## **Reviews**

Tom Cockburn Rethinking Children's Citizenship Palgrave Macmillan 2013 ISBN 978-0-230-27187-6 £ 55.00 (hbk) pp.272

## Dod Forrest

THIS BOOK provides a panoramic view of children's lives and the emergence of various forms of citizenship in the context of a history of Western philosophy, industrialisation and the emergence of global capitalism. Cockburn traces the ideas of the thinkers who have theorised the concepts of citizenship, governance and rights, outlining the key elements of this evolution of ideas from the Classical period of Greek and Roman times, to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, through to contemporary perspectives of neo liberalism, feminism and socialism. This is an ambitious project seeking to locate the child, and the place of children in European world history. He argues for,

... a rethinking of citizenship away from liberal individual notions to one that emphasises social interdependence and calls for concomitant re-evaluations of our public spaces to enable the intersectionality of children's identities and a safe and constructive way for the dialogue of dialectics of generation to be facilitated (p.17).

Cockburn has illuminated a stark reality. The child, in all societies around the world today, is excluded from the formal political process. The child is devoid of citizenship. The state defines the child as 'not ready' to participate in decision making and certainly not ready to vote. Relations of power between parent and child, between welfare, health and education worker and child, are unequal, sometimes abusive. Generally the relationship is not participatory or sharing, and where this does occur it is tokenistic, especially in the nursery and the school and many homes.

The book is packed with detail and covers a huge range of literature on citizenship, the state, the family and children, all embedded within an interesting framework of radical/socialist feminist theories of patriarchy, empowerment, care and justice. These theoretical arguments are threaded together to create a new perspective on children's citizenship. The 21 pages of references identifying almost 500 sources of material provide one indicator of the breadth and depth of the analysis that Cockburn has undertaken. This bibliography alone provides a substantial resource

for further study. This is a broad brush approach and at times the reader can feel overwhelmed by the density of the argument and frustrated by the unavoidable conciseness of the range of ideas explored. However the structure of the book provides a stopping point at intervals where welcome summaries are provided at the end of all sections.

Cockburn structures his account of citizenship within turning points in history. He argues that it is during periods of revolution, citing the French and American revolutions, where incremental shifts were made in terms of welfare and social rights for children alongside women and slaves, albeit the 'rights of man' were the initial primary focus. The author also traces how ideas and roles changed when societal conditions were ruptured by technological change in the form of the industrial revolution, spawning radical new ideas that led to the development of a more inclusive citizenship, particularly in terms of women's suffrage and welfare reforms for children.

Cockburn identifies the internationalisation of rights as a key element in the contemporary period and argues for a form of citizenship that recognises differences of culture, gender, race, disability and class while striving to search for mutual interests that encapsulate a citizenship of care, rights and justice. This rethinking of citizenship signposts a way forward for children where interdependence is the norm, arguing that there is an increasing need and recognition of mutual care and aid as opposed to naked self-interest. The notion of participation is central to this rethinking as he outlines: 'Rights may attempt to provide the glue of citizenship belonging, but active citizenship is something beyond the claiming of rights and involves participation' (p.175).

Cockburn has created a substantial and important rethinking of the prevailing view of citizenship and in the process has reconceptualised a citizenship that, if granted by the state and introduced into family and community life, should become oriented around social change – encouraging agency, social action, participation and justice underpinned by care. This perspective is, crucially, set within a framework that acknowledges the existence of powerful vested interests, and an inequality of resources. He points a way ahead for a more participative citizenship focussed on social action for justice in an international context.

These perspectives may herald a shift in the relations between children and the state. Children have been part of the great social movements that have emerged in the opening decades of the 21st century. School children walked out of school and went on strike in their opposition to the Iraq war and were central to the Stop the War movement. In Scotland the campaign to welcome refugees and protect asylum seekers has been led at times by school children, alongside 'show racism the red card' initiatives in schools and community centres.

If there is one criticism of Cockburn it is that he does not interrogate the weaknesses of many socalled participatory and empowering initiatives. In an important early contribution to these debates

Baistow (1994) analyses the paradox of empowerment identifying both liberationist and regulative practices that flow from the concept. These ideas are contested concepts, open to manipulation by the powerful. A recent in-depth study of participation in this journal (Farthing, 2012) identifies a need for 'deeper critical reflection...about why we 'do' participation (p.97).

However Cockburn's social action for justice is a starting point for the self-organisation of children and will be a major contribution to the challenges that face all sections of society in the years ahead. It is possible that children will be at the forefront of the contemporary movements for radical social change that are emerging in all forms of protest across the world. Cockburn's book can assist this process.

A less expensive paperback edition will assist enormously and in the meantime all libraries, where possible, should prioritise the purchase of this book from their diminishing budgets and threats of closure. After all, in towns and villages across the country a growing number of children are joining the marches to oppose these cuts to library services.

## References

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Dod Forrest was involved in the development and delivery of the Goldsmiths College Citizen's Rights Courses as a community and youth work student in the early 1970s. He initiated one of Scotland's first Welfare Rights Projects, at St Katherine's Centre in Aberdeen.

