identified in Chapter 1 how some of the existing UCFs literature (Moon *et al.,* 2010; Plastow, 2011) had been produced with the aim of highlighting how

government departments such as Education, Health & Social Care; Housing, Communities and Local Government; and Work and Pensions, indirectly benefit from the work done by the UCFs. I explained how the cadet forces were trying to strategically place themselves in a way to attract funding from across these government departments after the financial crisis of 2008, in fear of competing for MoD funding directly with frontline military priorities. I also illustrated how much of the remaining UCF related literature (Wood, 2014; See *et al.,* 2017; Bertram *et al.,* 2018; Denny *et al.,* 2018) was focused on building a narrative regarding the benefits of school-based cadet units, being as they are, in a position to attract funding from elsewhere. If the UCFs are so concerned regarding funding shortfalls in community-based units, the SCC are never likely to risk losing the funding they still receive from the RN, largely discounting the possibility of moving closer to a generic youth provider as a viable option. A third option proposed here could develop a hybrid version of the SCC that provides something for everyone, whilst simultaneously removing the confusion over the role of the corps. I detailed in previous chapters how providing funding for a full-time paid member of staff to be available to each cadet unit during parade nights would be relatively inexpensive, costing as little in staff costs as that of a single secondary school. Even a more ambitious version of this, ensuring each unit had its own volunteer-enabler would be a fraction[38] of the cost of NCS, yet it would enable efficient delivery of what NCS currently provides, not just in the summer, but throughout the year. The argument I have proposed would enable cadet units, operating more efficiently owing to the volunteer-enabler, to deliver generic youth activities for one or two nights per week, whilst enabling those wishing to engage in the military side of the SCC to partake in a further session just for those wishing to do so. Such a scenario would enable the SCC to pursue stronger links to the Royal Navy by providing recruitment support separate from normal parade nights, taking any funding that comes with it, whilst also affording potential volunteers from the broader population the assurance they need regarding a non-military role they could play during ‘normal’ sessions. Perhaps such a model would need small changes to the terminologies and practices used, where the term parade night is retained solely for those sessions associated with traditional military styled SCC training, and the generic sessions use a more neutral term. Equally, these generic sessions may be suited to operate without uniforms, whilst the traditional sessions maintain the Royal Navy uniform and associated ceremonies.

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[38] One paid member of staff in 400 cadet units, earning say £25,000 per year, could cost the SCC as little as £33,000 in total employee costs, equal to £13,2M per annum, as much of the associated costs are generated by the volunteers currently in these roles. This equates to just 8.4% of the NCS Trust budget.

There is of course, one glaring obstacle to this scenario, which is attracting the funding to deliver such a model. I have shown how the SCC could deliver the NCS model as effectively, and throughout the year, not just in the summer as currently takes place. However, NCS was a high-profile project of the Conservative coalition of 2010-2015, and its ‘big society’ ideology (Cameron, 2016), followed by his successor’s ‘shared society’ (Mills & Waite, 2018) iteration. One has to doubt whether the Conservative Government, even with those two leaders having moved on, would be willing to pull back from NCS in fear of losing political capital. However, other avenues regularly appear that could be sought. For example, the new ‘levelling up’ agenda (HM Government, 2022) set out by the Conservative Government, could be explored perhaps by tapping into the Youth Investment Fund, designed to create a “level playing field for young people to have equal access to youth services, trusted youth workers, and dedicated youth facilities that deliver positive outcomes” (GOV.UK, 2022). The source of the funding is not important. What is crucial is understanding that extra funding *is needed* to provide the level of service that many assume already exists.

9.3 Volunteer Limitations of Community-based Cadet Units

9.3.1 Central Life Interests

Hornung *et al.,* (2017) described the ‘primary core’ of volunteers in the third sector who, although constituting only a small percentage of the total numbers of volunteers, undertake over half of the total volunteering hours. This research has discovered that a significant proportion of volunteers in the SCC not only classify as members of the primary core, but volunteer at an intensity that goes beyond even this. Paine *et al.,* (2010), illustrated how ‘long-term,’ and ‘committed’ volunteers offer around 8-12 hours of their time per month. However, this research has shown that approximately half of all CFAVs in the SCC commit to double this amount, and almost one quarter of volunteers double again. With CFAVs committing so many hours and averaging just over 10 years’ service, they clearly fall within the ‘central life interests’ (Dublin, 1992) group of volunteers who invest a significant proportion of their entire lives to their volunteering. Although there is little acceptance in the literature of the hours SCC volunteers commit, if it is acknowledged at all, it is used as a positive, illustrating how dedicated CFAVs are. What is missing in the literature, and where this research provides a further answer to the research question is the problems this causes:

Research Question – Answer 3

One reason why the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units falls short of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCF promotional material is because the SCC is reliant on a significant proportion of volunteers committing their 'central life interests' to the corps. Any unit without several such volunteers cannot deliver the cadet-experience as designed owing to the level of commitment required to deliver the model, and those that do, often struggle owing to the stress, pressure, or anxiety that this causes.

(Derived from truth claims 1 & 10)

So, even when volunteers try to provide this commitment it does not come without consequences which also impact the cadet-experience. One third of CFAVs 'regularly' suffer stress, pressure, or anxiety as a result of their volunteering. Two of the three drivers of this stress are operational issues in the form of units being short staffed, as discussed above, and volunteers feeling isolated, as discussed below. The third driver is when volunteering encroaches unduly on other areas of volunteer's lives. This speaks back to the concept of central life interests (Dublin, 1992). Volunteering at SCC units *requires* volunteers to commit to an intensity necessitating the adoption of central life interest volunteering. However, many CFAVs do not want their volunteering encroaching into their private lives, driving many of the complaints volunteers have. There is further evidence of this in the data collected from the SCVS. When directly asking CFAVs if their volunteering has negatively impacted their work or other areas of their life, the only significant driver is the number of hours they are required to commit per month, not what they need to do whilst volunteering, adding further weight to this argument of a volunteer-enabler to support workload issues.

9.3.2 Serious Leisure

The findings above contradict the work of Raisborough (2006), and her concept of 'chronological location.' In her study of female CFAVs in the SCC, she proposed that these individuals demonstrated chronological location, by putting their volunteering before other areas of their lives, because the SCC came first in their lives, it has priority. The findings of this PhD thesis suggest that Raisborough's analysis of a cohort of female CFAVs cannot be applied universally. It is true that many volunteers do seem to place their commitment to the SCC first, however, this is by no means ubiquitous, and for many the impact of their volunteering is unsustainable, leading to early retirement from their roles. Concerns are raised here as to the extent to which the SCC as 'employers' of volunteers understand these issues, and the motivations for volunteering amongst its personnel. The narrative seems to be that CFAVs can

be asked to commit to higher and higher levels of volunteering, as it is all about the cadets, and the volunteers will not want to let the cadets down. What is missing here forms a further research question answer regarding the role serious leisure (Stebbins, 1996) plays in the SCC:

Research Question – Answer 4

One reason why the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units falls short of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCF promotional material is because the SCC fail to understand that many of their volunteers are serious leisure participants, motivated by self-interest as much as altruistic motives, and the SCC does nothing to address this.

(Derived from truth claims 16 & 17)

I have shown that two of the three statistically significant drivers in whether volunteers wish to leave the SCC are those who are not happier, and those who do not have a better social life as a result of their volunteering, clearly indicating that volunteers judge the value of their volunteering based on what personal benefits they receive from it. If the SCC wish to increase the number of volunteers at their disposal, they will need to address one of the four principles of volunteering (The Compact, 2009), in the form of mutual benefit, and do so over extended periods in what Stebbins' (2007) called 'durable benefits,' being one of his six distinguishing features of serious leisure. I have argued that the current system employs threats of dismissal and emotional blackmail as a tool for increased volunteer commitment first, with policies promoting volunteer benefits a distant second if present at all. There are a number of initiatives that could address this problem as analysed in previous chapters. Introducing a version of reservist service for key volunteers, for example, with the 'mutual benefits' that come with this would be one solution. These benefits include greater recognition and support from employers, and pro-rata renumeration for their efforts, making the commitment more palatable to family members if they see a financial gain from it.

