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CONTENTS

AIDSBUSTERS:

A report on the effectiveness of a young person team in designing and delivering HIV and safer sex training within a Youth Training Scheme

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Introduction

HIV infection is a major issue for all sexually active people as contact with infected sexual fluids is the most common mode of transmission, Adolescents are regarded as a priority group for education and training about HIV and AIDS on the basis that the majority are, or will become, sexually active during this period or in early adulthood (see e.g. Farrell, 1978; Clift & Sears, 1988). From a preventative standpoint, it is the fact that many adolescents are **embarking** on a sexual 'career' that is important. It has been argued that making safer sexual lifestyle choices is easier to achieve before behaviour patterns become firmly established (see Bury, 1991; Massey, 1987). A further benefit of HIV/AIDS training is that it can be used by those who are involved with young people to prioritize work which allows young people to explore issues around sexuality and sexual relationships. It is generally agreed that this is a vital but often neglected area of work (see e.g. Bury, 1991; Kent-Baguely, 1990; Aggleton et al, 1988).

The account in this article focuses on one of a series of projects undertaken in 1990 in South Tyneside involving young people and adults in training partnerships for AIDS education - AIDS Action Groups (Guy, 1991). Details of one Action Group and the training programme they planned and delivered within a Youth Training Centre will be given. This will be followed by two evaluative accounts; one focusing on young people's responses to the training they received (from self completion questionnaires and three focus group sessions), the second on the young trainers' experiences of their role (from five process analysis sessions). The article concludes with a series of recommendations for those wishing to run similar projects.

The rationale underpinning the projects was to allow AIDS Action Groups, formed by members from local Centres, to create and deliver AIDS training programmes to young people within those Centres. This accords with a Community Oriented Model whereby groups would identify their own health-related needs and plan programmes to meet these (Homans and Aggleton, 1988 p.166). The young person - adult training partnerships arose because, whilst the Community Oriented Model necessitated that young people became involved in training their peers, on a pragmatic level they would require consent from the Centre management, access to resources, practical advice, and support - all of which could be provided by adults from the Centre. It was emphasised, however, that the Action Groups were to be **equal partnerships.**

The involvement of peer trainers at the onset of the project meant that young people had a central role in making decisions about issues to be covered and strategies for delivery. The work of peer trainers in a variety of settings has been reported and it has been shown that, given a solid organisational framework and adequate levels of support, peer tutoring projects can be extremely effective (see Allen, 1976; Bond, 1982; Goodlad and Hirst, 1989). In relation to AIDS training it would be anticipated that peer tutors would be able to identify issues around AIDS that were relevant to young people and to help produce acceptable programmes. Effective training must be responsive to the needs and demands of trainees and it is important that young people are allowed to address their own agendas in relation to AIDS (Warwick, Aggleton and Homans, 1988). Furthermore the style and context of the training should be one which engages and interests young people (see e.g. Clift and Sears, 1991). Finally, it could also be anticipated that peer trainers would benefit from their experience, gaining skills in training and in terms of personal development.

The following sections will describe setting up the AIDS Action Group and the content of the training programme.

Forming the Training Team - AIDSBUSTERS

A residential training programme was organised for all Action Group members and from this Youth Training (YT) Centre one young person and one adult attended. At the end of the training course they decided to recruit more members to the team and on their return to the Centre advertised and recruited four young people. One staff member also joined the team to help with the organisation of sessions and to provide on-site support for the young trainers. In conjunction with the AIDS Educator the trainers who had received initial training provided a training programme for the new members of the team which consisted of a series of six (3 hour) sessions. At the end of the training programme one of the young trainers gained permanent employment and left the team. The Action Group therefore consisted of four young people (two males and two females), one adult and one support worker. They decided upon the name 'AIDSBUSTERS' which they felt would be informal and topical.

Planning Training

The first task facing the group was to plan and structure a training programme for the young people within the Centre. They chose a compulsory one day programme

which would be timetabled within the health education section of the general programme. The programme was broadly conceived in terms of a morning session - covering information about the nature and transmission of HIV, and an afternoon session - exploring issues around HIV, , sexuality and sexual relationships. It was then decided to divide responsibilities so that the adult would design and deliver the morning session and the young people the afternoon session. This decision was reached because of differing preferences for training styles and interest in the different types of content. The adult favoured a formal didactic style and wished to cover transmission of HIV whereas the young trainers preferred to use a participatory approach and wished to cover sexual relationships and HIV.

Details of Participants and Training Sessions
The training programme was undertaken from March to July 1990. A series of 14 sessions were undertaken, 10 with mixed sex groups of participants and four with single sex participant groups (all female). A total of 144 trainees participated in the sessions. Their ages ranged from 16-18 years. 64% of the participants were female and 36% male.

Description of the Programme
In the morning, adult-led, session participants would complete a questionnaire and view a video - both activities would be followed by a discussion. The questionnaire was selected from the 'Working with Uncertainty' pack (Dixon and Gordon 1989) and video was 'Educating Oz' produced by Tyne Tees TV.
The afternoon session consisted of five activities. The young trainers selected the activities and made modifications after pre-testing them with a small group of peers. Each trainer had responsibilities for leading/facilitating different exercises and devised a script to assist them in this process. A brief description of each activity is given below.
1. Excerpt from a Ben Elton video followed by a discussion on attitudes to sexual relationships.
2. Directing the Film - an adapted exercise looking at assumptions and stereotypes about sexuality and sexual behaviours (taken from 'Learning about AIDS' pack, Aggleton et al, 1989).
3. Safer sex activities - an adapted exercise looking at safer sex behaviour (taken from 'Learning about AIDS' pack Aggleton, et al, 1989).
4. Case studies exercise - an exercise looking at strategies for negotiating safer sex (produced by the local Health Promotion Unit).
5. Auntie AIDA says - an activity looking at passing messages to young people (produced by the local Health Promotion Unit).
The next section will examine the acceptability of the above programme and impact upon the young people who attended the Centre.

Questionnaire Evaluation
A one page, self-completion questionnaire, devised by the Action Group, was completed by all participants at the end of each training session. The questionnaires were designed to evaluate training in four general areas and were completed anonymously. A summary of the findings is presented below.

TABLE 1: Summary of Evaluation Sheets
Perceived aims of training sessions
(n=144. Participants could note more than one category)

Information about HIV/AIDS	75%
Information about safer sex	66%
To talk about sex	36%
Prevention of HIV/AIDS	20%
People could talk about feelings	13%
Show the seriousness of AIDS	3%
Safer sex and other sexually transmitted diseases	2%

Evaluation of specific exercises
(Percentages have been rounded)

	Good	OK	Poor
Morning 'Information' session	18%	55%	27%
Ben Elton video	61%	24%	15%
Directing the film	71%	23%	6%
Safer Sex	44%	29%	27%
Agony Aunt + Case Studies	31%	41%	28%
Auntie AIDA says	47%	42%	11%

Opinion of the training sessions

Broad Classification of response	Positive -	85%
	Negative -	15%
Most frequent comments		
	Fun	56%
	Shy/embarrassed at first	39%
	Interesting	36%
	Some parts were boring	22%
	Could have been longer	10%

Any issues not covered/need more training about

Drugs	9%
Living with HIV/AIDS	19%
Sufficient information	32%

Focus Group Evaluation
In addition to the evaluation questionnaires, a series of focus group sessions were conducted with three of the participant groups. This was intended to provide detailed, supplementary information about the training programme and to examine the impact of HIV/AIDS training on attitudes and behaviour. The focus sessions took place approximately two weeks following the training sessions and each was limited to 90 minutes.
A structure sheet was used to guide discussion around the following areas:-
    Feelings about the training session
    Ideas about AIDS training
    Putting information into practice.
An adult worker from the centre acted as facilitator and the AIDS educator acted as rapporteur. The account below is a summary of rapporteur observations from all three focus groups.

Feelings about the session
The generally positive judgements from the evaluation sheets were confirmed by participants in the focus groups. It was noted by some participants that the

morning adult-led session had seemed formal and didn't encourage participation. This was viewed fairly negatively when compared with the participatory approach offered by the young trainers in the afternoon session.

Lynn: In the morning I thought that it was a bit boring, there was all the stuff about the virus but the video was OK . . . but in the afternoon it was much better 'cos we talked and had a good laugh.

Most of the participants had received no training around HIV/AIDS prior to the sessions and members of all the groups felt that the training had been beneficial. In particular the young people noted the benefit of being allowed to discuss topics around sexuality. They also mentioned that various discussions around these issues had taken place following the initial training sessions.

Rob: We were talking about it (safer sex) for about a week afterwards. It was like once we had got started then it wasn't embarrassing anymore.

Ann: Yes it was good to know that everyone can find it difficult. I think they (the trainers) were right when they said that everyone's supposed to know about sex and yet no one tells you.

It was also noted in one group that some of the staff members within the centre had allowed class discussion of some of the issues which had arisen in the initial training sessions.

Ideas about HIV/AIDS training

The most clearly expressed opinion about training needs was that there should be more opportunity to discuss issues around sexuality in general. However it was evident that such exchanges were facilitated by a supportive climate and the contributions of others.

Facilitator: Can you say how you felt about the discussions you had about HIV and sexuality?

Clair: I was really nervous and shy 'cos I've never really talked about it (others murmur agreement).

Julie: But when we began to talk it was much better. It just got easier.

Facilitator: In what ways? Can you explain a bit more?

Julie Well . . . at first everyone kept looking down and going red, but once a few of us started to talk most people joined in.

The groups also agreed that humerous exercises such as directing the film (involving the creation of a fictitious script in the style of either a tabloid newspaper or romantic novel) helped them to feel more relaxed and more able to participate in the discussion which followed. The presence of peer trainers was agreed to be very positive. The trainers were judged to be both effective and credible in their role. It was felt that having peer trainers meant that trainees and trainers could understand and relate to each other. The following comments were typical of those given in all groups.

Angela: They were friendly. They came around

when we were doing stuff in groups and you could ask them things and have a laugh.

Ian: They didn't mess about when they were talking, they came straight to the point.

Jenifer: They got the message across good.

Putting information into practice

A commonly shared assumption to emerge from the focus groups was that safer sex messages were relevant because 'other people' (and not oneself) could have HIV. It was also noted that safer sex was seen as appropriate with partners who were unlikely to have the virus.

Carol: I don't want to get the virus so I've got to make sure that I don't let anyone give it to me . . .
I mean if someone said that he had the virus -there'd be no chance I'd sleep with him (others murmur agreement).

Facilitator: But surely the point of having safer sex is because you don't know?

Carol Yes you're right . . . but if I did know I wouldn't. It's just too big a risk.

Whilst a majority of members in all three groups were keen to emphasise their positive attitude towards people with HIV/AIDS the limits of this attitude in relation to sexual contact would seem to have been reached.

Another feature of the groups' discussions in this area were the different perceptions of past and future relationships and risks of HIV transmission. The following exchange from the third group illustrates a typical attitude towards previous partners.

Mark: What we learned was good but I've got nothing to worry about . . . I've been going out with me lass for 6 months and she's not slept around.

Facilitator: What about yourself?

Mark: Well, you know, I've had a couple of lasses . . . but they were OK . . . not um . . . promiscuous.

Ian: Aye, but did you know for certain?

Dawn: That's right! What they (the trainers) were saying is that you mightn't know for certain.

Mark: Well I did! Right!

When considering future relationships it would seem that the young people were more confident in their ability to practice safer sex. Many of the focus group members noted that they had explored and developed strategies which could be used with a new partner. The following comments were typical.

Jenifer: I think I'll try and find out what the other person has been up to.

Angela: I'd probably make him wear a condom at first . . . and then I'd have to see.

Paul: When it's someone new I just use them (condoms). No-one minds them now. It's like a fact of life.

It would seem that the comments relating to past and future relationships demonstrate the impact of the training received. In recalling past behaviour to other group members participants were keen to minimise any risks they had taken.

A major obstacle to practising safer sex was noted by young women in both the training sessions and the focus groups. They were extremely concerned about carrying condoms and noted that this was a bigger problem for females rather than males.

Paula: I wouldn't dare carry them (condoms) they'd kill me (her parents), honest, I'd be kept in for the rest of me life.

Joanne: . . . even after all we said I'd still be frightened people would call me a slag. I know it shouldn't bother me but it does.

The group discussed the above issue and noted the double standard that existed over male and female behaviours. This was an area where a wide range of opinion existed in all groups. Most of the young people agreed that although stereotypes were restrictive it was often difficult to challenge them (both with peers and with parents). It was however noted that the training had stimulated great debate amongst many participants.

The final area of consideration was the need to pass on correct information and messages to others. Young people from all three groups said they had discussed the training with friends, many of whom lacked information or possessed misinformation about issues around HIV and AIDS. The need for young people to receive training in this area was judged to be great. Approximately half of the young people had also discussed the training programme with parents, and reported that parents thought the training a good idea. It was however noted that, whilst parents approved of AIDS training for their children they did not appear to perceive the issues to be relevant to themselves. It was agreed that many adults also needed training to realise that HIV could affect them.

Summary and Discussion of Participant Evaluations

The opportunity for HIV/AIDS training was welcomed by participants and the programme offered in the Centre was judged to be appropriate and, as focus group discussions revealed, it made some impact upon attitudes and behaviour.

Whilst no exercises received a majority of negative responses it was clear that the morning session had been contrasted less favourably with the afternoon session. Comments from the focus groups suggest that both the differences in training style and the switch from adult to peer trainers were responsible for these judgements. The findings imply that participatory activities will be most effective and that adult trainers may have to work harder than peers to be seen as credible (Goodlad and Hirst, 1989). In addition it should be noted that exercises which employ humour were particularly appreciated when considering 'sensitive' areas and that the correct climate needs to be established in order to discuss/explore issues around HIV, sexuality and safer sex (see Kent-Baguley, 1990).

The focus group discussions revealed some of the issues that young people had to contend with when considering incorporating low risk behaviour within their current lifestyle. In particular, participants noted the constraints that gender stereotyping imposed upon behaviour change. It was clear that whilst many participants found the issues to be relevant, implementation would be neither a simplistic nor a rapid process (see Richardson, 1987; Szirom and Dyson, 1986).

A finding that was evident from the evaluations was that the training was an ongoing process which extends far beyond specific sessions. The participants noted that they had discussed many of the issues with each other and with friends. It was encouraging to note that, at least on one occasion, young people were given an opportunity to pursue the issues that arise in a class discussion. In order to derive maximum impact from HIV/AIDS training programmes other workers within a Centre need to be aware of, and willing to allow further consideration of, issues that have been raised (see Massey, 1987).

Evaluation of Young Trainers' Development - Process Analysis

As noted in the introduction, an equally important part of the evaluation was to include the young trainers (as they acted separately from the adult worker). The aim was to examine their experiences and development as trainers. A series of five sessions were conducted with the young trainers throughout the period of evaluation. The AIDS educator acted as rapporteur for the sessions and the following account represents an agreed summary of the important processes identified in the sessions.

Group process (1)

The group began by discussing their impressions of the two training sessions they had conducted. They felt that participants had found the sessions enjoyable and noted their own nervousness. In recalling impressions from the first session one female trainer said, 'I never knew that 11 people could look so many'. However, once training was underway trainers had become so involved with the exercises that they were less aware of the nervous feelings.

The next issue to be considered was how to deal with participants' quietness, which it was agreed, could increase trainers' anxiety. The group noted that initially participants seemed reserved but that they became more lively as the session progressed. An effective strategy had been to observe comments made during the exercises and to ask participants to mention them again in large group discussions. It was also important to understand the reasons for the silences such as not knowing what was expected or the embarrassment that could be felt when issues around sexuality were introduced. The group decided that in future sessions they would begin by reassuring participants and that they would not pressurise anyone into talking if they seemed anxious or upset.

Group process (2)

This session took place after the sixth training programme. Trainers had noticed that they felt, and acted with, more confidence in the training sessions. They did not need to rely so much upon the script they had prepared and were becoming more involved with the whole programme rather than just specific activities. This was contrasted with the initial sessions where,

at first you were only concentrating on your own exercises and felt dead relieved when you'd got your bit over with.

The group were less concerned about silences and one trainer said that he had become aware that such pauses could be useful in indicating that participants were reflecting on an issue. It was agreed that skills in facilitating discussion had improved and that trainers could identify topics likely to provoke comment and exchange. The group finally mentioned that their self-confidence had improved allowing them to feel more comfortable when offering their own experience at appropriate points in the session:

it gets easier to do and it helps show people that you understand the problems they might have.

The remainder of the session was spent discussing changes to the organisation of the training programme. The 'case studies' exercise had been amended as it was found that participants were being given too many cases to consider. This seemed to improve the exercise, as was borne out by more positive reports on the questionnaire evaluation sheets. The second change was in the coffee break where separate rooms for trainers and participants had been arranged as it was felt that the presence of trainers might inhibit participants from freely discussing the session.

Group process (3)
The analysis took place after the ninth training session. The group felt that although all of the sessions had been conducted satisfactorily they were able to identify that some had gone particularly well. They noted that: 'You feel really good when it's gone well.'

In discussing successful sessions trainers identified certain factors which seemed to be important. They mentioned high quality and meaningful exchanges between trainers and participants, and also lots of joking and risktaking (in offering personal experiences). The group had also gained the important insight that the responsibility for a good session was jointly shared and wasn't just dependent upon trainers attitude and input.

Group process (4)
In this process analysis a small amount of time was spent considering the training and the rest of the time discussing trainers' roles outside of the sessions. Once again group members mentioned feeling confident in their role as trainers. They were very familiar with the training programme but were keen to emphasise that it had not become boring as each new group of participants made different comments which, 'keeps it fresh'.

The trainers had, however, become aware of potential difficulties that could arise in social situations. They sometimes met participants in clubs and pubs. One trainer said that sometimes this could be,

a drag 'cos they sometimes come over and want to talk about AIDS when all you want to do is get pissed',

It was felt that in this situation a trainer could show concern and offer to discuss the matter at a later time. Trainers also noted that they should be aware of the

effect of their behaviour on others. It was agreed that they could be expected to 'practice what they preached' but this did not mean they should set impossible standards for themselves.

Final review (5)
In the final review the group considered the positive and negative aspects of the training role.

The first aspect to be mentioned was that acting as trainers had motivated them to learn more about HIV and AIDS and to acquire skills that would help pass messages to others. The length of the project had allowed the skills to become fully developed and although training was hard work it was also fun. One trainer noted: 'I wouldn't have thought I could do this before I actually did'. The group also felt that their peers had contributed greatly to the sessions as they were interested in the issues and willing to participate.

On the negatives of training, trainers agreed that in the first few sessions they were nervous about standing in front of a group of participants. This arose because of the novelty of the situation and not knowing how participants would react to them and when they became more familiar with the role the anxiety decreased. The only other negative perception was linked to the frustration that they experienced as trainers when,

they (participants) won't say anything and you know that they want to ask loads of questions but they're too embarrassed.

It was sometimes difficult to make participants feel comfortable enough to voice opinions or to offer comments.

Finally, trainers said that their experience had been worthwhile and that the positives outweighed the negatives (they elected to continue training beyond the contracted evaluation period). They recommended that other young people should be encouraged to form similar projects as there would be benefits to both trainers and to the programmes that would be offered.

Summary and Discussion of Process Analysis Session
The group process sessions served two functions: firstly, they allowed the researcher to monitor the programme from the perspective of the trainers; secondly, they allowed group members themselves to reflect upon their experiences and to compare performances. The group's confidence was directly related to the acquisition of various training skills (Goodlad and Hirst 1989). They moved from a state of unfamiliarity with the role they were to adopt, into a position of being comfortable with and believing in their performances as trainers (Goffman 1969).

It was evident that becoming competent trainers was a developmental process. If this group had only been allowed to run 2 or 3 sessions then they would have gained fewer skills and may not have been able to derive benefits from their experiences. Furthermore, it was only after the fifth session that they could regard the programmes as a whole. Trainers had initially regarded the programme in terms of the discrete activities and areas of individual responsibility. They noted that by the

sixth session the divisions were less strictly observed and that each person was able to have a general overview of training. This is a common pattern observed in the acquisition of skilled behaviour (Kahneman 1973).

The trainers did not allow themselves to become constrained by the organisation of the training programme. They were willing to experiment with and modify the programme both when they observed a difficulty and in response to participant feedback. The group also demonstrated an understanding of the impact that acting as trainers could have on an interpersonal level. In particular, changes made to the coffee break arrangements and the comments about meeting participants outside of the training session, reflected their sensitivity and ability to resolve complex issues. These behaviours would be regarded as indicative of an extremely competent training team and, as anyone who has engaged in training would acknowledge, reflect a complex set of inter-related skills (see Jaques, 1984).

The group identified that they had benefited from their experience as trainers. This possibility was mentioned at the beginning of this report and it would seem that group members had gained 'immense personal satisfaction' (Goodlad and Hirst, 1989 p.16) from the project. In addition to the organisational and training skills mentioned above, the young trainers were aware of the personal benefits they derived both from individual roles and from working co-operatively. Working as a team had allowed them to realise strengths and weaknesses and to utilise abilities effectively. It was also clear that the trainers had developed a meaningful understanding of issues around AIDS and sexuality.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Aggleton (1989) highlights the need to evaluate programmes appropriately in order to identify the ways in which particular strategies may be most effectively employed. This, he argues, should include process as well as outcome evaluation. This study has provided a textured account which has examined AIDS training from the perspectives of both trainers and participants. The findings have shown that a peer training approach to HIV/AIDS has benefits for all involved. The training programme was found to be enjoyable and participant feedbacks revealed that the training had made an impact upon attitudes and behaviour. Furthermore, it was evident that the focus group and process sessions were very useful not only as techniques to assist evaluation, but also as methods whereby issues could be clarified and enabled young people to construct a framework for understanding their experiences.

In addition to the above points concerning the need to evaluate AIDS training programmes the following issues are also seen as having been influential in producing a successful training programme.

1)   Peer tutors have been successfully employed on a variety of programmes which cover academic and vocational training as well as health education (see e.g. Allen, 1976; Goodlad and Hirst, 1989). Factors that are often held to be of central importance in such programmes are the trainees' perceptions of tutors as credible models and the relationship between tutor and

trainee(s) (as was the case in this study). It should also be noted that this project attracted young trainers who were interested in issues around HIV/AIDS and who identified sexuality and safer sex as primary concerns for themselves and their peers. It is therefore suggested that whilst peer tutors can be used around a range of projects, tutors will be particularly effective if they have an interest in the training area as well as having influence with the participant group.

2)   It is important that peer tutors are allowed to become involved in all aspects of training, i.e. in the planning, organisation, delivery and evaluation stages. They should not be perceived by adult workers as underlings or assistants who merely deliver the training. The young people from the Aidsbusters group played a vital role in all the above stages. For example, they had expertise in judging the types of activity and materials that would be appropriate to young people, they could identify and articulate issues that would be important to focus upon during the activities. It is contended that involvement is a key factor in promoting the commitment and effort that the training team devoted to the project. Consequent upon this, it is important that (as mentioned earlier) the training programme is of sufficient length to allow the development of such skills and the 'space' to evaluate experiences.

3)   Whilst the skills and expertise of young trainers need to be recognised it is also the case that trainers will need to have support particularly at the beginning of the project. It was found that trainers needed to consult adult workers over aspects of programme design and that adult workers could provide reassurance and advice following the first few training sessions. Adult workers need to act with sensitivity so that they are available to give support without 'taking over' (this can sometimes be difficult to achieve as adult workers are used to having greater power than young people in their Centres).

4)   The programme devised for this Centre comprised of a series of structured activities. This worked because it was appropriate to the general context and setting of the Y.T. Centre. Young people who attend the Centre are familiar with structured activities and the setting resembles other educational establishments. However, the other Action Groups which were part of the project operated in Community Centres where the context and setting were quite different. Not surprisingly different activities and less formal programmes were well received in those centres. The point is that training activities/exercises are, in themselves, of less importance than their suitability to the context and participant needs. Those wishing to provide HIV/AIDS training should note that there are no exercises that can be guaranteed to work with all groups of young people - it very much depends upon the context in which they are going to be used. This is where 'local' expertise is extremely important. Trainers from Centres need to recognise that they know the people they will be working with and the types of activity that are well received. There are lots   of different HIV training packs which include activities that may be suitable or could be adapted for work with a variety of groups.
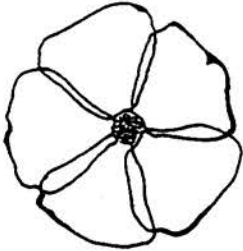
It is widely recognised that HIV/AIDS training/ educational interventions are particularly important around adolescence - a time when most people are becoming sexually active. It has thus become a major area of concern for those working with young people though devising, choosing and delivering effective training strategies is often far from easy. However, a benefit (if that is the correct term) of HIV/AIDS training is that it has the potential to provide an opportunity to engage the enthusiasm and creativity of young people themselves in defining and addressing their own needs.

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Introduction

This article argues that there are a set of forces constructing gender roles in the Church of England. Within these forces lie opportunities for change. If these opportunities are taken they could radically challenge the existing process of gender role construction.

The Church of England is a particular community in British society which has been able to maintain a fence around itself allowing gender roles to operate in a particular way. One phenomenon is the large numbers of women involved with the church. Girls work has had to struggle for a place in secular youth work because of the large numbers of young men involved (in secular youth work). Church youth work is a place where there are large numbers of young women. In this context the opportunity can be taken to place Girls work at the centre of a church youth work policy. A second opportunity is offered by feminist theology which is exploring an understanding of the Christian life which explicitly affirms and challenges women's experience. These two opportunities offer a basis for a youth policy which gives a central role to its main users: young women and girls.

Because the church operates as a self-sufficient organisation I shall begin by describing the context in which I work. Into that context I shall put the facts that first stimulated this argument. Next, I shall present some processes which encourage women as opposed to men, to go to church. I will describe feminist theology, briefly, make connections with Girls work, and present my conclusions.

My Context

I work for the Diocese of Durham as Youth Advisor.[1] This covers the area from the Tyne to the Tees and includes 304 Anglican parishes, and 20 youth projects which receive some contribution from the Church of England. Much of my work is to train volunteers who work unpaid in parishes, and to make sure that they've got some resources. I act as a consultant for people who are trying to develop youth work, and as an advocate for youth work where there is none or it is hard pressed. I also do a certain amount of work with young people; on my own or with other workers.

Anglican parishes are under no obligation to tell me about their youth work or invite me to see it. I am employed by the Board of Education (which looks after church schools) to make contacts. This situation is typical of most churches[2] (the Salvation Army is only the place where inspections seem expected and are welcomed) and it has caused a Catholic colleague to describe her contacts with youth workers as being an underground network in the church. The youth advisors for the churches in the North East have met together for nearly twenty years to provide support in this situation and to

Two Girls for every Boy – identifying users and forming policy in church youth work

JONATHON ROBERTS

organise training together. How are contacts made? First I am in a powerful position because I have information and resources about a specialist area which the vicars, who are expected to manage all aspects of parish life need. I get asked for help and can begin a relationship with a group. This is particularly strong when I train youth workers (who are unpaid volunteers) over a six month period (in 1989 - 90 21 were trained, in 1990 - 91 30 were trained). Secondly, there is an historic awareness of someone doing my sort of a job back forty years. Vicars and people in parishes may have had important experiences in their youth and so have a loyalty to the idea of diocese-wide events. Thirdly, the practice of the Bishop confirming people in their adolescent years expresses the belief that full church membership has a wider context than the local church building. It is, therefore, within the recent experience of young people to be invited by the church to live on a larger map and an invitation to be the only one from a parish on a residential weekend with 30 other individuals need not be too daunting. Finally, the church is often seen to be an old people's organisation so the chance to be in a young peoples church is a great opportunity.

Using these opportunities and any others that arise I have systematized information-giving, organised local residential weekends and international camps and co-ordinated a large evening event at Durham Cathedral of workshops and worship. These contacts are the basis of the numbers I give below.

I have described the way in which I operate in the diocese of Durham given the autonomy of individual parishes. Is there a national Church of England agreed policy for youth work? First let us look at the training and selection of youth workers in parishes. The Methodist church has guidelines for the training and choice of voluntary youth workers. There is no such tradition in the Church of England. The national network of youth advisors for the 44 diocese have collaborated with other churches' officers to produce 'Spectrum'.[3] This is a basic training course for volunteers and is being promoted nationally[4], but it does not have to be used. If it is used there is no process for recognising and accrediting the learning within the church (in contrast with the volunteers who train as Readers).