Ruth Gilchrist, Tony Jeffs, Jean Spence, Naomi Stanton, Aylssa Cowell, Joyce Walker and Tom Wylie (eds.) Reappraisals: Essays in the history of youth and community work Russell House Publishing 2013 ISBN: 978-1-905541-88-1 £19.95 pbk pp. 181

#### Lucy McMahon

THIS VOLUME presents historical snapshots of late nineteenth and twentieth century youth work,

tracing trends in gender dynamics, community development, criminology and political resistance. It is a collection of papers presented at the bi-annual *History of Youth and Community Work Conference*, which explains the lack of any overall trends or connections between articles, in a realistic depiction of the diversity (and often disjointedness) of youth work, youth workers, and institutions. The title Reappraisals points to the authors' desire for readers to see the essays as tools to reappraise contemporary research and practice.

The volume is therefore an enriching accompaniment to youth work research. Contributions are largely from the UK, but Juha Nieminen writes on Finnish youth work (Chapter 5) and Judith Metz on professionalisation in the Netherlands (Chapter 7). The articles range from historical documentary to political analysis and a particular asset of the collection is its focus on the local without losing the wider historical political context. For example, Dod Forrest's in-depth analysis of youth work in the Northfield Estate in Aberdeen (Chapter 9) is used to make a case for participatory youth work more generally, and is rooted in the slowly growing political radicalism of 1950s youth work.

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 have a particular focus on gender dynamics in youth work. In Chapter 1, Helen Jones offers a detailed history of the first decade of Leeds Association of Girls Clubs, with a central focus on its female founders. Jones' short biographies of these founders provides an interesting angle from which to understand the initially 'apolitical' stance of the association and the emphasis on creating well behaved maids and obedient daughters. This chapter feeds well into Chapter 2, which continues the discussion of gendered and classed role-creation in youth work, this time with a focus on youth deviance. Naomi Stanton and Aniela Wenham characterise perceptions of working class youth as either 'fallen women' or 'artful dodgers', and illuminate the domination of the middle classes in constructing morality through stringent gender norms, stressing the contemporary prevalence of such norms. One particularly interesting observation is the authors' assertion that 'Popular representations of the "at risk" girl remain couched in terms of their "failure" to make a successful transition to adulthood' (p.33). This male governance of the child-adult transition has long been a topic of concern in feminist research since Mary Wollstonecraft's claim that a fundamental barrier to sexual equality in the eighteenth century was women's 'perpetual babyism' (see Field 2011: 200). Stanton and Wenham demonstrate the contribution of class position and poverty towards oppressive gender stereotyping. The authors' analysis of 'fallen women' is more successful, I suggest, than their approach to 'artful dodgers'. The authors pay little attention to masculinity per se, but rather comment generally about 'dangerous youth'. This sets up a distinction between femininity, which needs special gendered attention, and masculinity, which represents standard, neutral 'youth'.

In Chapter 3, Tony Jeffs adds complexity to this gender binary by analysing groups with the more radical feminist approaches to youth work of the militaristic Womens' Volunteer Reserve, launched

by suffragettes, which was 'designed to offer girl workers roughly what the Boy Scouts movement had long been doing for their schoolboy brothers (p.40). At times, it is difficult to identify Jeff's perception of, or arguments surrounding, his subject matter, for example he describes the blame placed on 'foolish' women for the 'spread of VD amongst troops' with little analysis of the sexual power dynamics embedded in such allegations, particularly the associations of female sexuality with disease and disorder. It is hard to tell what Jeff thinks about suffragette forms of radical youth work and what resonance he believes those movements should have for today's practice, if any.

Chapter 4 is Tom Wylie's history of Scouting in Belfast, which continues the technique used by Helen Jones of reading history via biographies of individual youth workers and organisers, in this case Judge William Johnson. This is an interesting way to encourage youth worker readers to relate the extracts to their own practice, but also to relate a history of political turmoil (in this case of Belfast) through individual experience. Like Chapter 4, Juha Nieminen's outline of the theoretical underpinnings of Finnish youth work in Chapter 5 emphasises the significance of state policy and ideology in forming youth work practice and rhetoric. Although his paper highlights interesting general trends in perceptions of youth work, I was left wondering why Nieminen makes no mention of the significant division between 'white' and 'red' children after the 1918 civil war, as a result of which, as Mirja Satka (2003) has shown, the 'red' children of communist dissidents were treated as second class citizens.

Chapter 6 is a brief history of the Cambridgeshire Village College, reminding the reader of previous links between schools and youth work organizations in which the community focus of the latter inspired changes in the former for a brief period of British history. Chapters 7, 8 and 9 introduce key trends or buzz words in youth work: professionalisation, community development and participatory youth work, all of which have intense relevance to contemporary research and practice. It is mainly left to the reader to make links between the articles and their contemporary relevance; although Judith Metz calls for a redefinition in the role of the youth worker in Chapter 7, she does not have space to outline what this might mean in practice. Similarly, Dod Forrest asserts that participatory youth work is a 'vital educational service' in Chapter 9 but does not have space to justify this claim with relation to contemporary social and political changes. Keith Popple's chapter on community development (Chapter 8) segues well into Bernard Davies and Tony Taylor's final chapter on the Albemarle Settlement, as both chapters provide detailed histories of the development of British youth work and its intersection with changing racial politics and economic contexts. Again the papers allowed only for brief references to contemporary politics with little close analysis of how to 'reappraise' current practice. The authors loosely tied the concerns about a 'permissive society' that was supposed to have resulted from the ending of National Service in 1958 to David Cameron's 'broken Britain', but provided little analysis of the significance of this link (p.166).