9.3.3 Marginal Volunteering

So, two of the three statistically significant drivers of wanting to resign from the SCC have been laid out above. The third driver is being of commanding officer position or higher, highlighting the particular difficulties associated with holding senior positions in the SCC. These senior volunteers are statistically more likely to have problems with the joining process, as they manage it, they volunteer for 5 to 6 times as many hours per month as those categorized as 'committed' or 'long term' third sector volunteers (Paine *et al.,* 2010), and they are more likely to suffer from stress as a result of their volunteering. Little wonder that these senior volunteers

are the only group of CFAVs who are statistically more likely to wish to resign within 12 months. The implications here, as confirmed by this research, is that many unit leaders wish to stop volunteering, but do not as there is often no one to take their place. This 'marginal volunteering' (Stebbins, 1996) is well understood in volunteering literature, where the line between obligation and coercion blurs. However, where the literature differs from what this research has uncovered is that the coercion is generally thought to be short lived (Stebbins 2001a) amongst volunteers, whereas CFAVs in the SCC, especially senior ones, are exposed to coercion for prolonged periods, where they remain in the 'decline' phase of volunteering (Stebbins, 2007) for protracted periods, often years. The impact of this is that anyone, whether paid employee or volunteer, will struggle to perform at their best in an organisation they wish to leave. As such, the cadet-experience in units managed by senior volunteers in the decline phase is unlikely to ever match the cadet-experience as designed. So, a further answer to the research question is presented here relating to the difficulties faced by senior volunteers:

Research Question – Answer 5

One reason why the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units falls short of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCF promotional material is owing to the concept of 'marginal volunteering,' where many senior volunteers are forced to remain in post long after they would like to stand down, as there is no one to take their place, reducing their willingness/capacity to maintain their level of commitment.

(Derived from truth claims 12 & 13)

I argue that there is a misunderstanding regarding how long volunteers feel coerced into volunteering, where Stebbins (2001a, pp.55-56) said volunteers' obligation is "short lived, in comparison to paid work." The misunderstanding is that it fails to take into consideration the construct of the sunk cost fallacy, where volunteers' obligation is actually to themselves. Sunk cost fallacy is described as occurring "when a prior investment of money, effort, or time leads to a continuous investment in a failing path of action when the logical response would be to stop investing" (Rego *et al.,* 2018). This concept originates in the field of economics where Friedman *et al.,* (2007) explain that a cost is sunk when it cannot be recovered, and that this cost should then have zero impact on subsequent rational decision making. For example, the pre-purchase of a concert ticket is a sunk cost and should not dictate whether one attends the concert. So, if the weather and road conditions are poor, the pre-purchase of a ticket should not influence your decision on whether to drive to the concert in dangerous conditions or stay at home. Violating this principle is the sunk cost fallacy (Zhang *et al.,* 2021). It is, however, not restricted to economics. There is evidence that the sunk cost fallacy plays a role in whether

people stay in intimate relationships. In considering investments in time, money, and effort, Rego *et al.,* (2018), showed that money and effort are statistically linked to whether individuals remain in an unhappy marriage, and that time is significant, when time was measured in the number of days invested in a relationship (Ibid, pp.511-517). To the best of my knowledge, no one has made a link between marginal volunteering and the sunk cost fallacy. This link provides a vehicle to understand why volunteers in the 'decline' stage of volunteering remain in marginal volunteering for extended periods, with all the associated costs for the cadet-experience. This marginal volunteering has knock-on effects. This research has shown that senior volunteers hold usable SCC qualifications at approximately double the rate of junior volunteers, but that their management and clerical responsibilities very often prevent them from using these. Add marginal volunteering issues into the mindset of senior volunteers and it becomes clear that those with the most qualifications to offer the SCC, very often are not in a position to make use of them, meaning that cadets looking to pursue the range of activities promised in promotional material often struggle to do so, leading to the next answer.

9.3.4 Efficacy

The issue of volunteer qualifications has been shown to be a major concern across the SCC. This issue speaks to the concept of programme characteristics developed in the Conceptual Model of Participation (Bohnert, *et al.,* 2010) seen in Chapter 4. Much of the existing literature focuses on the 'outcomes' element of the model, with little or no mention of 'programme characteristics.' Specifically relating to the SCC, I suggest that the 'opportunities for skills building' and 'support for efficacy' impact the cadet-experience in a way that needs to be acknowledged and taken into consideration if outcome claims are to be believed. Cadet efficacy and the capacity to build skills is intrinsically linked to the capacity of individual cadet units to offer a full suite of development opportunities. This of course, is reliant on volunteers holding qualifications to deliver them. This research has shown that in the first instance volunteers struggle to transfer qualifications into the SCC that had been gained externally to the extent of having at times to take a time-consuming training course to be qualified at a lower level than qualifications they already hold. The research has also shown that the capacity of the SCC to rectify this with internal training is restricted, with two thirds of volunteers finding it difficult to find a suitable training course. The consequence of these two problems adds up to a further research question answer regarding qualifications:

Research Question – Answer 6

One reason why the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units falls short of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCF promotional material is because the efficacy of cadets to gain the skills that generate such outcomes is, although unreported, limited by massive shortages in qualifications amongst volunteers.

(Derived from truth claims 6,7,18,20,21, & 22)

The figures I have used in this research regarding volunteer qualifications include all CFAVs in the SCC, because even though many are support staff, the overall claimed volunteer strength usually includes these, and in doing so suggests that the SCC is in a stronger position to train cadets than it is. Including all volunteers in the qualifications debate addresses this issue, illuminating the true picture. This true picture is disappointing. Over fifty percent of volunteers hold no specialisations, proficiencies, or boating qualifications. Furthermore, as discussed above, junior volunteers, who do most of the cadet training hold fewer qualifications still, with, for example, around only one in five holding a specialisation qualification, considered to be the day-to-day training that takes place in cadet units. The implication here is that the SCC simply does not have sufficient qualified staff to deliver the cadet-experience as designed, with half of volunteers claiming that their unit does not have enough qualified staff to operate effectively at least 'often.' The cadet-experience as designed can never be fully replicated across the national SCC whilst this situation persists. I have made arguments in this and previous chapters for a single paid employee at each cadet unit. This again provides the simplest solution to the qualifications dilemma. Such a post-holder could train other volunteers locally, without the need to travel away from one's local unit that puts so many volunteers off.

9.3.5 Situated-Volunteers

It is this disconnect between volunteering at a local unit and being part of the broader SCC that forms the final discussion point regarding volunteers. Although entirely absent from the literature regarding the UCFs, this research has shown that there is a significant disconnect between individual units and national headquarters. This leads to the final research question answer, of how the cadet-experience as designed is prevented from being delivered:

Research Question – Answer 7

One reason why the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units falls short of the cadet-experience as designed and sold in UCF promotional material is owing to the disconnect between individuals at the local unit level and the national organisation, preventing efficient operation of the corps.

(Derived from truth claims 2,11,15 & 23)

The SCC consists of many volunteers I have termed 'situated volunteers,' who have joined the SCC, but only to volunteer at their local 'youth centre,' with little or no interest in the national SCC. Cooper *et al.,* (2017) explain how in the military 'meta-fields' can be divided into sub-fields at the unit/regiment level, and that "Individual behaviours adjust through everyday socialization within sub-fields." This PhD thesis can add to this construct. It appears that not only do behaviours adjust based on the sub-field individuals enter, but sub-fields adjust based on the individuals that enter them, concurring perfectly with Bourdieu's dismissal of the duality of structure and agency, in preference of their interrelation expressed in his field, habitus, and capital constructs. In the SCC this plays out in the individual unit, operated as an independent charity through SCC rules and procedures, pushed further from the national SCC owing to the propensity of situated-volunteers, wishing to help their local community only, but not the broader SCC. The implications here are that policy makers at national SCC level need to understand the nature of the volunteers within the corps, and how situated-volunteers have very different needs and aspirations. Currently, policy seems focused on a traditional quasi-military model of uniformed instructors joining a national organisation for a significant proportion of their adult lives, happy to travel between units and travel for training, with allegiances to a national quasi-military hierarchy. In reality, a significant proportion of volunteers are parents of cadets or other well intentioned 'civilians' who simply wish to help out for a period of time at their local youth centre. Without addressing this issue and catering for 'civilian' volunteers it is unlikely that the barriers to delivery of the 'cadet-experience as designed,' will ever be overcome.