A second point is that in 1989 and 1990 a group of youth advisors from the national network met to discuss a 'policy'. This policy group was unsupported financially. Within its membership there was a wide variety of views about the main focus of work with young people. As the group disintegrated some seemed interested in dam repair, others bridge building and others rain dancing.

The lack of clarity about the situation on the ground which my metaphors reveal was picked up in the Faith in the Countryside Report (1990). The report records the

impact of information gathering and policy suggestions in the area of work with children at a parish level throughout the country.[5] The report recommends 'that a similar initiative should be undertaken by the Church of England to explore and promote the place of teenagers in the life of the Church and such a study should be informed by careful empirical research.'[6] If it is not clear what the situation is on the ground then there can be no real policy. The following analysis of my contacts explores the connections between the situation in parishes and how policy could begin to be made.

Counting Heads

There is a reluctance at parish level to reveal unnecessary information. Part of this is unawareness that the quality of work being done in a kitchen in Teesdale with one young man and three young women is very good. Part of it is a fear of comparison with the 1950's and 1960's when workers or vicars were growing up and it seemed easy to get large numbers of young people into church halls. Part of it is the inappropriateness of comparison with a well equipped Local Authority youth centre in a city, full of young men. Recently we organised a scheme to provide insurance and this revealed 34 parishes with 600 young people and 80 youth workers' but it isn't possible to draw policy conclusions from such general categories.

The numbers that follow are from my own records. My own records were designed to facilitate sending information to young people, and the organisation of residential training weekends for young people, a residential exchange with West Germany and an evening of workshops and celebration in Durham Cathedral. From these records it is possible to see the proportions of young women to young men which is a ratio of about two to one.

Table 1

	Young women		Young men		Total	
	N.	%	N.	%	N.	%
Names on Mailing List	87	60	57	40	144	100
Attendance at 1990 Residential Events	51	67	25	33	76	100
Attendance at 1990 Cathedral Event	262	67	128	33	390	100
All three sources	400	65	210	35	610	100

The Church of England organised a national forum for young adults in November 1990. The 44 dioceses were asked to send representatives (with no process prescribed) and other organisations and denominations sent representatives.

Table 2

Group	Young women	Young men	Ratio
(a) Diocesan representatives	40	31	4:3
(b) Mixed sex Anglican organisations[7]	3	3	1:1
(c) Other churches representatives[8]	2	6	1:3

Moving from Group (a) to group (c) there appears to be an increasingly controlled process of selection because there is an increasing sense of representation by the selectors. Equality of opportunity is not being achieved if one boy and one girl are sent to represent an organisation that is two thirds girls and women. There is less control at work in the numbers I have given for my own work because young people tend to choose whether they want to participate. As control begins to be exercised so women loose their place until with group (c) where the ratio is a complete reversal of the ratio my work reveals.

What are these control processes? Control processes begin to operate the moment selection begins. First, within the Church of England women are invisible in a particular way: most clergy in parishes are men; in the synod system there are three Houses: Bishops-all men, Clergy-until recently all men and Laity-men and women. This reinforcement of women's invisibility in society at large is protected by exemption from equal opportunities legislation. Secondly, the boundary defining the peculiar characteristics of gender processes in the church is reinforced by the crucial issue of ordination. If a woman can pass through the selection process she will only be ordained deacon. After a year in a parish as a deacon men are usually ordained priest and later may be ordained bishop. Only priests can legally look after parishes. There is a process at work to change this but at the moment control of women's roles is in operation in a very visible and symbolic way.

Who operates the control processes? In 1990 the English dioceses employed 69 youth advisors in all: 19 women and 50 men. This is a high proportion of women in comparison with local authority youth work[9]. But at a ratio of about 5 men to 2 women the tendency among the men to look for young men to be representatives must be very strong: strong enough for 2:1 to become 4:3. The national event organised good workshops on gender: this is ironic because the process determining the young women's contribution had already happened.

Selection for ordination or for a national youth conference is a small, if symbolic and powerful, part of church youth work. The contrast in ratios highlights the invisibility of girls in church youth work. One conclusion to be drawn is that a meticulous care is needed to look at precisely who is taking part in the work. The resistance to do this analysis is very strong: my first concern was that I was not offering what boys wanted, my next response was to estimate the proportions of girls and deal with my first concern by underestimating the real numbers of girls. Throughout as a man working in an organisation managed by men, I was looking for young men 'to take our place'; in the process the girls and young women were made invisible and they only became visible through pedantic headcounting. This process of invisibility enabling control has been one of the insights of girls' work to which I will return. In the church context these control processes sit alongside other processes which encourage women to go to church in large numbers. In response to the process of making women invisible I shall now suggest some reasons why women go to church.

Church going women

Why is it that industrial societies like the U.K. see church congregations numerically dominated by women? The processes of church going suit the distinguishing of male-female gender roles and during their teenage years young men and women take up these roles with young women staying in large numbers during the adolescent exodus from the church.

First, it fits the construction of women's roles that the church is not rational in the sense that society treats rationality. Rationality is often perceived in terms of logic, clear systems, empirical observation, and movement from old ideas to new ideas. From the medieval conviction that theology was the queen of sciences there has been an ever decreasing relationship between theology and new ideas. The Catholic church was able to exercise power over Galileo (1564-1642) in his promotion of Copernicus' discovery that the universe didn't revolve around the image of God in creation: man on earth. The church needed to exercise that power because it could not incorporate the astronomers' empirical method and mathematical arguments within the church's teaching about the purpose and nature of God's creation. Today the church may accept Galileo but it continues to be a powerful body. This expression of power can still accompany the process by which the church learns new ideas, comments and responds.[10] But today fewer people with new ideas are interested in connecting the new ideas with what the church has to say: why risk attack?

In the nineteenth century evangelical and anglo-catholic movements in the Church of England relied on romanticism and its concern with: emotion, rhetoric and re-presenting the distant past. This gave the separation that had developed a philosophical basis. It also created a counter-community committed to maintaining a supernaturalist position in the teeth of a cognitively antagonist world. To maintain the ghetto good support inside and continuing commitment is needed. The strength of these counter communities is to be seen in the noise and fury they create when another option is followed by members of the Church of England: translating Christianity into a form able to be understood by those outside.[11] The Bishop of Durham is one of a long line of such explosions revealing an uncertainty that theology is really meant to have any connection with the contemporary form of rationality.

I am describing here the sort of thinking that operates in many parishes through the style of worship, hymns and sermons. It has a coherence within itself but it is dedicated to being a community against the world. The consequence of this dedication in combination with the bad reception people with new ideas receive from the church is that connections[12] are not made as the wider culture of society develops its construction of rationality. For example, a Hegelian process of dialectic would recommend letting disciplines like theology and physics interact but this development of rationality is excluded from much of the church's culture.

This process of restricting the exercise of a full range of rationality as understood in the surrounding society finds a harmonious parallel in society's construction of womens

roles. Women are formed as people who are not expected to exercise a full range of rationality in society. Nineteenth century society is illuminating in its exclusion of women from learning and its process of denying women's intellect. Emily Davies who campaigned in the 1860's on this matter replied to worries about 'brain fever' in over pressed female intellects. 'Why should simple equations brighten their intellects and quadratic equations drive them into a lunatic asylum?'[13] The theme of enclosing learned women goes back to medieval times when such women were walled up with books and no escape from the smell (see the Anchorite cell at Chester-le-Street). The theme of denying women's intellect in the area of mathematics continues into the late 20th century. The HMI report of 1989 *Girls Learning Mathematics* (Education Observed 14) describes how in 55 secondary schools observed during 1985-88 young women 'received less attention than boys and had fewer opportunities to participate' in mixed classes[14] and that too little attention was given to seating arrangements for boys and girls, with the result that girls tended to be seated on the fringes of the group[15]. Some progress has happened in two hundred years to develop opportunity but still exclusion is at work so that control is maintained, and this operated particularly in a subject strongly related to rationality.

It is clear that school subjects and gender segregation and the consequent definition of what is rational and what is a real job are as strong as ever. Compare the progress of girls and boys from one level of public examination to another in subjects which are perceived in gender terms. Table 3[16]

	Girls		Boys	
	Attempts	Passes	Attempts	Passes
		(in thousands)		
CSE/O level English	297.3		291.0	
A level English	29.6	25.0	13.5	11.3
CSE/O level Maths	270.7		279.8	
A level Maths	19.0	14.3	37.6	20.2

Although there are similar numbers of boys and girls taking the subjects at the lower level there is a significant split among A level students with more than twice as many girls as boys taking English (is it perceived as being all words and no logic?). With Maths, twice as many boys as girls take A level maths. The pass rate at English is fairly similar for boys and girls (about 5 out of 6) but for maths about half the boys pass while about three quarters of the girls pass. This may mean that only if girls are undoubtedly good at maths do they overcome the gender role that encourages boys to learn this element of rationality.

These are some of the ways in which church going and being a woman share common ground in being outside society's full range of rationality. The irony here is that this definition of rationality has been constructed by men on the basis of what seems to describe their experience. That definition does not adequately explain women's experiences to women. This may mean that within the resources of spirituality women can find the empower-

ment made inaccessible to them by the construction of rationality. I shall explore this further when I consider the opportunities offered by feminist theology.

The roles of going to church and being a woman harmonise in other areas. Women receive one tenth of the worlds income and own less than one hundredth of the worlds property[17]. In Britain gross hourly earnings for women were 74.9% of men's in 1988. 30% of married women work fulltime and 34% part-time: this describes a clear internal control on the money available to most married women. It is therefore good that church going is cheap. The top regular givers at St. Giles Church Durham, for example, donate about £2 per week. It is an activity that harmonizes easily with the money available to women.

Church also fits the childcare role of women. If children need care they can be taken to church and join in a Sunday School. Often women run Sunday School, and youth groups, to cope with this better in church. Older children have to choose between looking after themselves or being with mum. Older girls may be told to look after young siblings.

The very quietness of church going reinforces this lack of disruption. This coheres with a major characteristic of a woman's traditional role. Florence Nightingale wrote in 1881 'What makes a good woman is the better or higher or holier nature: quietness - gentleness...'[18]. Given the everyday cares and worries of many women's existence it is in their own interests to have a socially acceptable and institutionalized access to peace and quiet.

General processes in society encouraging church going among women set up role models for young women. In the Diocese of Durham a mother's behaviour is usually a strong influence on her daughters behaviour. This influences the value placed on rebellion by adolescents who rebel by ceasing to go to church. For a boy this might seem acceptable but it is harder to be a rebellious girl.

Thus there are roles given to women in our society which harmonize with church going with the consequence that there are large numbers of women in church. What do these women experience in church in terms of the development of their roles? I have outlined the restrictions placed by men on women reaching positions of influence as priest and bishop. In 1984 Nancy Nason - Clark studied clerical attitudes to appropriate roles for women concluding:

> Results demonstrated that clerical respondents opposed to the ordination of women held less egalitarian attitudes towards familial and societal roles in our contemporary culture and preferred a sexual division of lay labour for tasks included in the weekly routine of church life.[19]

This extends the reality of gender role making to the distribution of hymn books. Women experience a reinforcement of their traditional roles.

Women also experience support in the church. The support that the Mother's Union offers to older women in the church is significant. It is based on numerical strength in congregations despite power being held by men on church committees and as priests. Support is enabled because the church provides a context where

relationships between women and men tend to avoid overtones of sexual harassment and physical violence. (The church isn't completely free from either, but the conventions exclude these forms of male harassment from acceptable public social behaviour).

In a supportive context the exploration of womens situations can begin. With young women schooled to be low achievers with poor opportunities and low levels of encouragement, it is possible to see a high level of motivation. Merely 'fun' activities are insufficient[20]. They are eager to take part in (for example) sophisticated adult simulations of gender construction; two hour workshops over five weeks attended despite problems of transport and childcare. Explicit contrast of these events with how they avoided school or did badly appear in these young women's evaluation comments.

I continue to be surprised at the effect of some of this learning in church groups. It can create situations where there is significant dissonance between what the church seems to promote and what is available in the learning process. For example: during 1990 in training for adult women to be youth workers, three women used the space and support of the learning group to develop the strength and confidence to leave violent husbands. This suggests that the church can create opportunities for freedom for women and that the church's investment in the maintenance of gender roles in society is less fundamental priority than enabling a discovery and development of real human potential.

The processes which encourage church going among women create possibilities for change. In particular there can be great support to help difficult learning related to personal experience. Because the process of constructing rationality excluded women from serious learning it is a significant opportunity for change if this support can be used for learning by women. It is also significant that young women who have made a financial and time commitment (despite the obstacles) are highly motivated to pursue the opportunities offered. The other side of the argument is that the opportunity needs to be priced cheaply enough for women to take part and child care may need support. The final pair of processes reinforce the situation where serious minded work can be undertaken: quietness and unwillingness to leave the community. Both were summed up by a black woman 'I'm a tree god planted, I'm in and I'm not coming out'[21]when she was asked if she wanted to leave the church. There is a strength and a sense of continuity which provides great self confidence and security. Thus processes which were destructive for women in society can become opportunities for supported, motivated, secure learning. But where are the resources and opportunities for this learning?

Opportunities for change

I have identified the need to count heads carefully. If this is not done the process of making women invisible comes into play and power is exercised to their disadvantage. Once heads have been counted it is clear that there are two girls for every boy in church youth work. It is also clear from my experience of the support that women offer each other in the course of my work

there is a real interest in changing gender role construction so that women experience greater freedom. The Thompson Report on the Youth Service encouraged participation[22] and the Second Ministerial Conference on Youth Work emphasized 'redressing inequality of opportunity'.[23] How can these widely accepted, moderate, aims of youth work in the U.K. be built into a church policy?

Real participation in the context of the church would be enabling young women's concerns to set agenda. Inequality of opportunity would begin to be redressed if women's insights into god were heard. Neither of these areas are unexplored. I shall now try to show the connections between predominantly female church youth groups and girls' work and feminist theology that offer two opportunities for change.

Opportunities for change: girls work

Working with girls and young women has developed a body of practice and literature within secular youth work[24]. One of the first effects of this has been to highlight the invisibility of girls within youth work. The significance of highlighting the problem of invisibility of girls has already been explored in the church context. In secular youth work many more boys than girls usually take part, so invisibility is reinforced by girls being in minority.

A second consequence has been the development of explicit girls work. In neighbourhood youth centres (I have observed this process, for example, in Co. Durham at Langley Park, and at St. Helen's, West Auckland) young men use the interior hall space of youth centre as an opportunity to perform, and behave in a way that dominates and controls social facilities. In later life men control the club and pubs. Faced with this situation workers with girls have organised girls - only sessions and organise work in such a way as to reduce the exercise of male power.

In terms of content, girls work is often able to promote learning about health, self identity, and single sex outdoor pursuits work. These are important areas, sometimes touched on in church based work and they need to gain confidence from girls work practice. Girls work offers insights for work where there are a significant numerical dominance of girls. It provides ways of overcoming male control in youth work. For example it may challenge the sort of building provision and it can challenge male behaviour in mixed groups. Girls work also identifies appropriate starting points for learning; making choices, being aware of your own abilities and needs. These areas are close to Christian concerns for ethics and finding the vocation to which God calls each unique person. Girls work offers opportunities for change in terms of youth work policy in the Church of England. I shall now explore what sort of opportunities for change feminist theology offers.

Opportunities for change: feminist theology

Twenty years ago contributions to theology by women were unusual and feminist theology was fragmentary. Within the authority processes of the church respect is given to documents which are astonishing for the fact that we have them at all. This process begins in the Bible. For example the book of Jeremiah criticizes the politics, international diplomacy, and religious practices of the state of Israel, and Jeremiah was persecuted for it. He was proved right and the state was destroyed. Somehow his writings survived and were chosen by the survivors as having authority after the event. The same authority was given to confessors and martyrs from the early church to modern examples like Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Corrie ten Boom under Hitler. The record, and the effect of the record, we have of Jesus is the key to this process: the record is small, the effect continues to be disturbing. In feminist theology there has been the opportunity to bring to life writings by women (eg. Julian of Norwich) and stories of women (eg. Hild) in a way that is less at odds with the construction of an authoritative tradition than in political history where a 'herstory' may have considerable difficulty justifying itself.

The central task of feminist theology is the same as all theology: how to put into words what God is about. Ann Loades describes the process and task as follows:-

> Feminist theologians are optimists, in the sense that they hope that old stories can be retold and new ones invented to 'verbalize' God in an inclusively human manner ...Feminist theologians want to see if we can make an imaginative, moral and theological shift so that we come to share a new vision of goodness and gain access to it.[25]

Because this aim is rooted in the desire to verbalize God the shift is capable of happening. The more that mainstream theology meets these insights in its normal conversations the more they become part of the analytical process of theology. For example in biblical studies, Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza[26] makes significant contributions to understanding New Testament texts in a way that was not available before the introduction of feminist critique

The impact of feminist theology has practical consequences in providing material for work with women in church. Models of behaviour that challenge gender based inequality and offer empowerment to women are available. For example: Mary, as a young woman, articulates the societal change which God brings about by choosing her (Luke 1:26-55)[27]; Deborah made decisions for Israel (Judges 4:4-10); Jael assasinated the commander of the enemy's army (Judges 4:17-22). Central to any articulation of Christianity is Jesus. Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza emphasises that Christian discipleship should be that of equals[28] with a God imaged as a woman[29] by Jesus. The Jesus vision is one calling 'all women without exception to wholeness and selfhood ... It knows of the deadly violence such a vision and commitment will encounter.' Jesus is the 'women - identified man'[30]. Initial proclamation of what Jesus was about was in the hands of women: a samaritan woman was open to change and public proclamation (John 4:4-40) in contrast to a Jewish man's incomprehension (John 3:1-12) and the male disciples' silence (John 4:27); Mary Magdalene was the first to encounter Jesus after his death (John 20:11-18) and she told the male disciples about it. I have given these examples to make the point that tradition is not uniformly patriarchal and contains

12

significant grounds for women to redress inequality of opportunity and fulfil their potential as empowered daughters of God[31].

These themes of processes of feminist theology offer opportunities for change. They challenge existing gender roles with other roles. They offer the chance to express a broader analysis of God and the world to link explicitly with women's experience. This is crucial if young women are to use the stories of this supportive community to understand their own situation and to apply the analysis of sin and sanctification to their experiences of sexism and liberation.

Conclusion

From this argument a number of things have become clear. First, my context is characterized by processes in society making it likely that church youth work is likely to involve more young women than young men.

Second, identifying the two girls for every boy ratio involved overcoming the process which makes women invisible. The combination of being aware of who is involved, and being aware of the barriers that prevent these people being noticed mean that it will be crucial to test any Church of England policy and practice to see whether young women are seen as the main target group.

Third, the destructive processes in society restricting women's roles and encouraging church going can be the opportunity in church for well supported, highly motivated secure learning for women.

But this situation needs an appropriate response: where will the resources come from: What are the opportunities for change which can connect to this need?

The first opportunity is to be found in girls work. This can inform both the agenda and the process. Unlike its secular existence as a fringe activity it could be set at the heart of a policy for youth work in the Church of England.

The second opportunity is to be found in feminist theology. It has begun the process of sifting appropriate stories in the Bible and Christian tradition which speak to women's condition. It has a tradition of enabling women to express their faith and lives as Christians. Unlike its existence on the fringe of the church it has resources which are needed at the heart of a Church of England youth policy.

At the moment girls' work appears as a minor part of the Diocesan Youth Advisors' in service training programme. Neither it nor feminist theology are looked to as potential resources. My conclusions suggest that they ought to be. How might this be done?

At a national level it should be possible to test the validity of my statistics over a wider spread of work and by more systematic research. If my conclusions are sustained it may be appropriate to develop quotas of men and women to participate in representative activities. It may be necessary to design events differently to allow easier access to women.

It is also possible to influence policy making at the national level. In service training should take the Youth Advisors to the point where they are clear about who they are actually working with and how this affects their work. Any national report would also need to address these questions.

Just as the national network produced a useful resource pack for youth workers so it may be possible to follow up the work done by the Y.W.C.A. publication 'Through the eyes of a woman'[32] in providing appropriate theological resources for youth work.

At a parish level these conclusions need applying in terms of defining what is needed, how space is allocated and how local groups operate. It is here that the unfamiliarity and opportunities of girl's work and Feminist theology need working through.

Between these levels are the Diocesan Youth Advisors who get paid to do the work. We need to apply these insights to consultancy work with parishes. We need to discover and become familiar with appropriate resources. We may need to redesign the way we offer diocesan events. Above all this needs building into the training we offer voluntary workers. Significant areas of basic training are affected by these conclusions: identifying young people's needs, in group work, in developing suitable work and carrying it out. The Spectrum training programme does not contain these insights for church youth work[33].

(1) I shall use the expression 'Youth Advisor' throughout the argument as it describes most clearly what I do. In fact the 44 dioceses in England call the worker in such a post by a variety of titles: Bishop's Youth Chaplain, Diocesan Youth Officer, Education Advisor etc.

(2) Here I am using 'churches' to describe different autonomous networks of local churches: contrasting the Church of England with the Catholic church, Methodist church, New Testament Church of God, and so on.

(3) *SPECTRUM* – NCEC – 1989 Produced as a cooperative venture by The Baptist Union. Church of England. The Methodist Church, New Testament Church of God, Religious Society of Friends. The Roman Catholic Church, Salvation Army, United Reformed Church.

(4) *Faith in the Countryside*, Churchman Publications 1990 p. 235.

(5) Op. cit. p. 228.

(6) Op. cit. p. 229.

(7) Anglican Young People's Association, Church Lads and Church Girls Brigade, Church Youth Fellowship Association, Black Anglican Youth Association.

(8) Baptist, Quaker, Catholic, United Reformed Church, Methodist, Salvation Army, New Testament Church of God.

(9) Sawbridge, M. and Spence J. 'Learning from Experience - Issues in Youth and Community work research' in *Youth and Policy* No. 30 1990.

(10) Berger, P. *A Rumour of Angels* Penguin 1970 p. 31f.

(11) Op. cit. p. 34.

(12) Houlden, J. L. *Connections* SCM Press 1986.

(13) Loades, A. *Searching for Lost Coins* SPCK 1987.

(14) *Education Observed* 14 p. vi

(15) Op. cit. p. 13.

(16) *Some facts about women 1990* EOC 1990.

(17) UN Report 1990.

(18) Quoted in Oakley, A. *Subject Women* p. 157.

(19) Quoted in Howard, C. *Ordination of women to the priesthood : G.S. 198 C10* 1984.

(20) Foreman, A. 'Youthworkers as Redcoats' in Jeffs and Smith *Youthwork* Macmillan 1987.

(21) Walton, H., Ward, R. and Johnson, M. *Black People in British Methodism A TREE GOD PLANTED* 1985.

(22) The Thompson Report *Experience and Participation* Cmnd 8686 HMSO 1982.

(23) In the statement of purpose from 6th and 7th November 1990.

(24) E.g. Carpenter, V. and Yeung, K. *Coming in from the Margins* NAYC 1986 'Working with Girls' Newsletter NAYC 1982-87.

(25) Loades, A. *Feminist Theology - a reader* SPCK 1990 p. 10.

(26) Elisabeth Schusster Fiorenza *In memory of her* SCM 1983. *Bread not stone* Beacon Press 1984.

(27) This is a bible reference to Luke's gospel in the new testament chapter 1 verses 26 to 55. All the other references in this paragraph follow this convention.

(28) Op. cit.

(29) Op. cit.

(30) Op. cit.

(31) Other materials include: 'Through the eyes of a woman' Bible studies on the experience of women. Edited by Wendy S. Robins YWCA 1986.
'Speaking for ourselves' Edited by Wendy S. Robins and Musimbi R. A. Kanyoro (World Council of Churches 1990).
'By our Lives' - stories of women - today and in the bible (WCC 1985).

(32) See footnote 27.

(33) Carolyn Roberts has investigated gender issues in Spectrum in a dissertation presented to Durham University in 1991 for the M.A. in Adult Education. 'Reflection and Deflection: An Investigation into the Implications of Gender issues for the Spectrum Youth Worker Training Programme'.

Towards a Pedagogy for Empowerment in Community and Youth Work Training

LOUISE MORLEY

The notion of empowerment of young people has become institutionalised in a move towards a more curriculum-led youth service. At the second Ministerial Conference on the Youth Service, the Statement of Purpose was amended to assert that youth work offers young people opportunities which are: 'educative'; 'designed to promote equality of opportunity'; 'participative' and 'empowering' (Report of Second Ministerial Conference 1990). In this paper I intend to explore how these principles can be applied to initial professional training for community and youth workers. I am particularly interested in the pedagogical processes involved in the empowerment of a professional group that is officially charged with the empowerment of young people.

This Ministerial document (1990) comes at a time of major changes in social policy on education and training and other sectors of welfare state provision. Changes in social security and housing benefits, introduced as part of the review of social security from 1986 onwards, have had a disempowering effect on young people's independence (Wallace and Cross 1990). As a result of large scale unemployment, youth has become a category for substantial policy intervention outside of education. The expansion of Youth Training (YTS or YT as it is now known), the introduction of Technical and Vocational Education Initiatives (TVEI) combined with the advent of the National Curriculum and other changes in the 1988 Education Reform Act, have resulted in a dramatic rise in external influence on education and training and a demise in the power of local education authorities. In a society entrenched with inequality, the role of the community and youth worker as a social educator has its limitations. To focus on empowerment of young people within a political and social climate of disempowerment appears contradictory and naive. The notion that the Youth Service has traditionally played a role in social control and assists the implementation of state policies is well rehearsed (Williams 1988 and John 1981).

In my experience, the ambiguity of positioning of the Community and Youth worker has its parallels in professional training. Many students on the community and youth work course at the University of Reading fall into the category of 'non-traditional learners' in Further and Higher Education. The course is located within the Department of Community Studies which incorporates a range of post-experience, professional training courses: Social Work, Community Nursing, Guidance and Counselling. The department was formed as a result of the merger between the University and Bulmershe College of Higher Education in 1989. The relocation of the community and youth work course from a professional training college to an academic institution has exposed many of the challenges which arise as a consequence of increased access opportunities and new models for provision in Further and Higher Education. The recruitment and quality of learning for 'non-traditional' learners can provide a litmus test for the organisation's success in implementing equality of opportunity in education. This process involves a re-evaluation of the organisation structures, practices and values that underpin the learning experience. In addition, it is important to recognise the experiences, both positive and negative, that accompany non-traditional learners to the learning situation.

In community and youth work training, pedagogical styles and objectives need to take into account issues of identity based on membership of subordinate groups. Paradox and contradiction are bound to arise as a result of the role Higher Education has traditionally played in maintaining strands of domination and perpetuating social inequalities. Whilst the professional training course delivers substantive knowledge, the non-traditional learner also needs an empowering process to make the best use of that knowledge.

As a tutor on such a course, namely, the Diploma in Community and Youth Work at the University of Reading, my interest is in how work with non-traditional learners can be located in a pedagogy of empowerment. As a professional training course, the curriculum contains a balance of skill development and core competencies, academic knowledge and anti-oppression, issue-based work. The different components are all rooted in the ideology of equality of opportunity. The identity of the learner, and the experience of learning in groups, are integral to the education process. Empowerment, on the course, is a gradual, multi-phased process involving individual, group and social change. It is ongoing rather than a static state of being. O' Brien and Whitmore (1989) define empowerment as:

> ... an interactive process through which less powerful people experience personal and social change, enabling them to achieve influence over the organisations and institutions which affect their lives and the communities in which they live.

As the course is located within an equal opportunities framework, an understanding of the mechanisms of power and possibilities for change are integral to the course curriculum, management and methodology. The complexities of understanding the structures which disempower need to be carefully balanced with an understanding of the possibilities for human agency and strategies for intervention. The commitment to an analysis of power, difference and diversity frequently leads to the course being labelled by the organisation, the inspectorate and some employers as too 'political' and 'issue-based'. A false dichotomy is often constructed between 'issues' and 'skills'. But if power is left

14

untheorised, community and youth work practice could continue to perpetuate social inequalities. For example, whilst counselling skills per se do not eliminate racism, sexism and classism from society, if they are practised without attention to these structures there is a risk of victim-blaming and pathologising individuals and contributing to oppression.