The volume effectively provides a 'taster' of different historical trends in youth work. There is a

general tendency towards description of historical contexts over critical analysis, but readers are provided with rich historical detail about under-researched trends and institutions. An introduction that tied together the themes in the papers and identified the relevance of each to a contemporary 'reappraisal' in more detail might have more successfully justified the title of the collection. At the same time, the diversity of contributions and approaches are a good representation of the field of youth work and provide important insights into its origins, structures and individual pioneers.

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Marina Hahn-Bleibtreu and Marc Molgat (eds.) Youth Policy in a Changing World: From Theory to Practice Barbara Budrich Publishers 2012 ISBN: 3866494599 Price: £29.16 pp.328

Alexander Fink

WITH YOUTH Policy in a Changing World, editors Bleibtreu and Molgat make a valuable contribution to the still nascent disciplinary field of international youth policy. Bringing together scholars and practitioners from the United States, Latin America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and Asia, this volume represents a global perspective on the challenges of making effective policy for young people in the 21st century. While old strategies for youth policy involve mainly references to other policy fields that affect young people (education, job training, etc.), this volume identifies youth policy as a distinct arena, grappling with a wide assortment of issues that affect young people and sharing two key concepts: (1) the idea that young people should be considered as active citizens, capable of shaping (rather than only being shaped by) social institutions and (2) the belief that public policy can support young people as 'social actors, in their life experiences and their transitions to adulthood' (p.11). The book explores national policies that influence the lives of young people through this shared lens. It is divided into three sections, each enumerating

an important dimension of the policy process: policy development, the effects of policy, and perspectives on policy. Chapters range from local and practical ('Challenges in youth transitions to parenthood in Bulgaria') to the philosophical ('Changing time experience, changing biographies and new youth values').

With this range of shared concepts and dimensions in mind, Youth Policy in a Changing World examines many important elements of global youth policy: identity, citizenship, transitions, development, employment and career growth, education and training, migrant workers, and suicide. This diversity of topics points to this volume's primary strength and weakness: while providing a multidimensional cartography of global youth policy, the text simultaneously feels wandering and disconnected. The editors could have solidified the volume by having each paper suggest implications for youth policy on the basis of their research. Shared implications, or better yet, guiding questions would go a long way to providing future directions for researchers and policy makers. Also absent are strong connections to the fields of public policy and political science that one might expect from a policy text. Utilising the frameworks developed in those fields would help make space for young people as an addition to or modification of existing public policy and political science frameworks. Drawing from these disciplines would strengthen this text by integrating a large history of research and study into the field of youth policy. That said, this disparate range of topics, research methodologies (which range from case studies to secondary data analysis to national surveys), and conclusions implicitly offers a guidebook for scholars of youth policy, who could place relevant studies in dialogue with circumstances in their own national or international contexts.

Perhaps because the book covers such a wide range of topics, it feels like there are some perspectives missing. Where, for example, is an analysis of the ways the impact of policy is affected by sexuality and race? Do child welfare systems factor into youth policy? Changing policies around the world are also affecting the institutions working with young people. Two examples from the United States are the movement of funds from community centres to after-school programs and the professionalisation of the role of youth workers by advocates for core competencies. As a youth worker and scholar in the United States, where these policy-level discussions are at the fore of our professional dialogues (and knowing these discussions are happening elsewhere too), I feel like these are missing dimensions to a comprehensive review of global youth policy.

The book concludes by making an important distinction between two differing perspectives implicit in its chapters. The first views young people as in need of help to develop skills and personal characteristics needed to 'be successful'. This is referred to as the 'adaptation' perspective, 'geared toward fostering the adaptation of young people to society, to labor and housing market conditions, [...] and to a host of social and psychological prescriptions concerning the prevention of risk behaviors' (p.309). The second sees young people as social agents able to create social change. In this latter perspective, the role of policy is to support these young people in navigating or changing structural obstacles to their success. These perspectives reflect a tension within youth studies as a broader discipline and it seems reasonable that they would appear here as well.

On the whole, conclusions of greater significance were contained between the covers of this volume, but unfortunately went largely unnamed. Primarily, I think preliminary implications or framing questions for the field in understanding youth policy on a variety of topics would strengthen this book's contribution to the discipline. Making these explicit would go much further in providing definition to a field still in its own youth.