9.4 Answer to the Research Question

Research Question:

What personnel and institutional factors cause the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units to fall short of the cadet-experience as designed and illustrated in promotional material?

This chapter began by reiterating concerns regarding the uncritical rhetoric in the existing UCFs literature, and that this research aimed to address these concerns. In doing this, this chapter took the twenty-three truth claims seen in chapters 6 to 8 and created a thematic narrative that offers seven answers to why the cadet-experience as delivered can fall short of the cadet-experience as designed. The first reason is that of 'path dependency' (Putnam, 1993), where the upper limits of service that an individual cadet unit can deliver is variable across the SCC, depending on local circumstances, meaning that some units cannot deliver the full cadet-experience owing

to inherent shortfalls in human, financial, and physical resources. The concept of 'cultural transition' (Cooper *et al.,* 2017), also plays a role. Volunteering in the SCC is dominated to a large extent by ex-cadets or ex-forces personnel, to the detriment of potential volunteers from the broader population. This restricts volunteer numbers owing to a very small pool of potential recruits. Dublin (1992) described how some volunteers commit their 'central life interests' to volunteering. The next answer to the research question involves how the SCC as an institution requires significant numbers of its volunteers to commit at the same intensity, and that units who do not have sufficient volunteers committing their 'central life interests' to the SCC cannot deliver the full cadet-experience. A further reason why the cadet-experience falls short of that which is designed is because the SCC do not fully understand the motivations for volunteering amongst their staff. Stebbins (1996) discussed the notion of 'serious leisure,' where volunteers commit their time owing to reasons of self-interest, at least as much as they do out of altruism. This research confirms this to be the case in CFAVs, yet policies to get the most out of volunteers feels more like emotional blackmail than rewards for volunteering commitment. This of course reduces the length of time CFAVs remain in post and the level of service they are prepared to provide. This concern leads directly to the next factor that constrains the quality of the cadet-experience as delivered. In discussing 'marginal volunteering' Stebbins (1996) is referring to volunteers remaining in post despite feeling that their time as a volunteer should come to an end. This concept has been shown to be significant in the SCC, meaning many volunteers, especially senior volunteers of CO position and above are not performing at their best, as they wish to leave, but cannot as there is no one available to take their place. Issues relating to efficacy also impact the delivery of the cadet-experience. Much of the existing UCFs literature focuses on claims regarding outcomes of attendance, based on the services young people are exposed to. However, the efficacy of young people to avail themselves of such services has been shown to be restricted by significant shortfalls in the number of CFAVs qualified to deliver such services. The seventh and final reason why the cadet-experience as designed is not always reflected in what is delivered involves a concept I have coined as 'situated-volunteers,' meaning volunteers, who although joining a national volunteer organisation, have in fact simply volunteered at their local 'youth centre' and are unprepared to undertake many of the training requirements built into the national corps. The disconnect between situated-volunteers, attending to help out in their local community, and the national SCC, who design programmes based on volunteers joining a national organisation, reduces the capacity of local units to deliver the full cadet-experience.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The uniformed cadet forces (UCFs) are providers of positive activities programmes for young people in the UK based on the traditions and ethos of the three branches of the armed forces, comprising the Sea Cadet Corps (SCC), Army Cadet Force (ACF), and Air Training Corps (ATC), in addition to a Combined Cadet Force (CCF) and Volunteer Cadet Corps (VCC). The CCF is entirely school-based, largely funded and supported by the school. The other cadet forces can, with the exception of the VCC (who operate a small number of units in Royal Navy bases), also have units in schools, but most are situated in the community, reliant on support from local stakeholders. There is widespread reporting of the benefits young people receive from attending cadet units such as better behaviour and grades at school (Durlak *et al.,* 2010), and improved personal, social, and emotional skills as adults (Adamson & Poultney, 2010). Having experienced nine years as a cadet unit leader I make no claims that such benefits are not achievable in the right circumstances, rather, this thesis has shown that the existing discourse, and the broader stakeholder community, have given little to no consideration of the operational realities community-based UCF units face in delivering such outcomes, meaning that assumptions are made of a homogeneous product that reflects promotional material, but not the reality and variation of day-to-day delivery. This PhD thesis explored how these problems are absent from existing UCFs literature, which is largely sponsored by the UCFs/MoD community, emphasizing the 'best case scenario' outcomes of attendance, whilst ignoring the suite of issues that can create barriers to these outcomes. It also discovered how the existing literature has been restricted in scope by the methods used, (Kuhn, 1996), utilising top-down research techniques that produce results tied to the techniques used. The aim of this thesis, therefore, was to look beyond the rhetoric of the existing literature by using bottom-up 'insider research' techniques (Fleming, 2018) that would allow me, as an ex-cadet leader to uncover data that is off limits (Chang, 2013) to those without such insider access, asking the difficult questions that are entirely missing from the current discourse.

The reason this research is necessary was twofold. The UCFs are a significant contributor to the broader after-school youth provision sector, attracting over 70% of the number of young people as the sector leader (The Scouting Association) in the same age groups. As such, getting the cadet-experience right has consequences for extra-curricular youth development in the UK. The second need for greater understanding is related to current and future political trends.

Hundreds of millions of pounds have been removed from youth services budgets since the Coalition Government came to power in 2010 (Unison, 2019), as part of an ideological move to reduce the role the state plays in youth services. Although the phrase 'big society,' associated with former Conservative leader David Cameron, or even 'shared society,' associated with his successor, Theresa May (Mills & Waite, 2018), are rarely spoken of in current political parlance, the principles behind them remain very much part of the political agenda. The consequence of this is that third sector youth providers, including the UCFs, are currently, and will be even more so in the future, relied upon to provide a service that was previously delivered by full-time, paid, qualified professionals, despite being reliant upon a small cohort of 'well-meaning' volunteers. Based on what has been laid out above I claim that this research, using the SCC as a case-study, makes a significant original contribution to knowledge, where it is the first UCFs research to look beyond what is uncritically claimed to be the cadet-experience, unpacking the issues that prevent community-based cadet units delivering the cadet-experience as designed and sold in promotional material. Highlighting instead, the realities of the cadet-experience as delivered, susceptible to the limitations of independent charities with restrictions to human, financial and physical resources.

The process of making this original contribution to knowledge started with the development of this research question:

Research Question

What personnel and institutional factors cause the cadet-experience as delivered in community-based cadet units to fall short of the cadet-experience as designed, and illustrated in promotional material?

The answers to this research question are summarised and commented upon below, but first I highlight the limitations of this research to place realistic parameters on the recommendations to come.

10.2 Limitations of this Thesis

I constructed an argument throughout this thesis that the research would focus on the volunteering and institutional limitations of community-based SCC units to deliver the cadet-experience at a level commensurate with the cadet-experience as designed and sold in promotional material. However, owing to the limitations of a single researcher with finite time and resources, it was made clear in previous chapters that there are a number of potential research areas that need to be addressed to get the full picture, but that this thesis could not

tackle. These were issues relating to gender ratios, funding concerns and the financial savings the UCFs contribute to a range of governmental departments, the range and extent of cadet outcomes, cadet intake characteristics, cadet engagement, and the role socio-economic circumstance plays in outcomes. All recommendations to follow are made in the knowledge that further research in these areas would add to the debate.

10.3 A summary of the Thesis

I have stated that the motivation for this research was not to look for evidence of the benefits of attending positive activities programmes such as the SCC, or to quantify them, rather, to look for evidence as to whether the barriers to achieving these benefits at a local unit level are understood, or even acknowledged, concerned as I was that the literature focused almost exclusively on best-case-scenario outcomes. To achieve this I first conducted an autoethnographic reflection of my own time in the SCC, leading to a targeted literature review of the issues I had personally encountered. The knowledge and understanding gained from these reflections led to the production of a substantial online survey of volunteers. The initial findings of this survey were presented and analysed across Chapters 6 to 8 in accordance with Bourdieu's constructs of field, habitus, and capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Each chapter produced a number of specific truth claims of how a particular feature causes the cadet-experience as delivered to fall short of that which is designed.