Attempts to conceptualise power have informed many of the major critiques this century. Feminism and post-structuralism have been particularly concerned with identifying and conceptualising power structures in society. In terms of feminism, the 1960's and 1970's witnessed the broad categories of Socialist Feminism and Revolutionary Feminism. The former located power within the capitalist mode of production, whilst the latter located power within the patriarchy. The 1980's and 1990's have added a further strand to the debate, and a new industry has emerged which locates power within the self. The idea is that the individual is already in possession of power which has not yet been accessed, and that we are in control of our own lives and responsible for whatever happens to us. Celia Kitzinger (1991) is critical of the proliferation of literature, (Dowling 1981 and King 1989) particularly aimed at women, dealing with personal empowerment 'while leaving the structural conditions unchanged'. Kitzinger (1991) quotes from a popular book by Louise Hay:

> We are each 100 percent responsible for all of our experiences. Every thought we have is creating our future. We create every so-called 'illness' in our body (Hay 1984).

For the purpose of Community and Youth Work training, where students are being trained to work with individuals and groups that frequently include incest survivors, victims of rape, domestic violence and racial harassment, power cannot be viewed purely in terms of personal effectiveness and responsibility.

A post-structuralist approach is critical of an analysis of power as something which acts largely on individuals from the outside and ignores the role that power plays in the construction of the individual, and the possibilities for change (Foucault 1980).

How we conceptualise power has a direct impact on the evolution of strategies for achieving equality of opportunity in Community and Youth Work training and professional practice. 'Empowerment' has, it would seem, become a key concept in the effective implementation of equality of opportunity in many sectors of education provision. Equal opportunities in Community and Youth work training requires a radical theory of education which acknowledges both the material conditions and psychological constructions that contribute to domination and struggle. The pedagogy is an integral aspect of knowledge production itself. Critical Education Theory as defined by Livingstone (1987) emphasises the need for both individual empowerment and social transformation. For equality of opportunity to succeed in its commitment to the transformation of unequal power relations, there needs to be constant linkage between the personal, interpersonal and political. Power and powerlessness are not necessarily bi-polar, and empowerment work does not merely involve the

rescuing and re-positioning of the individual on the continuum. Nor does it rely on substituting one false consciousness for another and the promotion of subjective power in the context of objective powerlessness (Woolsey and McBain 1987). The challenge for empowering pedagogy rests in the requirement to find contradictions to the personal feelings of powerlessness which syphon off energy for strategic social change, and leave the individual feeling hopeless and positioned for perpetual defeat.

The Role of Experience
The terms of pedagogy for Community and Youth Work training differ from traditional practices in Higher Education, in so far as the principles of good practice in the profession are also applied to the learning situation. Concepts of participation, negotiation and consultation feature in every aspect of the course. Experience is not only an entry criterion, but also a basis for learning and change. This notion has long been a feature in feminist pedagogy.

> Life experience and theory interact as legitimate complementary authorities (Culley and Portuges 1985)

These different parameters of practice place 'experience' as an important sign within the discourse of equal opportunities, and as such, it 'heralds a further complex sign system' (Walkerdine 1989). In the case of community and youth work, it suggests a potential for translating theory into practice and vice versa; commitment to personal and social change; knowledge of the 'real' world, and an ability to relate effectively to the wider community. One aspect of the sign of 'experience' that is frequently overlooked, is the damaging effect of oppression on members of subordinate groups. An empowering pedagogy translates negative experiences constructed around inequalities of race, gender, ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation and disability, into the material of discourse for learning and change. That is not to say that the concept of 'experience' is always unproblematic, but the relationship between experience and knowledge is an essential feature of empowerment work. Non-traditional learners' experiences are likely to differ from those of the traditional student in Higher Education. In order for empowerment to take place, it is important to ask why, and to examine how 'experience' is socially constituted as different and subject to social relations and processes in different ways (Weedon 1987).

It would be erroneous to assume that non-traditional learners constitute a unitary category of analysis (Morley 1991). However, as a result of an effective equal opportunities recruitment process, it would be true to say that the majority of students on the Community and Youth Work course at Reading are from groups not traditionally represented in Higher Education. Both personally and professionally, students deal with the material realities of oppression. This raises questions about the connections between experience of oppression as a prerequisite for effective equal opportunities work, and the extent to which experience is circumscribed by oppression.

Weedon argues these ideas in the context of post-structuralism:

> The power of experience in the constitution of the individual as social agent comes from the dominant assumption in our society that experience gives access to truth (Weedon 1987. p.80).

The political and pedagogical significance of experience has formed much of the thinking behind movements for change. But empowerment suggests a need for a theory, or theories, of the relationship between experience, social power and resistance and change (Weedon 1987). In post-structuralist thought, subjective experience can be a basis for understanding the complexities of how power relations structure society. As Weedon points out:

> This involves understanding how particular social structures and processes create the conditions of existence which are at one and the same time both material and discursive (Weedon 1987, p.8).

As potential change agents, students on a Community and Youth work course need to theorise their experiences in terms of how power operates on the self and society. In addition theory must also be able to account for resistance to change, that is, prejudice and fear. Knowledge of how diverse public spheres interact in shaping the ideological and material conditions that contribute to instances of domination and discrimination is also an essential component of the work.

So, experience forms the bedrock for the work, but the empowerment comes in the recognition that unprocessed experience does not necessarily result in the acquisition of skills or knowledge. This requires an attention to process and politically positioned pedagogy which demonstrates the social construction of reality. Livingstone develops this notion in relation to Critical Pedagogy:

> In order to gain greater control over their lives, subordinated people need to identify the abstractions underlying their common sense knowledge and everyday practices, and through collective reflection on such abstractions in relation to their own concrete situations, to more clearly recognise their own interests as well as the roles of different social groups in constructing and reproducing what they have previously regarded as a dense and inpenetrable social reality (Livingstone 1987, p.7.).

A valid question to pose in education for change is whether the discovery of social reality automatically leads to its transformation. In Community and Youth work training, this is tested out through the process of fieldwork practice, and in the requirement for self evaluation. Critique on the course encourages students to listen to the experiences of others, to develop the capacity for self-criticism, skills in evaluation, and to incorporate these perspectives into effective strategies for change. The invitation to pose questions enables students to avoid an analysis which 'sees discourses as mechanically repeating themselves - an analysis which cannot account for change' (Holloway 1984 p.237). Whilst an empowering pedagogy needs to offer students a contextualisation of experience and an analysis of its constitution and ideological power, it also needs to relate theory to strategies for social intervention.

Experience as Distress

Diversity in groups of community and youth work students produces a richness of debate which if effectively facilitated can empower, enable and motivate change (Morley 1991). For many students, past experience of the education system has been negative and disempowering. These feeling are frequently restimulated by the exploration of difference in the group, and in encounters with institutional power structures. This response can be exacerbated if the organisation positions non-traditional students in terms of lack, for example, the non-possession of 'A' levels, race, class and gender privilege. In many instances, tutors have to act as 'stand-ins' for the catalogue of authority figures who have contributed to students' oppression in the past. This is not dissimilar to the position that many youth workers find themselves in with young people who have become disaffected as a consequence of their school experiences. One could say that transference is an inevitable result on a course that brings experience to the surface in order to re-evaluate it, and indeed, in the practice of youth work. The combination of powerful course content and the location of learning within the walls of a dominant institution produce tensions and feelings feelings that frequently invoke the psychoanalytical terminology of transference and counter transference. The demarcation between learning and healing becomes less distinct, and whilst not claiming to be therapists, teachers of non-traditional learners require an understanding of the psychological dimensions of development, behaviour and experience of non-traditional students' lives, as these dimensions are to some extent shaped by and interact with the cultural and social realities of the students' lives.

Culley and Portuges explore the connections between classical psychoanalytic theory and empowering pedagogy:

> Transference, then, is a reliving of the past, an editing of the present in terms of the paradigms of the past ...it is a vital force in all significant encounters with others, and in the psychoanalytic context evokes major human relations not formerly accessible to consciousness (Culley and Portuges 1985, p.15).

This observation is particularly relevant to anti-oppression work on the course, in relation to race, gender, class, disability and sexuality, where pedagogy is interactive and aims to contradict the silencing of oppressed groups. For example, both Black Studies and Women's Studies are responses to ways in which the groups they name have been ignored and marginalised in British Education. Groups who have traditionally been kept at the margins of inquiry are repositioned in an empowering pedagogy and the fear that has previously silenced them, is allowed to surface and find a voice. Women's Studies, in particular, has attempted to play a role in also challenging traditional forms of classroom organisation. The course, as a whole, draws on collaborative, rather than competitive, interaction. The composition of the staff team is also part of the empowerment process, and opportunities exist for black students to work separately with black tutors, and women students with women tutors. These processes act as contradictions to powerlessness for non-traditional students, and as such,

stimulate the expression of strong feelings. An important part of the empowerment process is to recognise the pain of oppression and the resulting distress members of oppressed groups carry with them to many interactions. This observation applies to both students and tutors. An essential feature of empowerment work is to recognise those moments when external forces of oppression collide with inner feelings of powerlessness. This internalised oppression needs to be viewed as material to work with, rather than an obstacle to education achievement. Without infantilising community and youth work students and sealing them into the position of victimisation, tutors' interventions can enable students to recognise the effects of internalised oppression, in order to avoid the unconscious rehearsal of distress on the course, and in the Community and Youth work itself.

Victims, Oppressors and the Role of Consciousness-Raising

The concept of 'consciousness raising', according to Juliet Mitchell (1971) is:

> The reinterpretation of a chinese revolutionary practice of 'speaking bitterness'. 'Speaking bitterness' brings to consciousness the barely conscious; when the process occurs publically, in a small group, one person's realisation of an injustice brings to mind other injustices for the whole group.

For Paulo Freire too, the act of naming our experiences is a crucial step in the awakening of the consciousness of the oppressed, Freire talks of:

> The process by which men (sic), not as recipients, but as knowing subjects, achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality which shapes their lives, and of their capacity to transform that reality through action upon it (Freire 1970).

The significance of enabling members of oppressed groups to theorise subjectivity, and evolve a broader social analysis of their experiences cannot be underestimated. Whilst it is important to challenge the traditional strands of power and domination, anti-oppression work can be a very disempowering experience if attention is not paid to process. Work on race, class and gender can provide a forum for both students and tutors to disgorge their hurt, anger, frustration and disappointment on to others; rehearse their distress; energise others to attack and blame. Students with a sophisticated analysis of power often become impatient with what they perceive as lack of awareness in others. But as Susan Wendell points out:

> having a particular perspective may also be completely involuntary. It may be as a consequence of never having been exposed to any other perspective, or it may be a consequence of having one's ability to know so damaged or denigrated that one doesn't have the self-confidence to think, perceive, feel, or want anything but what one is told to think, perceive, feel, or want (Wendell 1990, p.23).

If consciousness is shaped by political forces, this raises the issues of choice and responsibility in learning and change. To attack the individual for lack of awareness of her own or others' oppressions can be seen as lively,

challenging pedagogy on one hand, or disempowering victim-blaming on the other hand, which fails to locate the hurt on which prejudice feeds. It is my view that anti-oppression work is at its most empowering when the cycle of passing on the hurt of oppression is interrupted, and individuals change as a result of knowledge and self-awareness, rather than fear.

Alice Miller (1987 and 1984), believes that blaming the victims can be an important psychological strategy for individuals who were themselves victimised in the past. In community and youth work training, work on one's personal and collective past is a valid component in empowerment work.

For David Livingstone et. al (1987), the pedagogical challenge is to consider:

> ... how the collective reflection by subordinate groups can lead to recognition not only of the roles of dominant groups in constructing established beliefs and practices but also of their own roles in that process and of their own potential power to reconstruct such beliefs and practices.

Oppressed people produce alternative forms of power and resistance in order to be heard. Kitzinger (1991) raises this point in relation to a post-structuralist analysis:

> ... power is not simply repressive and prohibitive-something external to the individual which prevents actions and suppresses full human development: rather power is productive, that is, produces our very concepts of individuality, of full human development, our knowledge of the world.....power is not simply something which represses and denies individual identity, but rather promotes, cultivates and nurtures (particular types of) identity (Kitzinger 1991 p.124).

This analysis is particularly relevant to Community and Youth work, where a model of political identity is often linked to 'oppositional consciousness' (Sandoval 1984). This is 'born of the skills for reading webs of power by those refused stable membership in the social categories of race, sex, or class' (Haraway 1990 p.197). For example the oppressive force of adultism can regulate and construct youth culture and identity. The same could apply to how racism, sexism and classism can produce a strength of consciousness and engagement in those most damaged by it. This stance has a direct relation to the interaction in learning groups on the course. Whilst there is frequently a collective desire for personal and social change, the structures of race, class and gender have operated to limit the potential and block both the processes and outcomes. The study of forms of inequality with members of oppressed groups, within the powerful institution of a University results in classrooms becoming highly-charged arenas of inquiry, where deeply-rooted behavioural scripts involving power and powerlessness and victimisation and oppression are enacted.

Giroux and Freire draw attention to how

> ...pedagogy, as part of the process of exchange...takes place within asymmetrical relations of power, (and) always engages specific cultural forms and experiences which generate different sets of understandings for teachers and students with respect to the categories of gender, race, and class (Weiler 1988, p.xii).

The complexity of this situation provides contradiction and uncertainty, akin to the elaborate role changes acted out in The Pied Piper of Hamlin. Identities of oppressed, oppressor and rescuer are constantly in flux, as students undergoing community and youth work training engage with material via their own cultural experiences. Unless anti-oppression work is located within a pedagogy for empowerment, fear can become the dominant influence on group dynamics, and challenge can become a euphemism for attack. Consciousness-raising, personal change and learning cannot take place in an atmosphere of exhortation. Confusion arises as group members often cannot see the fear behind aggressive challenges, or step outside of their particular experience of inequality. They hear only the criticism and anger, which engages with their internalised oppression. For example, women on the course frequently express outrage at the comments made by men in mixed sessions. Understandably, they resent being exposed to some men's lack of awareness of gender issues on a Community and Youth work course which purports to be progressive and anti-sexist. Their sense of disappointment and hopelessness for change is restimulated and they communicate this in various ways to the men they see as responsible for their present time oppression. The men, many of whom identify as members of oppressed groups on the basis of social class, race, disability and sexuality, cannot always conceive of themselves as powerful, and many feel victimised by what they see as attacks from the women. Attempts to 'weight' oppressions, on the basis of discussion as to who has more power- the white woman, black man, gay man etc. are no solution, and simply add to the frustration. When conflict arises, all the parties involved see themselves as victims. This perspective has considerable political, psychological and moral advantages because it focuses the blame and responsibility on the other. The danger is that it can also obscure the current and potential power and choices of the victims. Whilst anger towards the oppressor can be a psychologically healing process for people who once blamed themselves, it can also be disempowering if victims cannot see the power they have to oppose their oppression and to prevent future victimisation. The responses from tutors at this critical point when past and present instances of oppression are blurred, are crucial. It is clear that one is being asked to collude in the victimisation/blaming process, and make judgements of responsibility. This suggests an essentialism inherent in gender relations which feeds a sense of powerlessness and ignores how consciousness has been socially constructed and, as such, has the potential to be deconstructed and reconstructed. This process involves enabling students to develop theoretical knowledge about their forms of inequality, in addition to an in-depth understanding of group work, interpersonal skills and humanistic psychology.

Whilst it is important to hear and acknowledge the hurt that is being experienced and expressed, it is also necessary to develop the student's repertoire of responses. As misinformation via language and cultural discourses plays such a prominent role in the establishment and maintenance of power, it is difficult to avoid the restimulation of profound feelings of victimisation when members of oppressed groups hear themselves referred to in terms associated with their prolonged subordination.

The empowerment comes, not in pathologising the responses, but by placing them within a politicized context of personal development. An effective intervention re-positions the student by inviting her or him to consider what personal material for the different parties is being activated in these hurtful interactions. Then, by locating the responses within a context of race, class, or gender oppression, students become more able to differentiate between:

i. useful information about other people's forms of oppression, and attacks.

ii. their own internalised oppression and sense of self-worth, and that of others.

iii. present difficulties and their roots in the past.

The aim of empowerment in Community and Youth training has to be the enablement of individuals to fulfil their roles of change agents and to challenge effectively oppression with strategic vision. As professionals, community and youth workers are both actors and agents in complex social situations where political and social forces powerfully shape potential for change. It is preferable to engage with this role, not from an identity rooted in victimisation and low self-esteem, but from a strong personal and collective identity which has a clear analysis of how victimisation and oppression operate, and in possession of a versatile range of skills, responses, approaches and knowledge.

Organisational Responsibilities
It might appear that responsibility for the empowerment of community and youth work students rests entirely with individual tutors and with the students themselves. Whilst course content and evaluation, curriculum development and methodology are components of pedagogy for empowerment, the organisation, like potential employing authorities, has a role to play too. The processes through which educational institutions reproduce discriminatory social relations need to become more visible, and the importance of structural and institutional forces in shaping the ideological and material conditions of every aspect of the work performed by academic and administrative staff.

The ideology that informs equality of opportunity and pedagogy for empowerment is an integral aspect of knowledge itself. This ideology also needs to inform institutional practices which influence access, staffing patterns, recruitment processes, allocation of resources, discourses, relationships and experiences that both students and tutors represent and express in professional training. In the same way as the Youth Service has to ensure that appropriate policies and structures are in place to enable professional youth workers to fulfil their obligation to empower young people, so the institutional practices, education provision and pedagogical styles in community and youth work training need to be located within a clear policy framework with commitment to principles of difference, diversity and equality of opportunity.

To conclude, it could seem that with the changes in the political landscape over the last two decades, and the resulting policy and organisational changes in the public sector, the notion of empowerment of community and youth workers and of young people with whom they work is doomed to failure. Contradiction and tension are inevitable results of the attempt to implement empowerment work in the face of major civil inequalities. Quality control in the Youth Service is being introduced in an attempt to evaluate effectiveness in the delivery of the Youth Work Curriculum. This raises questions about appropriate performance indicators for empowerment work and the challenge of social inequalities. The concept of results, particularly in respect of examination results in education, also informs the newly-introduced Citizen's Charter. At a time of major disinvestment and restructuring of local education authorities, community and youth services are undergoing substantial financial cuts as authorities are struggling to maintain 'essential' services and meet their statutory obligations in education. These factors currently leave Community and Youth workers in a precarious position-charged with empowerment on one hand, and yet structurally disempowered as a group, on the other hand. How power is theorised influences interpretation and execution of the role of community and youth worker. Empowerment strengthens both individuals and groups and enables connections to be made and alliances formed which can effectively challenge inequalities. Empowerment work can enable professional workers to gain an analysis of how some social structures are static, some negotiable, and to recognise that anything that is socially constructed can be changed.

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Young people's sources and levels of income, and patterns of consumption, in Britain in the late 1980s.

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Introduction

Britain's 'vanishing youth labour market' would probably have been sufficient in itself to elevate young people's incomes into a public issue. The jobs that funded most 16-19 year olds' lifestyles up to the mid-1970s have now gone, apparently for good. By the end of the 1980s in many parts of the country only around one-in-ten 16 year olds were making 'traditional transitions' straight into proper jobs. However, much of the fall in young people's incomes has been an intended consequence of government policies (Junakar, 1987; Wells, 1983). During the 1980s the Young Workers Scheme, which was succeeded by the New Workers Scheme, and the removal of teenagers from Wages Council protection, were intended to reinforce market pressures in forcing youth wages downwards towards the levels at which youth labour markets would clear (Labour Research Department, 1986). Most unemployed 16 and 17 year olds became ineligible for social security benefits in 1988. In this instance the intention was not so much to pressure teenagers to accept very low paid jobs as to reduce public spending and to increase the relative attractions of full-time education and youth training. Yet, while wanting more young people to enrol in education and training at 16-plus it was also government policy to transfer some of the costs of training and post-compulsory education to young people themselves and their families. After 1983 the minimum allowances paid to youth trainees lagged behind not only most other incomes but the rate of inflation. Child benefits, payable in respect of all young people in full time education up to age 18, were frozen for several years in the late-1980s. Student grants were another benefit whose real value declined. In 1990 this grant began to be partly replaced by student loans, and everyone aged 18 and over became liable to the community charge. Meanwhile, a gradual rise in the contributions expected from parents was reducing the actual grants paid to full-time higher education students.

These trends raise two sets of policy questions. One concerns a potential contradiction in government policy objectives. The rising costs to the customers of further and higher education could inhibit expansion that is considered desirable for economic and social reasons, and could widen inequalities of access by social class, race and sex. The second set of questions concern the extent to which the decline in young people's incomes has become a source of poverty, or has caused an intensification of poverty in some of their * households, thereby placing family relationships under additional stress (Cusack and Roll, 1985), and whether increasing young people's entitlements would be a cost-effective way of alleviating poverty in present day Britain.

The following passages present relevant evidence from a set of longitudinal investigations on the implications, in the late-1980s, of whether 16-20 year olds were in education, on schemes, employed or unemployed for their* sources, levels and patterns of income and spending. The research was the 16-19 Initiative, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, in which the core enquiries comprised mailed questionnaire surveys of representative samples totalling 5764 young people in four parts of Britain - Kirkcaldy, Liverpool, Sheffield and Swindon. The samples were drawn from two cohorts who were typically aged 15-16 and 17-18 when the research commenced in 1987. All members of the samples were surveyed on three occasions in 1987, 1988 and 1989, and most of the evidence presented below is from these questionnaire surveys but the interpretation of the results has been aided and enriched by the findings from home interviews with sub-samples of 100-120 per area. The main purpose of these enquiries was to identify young people's main routes from education into the labour market together with the antecedents and implications of following different trajectories. Here, however, we are concerned primarily with the implications for the young people's incomes and spending.

The research methods have been described fully elsewhere (Banks et al, 1991) but we must explain that the local samples, when aggregated, were never intended to be nationally representative, and that there was a sample loss of around 30 percent in each survey. This means that caution must be exercised in drawing general conclusions. However, these sources of bias are unlikely to have affected significantly the differences revealed between the incomes and spending of groups of respondents who were in different positions in education and the labour market. Also, while in absolute terms young people's incomes and spending will already have changed substantially since the data was collected, the contrasts between different groups will have more enduring significance.

Income

Table I lists the mean net incomes at the time of the three surveys of groups who followed different routes into the labour market. Only subjects who responded on all three occasions are included in these figures which therefore describe exactly the same individuals' incomes over the period encompassed.

20

Our methods of distinguishing different routes into the labour market have been described fully and justified elsewhere (Roberts and Parsell, 1990). In the case of the younger respondents who were studied from age 15-16 in 1987 to 17-18 in 1989, their main routes were through the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), post-compulsory education plus YTS, an academic path for at least two years beyond age 16 normally leading to the qualifications required for higher education, staying-on at 16 for other kinds of education, and 'traditional transitions' straight into the labour market at the earliest legal opportunity. The mean income data in Table I are averages for everyone who followed each route whatever their situations on the specific spring dates (all the Surveys were conducted during April-May) to which the figures relate. This means, for example, that the £57.23 in 1989 for 17-18 year olds who had followed the YTS route since age 16 was the average of the total incomes of individuals who were still on the YTS, in jobs, unemployed and elsewhere at the time of the relevant survey. The figures should be read as the typical incomes that 16 year olds embarking on each route could expect at successive ages, and likewise the incomes of the older cohort. Their* main routes from age 18 to 20 were through higher education, other types of education, continuous employment, and careers involving substantial unemployment. For the 18-20 year olds our analysis distinguishes a separate unemployment route. From age 16 to 18 unemployment had mostly been short-term and was distributed fairly evenly among individuals following all the routes into the labour market. From age 18 to 20, in contrast, unemployment had tended to last longer and was concentrated within a vulnerable minority. However, the individuals concerned had not typically remained unemployed throughout the entire period.

All the younger respondents were still in full-time education at the time of the first survey in 1987. At any rate, they were legally supposed to be full-time pupils, so their* incomes from part-time jobs and pocket money did not vary greatly depending on their later routes. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that those who were about to make 'traditional transitions' straight into the labour market proper at age 16 had the highest personal incomes during their last year in compulsory education, which is possibly evidence of particularly strong pecuniary motivations. During the first year beyond the statutory school-leaving age the respondents who sought jobs immediately achieved an average net income from all sources of £51.05 per week compared with £34.75 for individuals who entered the YTS, and between £17 and £19 on the routes involving post-compulsory full-time education. After another year the group on the academic trajectory lagged well behind all the others who were then beginning to establish themselves in jobs and were catching-up with the earnings of contemporaries who had made traditional transitions. During the two years following the statutory school-leaving age, incomes on the academic route averaged just under a third of young people's who made traditional transitions. This was the career stage when this income gap was widest. Thereafter the individuals who entered higher education at 18-plus became eligible for (means tested) grants and their incomes rose to 71 percent of the average for those continuously employed from age 18 to 20. However, as explained below, the gap in leisure spending did not close because the students' living expenses increased more steeply than any other groups. It is worth noting that whereas from 16 to 18 the 'academic' young people had lower average incomes than contemporaries on all the other routes, from age 18 to 20 those on the route involving substantial experience of unemployment were the most disadvantaged in this respect. Students aged 19 and 20 were disadvantaged in terms of income compared with contemporaries who had left full-time education and obtained jobs, but privileged compared with the unemployed.

Table I

Mean net incomes (in £'s) and career routes

Route

Younger sample	YTS	Education and YTS	Academic	Other education	Traditional transitions	Incomes on academic as a percentage of traditional route
1987 (15-16)	7.73	7.03	7.75	8.40	9.08	–
1988 (16-17)	34.75	17.14	16.17	18.77	51.05	32%
1989 (17-18)	57.23	47.32	23.78	61.73	77.11	31%

Older sample	Higher education	Other education	Continuous employment	Unemployment	Incomes on higher education as percentage of continuous employment route
1987 (17-18)	17.93	22.67	47.49	30.26	–
1988 (18-19)	53.20	37.15	75.25	38.94	71%
1989 (19-20)	72.71	67.96	102.03	54.13	71%

21

The total personal incomes of the young people of all ages with jobs were mainly from their* wages, from training allowances in the case of those on schemes, and social security for the unemployed. Full-time students' incomes were from a wider range of sources. Table II disaggregates the students' average incomes in 1988-89 at ages 16-17 and 19-20. The 16-17 year old students in 1988 had an average personal income of £17.10 per week, of which just over a half came from paid jobs and rather less, under a third came from parents, while the remainder was from educational grants and social security. By age 19-20 the students' incomes from all sources had risen, but the steepest rise was in educational grants to an average of £31.82 per week, amounting then to approximately a half of their total incomes. 'Parental contributions' to 19-20 year old students averaged £18.17 per week, and paid jobs £11.66.

Table II

Full time students' sources and amounts of income per week

	16-17 year olds, 1988	19-20 year olds, 1989
Paid jobs	51% (£8.64)	18% (£11.66)
Social security benefits	4% (£0.68)	3% (£1.62)
Educational grants	15% (£2.56)	50% (£31.82)
Parents	31% £5.22)	28% (£18.17)
Mean total income	£17.10	£64.25

Costs to parents.

A rough estimate of the marginal cost to parents of maintaining a student in postcompulsory education in 1988-89 can be obtained by adding their greater contributions to the young people's personal incomes to the additional board and lodging payments typically made by same-aged young people who had entered the labour market, and subtracting child benefit where applicable. These average sums amounted to approximately £12 for a 16-17 year old in 1988 and £38 for a 19-20 year old in 1989.

We did not question any other members of our samples' households, but the above sums are unlikely to have been considered trivial whatever the parents' financial circumstances. Even prosperous families with teenage children were unlikely to have absorbed losses of around £40 per week without noticing the effects. However, the burden of supporting post-compulsory students must have been particularly severe in low income households because parental contributions were only mildly progressive in the late-1980s. There were three reasons for this. Firstly, only students from the poorest families, generally those qualifying for Income Support, were normally eligible for educational grants from 16 to 18. Secondly, the real value of students' maintenance grants was reduced and parents were expected to contribute well before the latters incomes reached the national average. Thirdly, the poorer families mostly lived in

neighbourhoods where higher education was not customary, and standards and styles of living would not normally have taken account of the need to support children into their 20s. Related to this, the parents concerned are unlikely to have either been able, or even aware of a need, to plan ahead and spread the costs of supporting their children through higher education.