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Sue Heath and Charlie Walker Innovations in Youth Research Palgrave Macmillan Publishers 2011 ISBN: 9780230278493 £57.50 (hbk) pp.281

Rodolfo Leyva

*INNOVATIONS IN Youth Research* brings together a collection of 12 articles, focusing on their unique methodological approaches and corresponding ethical concerns. Writing in response to the recent wave of critiques of traditional qualitative methods (interview and ethnographic approaches), the editors argue that the book offers a plethora of innovative techniques that demonstrate how qualitative research can be updated and recharged to better gauge and document the complexities of modern young people.

When I first opened the book, I was immediately impressed and in agreement with the editors' lucid and convincing argument that research on young people needs to adopt a more holistic use of varied methods that complement each other in order to generate uniquely different data that is otherwise inaccessible via the use of traditional qualitative methods. Indeed, reading through the contents page, I was delighted to see in the chapter titles phrases like, 'music elicitation, 'the use of mental maps', and 'mixed methods', expecting maybe to read about the use of psychological priming tests on young people. Unfortunately, as I read each chapter, I was a bit disappointed with the content. This is not to suggest that the book is not insightful or well written. In fact, I agree with just about all of the different authors' major conclusions and lessons, and to be certain the methods used in the studies described were innovative, at least in the strict Oxford English Dictionary sense of the word. Chapter 3 for example, describes an ethnographic study on young

people's attachment to their neighborhoods, where the researchers added neighbourhood car rides with their participants to their methodological toolkit.

However, I felt that the title and to some extent the introductory chapter are somewhat misleading. The book should really be titled 'Qualitative Methodological Innovations In Youth Identity Research', since there is no article that describes the use of quantitative methods. Chapter 5 was equally deceptive in its use of 'mixed methods', and could have been titled 'Triangulation in Narrative Research', as it is a fine example of using multiple qualitative methods to triangulate a specific research exploration. Still, and this could just be my subjective interpretation, but at least from anecdotal accounts, the term 'mixed methods' is reserved for the utilization of both qualitative and quantitative methods.

As for the innovations (and with the exception of chapter 2, which describes the use of music elicitation on metal fans that likely generated higher quality data than would simple interview questions), I was not convinced that most of the methods described in these studies were particularly necessary. Take for example, the use of mental maps described in chapter 4 where the authors had participants draw out geographical maps of their communities in order to elicit thicker descriptions that can better elucidate their participants' affective attachment to space and place. Likewise the study in chapter 6 describes how youth participants in India were given cameras to take pictures of the buildings and locations that had meaning to them. While these methodological additions certainly complemented the use of standard ethnographic methods, I do not see how they helped to add anything uniquely different that could not have been captured via the use of carefully crafted semi-structured or open-ended interview questions. Contrary to the editors, I take the position that multiple methods should be used to validate, and not merely complement, each other.

In other instances, a few articles, whilst insightful, seemed out of place for a book dedicated to innovations in methods. Chapter 12 for example, concerns an account whereby the author discusses some of the major issues of conducting research in cross-cultural settings (eg, preparing for fieldwork, negotiating access). The actual methods used, however, were only briefly mentioned as simply ethnographic. Meanwhile chapter 13 describes a conversation between a researcher and his former PhD supervisor talking about issues of reflexivity and the representation of participants that can occur after the ethnographic collection of data.

Nonetheless, this book is a great example of the literature of qualitative studies on youth identities and subjectivities, and anyone interested in this line of research can definitely pick up some pointers from this book. Yet given that the major lesson and conclusion to most of these types of studies is always predetermined by some permutation of the argument that 'young people actively construct their identities around the competing socio-cultural discourses and physical locations available to them', why bother with innovative methods at all? I get it. Identities are fluid and young people have an affective attachment to their respective local cultures and proximate geography. Do we really need participatory photographic and self-portrait methods to once again document this now overly documented sociological law?

Let's move on from this, and let's implement a creative methodology to match.

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Ken Ogilvie Roots and Wings: A History of Outdoor Education and Outdoor Learning in the UK

Russell House 2012 ISBN: 978–1–905541–84-3 £39.95 (pbk) pp.792

## Richard McHugh

OUTDOOR AND environmental education and learning have been a longstanding aspect of the associated fields of youth and community work, teaching, social and probation services. Many books have covered the specific interests of professional training for outdoor instructors and those who incorporate technical outdoor pursuits such as climbing, mountaineering and canoeing into their educative programmes (for example, see Langmuir, 2001; Grant, 1997; Hill and Johnston, 2002; Long, 2004; Peter, 2004). Yet little attention has been paid to the genealogy of outdoor education and learning, again in spite of peripheral works on the specifics of the history of mountaineering and climbing (cf. Wells, 2001). Notwithstanding discipline specific histories and technical training manuals, Ken Ogilvie's offering is a much needed attempt to fill a gap in outdoor education and learning literature.

*Roots and Wings* in this sense has promise, just as it has potential at a telephone directory proportioned 792 pages, as a point of aid to step up to the first moves on Supa Dupa Dupont (Chapel Head Scar), or as a second belay anchor on the loose topped Castle Naze crag. Climber's jokes aside, *Roots and Wings* provides a useful overview of the history of outdoor education in the UK, doing what it says in the title. Ogilvie begins at the umbilical cord of the human race in the pursuit of tracing the seeds of education and learning in the outdoors, taking the starting point of ten million years ago; this starting point is given as a means of locating outdoor learning (and the earliest forms of education) as not being an independent recently occurring phenomenon.