Chapter 6 truth claims

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because:

1. …existing volunteers do not have sufficient time to recruit new volunteers, leaving cadet units short staffed.
2. …there is a disconnect between the national corps and many volunteers, rooted locally, failing to buy into the national SCC ethos and systems, reducing the effectiveness of designed programmes.
3. …there is no single cadet-experience, with individual units 'path dependent,' based on local circumstances, leaving many structurally unable to match the cadet-experience as designed.
4. …of conflict between support and instructional volunteers that reduces the effectiveness of some units.
5. …there is a crisis of identity in the SCC, with ambiguity between its role as a generic youth provider and that of a quasi-military organisation, meaning cadets and other stakeholders cannot always guarantee what service the SCC aims to deliver.
6. …there are not enough volunteers, leaving units short staffed, unable to deliver adequate training opportunities.
7. …of the volunteers that are in place, not enough have the professional skills or experience to deliver a quality service.

8. …units in deprived locations struggle to recruit volunteers in general and also those with professional or managerial experience, restricting their capacity to operate effectively.
9. …units in more affluent locations struggle to attract volunteers because local volunteers do their volunteering elsewhere.

Chapter 7 Truth Claims

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because:

10. …1/3 of volunteers suffer regular stress owing to their volunteering, causing units to be short staffed, creating more pressure on the remaining volunteers, which reduces their capacity to operate effectively.
11. …of issues related to isolation. Many volunteers lack networks that could provide support that would improve the cadet-experience locally, or simply do not want closer ties, being, as they are, rooted in the local community.
12. …of volunteer burnout, where volunteers are unable to separate their volunteering from other areas of their lives.
13. …of the unreasonable commitments of being a unit leader being incompatible with consistent long-term volunteering for many CFAVs.
14. …ex-cadets, particularly senior ex-cadets form an 'establishment' of CFAVs dominating local volunteering, driving the reduced years of commitment seen in those volunteering from 'civilian' routes, driving down recruitment from the broader population.
15. …volunteer recruitment policies do not recognise the need to cater for volunteers not exhibiting chronological location, meaning that the pressures placed on many volunteers are simply beyond what they either can, or are prepared to accept.
16. …the principles of volunteering (choice, open to all, mutual benefit, and recognition) very often cannot be applied to those volunteering in the SCC, reducing their capacity to deliver.
17. …the SCC makes no attempt to create a volunteer-experience and uses coercion and even emotional blackmail to get more work from volunteers.

Chapter 8 truth claims

The cadet-experience as delivered falls short of that which is designed because:

18. …instructional staff are no more qualified or experienced in youth provision than support staff, despite the training programme being reliant on a professional delivery.
19. …there are not enough instructional and senior volunteers qualified to graduate level, reducing the skill-set needed to run a modern independent charity.
20. …many volunteers are not allowed to utilise externally gained qualifications, reducing the capacity of cadet units to deliver training opportunities.
21. …volunteers cannot easily find training opportunities, especially those unable to travel and give up weekends, compounding gaps in volunteer training capacity.
22. …CFAVs do not, on average, hold enough qualifications to deliver the training programme as advertised.
23. …the SCC structure creates isolationist behaviours, meaning many CFAVs do not have the networks of relationships to call upon when times are difficult, reducing the effectiveness of cadet units.

In answering the research question it was possible to group these truth claims into seven general areas of concern relating to the capacity of community-based cadet units delivering the cadet-experience as designed. In doing so, it adds further weight to Bourdieu's premise of structure and agency being non-dualistic, by proving that the findings relating to field, habitus, and capital, rather than remaining as disparate findings, can be grouped together in a thematic narrative that answers the research question.

These answers to the research question relate to 'path dependency,' 'cultural transition,' 'Central life interests,' 'serious leisure,' 'marginal volunteering,' 'efficacy,' and 'situated-volunteers.' Path dependency (Putnam, 1993) means that many cadet units have a structurally inbuilt limit to the quality of the product that they can deliver, owing to issues such as location and facilities. Cultural transition (Cooper, *et al.,* 2017) relates to the difficulties of attracting volunteers from outside of the military/cadet community owing to a historic perceived military ethos within the SCC in the broader population. Central life interests (Dublin, 1992) relate to a situation in which the demands of volunteering necessitate volunteers to give a significant part of their life to the SCC, and that without such commitment the corps cannot operate effectively. Serious leisure (Stebbins, 1996) relates to the construct that most volunteers are in fact in pursuit of leisure activities, and as such need something in return for their efforts, and that the current discourse in the SCC makes no allowances for this. Marginal volunteering (ibid) is concerned with the need for many volunteers to remain in post for extended periods after they would wish to resign but are forced into staying because there is no one else to take their place. Concerns relating to efficacy arrive owing to a lack of capacity within the SCC to train cadets as a result of a chronic shortage of qualified volunteers. Finally, what this research has termed 'situated-volunteers' refers to those volunteers who are willing to join their local SCC unit, but only as it is their local 'youth centre,' and that they have little interest in joining the broader SCC, and that policies do not adequately cater for these volunteers.

10.4 Policy recommendations

10.4.1 Introduction

Based on the findings above there are seven policy recommendations this thesis suggests:

1. To create a volunteer-experience with equal weight to the cadet-experience.
2. To appoint volunteer-enablers.
3. To introduce 'reservist' status for key volunteers.
4. To change the charitable status of cadet units to bring them under central control.

5. That the SCC need to acknowledge and address volunteer shortages, rather than presenting a public image of an organisation flourishing.
6. That the SCC need to acknowledge that most volunteers don't have the qualifications to train cadets in the activities that the corps advertise and address this problem.
7. That the SCC drop all ambiguity regarding its role as either a generic youth development provider or as a military preparation organisation. Specifically, that it provides two discrete avenues where young people and volunteers can choose either path.

10.4.2 Creating a Volunteer-Experience

The SCC need to create a volunteer-experience policy that is equal in importance to that of the cadet-experience. Although the *raison d'etre* of the SCC is the cadets, without volunteers there is no cadet-experience. This research has shown that the only volunteering indicators of whether people wish to leave the SCC is those whose volunteering does not make them happier or give them a better social life. As such, volunteer outcomes that include these metrics need to become an integral part of SCC planning in line with the long-reported argument that volunteering is in fact a form of leisure and that participants engage for reasons of self-interest rather than altruistic motives (Bosserman and Gagan, 1972; Smith, 1975; Kaplan, 1975; Neulinger, 1981; Henderson, 1981,1984; Parker, 1992). By acknowledging this as an issue, and applying policies to address it, volunteers are likely to remain in post longer and contribute more effectively.

10.4.3 Appoint Volunteer-Enablers

Being happier as a result of one's volunteering cannot be achieved whilst volunteers suffer from stress as a result of their volunteering. The SCC need to find a delivery model that does not create as much stress, pressure, or anxiety on volunteers as is the case currently. Perhaps in the form of more central control of time-consuming activities, or better still in the form of volunteer-enablers. By having a single paid employee at each cadet unit much of the workload issue that creates volunteer stress is eased. The paid member of staff at each unit would take on much of the administrative burden, conduct cadet recruitment activities in schools, maintain and prepare the facilities, and produce all the lesson plans for volunteers to follow, allowing volunteers to restrict their commitment to the hours of the parade times only, if that is what they desire. As volunteering encroaching on other areas of one's life is the main cause of stress, the volunteer-enabler role will solve this issue. Also, a significant finding from this research has been the level of marginal-volunteering (Stebbins, 1996) that takes place in the SCC. The volunteer-enabler will dramatically reduce this problem as volunteers will be confident that if they leave, there is still a paid employee in post able to carry out much of the critical work needed to keep the unit operating. Clearly there are cost implications of such a position being

created in each cadet unit. However, it has been highlighted in this research that 90% of youth club funding in the last 10 years (Cohen, 2021) has been spent on NCS with little evidence of success (Public Accounts Committee, 2017). It is recommended here that funding for the volunteer-enablers is taken from this budget, especially as NCS is a "shorter burst of activities usually associated with uniformed youth organisations" (Mills & Waite, 2018, p.134) anyway.