Despite this, we have no evidence of young people who were otherwise keen to remain in education experiencing parental pressure to take a financially more rewarding route at age 16, or of the young people themselves feeling inhibited from continuing their studies so as to avoid burdening their families. Rather, the consensual view in households where the possibility had arisen seemed to favour academically talented young people remaining in education for as long as they wished to do so whatever financial efforts and sacrifices were required. There is other evidence that most families in present-day Britain, middle class and working class, do everything possible to ensure that their teenage children get the best possible starts in life, and to protect them, whenever possible, from the effects of labour market conditions and government policies (see Allatt and Yeandle, 1991; Hutson and Jenkins, 1989). During the late-1980s the retention rate of 16 year olds in full-time education was rising, and this was reflected in the findings from this investigation. Forty-five percent of the older respondents who reached age 16 in 1985 remained in education compared with 54 percent of the younger cohort who reached age 16 in 1987. Also, the proportion of Britain's 18 year olds proceeding to higher education was rising in the late-1980s. The overall evidence, therefore, suggests that although the financial consequences for young people and their families were far from trivial, these considerations were not pressuring young people out of education; at any rate, not to any greater extent than in previous years.

Spending.

Table III gives details of the 17-18 year olds and 19-20 year olds' weekly spending in 1989 with the respondents grouped according to whether they were full-time students, on schemes, in jobs or unemployed at the specific point in time when the spending applied. The younger students were rarely making contributions to household expenses even when they had (part-time) jobs whereas the unemployed and youth trainees were mostly paying board, typically £10 per week, while contemporaries with full-time jobs typically paid £15. Previous investigators have noted how, in present-day Britain, leaving school is normally recognised immediately by a change in people's financial relationships with their households. Full-time students are rarely charged board by their parents whereas all other groups normally make such payments. In this way the other groups' more adult status is recognised even when, overall, their* households continue to subsidise the young people's standards and styles of living (Hutson and Jenkins, 1989). It has also been normal for full-time students with part-time jobs to continue to receive pocket money from their parents. All parties normally seem to

Table III

Mean weekly spending in £'s (1989)

	Younger respondents (Aged 17-18)				Older respondents (Aged 19-20)			
	Unemployed	Scheme	Education	Job	Unemployed	Scheme	Education	Job
Board	10.85	9.21	1.03	14.95	13.41	13.05	29.63	19.96
Travel to work	0.39	4.17	1.05	4.61	0.21	5.10	2.83	5.71
Clothes, hair, make-up etc.	3.75	5.41	3.76	10.82	2.79	5.35	3.58	10.10
Other leisure spending	7.24	11.23	7.63	19.69	10.13	10.45	12.86	21.44
Loans	1.67	1.45	0.16	2.93	2.11	1.40	0.40	10.75
Saving	1.72	5.04	4.69	17.29	2.11	2.20	1.38	21.53
n =	67	257	615	483	92	20	245	693

feel that such earnings should be the students' own money from which they ought to derive full personal benefit. In practice parents may be more generous with assistance in purchasing clothes, holidays and so on when students have no other sources of income, but such support is not normally withdrawn immediately if the young people find part-time employment. All sides appear keen to maintain the appearance that young part-time workers enjoy the full fruits of their labour (Curran and Blackburn, 1990; Hutson, 1990).

Among the 16-17 year olds, only those with jobs and on schemes usually had significant travel to work expenses, while in leisure spending it was the group with jobs that stood apart. Generally they were spending twice as much as the other groups on their appearances, and more than three times as much on out-of-home recreation and entertainment. They were also saving far more than the other groups, and repayments on loans were already beginning to feature in their regular outlays.

By age 19-20 all the groups were paying more for board, but the increase was steepest for students who by then were mostly living away from home and were paying far more for their keep than any other group. All the 19-20 year old groups were spending slightly less on average on their appearances than the equivalent 17-18 year old groups, and slightly more on other leisure items. The full-time students and individuals on training schemes were saving less at age 19-20 than individuals two years younger in the same situations, whereas the savings of the young people with full-time jobs increased from an average of £17.29 to £21.53 per week. Also, by age 19-20 the individuals with full-time jobs were repaying loans at an average of £10.75 per week.

In both age groups the spending gaps between students and full-time employees were widest in the saving and loan categories. Our questionnaires did not seek detailed information about what the respondents were saving for, or their* reasons for borrowing, but we know from information gathered in the interviews with sub-samples that savings were typically for holidays, christmas celebrations, and other occasions requiring relatively large outlays. Also, some of the older respondents were beginning to save towards the time when they would establish themselves in independent households. At age 19-20 very few, apart from the students, were already living away from their parents' homes. Loan repayments were typically for vehicles, sound reproducing equipment, clothing and other expensive leisure items. Young workers in the late-1980s were learning quickly that credit could take the waiting out of wanting. The goods and services financed by saving and borrowing were the main sacrifices made by full-time students, but they were also spending substantially less on their clothing, toiletries, recreation and entertainment. However, in both age groups the students' spending on these latter items was in excess of unemployed contemporaries. This spending data confirms that the students were financially heavily disadvantaged vis-a-vis same-aged young people in full-time jobs but, if anything, privileged compared with individuals who had left full-time education without managing to gain or stay in employment.

The detailed findings on the samples' rates and types of leisure participation are presented elsewhere (Bynner and Ashford, 1990; Roberts et al, 1990). There were differences according to the young people's routes into the labour market and their situations at specific points in time, but these differences were minor compared with the disparities in their income and spending levels. Unemployment was depressing participation in out-of-home recreation, but only marginally, and overall rates of leisure participation were no higher than elsewhere in Swindon, the area where unemployment was lowest. The young people who left school at the earliest opportunity and obtained jobs immediately tended to become involved in independent leisure at the youngest ages, but by age 19-20 the full-time students had caught up. Post-compulsory students may have relatively low incomes, but they are renowned as a recreationally aware and active group rather than as a leisure-deprived section of the population in present-day Britain. In this investigation higher education students were over-represented among those most active in all the forms of out-of-home recreation and civic participation about which the sample was questioned which included politics, sport, involvement in pop music cultures, and visits to pubs, clubs and other licensed premises.

There are several reasons why, in present-day Britain, young people's levels and patterns of leisure participation do not neatly mirror the economic inequalities among them. Firstly, the unemployed to a minor extent, but students on a considerable scale, benefit from especially targeted free or heavily subsidised recreation. Secondly, the families of students and the young unemployed take some of the financial strain. In the case of students this was evident in the findings presented earlier. Thirdly, and perhaps most crucially, teenagers with relatively low incomes seem to manage without the costly items for which more prosperous contemporaries save or borrow, and can scale down spending on their appearances and evenings out, without withdrawing altogether or even reducing their* frequency of participation in most of the relevant activities (see also Willis, 1979). Their youth cultures seem able to absorb high levels of spending, and simultaneously accommodate low cost leisure without the basic patterns being destroyed or abandoned. This enables teenagers to move between education, schemes, jobs and unemployment, and to accomplish social mobility, without radical transformations in their leisure. An implication is that a great deal of affluent teenagers' leisure spending must be non-essential culturally as well as in relation to basic subsistence needs.

Policy implications
These will be among the reasons why Britain's teenagers themselves have been so acquiescent during the changes in their income opportunities since the 1970s, and why those denied jobs, and many who might have obtained immediate employment, have accepted education or training. Generations of teenage consumers and their youth cultures can probably be reproduced indefinitely on lower incomes and spending than in the 1950s and 60s. Teenagers with lower incomes can simply stretch their* spending by switching to less expensive goods and services. What are the policy implications of this resilience of youth cultures and our other evidence?
In some ways our findings vindicate government youth policies of the 1980s, or at least weaken some lines of attack. Firstly there is the poverty question and the allegation that reductions in teenagers' welfare entitlements have placed some families under unbearable strain (Cusack and Roll, 1985). Some of the households in which our sample lived were extremely poor, particularly in Liverpool where around a fifth of the parents were unemployed. The teenage members of these households were inevitably affected by the prevailing poverty, but this is not the same thing as the young people's own low personal incomes, if they had any at all, causing or aggravating the predicament. The young people who were interviewed did not appear to feel that they were impoverishing their families. Nor does our survey evidence suggest that they were doing so. The full-time students often expressed appreciation of their parents' support, but, at least until they entered higher education, this support did not leap quantatively or qualitatively compared with what they had received throughout childhood. Indeed, it was common for the students to hold part-time jobs which reduced their demands upon and expectations of their parents. When

school-leavers became youth trainees or unemployed they typically contributed £10 per week to their household budgets, only slightly more than was necessary to compensate for the loss of child benefit, but they ceased to receive regular pocket money, so the households would have experienced a modest increase in their pooled resources. Also, when young people obtained much higher personal incomes than were within the reach of youth trainees and the unemployed in the late-1980s, this made only a slight difference to the amounts that they typically contributed to household expenses. The teenagers with jobs and wages, whatever their levels of earnings, usually contributed only £5 per week more than the unemployed and youth trainees. As with students' part-time jobs, the parents and teenagers alike seemed to believe that the latter should feel the full benefit when they had their* own full-time earnings. Most of the more affluent 16-19 year olds' personal income was being spent on their own leisure, and this applied whether their families were prosperous or poor. So when the households were impoverished, the teenagers' access to high wages was not necessarily alleviating the collective condition. When teenagers' incomes declined, the main cutbacks were in their own leisure spending. The implication of this evidence is that higher incomes for teenagers whether in the form of grants, training allowances, social security or wages will not be a sensible way of tackling contemporary Britain's poverty problem.
The second set of policy implications concern whether the considerable costs to trainees, students and their parents are likely to restrain the growth of post-compulsory education and youth training. If so, will the restraints operate mainly on the group that is still grossly under-represented in higher education, namely, the working class? Our evidence suggests that such restraints were not taking increased effect in the late-1980s. Part of the explanation was certainly that youth labour markets were uninviting in many parts of the country. However, when male and female respondents from all social backgrounds had considered post-compulsory education, their parents seemed to have been prepared to make the necessary and often considerable sacrifices. Maybe a point must eventually be reached when enrolments cannot increase further without drawing from sections of the population that are either hostile to education, or unwilling or simply unable to support their teenage children, but at the end of the 1980s there were no signs of this limit being pushed. The young people were prepared to accept the loss of immediate income involved in continuing as students partly because they were not required to defer all gratifications. They could mostly obtain sufficient money from grants, their* families and part-time jobs to remain as recreationally active as other members of their age group by continuing to use low cost facilities and benefiting from the low-priced services targeted at students. The implication is that while family structures remain strong enough for young adults to draw upon their* support, and while the national economy remains sufficiently buoyant for families to offer this support and for students to obtain part-time jobs during vacations and term-times, the potential contradiction between expanding education and training

while reducing the public subsidy per student and trainee is unlikely to become a zero-sum conflict in which one of these policy objectives must yield to the other.

Footnote:
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The Core Curriculum: A Case Study

PAULA DREW and
MICHAEL KELLEHER

The current reforms of local government and removal of further education from local control will inevitably have an effect upon youth service provision. If the National Youth Agency's analysis of the review of further education is correct, the role of the Youth Service may once again be omitted. (**Young People Now,** 1991). Alongside this are the recommendations of the Coopers Lybrand Deloitte report which suggests that local authorities adjust their role from providers to enablers with provision moving to the voluntary sector (**Young People Now,** 1991a). The implications for the statutory service are enormous. There needs to be a proactive response at all levels within the statutory sector if the opportunities for reform are to be grasped and not imposed. The winners or losers in any changes, of course, are the young people who constitute our client groups. That is why the curriculum debate is a matter of vital concern to all levels and sectors of the service. It is within this context that some recent local research in our area of Trowbridge may have a contribution to make to the national debate.

The core curriculum debate developed during the Autumn of 1989 and was highlighted initially by the first Ministerial Conference and the National Youth Bureau's consultative document. This starting point coincided with a local concern that we were not meeting the needs of young people in Trowbridge. In addition, the start of a new decade seemed an appropriate time to consult young people about the provision of the youth service. A research project was conducted which had two aims. Firstly to obtain a profile of the leisure activities of young people in the locality, and to analyse the findings in terms of current provision. Secondly, to find out what information young people feel they need to seek a niche for providing a relevant curriculum in an appropriate manner. The project therefore led us to consider the text, values, content, process and outcomes of local youth work in parallel to the national consultation exercise.

Trowbridge is the County town of Wiltshire. It has a population of approximately 31,000 and the local district is designated a growth area. In 1989 Youth Service provision included a Centre which opened two evenings per week for the 14+ age group and one evening per week for the 11-14 age group. The Youth Service also has a responsibility for a sports centre situated on the campus of one of the local schools and a community centre used by voluntary organisations. For a town of its size Trowbridge lacks certain leisure amenities that other towns take for granted. For instance, there has not been a cinema in the town for several years and as recently as last summer the swimming pool site was sold to a large supermarket chain for redevelopment. Our feeling was that the Youth Service ought to be playing a greater role in the leisure activities and development of young people in the town. Research into the provision of youth work appeared both necessary and timely.

The value of this case study to a broader audience lies in the fact that despite its lack of amenities Trowbridge can be considered to be representative of small towns in rural shire counties. We feel that the younger population is firmly representative of young people in provincial towns. Care was taken to ensure our sample represented the gender and age breakdown for the town and a questionnaire survey was conducted amongst 244 young people during late April and early May 1990. Where the sample differs, however, is that a large number (60%) of interviews were conducted with young people attending youth groups. It is not claimed that this proportion reflects the membership of youth groups in the locality but that this allowed an analysis of the effect of membership. A total of 244 young people were interviewed (Drew & Kelleher, 1990). Results were coded and analysed and the effects of gender, age and membership of youth organisations were examined.

While other forms of consultation during the national debate appear to have been rather ad hoc, this approach, we believe, ensured that the information gathered more accurately reflects what young people thought the service should be doing.

The leisure activities of young people in the town have been subject to some local debate. An alcohol free bar was opened in April of 1991. Opening hours, facilities and the provision of youth work were all examined in the light of the research results. To date, attendance has been excellent with weekly aggregate figures of between 250 and 300 young people spread over four nights. More time will be needed before the success of this initiative can be assessed. It is hoped that the examination of young people's leisure activities within the survey will ensure that the initial success of the bar project continues. However, the survey's results suggests that young people's lack of information on many key issues ought to be of both local and national concern. The remainder of this paper deals with this second part of the project.

Two recent surveys suggest that young people are concerned about issues such as drugs, sex, jobs, benefits, legal rights and politics (Somerset County Council, 1990; HMI, 1990). It could therefore be argued that a core curriculum should provide a framework within which these issues can be discussed in order to meet the aims and objectives of the Youth Service. As a result of the Ministerial Conference's Steering Committee recommen-dations, the provision of infor-mation is an important strand within the implementation of the core curriculum (National Youth Bureau, 1990). To assist local policy it was felt that it would be useful to know the extent to which young people felt that they knew where to get information on these issues. Further to

this, and crucial to the role of the youth service, is the notion that in our work with young people they would seek assistance on these issues at a youth group.

During the pilot stage of the project it was found that the issues discussed above were only marginal to the lives of the younger age group. Therefore only the 14-18 age group (the principal client group) were asked to respond to questions on these issues.

Table 1.
The percentage of respondents in the 14-18 age group who agreed that young people knew where information on some key issues could be obtained

	Agree
Jobs, Training, YTS, Colleges	74.4
Sex	64.5
Contraception	71.1
Aids	62.0
Homosexuality	19.0
Drugs, Alcohol & Tobacco	63.6
Leaving Home	27.3
Legal Rights	22.3
Benefits	24.0
Political Issues	24.5

As you can see in table 1 the survey suggests that young people feel that they do not know where to obtain information. This is particularly clear with respect to those issues that have percentage figures of less than 30%. Even the higher percentages do not provide a great deal of optimism. Despite massive media coverage on the AIDS issue, only 62% felt that young people were aware of where to get information. Table 1 suggests that there are several issues that appear to need specific targeting. The issues of leaving home, legal rights, and benefits show remarkably low results. This must be particularly worrying for those agencies who are responsible for providing this information. The real need to target young people and to investigate ways to address their needs in the most appropriate ways is clearly apparent. There are also implications for the programmes of personal and social development offered through the schools. If these issues are part of the existing curriculum it would appear that the information is not getting through to a substantial number of young people. Should these issues not form a part of the school curriculum then the Youth service may well be able to perform an important role in terms of offering information and informing young people of the relevant sources of advice. Whilst those in the area of training and employment can take comfort from the higher percentage of young people who feel that young people know where to get information about jobs, training etc, the survey found that young women are less likely to be confident in knowing where to get such information. Those of us working with young women need to take positive steps to reduce this discrepancy. Except on the issue of contraception, where non-members felt more strongly than members that young people knew where information could be obtained, membership of a youth group did not effect the responses.

The Youth Service to the rescue?
Vital ingredients in any curriculum programme are the attitudes and perceptions of young people themselves. Implicit within such an idea is the notion that young people will receive or seek information on these issues from the Youth Service. Despite the lack of knowledge as to where information is available, Table 2 shows that young people would not necessarily seek assistance on these issues at a youth group. Only with drug, alcohol or tobacco problems would more than half our respondents ask for help at a youth group. These findings appear to be consistent with a recent survey conducted in Doncaster, though our results are not as drastically low (**Young People Now,** 1990). Given the fact that providing information, advice and counselling requires specialist skills and training, a Youth Service with limited resources may well have to limit its role to one that acts as a link between young people and the specialist agencies where they exist. Should this prove to be our niche then the Youth Service needs to promote an awareness of this role amongst young people. Our research suggests that such a role might also complement young people's perceptions of and attitudes towards the Youth Service. According to our respondents, youth groups are about having fun, making friends and gaining opportunities for travel and visits. The education role of the Youth Service, although recognised, is secondary to these more important motives for attending. Attempts to provide formal educational opportunities would probably not be welcomed.

Table 2
The percentage of respondents in the 14-18 age group who would seek assistance at youth clubs on some key issues

Getting work	39.7
Finding somewhere to live	25.6
Legal problems	23.1
Drug/alcohol/tobacco problems	52.1
Problems at home	41.3
Problems at school	35.5
Getting social benefits	18.2
Questions about sex	20.7

Informal education opportunities, however, do arise in youth group settings. This can allow opportunities for dialogue and enable people to think critically and possibly empowers them to take necessary action. A core curriculum that concentrates upon issue centred work may well be incompatible with an informal educational approach (**Young People Now,** 1990a). Issue centred youth work may also be incompatible with young people's perceptions of the youth service, and also with the preferred method of delivery within any one unit. Many youth groups emphasise relationship building which can enable informal learning to take place. Once an awareness of a young person's position has been ascertained it is possible to address issues. Although this person-centred approach to youth work has certain practical difficulties, staff - member ratios for example, any core curriculum should recognise its compatibility

with youth work in practice and ensure that a structure is developed within which the aims and objectives of the Youth Service are met. Such a structure must recognise the need to create an appropriate environment within which informal education can flourish. We have in mind here an environment that promotes the education role of the Service whilst also tackling the problem of raising the skill levels of face to face workers.

Several issues arise from the results of the survey, some of which are inevitably parochial concerns. However, there are many issues that colleagues will identify as relevant to other locations and local authorities. Firstly, the Youth Service should be able to perform a vital role in the area of information. In a speech to the annual conference of the Association of Colleges of Further and Higher Education in 1989, the Rt. Hon. Kenneth Baker MP stated:

> and for those who are unlikely to come into c o n t a c t with formal careers advice there is another source of help: namely the Youth Service. They can often reach those youngsters others cannot reach. (NYB, 1990a: p26)

Advocating that the Youth Service has all of the attributes of a well known brand of lager may well be nothing more than political rhetoric. Given the fact that, in general, youth workers do not have the specialist skills required to ensure this magical Heineken effect, our results suggest that if the Youth Service remains the only specialist service in this field then the creation and updating of information for youth workers is vital. This has particular implications for the training of part time workers. The delivery of a core curriculum with its implications for referral, information giving and counselling will require specialist skills. These skills are not being developed locally for part time-workers and we are unaware of any projects elsewhere that are addressing this problem. Whilst workers remain uninformed of developments in related fields regular contact with other agencies appears to provide one form of solution to the problem. Closer liaison with other agencies could provide a local structure within which the Youth Service can then target specific needs. It would then be necessary for youth workers to spend time liaising with specialist agencies and the use of time in this way needs to be recognised as legitimate by management. Unfortunately, part-time workers are faced with management dogma arguing that only face to face work is legitimate and then only within certain contracted hours. Although of great importance face to face delivery is only one of several aspects of skill development. The value of paid time for non-face to face work, and for unit training, needs to be addressed by this and other authorities as a matter of some urgency if the quality of the service is to be maintained.

Secondly, one local concern was the evidence that there was a need to change the pattern of provision. The alcohol free bar project has led to a greatly increased awareness of our existence and an extension of our regular client group. Although there is much work to be done in conveying our educational role with more clarity, early initiatives have been well received. Disability awareness and issues arising from drug and alcohol abuse have been tackled. Work concerning the justice system is being introduced with some success and a young people's steering group is now meeting monthly. As a result of the research project other forms of contact have also been explored. A pilot outreach project was conducted during the early part of this year, which suggests that locations with centre-based youth work might benefit from a mixed centre and outreach approach.

Thirdly many of our respondents were involved in youth groups in the voluntary sector. Given that many of these groups are staffed by parents, the lack of information on some of the risk areas, such as drugs, sex, or leaving home becomes more relevant. The National Youth Agency Information Shop initiative is an encouraging development and the eventual aim is to provide such a facility for every town with more than 50,000 residents (**Young People Now,** 1991). Unfortunately, this is small comfort for towns such as Trowbridge which already suffer from a lack of community resource compared to larger population concentrations. Thus, the importance of support for the voluntary sector becomes more important. In these circumstances local statutory services must examine their relationships with the voluntary sector. It might be possible for the statutory sector to provide increased support in terms of training, delivery and monitoring of the curriculum. The recommendations of the management report mentioned earlier suggest that this is one area of concern that needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency (**Young People Now,** 1991a).

One recommendation of the research project concerned the confusion about the Youth Services educational role. The opportunity to interview so many young people has increased awareness amongst youth workers that young people are not conscious of youth workers' educational role. Plans are under way to provide users of our centre with information on this issue. Although this was not particularly surprising, the distorted image of youth workers amongst education professionals was rather disturbing. One consequence of the project is that at least one local school has invited the full-time worker on to the campus on a weekly basis. This positive outcome is as a result of requests to conduct the research amongst some of that school's pupils. Our concern is that ignorance of our role is more widespread and that this problem needs to be addressed by a county wide initiative.

In conclusion, whilst supporting many of the sentiments expressed in their briefing document, we are concerned to see the statement of purpose produced by the National Youth Bureau. Like Sawbridge (1991) we feel that any claim to effectively redress structural inequalities will inevitably be confronted by the variations in philosophical traditions, value bases and the practice found within the service. Such a political goal has not been adequately confronted by any political party whilst in government. That such a radical statement of purpose flies in the face of much of the present government's philosophy and practice is, we believe, self evident. The youth service would be better advised to set targets that might be achievable given the current supply of resources. The core curriculum debate is an opportunity for the service to establish priorities and for those priorities to be developed into local policies.

As our research shows a curriculum that deals exclusively with issue-based youth work will be prescriptive in practice. What is needed is a framework within which effective youth work can deal with the needs of young people in the 1990s. Such a framework must inevitably recognise the need for the benefit of work outside of face to face delivery. In particular, close liaison with other agencies is necessary as is the continued commitment to train youth workers in the required skills and to update their knowledge of the issues that effect young peoples' lives. We remain convinced that these local findings and recommendations are relevant to a broader audience.

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Reviews in this issue

Colin Carnall
MANAGING CHANGE
Routledge 1991
ISBN 0 415 04463 4
pp 101

Rob Paton and Carolyn Hooker
DEVELOPING MANAGERS IN VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS
Training Agency/Open University 1990
Employment Department, Moorfoot, Sheffield S1 4PQ
pp 98

Jane Clarke
EMPOWERMENT FOR MANAGEMENT
Combat Poverty Agency 1990
Combat Poverty Agency, 8, Charlemont St, Dublin 2
pp 21

One of the most significant factors affecting both voluntary organisations and local authorities in the last twelve years has been the phenomenal pace of change as the country moves in all aspects of its life to a market driven economy.

One result of this has been an increasing interest in the concept of management. This is true even in small voluntary organisations as funding becomes much more difficult to secure and to hold on to. No longer is it enough to feel an organisation is doing good work, there is a requirement for proof. But much of the material available about management is focussed on industrial and commercial ventures and although the same basic processes apply it is always necessary to translate the ideas into terms more appropriate to community organisations or charities.

Managing change is an example of a book in this category. It is an interesting book in workbook style with a series of self assessment exercises and company assessment exercises. Although the examples are from commerce the book is clearly written and the jump required to use it for a voluntary organisation is not difficult.

The book sets out to provide practising managers with a practical approach to managing change. It first explores change at the psychological level identifying the skills and attitudes needed to be an effective change leader. It goes on to suggest how managers can implement change effectively and then considers how managers can manage change as a part of a strategic plan. The workbook sets out a number of techniques which a manager can use, mostly collectively with colleagues and employees, to help them think about change and associated problems in new, more systematic and more effective ways. The book is intended to assist people in organisations to do it themselves although it does seem a bit daunting and some organisations may need help. Although the exercises are clearly set out the material generates a lot of information which may be difficult to interpret. To work through the exercises properly would certainly require a degree of self discipline to set aside the necessary time.

The questions used in the exercises to assess organisational effectiveness are in parts directly related to industry and marketing and would require modification to be useful in a voluntary organisation or even a maintained youth service. However the functional analysis and organisational diagnosis techniques are explained clearly and could be easily modified to make them appropriate. Most importantly the methods of analysing the results are clearly explained. Such reports as Coopers and Lybrand Deloitte 'Managing the Youth Service in the 1990's' have led to increasing pressure on statutory and voluntary organisations within the Youth service to consider appropriate structures for effective management. Many senior officers in youth organisations will therefore find a book such as this useful. Most people engaged in voluntary organisations will want to include more questions related to the value base of their organisation which is not really dealt with. Another dimension not included is the management and support through organisational change of volunteers.

Having considered a process to assess the effectiveness of the organisation the book goes on to consider methods of implementing change. It again starts with a questionnaire to employees which sets out to establish how ready the organisation is for change and gives some appropriate ways of handling the different stages of readiness. The technique is good because it recognises the importance of the individual employee and of involving her in understanding the change, and the training and support which might be required to adapt to the change.

Part II of the workbook is a case study of an organisation which used the process to manage and implement change. This is useful in clarifying how to analyse some of the data but it may be off-putting to some organisations because the context is so very different from that of a voluntary organisation.

The last two chapters are interesting in their own right. The first provides an agenda for change outlining the main areas which need

attention in any organisation undergoing change. Although they may seem self-evident it is useful to see all ten areas set down together and to understand the relationship between them.

The final chapter focuses on the impact of change on the individual. The book sets out the stages in the adaption to change. Having spent the last four years in an organisation undergoing significant change it was reassuring to see the stages, it would have been even more useful to have read the book first and also understood that many of the reactions were normal and part of the change process. A major result of change in any individual is anxiety and stress, even where people are fully committed to the changes. The book usefully demonstrates the relationship between self esteem, performance and stress where some stress is helpful to performance by providing a challenge but too much stress leaves people feeling swamped and can lead to autocratic management.

Finally the book provides some guidelines for the effective implementation of change which rely on a systematic and sensitive approach to the planning and management of change.

The book is well written and avoids the use of jargon whilst introducing the reader to some of the current techniques. The systematic approach suggested would benefit any manager who had the discipline to work through it. Some of the exercises could be usefully undertaken by the manager alone but for the most effective results there would need to be commitment by the organisation to undertake the process. Given the reluctance of some employees in voluntary organisations or the youth service to use management techniques it would certainly pay anyone planning to use the questions to ensure that they are all appropriate to the organisation under consideration. It would also be worth the time to ensure that the value base recognised as important by many voluntary and youth work organisations was sufficiently dealt with in the process.