From such early beginnings Ogilvie sketches out a précis of (pre) history, making links in the

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earliest forms of what might be described as co-operative living, experiential learning in the form of tool development and understanding of the properties of materials, through to what would today be described as commuting. This though is a sketching out and précis, as the detail and rigour in supporting this aspect of the chronology are sparse. Herein rests a problem for the initial chapters of the book. In one respect it is attempting historical analysis, and in another it is attempting to draw links between the actions of the founders of humanity and the present of outdoor education and learning as a life enriching activity and commodity. At points, in particular early on in the book, this dual purpose feels strained. With this said, there is an illuminating reference in the first chapter to an article by J.A. Peddiwell which should be a warning to all who are involved in any form of education (pp.7 - 8).

Unfortunately there are a small number of issues which could be open to a preliminary deconstruction and may cause at least an eyebrow to be raised, these being a casual use of colonial stained language and extensive use of the exclamation mark. It may be that these points seem petty. However, as the book is aimed at youth and community workers, teachers, students and their associated fields, I would hope that most readers may question the use of terms such as 'Red Indians' (p.13).

As the book meanders through history on a whirlwind temporal tour of key points in education policy, historic referents in the patchwork of outdoor learning (in relation to said policy) and more broadly still, macro historic events such as war, youth cultures and social change, the reader begins to gain a sense of rhythm to the book. This is interesting in that it is reflexive of the rhythms that are discussed: for example, social change, war (Boer), loss, governmental intervention, charismatic (civilian) leadership (Baden Powell), and social change. This is not too dissimilar to Bear Grylls involvement in the scouting movement today, although this is not referred to in the latter part of the book that focuses on the present of outdoor learning and education.

Of significant interest not only to practitioners with specialist technical roles associated with outdoor education and learning, but also to those who may be conducting non-technical and ungoverned field trips in the outdoors, are the sections examining the discourse of risk. This is one of the areas of the book where Ogilvie shines through as having an in-depth expert knowledge of the subject matter; as is the case in the sections dealing with the establishment of National Governing Bodies such as Mountain Leader Training Board and licensing of providers via the establishment of the Adventure Activities Licencing Authority.

*Roots and Wings* is potentially a valuable resource to practitioners working or interested in working with learning and education in the outdoors. For a youth and community worker or teacher this value may be in the reminder that there is significant potential in utilising outdoor experiential learning, be it related to specific curriculum subjects, as a means to think afresh through play, or

to reflect in environments other than a class room or youth centre. For the instructor or coach it may be that the value comes as a means of linking broader education policy and policy change to the demands placed on their profession in everyday practice. For students studying on outdoor education, teaching and youth and community courses the same value is evident, yet it should be said that in this case the book should be treated as a signpost to more specific texts in all relevant directions depending on interest.

There is only one obvious gap in the book, albeit in some ways a large one, this being that it solely focuses on outdoor education in rural and coastal areas and through the lens of learning and education as exclusively professional domains (with the exception of the forays into the prehistoric). No mention is given to spontaneous adventure activity in the work of detached youth and play work, informal coaching and mentoring in skate parks or dirt jump trails, apprenticeships in locating street sports and technical coaching for Parkour practitioners, street BMX'ers and graffiti artists. Not to mention street debates and learning through experience for groups of young people inhabiting urban spaces. Perhaps this omission is symptomatic of the elite or cure paradigms in which outdoor education and learning discourse exist, or perhaps it is the future of the discourse to come; either way, a more critical analysis could have considered these as at least a question of what may be.

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## Stuart Waiton **Snobs' Law: Criminalising Football Fans in an Age of Intolerance** Take a Liberty 2012 ISBN: 978-0957155909 £11.95 (pbk) pp.80

## Brian Belton

IN THIS BOOK Waiton attempts to deconstruct what he understands to be the widely perceived bigotry of football fans and sectarianism in Scotland. In doing this he highlights what he sees as hypocrisy among politicians, the police, and the media who for him have traditionally seen the football fan in a negative light.

Waiton questions the influence of the Scottish National Party's Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications Act (2012) (from hereon referred to as the 'Act'), in particular how it might negatively impact on the fundamental human right of freedom of expression, as Scottish football fans become more subjected to regulation and surveillance than many other sections of society. According to Waiton (of Abertay University) 'At a time when British politicians are lecturing Vladimir Putin about freedoms abroad, they are increasingly denying them at home'.

The book starts out by discussing the Act which makes it possible for supporters to be incarcerated for up to five years for giving voice to banned songs and chants. Politicians initially insisted that the purpose of the Act was to oppose sectarianism at matches between Celtic and Rangers. However, the scope of the Act extended to include a range of songs and chants that individuals and groups might find offensive.

In the chapter, 'The New Sectarianism', Waiton discusses what he sees as a new and increasing trend; particular groups of 'Old Firm' supporters expressing offence at attitudes and chants they had, for generations, tolerated. Waiton argues that this inclination has intensified sectarian rivalry, but has also formalised it (it has been encoded into law and legal processes). Supporters of both sides are able to invoke the new law, reporting opposing fans to the authorities. This has in effect granted a sort of licence for 'grassing'.