10.4.4 Introduce Reservist Status for Key Volunteers

To aid in the recruitment and retention of volunteers the government need to introduce a reservist style recognition for a small number of volunteers. This research has shown that many volunteers commit to the SCC at a level commensurate with paid employment, and that cadet units need this commitment to survive. In order to retain these dedicated volunteers in higher numbers, a reservist positions should be created for key volunteers to provide the rewards and recognition that these serious leisure participants need. These positions will complement the volunteer-enabler and provide other volunteers with the capacity to prevent their volunteering from encroaching into other areas of their lives. For this to work government would need to actively encourage organisations signed up to the Defence Employer Recognition Scheme (MoD, 2021b) to include key volunteers in the UCFs. Although 'cadet instructors' are mentioned in the DERS guidance, this research has shown that a significant majority of volunteers receive no recognition or support for the work they do in the UCFs, suggesting few organisations signed up to the Armed Forces Covenant consider the UCFs as part of the covenant.

10.4.5 Change Charity Status of Units

A further major recommendation is that the SCC needs to change its operating model to one in which individual units are no longer independent charities. The variability of the quality of the facilities within the cadet estate is incompatible with delivering a consistent cadet-experience. Whilst each cadet unit is dependent on the volunteers at the unit for the standard of these facilities and equipment, a standard product suitable for 'big society' style future provision will always be elusive. There is no reason why support staff cannot still manage the facilities, as long as central headquarters provide a minimum product to be managed. For this to take place government need to be more forthcoming in the role they see voluntary organisations playing in youth development. If neoliberal policies of reduced state involvement in youth services is the aim (Randles & Woodward, 2018), government need to be explicit about this in order that detailed assessments of voluntary organisations' capacity to deliver can be made. To provide

the funding that is likely to be needed to support voluntary groups other government departments such as Education, Communities and Local Government, as well as Work and Pensions will need to contribute, being beneficiaries as they are. As such, it is recommended that the change in charitable status of SCC units is accomplished by structural changes to the funding model of the UCFs to take into account the work the SCC and other cadet forces contribute to other government departments.

10.4.6 Acknowledge and Address Volunteer Shortages

The SCC needs to acknowledge and address the problem of volunteer shortages. Recruitment of volunteers needs to be taken away from already busy volunteers, and to be managed centrally, ideally supported by the volunteer-enabler postholder. In addition, recruitment strategies need to encourage volunteering from beyond those with a military or cadet background, such as reducing the need to travel to military establishments for courses and sleep in military style accommodation. In addition to this, the SCC need to better understand that shortages take place in both high and low deprivation areas and the different reasons for each in order to address these separate problems. The issues in areas of high deprivation are typical of the third sector and are best addressed by central control of recruitment where volunteers can be ‘deployed’ to areas where they can best contribute. On the other hand, volunteer shortages in areas of low deprivation need addressing by appealing to the different interests of more affluent potential volunteers by disseminating recruitment material in these areas that appeal to generic youth training and the ‘high end’ training opportunities that exist, such as tall ship sailing and aviation courses. Alternatively, the SCC could target those mid-level deprivation postcodes that do not suffer from volunteer shortages as potential locations to relocate cadet units or to create new units.

10.4.7 Increase the Number of Training Qualifications Volunteers Possess

This research has shown that SCC volunteers are woefully under-qualified to teach the activities advertised in promotional material. The first recommendation to solve this problem is for the SCC to make it easier to accept externally gained qualifications. Far too many qualified volunteers are prevented from contributing because they gained their qualifications elsewhere. Secondly the SCC need to make it easier for volunteers to gain qualifications once enrolled. This will be best achieved by using the volunteer-enabler to train volunteers locally, removing the need to travel and spend time in military establishments. Also, many of the volunteers who operate within the SCC are not permitted to train cadets, such as those support staff who help

with charity governance. However, this research has shown that they hold youth training qualifications in numbers just as high as instructional volunteers. The SCC need to relax the rules to allow all volunteers in the SCC to contribute to training in order to help ease a shortfall in qualified instructors.

10.4.8 Clarify the Role and Ethos of the SCC

The SCC have been described by a volunteer surveyed in this PhD thesis as 'an organisation with a crisis of identity,' claiming to be a generic youth group simply with a naval theme, whilst many volunteers, cadets, parents, and external commentators see it more as a recruitment tool for the Royal Navy. It is recommended that an explicitly advertised hybrid model can best overcome this problem, where, in a two nights per week model, one parade night is dedicated to military style cadet training, for only those cadets wishing to pursue this avenue, and the other session is a general youth training session. Recruitment strategies can then be adopted that appeal to potential volunteers and young people that do not wish to be involved in the military side of cadet training. This will also attract more funding, as it will be easier to convince the MoD to provide increased funding for the recruitment work the SCC does, but also, other government departments of the role the SCC plays in youth development during the generic training sessions.

10.5 Conceptual Conclusions

This PhD thesis has highlighted the merits of conducting insider research (Fleming, 2018). Specifically that of autoethnography where the researcher has access to data off limits to others (Chang, 2013). Without the access to the SCC that being a cadet leader of many years brought it is doubtful that many of the concerns highlighted here could have been unearthed. Clearly, it is difficult for the researcher to have in-depth experience in every field in which they research. However, an argument is made here that a period of ethnographic immersion in positive activities youth programme research would allow the researcher a similar insight, allowing them to break through the prevailing narrative in any given situation, and that this method could, and should, be applied in future positive activities programme research.

Unfortunately, significant doubts exist as to whether there is appetite for this to occur. The scrutiny applied to most other areas of academic research is not always adequately applied to third sector youth development programmes, as few people wish to look for fault in volunteers giving their spare time to helping young people, and as such looking beyond the meta-narrative is not always on the agenda of positive activities research. This PhD thesis has shown that

without robust critique, such organisations can push a narrative that is misleading in terms of what they can offer. This problem is most concerning in the context of small-state ideologies pushing third sector organisations to take over youth development provision. If the variability and lack of capacity highlighted in this research is replicated across the broader third sector it would render 'big society' (HM Government 2010a) style youth services provision fundamentally flawed. If the situation in the SCC is replicated elsewhere, there are simply not enough volunteers to deliver youth services in a manner compatible with big society ideals, and of those volunteers that are available, they do not have sufficient qualifications or time to provide a service equitable to the paid, full-time professional youth workers they will need to replace. Furthermore, access to adequate equipment, facilities, and finances in third sector youth groups will not be equitable to that provided by local or national government with much larger budgets.

A further methodological conclusion involves the use of Bourdieu, and his constructs of field, habitus, and capital. I suggested previously that those in human geography, sociology, volunteering, education, and broader youth provision would be interested in this research. Anyone in those fields studying youth positive activities programmes would benefit from constructing their study using Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* as a framework to unpick the relationships between institutions, stakeholders, communities, individuals, and the qualifications/experiences they bring to the organisation. The use of such a conceptual framework affords the researcher licence to seek more complex relationships than may otherwise be obvious, avoiding 'classical' organisational style approaches, which have impeded previous UCF studies, where little or no importance is credited to the complexities of human environments and relationships.

There is a further implication here. This research has argued that life-skills development is restricted in schools owing to pressures to attain academic results, as such, life-skill development opportunities are to a significant extent dependent upon third sector organisations. If research into such organisations is not sufficiently robust to highlight shortfalls, then shortfalls of life-skills development in young people is not being reported. The importance of this is highlighted by Goodman *et al.,* (2015) who created a set of adult outcomes that derive from life-skills training as a child, including greater life satisfaction, higher income, longer life expectancy, and improved emotional wellbeing. In short, research into out-of-school youth provision organisations needs to go beyond the standard rhetoric as the consequences of not doing so impact adult outcomes across the nation.