'Developing Managers in Voluntary Organisations' provides an excellent account of the ways in which those involved at different levels in voluntary organisations can develop their management skills. The book has the advantage of being specifically written for the voluntary sector so that all the examples used are relevant. Throughout the book there is a consideration of managing in the context of the values recognised as important by many voluntary organisations.

The format of the book is clear with a useful preview of each chapter in the introduction to enable the reader to find the relevant chapter. The text avoids jargon particularly in the preview but carefully explains the different management concepts when they are used. The analysis of the different types of organisations in the introduction is helpful given the wide diversity and size of organisations in the voluntary sector. The book recognises the hybrid role which many workers in the voluntary sector have to play straddling management and field-work.

This diversity in the role is one experienced now by many youth workers in both the paid and voluntary sector and this book would be useful to those engaged in local authority youth work.

The book recognises the reluctance felt by many voluntary organisations in engaging with conventional concepts of management which are seen as both manipulative and having limited accountability. It also recognises that many elements of management in the voluntary sector are different from those in the corporate sector, but suggests that voluntary organisations need to pillage what is useful.

The book considers some of the work which is being done to determine management competences and the different ways in which these can be learned although all require a climate in which management competence is valued and support provided.

There are clearly described techniques for assessing management training needs, and these are set in the context of voluntary organisations where the managers may be volunteers, or where the tasks are not readily described all of which produce different problems to those experienced in a commercial company. At the end of the chapter the reader will be familiar with the operation of Critical Incidents technique, SWOT analysis and human resource audits. The techniques are described in enough detail for a manager to decide on the most appropriate method to use within their own organisation. Most helpfully of all the text is realistic, it discusses all the problems and pitfalls of the different techniques and comes up with some ways of handling them. It really feels as if the authors have used the methods in a voluntary organisation, its all very possible.

The chapter on survey methods was very useful and could be a helpful resource in a variety of situations. Again the uses of the different methods are summarised and reasons are also given for some of the difficulties which are often encountered when using surveys.

Equal opportunities are seen as being a relevant ingredient in all management training but a special section is devoted to the issue. It lays out the law in relation to positive action and the situations in which it might be used. It suggests ways in which management development programmes can be used to promote equal opportunities both within the organisation and in service delivery.

There is a useful survey of all the different methods which can be used in management development education. Each method is discussed and again the disadvantages and advantages of each method is summarised. The methods covered include short courses, action learning and management self-development groups, in-house courses, mentoring and on the job training, distance learning, portfolio-based learning and courses leading to a qualification. This commentary on the different methods will be useful to anyone responsible for training and enables easy comparison of the methods and their

relevance to different situations. A very clear table compares the effectiveness of the different methods.

The practical nature of the book is well demonstrated by a chapter that considers all the levels of resistance to management training and some of the ways of countering these. Again the fact that they sound so familiar is evidence that the authors have been there themselves, this book is certainly not a remote theoretical text. Who hasn't heard such comments as: 'Are you saying I don't do my job properly', or 'But its our senior staff who need it' or more often 'We don't have the time'. All are there and dealt with as is the reluctance of some voluntary management committees to recognise either their own or their workers need to undertake training.

Throughout the text there are boxes which give practical case-studies or in some cases additional material. All this is supported by a good reading list for those who want to pursue some of the ideas being introduced in more detail.

Altogether it is an excellent book to develop people involved at any stage in management. It's written for the voluntary sector but it would provide support for any managers in statutory youth or community work.

'Empowerment for Management' is an analysis of a development programme for nine Irish projects funded in the second European Programme to Combat Poverty. The projects focussed on particular target groups including long-term unemployed, young unemployed, single parent families, and homeless people.

The programme was developed by a planning group which included representatives of the projects, and the trainer had experience of community development. This ensured that the training developed was appropriate for community projects encouraging a participative rather than a hierarchical style. The programme recognised that in order for people to manage change effectively at an organisational level they need to be able to manage change and development at a personal level.

The book outlines the content of each of the programmes but gives no detail of the actual training methods used. It does disuss the structure of the programme and the rationale behind having modules well spaced to allow participants to have practical experience of the skills and approaches covered, and to have time to absorb, reflect and get feedback on their learning. The book includes comments made by participants under a number of different headings as part of the evaluation process. These are all very positive about the value of the course to their personal development and to their ability to play a more active role in the project management. Unfortunately the evaluation by the planning group is very brief and, although it says that on the basis of their own observations and feedback from participants modifications were made to the course, it is not clear whether the course described is the modified one or the original. It certainly does not indicate what modifications were required to the content but

only to the structure and timing.

The book is refreshing in that it tackles management from a community development base and raises some practical issues such as the need to provide childcare. It is a pity that more details were not given of the actual programmes used which could have made it into a training manual. Many of the ideas discussed will be familiar to community development workers but the book may be helpful for trainers who have not had community work experience but are running management development training for volunteers in community projects.

Having read all three books I am struck again by how much management practice has to learn from community development. Many of the ideas which have long been taken for granted in community work appear, often jargonised, in management development texts. Perhaps these last two books indicate that at last community development workers are beginning to reclaim some of the ground up to now dominated by writers from an industrial or commercial base and adding to the debate about good management a clearly articulated value base.

Ann Melville

John Davis
YOUTH AND THE CONDITION OF
BRITAIN: IMAGES OF ADOLESCENT
CONFLICT
The Athlone Press 1990
ISBN 0 485 80001 2 hbk; 0 485
80101 9 pbk
£25.00 hbk; £9.95 pbk
pp 259

Whatever happened, I wonder to all those debates on 'youth' which exploded; particularly out of Birmingham University's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), in the later seventies and early eighties? By focussing on 'the structural and cultural origins of British youth subcultures' and insisting on the need for a class perspective, they blew a huge hole in concepts of 'adolescence' which had for decades been taken for granted. This assault intensified when emphases on race and gender perspectives highlighted how, in crucial ways this period of life is anyway significantly different for, and is experienced differently by Black young people and by young women.

With hindsight, it is possible to see a little more clearly where and how these positions were themselves 'socially constructed'- products of the economic and political and dominant ideological conditions of the times which produced them. In part, of course, they represented a reaction against the over-simple, over-optimistic thinking of the consensual sixties, by giving little credence, at least in the social policy field, to 'political' definitions of problems, social democracy almost required a view of 'the transition from childhood to adulthood' which was predominantly individualised and 'psychologised' and which masked issues of power.

However, at both ends of the political

spectrum, the later seventies and early eighties were also preoccupied with 'the crisis of capitalism'. This contained its own interpretative imperatives requiring a 'reading' of youth much more rooted in a conflict analysis of society, though not necessarily invalid, this in its own way was no less partial and was certainly far from 'finished'.

So where, at the beginning of the 1990s, does all that leave us? And, post Thatcher and post-Thatcherism, what perspectives are now being socially constructed which seek to explain and illuminate for current economic and political conditions this ever-interesting stage of the life cycle? John Davis's book - published in 1990, including references to both 'adolescence' and 'youth' in its title and appearing as part of a new series committed to a 'dispassionate and systematic' look at social conflict - should surely give us some, even if only tentative, answers to these questions.

Some of them are in fact pretty explicit - like the way the book unmistakably distances itself from the sub-cultural theorists and, not unconnected, confidently reasserts some positivistic positions on social scientific 'evidence'. It also manages often to discuss education and welfare policy and provision as if they are somehow independent of the wider economic and political interests which bring them into existence and shape and direct their actual operation. Like Thatcherism itself, such propositions suggest at times a reaching backwards to 'purer' values, and to less contradictory forms of analysis and action, than our current social world can in fact sustain.

In other ways however, this revisionism operates less overtly, throughout, despite some passing references to 'the changing role of women', young women appear as women only when the related issues of leisure, dress and spending are being considered - and do not figure in the index at all, even as 'girls'. Black people's varied but distinctive cultural experiences of negotiating 'being young' in a deeply racist society get even less acknowledgement, with for example evidence from white middle class America being used at points as if self-evidently it had, even when it was produced universal relevance.

Within these limits, however, the book has some important strengths. It is itself well researched including, at key historical moments,drawing on 'popular' sources such as mass circulation newspapers. It also provides a valuable overview of the history of the concepts of 'adolescence' and 'youth'. This moreover is often contextualised in contemporary conditions, including a labour market which over the twentieth century has had a reducing need for unskilled 'boy (and girl) labour'.

In setting out this history in these ways, Davis 'nails' the notion of youth 'as a new, unified and progressive culture - an emergent "classless" class' and therefore as a powerful substitute for class itself. The unreality of this view emerges specifically as his analysis is brought into the miserable Thatcher years of the eighties when the divisions amongst

sectors of the youth population were ruthlessly exploited and working class, Black, disabled and gay young women and men were increasingly ground down.

Davis might perhaps have portrayed these objective realities of young people's lives more starkly. Nonetheless not only does he highlight how 'the tightening economic, political and ideological circumstances in the early 1970's (helped) ... to bring to a halt, and then fairly rapidly reverse, the building of the idea of social transformation through youth'. By challenging the euphoria which surrounded this idea when it was at its height, he demonstrates how little power or privilege most 'teenagers' have in fact had over the past thirty years, even in their most 'permissive' times.

While unpicking these arguments, Davis critically explores a range of other popular, populist and periodically dominant conceptions of youth. In the process he throws into relief perhaps one of the most constant characteristic of this whole debate - adults' deeply self absorbed and contradictory attitudes to and feelings about the generation which is threatening (some might say, promising) to supersede them.

Thus he traces the history of notions like 'youth as national (economic) asset', 'youth as minority stereotype' (positive as well as negative), and 'youth as a litmus test' (of the good and ills of the society). He shows how these, though waxing and waning, have all (sometimes simultaneously) been key themes in the history of the concept. And he also illustrates how, alongside all this, and especially from the 1960s onwards, a '"youth culturalisation" of mainstream adult culture' has taken place at the very time that an 'ever more mobilization of the forces of social control' has occurred.

What makes this even more contradictory is perhaps Davis's central theme: 'youth as continuity'. For he, like many others before him, provides ample evidence that, far from being revolutionary or even passively subversive, over many generations young people have been deeply committed to the basic values and institutions of their society. The problem (especially for them) has been that adult power-holders have needed to construct images and to accumulate 'data' which 'prove' the opposite in order to justify their requirement for controlling and at times highly oppressive responses to them.

Though the limits of its scope and perspective do need to be kept in mind, Davis's study adds up to a useful reworking of a range of historical and sociological evidence on the way 'youth' has been seen, and exploited, in British society. It is also a valuable reminder of the need to stay sceptical about dominant perspectives, especially at the moment of their greatest dominance.

Bernard Davies

Roger Greenaway
MORE THAN ACTIVITIES
Save the Children Fund 1990
ISBN 1 870322 21 5
£4.95 pbk
pp 96

The foreword of this book describes it as a 'collection of ideas about various ways in which activities can be used to meet the developmental needs of young people...'. It is indeed a collection but its confusing layout make it very difficult to decipher exactly what it is a collection of.

Facing the contents page is a large hand holding a book titled 'Readers' Guide'. A small hand invites me to see page 54. After leafing backwards and forwards through the book I eventually find page 54. It's not numbered; one counts forward from 52 or backwards from 58. Page 54 has a series of wavy headings and overlapping pages of varying shades of black, white and grey which spread over onto page 55. These pages are laid at odd angles and have print which is laid at even odder angles. Some of the print is slanted and distorted. Feeling slightly nauseous by now with the attempt to focus on this print I retreat from the attempt to work out what pages 54 and 55 have in common with the readers' guide.

The book is laid out in three sections: stories, accounts from the lives of young people ; connections, making the links between activities '...and other aspects of working with young people'; and adventures, a section of practical ideas. I would have thought it more useful and appropriate to make connections between the stories and the activities and, in fact, the sections do set out to make more connections than they advertise, though not as far as I could see between the stories and the activities.

The section on stories contains eight stories by or about young people. The only story clearly identified with girls is about girls rather than by girls although the first piece was written by a woman. I was disappointed to discover that all of these stories were from other publications, biographies, novels and some from academic texts. I felt slightly cheated not having real stories by real young people. The whole idea of 'More than Activities', as I understand it, is to demonstrate activities as a medium of change in young peoples' lives. The message would have rung truer had Greenaway been able to connect with some real young people.

The second section on connections is subdivided into making connections, themes and reviewing. The first two parts are lists under still more sub-headings. For example, page 28 (not numbered) is a sub-section entitled responsibility and has yet another sub-heading 'responsibility for self and others can be encouraged by:

*minimising the extent to which workers are 'in control'.

*using activities in which little 'control' is necessary or in which responsibilities can be taken on by young people. etc. etc.

Most of these lists are the sort of thing which even really tired workers could come up with in a 10 minute brain storm session. The

headings are often enticing and exciting. Page 29 (also not numbered) after 'responsibility' is headed 'A vision of - what is possible' (the last three words written sideways down the side of the page in different type). The contents of this page consists of three paragraphs quoted from another publication. Again I am left feeling rather cheated.

The sub-section 'Reviewing' is a bit more promising as it actually spells out some ideas for how to do things. But yet again these are ideas from other publications and are not set in a description of practice.

The final section on 'Adventures' follows the formula of the second section. Pages of brainstorm type checklists and a few ideas taken from other publications. Now I have no problem with ideas taken from other publications as long as there is some purpose in the exercise. Taking ideas from one discipline and showing how they can be used in another, collecting disparate activities together and demonstrating their use within a new conceptual framework. My problem with this collection of ideas is that they are framed within sets of check-lists rather than a clear conceptual framework.

Readers would be better advised to go to the originals, the classic Brandes and Phillips Gamesters' Handbook, Dearling and Armstrong's Youth Games Book and Orlick's Co operative Sports and Games Handbook and do their own brainstorms. Unmentioned in this book but also recommended is NAYC's Youth Work that Works - clear layout, clear value base and clear examples of practice.

I found it very difficult to be entirely fair to this book so irritating did I find the layout. It was done by Scott Y. Doran of the Glasgow School of Art who would no doubt set me down as an old fogey of an art critic but really the layout in this book is so gimicky and overdone it overwhelms what little substance there is.

Firstly, an obvious point but important when one is trying to use a guide of this kind - the pages were not all numbered. Secondly, the pages were not clearly headed. They were all differently and interestingly headed but if the purpose was to enable the reader to find her or his way round the book they failed.

Thirdly, a comment on the images. Who decided that a close up of hairy armed, grimacing young man wearing a crash helmet and gripping a steel cable was an appropriate signal to the contents of this book? If it was supposed in some way to be an ironic image it did not work for me. I counted two images of black young people. Given there are almost as many illustrations as pages this is a poor show. There were images of younger people too, which lead to confusions about the 'young people' the author had in mind. Some of the images were used in misleading ways. Page 69 (numbered) quotes a piece from the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Outdoor Education Safety and Good Practice - Guidelines for guidelines. It talks about enhancing safety and suggests that using trained and experienced leaders is not always the best way of working with young people in adventurous activities. This page is illustrated with a picture of a young person apparently

climbing up a rock face. This illustration gives a completely different meaning to the section to the one intended which is more about rethink the activity not don't use qualified climbing instructors for climbing.

Turning back to the content my last problem is that it's not clear what it's about and I wonder how far the confusing layouts and images reflect the thinking which has gone into this book. Greenaway is not explicit about his theory base so readers can only make deductions. He talks a lot about leaders and group members. Where does this fit into the scheme of empowerment of young people mentioned in other sections? The only theory directly referred to is 'personal construct theory' which is referenced but not explained.

This book displays a way of thinking about and working with young people which appears to be refracted through a treatment approach. It's almost like a therapeutic groupworker finds street work and thinks he has discovered the wheel. Trouble is he is still stuck in his therapeutic frame of reference and so has produced nothing which is new or, in this layout, particularly helpful. Greenaway needs to do much more listening and thinking if he really wants to do 'More than Activities'.

Chris Gibbs

Malfrid Grude Flekkoy
A VOICE FOR CHILDREN; SPEAKING OUT AS THEIR OMBUDSMAN
UNICEF/Jessica Kingsley 1991
ISBN 1 85302 119 9
£19.95 hbk £9.95 pbk
pp 249

Martin Rosenbaum and Peter Newell
TAKING CHILDREN SERIOUSLY; A PROPOSAL FOR A CHILDREN'S RIGHTS COMMISSIONER
Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation 1991
£5 pbk
pp 76

Advocacy of children's rights is currently fashionable. But recent discussions of rights for children, have too frequently been overly abstract or philosophical in character, stressing matters of general principle at the expense of practical suggestions for change. There has been little detailed elaboration of the sorts of institutional innovations which might facilitate the empowerment of children; in the language of policy studies, there has been an 'implementation problem'. Consequently, these two new books by Rosenbaum and Newell **(Taking Children Seriously; A Proposal For A Children's Rights Commissioner)** and Malfrid Flekkoy **(A Voice For Children; Speaking Out As Their Ombudsman)** are particularly welcome. The first, as its title suggests, is a self consciously practical document outlining the case for establishing a Children's Commissioner. The second written by the world's first, and until 1988 only, Children's Ombudsman records and evaluates the first eight years of the Norwegian experience of ombudswork with children.

The idea of Ombudswork with Children enjoys a considerable pedigree in the British setting, but has previously been associated with the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL); now Libert. A proposal from NCCL in 1975, envisaged a two tier structure for ombudswork. Nationally, a single officer with a small support staff, would function rather like the existing Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration, with a local system more akin to the existing network of Citizens Advice Bureaux. Access would be direct, with the local officer being independent of local and central government departments and having reporting responsibilities only to the national Children's Commissioner.

A remarkably broad brief was conceived for the post. Nationally, the Commissioner would initiate child centred legislation; ensure observance of existing child protection laws; distribute information to central and local government to guide the policy process; and publicise and campaign for enhanced rights for children. Locally the Commissioner would consider particular cases, act as a mediator in disputes between children and parents and represent young people in court. The NCCL suggestion was embodied as a clause, which was ultimately not enacted, in the 1975 Children's Bill.

Subsequently, the idea of a commissioner has been resurrected by a number of writers including Michael Freeman **(Children and Society 1988)**, but the recent study by Rosenbaum and Newell, funded by Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, undoubtedly represents the most thorough exploration of this proposal. The writers' previous involvement with the Advisory Centre for Education (ACE), the Children's Legal Centre (CLC), the Society of Teachers Opposed to Physical Punishment (STOPP) and End Physical Punishment of Children (EPOCH), means they bring a useful combination of relevant experience and integrity to their task. They offer a well structured, readily accessible and clearly presented case for a Children's Rights Commissioner.

After a brief 'introduction', the book is divided into three sections. The first considers 'the need for a Children's Rights Commissioner'. The particular vulnerability of children to ill treatment, the lack of coordination across government departments in provision of services for children, their complete lack of political rights, the need to ensure long term government compliance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and the need to 'invest in the future' by protecting the rights and interests of children, are cited as sufficient conditions for establishing the office of Commissioner.

The section headed 'A Proposal For A Children's Rights Commissioner' considers the 'Guiding' or general principal underlying the office, the activities of the Commissioner and her/his 'Structure and Ways of Working'. This section illustrates well the close attention paid to detail in Rosenbaum and Newell's proposal. They explore, for example, various ways in which the Commissioner might secure the involvement of children and young people in the enterprise and offer a number of proposals. The Commissioner should: organise local or national discussion forums for young people; establish advisory groups of children to discuss policy and priority for the Commissioners work; establish a network of regional advisory groups; specialist advisory groups - children in care and adopted children - should be formed to advise the Commissioner; maintain close contacts with national and local organisations of children and young people; request feedback from children via media; establish children's opinions on particular issues via survey research; take note of children's opinions contained in letters and 'phone calls to the commissioner. Children's involvement in the work of the Commissioner is, of course, crucial and Rosenbaum and Newell have generated an interesting and innovative range of proposals. Less novel, but highly desirable, is the suggestion that the Commissioner should report to the relevant Minister (although it is unclear who that minister may be?) and a Select Committee should support the Commissioner's work and give the office some 'clout' in the dealings with Ministers.

'Framework for Legislation' examines the significant areas which legislation to establish a Commissioner would need to cover. The authors state quite explicitly, that 'it is not intended to be a draft bill', but their discussion is sufficiently comprehensive in its concerns that their outline could readily serve as the basis of statute.

Five fairly lengthy Appendices explore recent proposals to increase representation of children's rights and interests; related international developments; extant complaints mechanisms for children; 'good practice' for complaints procedures and; the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Rosenbaum and Newell have certainly taken their brief seriously. They have produced a well informed and detailed report which argues a coherent case for a children's Commissioner, sets out a possible structural and legislative framework for the office and outlines the practical steps necessary for its achievement.

But I have three points of reservation about the proposal. First, their detailed discussion of certain aspects of the operation of the Commissioner are not always convincing. When addressing the issues of staffing and funding, for example, they estimate the Commissioner will need a staff of 50 with a budget of 'around £2 million'. They are certainly to be congratulated for tackling the thorny issue of finance (in Thatcherite - Post Thatcherite? - Britain any additional government expenditure must be deemed a 'thorny' issue), but the figures have a feeling of being 'plucked from the air' without any explanation of how they are calculated. Without such explanation, they are unlikely to gain any more credibility than tabloid press assessments of a future Labour government's expenditure projections.

Second Rosenbaum and Newell, contra the

earlier NCCL proposal, eschew any casework role for the Commissioner, claiming it 'would be unrealistic and in the current context, unhelpful to children and young people and wasteful of resources to give the Commissioner the role of investigating individual complaints' (p25). This shifts the emphasis in the Commissioner's role away from ombudswork - as traditionally conceived - into the policy arena. They acknowledge moreover, that a 'key' function of the Commissioner would be to identify when current policies fail to respect the rights and interests of children and 'to propose measures to rectify this' (p18). But, as their argument unfolds, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that their ambitions for the Commissioner - at least in the field of policy initiation - might be achieved more readily by a different institutional device; by a minister rather than a Commissioner for children. This is especially so when they claim that, 'it is better to influence policy while it is being conceived rather than after it has been put into practice' (p21). Some of the other functions which they envisage the Commissioner would fulfil - International cooperation and information and research - might also fit a Ministerial brief more readily. As a member of the government, of course, a Minister would lack the detachment required to 'stand back' from the policy process and criticise legislative proposals, but could prove more effective than a Commissioner in accomplishing other tasks.

Third, while Rosenbaum and Newell's proposal is an admirably practical document, it faces considerable implementation problems. Most significantly there is no evidence of any 'muscle' behind the proposal and it is unclear which groups might lobby for a Commissioner. But **real politik** suggests these considerations are largely redundant. Whether or not a Commissioner is established will turn on the outcome of the next general election. Labour are committed to the proposal. But if the conservative party forms the next government, it seems unlikely that having abolished the children's committee, refused to increase child benefit for three successive years and having failed to ratify sections of the UN Convention, the party will create a Commissioner for children. The implementation problem is squarely political.

Flekkoy's book is a delightful read. It records her eight years as Norway's Barneombud between August 1981 and 1989. The book is well structured and written in an informal, almost conversational, style which is engaging and makes the content readily accessible. It is also skillfully crafted, taking the reader through a dispassionate analysis of the Norwegian political climate in which the Barneombud was established, to the more emotionally evocative discussions of individual cases. Always the style is analytical and evaluative, attempting to tease out the lessons from her substantial experience of working with children. This is an impressive and committed book.

Six sections explore the cultural and political context and foundations of ombudswork in Norway, the basic philosophy and institutional structure of the Barneombud, the cases and complaints received from children, evaluations and appraisals of the office, the 'lessons to be shared' and the development of related institutions in other countries and, finally, a section entitled 'views and visions' which examines the United Nations Convention and the role for ombudswork in that context.

The section dealing with the complaints received from children is by far the most detailed and compelling. The range of complaints is intriguing. Some appear relatively trivial - for example the flood of complaints when Norwegian broadcasters dropped children's television because a football game (world cup) ran over time (p75). Others are predictably more grim. Ole was 13 when he raped a five year old and at 14 was placed in an adult prison. He complained that he was being denied the right to an education and family visits. Some complaints detail incidents which are barely credible. 'Kari, six years old, complained that her dentist was hurting her. Of course, many children feel that the dentist hurts, but this sounded different: by holding her so that she had marks on her arms and jaw, pushing her hard into the chair, and throwing her mother out of the room. The mother was told she could file a complaint with the county and ask for transferral to a different dentist' (p82).

Flekkoy was the world's first Children's 'ombudsperson' and consequently has done much to help define the nature of the office. Traditionally 'ombud' meant an ambassador or delegate, a messenger from the king to the people. In modern usage the term has reversed its meaning. Now it implies a person or office which deals with complaints from a defined group of people, speaks on behalf of the group and tries to improve conditions for individuals within the group as well as the group as a whole (p23). From the outset the post was controversial. The initial proposal for a support staff of six was cut to four and the budget, which failed to keep pace with inflation, was rarely adequate (p59-63).

Cases and complaints were referred from the children, adults, individual professionals, institutions (schools), municipal or county authorities, Ministries and national organisations. By September 1989, 1100 children (0.1% of all Norwegian children) had been directly in contact with the office. 'Girls outnumbered boys at all age levels', but as they grew older girls' complaints about family conflict and their rights within the family replaced earlier concerns with school. Flekkoy regrets that while the number of complaints received from children between 1983 (103) and 1989 (96) dropped only marginally, the percentage of overall complaints received from children has declined from 12.3% to 9.6% (p151). Perhaps more significantly the number of referrals from individual adults rose from 54% in 1983 to more than 70% in 1989 (p151). Initially, Flekkoy and her staff believed that more than half the complaints would derive from children, but has a consolatory explanation. 'The most optimistic - and to some extent obvious - reason for the relative lack of complaints from children, was of course, the possibility that children in Norway were happy, healthy and content in every way' (p76). Her casework experiences convinced her otherwise. The number of cases concerning the child welfare system, for example, more than doubled between 1983 and 1988 (p81).

But how effective has the Barneombud been? 'has it worked? Has it had any effect?' Evaluating the success of the enterprise is difficult and Flekkoy expresses the problems well. 'Like a doctor treating a patient with a bad cold, it can be hard to know how quickly the patient would have recovered without medicine, or how sick he would have been without the medicine? or would some other medicine have worked as well or even better?' (p162). Flekkoy offers her own criteria of evaluation. In addition to the responsibilities set out in the Act establishing the post in statute, she wanted to establish the office as 'a positive concept in the minds of children and adults'. The office had to achieve a clear 'child profile' to make it 'first and foremost for children' and 'the ombudsman a person available to children' (p163). These 'agitprop' objectives appear to have been achieved. Survey research conducted in 1989 revealed that 80% of adults thought the office was useful with only 2% wanting to abolish it. A survey of 12 year old children discovered that 69% had heard of the Barneombud, 64% would trust the office to help if they had problems and 25% knew the name of the recently appointed Barneombud (Trond-Viggo Torgerson) suggesting the office was better known than the office holder. There are other tangible successes, especially in the area of legislation changes. Flekkoy lists: regulations for child safety in cars; legislation prohibiting physical punishment; restrictions on the distribution of videos (pornography); regulations concerning the rights of children in hospital; raising the age at which young people can be tried and sentenced by adult courts and imprisoned in adult prisons and guidelines for taking the needs of children into consideration in all urban and rural planning (p181).

Flekkoy's account of ombudswork in the Norwegian setting inevitably invites comparison with the proposal offered by Rosenbaum and Newell. There are, of course, many areas of overlap but also evident and significant differences. Perhaps the most obvious departure is Rosenbaum and Newell's reluctance for the Commissioner to become involved, at least initially, in individual complaints. The problem is lack of resource rather than intent. They state clearly that 'it may be possible' to incorporate a complaints role into the Commissioner's brief 'at a later stage...if the resources are available' (p24). But Flekkoy illustrates how, with only four staff (considerably less than the 50 recommended for the Commissioner), it has been possible to exert considerable force for initiating legislative change, while dealing with 1600 case related inquiries and an additional 1082 inquiries during 1989. The detailed discussion of

individual cases in Flekkoy's book (pp72-162) confirms the value for the children of this ombudswork function.