Waiton (in the chapter that reflects the title of his book) contests that urban elites led the way for the Act and its accompanying moral attitudes towards soccer support; these are his 'snobs', who can hardly camouflage their disdain for the working-class football fan. Reversing what he portrays the prevalent perspective, Waiton homes in not on the behaviour of supporters but the activity of politicians, who for him understand supporters as a problem that requires addressing rather than fellow stake holders in society. These political tsars are for Waiton unable to understand that actions and words used by fans during football matches have a different quality or character than the same actions or words used beyond the sporting arena. This, for Waiton, has ignited an exponential catalogue of regulations, rules and controls applied to, and increasing surveillance of what supporters say or do. This amounts to a criminalisation of 'communications'.

For Waiton, the tsunami of sententiousness engulfing soccer fans has resulted in the criminalisation of words, the consequence of which is supporters being placed in custody, sometimes at the cost of their employment and future careers. This, and the broader social impact of the Act, Waiton argues, should be laid squarely at the door of the Scottish National Party (SNP) together with groups of social elites who object to what the fans of the Old Firm teams sing or chant. This distaste (which is portrayed by Waiton as close to a form of discrimination in itself) has, for Waiton, been taken as adequate justification to legislate against what he presents as vocal traditions. He sees this as a victory of the snobbery of the chattering classes, over the traditionally working class realm of football fandom. However, this position is really an attempt to create a sort of perpetual motion logic rather than a robust enquiry into the nature of human rights, something called 'working class traditions' and football.

Probably before the 1970s footballers seeking to bring their peers to 'justice' for verbal abuse of one type or another were as rare as supporters being arrested and punished for giving voice to offensive chants or songs. That said, I was ejected from Upton Park some time in the late-60s for singing 'F, F.U., F.U.C. me walking down the street...' I got no further with my homage to Dionne Warwick's 'Walk on By' as PC 247 escorted me out into Green Street. A couple of weeks later he did much the same thing as I sang '247, 247, Wonderful Radio One!' (a jingo for the station of that era).

However, back across the mists of history to now, the contemporary regulations and laws vilifying of such behaviour in and around the game are, for Waiton, understood as progressive and expressions of tolerance.

*Snobs' Law* was initially generated via an analysis of the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communication (Scotland) Bill, and starts out by looking back to the 1980s and the policing of supporters during that period. This was a time when fans were literally herded into and caged in grounds, treatment that was responsible for a number of largely unheralded small tragedies and incidents before the death toll at Hillsborough in 1989 brought conditions into the headlines.

For Waiton, this 'old regime' and the unspoken solidarity of supporters in tolerance of one another's intolerance has been replaced by modern mechanisms of control, the product of a sort of loose association of elitist groups and sectional interests, which collectively effect psychic and physical control. As such, *Snobs' Law* is concerned with prejudices, myths and odium that encompass the

support of football. It posits the rise of a form of 'nouveau-sectarianism' generated by the authority élites, premised on people being encultured or at least persuaded to take forms of profound offence and enticed or obliged to inform those taken or labelled as perpetrators, from the perspective of the book rival supporters, to a relevant or any authority.

Overall, Waiton asserts what is in reality an elaborate and widespread system of surveillance, judgemental attitudes, and inquisitorial responses that give rise to a nexus of disapproval, threat and punishment, undermining free speech and expression in the Scottish context, in the process threatening the liberty of the whole population. According to Waiton this situation embodies the growingly censorious and intolerant character of Scottish attitudes, while the nation outwardly portrays itself as being distinguished by its tolerance.

Waiton's argument is seductive in its simple logic – it replicates football with its 'them and us' emphasis that straightforwardly gives the green light to what are clearly forms of bigotry. It attacks groups of what he sees as élites but effectively promotes the views of other groups that make up the dominant classes north of the border, what one Celtic fan called the 'brown brogue wearing dignity'.

As such Waiton's arguments are flawed because they appeal only to a basic analysis, while claiming there is no difference between singing about being up to one's knees in 'Fenian blood' and Manchester United supporters taunting Liverpool fans with chants about 'loadsa money'. This would be laughable if were not so utterly repugnant. It's not unlike proclaiming that Billie Holiday's 'Strange Fruit' has the same impact as 'Cotton-eyed Joe'.

The book in short equates to; 'Free speech should be allowed no matter what', but nestling religious bigotry as legitimate within this – in essence making a case to put this beyond legislation in the context of soccer (and so by association perhaps all sporting contests) – is clearly conflating 'free speech' with 'licensed offence'. Perhaps some basic historical knowledge of sectarianism in football given its head is required, maybe starting in Belfast on Boxing Day 1948 at the annual Linfield – Belfast Celtic game at Windsor Park. This started a process which concluded with the competitive disappearance of 'The Grand Old Team' before 1950.

Waiton's opposition to the Act effectively supports the continuance of religious bigotry; racists and bigots being, in practice, protected. His argument, that the Act is a 'Snob's Law', forced on the feeble working class that he sees football support being primarily made up of, is a painfully patronising and simplistic exercise in stereotyping. But at the same time he is asking me (and perhaps you) as a football fan to live with and tolerate bigotry, at least in one form, although as soon as we accept it in one form it logically opens the way for other incarnations of the same putrid thoughtlessness: racism, sexism, homophobia etc. And all because we are (apparently for Waiton anyway) some species of affable proles, taking delight in being encased in the non-changing slum that he regards as customary football supporting practice, complete with flat cap, bottle of stout and half-smoked Woodbine perhaps, devoid of diversity in terms of ethnicity, culture, race, class or gender; 'the way it should be' free of the prawn sandwich brigade of 'cultural elitists' that Waiton asserts dominate the cultural response of the game.

But a surface reading of *Snob's Law* might incline an audience to take it as a straightforward defence of free speech and expression, perhaps reclaiming the concept of tolerance. For Waiton, it seems that the SNP and their politically correct allies have stripped tolerance of its essential meaning as a verification of freedom; this 'anti-football-tradition' pack being guilty of reducing tolerance to a kind of civil propriety and / or demand for decorum.

The positive (or naive?) reader might take it that the book aims to challenge this mainstream view, and as such it should perhaps be welcomed along with Waiton's adamant censure of those leading what he portrays as the criminalisation of football fans and players, which does ask the questions few openly air: why should disapproval of what football supporters and professional players say / sing / chant be turned into grounds for criminal proceedings?

It may be true that if tolerance is taken simply as being pleasant to each other, there is a risk that it will transmogrify into prejudice against those who are labelled as offensive (those who do not agree or comply with being civil to everybody all of the time just for the sake of it). And as words and songs that are considered impolite and nasty become subject to censorship and criminalisation under the Act, Waiton is probably right to argue that in Scotland (and elsewhere) those who pressurise most for the prohibition of songs, control of behaviour and policing thought, not unusually see and sometimes describe themselves (in one way or another, word and / or deed) as 'of the left', secular and open-minded. This for Waiton gives rise to a peculiar situation wherein what he understands as the intolerant and illiberal management of football supporters (and professionals) is camouflaged in the oratory of liberal tolerance.

Certainly, it is hard for the reader to doubt Waiton's sincerity in his concern about the failure of intelligent and liberal people, to grasp the new censorious environment as a perilous assault on free speech / expression. However, while it might be hard not to support the well-known quote from the work of Evelyn Beatrice Hall (1906, p.188): 'I may detest what you say but will defend to the death your right to say it', it is perhaps iniquitous to move from this to seeing the banning of the use of bigoted and / or racist language as our collective failure to hold on to or uphold the ethics of the precious liberty of free speech. However tolerance is not acceptance. Someone can tolerate something up to a point where they won't (or can't) tolerate it any more; being tolerated is a type of patronisation from this perspective. But maybe we can accept that we are able to tolerate people and words that we don't like, although not liking is not the same as being hurt or injured by the meaning of words and the way they are used.

Waiton's apparent failure to understand the latter probably shows him to be more of the 'chattering classes' he vilifies than he might be conscious of. The days when football sectarianism and racism reflected everyday life have long gone (thank goodness). The truth is that the type of language, abuse and insult that Waiton apparently wants to resuscitate as a 'tradition', perhaps some wild mythical working class equivalent to Highland dancing or tossing the caber, is itself a gross and in practice vile caricature of my (working class) culture. Just as football played is a universe away from the Celtic World Club game revisited in my own book *The Battle of Montevideo* (2008), so the behaviour, demeanour, class and growingly ethnic and gender profile of football support has also changed.

While writing the biography of West Ham and England's first Black footballer, I was told by the Hammers' John Charles; 'Yeah, fans shouted out things, sang songs. Once, when I was playing, my mum was sitting behind this feller that called me a 'black bastard'. She went mad at him. She said, 'He's not a bastard! I was married to his dad!' I can tell many stories of this type; we have not always tolerated insults as 'tradition'. In fact, in the main I would argue we have not tolerated them; we have lived shamefully with them. To our credit we have largely stopped them in football grounds, although events in the last few years, particularly in parts of Europe, demonstrate that it would be foolhardy to rest on our successes – there is still a long way to go. This is why we cannot let Waiton and any allies he has win this argument.

Waiton calls today's tolerant 'intolerant of the prejudiced', which seems an appeal to reason although if you think about it, it is about as logical as saying the prejudiced are the tolerant group. This is the trick that Waiton comes close to pulling off; but it is sleight of hand, or giving him the benefit of the doubt, a bit of a daft mistake.

As it stands Waiton is inviting football stadiums to be a pestilent vestige of the 'bad old days' of the game, a time when terraces were dangerous places, sometimes running with piss (once in desperation, not being able to get through the crowd for the factory farm like crush, someone took a shit right behind me) and firetraps, where every big game invited a mass squash that too often in football history has ended in multiple death and injury. I was there, as a boy and a young man, pulled into the arms of football hooliganism gangdom – it has to be said in part by repulsion to what was being offered in youth clubs, although I was repeatedly rejected by them for my non-compliance (or their intolerance?). In that atmosphere men (there were few women attending matches in those days) pulled vitriol out of their guts and aimed at their class fellows while the actual generators of that fury, the rich shareholder who stole their labour, watched impassively in the comforting knowledge that religious differences continued to play their part in the divide and rule ethic so important to class domination (I analyse the beginnings of this in *Founded on Iron*, 2003).

That's where these song and chants came from – that is their root and branch; their 'tradition'. Bringing that back is a sort of Frankenstein ambition – with Waiton proclaiming Kenneth Branagh like; 'It lives!'; a dark and frightening vision.

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M.G.Khan Young Muslims, Pedagogy and Islam: Contexts and Concepts Policy Press 2013 ISBN: 978 1 84742 877 6 £19.99 (pbk) pp.214

## Paul Thomas

AS I WAS reviewing this book, a (supposedly 'Liberal') Coalition government minister resuscitated calls for the full force of British law to be used against the small minority of Muslims, themselves a small societal minority, who wear the Niqab, or full face covering. Both France and Belgium, the latter a national government who can agree on virtually nothing else, have passed such laws. This gives some small sense of the Islamophobic climate in western countries in recent years that has cast young Muslims as the 'modern folk devils' and which provides the frame for this fascinating and compelling book. M.G. Khan highlights how this external gaze, and forms of 'purist' internal Muslim community responses to it, force young Muslims to actively consider faith and its place in their 'identity':

Muslim young people are caught between two ideological discourses; a discourse that sees no good on the one hand (Islamophobia), and on the other, a protestation of the 'beauty of Islam' that sees no bad, and young people end up living the ugly side of both (p.81).

Khan's response to this reality is a book that seeks to develop a theoretical, pedagogical framework for 'Muslim youth work' and which justifies the need for it as a form of anti-oppressive practice. Here, he takes an approach that both works with and against internal and external norms of 'being

a Muslim', as Yasmin Gunaratnam (2003) describes the difficult balancing act of working with, but not essentialising or reifying specific, lived identities. Such tensions are illustrated by Khan's thoughtful consideration of the considerable role for youth work within Britain's 'Prevent' counter-terrorism programme – this has enabled and funded more space for work with Muslim young people on a faith-identity basis, but also led to the 'ghettoisation' of both Muslim professionals and the young people themselves simply as 'Muslims', rather than as people with complex and multi-faceted identifications. The result of such analysis is a thought-provoking, educative book that should be read by anyone concerned with the pedagogical and ethical basis for modern youth work, whether Muslim or Non-Muslim, faith adherent or atheist. At first sight, the book's title and significant quoting from, and consideration of, key concepts of the Qur'an, such as the much-misused 'jihad', are challenging for a non-believer. However, they are both educative in the face of ignorance about a much-maligned faith and are used to develop more universal consideration of what is 'good' youth work pedagogy and of the importance of relationship-building.

The fact that it is not an easy book to categorise indicates the strength and depth of the writing - at times the book moves between theorisation of youth work pedagogy, Islamic theological interpretation and explanation, analysis of controversial social policies and reflection on what it is to be human, all underpinned by a very significant range of sources but without letting those other sources get in the way of Khan's very personal direction and voice. This complexity reflects Khan's varied involvements, not only as a professional youth work practitioner and Universitybased educator, but as someone who has been a key figure in the creation of the Muslim Youth Work Foundation and in the 'Young Muslims Consultative (the government-directed re-naming to 'Advisory' is one of a number of insightful policy analyses in the book) Group' developed in the early stages of 'Prevent' programme. The extremely honest and hard-edged reflection in a chapter titled 'On anthros and pimps' on internal and external researchers and the gate-keepers who facilitate their access to 'marginalised' groups such as Muslim youth reflects Khan's experiences of engagement in these highly contested policies. Khan highlights the significant responsibility of youth workers as 'border pedagogues' in accessing, and enabling access to, marginalised young people in pursuit of both policy goals and associated research, arguably professional/ethical issues that we have not discussed enough as a profession as state-funded youth work in Britain has found itself directed more and more overtly in support of wider policy agendas, whether 'reducing teenage pregnancy' or Prevent.

As someone who has researched the impact of Prevent on both society and youth work, I found such reflections and insights illuminating. For that reason, I was somewhat disappointed that the negative connotations similarly applied to policies of community cohesion were not developed in the same way. My own experience is that ground-level youth work community cohesion practice is significantly more positive, and we certainly need more youth work-based discussion of such policies and their impacts on the ground.

The number of books focussed on youth work has thankfully grown substantially in recent years, with many of the text-books very helpful in use with youth work students. This is a different type of book though, a genuinely philosophical and theoretical discussion of youth work's pedagogical purpose and approach that also provides hard-edged critique of societal attitudes towards young Muslims and policies aimed at them, while written in an accessible and engaging style. As such, it deserves a broad audience, having much to say to experienced youth work practitioners and trainers, as well as trainee professionals ready to engage in 'deep' pedagogical consideration.

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