Existing methodologies make gathering robust evidence difficult. Abdelnour *et al.,* (2017) discussed the notion of 'patchwork institutions.' This construct perfectly sums up the situation found in the modern SCC, with almost 400 cadet units, each offering a variable product, at varying qualities subject to local conditions. The discovery that there is so much variation between units in a single organisation has implications for the UCFs findings presented in previous literature and for future publications. Moon *et al.,* (2010); Plastow, (2011); Wood, (2014); See *et al.,* (2017); Bertram, *et al*., (2018); Denny *et al.,* (2018), have all made claims regarding the UCFs based either on research conducted in school-based cadet units only, or in a single uniformed cadet force, but have made generic claims far beyond this. It is difficult to see how any findings from this research can be relied upon to reflect the UCFs in their entirety. If the SCC cannot offer a homogenous cadet-experience, then this must surely be amplified across the UCFs, and broader third sector, making general claims regarding outcomes unreliable. The Scouting organisation, for example, with five age categories, approximately 7500 scout groups, and half a million participants in the UK (Scouts, 2020) are likely to suffer from even greater variation in provision than has been found in the SCC. Future research in this field will benefit from two methodological paradigm shifts. Firstly, research will need to be more circumspect in applying findings from a limited cohort to broader third sector youth development. The Army Cadet Force, Air Training Corps, Sea Cadet Corps, Combined Cadet Force, Volunteer Cadet Corps, Community-based cadet units, school-based units, units in military establishments, units in affluent areas, units in deprived areas, units in areas of high volunteering numbers, units in areas of low volunteering numbers, units with quality infrastructure, units with poor infrastructure, all need specific research to draw out the nuances of their product. Also, subsequent research will need to focus, as has been the case for this PhD thesis, away from general claims regarding outcomes, and towards unreported barriers to outcomes and how these create variability of product as discussed above. Only by doing this can organisations such as the Scouts, delivery partners for NCS, or any other national youth organisation have any confidence that the claims they make regarding outcomes are reflected in delivery.

One further clear message to arise from the research was the consequences of volunteering on volunteers. Raisborough (2006) uses the concept of chronological location to describe how volunteers in the SCC put their volunteering before other aspects of their lives, such is their dedication, and Dublin (1992) coined the phrase 'central life interests,' to describe how many volunteers are happy to commit a significant percentage of their life's work to volunteering. However, this research has shown that excessive commitment without consequences is by no

means universal, with the problem of excessive volunteer hours per month and volunteering encroaching on other areas of one's life being significant contributors to the development of stress, pressure, or anxiety as a result of one's own volunteering. Add to this the construct of marginal volunteering (Stebbins, 1996) where almost two thirds of volunteers are forced to remain in post, at least sometimes, to ensure that the individual unit does not close, and a picture builds regarding the consequences of volunteering in the SCC. This is a worrying situation that needs to be addressed. All organisations, charitable or not, have a duty of care to their staff, but volunteer managers, themselves under pressure, are all too willing to allow, indeed encourage, exhausted, stressed, and struggling volunteers to commit to ever more hours and to remain in post if it keeps a unit in operation, regardless of the consequences for the volunteer. It is recommended here that a paradigm shift in the way that volunteers are recruited needs to take place. In the gambling industry, for example, it is now accepted practice for gambling organisations to offer advice in abundance on how to gamble safely, and when it is time to stop, introducing mechanisms such as pre-agreed loss-limits that cannot be increased without waiting a set period of time, perhaps seven days. If a profits driven industry such as gambling can introduce measures to protect its participants, it is argued here that the SCC, and perhaps the third sector as a whole, can do the same. It is recommended that the induction courses all volunteers need to attend in the SCC include the consequences of volunteering for too many hours per week/month and that it is not necessary to stay in post once you feel that your time is up. This second point is critical. This thesis linked the concept of sunk cost fallacy (Rego *et al.,* 2018) to volunteering in the SCC, where volunteers remain in post because they perceive that the effort they have already committed to the cadet unit would be wasted if they were to leave. The need to follow a 'sunk cost' agenda is almost relied upon to retain volunteers, despite the cost of this to the volunteer. The SCC and other youth development programmes need to address this by acknowledging volunteers as individuals, for whom they have a duty of care, and not, as is the current situation, as resources to be used until they break.

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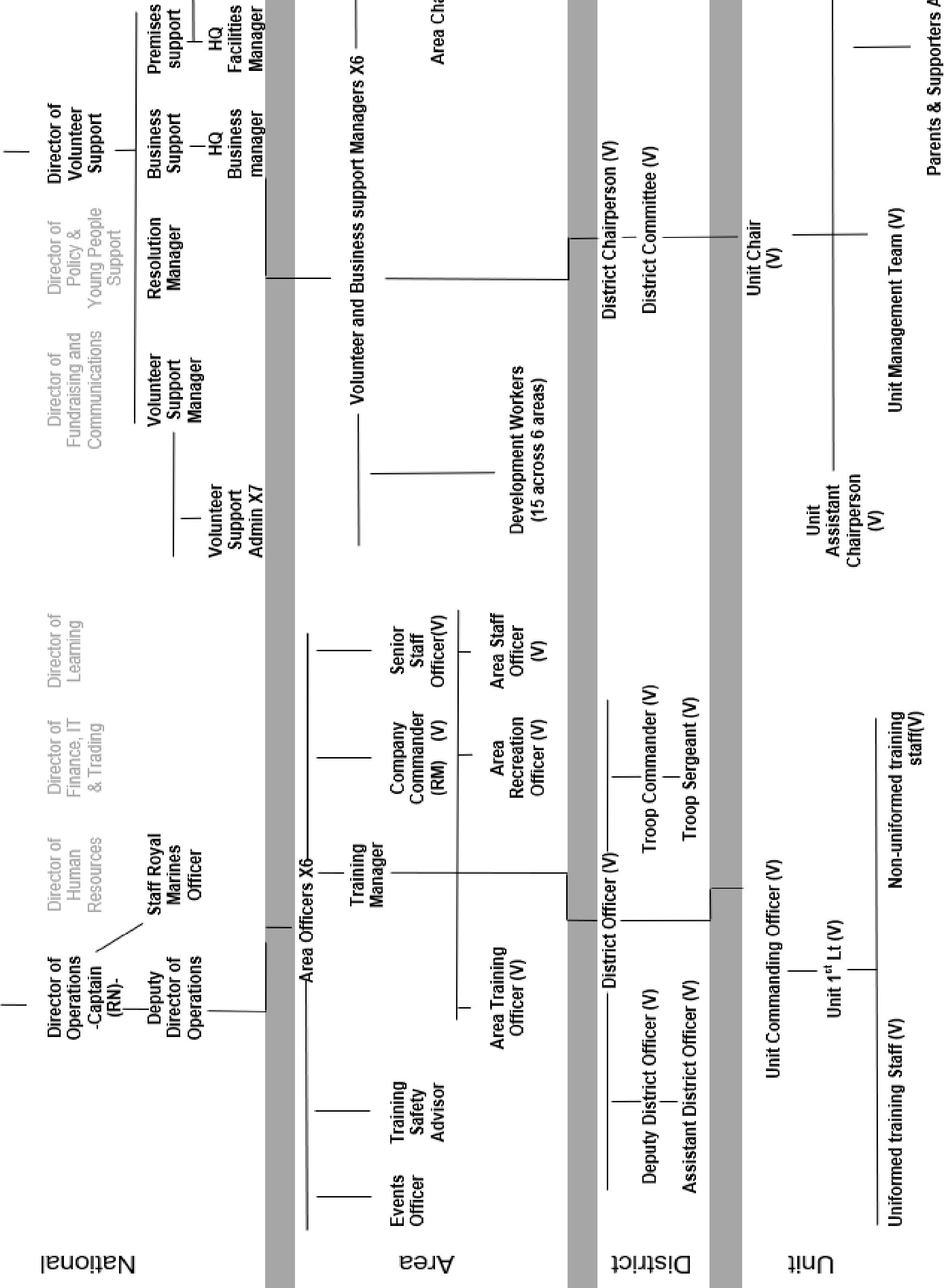
Appendix 1

Cadet Activities: The Skills/Benefits Framework

Drill and Turnout	Overseas Visits	Leadership
Develop confidence, stimulation, self-discipline, bearing & duty to others	Develop better cultural understanding, knowledge, and new friends	Develop teamwork, sense of responsibility, courage, discipline, integrity, loyalty, and respect for others
Community Engagement	**Competition Shooting**	**First Aid**
Supporting communities and disadvantaged young people	Develop determination, application, concentration, self-reliance, discipline, and leadership	Linked to St John Ambulance with 10,000 AV's and cadets qualifying each year
Military Knowledge	**Expeditions**	**Shooting/Skill at Arms**
Generate the right balance of values and standards	Test physical and mental abilities, building character development	Instils responsibility, awareness of inherent dangers, high standards and the opportunity to compete nationally & internationally
Adventure Training	**Map Reading**	**Sport / PT**
Develop fitness and robustness, fun, team spirit, life-skills	Better understand geography of environment with electronic aids	Supporting the syllabus with potential for leader awards
Duke of Edinburgh		**Music / Bands**
Develop skills to plan and execute own programme		Progression in Associated Board Royal School of Music