The office has developed rapidly during the last decade and other changes seem desirable. Children's access to the Barneombud could be enhanced by decentralising the office and establishing local and regional centres where children could gain advice and support 'face to face' instead of their current reliance on the telephone. Rosenbaum and Newell acknowledge the desirability of a 'carefully designed local... system to receive and investigate children's complaints across a range of services' (p25) but, again, this is an option for the future. In truth the idea harks back to NCCL's 1975 suggestion that an existing institution like the Citizens Advice Bureaux might serve admirably well as a physical and organisational locus in which to site locally based Commissioners. The CAB which already employs staff with specialist briefs to deal with debt advice and counselling, immigration and nationality issues, could extend this range of specialists to embrace the concerns of children and young people. It would not require a great leap of imagination or resource to implement such a network.

Flekkoy, Rosenbaum and Newell's books are packed with ideas to encourage and inform discussion about the desirability of a Children's Commissioner and the relative efficacy of such an office compared to a Minister for children or even a locally based system of Children's Rights Officers such as those based in Leicestershire, Tayside and now Leeds. Perhaps more importantly, they collate, interpret and evaluate much of the relevant experience and practice within this area and offer credible options for change. These are not radical manifestos, but quietly persuasive books and invaluable reading for anyone interested in children's rights.

Bob Franklin

Sheila Brown
MAGISTRATES AT WORK
Open University 1991
ISBN 0 335 09650 6
£10.99 pbk £32.50 hbk.
pp147.

My first reaction on receiving this book to review and seeing the title was to say 'Good, about time'! It was only when I saw the sub-title-sentencing and social structure-that I realised that it was not to be an expose of the magistracy in general (which is long over due) rather it is a research study looking at the 'social information question' in the English juvenile court. The study was carried out between 1985-1988 in six court areas in the north and north-east of England.

Having got over my initial disappointment, I found that my interest grew as I read the nine chapters and the two appendices. The overall impression gained from the study is that the current use of social information as used by magistrates in the juvenile court in determining sentencing is at best hap-hazard and at worst

is used as a control device by those who see themselves as custodians of law and order.

For those involved in the debates about juvenile justice the above conclusion is not new or exciting. What is new and exciting is the depth to which Sheila Brown goes in her study in trying to show the nature of magisterial decision making and the exercise of power within and beyond the boundaries of the courtroom.

It shows quite clearly that the interpretation and re-interpretation of social information be it the social inquiry report or the school report-by the magistrates and other actors with a vested interest in the outcome, serves only to render the defendants silenced and powerless.

It further shows how the perceptions that magistrates have of the social background of the defendants are constructed from a middle class value base of the family, crime prevention and control. From this value base along with the social information supplied and interpreted, the magistrates construct images of the lives of the defendants and use this as a means of sentencing although the images constructed probably bear little relationship to the real lives of the defendants.

This then forms the bulk of the book, with the final two chapters trying to put it into context by looking at sentencing and social structure and the future of the social enquiry.

The text is detailed and scholarly, with extensive references, Chapter one begins with a theoretical agenda that sets the scene of the role of social information in the juvenile court. Subsequent chapters cover the main participants in the juvenile courtroom case and how the social information available is presented, used, interpreted and re-interpreted. Throughout the book Sheila Brown makes good use of extracts from the interviews with over 90 magistrates as well as observational material from the six courts.

The extracts of the interviews with the magistrates regarding how they perceive their role, the social enquiry report, the defendant and family as well as how they ultimately arrive at sentencing had me nodding in agreement and despair time and time again. The agreement was from my own experience of the magistracy and the conversations that I have overheard in the retiring room; the despair concerning the narrow well ordered 'normal' ideal worlds that most of the magistracy use as a basis for making judgements on the individuals before them.

Chapter four which deals with school reports deserves a special mention, not because it stands out from the rest but rather because it serves to again illustrate the narrow world view of the magistrate and perhaps more importantly how social information from such a source adds to the process of control and containment of the defendant.

School reports as used in the six courts observed were assessed as mainly providing control indicators for magistrates.

'Attendance is important. A child should be spending a lot of time in school. Frankly, a lot of the ones that we get, don't. But it should be an important part of their lives.' (magistrates'

comment page 50)

As well as looking at attendance, family involvement and support was also considered as an important control factor. So the narrow world view comes into play again. Magistrates were of mixed views about the way a school report was constructed, some felt that brevity helped, while others wished for detail. From such uncertainty the report was used as part of the process in building up a picture which might conclude with a 'good' report going some way to producing a 'down tariff' disposal. The opposite also applied. This chapter should be compulsory reading for all teachers involved in compiling school reports!

The final chapter contains four propositions for report-writing practice which are clear in their approach and are worth serious consideration by those concerned in this activity. Sheila Brown also outlines three recommendations for bench-agency relations, which if adopted would lead to a better understanding of the role of report writing and the use of social information in the decision making process.

My reservations about the book are few. The extensive use of references can lead to the feeling of one having had an inadequate education and the assumption by the use of key jargon phrases that all the potential readers will be well versed in the juvenile justice system could give a disjointed picture upon reading.

Apart from these reservations, I feel that Sheila Brown has achieved what she set out to do, namely to place the 'social information question' in the English juvenile court at the centre of current debates in juvenile justice. I only hope that those who should read this book will have the courage to do so, my fear is that their courage will fail.

Mark Bagnall

Political Vetting of Community Work Working Group
THE POLITICAL VETTING OF COMMUNITY WORK IN NORTHERN IRELAND
Northern Ireland Council For Voluntary Action 1990
ISBN....none given....
£2.00
pp43

Dear reader, please don't stop just because you read the words NORTHERN IRELAND. It's a subject in which I suspect, many people in the rest of these islands feel only a vaguely irritated and bewildered disinterest. Lacking balanced and accurate information and using inappropriate historical, political and cultural reference points may lead people to expect simplistic 'common sense' solutions to the complex issues that confront people who live and work in this part of Britain.

'The Political Vetting of Community Work in Northern Ireland' is an opportunity to look at one such issue. A phenomena particular to community work practice in Northern Ireland, namely the political vetting of community

groups, and the subsequent withdrawl of funding that has followed. The book is primarily the report of a working group that had its genesis in a conference held in April 1990 at Queens University in Belfast, on, 'Political vetting in Northern Ireland'.

The people involved in the working group reflect a range of organisations respected and accepted for their legitimate concern with issues relating to justice, community work, and the voluntary sector. This is an important point as this legitimacy mandates them to speak with authority and without the accusation of political bias.

The main text is divided into three sections, the first a short introduction that gives the background to the government's blacklisting of community groups. This acts as a useful synopsis of the issues that are dealt with later. The crux of the issue outlined is that in 1985 Douglas Hurd, then Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, introduced the current form of political vetting, which means that;

community groups which are alleged by the state to have some association with paramilitary groups are denied access to public funds and are blacklisted.

This can be done without:

any specific allegations having been brought by the state, with no evidence having to be presented and with no form of redress being available to groups so affected.

So far twenty six groups have been politically vetted, but this number may be larger as government sources refuse to issue precise lists. As the group states, not only does this go against natural justice, it affects the funding of those groups and even worse, it can ruin the reputations of 'anyone associated with the vetted group "exposing them" to the threat of political assassination'.

The second section deals with papers presented to the Conference. The main work by Bill Rolston gives an articulate, concisely argued overview of the implications of politically vetting for community groups. His analysis suggests that the state and social institutions have common interests in controlling and oppressing radical dissent. One tactic used to achieve this is the withdrawl of funding. He cites government departments such as the Northern Ireland Office of being involved in counter insurgency. Using their influence, to gain a neo-colonial control of communities where opposition to the state in the form of republicanism is strongest.

The colossal economic power of this particular government department touches every area of public life in Northern Ireland with 'the purse strings for most endeavours in Northern Ireland - whether held by local councils, quangos, or voluntary organisations - lead back directly to the NIO'.

Thus whilst the actual numbers of those vetted may be small, those local and government agencies who have pressure applied to them to keep them in line covers a much wider range. The extent of this influence reaches into Europe and to international funding sources created at the time of the Anglo - Irish agreement. Furthermore he argues that the

logic of political vetting is located in the context of a propaganda war where the Catholic church is a willing ally, where loyalist groups can be picked out for vetting to cover the state's sectarian actions and where the elimination of Sinn Fein is a key task. 'In this endeavour everything becomes painted in very stark terms. Community groups and initiatives are either legitimate or not'.

The other papers give descriptions of how vetting has affected specific community projects involved in such 'radical' initiatives as children's creches, environmental improvement, women's centres and employment creation. Mary Nelis of the Dove House Centre in Derry describes how, after having funding withdrawn, they campaigned vigorously and successfully to have it restored, though their success was 'tempered by the refusal of the government to withdraw the allegation, or disclose the source of the information on which it was based'.

Another contribution by Michael Ritchie of the Committee on the Administration of Justice gives an outline of the contraventions of 'all notions of natural justice'. Concluding that the procedure of political vetting may be an area of discrimination 'on the grounds of perceived political opinion of the groups affected.'

A number of possible legal avenues that could be followed to challenge the practice of political vetting are identified with the acknowledgement of the financial difficulties this would involve. This section concludes with a report on the discussion and recommendations of the conference. The former highlighted the concern that political vetting tended to target more radical groups, despite (or perhaps because of) their effectiveness and efficiency and was widespread both in the north and south of Ireland. Conference participants also expressed concern about the range of effects that vetting has on community work such as self-censorship and the loss of morale among community activists. This demoralisation amongst those affected and concerned about political vetting reduced optimism and direction in attempts to challenge it.

Perhaps the most publicised case of political vetting is that of Glor na nGael. This is dealt with succinctly by Feilim O hAdhmaill.

He poses the possibility that personal animosity, revenge and fear may have been the real cause of political vetting against a legitimate and highly respected cultural organisation.

In a brief conclusion a number of actions that have been taken by the Working group such as press releases, organising research and monitoring, legal work and lobbying are outlined. The text ends with statements from Liberty denouncing political vetting as an attack on civil rights and calls for the ending of a policy which 'creates an atmosphere of fear and paranoia'.

Reading this book disturbed me for a number of reasons. Primarily, as an account of how the state deals with voluntary community work organisations it exemplifies the misuse of power without accountability. Through the

process of political vetting, assumptions of justice being about innocence until proven guilty through correct procedures and the rigours of the legal system become obsolete. 'Due process' is replaced by institutional 'McCarthyism'. This excellent publication exposes how government figures and departments can reject and ignore open democratic accountability, justifying their actions by reason of national security. A similar process rationalised by 'national security' occurred recently during the Gulf war. Numerous Palastinians and Iraqis were held in British jails or threatened with deportation, with very limited opportunity for appeal.Perhaps then it is easier to justify such actions if those accused are of a different race, nationality, religion or political persuasion?.

The authors provide a valuable service to anyone concerned with community development and justice. In raising the issue of political vetting as a totally legitimate concern they in no way advocate support for terrorist organisations. Rather they show the oppressive insensitive and manipulative nature of political vetting.

In doing so they give rise to cynicism about Douglas Hurd's own words about the 'Government's policy to encourage voluntary and community-based activity' Opportunities for genuine action and debate about the issues affecting local communities should not become stifled by the fear of speaking out. For those at grass roots level who want to see community work develop without becoming a conduit for political oppression the future looks bleak.

For anyone looking for inspired political leadership it should be noted that none of the politicians who implemented political vetting were elected in Northern Ireland.

One last salutary word, this is not happening in some far away third world dictatorship, but here in Britain.

Eamonn Keenan

Currently anti-racist education (ARE) does not enjoy widespread support in either the education system or the general population. Sections of the media, for instance, argue that ARE is part of a package of measures to promote racial equality and justice at the expense of subverting good educational practices which already exist. In the tabloid and right wing press this view has been developed and articulated by a number of New Right commentators including Roger Scruton, Ray Honeyford, Anthony Flew, John Marks, Frank Palmer and the Hillgate group. These critics air two general and narrow views. The first is that racism is not institutionalised, and the second that schools are not instruments of equalisation. Schools in their view, are there to instruct children, preferably in the 3 Rs.

During the last 10 years a debate has also raged within the education system between the exponents of cultural pluralist ideas like Robert Jeffcoate and James Lynch who argue for multi-cultural education and those such as Chris Mullard, Barry Troyna and Bruce Carrington who wish to see the development of ARE in all schools and colleges. Multi-cultural education evolved during the late 1960s and early 1970s and emphasises an openness to all cultures and a willingness to promote pluralism within schools, ARE, which has developed from the late 1970s to the present day, argues that teaching about cultures is insufficient and what needs to be tackled is the underlying white racism, and to locate race within the structures of society. As would be expected, of the two perspectives the multi-cultural education position dominates the debate, policy and practice within the education system. A number of local authorities and individual schools have adopted multicultural education, very few ARE. In reply to the multi-cultural education position this new book by two leading ARE exponents is an attempt to deal critically with assumptions about race inequality and education while developing the case for ARE. The text also examines the prospects of ARE in the wake of the Education Reform Act (1988) (ERA) and the National Curriculum.

Overall the book is well researched drawing widely upon secondary sources. It clearly documents for instance the educational response to black pupils in British schools and policy related initiatives on 'race' from 1962 to the present day, while providing a useful critical discussion of the 1981 **Rampton Report-West Indian Children in Our Schools** and the 1985 **Swann Report-Education for All** which have been milestones in the establishment of multicultural education. The text also raises some important questions such as whether ethnicity as an organising category should be ascribed such a privileged position when considering pupils' school achievement levels. Troyna and Carrington pose the question as to whether the analysis of school performance should take place around the interaction of variables of ethnicity, gender and class rather than isolating them into discrete, independent units. Further the authors argue that when considering the educational performances of black children particularly Afro-Caribbean children, it is more accurate to understand their position in terms of 'educational disadvantage' or 'inequality' rather than in terms of 'underachievement'.

For those familiar with the literature on race inequality and education the first section of the book contains little in the way of new material. It is described on its cover as an introductory text, and that is a fair assessment. However, it does order the secondary sources in an interesting and provoking manner which should prove useful to everyone genuinely concerned with education and racism. Probably the most useful part of the book for all readers is the second section which provides three chapters dealing with the ERA,

the National Curriculum and the place of ERA within it. The discussion on the ERA and the National Curriculum are set within the political context in which it has emerged. This has been the determination by the Conservative Government to both provide greater devolution of power in the way schools and colleges are organised, funded and governed, while strengthening central control through the introduction of a National Curriculum with targets of attainment for children at different stages of their school career. These two strands are entirely compatible with Tory philosophy. One is the wish to provide a regulatory check on what children are being taught so curtailing aspects of their learning which the government consider to be 'unnessary'. An example has been the concern that children study history from an Anglocentric position because according to Kenneth Baker he was 'not ashamed of what we have done. Britain has given many great things to the world. That's been our civilising mission'. What the new history curriculum fails to examine however is Britain's role in the slave trade, the colonization of a quarter of the globe and the ways in which imperialism shaped the development of this country as an industrial nation. As Troyna and Carrington point out if children were taught this they would have 'an invaluable basis for understanding the development of racism in the UK.' The devolution of responsibilities to schools on the other hand is part of the Tories overwhelming desire to undercut the power base of the LEAs. As Troyna and Carrington rightly point out giving individual school governing bodies greatly increased powers means the achievements gained at LEA level a decade ago are now 'obsolete and irrelevant'. This means that each school governing body has to be convinced of the need and value of ARE.

It is the latter point that is used as a focus for the final chapter. Supporters of ARE are now more on the defensive than they were before the publication of the Swann report in 1985 and the implementation of the ERA. The authors of this text argue that in spite of the onslaught on ARE they remain committed to the fundamentals of this perspective. They end by providing examples of their own and others work in schools that demonstrate ways of practicing ARE in both an all-white and multi-racial areas.

This then is an important if slim publication which puts the case for ARE in a succinct, clear manner. The authors analyse and evaluate the new developments in the educational system and the impact on ARE in a manner which will be helpful to all concerned with challenging racism in our education system in particular and British society in general.

Where Troyna and Carrington are less convincing is in their discussion of the differences between the two major perpectives; multicultural education and ARE. They clearly point out the deficiences of the multicultural perspectives and the ideological differences between the two perspectives.

However as Troyna pointed out in an earlier publication the perspectives on closer scrutiny reveal 'a continuity and commonality with earlier multicultural imperatives' (B. Troyna (ed) **Racial Inquality in Education,** Tavistock). Troyna and Carrington's contribution to the ARE position have been considerable. They continue to provide important insights into the hidden agenda in education and they make connections between racism and other forms of exploitation and inequalities, such as sexism, and relate that to the structures of society at large and schools in particular where dominant groups seek to impose hegemonic control.

Their work has been invaluable in the struggle to ensure ARE is more firmly rooted in educational practice and policy. However, it can be argued that the two perspectives they highlight are not fundamentally incompatible. There is another position that they may like to consider which is discussed by Cohen in the book (P. Cohen and H.S. Bains (eds) **Multi-Racist Britain,** Macmillan). He argues that one way through is to attempt to connect that which is progressive in both anti-racist and multi-cultural approaches with what might be called a cultural perspective. This takes popular culture and the way different groups of people see and understand the world as its starting point.

Notwithstanding this criticism this is a text book to recommend to student and experienced teachers alike, as well as those working with young people in informal settings. It will provoke discussion and support arguments. It will more importantly alert us all to the need to take ARE seriously and ensure its survival.

Keith Popple.

Audrey Mullender and David Ward
THE PRACTICE PRINCIPLES OF SELF-
DIRECTED GROUPWORK; Establishing
a Value-base for Centre for Social
Action Empowerment, Nottingham
University 1991
pp25

Self-directed groupwork is a major method of carrying out social action and as such it might be useful to outline the development of social action in a little depth before discussing this monograph itself.

The social action approach has been developed since the late 1970s mainly by practitioners, who questioned the accepted practices of their agencies - schools, social services, youth services, probation, the (then) Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.), and the voluntary organisations. The interventions of all these agencies did not tackle the core problems faced by young people - poverty, unemployment, racism and sexism, and the lack of resources and facilities. Instead, working class communities were labelled and subjected to special measures in which problems were seen as being within individuals, families or communities as a whole. Although in social services and probation such approaches were challenged

by the justice model, this merely shifted the emphasis from the individual and social inadequacies with resulting treatment approaches, to a model stressing personal responsibility and ultimately punishment - witness, for example, social skills training, tracking and the correctional curriculum. It has to be said that the justice model is a valid critique of the unintended but damaging consequences of much intermediate treatment (I.T.), for example, whereby many young offenders were, and perhaps still are in some areas, prematurely accelerated into care and custody. However, what was offered instead was little more than punishment in the community. As for schools and the youth services they had long been concerned with young people's personal development but this was dominated by the banking model whereby young people received knowledge deposited by unquestioned experts. In addition, schools and the youth services have seen major shifts whereby the M.S.C. and its successor organisations have colonised large sections of their work and their problems of the economy have been diverted from its source to its victims - for example, the lack of jobs has been transposed to the lack of skills of the unemployed. The M.S.C. and successors have also taken over the funding of voluntary organisations as local councils have been squeezed by central government. Furthermore what is taken into account when funding the voluntary organisations is less the needs of the community as defined by the community, but rather the community is on the receiving end of the programmes designed to control, modify, exploit, correct, appease or punish. In short, it is largely the working class which includes black people, women, disabled people, homosexual people, etc., which are on the receiving end of all this. It is within this overall context then that the social action approach and, in particular, self directed groupwork developed! Self-directed groupwork involves working alongside group members asking the questions, 'what?', 'why?' and 'how?'. That is, what are the problems, why do they exist and how can they be resolved?

It should also be noted that most recently the Centre for Social Action at Nottingham University has provided an umbrella organisation for all those interested in this work whether it be academics, managers, practitioners or researchers. Indeed, it now has three main areas of activity: consultancy and advice on the running of groups and projects; training including courses and workshops; and research. Moving on specifically, and rather belatedly (!), to the above monograph it rightly points out that conventional groupwork is preoccupied with getting straight into the process of starting the group and taking values for granted. Self-directed groupwork, on the other hand, involves group-workers thrashing out their value position before engaging in practice, this continuing throughout the group's life. The values and practice principles of self-directed groupwork are politically committed and make

people come off the fence and decide whose side they are on. There are six principles underlying the approach although they are not definitive but instead are meant as a starting point for workers to build on. Briefly they are: to refuse to accept negative labels about people and recognise instead that all people have skills, understanding and ability; people have rights including the right to be heard and to control their own lives, and this includes the right to choose what kinds of intervention to accept in their lives; people's problems can never be fully understood if they are seen solely as a result of personal inadequacies - issues of oppression, social policy, environment and economy are usually contributory factors and practice must reflect this; practice can effectively be built on the knowledge that people acting collectively can be powerful; methods of working must reflect non-elitist principles; and finally, the work must challenge all forms of oppression - race, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability and, not least, class. Concerning the last principle, which takes precedence over all the others, it is not enough to be merely anti-racist or anti-sexist - all oppression must be tackled. All the principles are elaborated on and examples of possible sticking points in pursuing them are discussed.

The great value of the monograph, and indeed the self-directed model as a whole, is that it provides a paradigm for radical social work practice (as well as a paradigm for practitioners who probably would not consider themselves as radical).

As we all know radical social work has always been stronger on theory and analysis rather than practice in terms of face to face work with clients (or service users to use the latest jargon). However, self-directed groupwork goes a long way to remedy this and does provide a basis for radical social work practice. An example of this would be a group for parents who have been involved in child abuse allegations. Instead of focussing on the intra-psychic or inter-psychic processes of the parents themselves, opportunities could be provided for discussion of the external factors, such as material stresses and strains of living in present society, which lead to child abuse. (At this stage I must confess an interest in the self-directed model as the groupwork example just cited and with which I was involved did, without sounding too pompous, contribute to the development of the self-directed model itself.) Another example that springs to mind is the radical I.T. approach I have recently advocated in this journal. In both these examples though the work would have been greatly enhanced if there had been adherence to the practice principles outlined by Mullender and Ward.

It has to be emphasised that it is not only social workers who could use self-directed groupwork. As the authors state groups and projects can be run along such lines by youth workers, community workers, teachers in schools and higher education, etc., etc. - in short all those interested in tackling the problems that confront young people.

All in all then, the monograph and indeed the work of the Centre for Social Action has to be welcomed. Social work, along with many other aspects of the welfare state, has been on the defensive over the last twelve years, but with the demise of Thatcherism opportunities, albeit limited, for more radical approaches will arise and have to be taken. The monograph will appeal, therefore, not just to social workers but to other workers in the agencies mentioned above. It gives a clear, concise statement of the principles and values underlying self-directed groupwork. No doubt Mullender and Ward have built on this in their forthcoming book - 'Self-Directed Groupwork: Users Taking Action for Empowerment' - and you never know I may have the opportunity of reviewing it in this journal!

Steve Rogowski.

It must be stated at the outset that I welcomed the invitation to review this work. First because I had been impressed with Sidney Bunt's previous writings - 'Jewish Youth Work in Britain', (Bedford Square Press), a most important text and his 'Politics of Youth Clubs' (National Youth Bureau) written with the late Ron Gargreave. Second, because our routes through the field of work with young people had followed a similar path, (although contact was limited to a couple of telephone calls in the mid 60s). Third, because I looked forward to the discipline of reading at some depth what I hoped would be an objective reflection on the youth service over the past 40 years.

There is no apology offered for that personal introduction because it influences what follows. I enjoyed the read - almost guiltily, I laughed out loud in places, I agreed totally in others, I wanted to argue fiercely at times and of course wanted to say 'Yes but isn't there another perspective' on occasions. For anyone who has shared a similar 'career' of work with young people for the last 40 years in a number of different settings; from a local unit, a national voluntary organisation, a training brief, and as a free lance consultant, the text is always relevant, even if a critical social policy analysis is not always evident.

However in a serious journal, perhaps it is accurate to record one's enjoyment for there are many times when I echo Bunt's assertion that 'a generation of workers has moved into the service with no first hand knowledge of the light-hearted foolery that youth workers once habitually used in order to attract and hold young people' (p.144). On the other hand there were some really irritating touches in the text, for example, some, in my view, quite unnecessary Shakespearian quotes at the start of every chapter. The first time I read the text I got increasingly annoyed with them, the

second time I tried to ignore them, but the third time I found they could be by-passed, although one should note that Bunt himself acknowledges that they may not be appropriate, and that also 'with Shakespearian insight one wonders whether youth work - and these notes! may all be "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing" (p.6)'.

Perhaps those quotations like the title can also mislead the reader. The term 'youth' in this context 'years and years of youth' does not quite convey the content, and as this is such a personal reflection on years of working with young people, and the adults who work with them, and in a variety of settings and agencies, one wonders whether there is a readily identifiable market for the text with other than those of us in our late 50s and 60s who can share so much of the experience.

Nonetheless these personal reflections on such an enjoyable read may not do the content of Bunt's scholarship justice. For someone who shared in the extraordinary phenomenon of voluntary community service and work camps in the 1960s from a very similar position within a Christian organisation, Bunt's insight from the Jewish perspective was particularly revealing. Not least for the way he saw it becoming 'a fashionable bandwagon, until some searching political questions were raised about its role within the youth work curriculum' (p.21). The value of that analyses deserves a more significant place within the writings about our heritage.

A former colleague of mine, Jim Leighton, always stated that a feature of the work of a really effective and competent practitioner was the way they appreciated the historical context in which they offered their contribution. It must be acknowledged that I have an in-built admiration of people who can look back with some element of objectivity, to critically examine the role they (and others) played in certain events at certain times - would that I could always find the words that Bunt has done in this text, to share those insights with others.

The crisp writing, in such a readable style, that takes us from the author's self acknowledged journey of escapology as a political colourless club worker through the association of Jewish Youth, the then National Association of Youth Clubs and on to Kent, with later involvements with PHAB and then being invited back to conduct a review of the youth service in Kent. Bunt has, as the publicity material for this book states; 'Tried to abstract the significant issues, practice, and episodes of the various stages of his youth work career that have some echoing resonances with the youth service concerns in the 1990s, and to record these in such a way that they might light up some of the darker corners of the contemporary scene'.

Further this material goes on; 'in deciding what were the key issues and aspects of practice to record the author was aware that: 'one danger in presenting even carefully selected material in this way is it may still have the look and taste of yesterday's congealed

menu heated and served up today; can such rehashed fare be made fresh and appealing to the eye or appetising to the palate? If it is merely anecdotal, will the images presented, like someone else's boringly enforced holiday snapshots, be fascinating to the photographer but tedious beyond toleration to those not included in the pictures frame?'. Here lies the critical question, for although there are several mentions of the youth work curriculum, performance indicators and evaluation 'which has concentrated the minds wonderfully' (p.149). There is no analysis of the implications of local financial management, contracting out services, or much about the quality or quantity debate except to leave the question: 'is a local authority education department the most favourable setting for sensitive youth work?' (p.114) hanging in the air towards the end of his reflections.

At times there are almost too many threads of unfinished debates, some in an unashamedly self congratulatory style, and sadly very few pointed at any particular readership. On the other hand much of the work offers a fascinating insight that could have prompted me to offer a deeper thesis on topics such as the National Organisation as scapegoat (p.86), that work with young people can be both 'bread AND circuses' (p.103) and that the youth service could, and should, move away from a problem centred focus to a social education perspective geared towards every young person who suffers from 'a poverty of social experience' (p.138). Finally from his experience with PHAB Bunt suggests that those who work in the service of youth need to seriously question some of the traditional partnerships that have been enjoined in 'Years and Years' of working with young people.

Overall we are left with an autobiographical view of a predominantly traditional service, little consideration of alternative strategies, only one mention of young people in rural areas - which I personally found strange with such a career ending in Kent, but the notion that for 40 years much of this work has depended on interesting adults being interested in young people and vice versa - still rings true and no one can deny, on the basis of this book, that Sidney Bunt was just such an interesting person.

Ray Fabes

Adrian Furnham & Barrie Gunter
THE ANATOMY OF ADOLESCENCE
Routledge 1989
ISBN 0 415 01090 X
£9.99
pp207

Adrian Furnham & Barrie Stacey
YOUNG PEOPLE'S UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIETY
Routledge 1991
ISBN 0 415 01709 2
£9.99
pp215

These two publications are approaches to the same general area of interest of young people's attitudes, but from different, though complementary, perspectives. Whereas THE ANATOMY OF ADOLESCENCE is the report of a British research project, YOUNG PEOPLE'S UNDERSTANDING OF SOCIETY is offered as 'a comprehensive and critical account of the literature' on how young people come to perceive and understand the social world. Consequently the latter publication draws very heavily on the research results set out in the anatomy of adolescence, but also includes a review of a large body of other research carried out over the past two or three decades on young people's attitudes to the social world.

Both books cover young people's attitudes to a wide range of topics including politics and government, employment and unemployment, religion, sex and gender, race, prejudice, the law and justice. In addition, the Anatomy of Adolescence explores their attitudes to Britain and Europe, Foreign and Developing countries, Health beliefs and the environment, and home entertainment media. The latter text additionally reviews young people's understanding of economics and trade and social stratification.

This review will consider each book in turn. However several common points do emerge with regard to issues of methodology and the overambitiousness of both texts. In The Anatomy of Adolescence, it is claimed that 'this is a unique reference to the social attitudes of British young people' and that ' the contents range widely over key issues of the day'. Sadly both these claims are devalued by the timetable of research (1985), writing up (1987), publication (1989) and review (1991). Whilst it is no fault of the authors that it is being reviewed in 1991, the time lapse of 4 years between research and publication means that the findings tend towards historical value rather than current merit.

How much do the key issues of 1985 relate to young people in 1991? We would argue that there are substantial omissions from this text such as attitudes to sexual activity particularly in relation to HIV/AIDS: and change of emphasis on some issues such as attitudes towards Europe as 1992 approaches and the uncertainty and anxiety of unemployment in a much more hostile welfare benefit climate.

The layout of this book is user friendly. Each chapter is divided into three sections:- a review of previous material on the subject;- an analysis of Furnham and Gunter's own research; and - concluding remarks highlighting the results of the research. Unfortunately, there is extensive use of tables many of which require a deal of time and effort to comprehend.

The authors acknowledge that the 'surveys were not conducted with a nationally representative adolescent and youth sample'. However, there are other notable omissions within the sampling methodology. These include unrepresentative participation by young people from ethnic minorities and the children of semi-skilled and unskilled manual

workers! Only 16% of the sample fall into the latter group.

The data collection methods raise concerns. Most of the responses were gathered via the National Association of Youth clubs, and the other responses were gathered in London by students of the authors. No discussion is given on the methods of data collection; if they were compatible or if they were different? And the potential influence these methods might have had on the research outcomes is not explored.

The research was undertaken in four surveys, involving over 2000 young people. No precise figure appears to be mentioned. The questionnaires for each survey were divided into two. This involved core questions answered by all respondents and specific questions answered by the four separate sub-groups. The numbers in each sub-group are not provided.

This book makes substantial claims about its importance and value. These appear to be based on the breadth of topics covered and the number of participants in the survey. In the introduction, space is given over to the limitations of earlier similar studies. In particular:

There are other accounts but they have various limitations. Young People in the Eighties: a survey published by HMSO in 1983 was restricted to around only 600 respondents and was collected in 1982. A study by Simmons and Wade (1984) entitled 'I like to say what I think' was collected from a similar number of young people (around 800) at a similar time (1981) but was restricted to 15 year olds and the content analysis on 10 sample sentences .... This book (The Anatomy of Adolescence) has more in common with the British Social Attitudes and the numerous Gallup Reports in its scope and number of respondents (p.6).

As no specific number of respondents is given in the book, and because four surveys were carried out, albeit with core questions, it is possible that some information in this book has been based on less respondents than both surveys previously listed, and is described as limited by the authors. The other significant issue in relation to this kind of criticism is that both other reports mentioned above were published in a shorter period of time on completion of the field work. This adds to the value of their material.

The delay in publishing Furnham and Gunter's work may have something to do with the '800,000 data points' that had to be computed!

If this kind of material is to be of practical value, then we would argue that it needs to be published earlier, in a more accessible form with a more representative sample. How favourably does their methodology really compare with British Social Attitudes and Gallup Reports?

This is an interesting, but academic book. Its value is more historical than topical but it does have a critical value to training agencies and students of adolescence. We can't commend it to you without reservation because it gives an impression of authority that the sample cannot support!

Young people's understanding of society is a more useful text. It endeavours to provide a comparative analysis of the literature in this field and the task is probably assisted by the authors being based on opposite sides of the globe; Furnham in England and Stacey in New Zealand.

Consequently, this is a very welcome, though perhaps too ambitious, text. Some of the topics such as gender, race and prejudice and employment warrant books of their own to provide 'comprehensive' reviews of the literature in these fields as they have their own plentiful and developing bodies of research. However other topics including young people's understanding of politics, justice, economics and spiritual matters, which are rather neglected areas of academic endeavour, benefit from the collation and examination of literature offered here.

Furnham and Stacey repeatedly show how random and unplanned is the preparation offered to young people in these vital areas of human life. The chapter on politics is an excellent example, illustrating as it does, young people's confusion and ignorance about political affairs and processes. Young people (and the majority of adults too apparently) largely lack the basic information to participate as 'political consumers'. For example, they frequently do not recognise the policies of the political party whom they claim to support. The research, amongst British young people, makes a mockery of the concept of democracy, where the majority of future (and current) voters do not have the knowledge to make informed political decisions, let alone participate more actively in the political process.

The social world, viewed suspiciously or considered unacademic, has been squeezed out from the small toe-hold it had in the British school curriculum. Consequently Youth and Community Work can provide an explicit, and vital, educational opportunity for young people to learn about their social world (another possible definition for 'social education?'). In order for this education to be effective, it is important for workers to enhance their understanding of how and when young people develop the interest and ability to conceptually manage some of the difficult ideas involved.

This book indicates that in a range of areas, the research places great emphasis on the notion of 'stages' in young people's thinking and conceptual development. Whilst these stage-wise models may be criticised for over simplifying or categorising young people's attitudes and behaviour, there is certainly something to be said for educationalists designing their programmes and projects with some reference to the way in which, for example, the youngsters involved may currently think about 'justice' or 'fairness'. I think most of us make common sense assumptions about young people's ability to grasp abstract ideas and relate them to their attitudes and behaviour. This text propounds the view that the careful attention, and research, paid to understanding how children and adolescents develop, say, mathematical concepts, is manifestly missing from education in the social sciences. Not least, of course, because there is a limited amount of educational practice to be studied, but most probably because it lacks support as an important area of educational practice. Furnham and Stacey's book is a useful attempt to set out some of the findings of research on development of these ideas, but they acknowledge the paucity of research material to base it on.

An unfortunate oversight in this text, which may be largely attributable to a weakness in the literature, is the omission of the social under-standing of adolescents from minority ethnic groups. The book is reasonably successful in comparing and contrasting the experience of young people between different nations, but is far less successful at exploring how understanding differs by ethnic or minority group within a nation. The exception to this is young people's understanding of race, colour and prejudice. They do this reasonably well with regard to age, sex and social class. The failure of the race dimension is a pity. In our role as trainers of youth and community workers, we are aware that the literature available on adolescence for those in training may well serve to foster ethnocentrism and a restricted view of young people's experience and aspirations. For example, the literature on family relationships and the transition to adulthood can be heavily criticised for this bias.

The book has a strongly psychological flavour to fit and draws largely uncritically from a research methodology of attitude inventories and other pencil and paper 'tests'. It is difficult to consider the relative merits of studies where the results conflict with each other, because we are given insufficient information about the methodologies employed. The text draws heavily on the Anatomy of Adolescence which, as we have already discussed, raises many methodological questions. There is also a tendency in the text to make assertions without indicating the source of the information. This was rather frustrating because there were a number of points made that we would like to have followed up. For example, the statements made by the authors about the adjustment and experiences of gay and lesbian young people. This may have been the result of trying to cover so much in one book that only the major findings were allowed the luxury of full referencing and discussion.

In their conclusion, the authors comment on the poor ability of the research to explain how young people's understanding develops. It does seem very clear that the literature is very strong on description but weak on analysis. The research is very undeveloped in this field and Furnham & Stacey's final comment that 'Knowledge of the social world comes from social experience' neatly summarises the lack of sparkling insights that we have into this area

of understanding!

Students of adolescence will undoubtedly find much of interest and many useful sources of further reading in both these texts. We have found ourselves concentrating on the format and methodology rather than the content of the different chapters because they cover such a vast range of material that it has proved difficult to do justice to specific subjects in a short review. However, particularly the latter book may prove a good starting point for those wishing to explore aspects of young people's social attitudes and understanding.

Sue Bloxham
John Platten

Chisolm L. et al
CHILDHOOD, YOUTH AND SOCIAL CHANGE. A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE
Falmer Press 1990
ISBN 185000 651 2
pbk £12.95
pp 278

This well timed book touches upon - though fails to develop a number of stimulating themes relevant for all interested in contemporary youth issues. The fifteen chapters result from an Anglo-German conference held in 1988 between academics described as 'educationalists and sociologists' which has given the work excessive research orientation; whilst many results are claimed to be based upon research findings; the absence of research is also used to account for areas which remain unclear. Without being excessively critical I would raise a number of questions about methodology. First, I subscribe to the Popperian view (put without complications!) that it is not research which informs theories but, on the contrary, it is a-priori theories which inform research. Thus frequent demands for 'more research' in the absence of which our understanding is incomplete, is erroneous. These collected essays provide demonstration of this. There is much value to those seeking to understand young people as we move closer to a common economic union of Europe - both East and West. The likely consequences of this are the gradual abolition of differences between young people **of a similar social class** across national frontiers. Those central differences based upon the twin pedestals of wealth and poverty are destined to remain.

This brings me to my second point concerning methodology. Any salient differences between German and British young people are to be found in a historical analysis of cultural differences. Yet divergences exist and it is regretted that none of the Chapters develop this theme. In contrast, the work of Peukert which attempts to analyse the resistance of young people to the Third Reich receives no mention. Whilst one can empathise with such deference to extant sensitivities,

German history does not begin with the creation of the Bundesrepublik in 1954. The failure to acknowledge this has the effect of suspending much of the German contribution in a cultural and historical vacuum. British contributors at least make reference to colonialism without which we could not comprehend reasons for Afro-Caribbean and Asian presence in the United Kingdom. The contributors regard the period of youth (and the shorter period of childhood) as a unique phase in the age grading norms. Attempts to identify 'new' youth movements is largely unsuccessful because young people do not constitute a unique category or movement in society - they are far more likely to be the recipients of dominant adult culture than creators of a distinctive 'youth culture'. This dominant culture sweeps all before it leaving only sub-cultures which the young briefly occupy. It cannot be excessively emphasised that the 'sub' stands for subordinate - and adults are 'superordinate' within the social structure.

This is not an easy book - translation and that distinctive German academic style often impedes comprehension. Here are two examples (p. 116)

this approach thus emphasises the demands and opportunities of individual biography, as these arise from the social structuring and cultural contextualisation of the transition between childhood and adulthood.

or

there are those studies which, on the basis of retrospective qualitative or quantitive cross-section designs, trace developments and changes in the ways young people think about paid work and life as a whole.

Despite reservations parts of the book are well worth reading, even if little that is new will be encountered in the focused areas of schooling, work, racism and youth. Since the basic relationships of young people to the economy have not fundamentally altered - and class differences of wealth and poverty remain - what is new? Frequent claims implying the emergence of fundamental developments affecting the young are misleading, even when 'supported' by a historical 'research'. A fundamental error rests upon the confusion between dependent and independent variables which, in turn, confuse cause and effect. Two examples illustrate the point. In discussing (p. 150) divergent work opportunities the author identifies those able, as formerly, to obtain rewarding and highly paid jobs - 'yuppies' for example; and those increasingly directed into training schemes which remove 'control from the young'. One researcher found that '44 per cent of 109 school leavers on the Isle of Sheppey had taken jobs which were of lower status than they had hoped for'. It is unclear what we learn from this; indeed, this is an improvement when contrasted to the employment opportunities of County Durham in the 1960s where I was a youth worker. My guess is that 95 per cent of school leavers took jobs of lower status than hoped for. And the employment opportunity structure was

more restricted than in the Isle of Sheppey in 1990. We are told that 'the YTS too creates forms of stratification' when, surely, it reflects existing social and economic inequalities. Whilst this is acknowledged, contributors maintain that the YTS system is more restrictive ('structured' is their term) than an open labour market.

The introductory chapter provides a useful overview of current concerns about young people although the opportunities to link current research with earlier work is not taken. The thesis that children's lives are increasingly dictated by the demands of adult roles was made earlier by Coleman's **The Adolescent Society**. Here it aims to explore the 'interplay between identity and institutions' - regrettably outside a historical context. This too has been perceptively developed in the seminal **Character and Social Structure** by Gerth and Mills - again not mentioned. In looking towards a more economically integrated Europe the editors believe there are 'significant' "gaps in generational experience" - a concept developed by Mannheim in the 1940's. The a-historical thrust of the book is surprising. For example, it is suggested that in pre-war Europe social change was more tranquil 'the (re) production of gender and class divisions proceeded in a rather simple and direct way in comparison with today'. Yet not only were the most sudden changes introduced in the Third Reich, but the preceding nine years, sixteen years, (and other dates) experienced widespread social turmoil.

Jurgen Zinneker's chapter on 'Youth and Cultural Change in the FRG' makes interesting points - but does it really have to cite forty one 'research papers' on two pages? We know from Musgrove's important **Youth and the Social Order** that time spent in education increases as the complexity of employee's tasks in industry decreases. As Durkheim noted earlier in the century, the central role of the education system is to reproduce society. Clearly he was right. The exclusion of many young people from employment shifts the pattern and responsibility of secondary socialisation onto the education and cultural institutions. Education becomes much more important for all age groups. As a colleague from Hildsheim noted, the education system is increasingly concerned with 'circusisation' - it amuses and keeps people in custody! The Youth Service is also an agency of secondary socialisation. If this is conceded it is clear that the Youth Worker is an (benign?) agent of social control and this limits the fashionable - and 'undeliverable' motion of 'empowerment'. Effective measures towards 'empowerment' lie primarily in the economic sphere. As several chapters indicate, access to economic opportunities are socially determined and denied to many working class young people, a category within which black youngsters are disproportionately represented. There are interesting chapters examining the position of Turkish young people in Germany and black youngsters in the U.K., though the fundamentally different legal and social positions are insufficiently developed; the

differences grossly exaggerated and at times incomprehensible. Here is an example of Afro-Caribbean youth culture (p. 188)

breakdancing, and hip hop, blending North American, Caribbean and urban British images and cultural trajectories into something that was less monothematically revolutionary and which emphasized its own expressive effervescence far more than any set of conditions against which it might be said to be posed - a movement, indeed, away from any implication of mere 'defensive response' and towards the elaboration of an indigenous, vigorous black youth culture in its own right and for its own autochthonous reasons.

Frequent political overtones detract from a more analytic approach. Roger Hewitt ponders whether the rioting by black and white youths in 1981 implies a shared 'opposition to a common oppression' as if such events are clearly articulated. Undoubtedly there is some common resentment and unemployment may be a necessary factor - it is not a sufficient explanation. Hewitt's research into the use of creole by white youngsters in close contact with black peers is analysed at 'the "ethnography of speaking" end of the sociolinguistic disciplinary spectrum'. From such research, we see the 'truly multiracial face of Britain as it has been developed by young people themselves'. Further, black working class youngsters whose usual speech is English 'Cockney' use creole as 'an immediate resource for resistance to the mundane face of racism' and 'inter-racial friendship patterns' are utilised in anti-racist struggles. Should we be encouraged by the emergence of 'an articulated notion of local community that included black and white inhabitants'? This signifies little new here - wealthy black and white residents in the Caribbean have long co-operated by employing private security services. More significant is the emergence of an articulate, occasionally privately educated black middle class who embrace the dominant values of western industrial society. An excessive focus upon sub (ordinate) cultures of deprivation do a dis-service to the black community by reinforcing negative stereotypes, and their only 'asset' is the use of restricted language. 'Grass roots' developments cannot substitute for the thrust of dominant industrial ideology that permeates an ever expanding European Community, an industrialising Asia and most of Africa. Wishful thinking and rejection of the evidence cannot reverse the emergence of an increasingly homogeneous industrial world culture.

George Aurenheimer's essay on 'Young People of Turkish Origin in the FRG' accurately identifies the essential gap - (chasm?) between Turkish tradition and a proletarian urban way of life. His emphasis is excessively on the Turks - insufficiently on German history and culture. 'Cultural meaning systems' he writes 'exist in relative autonomy to the cause of material life' - surely not! German nationalism and developed xenophobia have played their part in

determining attitudes - but that is not racism in German terms; Italian and Spanish 'guestworkers' also received shabby treatment until they attained legal equality through membership of the E.C. Given recent historical experience, 'racism' most aptly describes German attitudes to Jews, about whom there is (understandably) no mention. The problems facing young Turkish people in Germany are rightly identified as emanating from economic disadvantages leading to inferior educational experiences and inadequate qualifications which 'lead' to unemployment or low paid work. Legal restrictions on obtaining German nationality do not help. The education system in Germany, as the U.K., has successfully and with precision, reproduced social inequalities - this is its **sociological** function.

Overall, the book includes sufficient diversity for readers to select according to interest. The attempt to identify 'new' movements is unsuccessful mainly because it is independent of earlier and broader perspectives. Thus Margaret Mead's somewhat anthropological **Childhood in Contemporary Society** (which includes a chapter on Germany) receives no mention although its analysis and insights are well developed. Wider intellectual perspectives would have recognised that the young and 'youth culture' are never independent of adults; and that the conventionalism of the young exceeded any temporary 'radicalism'. The absence here of the many well adjusted, even wealthy young people - who derive many advantages from industrial society further restricts the book's utility for making comparisons between the vast majority of youngsters on both sides of the Channel Tunnel.

Robert Gutfreund

Derek S. Linton
'WHO HAS THE YOUTH, HAS THE FUTURE': THE CAMPAIGN TO SAVE YOUNG WORKERS IN IMPERIAL GERMANY
Cambridge University Press 1991
ISBN 0 521 38537 7
£30 (hbk)
pp 319

'Who has the youth, has the future!' This battle cry, sometimes attributed to Luther, was adopted in Germany at the turn of the century by a nascent campaign launched by middle-class reformers to win the hearts and minds of young urban workers. The youth salvation campaign which Derek Linton has identified set out primarily to protect young men, 'between primary school and barracks', from the degenerate influences of modern urban life, such as beer houses, dance halls, penny dreadfuls and crime, to save them from the unpatriotic socialist influence of the SPD and to promote national efficiency by improving their health and industrial skills.

The intention of the book under review, which grew out of an academic dissertation supervised by Arno J. Mayer, is to trace how

young labourers were constructed as an official social problem in Imperial Germany around 1900 and to delineate the methods used by the youth cultivators in order to redeem them. Linton starts by setting out the structural preconditions of the youth salvation campaign, that is the role of young labourers in the German population, labour force, and industrial law. The decline of the patriarchal apprenticeship system is linked to the changing image of young urban workers and institutional reform during the rapid period of German industrialization from the 1870s onwards. Chapters follow on the centralization and militarization of youth salvation through the agencies of continuation schools, Protestant and Catholic youth work, the 1911 Youth Cultivation Edict, wartime military training and moral policing. There are also sections on the eventual inclusion of young women in youth cultivation schemes and the mixed fortunes of the socialist or Social Democratic Party (SPD) youth movement before 1914.

Linton's original research set out to examine the problem of the 'nationalization of the German masses', exemplified in the SPD's decision to support the Wilhelmine state by voting for war credits in August 1914, by investigating the socialization of young workers in the prewar era and their patriotic responses to the war itself. The focus of investigation changed in the course of his research, as it so often does, from the youths themselves to the youth campaign and institutions designed to make them loyal and productive citizens of the Kaiser's Empire. The trouble with a history from below focus on young workers' responses to the outbreak of war was that they had little opportunity or inclination to express their loyalty or opposition to the Empire directly, whereas the moral crusade conducted by articulate and literate clergy, public officials and teachers churned out mounds of written documentation. The empirical historian has to rely on such tangible sources of historical evidence to reconstruct the past. In this sense, the sources that survive determine the kind of history that gets written.

Much of the previous discussion of the character of youth in twentieth-century Germany has begun with the middle-class student-led Wandervögel and ended with the absorption of all German youth movements by the Hitler Youth in 1933. The socialist Free Youth Organization has as much claim to be an associate of, by, and for youth themselves as the middle-class, well-researched and lovingly documented Wandervögel. In fact, the emergence of German youth as an important social problem arose much earlier. From the 1890s German youth were deemed a problem by liberal middle-class professional reformers (Bildungsbürgertum) concerned with the growth of socialism, declining national efficiency, the pernicious influence of mass culture, and the early autonomy attained by young German workers in urban areas. There are clear parallels to be drawn with the relationship between middle-class reformers and adolescents in Edwardian England. Efforts

by English middle-class youth savers to solve a comparable 'boy labour' problem, that of working-class school-leavers drifting into dead-end jobs with no prospects, have been examined recently in Harry Hendrick's **Images of youth: Age, Class, and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920** (Oxford, 1990). This looks at many of the same institutional agencies for the control of urban youth as are examined in Linton's book. Although there are some English parallels, German society before 1914, particularly in Catholic states like Bavaria, exemplified a much greater conformity and willingness to be ruled by conservative Prussian edict. Thus the campaign to censor reading matter by state decree, the exclusion of girls from job training or youth services, as well as the increasing militarization and centralization of youth cultivation schemes. Whereas mandatory industrial continuation schools became virtually universal in German cities after 1900, in England the voluntary system, and a general disinterest in post-school training, ensured that employers and local authorities were able to thwart all measures for a national system of day continuation schools. Perhaps this is an indication of the much stronger roots, the ethos of indivualist liberalism and of the more jealous guardianship of exclusively local control over educational policy in England. Linton argues that German continuation schools were thoroughly modern institutions, under liberal middle-class hegemony, designed to integrate young workers into the Wilhelmine polity, urban life and the industrial order.

Linton draws a rather misplaced analogy between the patriotic Young German League (Jungdeutschlanbund) and the church-based British boys' brigades. The latter did not, as he implies, offer premilitary training, rather they used drill and military methods, under voluntary control, as an attractive instrument to hold boys in church. Liberal War Minister Haldane attempted to militarize British scouts and brigades during 1910-11, by compelling them to become cadet feeders for the Territorials. So perhaps centralized military control was not entirely confined to the Kaiserrich (although only the Church Lads' Brigade succumbed to government pressure). German Church youth organizations, both Catholic and Protestant, failed to reach the masses because of their anti-socialist and anti-worker bias, nonetheless by the 1920s they had at least one and a half million members, compared to only 29,000 in the more publicised Bünde youth organizations.

From 1911 the Young German league, aided by the Youth Cultivation Edict, campaigned for military training and forged links with the continuation schools. Another aspect of the campaign to safeguard the morals of urban youth was the attack on penny dreadfuls and later cinemas, which received considerable support from the Prussian government and even large employers like the Krupps. Youth savers pressured shopkeepers into eliminating cheap sensation fiction from their shelves and called with some success for state censorship or police control of sales. The Society for the Suppression of Vice was just as active in campaigning against penny dreadfuls in late Victorian England but received minimal government or police support. Premilitary training and moral policing for the young finally triumphed in Germany when war came. The army published a central list from Berlin in 1916 banning 135 individual titles or series of penny dreadfuls.

Linton's book is a valuable addition to more recent problem-based and regional studies of age relations, succeeding the confident historical overviews published in the 1970s and 80s. This work comes into the category of the carefully researched scholarly monograph, which Cambridge is to be congratulated on publishing, rather than the over-reaching synthesis. It is soundly based on the German archives, particularly those of Düsseldorf, Essen and Solingen. The success of the liberal youth savers in 1900s Germany is certainly worthy of attention, suggesting that the influence of the Socialists among young workers was decidedly weaker than is commonly supposed. Patriotic organizations and festivities could tap into a considerable reservoir of nationalist enthusiasm among young workers. the prewar conservative direction and wartime policies were bequeathed, Linton argues, to the Hitlerjugend, which inherited and expanded the Young Germany League's paramilitary, anti-socialist policies. The youth policy of the Third Reich, such as the Nazi Law for the Protection of Youth in 1940, can also be traced back to the moral policing of young workers during the first World War. Ultimately, the author acknowledges, the Nazis would have no more lasting success than their predecessors during World War I. Coercive and draconian methods could secure neither the youth nor the future.

John Springhall

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INVITATION TO SELF MANAGEMENT
Dab Hand Press
90 Long Drive
Ryeslip, Middlesex. HA4 0HP
ISBN 0951 386204
pp 384
Price on Application

This book is described on the cover as a first hand account of the way Newcastle Family Service Unit introduced a process of worker self management within an institutional structure which is nationally based on hierarchy. The first sentence of the introduction states that 'this book will change the way you feel and think about your workplace'. The author, in making such a claim automatically set a resistance in me that I had to fight in reading the rest as I become less tolerant of the empty bottle theory underlying such a claim.

The book however, whilst not producing the change effects predicted by the author is an interesting read on a vital subject for those of us claiming to work alongside people for their benefit. The style is a little on the chatty side for my taste but there are some valuable messages in this publication which by and large is presented in an accessible way. It is based on a research project which traces the way the agency introduced change over a period of time. The research methodology is described as participatory and there is a useful appendic which spells out the basic philosophy of the researcher and the issues this method presented.

The body of the publication however is focused on the issues encountered by agency workers in the change from one system to another. It first draws the distinction between collective working and democratic involvement in decision making that needs to be read and considered by all who claim the latter as a style of working. It describes the history of the agency and the gradual moves to a re-evaluation of the working style and how it was implemented. Without knowing all the ins and outs of this agency, although familiar with some of its work, it seems to explore the change process and the costs and benefits with a candour which is refreshing. One example of this is the use of workers' names throughout and the way their voices are heard. It is evident that a lot of negotiation and trust building was undertaken before the researcher started.

Some of the key features of the cost analysis will come as no surprise to those who have tried and are still trying to work collectively. The much lengthier process in decision making and the variable frustrations of individuals who either wanted more discussion and analysis as compared to those who found the growth in the number of meetings inconvenient. Another was the pain encountered when the workforce as a group felt that an individual wasn't sufficiently accountable. On the other hand the benefits in worker involvement and empowerment is also well described and a laudable part for me is the recognition that one must continually work at the process and not take it for granted. There are also clear messages in this account that it is not an easy process and might be easier to introduce into a small staff team of relatively committed people than it is for community groups or management committees.

So, in spite of my reservations about certain aspects of style this is well worth buying and reading, not only for those who want to 'have a go' at introducing such methods to their workplace but also for those who are interested in research methodology of practice issues.

Muriel Sawbridge

![E]lassic Texts Revisited: Club Leadership

by Basil Henriques

ANNE FOREMAN

Club Leadership is an extraordinary book. Written in 1933, in a style acknowledged by its author to be dogmatic, its 16 chapters form a manual for the Boys Club Worker. But its extraordinariness lies not in the anachronistic language, nor in the then prevailing attitudes towards young people, nor even in the heavy moralistic tone which pervades the book. Rather, its extraordinariness lies in the fact that these factors represent merely the book's outer husk, which when pared away reveals a kernel of argument still fresh, vigorous and relevant to the issues currently exercising the minds of policy makers, trainers, and deliverers of youth work today. The problem is it takes such a determined effort to reach this kernel since it is so easy, on a first reading, to be dismissive of the book's content because of its style.

The seeds for 'Club Leadership' were sewn by the Training Sub Committee of the National Association of Boys' Clubs who felt that a series of pamphlets on aspects of club work would serve to increase the effectiveness of leadership. Henriques, and the Secretary of the NABC Training Sub Committee, Eric F Piercy, were asked to prepare one or two leaflets. However, when Henriques discovered the length of time it would take to get his work sanctioned by the NABC Executive, and the necessity to be clear about what was, and was not the authoritative view of the NABC, he wrote it independently.

Thus it was never an official document of the NABC though it was based on its standard work, 'The Aims and Principles of the Boys Club Movement.'