(Plastow, 2011, pj-1)

Appendix 2



Appendix 3
Junior Cadet Activities

Learning about your unit

Induction	Meet the crew	Ceremonial	Uniform	Procedures
Sea Cadet Promise	Air rifle shooting	Marine Cadet Introduction	Using flags	Using codes
Emergency situations	International Sea Cadets	Using radios	Getting ready to cook	Prepping and cooking food
Parts of a boat	Making knots	Emergency service visits	Cleanliness	First Aid

Community & Citizenship

Mardi Gras	Shrove Tuesday	Diwali & Holi	Christmas	Karah Parshard
What is a community?	Chip shop survey	Community project	Community cultures	What is Great Britain?
Community visit	Town maps	Navigating in towns	Disabilities survey	Coping with disability
Learning sign language	Labelling people	Bullying	Remembrance Day	Battle of Jutland
The home front	History of the unit	Learning about governments	Visit local government	Mayors or Provosts

Waterborne activities

Water Safety Certificate	Boats and Ships	Ship Visit	Maritime Museum visit	Battleships
Famous battles	Model ship making	Sponsored Swim	Being waterwise	Lifeguard
Swimming	Swimming test		Water games	Swimming gala
Manning a boat	Buoyancy aids	Pulling (Rowing)	Sailing	Canoeing
The Equator	Trip on a boat	Navigation	Naval traditions	Raft construction

Outdoor activities

Map symbols	Grid references	Navigating road/rail etc.	Compasses	Map use outdoors
Clothes/equip for outdoors	Outdoor walks	Outdoor games	Treasure hunt	Outdoor cooking
Survival fun	Weather	Set up weather station	Clothes and weather	Stoves
	Beaufort Scale			
Country Code	Tents	Safety outdoors	Learning to keep fit	Keep fit challenge
Competitions	Games	Healthy eating	Photography	Photography competition

(Sea Cadets, 2019b)

Appendix 4

All available in:	Sea Cadet Specialisation activities				
Class 1 **Class 2**	Seamanship	Information Systems	First Aid	Drill	Catering & Stewarding
Class 3	Marine Engineering	Navigation		Physical Training	

Sea Cadet Proficiencies

Basic	Campcraft	Rock Climbing	Mountain Biking	Morse Code	Semaphore	Radio Amateur
Int.	Bugler	Drummer	Musician	Meteorology	Piping	Diving
Advanced		Peer Educator		Aviation		
		Shooting			Aviation	
	Basic	**Advanced**	**Marksman**	**Bronze Wings**	**Silver Wings**	**Gold Wings**

Sea Cadet Water Sports Qualifications

Rowing	**Sailing**	**Powerboating**
Assistant Instructor Coxswain Supervised Coxswain Competent Crew	SCC Level 5 SCC Level 4 SCC Level 3 SCC Level 2 SCC Level 1	Power Instructor Safety Boat Level 2 Level 1
Paddlesport & Windsurfing	**Offshore (Sailing)**	**Offshore (Power)**
SCC Level 5 SCC Level 4 SCC Level 3 SCC Level 2 SCC Level 1	Watch Leader Offshore Seaman Grade 2 Grade 1	Watch Leader Offshore Seaman Grade 2 Grade 1

Appendix 5

Sea Cadet Volunteer Survey (SCVS)

(Paper version of online survey)

Question	Answers
1, By completing this questionnaire, I agree to taking part in the research as outlined below (Please tick)	Yes
2, I volunteer at: (Please tick)	A school-based cadet unit 1 A community-based cadet unit 2 A CCF unit 3
3, What is your Gender (Please tick)	Female 1 Male 2 Prefer to self-describe 3 Would rather not say 4
4, What is your age?	Years
5, For how many years have you been an adult volunteer?	Years

6, What type of volunteer are you?
(Please tick)

Sea Cadet uniformed staff	1
UMT	2
Other	3

7, What Rate/Rank do you hold?
(Please tick)

Chaplain	0
Unit Assistant	1
Civilian Instructor	2
Petty Officer / Sergeant	3
Chief Petty Officer / Colour Sergeant	4
Warrant Officer	5
Sub Lt / Lieutenant (RMR)	6
Lt / Captain (RMR)	7
Lt CDR / Major	8
Commander / Lt Colonel	9
Captain / Colonel	10

Other____

8, If you are uniformed staff, what is the highest position, you hold?
(Please tick)

CO/OiC or above	5
1st Lt	4
Training Officer	3
Admin Officer	2
Boats / Water Sports Officer	1
Instructional staff	0

Other________________________________

9a, Were you ever a cadet before becoming an adult volunteer?
(Please tick)

No	0
Yes	1

9b, If you were a cadet, how long was this for?
(Please tick)

<Year	0
1 Year	1
2 years	2
3 years	3
4 years	4
5 years	5
6 years	6
7 years	7
8 years	8

9c, If you were a cadet, what rate did you reach?
(Please tick)

Junior Cadet	1
New Entry	2
Cadet	3
Cadet 1st Class	4
Ordinary Cadet	5
Able Cadet / Lance Corporal	6
Leading Cadet / Corporal	7
Petty Officer Cadet / Sergeant	8

10a, What Sea Cadet Area are you part of?
(Please tick)

Northern	1
Southern	2
Eastern	3
London	4
Southwest	5
Northwest	6

10b, Name of your unit? ______________________

11, What is the typical percentage attendance you are able to commit to the Sea Cadets?
(Please tick)

Less than 20% of parade sessions	1
Between 20-40%	2
Between 40-60%	3
Between 60-80%	4
Over 80% of parade sessions	5

12a, What is your current employment status?
(Please tick)

Employed for wages	1
Self-employed	2
Out of work and looking for work	3
Out of work but not currently looking	4
A homemaker	5
Retired	6
Unable to work	7
Student	8
Prefer not to say	9

12b, Please state your current job title?

Job title:____

12c, If employed, does your employer provide you with any special allowances to enable you to undertake volunteer activities? (e.g. paid or unpaid leave)
(Please tick)

Yes	1
No	0

Details:

13, What is the highest level of education you have completed?

(Please tick)

Did not finish secondary school	0
Secondary school	1
College/6th form	2
Trade/Technical training	3
Undergraduate degree	4
Master's degree	5
Doctorate	6

14, What is your ethnicity?
(Please circle)

White	Mixed / Multiple ethnic groups	Asian/Asian British	Black/African/ Caribbean/Black British	Other Ethnic group
British	White and Black Caribbean	Indian	African	Arab
Irish	White and Black African	Pakistani	Caribbean	Any other:
Gypsy or Irish Traveller	White and Asian	Bangladeshi	Any other black:	
Other white:	Any other mixed:	Chinese		
		Any other Asian:		

15, What is your marital status?
(Please tick)

Single, never married	1
Married or partnership	2
Widowed	3
Divorced	4
Separated	5

16, Why did you become an adult volunteer?

(Please tick all that apply)

I was a cadet and wanted to continue to serve in the cadet forces	1
I wanted to meet new people	2
Other members of my family are involved (or have been) with cadets	3
I responded to an advert asking for new volunteers	4
I wanted to take part in the activities offered by the cadet forces	5
I wanted to gain new skills	6
I wanted to gain some vocational qualifications	7
I wanted to improve my local community	8
I wanted to help/work with young people	9
I wanted to be associated with the armed forces	10
Other	11

Other:

17, How would you describe the amount time Sea Cadet activities take up from your personal life?

(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
A lot more than I would prefer to give	More than I would prefer to give	Just enough	Less than I could give	A lot less than I could give

---

18, What are your intentions regarding your future with cadets?