My first reading of Henriques left me baffled. There is a curious and uncomfortable juxtaposition in the text, of youth work values I recognised and those that appear alien. For example Henriques believed that in Club work 'the curriculum conforms to the needs and expressed desires of the members'. (Henriques 1933 p 67) He felt that the foundation for all club work was mutual trust between boys and leaders, and that good leadership was grounded in friendships; friendships... 'based on equal and mutual respect and affection, equal and mutual trust...' (Henriques p 59) Friendships he said, to which notions of condescension, patronage and superiority were foreign. On the other hand, he had a deeply held conviction that working class boys needed above all to be moulded into middle class men; and that male adolescents, whose distinguishing characteristic he defined as instability, needed to be made good by espousing the values of the Public School. What price, condescension, patronage or superiority? To more fully grasp the nature of the content of Club Leadership it was necessary to discover more about the thinking behind it, and thus more about the author.

Basil Lucas Quixano Henriques was a reformer. Born 1890, the youngest of five children, his ancestors were Jews who fled from the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal to settle in Jamaica. In 1845 his Grandfather left Jamaica for England and established the family firm, D Henriques and Co Import and Export Merchants. Fuelled by his faith he was passionate in his belief that man's purpose was to serve God by loving his neighbour. His whole life was one put to action against injustice and he influenced both the shape of Jewish Youth Work and the direction of the Boys Club movement. 'Not only did he bestride the Jewish Boys Club world like a Colossus, but he was a towering figure nationally in the Boys' Club Movement.' (Bunt 1977 p8)

In addition to founding (and running for over 30 years) the Oxford and St. George's Jewish Lads Clubs in the East end of London, he was a Magistrate and Chairman of a Juvenile Court, a Preacher and Lecturer and an effective member of several high powered committees. He used his privileged background to lend weight to causes devoted to improving the lot of children and young people. He lobbied relentlessly, Archbishops, Bishops, the Lord Chancellor, the Home Secretary, Editors of all the national newspapers, and was instrumental in reforming the procedures surrounding the treatment of child witnesses. He took on the Home Office over the delay in placing delinquents after sentencing; he was indefatigable.

Although he was an inspiration to many, and described as a man of kindness and compassion, he was also described by colleagues and friends as a benevolent despot, hurtful bellicose and dogmatic... 'Everyone could work under him, no-one could work with him...' (L L Loewe 1976)

One of the appeals of Club Leadership is that Henriques writes so patently as a practitioner. He was adamant about the importance of being there on club nights and the chapter on 'Premises' for example reveals a host of practical detail clearly rooted in experience. Only a hard pressed leader would know the nuisance of inadequate storage space for chairs, would cheerfully acknowledge that curtains would be constantly pulled down by accident, would stress the merits of boxed sheets of toilet paper over toilet rolls.

He was a leader until he retired and never lost touch with

the practical realities of club work. He was fascinated by the whole process of personal development and acknowledged the relationship between his own experience of childhood and his understanding of youth work. On the 3rd anniversary of the founding of his club he wrote... 'I have never watched people growing up before, having been the youngest at home, and the whole thing has been a revelation to me.' (L L Loewe 1975 p47)

This picture of an upper class philanthropist, motivated by religious beliefs and concerned with the welfare of youth, slots neatly into the known pattern of the development of early youth work. So why revisit this particular classic Text? What makes it more than just a somewhat quaintly written example of the education and welfare practice that shaped the early youth service? By considering what Henriques declared to be the role and purpose of clubs and of leadership, I want to suggest that the journey is one worth making. 'Club Leadership' helps locate current practice within an historical context - a useful and valuable tool that enables practitioners to present an articulate and accurate account of youth work. (The value of an accurate historical perspective from which to reflect on current youth work practice is explored by Booton 1985) and there is much in the freshness and vigour referred to earlier that could influence thinking and contribute to the current debate around the future of youth work; particularly that future as perceived by the Department of Education and Science.

Henriques saw the club as a powerful educational force in the lives of young men. Unlike some of his forebears and contemporaries engaged in philanthropic welfare practice, who viewed the basic character of the working class as deficient, Henriques believed that the instincts of all boys were good. Irrespective of class or environment, he understood all boys to have the potential for good. Allied to this view of a common potential, was his belief that all boys needed guidance in achieving that potential, and in particular in attaining those qualities of wisdom and virtue. Wisdom and virtue Henriques saw as the key to the fullness of citizenship, which he defined as being the ability to both contribute to society and live life to the fullest. Henriques considered that the Public School system nurtured and exposed boys to both wisdom and virtue; the purpose of the Boys Club was to offer the same opportunity to working class boys. However, stripped of the fulsome language, contemporary notions of youth work as educative, participative and empowering begin to emerge from this exposition of the Boys Club method. Educative, because Henriques distinguishes quite distinctly between the formal and compulsory education of schools and the informal and voluntary education of the Youth Club where... 'boys do not attend in order to be taught, but in order voluntarily to learn. A compulsory programme is contrary to the Boys Cub method'. (Henriques p7)

Participative, because the aim was for the curriculum (his term) to be member led, and taking responsibility and self government by members was aspired to. Empowering because the aim of achieving potential was to send burgeoning citizens into society to be active and effective members. Henriques had a vision of a Boys Club Movement that would inspire men to true fellowship. This fellowship would then, by some form of osmosis, mitigate the conditions caused by poverty and injustice. He guided the Boys Club Movement towards affirming one of its underlying tenets - that of individual self improvement as a means of ameliorating and facing hardship. The moulding of working class boys into middle class men. Viewed from a contemporary standpoint it is unacceptable, this imposition of the culture of one class on another. But Henriques, for all his idealism and reforming zeal, reflected both his class and the mores of the of the time. His is a model of youth work that needs.. 'to be understood, though not necessarily emulated' (Boston 1985 p2) in order to comprehend its impact. Certainly he shaped an organisation from which thousands of boys were to benefit.

What of the leaders who were to do this moulding? For them Henriques had the highest of standards. He demanded qualities of patience, perseverance, enthusiasm, optimism and idealism. They had to be scrupulously fair, completely trustworthy and utterly reliable. Their private life had to be above reproach and they were expected to lead by example; never was a leader to ask a boy to live in a manner he himself was not trying to do. The main function of the leader was to be known and trusted by the boys. Once these paragons were found, they had to serve their apprenticeship by being members first and not undertaking any leadership role until they had proved their credibility with the boys. The individual boy had to know he mattered and Henriques advocated the use of familiar techniques to enable the new leader to get to know the boys. Leaders learned boys' names by taking the subs, they encouraged conversation by taking their turn in the canteen and they learned alongside the boys by joining in the activities. The wealth of activities and the method of delivery, supports Henriques' view of the club as an educational force. Clubs offered art, music, drama, health and sex education. They had libraries, were well furnished and maintained. Outreach work was done and co-operation with other organisations, the forerunner of the multi-discipline approach, was encouraged. Such organisations included, Schools, Child Guidance Clinic, Probation Service, Toc H, Rotary and Juvenile Organisations Committee. Thus a picture of the boy was sketched from knowledge of his home circumstances and his work or unemployment situation. The external factors that impinged on a boys well being, poverty, health, housing, were acknowledged. However they were seen as forces that served to undermine the Club's influence, rather than factors requiring any form of political intervention. This, despite Henriques' energetic pursuit of reforms concerning heath care, the treatment of delinquents and his ceaseless lobbying of those in power over these welfare issues. Interestingly, he found the term leader an unsatisfactory one though he could find no acceptable alternative.

The leaders of course, tended to be drawn from the middle or upper classes, and the dawn of the indigenous worker was still far off. Henriques found it encouraging

that Public School and University men were increasingly becoming involved in Club work. (Previously help had come mainly from men wanting to become ordained). He interpreted this involvement as a sign of a new social consciousness. He hated the name 'Mission' associated with the work of the Schools and Colleges. He considered it a disastrous term, evocative of 'doing good' and condescension; attitudes he described as unpardonable. Leaders, then, were there to inspire and leadership.. 'a stern yet joyful duty to be undertaken with the utmost sincerity...' (Henriques p74). Training was considered vital to equip leaders to carry out their 'joyful duty'. Henriques felt that the voluntary and indirect nature of informal education required specialist skills and urged the professionalisation of the work. Many of the issues that exercised the mind of Henriques accord with current concerns. The different developmental needs of the various age ranges, the role of the uniformed organisations, (limited he thought, with unabashed arrogance) the unattached, the homeless, the abused. He talks of the Church's inability to hold the loyalty of young people, of the needs of working mothers for child care, of the need for play centres for the young. He kept abreast of the times and saw it as his, or any leaders' responsibility to do so. He did not seek popularity and caused controversy both within Jewish youth work and the Boys Club Movement. No issue exemplifies this more than his attitude towards mixed Clubs.

Henriques did not agree with mixed Clubs. Some integration of the sexes, he granted, was desirable, but his opposition to mixed clubs remained constant. These are murky waters for a Christian feminist to dip her toes in, and I recognise the irony inherent in criticising the Boys Club Movement from a position within what feels like the biggest Boys Club of the lot. When Henriques wrote Club Leadership in 1933, the issue of mixed clubs warranted a passing reference in the chapter on sex. Somewhere between masturbation (abhorrent but understandable) and homosexuality (abhorrent) Henriques states that mixed clubs are almost certain to be a failure for both sexes. By the time he revised 'Club Leadership' some 17 years later, mixed clubs had a chapter of its own, mainly devoted to the obstacles of such a venture (Henriques 1951). It is easy to dismiss Henriques' argument against mixed clubs as one rooted in his Judaism and general attitudes of the time. The early pioneers of Boys' and Girls' Clubs were after all 'prisoners of their own upbringing' (Bunt and Gargrave 1980 p77). Certainly the correspondence in the Times in 1947 in which Henriques suggests that the virility of the Nation was being sapped by encouraging boys to join mixed clubs suggests a somewhat idiosyncratic view even for those times. (Bunt and Gargrave 1980 p87). Henriques though was no misogynist. He supported Girls' Clubs and of his first meeting with Lily Montagu, founder of the National Organisation of Working Girls Clubs, said... 'I have seldom left anyone's presence with the same feeling of encouragement and inspiration.' (L L Loewe 1976 p22). He held traditional views on the role of women within marriage and his book 'The

Home Menders' argues that the problem of unhappy children stem largely from the inability of women to devote themselves to Motherhood. He held fast to his view that boys and girls needed their own provision, for their own sake. The idea that mixed clubs were desirable as a response to falling numbers, difficulty in recruiting leaders, or the influence the one group might have in modifying the behaviour of the other, was rejected by him.

'Club Leadership' then, has made its contribution to current practice, though its style and tone do not enable its impact to be readily acknowledged. 'Club Leadership' offers a model of youth work based on informal education. Henriques could certainly have written a curriculum for the youth service, aims, objectives, learning, outcomes, performance indicators, the lot. Whether he would have found it necessary or useful to do so however is another matter. Henriques had a vision of youth work and articulated it; he practised what he preached; he stayed engaged with the lives of young people throughout his life; he kept abreast of current issues. However odd, or strange or objectionable some of his views seem to youth work in the 1990s, he kept the needs of young people at the centre of his thinking. His commitment to the Boys Club method influenced the training and recruitment of leaders - and that particular legacy is still very evident. A look around at a youth service gathering today will see the dominance still of the white, middle class, male officer.

What would he make of the current curriculum debate? I think he would argue the case for youth work as informal education forcefully, and with anyone with influence or power, or both. He certainly would not have danced to any DES tune, unless of course he was convinced it would benefit young people, whereupon he would doubtless have orchestrated a vigorous response on behalf of the voluntary sector.

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Working Space

A case for Asian theatre
ANJALI SANDERSON

NAYAB - An Experience
SHIVANI GHAI

This paper presents a brief personal view based on my thoughts and desires in bringing together young Asians to form an Asian Community Theatre. It is presented in the context of one Black worker in an advisory team in the North East LEA of Valiyaat.

The issue of bilingualism - its relation to theatre and the encouragement of non-English theatrical practices represent a challenge to racism and Eurocentricism.

Attitudes to some languages and bilingualism are generally negative. Status is given to pupils who speak English and French or English and German. However when English is matched with Urdu or Punjabi - or when pupils speak Bengali, Hindi and Urdu they are seen to be a 'problem'.[1]

Britain's Black population is about 5 million, but in Various parts of the country Black people are in the majority. Yet the different languages that make up the linguistic geography of Britain are completely ignored. In Valiyaat there is a variety of approximately 80 languages spoken. Yet there is little opportunity for the expression of this diverse linguistic experience within classrooms in schools. Also how many black pupils do you see on stage participating in school productions? How many of them are non-English speaking, starting bilinguals or developing bilinguals? When you do see the occasional black participant they tend to assume race-specific roles. It is also important to acknowledge that there are also many monolingual, non-English speaking children in our schools - what of their self-esteem and experience? This denial of languages is contrary to the many studies which have shown that when children who do not speak English as a first language are encouraged to become fluent in their own first language, language acquisition of the second language is enhanced and children gain better success in schools.[2] It is not a question of replacing English as a medium of expression but of complementing and enhancing it. It also implies an expansion of our perceptions, both publicly and privately of what it now means to be British. This reality of today is still denied in the media, theatre and schools. This denial takes brutal forms in and out of schools and streets, when a child switches to Urdu it becomes Paki talk. Teachers continue to order pupils - 'not to speak in "that" language in the classroom'. A clear and immediate denigration of a particular linguistic experience!

Bilingual theatre can present and sustain a visible challenge to racism in a variety of ways - the use of languages other than English is important, but so is the challenge to accept other form and content. Opening up the institution of the theatre to a wider variety of cultural groupings inevitability means extending the parameters of formal experimentation. Experimentation within and across forms should be encouraged. This exploration will include research into forms of drama and theatre which are non-European and which may incorporate other forms of art which are traditionally separated. Generally in Britain there is an emphasis on literate, naturalistic forms of dramatic expression. There is a need to break out of the conventional framework. It is necessary not to repress physical expression as a potentially sophisticated form of communication. Music, movement and gesture as they are used in African and Asian drama can break down the reliance on purely verbal communication.

However, young people continue to be denied the potential benefit of expanding on the current narrow and restrictive view of theatre. If our schools continue to churn out people unable to relate creatively and constructively to phenomena outside their culture, they will remain unable to appreciate the potential relationships they could have with those who do not have the same cultural norm.

There is no value or space given to the use of various languages; to listen to, to learn from or to expect classrooms, drama workshops and theatres to be bilingual or multilingual. Nor do we encourage the use of theatre to examine, comment on, and understand the pupils everyday experience. It is by recognising and enabling this to happen that we show a commitment to anti-racism. Schools have constructed a great social and psychological distance between black monolinguals and bilinguals and white monolinguals and bilinguals. If institutions constructed normality differently by for example attributing explicit value to the use of bilingualism across the curriculum, this would help towards diminishing the distance. It is within the power of any school to do this.

It was against this background that Nayab Asian Community Theatre first came together in 1988.

The Community theatre has a number of objectives-
- it represents the lives and experience of the members. Members can do this without mediation by any white or

'establishment' theatre professionals. In this way they can provide a portrayal of Black/Asian people which is unique in the British media. This freedom means that Asian theatre can focus on content which is of vital interest to the communities which it represents.

- it is to provide an environment which encourages young Asians, both women and men to attend the theatre and participate in drama. You only have to go to the theatre in and around Valiyaat to realise that it is a white domain. We seek to counteract the stereotypes - that Asians aren't interested in theatre; Asian women are even less interested.

- it develops a variety of theatrical skills and instils a sense of responsibility for the whole production in each participant.

- it is about validating the young people's languages, especially important when society around them propagates negative views of languages. These views have been internalised by many of the people who have become members.

- it is to instil a sense of responsibility about the important issues dramatised. We believe this requires research and a policy of initiating dialogues and debate amongst the performers and also with their audience.

- it is to use drama to learn about how racism operates, individual and collective responsibilities.

- it encourages an understanding of the issues surrounding equality/inequality of opportunity and allows them to see what role they may play towards equality for all groups.

- it provides a space for exchanging ideas, lending support and solidarity.

The Community Theatre meet on a voluntary basis. They have survived for three years in the face of a great deal of opposition. Continuous attempts are made to sidestream it out of existence.

Below are briefly mentioned some of the barriers to bringing about the maximum amount of change through the existence of this group. Some of the comments made-

-it is racist and separatist to encourage an Asian Theatre Group.

- it is not part of the pupils 'entitlement' within the National Curriculum.

- looking at what happened in the past is not conducive to good race relations.

- the use of languages other than English alienates audiences.

- it is not 'Educational'.

- it is too political. -

Asian parents want their children to be doctors not actors.

Pupils have been intimidated and prevented from participating. Parents have been intidimated and persuaded not to allow their children to participate.

Amongst others a Senior Advisor actively tried to dissuade Headteachers from supporting the project by 'I wouldn't recommend the participation of your school in this project'. School Governors have been influenced to use their positions to prevent adequate or further funding for the group. The professional credibility of the black member of the Advisory Team has been questioned and undermined.

If a challenge to racism is to be embraced and if schools seriously intend to put their 'policies into practice' then educationalists need to consider the implications of the points raised in this paper .

Notes
(1) See - Edwards. V - 'Languages in Multicultural Classrooms' - Batsford Academic - 1983
(2) See - Cummins. J - 'Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy' - Multilingual Matters Ltd. 1984 np (No.6)

NAYAB - An Experience

Working with Nayab theatre group was very interesting. I was actually pushed into it by my mother, as I was not too keen on doing a play with complete strangers. I must admit it took a lot of coaxing to get me involved

At first I had only intended to take part in the technical side of things, such as arranging the sound or lighting, but once I was at the rehearsals I knew I wanted to act.

Most of the rehearsals were taken up by exercises. Yogesh, our director thought that this was just as important as rehearsing for the play. One of the first exercises we were asked to do, was group work. This involved the whole cast coming together to form a solid figure which you could not break up. We were also asked to do voice exercises, where we projected our voices, and made different sounds. Experimenting;the whole group would join in the chorus.

On the first day of rehearsals, I was extremely shy and uncomfortable. The members of the cast were all strangers. but by the end of the day I knew them better, I felt more confident and felt that the play would not turn out to be so bad after all.

On the second day we actually got to read the script and parts were given out. The play was very hard work. At times it was very difficult but the next two weeks consisted of acting out scenes, the sequences, script and sound. Once we knew our lines and scenes, most of us thought that it was over and that was the finished play but we were wrong, the play was much more than that. We had to put the whole thing together, concentrate at all times, project our voices and give our best with emotions and feelings - most of all we had to be disciplined. For example even when we were not acting we had to sit extremely stll and quiet in the same position - this proved at times to be almost impossible as it was difficult to keep a straight face, or to refrain from fidgeting.

The production was rehearsed over and over again. Yogesh wanted our best. Only he knew what that was,and to our amazement he was finally satisfied just two nights before our first performance.

The night of the performance the whole cast was very nervous. I was terrified that I would mess it up, which I nearly did at one point when I forgot one of my lines, but we corrected it and no one seemed to notice.

At first I was very aware of the audience but eventually I forgot about them. I performed for myself. The play went with a swing and we did give it our best. We ourselves, Yogesh and the audience were all pleased with our performance.

Nayab was an Asian production, so obviously it shed some light on Asian issues which in particular focussed

on the conflict between the younger and older generation, and the racism faced by Asians/black people in this country. It was about a group of Asian teenagers, living in Britain and highlighted the twin edged pressure that Asian teenagers receive both from their parents who do not try and understand them and also their friends . I played the role of a sixteen year old girl who falls in love with another Asian boy. The girl's parents who are not happy about this, want to fix her up with someone else.The girl knowing that her parents would never accept the relationship that she has with this boy, decides to leave home and moves in with him and a group of friends. Whilst the play emphasises the generation differences within the Asian culture, it also highlights quite strongly, the obvious racism that exists in this country and again it shows that this generation of Asians is not prepared to tolerate it.

In addition to these issues the play had other themes such as loyalty, friendship and understanding etc. On the whole the play conveyed a message both to Asian parents and the British public which is the need to break through all the hatred and violence and to have a better more tolerant understanding of others rights and sentiments. My personal views are that the conflict between the new and old generation is a very sensitive issue, and in order that the ties do not break between the two generations, understanding, mutual respect and compromise need to occur - both generations need to meet half way, and differences of opinion need to be openly discussed. Life is too valuable to be sacrificed over hatred - breakthrough disharmony and try to live in peace.

On the whole I did enjoy working on this production. It was a challenge to me, and a worthwhile experience.

I N SHORT

EDUCATION

Widespread reductions in the adult education service are being predicted according to a recent Labour Party survey of Local Education Authorities, 'Adult Education in Jeopardy'.

- 92% of LEA's surveyed predicted substantial fee increases

- 89% predicted a reduction in the range of the adult education curriculum

- 82% predicted less access for low-income groups, women and the elderly

The Labour Party states that the government's White Paper proposals for restructuring further education will restrict the new funding council to financing a limited range of vocationally oriented courses for adults. Non-vocational courses will receive no central funding, and these courses are expected to be supported through fees.

(Source : "Adult Education in Jeopardy", free, Labour Party)

EMPLOYMENT
Ex-Offenders/ Employment

A survey by the Apex Trust showed that in 1989 only 12% of private sector companies knowingly employed ex-offenders. The report 'The Hidden Workforce' highlights the existence of an untapped source of labour and recommends recruitment on merit.

(Source: 'The Hidden Workforce'. Apex Trust,August 1991, price not known, 12-18 Hoxton Street, Shoreditch, London)

EUROPE
European Social Fund

A report by Coopers and Lybrand Deloitte recommended that grants from the European Social Fund should be paid directly to the organisations concerned. Currently more than £200m a year is received by the British government from the Fund. The report recommends that more scrutiny is needed of government input into administering the Fund. It is suggested that cash has been diverted by the government to other projects.

(Source: The Times, September 23, 1991)

HOUSING

Mortgage Interest Tax Relief (MIRAS)
The second Duke of Edinburgh Inquiry into British Housing recommended the phasing out of MIRAS.
(Guardian, 28 June 1991)

Rural Homelessness

The number of homeless people is rising faster in rural than in urban areas. Research is being carried out by SAUS, University of Bristol, for the Rural Development Commission and a full report is expected later this year.
(Source : The Times, September 24 1991)

Student Homelessness

Government plans to expand the number of students in higher education have not been accompanied by the provision of extra accommodation. The National Union of Students aim to campaign for students to have greater access to affordable housing and the means with which to pay for it. The NUS have developed a 'Student Charter' setting out the needs of students.
(Source : Roof, September 1991)

LAW
Legal Aid/ Children Act

Children and parents or guardians will be entitled to free legal aid in cases where a child may be taken into care, when the Children Act comes into force in October 1991.

Legal Aid/Group Claimants

The Legal Board is to enter a contract with one or more solicitor's firms to act for group claimants in mass disasters or drug actions.
(Source: The Times, September 24, 1991)

Stop and Search

Latest figures from the Home Office show that more than a quarter of a million people were stopped and searched in 1990, a 27% rise over the previous year and a more than doubling of the figure from when the powers were first introduced five years ago. In London, for every 100 people stopped and searched there were only 9 arrests.
(Source : Labour Research, September 1991)

POLL TAX/COUNCIL TAX

Local authorities and the trade union NALGO have criticised the proposals for the new council tax to replace community charge. The main proposals of the council tax, to be introduced in April 1993, are:
1. Households will receive a single bill made up of a property and a personal element. The 'head' of the household will be held liable for payment. There will be no separate council tax register.

2. Households will be assumed to contain more than two adults but single adult households will be able to claim 'personal discounts' worth 25% of the basic bill. Students, student nurses and YT trainees will also qualify for discounts along with those who are currently exempt from the poll tax if they are the first or second adult in the household. Households may get a maximum of two personal discounts.

3. Rebates of up to 100% will also be available for people on low incomes. Applicants will be means-tested to determine how much rebate they are entitled to with those on Income Support or similar low incomes getting a full rebate. Benefit levels will be reduced to take account of the full rebate scheme.

4. The number of property bands has been increased from seven to eight. Estate agents (regional assessors in Scotland) will assess the capital value of domestic properties and allocate them to one of the eight tax bands related to the average property bands in either, England, Scotland or Wales. The basic bill will be the same throughout that local authority band. Houses in the top band (band H) are worth over three times the national average but households in this band will pay just twice the average charge.

5. The government will continue to control business rates. The national rate poundage will be set by central government and income pooled and redistributed to local authorities.

6. The council tax will raise around 14% of local authority income and because councils no longer control the business rates this will be the sole source of income under their control.

7. Central government grant to local authorities in England and Wales will continue to be based on the system of standard spending assessments. This represents the amount the government decides a local authority should spend to provide a standard level of service but takes no account of factors such as local poverty levels.

8. Councils that spend 'excessively' will be capped. Capping has been extended to Scotland.

9. Local authorities will be expected to fund a system of transitional relief. No extra funding will be given to local authorities to set up such funds.

(Source: Labour Research, September 1991)

POVERTY
School Meals Cuts
Spending on school meals has dropped under the three Tory governments. The Department of Education and Science's figures show that spending has been cut by nearly 50% in real terms from £796m in 1979/80 to £405m in 1988/89. The link between poor nutrition and low income has been well established in the past. A recent report by the National Children's Home showed that low income families could not afford nutritionally healthy diets. The Family Welfare Association maintains that more than half of families on Income Support do not have enough money for adults and children to have an adequate diet.

(Source : Labour Research, September 1991)

PRISONS
Prison Reform
The government has committed itself to the creation of a network of community jails as part of an initiative to reform the prison system. The timetable for reforms, below, includes many of the proposals made by Lord Justice Woolf following his investigation of British prisons and riots by prisoners over prison conditions.

Timetable for reforms:
November 1991 - jail security audits commence - emergency planning manuals to be distributed to all prisons

December 1991 - inaugural meeting of Criminal Justice Consultative Council: launch of new therapy programme for sex offenders: all staff to wear name badges

March 1992 - statement of treatment for remand inmates, health care standards for local jails and remand centres

April 1992 - Pilot scheme for code of standards, new disciplinary arrangements begin: opening of first privately run jail

May 1992 - first 'compact' between Home Secretary and prisons director to be published

December 1992 - complaints adjudicator appointed

December 1994 - slopping out ends

SOCIAL SECURITY
Income Support/Severe Disability Premium
The government announced plans to stop payments of the Severe Disability Premium to people living with relatives.

(Source: Poverty, Summer 1991, CPAG)

SOCIAL FUND
Evidence is emerging, according to the Child Poverty Action Group, that the Social Fund has completely failed to help homeless people find secure accommodation. No statistics are available on how many people are turned away but 185,681 applicants were refused payments in 1990/1 because of lack of "sufficient priority". The DSS has insisted that local DHSS offices are not allowed to run out of money and local offices can apply for more money. 90 offices received extra money in September 1990 and 65 further offices received extra money in February 1991. CPAG maintains that insufficient offices are applying for extra money and homeless people who need payments for deposits on private accommodation are not given sufficient priority.

(Source: Roof, September 1991)

Cold Weather Payments
The government announced that cold weather payments are to be changed and will in future be paid automatically to eligible claimants on the forecast of a freeze, for seven days.

(Source: Poverty, Summer 1991, CPAG)

4 June Green Paper 'The Health of the Nation'

There will be a legislation update in the next issue of 'In Short'.

YOUTH AND POLICY

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Submission Details

Material for the journal, including correspondence, is welcomed within our stated editorial aims.

Please send all material to the relevant editor named below, PO Box 10, Blaydon, Tyne and Wear NE21 5LY. Material not published will be returned if possible, but contributors should note that this cannot be guaranteed and are advised to keep copies.

ADVERTISING. Details of rates, deadlines etc. available from: Sue Miles.

ARTICLES. Articles of 2,500-10,000 words are welcome and should be written in accordance with the Journal's style. For a style sheet and contributors' notes please contact Judith Cocker.

FEEDBACK. We welcome letters concerning the journal or on issues concerning youth in society: Maura Banim.

REVIEWS. Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors are invited from the readership: Chris Parkin.

WORKING SPACE. Working space is aimed at those who may not normally consider contributing an article and may be written in whatever style the individual feels comfortable with: Tia Khan.

YOUTH AND POLICY

CONTENTS