(Please circle)

I plan to remain as a volunteer in the cadet forces for as long as I can	3
I plan to leave the cadets in the next 12 months	2
I am pressured by myself and others to stay for the good of the unit	1
I have no firm plans	0

19-21, Which of the following specialisations, Proficiencies, and Boating qualifications do you have? (Please tick)

Specialisation		Proficiency		Boating	
Marine Engineering	1	Piping	1	Dinghy Sailing	1
CIS	2	Meteorology	2	Rowing	2
Physical Training	3	Band	3	Kayaking	3
Catering/Stewarding	4	AT	4	Power Boating	4
Navigation	5	Shooting	5	Wind Surfing	5
First Aid	6	Diving	6	Offshore Boating	6
Seamanship	7	Shooting	7	Paddlesports	7
Drill / Ceremonial	8				

22, Do you have any other qualifications or experience related to working with children

No	0
Yes	1

23, On a scale of 1 to 10, (where 1 means that you strongly disagree) and (10 indicates that you strongly agree), how much do you agree with the following:

(Please circle)

A, I am a happier person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B, I have a better social life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C, Since volunteering, my leadership skills have got much better	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D, Since volunteering, my Skillset has improved	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E, Volunteering has given me a sense of community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F, I have a healthier lifestyle because I am a volunteer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
G, Volunteering has brought me closer to other social groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

24, To what extent would you agree that being an adult volunteer:

(Please circle)

	Strongly/D	Disagree	Agree	Strongly/A
Improves self-confidence?	1	2	3	4
Provides better job prospects due to the training and experience gained?	1	2	3	4
Increases my teamwork skills	1	2	3	4
Increases self-worth?	1	2	3	4

25, To what extent would you agree that being an adult volunteer means:
(Please circle)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
The community is a better place	1	2	3	4
Cadets have a more rewarding childhood	1	2	3	4
Parents are helped better prepare their children for adult life	1	2	3	4
Youth services gaps are filled	1	2	3	4

26, The process of joining the sea cadets as an adult volunteer is easy
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

27, Finding a training course that is local and at the right time for me is easy.
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

28, I have freedom to teach the things I am interested in or good at (Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

29a, On a scale of 1 (provide no help) to 10 (will help in any way they can) Parents are prepared to transport their children to events.
(Please circle)

No help — Help in any way can

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

29b, Parents are supportive if you need to discipline their child.
(Please circle)

Not Supportive							Very Supportive		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

29c, Parents appreciate the service you unit provides.
(Please circle)

Not really								Very much so	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

29d, Parents will give up their spare time if you ask for help
(Please circle)

Very Rarely									Very Often
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

30a, Do you ever feel that some parents send cadets to your unit as a childcare service, rather than for the Sea Cadet ethos?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

30b, Do you ever feel that parents of badly behaved young people send them to the Sea Cadets to 'sort out' their behaviour?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

30c, Do you ever feel children are forced to attend by parents?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

30d, Your cadets are sometimes disruptive
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

31, Would you say that the local community, parents, and others give you positive recognition for the volunteering you do?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Rarely	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

32, Would you say that Sea Cadet volunteering leaves you financially out-of-pocket?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Rarely	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

33, How much conflict is there between UMT and uniformed staff?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Significant Unhelpful	Unhelpful	What I would expect	Not much	Virtually none

---

34, On a scale of 1 (isolated) to 10 (strong team) how much part of a team do you feel with the national Sea Cadet corps?
(Please circle)

Isolated							Strong Team		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

35, How would you describe how your unit promotes a military career?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
It is our main focus	An issues addressed often	It is occasionally covered	Covered only as general advice	Almost never arises

---

36a, Does your unit have enough qualified staff to operate every parade night?
(Please tick)

Yes	1
No	0

36b, How often are you short staffed?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Very often	Otten	Sometimes	Rarely	Almost never

37, Approximately how many cadets do you attract per night
(Please tick)

1-5	1
6-10	2
11-15	3
16-20	4
20-25	5
25+	6

38, Do you believe the LOCATION of your unit makes recruiting and retaining cadets harder?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Much harder	harder	Neutral	Easier	Much easier

39, Do you believe the facilities & equipment you unit has makes recruiting and retaining cadets harder or easier?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Much harder	harder	Neutral	Easier	Much easier

40, What boating does your unit regularly deliver?
(Please circle)

None	0
Rowing	1
Sailing	2
Paddle sports	3
Power boating	4
Wind surfing	5
Other	6

____

41, Do you believe the support you receive from local government makes it easier to deliver the cadet-experience?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Definitely not	No	Neutral	Partially	Very much so

42a, Is your unit in a position to significantly increase cadet intake?
(Please tick)

Yes	1
No	0

Details:_________________________________

____

42b, Why is this the case?

43, On a score out of 10 (with 10 being best), how would you rate the quality of the cadet-experience at your unit?
(Please circle)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

44, On a scale of 1 (regularly) to 10 (not at all) does volunteering with the Sea Cadets cause you any stress, pressure, or anxiety?
(Please circle)

Regularly — Not at all

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

45, Do you sometimes feel that you attend sea cadets out of obligation to keep the unit going, rather than for the enjoyment?
(Please circle)

1	2	3	4	5
Very Often	Sometimes	Not thought about it	Rarely	Almost Never

---

46, On a scale of 1 (Significant negative impact) to 10 (No negative impact) how much has your commitment to the sea cadets negatively impacted on your work and other areas of your life?
(Please circle)

Significant negative impact — No negative impact

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

47, Approximately how many hours of volunteering do you do per month?
(Please tick)

1-10	1
11-20	2
21-30	3
31-40	4
41-50	5
51-60	6
61-70	7
71-80	8
80+	9

Other________________________________

48, Are there any other comments you would like to make?

Appendix 6

Survey Information Sheet (Participants)

The role of the uniformed cadet forces in 21st century UK society.

This research will be conducted by Paul Barber, who is a postgraduate researcher at Newcastle University, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, delivered through Northern Ireland & Northeast England Doctoral Training Partnership. Paul is also a sea cadet adult volunteer having been Chairman of ██████ Sea Cadets since 2011. The purpose of this research is to consider the role of the cadet forces (using the Sea Cadet Corps as a case study) in 21st century UK society, with particular emphasis on whether the cadet forces are in a position to 'take up the slack' of youth provision in the wake of local authority youth services cuts. Importantly, the focus of this research is to consider the uniformed cadet forces from a 'bottom-up' perspective. In other words, this research aims to consider the above points from the point of view of those adults delivering the cadet-experience. Does the existing literature tell the full story? Are there issues of volunteering that need to be further understood?

What does taking part involve?

It is anticipated that completing the questionnaire will take approximately 10-15 minutes.

As a sea cadet adult volunteer, the researcher invites you to contribute to a greater understanding of what it is like to volunteer in the uniformed cadet forces, what difficulties are encountered as an adult volunteer, and are the realities of running a cadet unit on a day-to-day basis fully understood. Taking part in the research will involve completing a questionnaire regarding your personal experience of being an adult volunteer. Any personal data such as age, unit name, occupation etc., will be taken in order to look for patterns in the research. All such data will be taken confidentially and no one beyond the researcher will ever be able to recognise your responses in the research. Once taken, all data will be stored securely on password protected computers, and in password protected files at Newcastle University. The results and findings of this research will eventually be recorded in a PhD thesis which will be publicly available to view. The research, or parts of it, may also be published elsewhere, (including sea cadet publications) and the anonymised data will be deposited in the UK data archive : https://www.data-archive.ac.uk/

Your participation in this research will provide invaluable insight into the processes and practicalities of volunteering in the cadet forces. Analysis of such data can then be used to inform future decision making at local, regional, national, and even governmental level. Inclusion of participation on your CV may also illustrate civic engagement. It is possible that providing open and honest responses in the questionnaires could identify issues that others do not agree with or find upsetting. To combat this possibility all questionnaires are confidential. Furthermore, the researcher is contactable via the details below to discuss any concerns you have and will be able to provide contact details of Sea Cadet personnel above unit level if necessary, who can deal with any further concerns.

Please note, I [the researcher] will generally not disclose the responses you [the participant] provide without your consent, but there may be circumstances where I have to because I have a legal requirement to do so. For example, under statute or a court order, and/or I have an overriding duty to the public. Examples could include disclosure of information concerning the

commission of a criminal offence such as theft, information relating to life-threatening circumstances such as cadet activities not adequately planned or disclosure of safeguarding irregularities or issues regarding child protection. If any of the above issues are of concern to you, please do not volunteer.

You have the right to withdraw at any time from this research.

Newcastle University have provided ethical approval for this research.

The national Sea Cadet Corps support this research.

Further Information

The researcher can be contacted at the following address: