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YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE ENVIRONMENT:

Editorial

SARAH BANKS

This issue of **Youth and Policy** takes as its theme 'young people and the environment'. The articles published here offer a timely discussion of some of the complex questions relating to young people's attitudes to the environment, their willingness to get involved in environmental action, and the role of the local authority youth service, environmental organisations and youth workers in stimulating and supporting such action.

An important theme

There are a number of reasons why young people and the environment is an important topic for discussion and debate. Firstly, there has been a growth of interest and concern about environmental issues generally over the last decade. Whether and in what form this will be sustained in the 1990s is an interesting question, as the membership of environmental organisations now begins to decline after the boom period of the 1980s and the Green Party's 15% in the Euro-elections of 1989 slipped to 1-2% in the 1992 General Election. Nevertheless, as Bennie and Rudig show, the environment still figures as an important concern in opinion survey data, particularly amongst young people. Secondly, it has been argued that it is those who are young now who may be faced with the consequences of many of the environmental problems generated in the present. The old saying 'we do not inherit the earth from our parents we borrow it from our children' suggests that perhaps the young people of today have a **right** to have a say in decision-making. This was certainly the line taken by the group of young people who attended the Earth Summit in Brazil in 1992. Further, it could be argued that we who are currently adults have a duty to educate and empower young people so they can have an input into the political decision-making process and that they may be more environmentally responsible than we are (UNEP UK 1992). Thirdly, many environmental problems, especially major pollution-related ones, disproportionately harm young children. These might include, for example, the effects of lead in petrol, radiation, the dangers of toxic waste dumps or sewage polluted beaches where young people might play (Children's Legal Centre 1990). Fourthly, there is a growing number of new initiatives developing in relation to young people and the environment in schools, environmental organisations and youth work agencies. For example, the environment is a cross-curricular theme in the national curriculum; in 1990 Curriculum Guidance Note 7 was published on Environmental Education (NCGC 1990) and there has been a mushrooming of environmental projects taking place in schools. Many environmental organisations have set up youth units or projects recently, including the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, the Ramblers' Association, the National Trust and the Tidy Britain Group, to name but a few. There is also a growing interest in environmental youth work. The Council for Environmental Education has a Youth Unit and a National Environmental Youth Work Training Programme seeking to influence youth work policy and practice (see Polak in this issue).

Social education, conservationism or radical ecology?

So, it appears that the time is ripe to take stock of some of these developments. While Bennie and Rudig in this issue explore young people's attitudes to the environment

and the extent of their activism, the other articles are concerned in one way or another with using the environment in work with young people, using young people to work on the environment or young people developing their own consciousness and forms of environmental action. What is meant by 'the environment' will vary according to the different approaches adopted. There are at least three types of approach, all of which are exemplified in the contributions to this issue of **Youth and Policy**.

1) *The environment as a vehicle for social education* - this approach commonly makes use of 'the environment' in the sense of physical surroundings as a focus for activity (for example, clearing a stream) which can encourage the development of individual self-confidence and team-working skills. The environment in a broader sense (including local and global relationships) can also be used as an issue around which young people can explore and develop political awareness.

2) *Environmentalism/conservationism* - the focus of this approach is more about actually achieving environmental improvements (for example, the Tidy Britain recycling schemes) and encouraging a commitment to nature conservation amongst young people (for example, the work of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds with young ornithologists).

3) *Ecologism/radical ecology* - aims to change attitudes and values at an individual and societal level through awareness-raising and action linking poverty, inequality, injustice and environmental degradation on a global scale (for example, some of the educational work promoted by OXFAM or the protests of the Earth First group).

Obviously these aims and approaches are often not distinguished in practice; one piece of work may adopt all three approaches and different people may be involved for different reasons. But it is perhaps important to bear in mind the different interpretations of 'environment' that may be adopted and hence different agendas for change. As Dobson (1990) says of environmentalism, its agenda is essentially reformist. And according to Porritt:

> *At this level we find conservationists, preservationists, champions of the countryside, defenders of public parks and stately homes and all those people who believe dying forests, polluted lakes, nuclear power stations and the culling of baby seals are a 'bad thing' - but do not necessarily go on to conclude that it is necessary to change the whole basis on which society is organised.*

Ecologism, or the 'dark green movement' on other hand, is characterised as radical, seeking

> *nothing less than a non-violent revolution to overthrow a whole polluting, plundering and materialistic industrial society and, in its place, to create a new economic and social order which will allow human beings to live in harmony with the planet (Porritt and Winner 1988 p. 11).*

There are as many versions of radical ecology as there are of environmentalism, ranging from deep ecology to ecofeminism (Merchant 1992), but it is important for people working with and alongside young people on environmental issues to have considered what approach they are taking and what their aims are. An ex-HMI for Geography notes the absence of conflict in schools regarding the environmental message, which means that it gains far more approval than there ever was for spreading the anti-racist and anti- sexist message:

Teaching tolerance for different domestic arrangements (Sally lives with Bob and Arthur, etc) is obviously considered far more dangerous than pressurising schools into creating wildlife gardens or introducing recycling schemes (Storm 1991 p. 32).

This obviously allows environmental education a way in to schools and other arenas, but is ignoring its radical potential. Work in schools tends to be fragmented, centring on the study of specific elements 'without seeking a more global understanding of the processes and structures which regulate the interactions of these elements' (Dorion and Gayford 1991 p.28). This also entails a focus on the symptoms rather then the fundamental causes of environmental mismanagement (Martin 1992, p. 41). It may contribute to young people's misunderstandings about complex environmental issues, such as the young person who thinks getting rid of greenhouses would solve global warming (Storm 1991, p.32). Work with young people obviously must avoid the overwhelming 'doom and gloom' approach which leaves young people feeling powerless in the face of such a massive problem as global warming, while at the same time aiming to contribute to their understanding of its causes. These are some of the complex issues that the contributors to this edition of **Youth and Policy** and some of the authors of the publications we review are grappling with. The Earthworks publications, for example, include an exercise which looks at issues of rainforest destruction from local/individual, national and global perspectives (CEE 1990b p.18). While the same series also includes items ranging from making coriander aftershave to homemade paper, from making models of the local area and noting where improvements can be made to quizzes such as 'is your youth club environmentally friendly?' (CEE 1990c). At the end of one of the booklets it says 'make a note to put "environment" on the agenda of your next team meeting' (CEE 1990a p.12). This last statement is suggesting that 'environment' can be treated as a separate 'add on feature', a debate which several contibutors in this issue touch upon in their articles. But perhaps this is a necessary starting point for developing environmental awareness and encouraging action.

From environmental concern to environmental action

One of the key themes of the first two articles is the relationship between young people's concern for the environment and turning this concern into positive action. Bennie and Rudig, in their analysis of European public opinion data, come to the conclusion that young people on the whole demonstrate higher levels of environmental concern than adults. However, this tends not to be translated into action at a personal level, except in the arena of 'green consumerism', where more British young people tend to buy environmentally friendly products and give financial support to environmental associations than their European peers or British adults. Bennie and Rudig conclude that the commitment of British young people to environmental practices is rather shallow. Although this may be true, one wonders if this judgement is a little harsh given the data on which it is based. Some of the practices that the young people aged 15-21 were asked about are perhaps the kinds of activities that are less likely to be their responsibility or to be within their power, such as having a car fitted with a catalytic converter, sorting out household waste for recycling, or taking a holiday that is less harmful to the environment. And the fact that a high proportion of the young people who joined the British Green Party in the membership upsurge following the European election in 1989 have now left may be hardly surprising given it is an essentially adult-dominated organisation and is facing a decline in membership which is general amongst political parties and environmental organisations.

However, this kind of data provides some interesting food for thought for the kinds of questions Polak is asking when she explores the gap between environmental awareness and activism. She offers some interesting examples of initiatives being taken by environmental organisations and youth associations to involve young people in environmental activity ranging from the Groundwork Trust's initiatives involving young people in tree planting and stream clearances to the Guide Association's conservation badge. But she raises the important question as to whether planting a tree or clearing a stream really changes the environment? She emphasises the need to ensure genuine participation and ownership of projects which relate to the local environmental issues young people themselves are most concerned about, and above all the importance of linking local to global issues.

Local-global links

This is a theme which is particularly pertinent to Wong's discussion of multi- culturalism in the context of the work of the Black Environment Network. Here there is the potential to link the experience of the racism experienced by black people and the marginalisation experienced by other ethnic minorities in Britain with the exploitation of human beings and the environment both in Britain and worldwide. The projects Wong describes are diverse - from twinning schools in predominantly white and black areas to developing a cultural garden with plants from around the world. The philosophy upon which Wong bases her article is very much that of 'one earth, one people' - which celebrates diversity of cultures and habitats and seeks to promote tolerance, mutual understanding and responsibility. She is offering a holistic view which sees people and the environment as inter-dependent. Her focus on multi- culturalism might be seen as only a partial response to the struggle against racism and oppression experienced by black people in Britain. But it is a response that is essentially offering a different perspective on the marginalisation of black people in Britain alongside a concern for global ecological issues.

Environmental youth work

Linking environmental youth work with issues relating to inequality and oppression and local/global links are themes that are also picked up in Edbrooke's account of implementing Birmingham City Council's Youth Service Policy on the Environment. The questions around 'what is environmental youth work?', 'how can we justify it?', 'how does it differ from good youth work practice?' recur from time to time in Edbrooke's and Connolly's articles, which are both very much concerned with youth work practice. There does not seem to be a clear answer to any of these questions, which is perhaps not surprising given this is currently a relatively new area of work for youth workers. Edbrooke's comment that 'environmental youth work is good youth work' and Connelly's definition of environment as the surroundings in which people live (hence an inextricable part of their lives) are both in different ways implying that awareness of environmental issues should permeate all youth work. To regard the environment as an 'add on feature' or another issue is misleading and inappropriate. Just as anti-discriminatory awareness and practice has had to be separately named and explored in order for it to begin to permeate youth work practice, the same is true of environmental awareness and practice. And just as 'race' or 'gender' were regarded as particular issues for youth workers to focus on, so too there is a danger that 'the environment' will become another issue.

Connelly's account of the work he has done in the ex-mining villages of East Durham employed by the Groundwork Trust is an interesting contrast to Edbrooke's work for a local authority in a city. Connelly's focus is very much on the local environment in which the young people live. This is not surprising since it is one of industrial dereliction, poor housing and facilities, high unemployment and lack of transport. Connelly links the young people's low self-esteem with their hostile and negative attitude to the place where they live. He uses environmental projects as a means of building up the young people's self-confidence and sense of ownership and belonging. He also uses outdoor activities and trips away quite extensively, since his main aim is to work from the young people's needs and not necessarily look for outcomes in terms of environmental improvements, which would be the natural tendency of the Groundwork Trust. This is an interesting example of an environmental organisation developing a youth work approach. Essentially the environment is being used as a vehicle for personal and social development, in the same way that outdoor activities might be. While this approach was probably used in some of the work Edbrooke describes, she gives examples of other pieces of work undertaken in Birmingham, such as an environmentally friendly fashion show, which seem to have a broader aim in developing a global political consciousness, in a way that was probably not appropriate for the detached youth group in East Durham in the early stages of its formation.

Responses and critiques?

We hope this special issue of Youth and Policy will be read as a timely contribution to the environmental debate as it impacts on young people and to the development of innovative action and practice by and with young people. The journal welcomes comments, responses and critiques on this theme and on others relevant to youth policy and practice.

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YOUTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT:

Attitudes and Actions in the 1990s[1]

LYNN G. BENNIE AND WOLFGANG RÜDIG

Introduction

The 'environment' is usually seen as an issue particularly appealing to young people. **The Eco-Activists: Youth fights for a human environment** was one of the titles among a range of books charting the rise of the new environmental movement (Allaby 1972). 'The largest, most highly educated and most widely travelled young generation the world has ever seen - that is the source of a new revolution, and the cause is man's survival', the text on the book flap proclaimed. When modern 'environmentalism' started its rise in the late 1960s and 1970s[2], environmental activism seemed inextricably linked with the student and peace protest movements at the time. For many environmental activists of the 1970s, the student and anti-Vietnam protest of the 1960s had been their formative experience. Undoubtedly, there was also a continuity of substance: many concerns of the 1960s, for example over the effect of fall-out of nuclear weapons tests, the links between university research and destructive use of technology in Vietnam, and, perhaps more generally, the cultural impact of a consumerist society built on continuing technological advances, could be seen as preludes to environmental concerns of the late 1960s and 1970s.

Sociologically, the rise of the student movement has been seen as a manifestation of a value change, reflecting the major socio-economic changes of post-war societies. The new generations growing up in the 1950s and 1960s were socialised in a climate of economic security and affluence; the 'educational' revolution kept a high proportion of pupils in school until their late teens and made higher education available to a much wider section of young adults. As a result, adolescents of the late 1960s and 1970s were expected to hold 'post-acquisitive' values in far greater numbers that their elders. A predominantly materialist, authoritarian outlook in which ever increasing material wealth and the maintenance of order were the most important goals thus increasingly gave way to a 'post-materialist', libertarian value system where 'freedom of speech' and participatory democracy were seen as more important (Inglehart 1971, 1977). Environmentalism fitted the 'post-materialist' world view in its criticism of the effects of rapid economic growth, its rejection of a purely materialist policy orientation, and the demands of local groups protesting against particular environmental evils for more public participation in decision making.

Modern environmentalism was by no means wholly a 'youth' phenomenon. Typically, local environmental groups engaged in conflicts with the authorities about specific problems mobilised a wide variety of people of all age groups.[3] And there were many environmental 'veterans' who had been engaged in environmental action many years before 'New Left' radicals took up the environment as a cause. But undoubtedly, young people in the 1970s cared more for the environment and were more likely to become involved in environmental political action than members of older generations, as many surveys have shown (Van Liere and Dunlap 1980; Cotgrove 1982).

The late 1980s brought a second major wave of environmental concern, focusing more strongly on 'global' environmental issues such as 'global warming' and the

destruction of the ozone layer. Is 'youth' again in the forefront of this new global environmental movement? What should we expect? The general political context of the early 1990s could hardly be more different from that of the late 1960s and early 1970s. After a flourish of 'new social movements' in the early 1980s, dominated in Britain by the resurgence of the peace movement, social movement mobilisation in general and 'youth protest' in particular appeared to decline rapidly from the mid-1980s onwards throughout Europe. There is certainly no equivalent to the cultural context of the late 1960s in which protest could flourish. The economic climate in Britain and most other parts of Europe is dominated by uncertainty and high unemployment levels, in particular high youth unemployment. Politically, the rise of a the far-right, often mobilising young people, has arguably been the most outstanding feature in the early 1990s, particularly in continental Europe.

In this context, we have to ask how resilient public concern about the environment is. The fortunes of the environmental movement in the 1990s will depend crucially on its ability to attract new supporters. In the past, new generations of activists and voters have been an important source for environmental organisations, and high levels of environmental concern of the young have been vital in maintaining support for innovations in environmental policy. Is the rough political climate of the 1990s going to change that? How are young people's views of environmental problems affected by the political environment of the 1990s? Are there new recruits to the environmental cause from the younger generations at all?

In this paper, we will concentrate on analysing environmental attitudes and actions in the UK, but we will do so in the context of comparisons with the European Community as a whole. Using the latest trans-European polling data we will examine how young people in the UK view environmental issues and how these views compare with those in other European Community countries. We refer to two recent Eurobarometre studies from 1989 and 1992 that contained a substantial number of questions on environmental attitudes and environmental action.[4] The data allow us to examine the general level of expressed concern over a number of environmental issues and the actual and potential environmental behaviour of individuals. We can also look at electoral behaviour to see how attracted young people are to green parties.[5]

In addition, we report findings of a study of members of the British Green Party. In 1989, the British Greens scored 14.5% in the European elections; their success was one of the most potent indicators of the rise of environmental concern at the time. During 1989 and 1990, the Green Party more than doubled its membership, but most of its new members had left the party again three years later. How many young people actually joined the Greens during their heyday? Was the enthusiasm of the young an important feature of British green politics? How active are young members in the Greens, and how stable has their attachment to the Party been?

Let us first examine environmental attitudes. Are there any substantial differences between different age cohorts? Are there differences in the importance of age between the UK and the rest of the European Community?

Environmental Attitudes

During the last twenty years, the environment has undoubtedly acquired the status of an issue that is of perennial importance and which should not be ignored. At the

level of government, this has been recognised by the formation of institutions, environment ministries, committees, agencies, and so on. At the level of public opinion, it is only a tiny minority that nowadays rejects completely the importance of the environment as an issue. In 1989, one Eurobarometre survey question asked whether the 'environment' was a 'very important' or a 'not very important' problem. A total of 94% of EC citizens responded that the environment is a 'very important problem',[6] a clear sign that general environmental concern has become extremely widespread. For this very general measurement, there is no significant difference between countries or age groups. In this sense, we have all become 'green'.

It is a different matter, of course, once we ask about real choices to be made, involving costs as well as benefits. Here, we find much more of a variance, and here we also may expect some differences in attitudes amongst different age groups.

Environmental concern is a multi-dimensional phenomenon. Different people are concerned about different environmental problems. For example, previous research on environmental attitudes has suggested that concern about nuclear energy and concern about global environmental issues form dimensions of public opinion separate from general environmental concern (Norris 1992; Whitherspoon and Martin 1992; Rüdig 1993). While it would go too far to examine this question in greater detail here, we could expect younger and older generations to be distinguished not just by the level of environmental concern but by the type of problem or issue that they are concerned about.

Let us start our analysis of environmental attitudes by looking at the environmental issues faced by individuals in their own environment on a day-to-day basis. In 1992, people were asked how much reason they had to complain about various environmental problems where they lived. The results for the UK and the European Community (EC) as a whole are shown in Table 1. The levels of 'complaints' of 15-21 year olds are given in separate columns.

Table 1: **Local Environmental Problems**

Question: *Where you live, do you have very much reason, quite a lot of reason, not very much reason or no reason at all to complain about ...?*

	Percentage 'Very much reason'			
	EC		UK	
	All	*15-21*	*All*	*15-21*
...the quality of drinking water	15	14	9	7
...noise	12	11	7	5
...air pollution	18	17	9	6
...waste disposal	16	20	10	10
...lack of green spaces	14	19	8	10
...damage done to the landscape	18	23	13	10
...the amount of traffic	27	27	23	21
Average N (weighted)	*12694*	*1695*	*2140*	*284*

The results are quite startling. Generally, the share of those indicating they have 'very much reason' to complain about various environmental issues is consistently lower in the UK than in the EC as a whole. As to the influence of age, there is only little difference between young people and the rest of the population, although, in

Britain, young people indicate slightly less reason to complain about 5 out of the 7 environmental problems.[7] Either British people have objectively less reason to complain about their local environment, or we can see here an example of British reluctance to complain in general. In any case, according to these results young people in the UK show no sign of being more critical of any environmental degradation in their local environment than the rest of the population.

Let us move from the local environment to more far reaching concerns. The late 1980s saw the rise of 'global' environmental problems, in particular the destruction of the ozone layer and global warming, the so-called greenhouse effect. In 1992, the Eurobarometre survey asked people how concerned they were about five global environmental problems. The results are shown in Table 2. Clearly, a fairly large majority of people are concerned about these issues, and there is little difference between the UK and the rest of the EC in the general level of concern. For many issues, in particular the destruction of the ozone layer, we find that younger people show a somewhat higher level of concern. But, apart from an 8-point difference between 15-21 year olds and the population as a whole on the ozone layer, the differences are not all that great. [8]

Table 2: **Global Environmental Problems**

Question: *Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not very worried or not at all worried about the following problems?*

	Percentage 'Very Worried'			
Environmental Problem	EC		UK	
	ALL	*15-21*	*All*	*15-21*
The disappearance of certain types of plants, animals and habitats throughout the world	59	63	53	57
Using up natural resources throughout the world	57	59	60	60
The disappearance of tropical forests	68	72	68	69
Global warming (the greenhouse effect)	63	66	59	63
The destruction of the ozone layer	70	75	65	73
The risk that pollution from industrialised countries spread to less industrialised countries	58	56	60	59
Average N (weighted)	*12584*	*1689*	*2134*	*284*

We find somewhat larger differences between age groups once we turn to other environmental issues. Table 3 shows the results of another question, asking how worried people are about a series of national environmental problems. There are no significant differences between the EC and the UK, with a few exceptions: concern about air pollution, nuclear energy and the environmental damage of tourism is significantly lower in the UK than the rest of the EC. The UK, on the other hand, shows far higher levels of concern over 'the use of animals for experiments' and 'hunting and shooting'. If we look at the influence of age, younger people are sub-

stantially more concerned about vivisection and hunting. This applies to the EC as a whole as well, although the differences are rather stronger in the UK. [9]

Table 3: **National Environmental Problems**

Question: *Now, thinking about ...(our country), are you very worried, somewhat worried, not very worried or not at all worried about the following problems?*

	Percentage 'Very Worried'			
	EC		UK	
	All	*15-21*	*All*	*15-21*
Pollution in rivers and seas	57	61	58	53
Pollution of the sea and coasts	63	69	64	68
Damage to animals, plants and habitats	55	63	54	59
Air pollution	59	63	52	56
Agricultural pollution (insecticides, herbicides, slurry, ...)	49	47	49	36
Industrial waste	66	69	64	68
The possible risks to the environment of the development of biotechnology	42	41	42	31
The use of animals for experiments	46	53	56	65
Hunting and shooting	30	36	45	56
The risks related to the use of nuclear energy	61	61	55	54
Motor sports in the natural environment such as motor boats, motorbike scrambling, all-terrain vehicles, jet skis, snow-scooter	24	22	16	12
The damage done by tourism	21	24	10	10
The expansion of cities	27	30	23	21
Average N (weighted)	*12425*	*1672*	*2115*	*281*

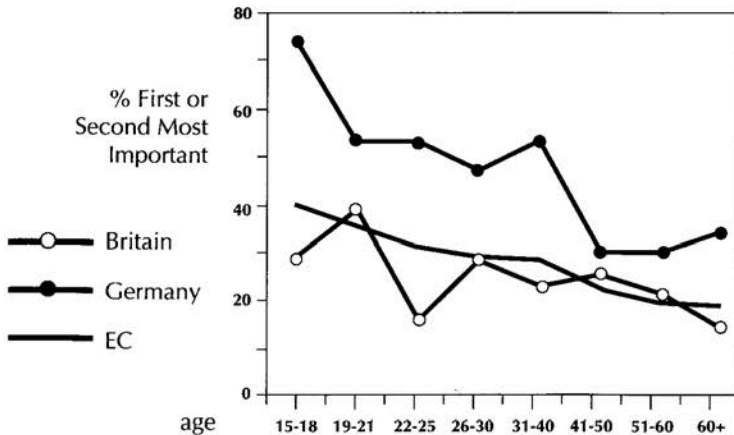
So far, we have only been able to observe rather small effects of age on environmental concern. To some extent, this may be due to the very widespread nature general environmental concern has acquired. We could only expect a greater variance if we turn to questions about the environment that have a stronger 'cost' element, i.e. we try to force respondents to make choices between different policy goals.

The 1992 survey tries to do that with a question asking whether the economy should have priority over the environment, environmental protection and the economy are of equal importance, or the environment should take precedence over the economy. In the EC, only few, 5%, say that economic considerations should override environmental protection, most (72%) say that the economy and the environment should be equally important goals, and 23% say that the environment is more important than the economy. The figures for the UK are very similar (5:69:26). However, there is no significant relationship to age at all, for either the EC or the UK.

We have to go back to 1989 to find a question that provides a harder test of commitment to environmental issues. Respondents were asked to select the first, sec-

ond and third most important political issues out of a list of 11 issues, one of which was 'environmental protection'. Choosing the environment as the first or second most important issue clearly is a hard choice because it means relegating traditional economic and social issues such as unemployment, inflation, law and order, etc. to minor places. In this case, age is quite strongly related to environmental concern throughout Europe. But there are quite strong differences between European countries, and there are differences in the effect of age.

Figure 1: **Importance of Environmental Protection as a Political Issue**



It is predominantly in Western Europe's richer countries, Luxembourg, Denmark, Netherlands, and Germany, that the environment is most widely recognised as one of the top two political problems. For the EC as a whole, the youngest age group is clearly most willing to place the environment high on the political agenda, with the share of environmentalists declining quite steadily with advancing age (see Figure 1). It is in Germany that 15-18 year olds are most environmentally inclined, with a staggering 74% placing the environment first or second. In the Netherlands, on the other hand, its slightly older age groups in their 20s and 30s who are most concerned. In most countries, people over 40 years are markedly less willing to rate the environment as a top political problem. In Britain, the relationship with age is more patchy. 19-21 year olds show a particularly high level of sensitisation to environmental problems, but people in their 40s and 50s also rate the environment comparatively highly.

Other environmental variables involving a 'cost' are those indicating environmental behaviour. Recycling household waste, joining environmental organisations, contributing to conservation groups, buying environmentally friendly goods - all these require a special effort, time, and money. Young people may be expected to have the enthusiasm and the time but perhaps not the money. What do we find?

Environmental Action

Having established that young people on the whole do demonstrate higher levels of environmental concern, we now look at how these feelings manifest themselves in the form of action. We can examine a number of forms of environmental behaviour: Do young people lead environmentally conscious lives by making decisions every day to consume ecologically friendly goods? Are young people likely to become

involved in local environmental protest action or demonstrations? Do they contribute money to green organisations? Do they go one step further by becoming members of these organisations? How do the environmental beliefs of youngsters reveal themselves in their patterns of voting behaviour? What motivates actual members of a green political party? Are the youngest members the most enthusiastic and active? In our analysis of environmental action we shall look at each of these areas in turn.

The Eurobarometre survey of 1992 asked a number of questions on what people did in their every day lives which might have an influence on the environment. Respondents were asked if they had ever performed 'environmentally friendly' acts such as avoiding dropping litter on the ground, or using a less polluting means of transport. The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: **Actions to Protect the Environment**

Question: *Which, if any, of these things have you ever done?*

	EC		UK	
	All	*15-21*	*All*	*15-21*
Avoid dropping papers or other waste on the ground	89	84	90	88
Save tap water	59	42	46	32
Not make too much noise	59	41	53	32
Have your car fitted with equipment to limit the pollution such as for example, a catalytic converter	19	14	18	10
Be a member of an association for the protection of the environment	7	9	8	12
Financially support an association for the protection of the environment	10	12	14	23
Sort out certain types of household waste (glass, paper, oil, batteries) for recycling	61	56	55	49
Take Part in a local environmental initiative for example, cleaning a beach or a park	10	14	10	19
Demonstrate against a project that could harm the environment	10	13	5	12
Buy an environmentally friendly product even if it is more expensive	47	52	58	72
Use less polluting means of transport (walking, bicycle, public transport) than your car, whenever possible	42	44	38	43
Go on a type of holiday that is less harmful to the environment	24	26	12	9
Save energy for example, by using less hot water, by closing doors and windows to save heat	66	53	74	61
N (weighted)	*12603*	*1643*	*2119*	*276*

Avoiding dropping litter is clearly the most widely accepted act, for young and old, not surprising perhaps as this requires little effort on the part of the individual. An attempt to save tap water is not so universal. Less young people have made this effort and fewer people in Britain than the rest of Europe. The issue of noise pollution also receives a mixed reaction from the different groups. Younger people all over Europe, but especially in Britain, are least likely to regard this as a problem. Only 32% of 15-21 year olds in Britain indicate that they have made a conscious attempt not to 'make too much noise', compared to 53% of Britons as a whole. Respondents were also asked if they saved energy by using less hot water, closing doors and so on, and if they made efforts to sort out household waste for recycling. These two items imply a degree of time involved to perform the task, in the case of recycling, or a 'doing without', in the case of using less hot water. We find that little difference exists between young and old in the case of recycling, although young people are slightly less inclined to have done this. A bigger difference exists in energy conservation. Young people are less likely to have undertaken activities in the interest of saving energy.

Although the personal effort involved in these actions seems quite low, young people do not particularly stand out as environmentally aware, to the contrary.

Other items in the list involve monetary resources, for example the purchase of ecologically friendly products even if they are more expensive. It could be expected that because young people have lower disposable incomes, they would be less likely to buy the more expensive items. Nevertheless, young people display more willingness to purchase these kinds of goods. The difference is not very conspicuous over Europe as a whole, but in Britain 72% of youngsters reveal that they have already bought 'green' products even when there were less expensive items on offer, compared to only 58% of the whole British population. In no other EC country has a young generation embraced green consumerism to that extent, and nowhere is the difference between younger age groups and the rest of the population so great. [10]

These findings suggest rather intriguing contrasts between attitudes and behaviour. Young people in Britain are as concerned, or in some cases more concerned, about the environment than older generations, but they appear less inclined to make behavioural changes in their everyday lives to limit damage to their environment. The most important exception is the very high inclination of youngsters to buy green products, perhaps a surprising finding if we consider their lower level of disposable income. In international comparison, it is indeed remarkable how much British youngsters have embraced 'green consumerism'.

Personal behaviour changes are, of course, only one aspect of environmental behaviour. Voluntary actions and direct interventions in the political process are others. Eurobarometre respondents were asked if they had taken part in a local environmental initiative such as cleaning a beach or a park. The numbers responding positively to this question were low compared with personal behaviour changes inspired by environmental protection. But given the rather more considerable investment of time and effort involved, it is quite remarkable that 19% of 15-21 year olds claim to have been involved in an event like this in Britain. While the participation rates in Germany and Luxembourg are still higher, no other country has the same difference between the under-21 group and the rest of the population. [11]

Turning to more explicitly political actions, respondents were asked whether they ever had taken part in a demonstration against a project that could harm the environment. Younger people generally had taken part in demonstrations less often than, for example, 31-40 year olds, but this could well be expected as older generations simply had more time to have taken part in any such action. Age differences become rather more pronounced if we look at whether individuals were willing to take part in such an action in the future. In the UK, 12% of under-21s had already taken part in a demonstration, 28% had not done this so far but were prepared to do it in future, and 60% had not demonstrated and were not prepared to demonstrate in future. For those 22 or older, the respective figures are 5% demonstrated, 20% not demonstrated but willing, 75% not willing to demonstrate.[12] Compared with other countries, the reluctance to become involved in demonstrations is highest in Denmark and the Netherlands, followed by the UK. These are all countries in which environmental groups traditionally have been well established in the polity (cf. Lowe and Goyder 1983; Jamison *et al.* 1990), and where the need for non-conventional political actions may thus be perceived to be lowest. The highest actual participation rates were recorded in Luxembourg, France, Belgium and Germany, and the highest willingness to demonstrate can be found in Portugal and Greece, followed by France, Italy and Spain. As to the influence of age, we find strong age-related effects in Belgium, Germany, Italy, the UK and Spain where under 21s are all significantly more inclined to demonstrate.[13]

Political action on the environment, with the exception of spontaneous ad-hoc actions, usually involves participation in some form of organisation. The 1992 survey asked about two different forms of association with environmental organisations, membership and financial support. Membership in environmental groups as well as the income of those groups rose dramatically in the late 1980s in the UK (see McCormick 1991). How involved are young people in these activities in the UK and the rest of Europe?

About 7% of Europeans are members of environmental organisations, the UK's rate is only slightly above the European average (8%). Leaders are the Netherlands (21%), Luxembourg (20%) and Denmark (18%). Younger people are slightly more likely to be members of such groups. The survey also asked about the willingness to join environmental groups in the future. The highest willingness to join is displayed in Greece, Portugal, Ireland, France and Italy, in that order. These countries are at the bottom of the league when it comes to actual membership. Taking actual and potential membership together, the UK is slightly below the European average in terms of membership as 68% of the population show no inclination to join an environmental group. Perhaps surprisingly, bottom rank is taken by Germany (including East Germany) where 74% are unwilling to become involved.

If we look at the influence of age, there are no substantial differences. People under 21 are generally more willing to join an environmental group in the future: EC wide, 40% express such willingness in the under 21 group as opposed to 28% for older generations. In Britain, there is a similar gap between the generations on this point. [14]

Britain stands out again in the area of financial support for environmental groups. Nearly one quarter of under 21s, 23%, make financial contributions to environmental associations in Britain, nearly twice as much as youngsters in Europe as a whole and more than double than the probably more affluent older generations in the UK. If we

consider the availability of finances, we might have expected the opposite. But only the Netherlands fits these expectations whereas in Britain the effect of age is reversed. For the rest of Europe, there are no significant differences between under 21s and the rest of the population.[15] Looking closer at age groups, then in most countries support for environmental groups keeps up quite well here in the older age groups as well. Given the income differentials, the record of youngsters throughout Europe contributing to environmental groups is all the more remarkable. Younger age groups are also more willing to contribute to environmental groups in the future, a relationship that can be observed fairly uniformly throughout EC countries.

Apart from demonstrating, joining and financially supporting an environmental group, another form of pro-environmental political action worth looking at is voting for a green party. In Britain, 1989 was the most successful year for the Greens, and thus it is of particular importance to see what role young people played at that time. The 1989 Eurobarometre survey specially designed to analyse the European elections provides us with good data to answer this question.[16]

The first important point worth making is that the turn out for European elections is usually lower than for General Elections, particularly so in Britain. If we look at the turn out in relation to age, we find that in most European countries, young voters are somewhat less likely to turn out for these elections than older voters. The difference is highest, however, in Britain, where 74% of our sample of 18-21 year olds did not actually vote in the European elections (see Table 5). The participation rate increases fairly steadily with advancing age, reaching a peak amongst the 50-year olds. In most European countries, an inverse relationship between turn out and age can be observed, but nowhere is this so strong as in Britain.[17]

Table 5: **Voting by Age in the 1989 European Elections in Britain**[1]

	Didn't vote	Voted Non-Green	Voted Green
18-21	74.0	17.8	8.2
22-25	67.2	26.2	6.6
26-30	59.3	27.2	13.6
31-40	42.0	45.5	12.5
41-50	42.7	47.8	9.6
51-60	30.2	62.5	7.3
61 +	32.8	60.8	6.5
Total	**44.4**	**46.5**	**9.1**

(Total N=876)

1 The share of repondents claiming to have voted in the European Elections is markedly higher than the real figure (36.6%). Obviously, some respondents did not want to admit that they had failed to vote. However, the share of those claiming to have voted green (15.7%) is closer to the actual result.

Of those young voters who did vote in the European elections, a substantial proportion voted green, 30% of 18-21 year olds. But because of the high level of non-participation, most support as a proportion of everyone eligible to vote clearly came from the 26-40 year olds. The relationship between green voting and youth is fairly well established throughout Europe. It is particularly strong in Germany and Italy (Franklin and Rüdig 1992).

As to the future voting intentions of 15-21 year olds, we can rely on a question in the 1989 questionnaire that asked respondents to indicate their probability of voting for a party, including the Green Party, in future general elections on a scale of 1 (Not at all probable) to 10 (Very probable). Table 6 compares the potential green vote of 15-21 year olds with the average potential vote for Greens. In Belgium, Germany, Italy and Britain young people are markedly more likely to vote Green than the general populations. The relationship with potential voting is strongest in Germany where there is a major gap in the appeal of the Greens between young and old, with the readiness of the over 45 year age groups to vote green in the future being somewhat lower.

Table 6: **Potential Vote for Greens in the EC**

Country	Mean Potential	
	All	*Aged 15-21*
Belgium	51.0	61.4
Britain	41.9	54.9
France	55.6	59.0
Ireland	46.2	53.8
Italy	43.3	59.9
Luxembourg	44.1	50.0
West Germany	40.3	54.9

Let us examine the situation in Britain in greater detail. Table 7 gives the average probability of voting for all the major parties of 15-21 year olds. Evidently, younger voters are favourably inclined toward the Greens but little difference exists between young and old in the potential vote for the larger parties. How do these choices relate to each other? Are those with a preference for Greens likely to be more sympathetic to the Conservatives, Labour or the Liberal Democrats? Correlating potential votes shows that the green vote sides predominantly with a preference for the Liberal Democrats.[18] There is only a slight positive correlation with Labour voting[19] and a clear negative correlation with Conservative voting[20] (Rüdig and Franklin 1992). For the younger voter, however, such preferences are not yet developed. If we only look at 15-21 year olds, there are no statistically significant relationships between potential green voting and potential voting for any other parties.

Table 7: **Potential Voting in Britain**

Party	Mean Potential	
	All	*Aged 15-21*
Conservatives	49.7	47.4
Labour	49.8	50.8
Liberal Democrats	34.4	33.6
SDP	27.7	30.6
Nationalists	19.6	26.6
Greens	42.0	54.9

In 1989, the British Green Party not only received a lot of votes, it also experienced a major influx of new members. Did young people figure prominently in this membership surge? Table 8 provides details of the age structure of Green Party membership in 1990[21] and compares it with the age structure of 1989 green voters and the population at large. The results show clearly that young people are not a dominant feature. To the contrary, the under-25s are slightly underrepresented among both members and voters. It is the 26-40 year olds that are disproportionally more inclined to vote for or join the Greens. Only people over 61 are significantly underrepresented.

Table 8: **Age Structure of Green Party Members and Green Voters in Britain**

Age	*Members* 1990 (N=4578)	*Voters* 1989 (N=80)	*Population* 1989 (N=902)
18-21	3.4	7.5	8.1
22-25	6.4	5.0	6.9
26-30	12.3	13.8	9.5
31-40	27.4	27.5	20.0
41-50	18.1	18.8	17.6
51-60	9.5	8.8	10.6
61 +	12.2	18.8	26.5

Finally, let us briefly look at the role young members played in the Green Party. Are they more active than older members? Do they have a higher commitment? Our survey evidence suggests that the answer to both these questions is a clear 'no'. Since 1990, the Green Party has experienced a steady decline in its membership base. Looking at the new members who joined in 1989 or 1990, we find that young Greens (21 years or younger) are clearly more likely to leave the Party than their older fellow Party members. By November 1991, 54 % of the younger members had already left the Party, compared to only 34 % of their older counterparts. If we look at the activity levels of new members joining in 1989 or 1990, we also find that younger members are less active. Between 1990 and 1991, 31 % of our young respondents attended a local Green Party meeting; this compares to 48 % of the older members. Therefore we can conclude that young people are not only underrepresented in the Green Party but those who do join are less active and more likely to leave the Party again after a short time.

Evaluating the Effect of Age

So far, we have only discussed the relationship of age and various indicators of environmental concern and action at the bivariate level. Could it be that there are other intervening variables that are more strongly related to environmental concern and which may account for the observed age differences at the same time? In particular, it would be quite possible that the higher propensity of younger generations to be concerned about the environment is, in fact, due to the higher education levels received by these generations.[22]

Table 9: **Age and Education as Determinants of Environmental Attitudes and Action**[1]

Independent Variables[2]	*Environmental Concern (1989)*		*Joining Ecology Groups (1992)*		*Demonstrating (1992)*		*Green Voting (1989)*[3]		*Potential Green Voting (1989)*[3]	
	EC	UK	EC	UK	EC	UK	EC	Britain	EC	Britain
Youth[4]	.12***	.03ns	.09***	.06*	.10***	.14***	.14***	.13**	.19***	.16***
Education[5]	.14***	.19***	.08***	.12***	.07***	.06*	.14***	.12*	.11***	.06ns
r^2	4.4	4.1	1.9	2.2	2.0	3.1	5.2	4.4	6.4	3.8

1 Cell entries are standardized regression co-efficients (BETA). Levels of statistical significance: ***p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05; n.s. not significant (at p<0.05 level).

2 Environmental action: four categories (first, second, third most important, not mentioned); Joining Ecology Groups: three categories: member, not a member but willing to join in future, not a member and not willing to join; Demonstrating: three categories: has demonstrated against project harmful to the enviroment, has not demonstrated but willing to do so in the future, has not demonstrated and is not prepared to do so in future; Green voting: two categories: voted green, voted for other party (non-voters excluded); potential voting: ten categories from very probable to vote green in future general elections (10) to not at all probable (1).

3 Green voting and Potential Green Voting: EC figures only refer to countries for which sufficient data were available: France, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and Ireland. In other countries, either there were no green candidates or the number of respondents voting green in the sample was too small.

4 Youth: 7 age categories; for green voting, 15-17 olds were excluded.

5 Education: three categories, based on age leaving full time education: 15 or below, 16 to 19, 20 or later.

We can test the relative importance of age and education in a regression analysis of various measures of environmental concern. The results of a regression analysis using age and education as independent variables for the prediction of a variety of independent variables are given in Table 9, separately for the EC and the UK. There are some important results: first, for EC countries as a whole, youth also has a statistically significant effect even if we control for education. Both education and youth are thus independently related to environmental concern and action. Overall, the variance explained by these two variables is quite low, however, demonstrating the very widespread nature of environment concern which is not narrowly defined by socio-economic factors. Second, for the UK, there are some variations, however. There is no relation between age and environmental concern once we control for education. Also joining environmental groups is more closely related to education. On the other hand, demonstrating against environmentally harmful projects is more strongly related to age; and potential is only related to age, and not to education, suggesting that young people irrespective of educational qualifications are attracted to the Greens.

Conclusions

What picture of young people's view of the environment and of their involvement in environmental politics emerges from these data? The first major conclusion we can draw is that young people are at least as concerned as older generations about the environment. In many cases, they are more concerned about the environment. Age is more important a factor in countries such as Germany while age differences are relatively muted in Britain. Clearly, the data provide support for the thesis that the environment as a political issue is going to stay as a major part of the political agenda for the foreseeable future. There is no sign of a 'let up' in terms of younger generations turning their attention to other issues.

While economic recession and uncertainty have not apparently dented the level of environmental concern of the young, there are other changes of recent years that

have influenced the way the 'environment' is seen. Particularly in the UK, there is evidence that many young people took up 'the environment' as a fashionable issue of the late 1980s but that their commitment to environmental practices and policies remains rather shallow. Buying 'green' products was clearly 'chic' and was practised by a large majority of British youth; a commitment to less glamorous activities such as making less noise and using less energy, however, is comparatively lacking.

The preference for the commitment of financial resources is again evident in the support of environmental groups. Again, British youngsters stand out in Europe by the extent to which they have supported environmental groups financially.

On the political front, young British voters in 1989 were mainly notable by their absence from the elections. However, those who did bother to vote supported the Greens in disproportionate numbers, and, generally, the 15-21s express a high potential to vote green in the future. However, that support may well be rather soft. The fact that a serious preference for environmental concerns is predominantly related to education and not to age but that potential voting is strongly related to age rather than education suggests that youngsters of all backgrounds, not just those with higher education levels and high environmental concerns, find the Greens attractive. The Greens could thus be seen to attract such high support from youngsters because of their non-establishment character. Once young voters become involved in actual voting, a preference for Greens diminishes and the realities of the electoral system reassert their authority in shaping real voting choices.

Remarkably, those youngsters who took the further step to join a political party, the Green Party, to underline their political commitment to the environment also turn out to have a rather soft core. More than half had left one year later, and most never bothered to attend any meetings or become seriously involved. Again, it is tempting to suggest that joining the Greens was perhaps little more than a fashion statement for some youngsters.

Of course, there are many young people in Britain who do take environmental politics extremely seriously, who have made a lasting commitment to environmentally conscious behaviour and who may also play a very important part in environmental groups and green parties. However, the data clearly suggest certain broad trends in public opinion and behaviour of British young people that are quite distinct from those in many other European countries. British environmental activity more than elsewhere seems to focus on green consumerism and on monetary transactions.

Our results tally well with other studies of political behaviour of the young which have been done over the years. Young voters throughout the 1970s and 1980s have turned out in smaller numbers in general elections, for example: 'The young elector tends to be rather less interested in politics, somewhat less likely to turn out and vote, less committed to any political party, and somewhat more volatile.' (Heath *et al* 1991, p. 212). Young people in the 1980s are described as non-politicised, alienated from the political system seeking solutions to problems at the individual level and not through political movements (Roberts 1985). It has also been shown that young adolescents in Britain have generally little knowledge of politics (Furnham and Stacey 1991). On the environmental side, even in the early 1980s there was evidence that younger generations are not more or less 'green' in their political outlook than others (Parry *et al.* 1992, p. 212). Only as regards unconventional forms of political actions, such as demonstrations, does age play a significant role in explaining political participation (Parry *et al.* 1992, p. 235; also Phillips 1985).

The experience of the rise of environmentalism in the late 1980s clearly has not challenged the essentially 'non-political' orientation of British youngsters. The problem of the 'environment' is mainly dealt with on the level of the individual and through actions as a 'consumer', be it through buying green goods or supporting environmental groups financially.

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Notes

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2 The history of environmental concern and action is much older, of course. For recent historical overviews of the history of environmentalism, see for example Evans 1992; Dominick 1992.

3 Local opposition against nuclear energy plants played a particularly important role for the rise of ecology movements in the 1970s. The contrast between local protest groups mobilising whole communities, typically in rural areas with traditional values, and young radicals engaged in national anti-nuclear campaigns was often a source of conflict within anti-nuclear movements; see Rüdig 1990.

4 The main sources of public opinion data referred to in this article are the Eurobarometre studies EB31a and EB37. Both surveys were carried out on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities in June/July 1989 and March/April 1992, respectively; see Reif 1992, 1993. We are grateful to the ESRC Data Archive for making the data available to us. However, sole responsibility for the presentation and interpretation of the data rests with the authors alone. The surveys consisted of face-to-face interviews carried out throughout the countries of the EC. The typical sample size per country was about 1,000. Exceptions were Germany where separate samples were administered in the former West and East German parts for the 1992 survey; the UK where a separate sample was administered in Northern Ireland, and Luxembourg where the sample size was cut to 300. A total of 11,819 people in 1989 and 13,002 in 1992 were interviewed.

5 While the available data will allow us to examine many important questions, there are important limits. First, we can only examine the views of those who are 15 years old or older. There are no data on younger respondents. This still sets this survey apart from most other opinion polls on political issues since they usually do not involve any respondents below 18. Second, the survey was not a special survey into youth attitudes and behaviour and thus includes only a limited number of respondents in the younger age groups. While this will allow us to make comparisons between age groups, the sample size is not large enough for any more detailed examinations of internal differences within the group of adolescents.

6 All results given for the EC as a whole represent percentages or other coefficients related to a sample weighted according to the relative size of the population in the respective countries.

7 Only the age differences for 'quality of drinking water' and 'lack of green space' are statistically significant, however.

8 The differences between age groups in the assessment of 'global warming' and 'destruction of the ozone layer' are statistically significant (at the $p \leq 0.05$ level or better) for EC and the UK.

9 All differences referred to are statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level.

10 The correlation coefficient between 'buying green products' and age (7 categories) in Britain is .230, statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level.

11 In the UK, the correlation between age (measured in termsof 15-21 year olds vs. the rest) and having taken part in an environmental action such as cleaning a beach or park is $r=.114$, statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level. There is no statistically significant correlation between these variables in any other EC country, except Ireland.

12 The noted age related differences in the UK are statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level.

13 The noted age related differences are statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.01$ level or better.

14 These age-related differences are statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level for the EC and at the $p \leq 0.01$ level for the UK.

15 The age-related differences noted for the UK and the Netherlands are statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level.

16 For all 1989 Eurobarometre data, the figures for Germany exclude East Germany. For 1989 data relating to voting or potential voting, the figures for Britain exclude Northern Ireland.

17 France comes closest where 70% of 18-21 year olds failed to vote in the European elections; all these differences are statistically significant at the $p \leq 0.001$ level; by comparison, just 30% of 18-21 year old Germans failed to vote.

18 r=.219, p≤0.001.

19 r=.097, p≤0.001.

20 r= -.208, p≤0.001.

21 The data reported here are the result of a panel survey of the members of the Green Party of England, Wales and Northern Ireland carried out in November 1990 and November 1991. For further details, see Rüdig *et al.* 1991; 1992.

22 For the theoretical background to these hypotheses, cf. Lowe and Rüdig 1986; Franklin and Rüdig 1992.

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AWARENESS AND ACTIVISM:

Time to start bridging the gap

JO POLAK

There seems to be an assumption in some circles that environmental concern is widespread amongst the young. Greenness itself is young and trendy, according to the marketers of environmentally friendly products and images. Assumptions of this sort easily lead to complacency. If the young are concerned about environmental problems then presumably they will get on and do something about them, so really there is nothing to worry about.

In fact there is quite a wide gap between young people's environmental concerns and the steps that need to be taken in order to solve environmental problems. There are also various ways in which the gap could be or is being bridged.

It is true that a number of opinion polls and surveys over the past few years have shown that environment is an important concern amongst children and adolescents. A recent survey of 16-19 year olds (Banks et al. 1992) shows environment as the fourth most important area of opinion that young people felt strongly about, coming only after race, roles of men and women and sex. However, there are a number of problems when it comes to putting this concern into practice in order to change things.

Firstly, other evidence shows that young people's understanding of environmental issues can be somewhat flawed. For instance, young people believe they can solve major environmental problems through changing their buying habits, but without changing their lifestyles fundamentally *(See Bennie & Rüdig in this issue)*. More children believe that switching to unleaded petrol is an effective solution to global warming than believe that switching to public transport is effective (Henley Centre, 1991). This is despite the fact that switching to unleaded is intended to reduce the amount of lead in the atmosphere and does not make any significant changes to the amount produced of the major greenhouse gas, carbon dioxide.

Secondly, most young people see environmental issues as somewhat removed from them: deforestation, global warming and ozone depletion are seen as the most important concerns (Henley Centre, 1991). Nearly all these issues are difficult to influence on a personal level and this leads, not surprisingly, to a sense of powerlessness and impending doom. The Henley Centre's survey found that young people's visions of the future environment were overwhelmingly pessimistic.

Thirdly, there is no guarantee that more information about environmental problems will actually help anyone to tackle them. The British Social Attitudes Survey (Social and Community Planning Research, 1992) shows that green attitudes are far more prevalent than green activity, even when we are only talking about small scale personal changes such as reducing energy consumption. This is, if anything, supported by the Department of the Environment's survey of adults in 1989 (Brown 1992) which shows that young adults aged 18-24 were **less** likely than other adults to take personal environmental action such as recycling waste or reducing energy consumption.

Indeed, some people might claim that young people actually damage the local environment, using it perhaps to express their alienation from the rest of the community through graffiti, vandalism, over-exuberant play and casual litter dropping.

Obviously, the picture is not quite as optimistic as one might have been led to believe. However, there are a variety of ways in which environmental awareness can and does lead to action. Before considering these it is useful to distinguish some different types of environmental concern, as without this the understanding of what is meant by 'environmental' can be so broad as to be meaningless.

One distinct strand is a concern about nature. This kind of concern is valued by wildlife organisations such as the Royal Society for Nature Conservation (RSNC) and the Royal Society for Protection of Birds (RSPB). It is also promoted by organisations such as the Institution for Earth Education, which aims through experiential learning to make young people more aware of the natural and ecological processes that support life.

A second area, which could be described as local environmental concern, focuses on the immediate surroundings where young people live. Issues such as pollution, litter, urban sprawl and car emissions figure highly (Henley Centre 1991). Young people's concern about lack of local facilities, such as shops and leisure centres, can also be seen as legitimate environmental concerns since they connect directly to issues of transport and of safety.

Concern about global environmental issues, as already described, is the key area of environmental concern for young people. The better informed may make connections between these and other issues such as social injustice, and may express their concern through 'green' political activity. The survey of 16 - 19 year olds (Banks et al. 1992) found that young people with 'green' attitudes of this sort were likely to be concentrated in upper sixth forms and in higher education.

There is also a considerable amount of concern over single issues, not always identified as part of a wider concern over animal rights. This particular issue is often associated with vegetarianism or veganism, as well as leading to campaigning activities. Other single issues which have attracted support amongst young people include anti nuclear campaigns and famine relief.

It has already been noted that translating concern into action is not a simple process. It seems that there are three main approaches. These can be described as the youth work approach, the approach taken by environmental organisations and the work done by young people organising themselves independently.

The Youth Work Approach

The Council for Environmental Education (CEE) defines environmental youth work as a process which 'should empower young people to make changes in order to achieve a better, fairer, safer, longer-lasting environment for all' and which, amongst other things 'leads to positive and informed action for change' (CEE 1991). The youth service more generally seems preoccupied by the notion of empowerment, which however defined must include some intention of change.

However, most of the work currently supported and promoted by youth work agencies is at the level of environmental awareness raising. Youth Clubs UK, which is the largest non-uniformed youth organisation in the UK, is engaged in a three year programme to raise environmental awareness in its member clubs. The central elements of this have been the provision of training for leaders and of resources to encourage the introduction of practical environmental activities into youth club programmes. The focus of these activities has been education about

environmental issues, with some pointers towards personal lifestyle changes and local projects such as clean ups and conservation activities. This is partly dictated by the needs of member clubs for activities that cater for children from age 11 upwards, and partly by the need to provide a basic level of training for leaders inexperienced in dealing with environmental issues.

Many other voluntary youth organisations have incorporated the option of environmental activity into their programmes. For example the Guide Association has a conservation badge amongst its awards and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme has conservation as an option in its service section. The Scout Association has identified environment as one of four key themes in its Venture Scout programme, in response to interest from members. Opportunities are offered for members to get involved in activities run by environmental organisations as well as guidance on how to reduce the environmental impact of their own group's activities.

The Woodcraft Folk, a much smaller organisation, takes environment as a major theme. They have been running a project on 'Education for Environmental Change' since 1989, which has developed materials that encourage young people 'to take action on environmental issues which concern them' (Brander 1993). The action they promote does go further than individual lifestyle changes and includes lobbying and campaigning, particularly on local issues which affect young people.

Local authority youth services have, on the whole, been slow to recognise environmental issues as relevant to the work they do with young people. This is despite the fact that they prioritise work in deprived areas, where young people are often some of the worst victims of poor living environments and of environmental hazards such as air and water pollution. Several authorities are now beginning to offer basic environmental awareness training as part of their in-service training programmes for youth workers. Also there seems to be more awareness amongst professional workers of the relevance of an environmental perspective to other key social issues such as unemployment, health and equal opportunities. Birmingham Youth Service (see Jill Edbrooke's article in this issue) provides an interesting example of how environmental activity can be integrated into broader youth service activity. There are also some examples of work which tackles wider social attitudes from a starting point of local environmental concern.

Environmental change may well be the aim of youth work initiatives such as these. Certainly it seems that many of the organisations are successfully using environment as a tool for social education. However, the effects of this are, on the whole, not direct environmental change but changes to individuals, who may then be able to effect change later in their lives if opportunities arise. This may well affect the future policies of government and of industry through the voting system, but this is not an immediate or quantifiable effect. The challenge facing those advocating an environmental youth work approach is to demonstrate how it empowers young people, and if it is actually able to have any significant impact on environmental problems.

Environmental Organisations Working With Young People

Both local authority and voluntary youth organisations have attempted to cater for young people's environmental concerns by offering them opportunities to work with environmental organisations. Also many environmental organisations run their own youth or junior sections.

Conservation organisations such as BTCV and environmental improvement organisations such as Groundwork Trust are often quite keen to involve young people in practical work to change habitats and/or appearances in local areas. There are a number of examples of youth groups getting involved in tasks such as tree planting, stream clearances and also in projects that provide facilities for people, such as the creation of new play areas.

Such projects have extremely visible results, even if they have on occasion been criticised for exploiting young people's free labour. To judge whether they are an effective way of converting concern into action it is important to understand what is meant by environmental change. Does planting a tree or clearing a stream really change the environment? And does it really tackle the local environmental issues the young people are concerned about? Some of the more recent approaches to local schemes, for example that taken by the Great North Forest (1992) attempt to ensure the long term success of any changes through a broad reaching community involvement, including consultation and cultural events. This suggests that a need has been identified for changing some of the underlying social structures and processes that helped create the local environment in the first place.

Here there is a clear application for the youth and community worker's skills and indeed, resolving the kinds of conflicts that exist between young people and their communities over their local environments could be a vital first step in environmental change. The much quoted Oxfam Education slogan 'Think globally, act locally' has a great relevance here, as it could lead us to see many of the traditional youth and community preoccupations of participation and local change as directly connected to global concerns. There may well be a case for youth workers working more closely with conservation and environmental improvement groups in order to implement local change and ensure that the deeper potential changes are not lost in the effort to change physical appearances.

Few of the environmental organisations offer such a direct, practical approach to addressing young people's concerns about global environmental problems. One group that does, perhaps, start to address this problem is Earth Action, the youth section of Friends of the Earth (FoE). Earth Action encourages young people to tackle global issues by coordinating their own groups. These are mainly based in schools and colleges, though some are based in local areas. Information and ideas are sent that enable the groups to all campaign on the same issues at the same time. The campaigns do tackle environmental problems directly, often aiming to change specific policies or behaviour, as for example in the Tropical Rainforest Campaign which campaigned for import controls on mahogany as well as calling on the public to boycott DIY stores that sold tropical timber. Campaigning activities are also aimed more generally at changing the attitudes of others, and bringing issues to their attention. As FoE is essentially a political lobbying organisation, the young people involved rely mainly on the claimed successes of the whole organisation for any sense of achievement in changing the environment. In contrast with some of the youth work activities described, it does seem likely that young people will be politically educated through such experiences. However, it is equally possible that less articulate young people could become frustrated or disillusioned with this type of political activity.

The activities of other environmental organisations running junior sections tend to cater mainly for younger children. However, their activities often have a strong educational emphasis, and projects may be channelled into tackling serious envi-

ronmental questions. RSNC's junior section, WATCH, for example, had a research project running over two years to monitor low level ozone pollution around the country by growing ozone sensitive plants. As an educational charity WATCH was unable to use the results in direct campaigning, but the published results have contributed to the debate around this particular issue.

Opportunities also exist, for example in the RSPB's Young Ornithologist's Club, for young people to become leaders in the junior sections, directing their own enthusiasm and concern into the education of others.

There are some difficulties with using the approach of environmental organisations as a model for environmental activism. One of these is the question of how change takes place. A considerable proportion, though not all, of the practical and educational work undertaken by environmental organisations is funded by industries which arguably pollute or exploit the environment. It is difficult to estimate the effects of such sponsorship on their activities, but hard to believe that funding would be given to any organisation that allowed direct criticism of the sponsors.

The other main difficulty is one of limited appeal, as environmental organisations often seem to be dominated by the white middle classes. Environmentalism itself is sometimes seen as only for those who can afford it, and this image has been reinforced by the 'environmentally friendly' consumer boom. This image could be changed, as it is not the same in other parts of the world, where environmental issues are very much the concern of indigenous peoples and of the rural poor.

Young People Taking Action Themselves

The UK does not have a well established independent environmental youth movement. This is in contrast to other European countries, for instance France and Sweden, which has widespread networks of local groups as well as national youth environmental organisations (International Youth Federation 1987). However some action has been taken by UNCED for Youth, who prepared the youth input for the Earth Summit in Brazil in 1992:- the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) (McCloskey 1992). This work is being continued by Action for Solidarity, Equality, Environment and Development (A SEED), an international network of young activists. The British Youth Council also produced an environmental charter at its conference in 1991.

We rely mainly on the media for other examples of direct action by young people themselves, and this may be one of the reasons why green activism is seen as extreme forms of direct action. The groups involved are often informal, and it is therefore difficult to form an accurate picture of their age or the background of members. What they seem to have in common is a willingness to tackle major and controversial issues, usually acting independently of the more respectable 'adult' campaigning groups.

Animal Rights, which is a particularly popular issue amongst young people generally, has attracted its own brand of industrial 'terrorists'. The Animal Liberation Front (ALF), for example, break into animal experimentation laboratories and perform acts of economic sabotage such as their incendiary campaign against fur shops. Their explanations of these actions display quite an acute, if cynical, assessment of what causes change in commercial organisations: 'It would be naive to presume that large companies would be persuaded by compassionate arguments.

They sell fur to make money. They will only stop when it is unprofitable.' (ALF, 1992). It is likely that less extreme groups such as Lynx, who until recently campaigned on the same issue, have had as much effect through their imaginative advertising campaigns, but this kind of campaign requires considerable skill and knowledge, of a sort not always available to the young activist.

Young people such as the activists at Twyford Down, who are resisting the extension of the M3 across a piece of ancient chalk grassland, have done more than give up a bit of time to attend a protest. Their whole lifestyle reflects their opposition to materialism and a willingness to live closer to nature (Vidal 1992). According to Vidal, the Dongas, named after the ancient trackways on Twyford Down, would distinguish themselves from the new-age travellers, many of whom would be less committed to saving natural environments and stopping development. It would be difficult, though, not to draw parallels between the Dongas and these groups, and also groups such as the peace campers at Greenham Common and at Faslane nuclear submarine base. There is no doubt that some kind of wider social movement is emerging on the fringes of society which, significantly, rejects the whole western consumer value system with its emphasis on jobs, houses and possessions.

Other militant environmental activist groups certainly exist, including the organisation Earth First!, which has a network of about 1000 activists and sympathisers in branches across the UK. Earth First! is a loose organisation, started in the United States, whose aim is'.. the defence of mother earth'. members believe in personal empowerment and get involved in a range of direct action against alleged environmental offenders such as Fisons, who produce garden peat taken from lowland peat bogs (Cohen 1992).

This may seem a long way from 'the youth club programme' and the agendas of inner cities, deprivation and apathy. Are the young environmentalists exceptional, or are there some connections to the average young person? Certainly there seem to be some common strands in their fears for the future, their desire to obtain justice and their tendency to respond as immediately and directly as they can to the problems they encounter. Environmental activism is presented in the media as extreme or extraordinary, but may well originate in experiences or frustrations that are common to many young people.

The Scale Of The Problem

As can be seen, action for environmental change amongst young people ranges from increasing awareness and personal lifestyle changes to political campaigning and militant direct action. The scale of the activity is still quite small, and in most cases limited to a few committed 'environmentalists'. Also, it is not clear whether the small lifestyle changes advocated by many organisations would have a significant effect even if they were implemented by all young people.

To give an idea of the scale of just one problem, global warming, the average child in the Northern Hemisphere consumes 20 times more than the average child in the Southern Hemisphere. To make a fair contribution to stabilising the global environment UK citizens would have to reduce their carbon dioxide emissions by 92% (Vittachi 1992). This cannot be achieved just by switching off lights, or even turning down the central heating.

Nevertheless, a start has been made, and there have been a number of attempts to bridge the gap between awareness and activism. Some have been more successful than

others, and the cumulative and long term effects of individuals being involved in change should not be underestimated. Perhaps as awareness grows (and urgency) successes will be built on and consolidated. However, the attempts at change are still very patchy, and environmentalism amongst young people still seems a long way from effecting any major environmental changes. The challenge for the future is to bridge the gap in ways that drive towards genuine change rather than just patching consciences.

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PEOPLE AND ENVIRONMENT IN MULTI-CULTURAL BRITAIN

JUDY LING WONG

Environmental concern is an issue for all communities. This article explores some perspectives which determine whether we make an effort to involve ourselves with reaching out and working with ethnic communities, and how these shape the way we may see ourselves in relation to different cultures. It draws on the work of the Black Environment Network and gives some examples of environmental projects with multi-cultural themes.

The Black Environment Network

The Black Environment Network (BEN) is a multi-racial organization that works to enable the missing contribution of black and ethnic minority communities to come forward in environmental work. BEN works towards enabling ethnic minority participation through concentrating on positive opportunities which contribute towards creating a climate in which participation can take place. Of course directly fighting racism and discrimination is an important area to tackle, but there are already organizations dealing with these issues. BEN has chosen to identify important avenues for active change around the environmental theme which play a part in completing the picture.

These include :

- *Building up understanding of the significance of multi- culturalism as a force within the environmental movement.*
- *Highlighting the missing positive contribution ethnic minorities are yet to make as part of the mainstream.*
- *Recognizing the goodwill in the mainstream population and training interested personnel who do not have the necessary awareness and skills to take on the initiative of reaching out and working with ethnic communities.*
- *Getting the involvement of ethnic minorities onto the mainstream agenda, a mainstream whose organizations claim to be open to all.*
- *Creating a vision for involvement through listening to the situation and bringing together relevant observations which challenge attitudes and stimulate discussion, leading to action and change.*

The use of the term 'black' in our name is symbolic and is used to describe the common experience of all ethnic minority communities, including the less visible white minority communities such as the Polish, Greek Cypriots or the Irish. BEN provides support and advice to black organizations and individuals who are newcomers to environmental work. But equally important, we also work to fulfil the needs of many mainstream environmental organizations who want to ensure that their practices welcome the whole population. A major contribution from BEN is the recognition that many people of goodwill in the mainstream need help too. The enabling has to work from two directions for the co-operation to happen. BEN is not about separating off ethnic communities, but about being a catalyst for opening up the environmental movement so that ethnic communities can make their enormous missing contribution. In our work, we have found that it is not enough to stimulate participation by ethnic communities, but that the enabling is just as much about making it possible for per-

sonnel from environmental organizations to acquire the skills and awareness to work with different cultures. After all if you were the only project worker going out to visit an ethnic minority group, being the only white person, the position is suddenly reversed - you may find yourself having the intimidating experience of feeling that you are now the ethnic minority person among a group of people who share views and ways that you do not fully understand. Within a training workshop this experience can be used to gain extremely useful understanding of and identification with the experience of ethnic minorities. The nature of this distressing, isolating, and disorientating experience is such that it can be entirely disabling, leaving a mark that plays a role in the lack of confidence to participate in the mainstream. Such experiences not only apply to new arrivals, but might be a typical experience of a small child's first entry into the world of going to school, leaving behind the familiar and different small circles of the immediate family and friends of early life. BEN will support Kid's clubs or holiday playschemes considering starting up environmental activities or projects, offering advice on how to draw the wider community into such work and how green activity can best reflect the multi-racial, multi-ethnic aspects of their club or scheme and the local community. A multi-cultural setting, for example having a cultural garden,or painting together a mural showing plants and animals from all over the world, helps towards creating an atmosphere of inclusion and acceptance which is important to the development of a child as a member of the community.

BEN runs the Ethnic Minorities Award Scheme (EMAS) to support projects that are creative and which relate to the needs and aspirations of ethnic minority communities and groups who were formerly perceived as being uninterested in the environment. EMAS is more than just a 'grants' scheme. It is direct action to increase participation by ethnic minority communities in environmental activity and join the mainstream environmental movement. It highlights the missing contribution of ethnic communities and gives their presence an accent. It uncovers a new range of project types, enriching the mainstream project range, and demonstrates the significance of particular ways of working and thinking.

Multi-culturalism - a transformed view of people and landscape

BEN works in many directions to bring forward a missing contribution that is potentially huge but more than that, integrational projects are a beginning in creating a setting for a global awareness that contributes to the survival of our only home - the care of the environment that is the whole earth. For all of us to work together effectively, there must be created a climate within which participation can take place. It works in two directions. Firstly, that ethnic communities here will participate naturally, with a sense of belonging within the setting of Britain. Secondly, that through this experience, the British mainstream population will also work within a different vision, not one just about bettering the British environment, but seeing Britain as a part of the evolving earth, in continuity through history and landscape.

One can draw parallels between the concept of multi-culturalism and the importance of respect for habitats within the continuity of a wider ecosystem. One of the misinterpretations of multi-culturalism as a concept is that it means the erosion of unique cultures, whereas the central idea of multi-culturalism is uniqueness. Multi-culturalism is about diversity and its unity in diversity, just as biodiversity has come to be recognized as crucial within the interacting ecosystem. Interaction also continues to create new systems which are also symbiotically unique. Defining multi-culturalism in this way is something that environmentalists should find easy to take on as a constructive and pro-

ductive concept, because the valuing of habitats is about recognizing the importance of encouraging the diversity of unique combinations in nature. A unique culture is the parallel to a unique habitat, a system in which dependent relationships support and enable the survival of the whole. Like habitats, cultures are not fixed frameworks but are evolving, moving at a possible pace through the impact of historical change. What is important is to be able to see that the landscape is not a static quantity with features which call for rigid resistance against change, as if there is a static identity in time that is valuable in an isolated and nationalist way that is discontinuous with neighbouring features of nature. Rather it is constantly shifting, with identifiable systems in points of time. This viewpoint confirms that basic global unity of nature across the world, and enables us to maintain a global/local vision in participating in the care of nature in the way we live. At various times isolated national, regional and local labels are plastered onto the landscape and its elements. For example at the present time there are the unfortunate labels of native species and alien species, prone to being used in ways that echo the language of racism. Looking at the history of these labels reveals their artificiality. Nature is itself. If such labels were to be taken seriously, plants, like people, would seem unreasonably to change nationalities, or would have no rights to migrate. Some seem to integrate only due to having been defined as alien in the first place. The evolution of the landscape may then be distorted due to groups of fauna and flora (for example, through the simplistic use of the label of native or alien) being arbitrarily encouraged to flourish or rejected and crushed out. Buddleia, the renowned butterfly bush, that is now on every list of desirable native British plants, came originally from China. There has been a wave of the highlighting of 'bad alien plants' which has created an atmosphere which seems to foster a popular notion that all non-native plants are a threat. A lot of this is due to the neglect of explaining clearly the scientific basis for the attack on one particular Rhododendron, an invasive imported plant. Alongside the justified eradication of this plant should also be highlighted the same problem with a native invasive plant, the notorious bracken, which poisons every plant in its path by secreting toxins and threatens to take over the landscape. Not all native plants are 'good' plants, just as there are 'good' imported plants which finally, such as Buddleia, become part of and contribute to an evolving world of flora and fauna. Further terms used in the environmental movement are equally emotive, 'Rhodo-bashing' almost echoing 'Paki-bashing'. For young children, the simplistic proposition of encouraging 'good native species' and rejecting and uprooting 'bad alien' species finds an echo in their insecurity.

Most pocket guides to common trees found in Britain start by pointing out that less than 10% of these are truly British ! What does it all mean when alongside such information there is the current pervasive idea put forward by environmental agencies that if we do plant trees we should consider planting native trees. With the recognition of Britain as a strongly multi-cultural society, one needs to address the need, alongside such simplistic instruction, of explaining the full context of the movement of plants. This is especially true within schools, many using nature gardens as a teaching tool, and obtaining expert advice from local environmental organizations which give them lists of solely native plants. It is important to emphasize the central idea of the global evolving nature of landscape itself, in which one sees the present landscape in Britain as where it is now, different from what it was through the centuries and evolving into the future. Nature has no respect for national boundaries but is about global aspects. The trees of Britain find continuity beyond its national shores. What is a native tree ? At the height of the last ice age, as little as 20,000 years ago, there were probably no full sized trees in the British Isles, at least north of a line drawn from today's London to Bristol. As the climate became warmer in about 9000 BC., the tree belts migrated

northwards onto the area we now call England, still continuous as a land mass with what we now call Europe separately. Vast barrenness was once here as an identity.Countless habitats, species of flora and fauna have come and gone. Dinosaurs and other wonderful yet undiscovered creatures which used to walk upon this earth have disappeared. Plants and trees came and went. Many communities arrived, lived and fought here, to produce , so recently in history, a multi-cultural group of people, a newly unique cultural group who now choose to call themselves English. We and what is here now are the picture of landscape and people, evolving too.

A world within Britain

Young people are growing up in a multi-cultural Britain. What does this mean ? In this article we can begin to think about some of the relevant aspects. Everyone working in the environment must take responsibility for building a setting for the development of how young people may end up seeing the world.The people whom we call 'ethnic minorities ' in Britain are simply the continuity of the different peoples living upon this earth, people who are, in fact, representatives of the majority cultures of the world. They are ' the world within Britain.' Different cultures offer unique perspectives on environmental issues. These enrich and widen our thinking, contributing to the building up of an ever more relevant and global vision of nature and environment. The environmental movement, especially since the Rio summit, has come to realize that it can only be a global movement in order to be truly effective in the care of our only home - planet Earth.This doorstep accessibility to the world, our 'world within Britain' is a vital and exciting opportunity within the present preoccupation of 'thinking globally and acting locally.' Growing up in a setting in which different cultures are expressed, developing within an atmosphere of being world citizens, feeling in contact with the world, are all vital strands in the web of the care of the world environment. Someday from our localities may come the essential individuals who have grown up with living skills for working cross-culturally, who may become our representatives on the world stage, thinking and working with awareness in their negotiations with the nations of the world for our future.

Cultural visions and global/local themes

A little school called Bingley Woods First School is set in a rural area with an all white population. One of their teachers had the extraordinary foresight to realize that multiculturalism as an experience was even more important where ethnic minorities are not present ! She recognized that talking about it was not enough and wanted the children to grow up with a real understanding of different cultures. The answer she found was to twin the school with one which had a ethnic minority component. The children spent days in each others' school, and continuing friendships make a multicultural world a true experience. Twinning is a concept that will increasingly play a role within the global/local setting. It can be designed to break down cultural barriers, and urban/rural barriers. For rural groups, it may be a doorway to the world. For urban groups, it may be an important experience of being in contact with nature at large.

If we look back far enough, we can see that different ways of life and the growth of systems of looking at the world arose because of environmental isolation. Natural barriers such as rivers too wide or too violent to cross, mountains, the sea, stretches of hostile barren land such as deserts separated groups of people who then developed different cultures. When new skills were learnt which enabled travel further afield, cultures were linked , so that those geographically closer influenced each other. In many ways, looked at with such a perspective one can ponder upon the diversity of cultural solutions to life and environment as a spectrum illustrating the

potential of the human personality itself. Can we embrace this and take on the excitment of a discovery of aspects of ourselves through contact with different cultures? The contemporary world and the contemporary environmental movement has rightly recognized that we all have only one home - planet Earth. It is not all that big, and all that lives and grows on it are interacting each second of the day. As the sun sets each day, we realize that the same sun that was shining on us today is moving on to shine on the other peoples on this planet while we sleep and that when it returns to us the next morning, it has given something of itself to each and every man, woman, and child on this planet. All of us share everything on the planet. Its oceans are linked, the clouds drift and rain across continents, huge seas edge numerous countries, birds migrate - African birds are British birds too. It is an exciting opportunity and an essential one to take up the work of involving ethnic communities in our lives and in our work. The ethnic communities of the UK are a gateway for us to the world. All of us can become part of a continuous fabric with the populations and cultures of the world. If we wish to truly be a global movement, as we so dearly need to be, we need to be able to understand and work together harmoniously with the different peoples of this planet. If we create a vital atmosphere of globalism locally, so that when we plant a tree in a local street we are also conscious that we are planting a tree on the earth and link ourselves to the love and care of trees all over the world, we are not only building a climate in which participation by all can take place, we are also building within local communities something very vital to all our futures - perhaps if we can grow up side by side with different cultures and learn naturally how to work cross-culturally, we can look forward to co-operate successfully and work towards a co-ordinated plan for the survival of our only home - planet earth. Working in this wide context not only give us cross-cultural skills, and widens our vision, it also makes our emotions vitally linked to those seemingly faraway events we see on television immediate and compelling. One may see the floods in Bangladesh on the news, but it is a different matter altogether if you knew a Bangladeshi family and you can hear them cry. Many of our drives to involve ourselves in issues stem from our emotions, and therefore from our human relationships. From working together in teams on environmental projects, from friendships and the natural widening knowledge that comes from that also comes a natural widening and relevance of wider environmental concerns - being global and local is a natural development of being in contact with ethnic communities in the UK. Being in contact with ethnic minorities is being emotionally and motivationally tuned into the state of the earth. Human action through national economics, international trade structures, industrial practices and so on all impact on nature and inescapably on individual human happiness in the end. The necessary change depends on large numbers of people being moved to shape alternative action. We must come to realize that even thinking about wanting something has power. Even if we are not the vehicle for direct action, our public opinion can be the essential pressure for change. Young people are building up a basic awareness that is the foundation for playing a role in the world. We are here to provide a setting for their development.

Local initiatives

A national movement is only the sum total of what is taking place locally. It is the action of local people that is all important. Many local initiatives have been set up to involve ethnic communities in environmental work. The BEN Local Initiatives Network initiatives include formal groups with members from the local authorities, environmental organizations, community groups, schools and interested individuals, but some initiatives are single workers in particular services, for example, the youth

service, the planning department of a local authority, a teacher, whoever wishes to take on the work in a wide way or within a more restricted area, for example someone in the youth service wishing only to work with young people, and only with those who are immediately in contact, bringing in others only when it seems appropriate.

Access to the Countryside

One of the biggest categories of projects funded by EMAS has been access to the countryside through trips and visits - EMAS receives a grant from the Countryside Commission specifically to make awards to groups for this purpose. Countryside visits are important for a number of reasons, and as well as being an enjoyable outing for all involved, can bring special benefits to ethnic communities, and be the springboard for further environmental involvement. For children of ethnic minority communities which once lived in rural environments a visit can bring a greater understanding and appreciation of the closeness to nature which was once their parents' and grandparents' experience. Countryside visits are also a recreation enjoyed by millions and should be equally accessible to all communities in Britain. Millions of pounds of every worker's tax go into the maintenance of the countryside. Many low-paid families are contributing to the care of a wonderful facility which they never have the money to consistently see and enjoy. Through organizing a countryside trip a club or scheme can open up accessibility which might not otherwise be available to a child through their family, because of lack of transport or money, unsocial hours worked by the wage-earner or lack of confidence to make the first steps to 'venture into the unknown'. The child's experience of the countryside can, in turn, help their family and community to feel more at ease about making visits themselves.Barriers to visiting the countryside are also faced by other groups with much in common with ethnic minority groups, so organizing a trip can be of huge benefit to your club or scheme as a whole, making the countryside more accessible to more people in your local community.

The countryside experience lays down the essential basis for participation in the environmental movement. If one has never experienced nature at large how can one imagine caring for it ? It is the love and enjoyment of the countryside which leads one to wish to care for plants and wildlife. For ethnic communities it also provides a feeling of ownership and belonging. At present, connected with concern for laying down a basis for participation is the fact that 80% of our population lives in urban areas, and a major issue is the lack of contact with nature for those growing up in urban areas. Allied to countryside visits is the need for urban environmental projects which provide contact with nature and raise awareness about environmental issues where people live their lives.

As a natural development , following a trip, groups are often inspired to transform their immediate urban surroundings because they want to remain in contact with nature, which gave so much pleasure and a feeling of well being. As a strategy for further participation and empowerment of groups to change their environment, clubs and organizations can play an essential role in encouraging further projects , mixing fun with raising awareness, and practical improvements. As groups grow with their first projects, they learn all the basics which newcomers do - teamwork, budgeting, designing possible projects, fundraising, clarifying aims and beginning to aim high!

The cultural garden

The cultural ecological garden is a good example of a practical project which creates a multi-cultural resouce.The cultural garden has had perhaps the greatest impact on

the imagination of groups coming to EMAS, involving the cultivation of plants from around the world. This is not about the introduction of foreign species new to the UK. Plants from all over the world already surround us. EMAS produces a list of plants that can be used, with the exact botanical names of each plant so participants can order them from your local plant centre. They are plants which are already here in the 'English' garden, and are readily available. The cultural garden is really an exercise in recognition. For example the EMAS Far Eastern and African garden in a London school contains plants from the Far East on the same latitude as England, some of which are very common in British gardens. Children are delighted to see the recognition of their origin in the surroundings in which they grow up. All of a sudden the realization hits them, children come back to school saying - there are Chinese plants in my garden ! They feel then that aspects of their origin have 'always' been here, accepted, included and loved for their beauty for a long time. A setting of inclusion is a setting for positive child development. Here the cultural garden plays an important role. Many community centres have also planted cultural gardens. Others have consciously incorporated a mix of cultural elements and other native English species which demonstrate ecosystems and plant types so that the springboard of interest and excitement of inclusion is carried over into further interest and education, thereby laying down the ground for further involvement and understanding of nature.The experience of BEN is that many projects wish to combine elements which include the environment, play, social aspects, health and the arts.

Projects using the arts

The arts are invaluable because they give an inspired understanding of a theme as opposed to a logical one. An understanding that involves heart and soul can spur one on to make the efforts often needed to gain an elaborate and necessary understanding of the subject one has begun to love. The arts awaken our senses and sharpen them. They make us critical of our surroundings, and urge action. Have we not become far too accommodating, far too adaptable to awful environments. Arts projects are fun. They make us feel rightly alive.EMAS projects using the arts have included: study projects leading to a mural on an endangered species; play involving nature or recycled material; study/design projects, sometimes employing an artist using batik, a carpenter to take on the more complicated aspects of creating play sculpture of endangered species, a dance project with the theme wildlife in the city.... One good example of a mural is at Hockley Flyover adventure playground in Birmingham, painted on the play building by children during a summer playscheme, with the theme of 'animals and plants from around the world'. This had a particular focus on the backgrounds of children in the local area. Not only did the project enhance the play building of the scheme, raise ecological awareness and involve many children, it also led to a sense of ownership and belonging and the disappearance of vandalism to the play building. It was certainly a meaningful social exercise on top of the achievement of raising awareness about nature conservation. And the mural is there for everyone to enjoy for years to come.

One people, one Earth

In conclusion, organizations may wish to become part of the movement to work with ethnic minorities and consider the following points of good practice:

1. *Adopt an equal opportunities policy and ensure that members of your organization have the awareness and skills to reach out and work with ethnic minority communities through the provision of training workshops. It is now fashionable*

to employ the one ethnic minority worker in an organization. Of course it is right that if ethnic minority people are present in the community, they should be seen to be employed in all organizations. But, many organizations mistakenly believe that an ethnic minority person has a magical skill to deal with all other cultures. A Chinese person is no more knowledgeable about an Arabic culture than a white British person. We all need training to work effectively cross-culturally. Only by opening up our organizations 100% to these skills can ethnic communities receive the full range of services as everyone else.

2. *Provision of a setting that is inclusive. This may include key information in other languages, or pictures and posters on the walls illustrating ethnic minority presence or participation.*

3. *Organize activities which are multi-ethnic, creating opportunities to share different cultures and understanding through contact.*

4. *Be aware of grant opportunities and opportunities for access to information and resources (this can include translation facilities, or information about which libraries have exhibitions based on different cultural festivals which one can borrow for example).*

5. *Network and share experience and information. A short cut to how not to re-invent the wheel!*

Involving ethnic communities and recognizing the richness of sharing different cultures - working for multi-culturalism - is about insuring all our futures. Care of the environment has focused our minds on the importance of creating a setting for participation by everyone. We all need each other's contributions to care for the earth, working on particular issues but conscious of the role of that focus in a very large picture. Only then are our efforts truly co-operative, relevant and effective, part of a web that vibrates with the same rhythm - one people with all its diverse aspects on one earth with all its glorious diverse aspects.

***Judy Ling Wong** is Director of Black Environment Network.*

Further Reading

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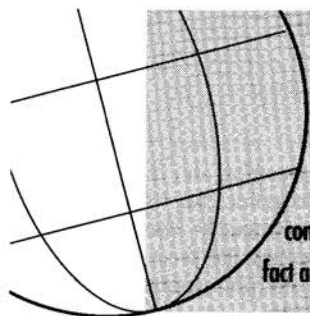
For an information pack about the Black Environment Network and the Ethnic Minorities Award Scheme for Environmental Projects, please write to : Judy Ling Wong, Director, Black Environment Network, Regent's Wharf, 8 All Saints St., London N1 9RL. Tel. 071 713 6161.



THE ENVIRONMENT is the issue of the day and it will remain so until our minds are put at rest about the legacy we are providing for future generations. If it is the issue of the day, it must be something that is worth hammering out in every community. It is, after all, education' s business to examine fact and fiction, argument and assertion, truth and propaganda.*

* Tim Brighouse, Professor of Education, Keele University, past President of CEE

COUNCIL FOR ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

The Council for Environmental Education (CEE) is a national organisation promoting environmental education in England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The CEE Youth Unit is concerned with opportunities for environmental education outside the formal education sector.

Working with individuals and organisations, the Unit initiates and supports work to develop the theory and practice of an environmental approach to youth work.

Current initiatives from the Youth Unit include:

- **EARTHlines** – bi-monthly newsletter of the Youth and Environment Network, providing information, support and a central focus for those in the field. Currently available free.

- **Trainers' Group** – a national group open to anyone involved in training for environmental youth work. Members are sharing ideas and approaches to training.

- **Research** – in partnership with NFER, CEE is carrying out a survey of the environmental content of initial training for youth and community workers.

- **Information and advice** – on good practice, policy development, resource production and the evaluation of environmental youth work.

For more information on these and all CEE services and initiatives contact:
The Youth Unit
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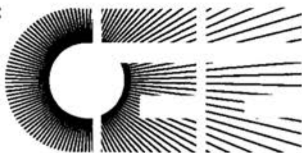

POLICY INTO PRACTICE IN BIRMINGHAM

JILL EDBROOKE

April 1993 sees the completion of two years' work implementing an environmental policy within Birmingham's Youth Service. This also coincides with a new worker being appointed and a reorganisation of the Department of Recreation & Community Services. Thus it seems a fortuitous time to review the progress of the environmental work and offer some thoughts on the way the philosophy and policy behind the work has developed in the light of this practice.

After looking at how the environmental youth work policy was established, the two main areas of policy development - green space and lifestyle/politics are analysed with the intention of looking at effective future strategies that can lead to the empowerment of young people and the communities associated with them.

Context

In 1990 towards the end of a three year pilot project set up by the Council for Environmental Education (CEE) an Appendix was added to the Youth Service Policy Document (See Appendix). This was the crucial political step which led to a successful growth bid for an environmental development youth work post and would probably not have happened in the current financial climate. The post was based with the central team and had a city wide brief. A cynic might have argued that the initial attraction to Birmingham of having a three year project was the addition of a low cost full time worker to the Service and there was certainly an element of jumping on the green band wagon. However, there was a genuine interest in how or if a 'green wellied conservationist' could relate to the Youth Service and to young people living in the inner city.

Three years on, the senior management were convinced by the fact that environmental youth work equals good youth work. Some individuals had also come to realise that the environment itself is seen as an important issue by young people and is also an important issue affecting young people in all aspects of their lives - the green welly image was left behind about nine months into the project as the differences with the other part of the project based in a rural part of Staffordshire became clearer.

The HMI attached to the project once reflected that youth work, in particular environmental youth work, is about helping young people learn what they have been taught in school. For many of the senior managers and members of the steering group also, it was a three year process of developing a new way of looking at things they already knew. Thus, a group of young Asian men entering the traditional 'Night Operation' (in which teams of young people have to find 20 points in Sutton Park during the course of a night and do tasks at each point) or going to the Peak District on a residential was 'straightforward' youth work, looked at from an environmental perspective the activities also raise equal opportunities issues in terms of the access young black people have or do not have to different environments.

Other factors leading to the successful growth bid were the generally supportive climate for Birmingham's Youth Service politically, the green band wagon and the financial climate at the time.

Policy Development
Initially the Environmental Education Appendix to the Policy was one of a number of discrete policy areas focusing on specific parts of the curriculum. It is noteworthy that the entire focus is on the **process of empowerment** rather than the quantifiable physical results common to other environmental policies being developed within the Local Authority.

Two years on, the whole Youth Service Policy statement is being reviewed and rewritten in a much more holistic way encompassing the specific curriculum areas. If they are still priorities, the specific areas will be developed through strategies rather than through isolated, though overlapping policies. Based on the experience of turning environmental policy into strategy and practice there has been a similar shift in emphasis relating to environmental education. Environmental issues affect a very broad span of any individual's life and the policy took equal opportunities (access to different environments) as its starting point. From this what is now the almost traditional 'local to global' approach was adopted, finishing with the obvious need to resource adequately and offer training.

It was acknowledged that networking within the Council Departments and with other relevant organisations in the City and nationally would be important. The reality of practice has also highlighted areas of policy where a purist approach to young people alone cannot be as effective as one that is at least supported by a complementary community approach.

Environment, Development or Sustainability?
In practice, environmental youth work has consistently been dealing with development issues and with sustainable ways of living (i.e. a fusion of environment and development issues). So, it seems appropriate to start considering environmental youth work as a part of 'sustainable youth work'. Sustainability is a difficult concept which is taxing the grey cells of better brains than mine. Some would argue that sustainable development is a contradiction in terms and anyway, what are we trying to sustain; quality of life, the environment, life itself?...The dictionary definitions include 'support...especially for a long period', 'maintain or keep going continuously', 'continue to represent adequately'. In a Briefing Paper on Environmental Youth Work the CEE uses a definition which includes sustainability in a way that is relevant to work with young people: 'We believe that environmental youth work should empower young people to make changes in order to achieve a better, fairer, safer, longer-lasting environment for all - in short, a more sustainable way of living.'

Whatever the environmental concern expressed by young people, there is almost always a local-global aspect to the activity, event or project which involves development issues and hence sustainability. For example, the issue of young people as consumers may lead to an environmentally friendly fashion show. Gone are the days when this became a parade of different shades and shapes of bin liners with a make-over from the Body Shop. In a recent fashion show workshops were kicked off with a debate highlighting issues such as animal experimentation, the exploitation of cotton pickers and pesticide poisoning of communities and habitats and loss of wildlife to cash crops. The workshops themselves included the positive choices available such as unbleached T-shirts, organically grown cotton, questioning the throw away society by getting brand new clothes from the rag merchants

that have been worn once and thrown out, realising that such clothes are in great demand in places like Romania and Africa...

A project in the pipeline is highlighting 'Homes and Homelessness' - specific events and activities such as a giant board game, an interactive display and training will use Birmingham as the focus to raise awareness not only of homeless young people in the City, but also the presence of refugee communities trying to make new homes here. It will raise questions like: why do they come? what is a home? What links environmental issues with homelessness?

For sustainability to become a conscious part of youth work practice there has to be an extension of the core concept of equal opportunities to encompass not only disempowered people all over the world, but also habitats and species - in fact the Planet as an organism.

A group calling themselves the Three R's (Reduce, Reuse, Recycle) have just made a giant tomato for Comic Relief which they proceeded to fill with over 3000 crushed aluminium cans - very laudable, but there was a missing link because no part of the event drew attention to the effect that opencast mining has on the habitats and communities where aluminium is found. A better example of the full cycle perhaps was another project for Comic Relief, this time a performance by a group of young women interested in African dance. The story line was of a fishing village where fish had been killed by pollution - the villagers were therefore starving and a western relief agency came to their rescue. The villagers however were angry because pollution had been caused in the first place by a western company. In both cases the young people wanted to **do** something for Comic Relief, they raised awareness, they raised money, they had fun and they learned about communication, attitudes, issues and the effect our behaviour has on other people. In the second example the circle of cause and effect was slightly more complete.

Having said that, the Youth Service in Birmingham is a long way from entering the debate that is flourishing among world religions about the place of humanity in nature

The Lure Of Money: Green Space Projects

It could be suggested that practice (if not policy) is often funding led. This is certainly true in environmental youth work! Fortunately, the biggest flow of money from environmental sources is into an important area of policy - greening physical space. Sadly this doesn't flow as far as taking urban young people into rural environments, but it can be used to increase their access to local environments and to empower them to make changes to those environments.

Much greater flexibility and strategic planning has been made possible since the Countryside Commission has accepted the Youth Service as part of annual departmental bids for funding. Many elements are now in place for this area of work to really flourish; youth workers are not as intimidated by 'conservation' type activities as other aspects of environmental youth work, there is a wealth of skills in the Ranger Service and voluntary sector, funds are available, there is an outdoor activities network that is keen to take environmental issues on board and a youth service where arts are used very positively as a way of working with young people. Through the title of 'Routes - Back to the Future' a variety of projects are being undertaken which as a whole focus on the relationship we have to green space, offer the opportunity to

learn new practical and social skills, bring a sense of ownership, encourage a creative interpretation, increase the use of green space and empower young people to become part of the decision making processes affecting green space.

In 1992 we concentrated on arts as a medium for work. Different artists were employed to work in partnership with youth workers, young people and the Ranger Service. Forms included sculpture, dance, poetry, sound recording, 3D fencing and natural dyes. In each project the young people involved became more aware of how landscapes have developed, often had an opportunity to make their own changes to the landscapes, learned more about existing habitats and learned widely varying new skills, for interview procedures to welding. Slightly different but equally successful has been work with a detached project where young people met in a local woodland. Involvement of the Ranger enabled the youth work team to extend their usual programme to a weekly stint of conservation management work which gradually developed to a core group of around 15 young people.

Once again, it isn't just the involvement of young people in making positive changes to their environment that is important, but all the associated experiences.

Lifestyle & Political Issues

Spiritual values are also underlying elements of what is emerging as the other main policy area to environmental youth work. Again there are local to global links, but rather than starting locally and making global links the emphasis is more on lifestyle and politics. This is a difficult area to turn into practice.

Young people are concerned about issues such as depletion of the ozone layer, pollution, animal rights and recycling but the resources and information accessible to them are very limited, as is the capacity to do something about it.

Fewer organisations are prepared to fund activities related to such issues; any direct action leads very quickly to the political arena, multinational companies, other city departments, peer pressure and the attitudes of the wider community. After evaluation, the low participation in an environmental theme run by a local voluntary organisation seemed to be due in large part to the fact that a) leaders did not see their role as educational and b) that they also felt 'environment is taught in school'.

Youth workers also have less confidence understanding of these issues. There is a prevalent attitude among the organisations that should be allies that schools are a better vehicle for their efforts while young people can be dismissed as powerless idealists by the organisations and individuals they are trying to affect. A gloomy synopsis perhaps, but it offers clear pointers to policy implementation.

One group of young people are working on the condition of their streets. The worker contacted the Environmental Service Department of the local authority - no joy, they only work with Residents Associations and schools. Advocacy and networking are therefore needed from the Youth Service at a city-wide level for changes in attitude to be encouraged. The whole community of the street will be affected by any changes that are made - this could well be positive and lead to recognition of the role young people have taken, respect and empowerment. However there are also implications for the Youth, Community and Play Services in the support that is required to maintain the developments. Young people usually have little power within the family unit and a youth worker may be led into family work.

Changes in the organisation of Birmingham's Youth, Community and Play Services towards a neighbourhood team approach will support this wider role, but there is a need for overt recognition of the importance of environmental work in the Play and Community Services and for development of a coordinated strategy as well as increased receptiveness to the views of young people in other City Departments.

Ownership of Policies

Training has been undertaken as part of the environmental strategy, but on an ad hoc basis. It needs to become part of the basic introduction and foundation training for part-time workers and volunteers. Training like this and a shift in the way the Youth Policy is framed towards a more all embracing presentation are hopefully ways of increasing ownership of environmental youth work throughout the Service among managers and practitioners. Ownership is another major area of strategy that needs to be improved.

Whatever the concerns of young people are, it is often easier for a hard pressed worker to off load responsibility on to a 'specialist'. Just as racism has to be challenged among workers if it is to be taken seriously as an issue in the Youth Service, so environmental issues call for changes in the attitudes and behaviour of workers at all levels. Two days after National No Smoking Day, senior managers and a politician all turned up to the Comic Relief can crushing event puffing away and stubbed their cigarettes out among the heaps of cans!

The focus provided by a worker with direct responsibility for environmental work has, without doubt, been crucial. It has been a two way focus for organisations and networks within and outside the City. Dissemination is vital and improving all the time and so is the extension of networking to co-working in all areas of youth work from face to face sessions to writing national Briefing Papers. The logical progression as more people acquire more skills and commitment is for a sharing of responsibility and ownership.

Environmental Issues Are Still A Priority For Young People

This article has been focused on environmental concerns of young people and the policy adopted in Birmingham because of these concerns and the overall aims of youth work. It has also been an attempt to reflect on ways of implementing a policy of social and personal education through environmental education and within the power structure of a specific organisation. This is within the context of community, national and global power structures. The key to them all seems to be personal responsibility and values. Whatever our official titles and roles, the success of environmental youth work policy will not be measured in how many hanging baskets are planted or how many aluminium cans are collected, but on individuals who affect the lives of young people accepting responsibility for this effect - and if sustainability is our responsibility that means each and every one of us!

Jill Edbrooke *was formerly Project Officer with Birmingham City Council's Youth Service*

Appendix

Birmingham City Council's Policy for Environmental Education (1990)

Young People and the Environment - A Policy For Environmental Education

This policy will operate within the context of the 'Policy for Youth Work in Birmingham'. It recognises the for need for positive action in enabling young people to make decision about their own environment and in recognising the effect that it has on their lives. It also recognises that to do this there is a need to raise awareness among other organisations of the contribution that young people can make to the environment of Birmingham.

1. Aims

a) To acknowledge the concerns that young people have about the environment and enable them to have a positive role in taking decisions that affect it.

b) To promote equality of access to the environment for all young people, including access to facilities/provisions of the Service, access within the wider community and access on a national and international scale.

c) To recognise that the environment is fundamental to young people and the Youth Service

d) To help young people to make the links between global, local and personal environmental issues.

e) To ensure adequate provision of resources; and training for workers to enable these aims to be implemented.

f) To co-ordinate and develop environmental education within the framework of existing City Council policies.

2. Objectives

a) To initiate, support and encourage the development of a range of activities in which young people can participate which help them to make decisions about the process of changing the environment of the City, to make the links between local and global issues and to offer chances for learning.

b) To provide activities that are accessible, relevant to young people and fun.

c) To secure funding that will allow for the development of training resources and the use of specialist workers.

d) To ensure that a data base of information about resources (including physical green space, specialist staff and materials, transport, tools, equipment) is researched, developed, maintained and publicised effectively.

e) To ensure that there is a pattern of staff development and opportunities to promote work with young people both on and through the environment.

f) To develop networks and co-ordinate with other groups/agencies concerned with environmental education and young people - for example; the Urban Wildlife Trust, the British Trust for Conservation Volunteers, the Youth Arts Team, the City Council Rangers Service, Oxfam, BAYC, etc., in the development of activities, events, information, training and publicity throughout the City.

WORKING SPACE

ENVIRONMENTAL YOUTH WORK

Making Connections

DAN CONNELLY

Since my appointment as a project leader for East Durham Groundwork Trust in September 1990 I have been grappling with the question of where the connections lie between 'environment', environmental education and youth work. Working with difficult and disadvantaged young people in a single worker post for a non youth work environmental organisation can create tension and increase the stress experienced by the worker. Contact with workers in other environmental organisations has confirmed this.

Commonly held misinterpretations of 'environment' and 'environmental youth work' can lead to this tension becoming a negative and destructive force. The argument goes something like this:

Youth work should develop around the stated needs of disadvantaged young people, not of a particular interest group (i.e. young people concerned about or interested in 'the environment'). 'Environmental youth work' therefore discriminates against young people who are not interested in the environment and consequently should not be referred to as 'youth work' at all but as 'development work with young environmentalists'.

At the heart of this analysis lies a misinterpretation of the word 'environment' which is constantly reinforced by a media driven obsession with environmental 'issues' (recycling, global warming, oil spills, road building etc).

'Environment' is actually defined as 'external conditions or surroundings in which people live' (Collins Dictionary) and it would be facile to suggest that anyone is not affected by such conditions. The needs of young people are therefore inextricably linked with the conditions in which they live, whether this is due to lack of appropriate leisure provision, boarded up houses and shops, lack of access to transport or even a 'youth centre' designed 70 years previously as a miners' welfare hall and managed by adults out of touch with young people's needs.

The key to successful practice, I would suggest, is to make this tension between youth work and environmental education a positive and dynamic one, resulting in work with young people which not only seeks to meet their social educational needs through the processes of empowerment and participation, but also offers them a meaningful perspective on their own role with respect to their environment. The following examples of practice reveal how this tension has been used by Groundwork in East Durham. The first example reveals that given sufficient time and resources, the tension gradually pulls the two elements together as the young people themselves realise the extent to which their own needs (friendship, enjoyment, skills, support, personal development, self achievement etc.) can be largely met via 'environmental activities'. The second example, a detached project, is still in its infancy and it is the bias of the approach towards 'environment' which differentiates it from similar projects developed by mainstream youth work organisations.

Thornley Youth Action Project & The East Durham Youth Environment Group
Thornley is a former mining settlement in the heart of rural/industrial East Durham. In its heyday it had a large population and was once a thriving village/town with a busy front street which attracted shoppers from a wide area. The pit closed in 1970 and so began the downward spiral of decline which has devastated virtually every settlement in East Durham before and since. There now exist many areas of dereliction, waste ground, dilapidated buildings and uninhabitable houses. This, combined with unemployment and the inevitable withdrawal of services has led to severe social deprivation for many of the families in Thornley and especially for the young people.

The community centre, although offering some facilities, was not ideal for youth work and shortly after Groundwork became involved in November 1990, the part time worker (3 hours per week) decided to move out of the centre, meeting instead at a bus stop across the road. The group quite quickly changed from an all male group of 15 to 17 year olds to a mixed group of young people aged between 13 and 17 who successfully negotiated the use of a small wooden hut for meetings from the Parish Council. Groundwork helped secure a grant from Durham County Council of £200 to renovate the hut internally and externally, which the young people worked on with great enthusiasm. Their sense of ownership in comparison with the 'community' centre gave some point to their efforts.

The Groundwork contribution, apart from help with the work on the hut, was focused around access to outdoor activities. Young people were given the opportunity to become involved in positive experiences in the outdoor environment and every chance to develop a greater understanding and respect for the natural environment was taken. The group decided to extend these activities and arranged two weekend residentials, planning, booking and raising money themselves and with the help of MOBEX North East, an outreach adventure education and expedition project established under the wing of the Young Explorers Trust. The first weekend involved a day canoeing at Cragside, A National Trust estate in Northumberland where the group were struck by the beauty of the natural environment and decided to arrange to stay there on the second weekend. This provided the first real opportunity for the group to become involved in practical conservation work as they were able to strike a deal for free accommodation in return for one day spent clearing rhododendrons on the estate.

The enjoyment and achievement they felt whilst at Cragside carried over into activities back home, usually related to raising money for future residentials, and including tree planting, bulb planting and a major 'Foster a Christmas Tree' campaign which raised over £400. (The group dug up, potted, distributed and collected 100 live trees to be eventually re-planted on the pit reclamation site in Thornley). as well as all the skills involved in organising and implementing such activities the young people were able to play a positive role in their local community, helping to break down some of the prejudices held against them by others. The summer of '92 involved a dry-stone walling project at a local farm (which culminated in a barbecue) and a week long expedition canoeing the Caledonian Canal in Scotland.

Those young people who had been involved for as long as 18 months were keen to do more. Resources from Groundwork, however, were gradually being reduced to encourage sustainability which meant breaking from working directly with the

Youth Club in Thornley. Although the group had gained skills and confidence they still required transport and contacts and some level of coordination to take their developing interest in conservation and outdoor activities further. This was eventually provided by the East Durham Youth Environment Group.

The East Durham Youth Environment Group

The young people from Thornley are typical of many others with whom the Groundwork Youth Project has been working over the last 2 1/2 years. The YEG was therefore established to allow these and others to plan and co-ordinate a programme of activities which would allow them to take their interest further. Groundwork's aims for the Youth Environment Group are therefore:

1. *To establish a group for young people, (14 upwards) managed by young people and based around outdoor/environmental/conservation activities.*

2. *To allow open access to all those associated with Groundwork including young people with special needs, young offenders etc.*

3. *To develop activities beyond 'taster' sessions and into training and qualifications where possible, thus helping young people's employment prospects.*

The 'founder members' of the YEG thus consist of the original group from Thornley plus various individuals with whom the project has been involved including two 'young offenders'. The appointment of Andy Render as a part-time worker for the Groundwork Youth Project in January 1993 has provided the necessary youth work input to fully establish the group over the next twelve months, as well as the all important driver required to pick up members of the group who live in a wide range of settlements from Durham City to Seaham on the Coast. The following contribution by Andy reveals, from a fresh point of view, exactly where the group are up to, both in terms of youth work aims and with respect to 'Environment':

In recent years there has been a growing recognition of the importance of environmental education work with young people yet there are few examples of successful, so called, environmental youth work practice in response to young people's needs, interest and concern. The development of the youth group who now call themselves the East Durham Youth Environment Group provides one such example, demonstrating the links between environmental education and youth work.

On meeting the group for the first time I found them to be enthusiastic, confident and willing to share ideas and thoughts in an open manner. The general feeling was to get on and develop the type of activities they had been involved in through Dan. Since then, progress has been rapid. Their first gathering a fortnight later provided an opportunity to clarify a statement of intent, decide who the group was open to and plan an initial programme.

A brainstorm of ideas resulted in the broad aim to raise awareness of the 'environment' gain knowledge and develop personal and group skills. This was to be achieved through an on-going programme of environmental/outdoor activities, campaigning and action on local environmental issues. Other priorities included work in other areas outside East Durham, meeting new people and groups and to have fun.

Deciding who the group was open to and how to involve new members produced some lively discussion. Most welcomed the involvement of anyone aged 15-25

years living in the area, within practical travelling distance with possibilities for guests and joint projects. This notion of at least trying to involve everyone prompted some racist comments which were challenged within the group. It was said that such attitudes and language excludes black people from participating but dealing with the problem was not an easy task. One male young person doubted he would ever change his attitudes.

The young women in the group voiced concern that many previous activities and environmental tasks were organised by and catered mainly for men. As a result publicity material for the Youth Environment Group would seek to promote the involvement of young women. This produced groans form some males present, whilst signalling the value of providing female only time and space, and the importance of work with the young men exploring masculinity and sexism.

Finally an initial programme was drawn up to get things moving, which is now in operation. It includes a series of local environmental improvement and fund raising events leading to a residential in Northumberland, a First Aid course and activities to explore racism.

To date the East Durham Youth Environment Group has provided those involved opportunities to learn more about their environment and themselves, gain confidence and develop skills so they can begin to make changes in their immediate surroundings. Of equal importance are the future opportunities to build on previous discussions exploring questions on inequality. An essential factor has been the long term development of the group which has helped to create a supportive enough environment to be honest and open, without compromising the emphasis on challenge and change.

'Environment' can be an important part of the youth workers agenda as an interest and concern of young people and as a context for personal and social development. Central to this is the importance of using a broad definition of what we call 'the environment' as many young people do not readily relate high profile, professionalised issues to their experiences (Edbrooke 1990). Such a definition would include themes relevant to their immediate surroundings and situations such as housing, public transport or access to leisure facilities. Having some affect over these could lead to exploring the implications of our individual and group actions on a national, international and global scale.

In concluding I refer to Agyeman (1990a 1990b) who stresses the fact that environmental issues affect all the community and everyone has a role to play. This reveals the relationship between environmental education and youth work as they both seek to prioritise resources in favour of disadvantaged groups and individuals.

West Cornforth Detached Project

Prioritising resources in favour of disadvantaged groups and individuals is a good description of the project's role in West Cornforth. 'Doggie' as it is known locally* is similar to Thornley in terms of history post industrial decline and current levels of social deprivation. As in Thornley, housing stock in certain areas of the village is extremely poor with inhabited houses next to boarded up derelict units.

Provision for young people in West Cornforth is severely limited with a significant number of young people banned from or not interested in attending the two night per week youth club based in the community centre which at present works primarily

with the under 14 age range. This meant that a more direct approach was required from the project in order to make contact with the more marginalised young people and after a short period of research Groundwork therefore initiated a detached project which has now been operating one night per week since October 1992. From the very first verbal contact with young people it has been clear that attitudes towards the local environment are extremely hostile and negative, 'shithole' being the most commonly used description. Most of the young people with whom the project has developed relationships express a strong desire to live elsewhere and feel no sense of pride in the village. One evening when I asked where the nearest public toilets were I received the reply 'piss in the street, man, it's only Doggie' (this was made as a serious comment, not in order to amuse either myself of the rest of the group and was not commented on by any other members of the group.)

Although we are working to develop the use of the minibus as simply somewhere for the young people to meet out of the rain we are constantly asked to drive 'anywhere as long as it's out of Doggie'. There is often a quite desperate sense of a need to escape. Without the hope of worthwhile training or employment the young people are trapped in the depressing surroundings of the village day after day and evening after evening and inevitably resort to anti-social means of entertaining themselves, further destroying the environment which they resent so much. Nor can it be suggested that the young people simply have 'no standards' as I am sure that I would not find their houses covered in graffiti. They also make a special effort to keep the inside of the minibus clean - by throwing all rubbish out the windows! (Dropping litter on the floor of the van would be less trouble for themselves).

Given this situation, what special role can be provided by environmental youth work? At its most basic level environmental youth work can help young people to see their environment in context, slowly chipping away at the inevitable connection between negative attitudes towards one's environment and negative attitudes toward oneself.

At this most basic level environmental youth work links directly with the aims of building self-esteem and self-confidence which are more commonly accepted as aims for youth work per se. Self-esteem and confidence are the building blocks upon which empowerment and participation rest and breaking prejudice which people attach to others and to themselves as a result of living in a particularly poor environment is therefore essential to any process of personal development. A worker with a comprehensive understanding of the pressures placed upon young people as a result of their environment is thus the principal resource at the start of any project.

As the work in West Cornforth develops other possibilities will come to the fore. In partnership with local businesses, the Parish Council and Durham Rural Community Council. Groundwork is in the process of implementing a feasibility study for a 'Village Appraisal' which, it is hoped, will lead to a comprehensive regeneration project in West Cornforth. Via the mediation of the youth worker young people who are seen solely as a threat to the community at present will be given the opportunity to contribute positively towards change (empowerment) and play a significant role in the decision making processes (participation) which will influence improvement to their natural, physical and social environment. In the

meantime the project will provide a much needed space from the oppression of the decayed environment which the young people inhabit. 'A weekend in the lake District' has been mentioned several times as a possible project. Such spaces, however, although important to individual and group development, must always be handled sensitively as the majority of the young people will spend 90% of their lives in West Cornforth and not in Windermere!

Furthermore, practical skills and training gained from involvement in local projects (similar to the group from Thornley 'doing up' their hut youth centre) will further enhance the personal development of the young people involved, leading to increased chances of further training and even employment. (Success in these areas is, of course, dependent upon sufficient resources being provided to work with small numbers of young people with extremely high needs - not a situation which can be guaranteed).

Conclusion

Earlier in this article I referred to the 'dynamic tension' between environmental education and youth work which can serve to produce innovative and effective work with disadvantaged young people. I hope that the article has shown that this tension, having served its purpose, gradually fades as the young people themselves see most of their personal development needs being met through activities and projects broadly associated with 'environment'. I hope also that the article might help to convince any doubters that 'environment' cannot be simply treated as an 'issue' which we, as youth workers, can resort to occasionally as part of a programme of 'issue based' work. The effect of environment on young people is so closely bound up with their own view of themselves that it must be understood and considered wherever we work with young people and in whatever circumstances.

Having been thrown in at the deep end of both youth work and environmental education 2 1/2 years ago with little knowledge and no formal training in either (I trained as a secondary English teacher), I appreciate the pressure which can result from having to balance the needs of young people with those of the environment and of environmental education. Until we as youth workers fully realise the interconnectedness of these needs, however, our effectiveness for the young people with whom we are involved will inevitably be curtailed.

Dan Connelly *works for the East Durham Groundwork Trust.*

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* *The name 'Doggie' apparently derives from connections with local iron ore extraction and is not used by local people as a term of contempt.*

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Gary Courtney Mcghee

It's refreshing to be presented with a piece of research in a critical and easily overlooked area in the context of a general housing crisis that provides a real flavour of the personal, housing and familial histories and 'trajectories' of young people, mainly working class and identified through the '16-19 Initiative' (Economic and Social Science Research Council). This was a complex piece of qualitative research involving in depth interviews with 80 young people from Swindon, Sheffield, Liverpool and Kirkcaldy, Despite this the book manages to be reasonably accessible thanks to a concentration on young people's own stories. Although this inevitably throws up complexities, particularly in terms of regional differences and individual anecdotes and perspectives, it also provides insights into the lived experiences of leaving home transitions for these young people. What comes across also is the receptiveness of those interviewed to the qualitative methodology used - being able to talk about their lives and have an adult actually listen to them rather than treat them like a statistic. The book succeeds in terms of touching the reader more than a depersonalised quantitative approach. Ainley is helpful thoughout with comments, clarifications and analysis, but the young people speak for themselves and this is the overriding strength of the book.

> *the underlying cause of homelessness is the lack of affordable accommodation. (Audit Commission 22.8.90).*

Those leaving home stories for most of the young people interviewed here are characterised by the lack of housing options. They are also characterised by the central importance of the young persons relationship with her/his parent(s). This is because a combination of low-paid or non-existent employment and benefit cuts to 16-18 year olds, has meant that the money to get somewhere decent to live is not available to these young people. There are, of course some important regional variations in all this, e.g., more 'affluence' and home-ownership in Swindon, being in the south (M4 corridor), but a strong pattern which emerges is that in all four regions young people are very dependent on the vagaries of their familial situation and the quality of relations with parents. Bound up in this is another central finding that those young people in this sample who are most at risk of becoming homeless are those **without** family support, those leaving care, custody or mental hospital.

The net effect of the social policy changes that have been brought in by the Conservative government in the areas of education, benefits, training,

unemployment and their impact on working class young people, is to make them increasingly dependent on their parents/guardians, if they have any. The assumptions that policy-makers seem to make about the desirability of staying at home, indicates an attitude towards young people of contempt for their need for independence which comes from real choices, and a reasonable opportunity to make the transition to adulthood. It also takes little account of those young people made homeless by hostile or over-stretched parents. The 'hidden homeless' young people - sleeping on friends and relatives floors, going from pillar to post and back again, being messed around time and again by housing and benefits agencies, unable to gain any security, a place to call home. They tell their own particular versions of this story to Mr Ainley. The ones who've had the means to buy a house and subsequently struggled (the majority) to afford the basics are holding a fairly tentative grip on their security (the main motivation for buying is a response to the lack of options). Many end up back living with family or friends if they can. Most of this sample seem to have been unhappy living with their parents even if they get on OK with them. Some parents are unhappy with it. One young gay man had no option but to repeatedly go and live back with his mother who was homophobic, after trying to afford his own flat on low pay or meagre benefits. In the end his only option is to do barwork in the South.

In comparing and contrasting young people's stories Pat Ainley appropriately grouped a majority of leavers into 'refugees', 'pilgrims' and 'migrants'. This highlights the fact that apart from having to repeatedly return home, these young people invariably had to leave the area or town they were brought up in completely, just to get work and/or because of the lack of housing in their area. Often accommodation is just as big a problem anyway, except that they are in an unfamiliar environment as well. The 'refugees' put the issue of increased parental dependence into sharp focus. A major national survey by the Department of the Environment in 1977-80 found that **41%** of single homeless persons under the age of 20 left home due to family break-up, while a further 24% stated their reason for homelessness to be 'parental dispute', including conflict with step-parents. More recently a majority of 16 and 17 year old hostel residents in Scotland cited family conflict as a factor in their homelessness (p 95). This indicates clearly that the lack of housing options for young single people means that they are at the mercy of the relationship parents or adult partners have with each other. As one young woman in Kirkcaldy put it in the context of wanting to do a psychology degree:-

> *Ah became interested in it just watchin' ma family an wonderin' why they're like that. (p89).*

The acute dependency on parents/guardians exacerbates feelings of powerlessness and frustration and, as Ainley rightly says quoting Dickens 'elasticity of spirit is happily the lot of young persons, or the world would never be stocked with old ones'. This elasticity is stretching

to breaking point for many young people. However it is also remarkable how philosophical and prepared to be self critical when telling their stories these young people are. The assumptions made about fecklessness and apathy which underpin the governments policy approach to young people, are not founded on this evidence overall, and even when individual culpability is a factor, it is primarily because of the lack of appropriate options which would enable individuals to have some autonomy over their needs.

The book helpfully outlines what needs to happen in response to the housing crisis for young people. In terms of responding to the housing (and employment needs), of young people there is a fundamental need for a **variety** of provision to cater for the particular housing needs of particular young people. The first thing that needs to happen is that young people's benefit rights are restored, so that they can survive and have some means of their own regardless of work, training or housing status. The book highlights a huge need for cheap furnished and unfurnished rented properties for young singles and couples nationally. More hostel accommodation is needed and very importantly statutory support for young people working away from home. Linked to this is the need to recognise and support young people leaving and returning home repeatedly as an increasingly necessary pattern in the context of local/national economic and housing factors.

Of course the key problem in all of this is that the government is very unlikely to enact any of these proposals. It seems that the government has got working class young people where it wants them - dependent, restricted, lacking means, lacking rights and lacking threat. It is another sobering overall impression I get from reading about these young people's aspirations that many would like to live up to the values of Thatcherism, but just do not have the means or opportunities. The preparedness of many to work hard for low wages is proof enough of that. For those with responsibilities for advocating on behalf of young people's housing needs this book provides a wealth of ammunition. More generally however it is essential reading for anyone who can influence policy-making or resource allocations locally or nationally, so that the major issues raised here are taken into account. The book also provides a useful model to contradict the 'issueisation' of young people's needs, prevalent amongst professionals in my experience, showing as it does, through letting young people describe their own lives, how interdependent and inextricable those issues are in reality. With the current calls to penalise and blame non-nuclear families for society's ills, this is more urgent than ever.

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Roger Cooter (ed)
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Pam Carter

The idea of childhood as a social construction has not yet made a significant impact on professional thinking. Historical myths based on the steady march of enlightenment and progress, at least in the West, remain relatively unexamined. Many of our practices, whether they involve rescue or the giving of limited and bureaucratically mediated rights, are based on notions of a natural and idealised child. This book enables us to reflect on our own beliefs by rigorously analysing that period in the history of welfare during which working class children were transformed from labourers into scholars.

Cooter has edited a collection of pieces concerned with various health and welfare interventions into the lives of children each of which helped to construct childhood according to middle class ideals. He and the other contributors argue that those features which currently characterise Western childhood - 'dependence, economic and sexual inactivity and the absence of legal and political rights'(p4) - were shaped during this period. The book adds to a more familiar and extensive critique of welfare practice, that concerned with the medicalisation of childbirth in particular and of women's lives in general. Far less attention has been directed towards the lives of young people between the ages of 4 and 14 and it is this age group which is the focus of this text. Few professional training courses yet concern themselves with childhood as a historical and social construction despite the fact that considerable time and energy is devoted to child care law and policy. The material in this book could contribute to a wider more challenging syllabus.

A variety of settings, institutions, political debates and policies are explored. Some of the institutions are long gone. For example Linda Bryder's chapter explores the open-air school movement between 1907 and 1939. Beginning from a belief in open-air as therapeutic for tuberculosis this movement was, by the 1930s, arguing the advantages of open air for all children in schools. The key actors in the expansion of these beliefs were School Medical Officers who saw the open air school as a form of intervention for under nourished and needy children. Fresh air became a metaphor for a whole range of positive attributes. Children supposedly benefited morally as well as physically from these regimes and could even influence their parents towards better and healthier habits. These schools may have gone but their ideology lives on in contemporary health promotion philosophies which try to persuade the poor that developing more 'natural' habits can overcome the effects of poverty.

The growth of professional 'solutions' to the problems of poverty, powerlessness and ill health are well documented in this book. As well as school

medical officers who played a central role in devising such policies 'in the name of the child' other professional groups emerged during this period. Paediatricians, social workers and psychiatrists each developed their own knowledge, sets of categories and practices concerning childhood. Some of the most surprising material presented here concerns the use of children as guinea pigs in medical experiments including drug testing. For example, American paediatricians with responsibility for institutionalised children could simultaneously try to improve the health of their charges and advance their own careers. The building of professional knowledge and status in the name of the child is well illustrated in the chapter by Susan Lederer on 'Orphans as Guinea Pigs' and in Weindling's chapter on the emergence of separate hospitals for children in London, Paris and Berlin. In this latter chapter the emotive issue of serum therapy for diphtheria contributed significantly to the prestige of medical research and to the dominance of the scientific paradigm in relation to children's health.

Harry Ferguson's research on the history of child abuse in Cleveland was being conducted when the modern day 'Cleveland affair' broke. His examination of the construction and practice of child protection between 1880-1914 helps us to recognise the historical roots of contemporary interventions. Central to this construction of the problem of child protection was the outside professional practitioner, at that stage represented by the uniformed NSPCC inspector, acting within a framework of disciplinary powers. The most visible tool in these practices was the children's shelter which supposedly operated as a place of safety open to all children in need, but was in fact mainly used by NSPCC inspectors and the courts while 'casework' with parents was conducted. This casework, in the 1890s, was mainly geared towards reinforcing parental responsibility within which the prosecution of parents, often followed by a period of imprisonment, was a major strategy. In the early part of this century supervision of the children in the family home replaced imprisonment of the parents as the key child protection strategy. This shift was accompanied by an ideology which constructed parents as capable of reform. This history cannot be read in a one dimensional way just as the contemporary crisis defeats simple analysis. There was both support for this work within working class communities as well as resistance to it. What was highly significant in reinforcing resistance however was the link between child protection systems and the poor law. Child protection retained a firm place within disciplinary regimes rather than in the emerging welfare models. Since 'help' came in a form not far removed from the workhouse it is unsurprising that good intentions were inevitably tainted. The pattern whereby children's needs were caught up in a battle between parents and state was set. The Butler-Schloss report attempted to assert the idea of children as people rather than as objects of concern. Ferguson's chapter in this book records the historical process through which the child was constructed as an innocent but powerless object of professional practices.

One of the major strengths of this book is in linking national and international political issues with the construction of childhood. Like other chap-

ters in the book Cathy Urwin and Elaine Sharland make use of Foucault's work concerning those interventions and practices which construct and categorise the normal and the deviant. Their particular focus is on the influence of child care literature. They show that the advice literature simultaneously prescribed certain child rearing modes, separated the fit parent from the inadequate, and reinforced dominant ideas of the nation. In the early part of this century Mothercraft was constructed as a set of scientific practices undertaken to ensure the survival of the nation's children. In order to produce and maintain their own healthy offspring and contribute to national needs mothers were persuaded into regimes of cool air, clean water and absolute regularity. Not only were these practices concerned with bodily function, they were more importantly framed by the idea of a specific form of character formation. Building on infant management systems devised by Truby King the psychological dimensions of this child rearing model were drawn from the work of the behaviourist Watson. Although Watson's work was geared towards the production of children for the 'American way of life' it was also popular in Britain. This regime began to be challenged from psychoanalytically influenced child-centred experts after the first world war. The idea of unconscious forces at work within individuals and within society clearly resonated with the post first world war social environment where a concern with the root of aggression was clearly significant. This 'new psychology' took root in the child guidance clinics which emerged during the 1920s and 1930s. The central message of this regime was that children's behaviour and problems were to be understood in terms of their emotions. The behaviourist movement was not of course superseded by this new set of beliefs, rather the two approaches coexisted. One can but wonder about the effect on parents of these two insistent but competing ways of defining the child rearing task. What was reinforced however was parental responsibility not just for the physical child but for its behaviour, emotions and character extending long into adult life. This opened the way for new kinds of interventions into family life. The new more liberal psychology was given added impetus during the second world war as part of a discourse which asserted our own democracy in contrast to the authoritarian German state. Discourses of family and state became woven together as Urwin and Sharland describe:

> *Democracy as an ideal was linked to a family shaped around a view of what the German family was not (p 192).*

This discursive intertwining of family and nation was an important underpinning for the influence of Bowlby and Winnicot on the model of motherhood constructed through social work and other interventions in the post second world war period. Mothers rather than children themselves became the primary target of intervention.

Jennifer Beinart's chapter focuses on the colonial child, a theme which would have benefited from more attention in the book as a whole. She looks at perceptions of the African child during the period 1900 to 1945 by examining photographic accounts. Her work indicates a shift in con-

struction from 'the child of nature' to the child who needed to be saved from its Africanness. Rescue from the effects of poverty and disease was attempted through similar kinds of infant welfare programmes to those being constructed 'at home'. This process, in the period leading up to independence of African countries, disguised the impact of colonialism under the illusion of progress.

Other chapters in the book make their own contribution to our understanding of the complex discourses of childhood. Carolyn Steedman's chapter on Margaret McMillan illuminates the process whereby a sentimentalized view of working class childhood developed in the left wing political movement. Rescuing working class children became an important emotional symbol of the possibility of emancipation and progress. The influence of the school medical service in constructing all children according to a bourgeois ideal is documented in Harry Hendrick's chapter. The child guidance movement in inter-war England, touched on in Urwin and Sharland's chapter, is analysed in detail in the chapter by Deborah Thom. John Macnicol's chapter on child endowment uses a comparative perspective to demonstrate the dominance of the demands of industry over the needs.

There is a wealth of detailed scholarship in this book. While I am not always persuaded by the idea that complex ideas should be made more accessible, this book misses an opportunity to engage anyone other than the already committed and knowledgable reader. More rigorous editing with a concluding chapter by the editor may have helped with this problem. At times overall arguments are lost in a wealth of detail. I would not however wish to discourage readers too much. All the chapters are worth the effort involved and those interested in going beyond the superficial history of childhood will have much to gain.

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Robin Bunton and Gordon Macdonald
Health Promotion Disciplines and Diversity
Longman 1992
ISBN 0-415-05981-X
£12.99 pp 240

Janet Evans

This is a book which I feel many professionals involved in working and teaching in the field of health promotion will welcome. The key is in the books supplementary title 'disciplines and diversity'. As the introduction states 'With such evident and unprecedented growth in the knowledge base informing health promotion there is a need to assess and keep a perspective

on the variety of contributions being made to the field of study'. In recent years there have been long debates around the definitions of health promotion and health education but a corresponding lack of debate around the nature of the knowledge base. This book is an attempt to redress this balance by putting forward a selection of contributing disciplines.

This is a well organised and presented book. All the chapters follow the same format, an introduction which provides an overview of the content, sub-headings clearly defining content and a summary of the main points in the text. This enables readers whether familiar or unfamiliar with the subject to assess the main thrust of the discussion. A comprehensive reference list is included at the end of each chapter. The end of the book also contains a glossary of relevant terms.

Bunton and Macdonald offer a thought provoking introduction highlighting the approach taken, which is to present relevant theories from what they consider to be 'primary and secondary feeder' disciplines of health promotion. Nine disciplines are considered which the authors conceive have played central roles in the development of health promotion thinking and practice. The book is divided up into two parts with an opening chapter by the two editors, entitled 'Health Promotion - Disciplines and Diversity?' but in this instance the title ends with a question mark.

This chapter sets the scene for the contents of the book. The introduction highlights the recent rapid development of discussion on health promotion as a field of study and practice. A sub-heading entitled 'What is Health Promotion?' briefly outlines the two schools of thought, 'individual (lifestyle) and structural (fiscal/ecological)'. The discussion is interesting and informative offering the opinion that the definitions will continue to be diverse but conceptual developments are contributing to a convergency of views. The summary discusses health promotions development in interaction with and alongside the New Public Health movement. This is an interesting point to consider as there is increasing discussion that public health is being sidelined by the purchaser - provider split within the Health Service. Health promotion may have to concentrate on independence.

Part 1

This consists of four chapters, the topics of which are considered to be the 'primary feeder disciplines' of health promotion. These are, psychology, sociology, education and epidemiology.

Psychology and Health Promotion discusses some of the more recent psychological models of behaviour and behavioural change. It is then suggested that a synthesis of models may provide health promotion initiatives with a strong framework upon which to build. The theories are then put to work using two examples, the development of an AIDS programme and a sensible drinking campaign. The brief discussion on understanding behaviours is interesting and highlights the problems which beset health promoters.

Finally case studies in heart disease prevention are considered in particular the North Karelia and Stanford city projects, the rationale being that these projects have been carefully evaluated. However the problems of evaluating the effectiveness of the interventions in both the studies is highlighted and the proof that there is a link between intervention and changes in behaviour is lacking at the moment.

'What is the relevance of sociology to health promotion?' offers discussion on 'what is sociology?' For those readers unfamiliar to the topic it offers a brief resume of the theoretical approaches and key concepts of sociology discussed in straightforward language. This is followed by a section on the sociology of health and illness, sociology as applied to health promotion and a sociology of health promotion. The last section is interesting as it considers whether health promotion can be regarded as 'good'. Making 'healthy choices' for some members of society is not easy, examples are given which highlight the complexity involved in selecting 'healthy behaviour' which is not always related to material circumstances.

The Contribution of Education considers the role of autonomy and freedom of the individual. 'Education for autonomy' involves 'shaping a society in which it is possible for people to be free and ensures freedom of the individual or group is not at the expense of others'. Autonomy in health promotion highlights the problems and dilemmas posed by this principle. To accept autonomy means accepting that people may select unhealthy choices which is sometimes not easy for the health promoter to accept, especially if it is in direct conflict with personal values, government targets or accepted practice.

This section is stimulating and thought provoking raising questions as it does about the health educators values and beliefs and the acceptance of empowerment and autonomy of choice. It is easy to pay lip service to ideals, which may not be as easy in practice.

Epidemiology and Health Promotion discusses the role of epidemiology and its recognition as a scientific basis for health promotion. A definition of epidemiology is given followed by its contribution to health promotion. One section deals with the problem areas to date, centring discussions on unsound programme planning. I am sure many health workers will be familiar with the examples given: programmes proceeding in isolation followed by public rejection and subsequent disappointment of health promoters. The diagram in the summary and the contents of the last paragraph should provide the basis for stimulating discussion and ideas for the future. The concept of 'epidemiology of health' as opposed to disease gives food for thought when considered in relation to the discussion in previous chapters.

Part 2

Five chapters constitute this section of the book and relate to what the editors consider to be 'secondary feeder' disciplines. I think many readers will be interested in this part of the book, particularly as some of the

chapter topics broaden the perspective of the disciplines involved in promoting health.

Social Marketing will be a new field to some readers and the ideas contained within it may be viewed as exciting or threatening depending on experience. It is an area that is gaining increasing attention in the public health field possibly as a means to reduce costs. An outline of a marketing audit along with a table on the major elements in a community education monitoring system are useful, giving a comprehensive picture of what may be involved. An illustrative example quoted is the work of the Pawtucket Heart Health Intervention Unit. The author comments in his conclusions that many of the examples lack empirical investigation and test and evaluation is an urgent need at the present moment.

The remaining chapters include the use of economics, social policy and communication theory in health promotion. All are useful chapters to dip into as they broaden the health promotion concept and whet the appetite to gain deeper knowledge of theoretical concepts. The Health for All by the year 2000 movement is considered in the chapter on social policy and its emphasis on a healthy public policy.

Many health promotion text books contain a chapter on communication dealing only with elements of communication skills. This chapter offers a theoretical perspective from the point of view of the Innovation-Diffusion theory. The theory may be unfamiliar to some health professionals but it does raise awareness of a key framework which can be used to expand knowledge and skills.

The final chapter offers an overview of health promotion theory from a philosophical point of view. The book begins with considering 'What is Health Promotion' and ends with a philosophical discussion which complements all the preceding chapters.

The book is well designed with clear aims and objectives. Many readers will be familiar with the primary disciplines in Part 1 of the book, but it is useful to find them set in context with each other. What makes this book stimulating and innovative are the theories discussed in Part 2 enabling a broader picture to be formed of the whole field of health promotion. The purpose is to review the progress of health promotion and inject critical awareness and it achieves this. It also raises questions about the future direction of health promotion as we move towards the 21st century.

It is a welcome addition to the field of health promotion literature.

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Maggie Humm (ed)
Feminisms: A Reader
Harvest Wheatsheaf 1992
ISBN 7450-0925-5 (pbk)
£9.99 pp 420

Chris Gibbs

This Reader gives an overview of feminisms, concentrating on works written or published in English. None of the pieces have been translated especially for the reader so the resulting collection includes Simone de Beauvoir but no other European writers. It includes writing by black women and women of colour, one or two of these have been translated, but mostly those living or working in America or the UK. The Reader then is a collection of the main ideas of the English speaking world and doesn't claim to be anything else.

Maggie Humm is clear in her introductions that the Reader is an academic work with a first world focus and even with those limits extends to 420 pages. There is also a focus on 20th century writing so the earliest pieces, in a section titled 'First Wave Feminism', include Oliver Schreiner, Virginia Woolfe and Vera Brittain.

The Reader opens with a chronology listing major events worldwide of feminist politics in the 20th century alongside the texts included in the reader. This helps to place the texts in the context of current events. The list does not show landmarks in womens involvement with mainstream politics, for example, womens suffrage in the UK or America, or the election of the first women MPs although these events are mentioned in the short history of feminism which follows.

The short history is short, covering seven pages and is inevitably rushed. There is enough, however, to give a flavour of the developments and to chart the key themes and movements in Britain and America. European feminism is not included here so I conclude that when Maggie Humm claims her focus is first world rather than third world she means the English speaking world.

The reader is divided into seventeen sections representing a range of academic fields including, socialist/Marxist feminism, psychoanalytic feminism, lesbian feminism, history, peace, philosophy and the sciences and a section entitled 'Asian, black and women of colour lesbianisms/feminisms'. I am not clear what this rather complicated title was signalling.

Each section has its own introduction outlining some of the key strands of thought in the section. Each contribution also has its own introduction about the main direction of the work of the contributor. These introductions are useful in setting the pieces in their context and necessary to give some flow to the inevitable jumpiness of a reader of this kind. Maggie Humm apologises for the shortness of these introductions as she wished to include as

much as possible of the writers work. She need not have done so as the introductions do the job they were intended to do perfectly well as they are.

Both the introductions to the sections and the introductions to the contributions have a commentary indicating another text which can be referred to to explore the subject further. I am intrigued as to how Maggie Humm selected these texts as there is only one for most of them and I am sure there must have been many to choose from.

A run down the list of contributors in the contents pages offers a treasure of exiting names. Shulasmith Firestone, Audre Lorde, Adrienne Rich, Jean Baker Miller, Sheila Rowbotham are all there along with many others, some sixty four contributors in all, excluding the editor. Some, like Adrienne Rich, demonstrate the wide range of their work by appearing under several headings. Others have only one piece in this collection but these are all key works in feminist thinking and the collection would be poorer without them.

Maggie Humm states the premise for the reader '..is that, in this century, it is feminism which represents the major change in social thinking and politics..' (preface). I am not sure that I agree with this statement nor do I think such a statement is necessary to justify this book. A reader of feminisms is an important and necessary piece of work, there is no need to claim feminism as the only radical way of thinking about social relationships this century in order to validate it.

As a reader this one is a good piece of work. It contains selections from the key ideas in feminism this century and they are well introduced and usefully set in context. As a text book it has the limitations of a reader. The ideas are offered without any critique and there is not a wide enough bibliography offered to direct the student. I guess, however, there are enough womens studies courses to make this reader a popular and useful choice. Its very reasonable pricing at £9.99 makes it accessible too.

I must admit, even though I am not currently pursuing a womens studies course, to have enjoyed dipping into the reader to reread treasured snippets. I think I would find it confusing had I been reading it as an introduction to feminist thinking without the benefit of taking part in a course at the same time. There are simply not enough signposts to the broader field and the problematic thinking behind some of the contributions.

Probably everyone who picks up a reader of this kind has their pet areas which they feel have been left out and I am no exception. Maggie Humm says that she had to leave out some of the newer developments in feminist thinking as she spent so much time clearing copyrights. One of the newer areas she admits to neglecting is theology.

I am surprised at this as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who Maggie Humm writes about in her history of American feminism, wrote The Womens Bible first published in 1895. Five years too early to be in the 20th century but an important work in the 20th century for feminism theology. Mary Daly and

Adrienne Rich, both appearing in the section Lesbian Feminism, have also been important contributors to the debates around feminist theology.

For as long as women have been questioning their relationship to men they have also been questioning their relationship to their god(s). Religion is often the body of knowledge called upon to justify women's subordinate position and women have used their considerable intellectual knowledge and skill, and their faith, to question this.

The other major discipline for me, which does appear in the reader but incognito, is anthropology. Maggie Humm refers to the contribution of anthropology to feminist debate in her overview of 'Feminist theory and the academic disciplines' in the introduction to the section of Second Wave Feminism. She also includes two pieces, by Sherry Ortner and Gayle Rubin in a section title 'Nature'.

Sherry Ortner's proposition that women are devalued across cultures because they are seen as akin to nature was indeed a seminal piece but it has been vigorously challenged by other feminist anthropologists. Anthropology's contribution to feminist thinking has been much more than this. As Maggie Humm herself says, 'Anthropology insists that the actual lived reality of gender and the meanings of male and female are culturally constructed.' (p56).

Anthropology has charted women's power as well as their powerlessness, their part in shaping culture as well as their conditioning by culture. Anthropology has shown how notions of woman and femininity are cultural constructs and has challenged the evidence that there are natural reasons for women's position. It would have been good to see some of the seminal works in this area reflected in this reader.

Overall this is a useful work for students embarked on womens studies courses. I have enjoyed, and will continue to enjoy, dipping in to the collections and have no doubt will use it often as a reference book.

David Waddington
Contemporary Issues in Public Disorder
Routledge 1992
ISBN 0-415-07914-4 (pbk)
£12.99 pp 243

Terry Thomas

The stated intention of this book is to raise the level of debate on the causes of public disorder and riot and how they might best be policed.

The author is critical of police officers and politicians mouthing cliches about hot weather and the 'criminal element'.

David Waddington begins his exploration with the idea that riot may be a form of communication for those without a voice in society. He develops what he calls a 'flashpoint' model of analysis, acknowledging his debt to early American writer on the subject and his own earlier work written with colleagues: 'Flashpoints: studies in public disorder' (Routledge 1989).

The 'flashpoint' model supposes a reservoir of grievances held by particular groups in society that become linked to a precipitating incident, which results in crowd violence and riots. In more detail, the model has six integrated levels of analysis.

At the widest level we start with structural inequalities of power, material sources and life chances held by different groups in society. These groups may be centred on an ethnic minority, a religion, class, age range or any other feature giving them a distinct identity. The structural inequalities give the potential for conflict.

Whether or not there is conflict depends, in part, on the degree to which these groups have access to key political ideological institutions. As Waddington suggests:

> *Experience of political marginalisation and ideological vilification may increase the dissenting group's willingness to engage in violence as a way of defending or promoting its interests. (p 15).*

The third level of analysis is described as the 'cultural'. This refers to the ways of life and thinking of various groups holding various structural positions. Youth groups clearly have their own youth culture defining experiences for people of certain ages.

How the police respond to potential conflict in public areas takes us into the fourth area of analysis: the contextual. The contextual tone is set - sometimes by politicians and the media - as to what might be expected in given circumstances. The expectations of 'violence' is a familiar feature.

The situational level of analysis refers to the territorial determinants of disorder. The so-called 'front-lines' of certain inner city areas, or boundaries between given ethnic groups, or supporters of certain football teams.

Finally moving closer to the particular incident 'sparking' off riots, is a perceived interaction - real or imagined - between police and policed. This may be overly rough handling, or an arrest by the police, or conversely an attack on a police officer.

All six levels do not have to be present to cause riots and their presence does not automatically lead to public disorder. The human agency is accepted as being able to influence events one way or the other.

Waddington takes his flashpoints model and applies it to a series of public disorder incidents both here and in the USA, that have taken place this century. The 'fit' is made with urban riots, strike violence, football hooliganism and (more tenuously) with the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland. By and large the model is seen to hold good.

Each case study is packed with background information to flesh out the six levels of analysis. The author managed to keep all this material under control without overwhelming the reader, moving from the coalfields of 1920s West Virginia to the race riots of 1950s Nottingham and the Heysal Stadium disaster in 1985 to the Cardiff race riots of 1919.

For a student coming to this subject for the first time it is useful background information. At times it seems like a potted social history of the 20th century, written in clear prose but with a certain bloodless feel to it.

The political context, media portrayal and policing of public disorder are seen as the main determinants of whether a crowd becomes violent. Sensitive policing, for example, that comes to some accommodation with the crowd can prevent troubles escalating. Such policing requires a dialogue to be carried out between the police and public groups.

Effective police accountability would be one way of keeping the dialogue going, but Waddington notes the increasing lack of accountability in the British context. As the Home Office and Chief Constables have moved the focus of power to the centre, local police authorities have been marginalised. Specialist equipment, mutual assistance, and riot training have been introduced with little public debate.

Since this book's publication, the centralisation process has continued with the 1993 White Paper allowing the Home Secretary to appoint businessmen/women to police authorities, and to amalgamate small forces, and the Sheehy Report promoting managerial efficiency over accountability. On the technical front we have the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice pushing for a national DNA databank on serious offenders.

It's all a long way from public accountability and democratically controlled police. The increased Europeanisation of the police in a frontier free Europe will only increase the democratic deficit as even ideas of a pan-European police force are floated. Public disorder focused on racism and football hooliganism is very much a current European issue.

In Leeds the University of Leeds Computer Based Learning Unit has produced programmes that simulate crowd movements to help police develop better control techniques. The Metropolitan police have been

evaluating them (The Independent, 14 Sept. 1992). How much these programmes have built in ability for crowds to talk to the police about their needs remains unknown.

The media role as amplifiers of trouble and politicians' dismissal of criminal elements and mindless yobbos looks likely to remain for the foreseeable future, although the 'hot weather' explanation must have caused confusion when the Broadwater Farm riots took place in October 1985!

Waddington's book has achieved its aim of opening up the debate on the causes of public disorder and the Flashpoints Model offers explanation in far greater depth than anything we are normally treated to. The problem still remains of transferring these ideas into the media and the heads of politicians , more interested in gory details to push up circulation and 'correct interpretations' for the imagined silent majority.

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Howitt, D.
Child Abuse Errors: When Good Intentions Go Wrong
Harvester Wheatsheaf 1992
ISBN 0-7450-1043-1 (hbk)
ISBN 0-7450-1044-X (pbk)
£13.95 (pbk)

Angela Everitt

I approached Howitt's study with interest. Errors in child protection work despite the good intentions of practitioners involved in this work are ripe for analysis. I anticipated that such an analysis would comprise theoretical and empirical study of the complex processes of making judgements in the direction of good practice. It would include study of professional decision-making in the context of increasingly bureaucratised organisations and the production of rule-books for practice. Children's rights would form the yardsticks by which good practice might be judged. But I was wrong. Howitt misses this opportunity. In his approach to the important subject of professional error, he almost destroys the very clear case he has for error to be taken into account and for practitioners and their organisations to develop ways to learn from, rather than cover up, mistakes.

Central to Howitt's work is an epistemological argument: an argument about knowledge and the claims that practitioners are able to make that their professional knowledge of the problem or situation should be taken seriously and acted upon. This case is about professional knowledge

and allegations and evidence of child abuse. Howitt is critical of the ways in which practitioners take into account not only hard, factual evidence, but also ideologically-imbued ideas and notions of, for example, abuse, the family, masculinity. It is perhaps because Howitt's own roots are in psychology, a social science close to the natural and physical sciences, that he is able to conceptualise the possibility of any evidence being free of values and ideology.

Howitt's data comprise twenty case studies of families claiming that they have been erroneously dealt with through child protection procedures, although only eleven of these are presented. From this data, he draws conclusions that working class families, those with a single-parent history and those with step-parent(s) or living-in partners are over-represented in incidences of error. He categorises types of error likely to occur: physical abuse/accidental injury; identity of perpetrator; too minor injuries considered abusive; injury attributable to other causes such as brittle-bone disease; ex-partners implicating innocent parents; false allegations; unintended sexual contact equated with abuse; injustice to innocent parent; self-reported abuse dealt with harshly; voluntary care leading to court orders; and lastly, failure to act on concerns expressed about a child's safety. He suggests that errors occur at different stages: reporting; diagnosis; identifying the perpetrator; intervention. He very fleetingly considers the effects of seemingly inappropriate intervention upon families, by which he means parents. He devotes just over a page to the effect of inappropriate intervention upon children referring to doubts about foster care and residential care offering places of safety. He is critical of professional decision-making for not being rational and points his finger primarily at social workers, but also medical doctors, health visitors, and teachers. Interestingly, in line with his own thinking about evidence, the police come out of Howitt's study unscathed, reflecting, he suggests 'the different standards of evidence required by police work compared to that of other professions'. And reflecting also differences in values:

> *The police also, from time to time, bring to the situation a perspective which is shared by the parent. This might be particularly in relation to corporal punishment and the matter of how children should be reared. So not only will the police be a lifeline in regard to subjective beliefs of innocence, but they will also provide validation of a view of parenting which is unlikely to be fashionable amongst social workers with a more child-centred ideology.*

Throughout his study, Howitt is inconsistent about the place of values, ideology and their relationship to evidence. He is critical of practitioners (expect the police) for not dealing only with indisputable evidence. He is critical of their child-centredness and particularly vitriolic towards social workers who inform their practice with feminist theorising and empirical data. And yet he applauds those who go along with, for example, corporal punishment and,

more significantly, who accept unquestioningly power relations in our society that render women and children vulnerable. Quite stunningly, Howitt manages to produce a study of child abuse that fails to acknowledge power and that ignores recent thinking about the rights of children.

He presents his own work as research but before doing this, the major part of his book is spent in attacking research done by others that have influenced ways in which practitioners see, understand abuse and choose to intervene. Howitt writes little of the methodology employed in his own study. The clues are to be found in the acknowledgements. Howitt collected together the case studies through 'a local parents group dealing with families who had been involved with social workers over allegations of abuse' - local to his own home presumably. He supplemented these with three case studies provided by the national organisation, Parents Against Injustice (PAIN), cases this time selected because of closeness to his place of work! The evidence produced through these case studies of parents who have joined such groups is, I would suggest, more contaminated with personal values and ideology than the empirical studies of feminists which he so heavily criticises - because he fails to subject his own data to criticism assuming instead that it is in some way superior in terms of validity and reliability. His central argument therefore is flawed. It is not only social workers and other practitioners whose understandings of child abuse and appropriate intervention are imbued with values. His own understandings derive from a position that is intent on giving aggrieved parents a voice without any acknowledgment of the prevalence of abuse of children by parents.

Judgements about abuse are not a matter for technical decision-making informed by evidence of the police kind. What we know about domestic violence would suggest that if they were of this nature, then we would fail to intervene in homes where children suffer systematic and continuing abuse from those in more powerful positions than they are. Professional judgements about abuse, often with only partial and inconsistent evidence, involve moral and not only technical considerations. This, surely, is the very essence of professionalism. Social workers and others are quite right to act upon such evidence. Howitt is quite right to make visible the problem of error that will result. But should we as a society err on the side of the powerful, or on the side of the powerless? All practitioners with an involvement with children and young people who have suffered abuse will not hesitate about whose side they are on. Howitt is unquestioningly on the side of parents who have claimed injustice through child protection processes. His own serious research and epistemological error is his suggestion that his own work, through being a piece of 'social scientific research' is neutral, does not fall into the trap of values, and therefore is to be taken seriously when the work of others should be rejected.

Howitt's failure to take account of values with which he feels comfortable whilst passionately rejecting those who hold values contrary to his own not only undermines his argument but also serves to mask some of the

interesting and important points he makes. He is right, for example, to suggest that child abuse and child protection procedures are socially constructed. Sexual and physical relations with children that result in their suffering are understood and acted upon in different ways in societies at different times having different values. Child abuse and protection have not been, as Howitt suggests, constructed through feminist, child-centred and anti-nuclear family ideologies. Rather, they have come to be understood differently through theories of power, gender relations and children's rights.

Howitt is right to question the sometimes uncritical thinking of professionals and the lack of scrutiny of their own practice and those of their organisations. My own view is that he goes a bit far in describing professionals as developing a cosiness in the knowledge and beliefs they share with each other. My experience of practitioners is of their increasing discomfort in striving for professional decision-making for good, rather than merely correct, practice. He is right to focus on the power of professionals over others, parents and children, and to demand that they are more accountable for their actions. He is right to suggest that they should act with tentativeness when making professional judgements and to be attentive to the possibilities of their interventions generating further, different, kinds of abuse. He is right to challenge the ways in which the personal social services and health services develop and devote resources to defensive action preparing for possible enquiries into their practices. But he is so terribly wrong to claim that he is presenting 'the viewpoint of the "victims" of the practices of professionals...', what he describes as a 'bottom up' perspective, without any reference at all to power and to children.

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Cyril Poster & Jurgen Zimmer (eds)
Community Education In The Third World
Routledge 1992
ISBN 0-415-04209-7
£35.00 pp 253

Tony Jeffs

It is easy to churn out a liturgy of off-the-peg criticisms of a book such as this. Yes some issues are missing; surprise, surprise: some parts of the world are under-represented; amazing, but nothing about the wonderful initiatives taking place in.... Easy, but totally unfair because a book on this topic would never appear if the editors had to hold everything until the balance was right. What we have is perhaps the best that can be expected - a collection of snapshots of practice from around the world.

Inevitably the quality is highly variable - as with any edited collection or journal you often have no choice but to publish what you have rather than what you were promised. Some of the pieces are barely worth the effort involved in reading them; others are informative but likely to arouse little more than passing interest except amongst those who know the locality or have a particular interest in the subject matter; a number are valuable and worth searching out by those who are anxious to learn more about community education elsewhere. What falls within each category will be partly a matter of individual predilection but I doubt if in excess of a handful of potential readers will consider more than half the book useful. Which half is the question? Is it worth investing £35.00 to find out? The answer to the first question at least as regards the reviewer can be guessed from what follows for I have no intention of playing vulture with the dead bits. With regards to the second - wait until the end.

What is on offer comprises 17 chapters each providing an account of practice; a somewhat self-indulgent introduction which was a wasted opportunity because it seemed designed to assuage the liberal guilt of the editors rather than contextualise what followed; a conclusion which was another lost opportunity and read like one of those ghastly Don's Diary pieces from the Times Higher Educational Supplement of the 'what I did on my sabbatical variety'; and finally the ultimate accolade for a text such as this, a foreword by Paulo Freire. Freire's name gets the same size billing on the cover as the editors but don't be fooled he only submitted two meagre sides. Yet he makes a powerful point that far too many of the other contributors seem either to have not grasped or chose to ignore. It is this and it is so important that I would like to quote at length for the benefit of those who opt not to buy:

> *When the Kennedy era* **Alliance for Progress** *provided Latin American dictators with community education projects it did so, as we now know with counter-insurgency in mind. The most extravagantly funded community education and development projects in Central America in the past ten years were to be found on the northern border of Costa Rica, fronting Nicaragua: financed by foreign aid, the villages there wallowed in luxury. Community education is not* ***ipso facto*** *a good thing.*

Indeed it is not. Yet many of the contributors persist in writing as if somehow community education is blessed with inherent goodness. That it is an incorruptible form of practice which will inevitably liberate all parties; revolutionary, challenging and, heaven help us, empowering. It can be, and often is, but equally community education can dance to other tunes. 'Empowerment' started out a a buzzword for radical practitioners but now peppers the pages of the Financial Times and trendy 'how to' management texts. In that context it has become a pseudonym for raising profit margins by getting the suckers to work harder for less by convincing them that they have been empowered. Lee in his useful chapter does delineate between the different forms of community edu-

cation practice found in various settings. Forms that he argues reflect the political complexion of the state and the motives of the funders. Yet even he begins with the statement 'the ultimate goal of community education is the creation of a humane communitarian society where there is no exploitation' (p 203). Undeniably that is the aim of some practitioners, even of some funders, but it is not universally the case. Rhetoric can never be a substitute for analysis. As we have seen in Britain unifying a sub-standard youth service with a sub-standard adult education service and calling it community education rarely changes anything. If anything things get worse because at least the practitioners previously knew what they were and were expected to do. Once a youth worker but now a 'community educator' and who knows what that entails?

The substantive criticism that has to be directed at the text is that the editors failed to move beyond the point made by Freire. They needed to offer a definition of community education or at least compare and contrast different modes of practice and theoretical perspectives. The latter exist and cannot be wished away by the adoption of wishy-washy 'one worldism' but here all we are offered is a collection linked by locality (the third world) and an agreement to call what they do community education. Much of it could with equal accuracy be designated youth work, community development, community work or progressive schooling. Some contributors see community education in terms of a setting (education beyond the classroom); others as a methodology located somewhere between experiential learning and situationalism; finally a number view it as a social movement. It cannot be all three and without some attention to definition it is likely to become a meaningless catchall that will in the not too distant future fall apart at the seams.

Amongst the chapters there were a number that for the reviewer stood out. One by Puntasen was an account of the development of environmentally sensitive agricultural programmes in Thailand. A fascinating discussion of the notion of 'local wisdom', building upon the knowledge within the community, and the linkages between religious beliefs and political action. Also two chapters by Graciani and Dabezies which focused on work with young people. Both considered how youth workers could address the need to create socially useful employment. A theme that re-surfaced in the chapter by Zimmer a fascinating description of the founding of a tea marketing enterprise in Germany. A wonderful case-study of organisational change and innovative thinking. One that also showed how Higher Education might play a positive role in creating employment in Europe and help reduce exploitation amongst primary producers.

In conclusion it really is an expensive book for a collection of articles of which only a few are likely to appeal to more than a handful of readers. Every reader of this journal will, I am certain, find something of interest in it but don't expect too much if you do opt to invest.

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Philip Toogood (ed)
Small Schools
Education Now Books 1991
ISBN 1-871526-05-1 (pbk)
£5.00 pp 36

Roland Meighan & Philip Toogood
Anatomy of Choice in Education
Education Now Books 1992
ISBN 1-871526-07-8 (pbk)
£10.00 pp 147

Maurice Dybeck

At a time when government policy on schools is so uncertain it is good to look at some alternative approaches to education from those who have borne the heat of the day in the classroom and elsewhere. Both authors declare themselves to be a part of the Education Now Publishing Cooperative and they see the latter book as a summary to date of the campaigning work of Education Now.

Small Schools, a short book of essays by eight authors, has been written to promote the Cause of Small Schools. The editor's well-known enthusiasm is backed by assurances from an educational psychologist that being in small groups is not only beautiful but is, socially speaking, our natural state from which, over the past ten millennia, we have drifted into disaster. Then follow reports from practitioners on small school successes mostly in England and Wales, and guidance on how to set up a small school.

There are one or two contradictions in the book which make me feel uneasy. In his introduction Philip Toogood rightly underlines the importance in any development of that charismatic individual who gets the operation going or around whom it develops. He quotes an army colonel who said that 'you could rely absolutely on no more than 10% of human beings when it came to the crunch'. If this is to mean that good leaders/teachers are few and far between then there are unlikely to be enough of them to staff a sufficiency of small schools. On page 4 Toogood admits that 'smallness does not in itself guarantee democratic practice and creative learning ... you can have the worst of all worlds because there is no escape for the victim, the student'. At least the large comprehensive, with its variety of opportunities and alternatives, can offer refuge from this problem. As for the assumption that a small school is more caring I would say that given an efficient pastoral care system the biggest of comprehensives can offer the same level of care. Their pastoral group size need be no different.

Nowhere does this book define the small school, and numbers between 4 and 2,500 are quoted as qualifying. The latter is Stantonbury Campus

and is eligible, we are told, because it is divided up into (wait for it); 'minischools' of 500. I also sense some confusion on whether the 'small' refers to the size of the whole school or to the teaching unit. As far as pupils are concerned it must be the latter that, for them, really matters. In the state system, with pupil-teacher ratios hovering around 1:19 we cannot ever expect to see normal class sizes drop below 20. Therefore, in the state system, to hope for ideal groups of five is a waste of time. While this book is full of ideas on how schools can supplement their team of learning assistants - notably through parents who can spare the time - none of this will bring in more paid teachers ... at least not in the state system.

A chapter on schools' finances under L.M.S. (Local Management of Schools) brings us up against the harsh realities. The 'inevitably higher unit costs' of small schools could in the past be partly lost under various county allocations. Government rules are now harsher so that formulas end up looking as if the bigger schools are subsidising the smaller ones. With LMS formulas being based upon school rolls (i.e. the number of pupils a Head can attract on to his patch) there could be lean times ahead for those in the smaller league. While their better selves urge cooperation and sharing, the bottom line could be unseemly competition. As David Keast states 'The competition ethic is integral to LMS'.

Which brings me to wonder where the newly-founded enthusiastic *Private* (or Charity-funded) small school places itself in this blackboard jungle. If there is a consortium or cluster of small schools struggling to survive - as so excellently described in Neil Tranmer's chapter - what happens if the parents of some of them break ranks and form their own school? Such a move, by bleeding the numbers, could wreck the whole delicate setup and precipitate the dreaded closures.

Like Philip Toogood I was a Village College Warden and, like him, I have experience both inside and outside the state system. We have both seen good and not so good schools of all sizes. I suspect that in the end the key to success lies (as he hints) not in size but in the personal touch. Given the right people, with an open-arms approach to the community, pupils' lives will be enriched, whatever size the school.

First let us be clear about what *The Anatomy Of Choice In Education* is not about. 'The "choice" offered by the present administration in the UK for those in the State sector ... consists in choosing between school A, authoritarian in style, operating a National Curriculum, limited by a centrally-imposed testing system, ... and school B, which is the same. The only distinction between the two will be that one has stolen a march ... in the centrally-imposed league tables. This is pseudo-choice'.

In his introduction Professor Ian Lister describes the contents as 'news from other worlds' but nevertheless commends it for addressing this 'key question' in education. The authors' approach is to map the territory, as they put it, with an exposition of the rival approaches to education first at

a philosophical level. We look at both traditional and progressive approaches to the theories of knowledge, of learning, teaching, parents, resources, location, organisation, assessment, aims, power and order. While the author attempts to be even-handed, I feel that too often 'authoritarian' seems to come across as a dirty word. But then, as an ex-headmaster, I would, wouldn't I?

A substantial section of the book (one fifth) is used by Philip Toogood to describe his ideas and practice of Minischooling, his way of breaking up the 'large and impersonal' Comprehensive into 'small and humane' units again. He describes his experiences between 1977 and 1983 as Head of Madeley Court Comprehensive, Telford, and although this has been described elsewhere (see his book Minischooling) it is useful to have it in this context juxtaposed among other fundamentally challenging ideas. One needs to remember that according to an HMI report Madeley Court minischool experiment was a failure. It would be useful to have a middle view on this or, better, an account of attempts at minischools elsewhere since it is now over ten years since Philip left Madeley Court.

Like the other book under review this one advocates small schools. It speaks of maintaining schools as an investment in community development. At its most basic level - of providing a place for people to meet and interrelate - this benefit must be clear to everyone. But, sadly, these days so many organisations are required to be self-justifying within their own narrow terms of reference. Henry Morris saw the spin-offs from having, say, a medical centre in a school. But unless all the benefiting organisations can contribute their pennies to develop jointly-funded schemes the community will lose out. Although the authors at one point say that small schools 'are not necessarily more expensive than large schools' especially when offset against costs of transport or boarding, most of the reports in this book assert that they are, in narrow terms, more costly.

Community Education, to many of us the ultimate choice, is given a chapter. It largely hinges around the vision of Henry Morris which, the authors rightly say, has yet to be fully realised. I am not sure what the American 'City as School' experience adds to our understanding of education options in this country. It is highly staff-intensive and, in the present economic climate, is hardly likely to commend itself to U.K. industry, unless it has a financial carrot attached.

Next, in another large chapter, follows Philip Toogood's development of this idea into the *Flexicollege* initiative. This is to be a centre which combines business training aims with the need to provide open-option education for young people. It is multi-centred tapping the resources of the community in as wide a manner as possible. The immediate need for his first Flexicollege was the demand to provide a follow-up to Dame Catherine's (Junior) school in Derbyshire. That school had been run largely charitably with 'a craft shop to provide the school with a sound financial basis' so

that, though private, fees need not be levied. The Flexicollege, backed by industry and commerce, is defined as 'a company set up to provide a financial contribution ... for education and training'. It aims to seek out and meet the educational and training needs of its members within the community context from the cradle to the grave. All this reads very like a re-writing of Henry Morris's 1925 Memorandum to the Cambridgeshire County Council. As with Morris, implementation will depend as much upon personal, political and business acumen as upon any educational vision.

I feel much happier with the account of home-based education in the UK. The growth of this choice - which is open to all - has been phenomenal, though little publicised. Meighan says that in the Education Otherwise movement, in 1976 some 20 families were involved. Now, it is at least five thousand in this and other supportive groups. So, although P.N.E.U. (Parents' National Education Union) correspondence college has been around for over a century, chiefly to help children of expatriates, the main growth in home education has been a recent one. The story is not so much one of disillusion with current schools (though we have the usual tales of bullying, insensitivity and lack of challenge) but rather it is a feeling that, given the commitment of a supportive parent, so much more can be achieved in a home-based situation. In fact it is stated that a two year advancement in achievement is common. Of course not everyone has the supportive parent with the time or the skill to operate in this way. But home-based education is not just one-to-one but sometimes groups of children working from one or a succession of homes. The social comments are squarely met. Far from being cut off from other people the home-based child can meet and socialise with a great range of people in the course of his or her education.

The later chapters on Autonomous Learning and the Democratic School take us, in my view, back into those 'other worlds' of Professor Lister. Personally I have never understood how young students can be expected to make detailed choices about style and presentation of courses before they have had experience of what is on offer. And contrary to what is implied herein, I would hold that traditional lectures without discussion are not necessarily a passive mode of instruction. It all depends upon the willingness of the hearer to participate mentally in what is being presented.

In all, this is a book of visions with a few firm achievements to be built on by those with not only vision but with feet firmly on the ground.

Bob Broad
Punishment Under Pressure
Jessica Kingsley
ISBN 0-582-05124-X
pp 238

Deborah Marshall

Bob Broad's book is a revised version of his Ph.D. thesis -'Community Based Practice and Development in the Probation Service', which the dust jacket advises will be of interest to: criminologists, probation managers and practitioners, social work academics and students, social policy analysts, urban sociologists and students of research methodologies.

Certain sections of this potentially wide audience are it seems inevitably going to struggle in places to make sense of the rather 'dense' material; the necessity for academic rigour does I feel detract from the readability. I had better declare my hand at the outset. I am a Probation Manager and therefore my comments must reflect this perspective, though I was a practitioner for ten years and a fairly recent student.

In his introduction, David Downes commends the book as 'absorbing' and 'timely', observing that the book is enhanced by field study approaches little used in the study of probation. Further, Downes places Bob Broad's work in that valuable body of humanistic and anti-punitive literature, and in this respect, particularly in the wake of the right-wing back lash to the Criminal Justice Act which was implemented in October 1992, the book is a welcome and thoughtful response in a largely hysterical and punitive climate.

Agreeing with Downes, Broad's study locates the ultimate source of tensions in structural rather than local contexts. Contrary to all recent developments in probation practice, which emphasise social control and, 'punishment in the community', Broad observes that, 'what is really required is economic and social regeneration, and the full implementation of equal opportunities with minimal forms of probation punishment'.

However, Broad reminds us that what we actually have is the 'policy phase', which has replaced the 'missionary' and 'rehabilitative' phases, with the '(more) punishment phase' looming ahead. The Probation Service, as ever, is the customary penal scapegoat, forced to implement recycled, discredited and regressive social policy ideas despite a wealth of research confirming that the 'intensive punishment myth' is both expensive and ineffective.

Broad's book is based on a study of an 'experimental' community probation team set up in 1982 with an ill-defined community brief in the wake of the Brixton riots in 1981. (The research covers a three year period from 1982 - 1985).

Until the Scarman Report (1981) and SNOP (1984) - Statement of National Objectives and Priorities (for Probation), Broad comments that

lip service only was paid to probation work in the community. Even now the nature and resourcing of probation service community developments has had an uncertain and fragmented history. Centralised criminal justice objectives increasingly predominate over Probation Officers' professional assessment of local need; wider work in the community is on the one hand encouraged, but on the other hand, is not really recognised by the Home Office and Probation Services' management. There is in fact no means of recording this work on the statistical returns required by the Home Office.

It is therefore understandable that one senior probation officer laments, 'This work requires a lot of time and energy. My problem, as a senior probation officer, is getting officers to think beyond the immediate demands of their statutory risks and giving them the necessary time and space'.

Successful community probation work on the other hand risks being subsumed. Thus the Handsworth Cultural Centre now operates as a statutory day centre and no longer as a voluntary drop-in.

Chapter 3 presents a typical day in the life of the community probation team in Brixton (September 1985), a fairly miserable depiction of what Broad describes as the Marks and Spencer sandwich culture of Probation Officers versus the hamburger culture of secretarial staff. The upstairs/downstairs culture is also, he believes, deliberate. The voluntary activity room offering open supervision - defined as group supervision without appointments and largely run by non-qualified staff, is quite separate from the upstairs Probation Officer accommodation where 'arranged' supervision is conducted by appointment, the traditional one-to-one casework approach.

By June 1988 none of the original professional staff group remain '... organisational controls on staff, staff frustrations about not being able to do what they saw was a "real" social work job, combined with disappointment about not fulfilling innovatory objectives, workload and locality pressures, and, confusion about the probation service's role in the area all contributed to their decisions to leave'.

The project appears to have been doomed to failure from the outset because of confused objectives - a case of wanting your cake and eating it, for the new team was expected to be'... committed to flexibility and diversity in its working methods, but acting in the framework of a conventional understanding of the role of the probation service'.

The team's commitment to diversity and flexibility is exemplified by the two approaches of open supervision and open access (building made available to statutory and non-statutory clients without an appointment. Open until 10:00 p.m.).

Additionally, the team has a 'mini-policy' of maximising the use of probation orders in which it was successful; probation orders did indeed rise but so did

custody figures, particularly youth custody, confirming the fear that the 'mini-policy' succeeded in net widening rather than diverting from custody.

Increasing numbers of statutory clients put increasing strain on the already hard-pressed team, whose ceiling of 25 cases inexorably rose to around 40. Broad observes that 'a vicious circle of expanding work pressure, more staff, raised expectations and more work was in operation'. Furthermore, there was no relief from neighbouring teams since there was no real acceptance of the 'experiment' in the wider service and therefore no collective ownership. Broad then offers a tantalising future blueprint for effective practice and a way out of the dilemma of increasing statutory work competing with community work. He suggest two sets of workers: Firstly, trained staff to deal with the essentially practical problems of many clients, who would be subject to *open* supervision. He advocates the probation service joining with other organisations to make a public case to highlight inadequate benefits, housing etc.. Local people should be employed and the probation service should fund their training. Probation service funds should also help establish and maintain local independent organisations to assist in the short fall in existing welfare rights' organisations. This is a very topical debate within Probation. The Home Office is actively encouraging 'partnerships' in dealing with offenders in the community, as this quote from the recent partnership document illustrates: 'The Government has decided that Probation services should take the lead in developing local Probation service arrangements and should make financial provision for resourcing this work. This will enable Probation Services and independent organisations to work together constructively, using each others strengths and resources to deal most effectively with offenders and to the benefit of the wider community'. It is envisaged that staff with other expertise and qualifications will increasingly work alongside Probation Officers to enhance the service offered to clients and communities. In this respect, Broad's thesis is seen to be dated and perhaps of marginal relevance to current practitioners who now work in a very different climate.

The second set of workers would be professionally qualified to conduct arranged supervision - the judicial elements of a probation order. Work would be longer term but located in a clear policy framework, regular reviews ensuring movement between *open* and *arranged* supervision, as appropriate. The ideas are never developed any further. Instead, the distinction is drawn between crime prevention work and community work, as opposed to community probation work, all three coming under the general umbrella of Probation Service community developments. Broad describes a continuum of Probation Service work ranging from direct work with offenders, work focused on offending and more general work in the community not necessarily focused on either offenders or offending.

Two members of the community probation team attempt to engage in crime prevention and community work through membership of different inter-agency groups on two different estates. Limitations of the inter-

agency approach to social problems, according to Broad, arose from a number of factors including: different and conflicting perceptions of the agencies involved, the complex nature of problems, different assumptions about local interests being reconcilable, but above all, the depressing and limiting effect of economic and social policies at a national level persistently undermining the availability of local authority funds. Despite these problems and tensions, a 'social welfare' approach to social problem amelioration was detectable in these inter-agency groups. Broad speculates that either by default, intention or professional socialisation into a social welfare role - or all three, the community Probation team and the Probation Service failed to adopt the sort of high profile 'political stance' which would have necessitated joining other like minded groups to press for solutions to problems that were based on social justice principles.

Overall, the community probation team's practice is seen to fluctuate between social control and social welfare models of intervention, as opposed to social justice, the latter particularly highlighted in the sample of social enquiry reports Broad read, in which individual pathology requiring treatment was more frequently offered as the causation of offending rather than social/structural factors. This again is a rather dated observation. There has been a considerable amount of progress in the area of report writing, which has been consolidated by the requirements of the new Criminal Justice Act. Irrelevant information about an offender is actively discouraged, whereas report writers are expected to present an analysis of the pattern of offending that locates the person within his/her social environment. Quality control mechanisms, designed to screen-out irrelevant material and ensure quality reports are submitted, are now customary.

Broad concludes that 'significantly the social justice model remains at this stage, largely inoperable and little more than a theoretical possibility'. The increasing trends towards centralisation, specialisation, targeting of specific groups (though Broad omits to mention that this has been done to enhance anti-discriminatory practice) mitigates and conflicts with any systematic and effective form of inter-team and patchwork system both necessary for more comprehensive community-based practice, encompassing crime prevention, community work, as well as community probation work. The hierarchical structures of the probation service are compared to the 'old' Berlin Wall, blocking and stifling creativity in an attempt to impose reliability, conformity and predictability. This is of course one view, but it is, I feel, a limited and dated view, and one which in itself is both rigid uncreative and negative. It offers little scope for a creative vision from within that could, for example. redefine community probation as a recognised specialism.

In the final analysis, the probation service is depicted as the scapegoat for the law and order lobby. Effective and empowering probation community developments concerned with furthering social justice rather than social welfare or control are likely to remain localised, discretionary and small scale activities, unless the probation services' consensual straight jacket is removed.

Somehow it all sounds depressingly familiar and disabling for practitioners and managers alike, who must believe their work is of some value and who perhaps never believed they were about changing the system. (We are after all in the main funded by the Government.)

I prefer to end with Marshall's definition of social welfare, which for me encapsulates the best of probation practice: 'It refers to a service that is personal and of a general rather than a specialised kind; its aim is to help someone to make the best of life in the face of the disabilities with which he is afflicted, or the difficulties which confront him, and have either already defeated him or threaten to do so. It offers support to the weak and aims either at rehabilitation or at adjustment to circumstances that cannot be changed'.

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Owen M
Social Justice and Children in Care
Avebury
ISBN 85628-3720
£30.00 pp 155

Steve Rogowski

As the foreword indicates this book is concerned with justice in social work specifically the ways children are admitted to care both compulsorily and voluntarily with the consent of their parents. It attempts to clarify philosophical ideas underlying these processes so that parents and children's rights can be seen in a fuller context. I am not sure though that the author totally succeeds in this.

The book is divided into four sections: sections one and two draw heavily on philosophy and specifically looks at parents and children's rights as well as, for example, the notion of justice in care proceedings and the emergence of guardian-ad-litems; section three describes a research project which examines voluntary care: and section four looks at social work and legal justice.

I have to say that I found the book a rather difficult read and hard to follow at times. The author seems to presume some philosophical understanding on the part of readers and I must admit that I am lacking in this area!

Nevertheless, I did find this description of the research to be of interest, this examining the use of voluntary care under S2 Child Care Act 1980

(now replaced by accommodation under S20 Children Act 1989). The author rightly notes that children in care come from deprived backgrounds because, for example certain children are identified in need of care and this selection process is biased and skewed against the marginalised and deprived, or social and economic inequalities in society put some sections of the population at greater risk of poverty and they are therefore at greater risk of having their children in care. These two explanations as to why deprived children end up in care are obviously linked. Reference is also made to research that shows that voluntary care correlates well with placement stability and contributes greatly to improved relationships between social workers and families. However, the author wonders if these positions are not attributable to legal status at all but rather to the fact that children in voluntary care have tended to have few problems. As a result her study aimed to find out how voluntary care is used in more difficult cases such as child protection ones. The study examined, therefore, voluntary care in such cases in one county in the south of England, a number totalling 46 cases. This looked at the decision making for these children who might, in slightly different circumstances, have ended up the subject of compulsory care. The study concluded that social work practice has parted company with the legislative provision in S2 Child Care Act 1980 (voluntary care) by: (i) turning what was a duty into a discretionary power - the power to give or withhold resources; (ii) altering grounds in which care of this type is offered; and (iii) treating children in long term voluntary care as if he/she were subject to a care order.

Section four again returns to philosophical/jurisprudential ideas and again I found it difficult to follow. For example, there are references to social and legal dimensions of justice. Under social are listed distributive, comparative, plan-seeking, responsibility sharing, goal-based and substantive dimensions. They are linked with the legal dimension - corrective, non-co-operative, control-seeking, contractual, duty-based and procedural. Unfortunately, all this is simply stated and not really elaborated on although they are said to be located within three notions common to all admissions to care - care as a resource, care as partnership and care as an expression of children's best interests.

The book concludes rather blandly stating that 'the study of voluntary care has shown that there is a concept of justice in social work, whether or not it is recognised.' Again I think there could have been a fuller discussion of this.

Who is this book for then? I am not really sure. Certainly I do not think social or youth workers will get much out of reading it and in any case I know the price will put them off! Perhaps academics with a particular interest in the moral and philosophical basis of social work will benefit from a read.

Jenny Ozga (ed)
Women In Educational Management
Open University Press 1993
ISBN 0-335-09340-X (pbk)
£10.99 pp 120

Chris Gibbs

As the back cover states 'This book provides us with women managers' own vivid accounts of their varied career paths into educational management and of their day to day experiences as women in management posts.' Jenny Ozga uses contributions from a variety of women, including Deputy Head, Primary Head, Community Education Officer and Polytechnic Director, to look at management from the perspective of women managers and draws out themes which would benefit the field of management generally.

There are two concepts which Jenny Ozga suggests need re-evaluating in order to outline a style of management which is best suited to current needs, 'career' and 'good management'. Both of these themes are nicely explored by the contributors with their very real experiences illustrating and expanding the subject.

The contributor's varied paths into management often taking sideways steps, sometimes out of interest and sometimes out of necessity, suggest an alternative to the concept of career as a straightforward series of upward moves. The more flexible style developed by a broader range of experience, it is inferred, is far more relevant in today's context.

The introduction refers to the different styles of management commonly associated with men. Jenny Ozga argues that the 'female' style is more akin to current thinking on what is good management practise than traditional thinking which emphasises leadership as the key to good management.

The factors which contribute to women developing a different style of management may be those associated with juggling several roles of parent, partner, daughter and worker. 'However,' Ozga writes, 'we must be cautious here ... From there is but a short step to the argument that adversity is character forming ...'(p2).

She goes on to argue that rather than retaining the obstacles which create flexible managers we should look at the skills and qualities which are thought to be useful and set about developing them in all managers.

I liked the idea that women sometimes opt not to be managers not because of a lack of confidence but because there are other things that interest them. I find the emphasis on women's powerlessness or oppression depressing so it is refreshing to find a book which is positive yet

realistic about women's choices. I found the emphasis on the positive aspects of women's management skills helpful in this section. Indeed, the optimistic tone of the introduction is reflected throughout the book.

The introduction also looks at why there are so few women in management and sets out a summary and critique of the explanations for this lack. This particular theme was not explored in the contributions, as they were all from women who had eventually become managers. It would have been interesting to have had pieces from women who had not become managers and see if their experiences complemented the introduction as well as the managers had.

There was a pleasing consistency in most of the contributions. The themes of the introduction included, women making career choices from expediency rather than a planned aim to reach the 'top'; the qualities which these experiences have given these women, notably flexibility and interpersonal skills; the value of listening skills; the styles of management which they have developed which prove to be more effective in the current climate; and the pursuit of job satisfaction rather than job advancement.

The last two contributions are a bit more of a mystery. Both are certainly relevant to the topic. The first is an outline of a training initiative for women managers and the second a discussion about gender issues in management training. Neither contributions is linked to the main themes of the other sections in the introduction or, indeed, even mentioned in the introduction. They sit at the end as a kind of appendix which is not referred to in the text.

This is a shame as the insights from the last piece 'Gender Issues in Management Training' could well have thrown some interesting light on the other contributions. Harry Grey's suggestion that it is fear about sexuality which is at the bottom of gender stereotyping and his analogy of school with family could have been fruitful areas for discussion.

Maybe because I was spoiled by the rest of the book, I enjoyed the personal stories immensely, that I felt this lack in the description of the training initiative. I would have liked to know much more about how the women who took part experienced it and what difference it made to their views of themselves as managers and/or their careers. There was a bit too much space taken up with the outline of the course for my liking.

Overall a book I enjoyed reading and have already recommended to others. The stories echoed my own experience and that of colleagues but also offered me some frameworks with which to measure and understand that experience.

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L.S. Zabin & S.C. Hayward
Adolescent Sexual Behaviour And Childbearing
Sage ISBN-0-8039-4259-1(pbk) pp 133

B.C. Miller, J.J. Card, R.L. Paikoff & J.L. Peterson (eds)
Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy
Sage ISBN 0-8039-4391-1 (pbk)
pp 296

Alison Smith

Adolescent sexual activity, though never far removed from the spotlight, is once more centre stage for the government, the media and youth workers. The emergence of, and perceived threat posed by, HIV and AIDS and the targets for teenage pregnancies set by the Health of the Nation have again helped nudge young people's sexuality onto the public agenda. However it has been the recent furore surrounding the growing phenomenon of 'teenage unmarried mums' (though the rate of growth is contestable) that has really focused attention on the sexual behaviour of young people - especially young women.

That being the case the books being reviewed here make a timely contribution to the issue in hand. The good news is they are both packed with research, details of educational initiatives and evaluations of ongoing projects dealing with adolescent pregnancy. The bad news (i.e. for the government, but maybe not so bad for young women and men) is that such interventions seem to have only a marginal effect on the rate of teenage pregnancy. What we seem to have in both these books is an awful lot of detail of an awful lot of programmes and research that in the end did not make an awful lot of difference to the rate of teenage pregnancies. The question that I keep coming back to is - are interventions at a personal educational/behavioural level the most appropriate way to proceed?

Whilst the books have a general direction and theme in common they also have important differences. **Adolescent Sexual Behaviour and Childbearing** is a short text which attempts to condense a massive amount of research and literature, almost exclusively from the US, and it is limited because of these factors. I wasn't clear about the intended audience for this book - it would obviously provide a quick introduction to the field and to types of initiatives that have developed in response to teenage pregnancies. However, there was insufficient detail and discussion about either research or services to be relevant to academics or practitioners. The style was very terse and clinical, I didn't get any feel for what it was like to be a young person negotiating an intimate relationship or to be a teen mother. The authors talked about 'the adolescent' but were frequently talking about young women and didn't really address issues about young men in sexual relationships - other than to say that little research had been done.

Overall, in this text, there was an emphasis on quantitative research and there was no attempt to contextualise this with young people's reflection

of their situation - despite the authors' reference to ideas of young people's agency. At times the amount of detail became overwhelming (i.e. the descriptive statistics) whilst other topics were treated quite superficially. However, the chapter on interventions was more substantive. It showed the points at which programmes and work could be targeted and did note the strengths and weaknesses of the different type of approach. Despite these strengths I think anyone interested in this area would get more out of reading Frances Hudson and Bernard Ineichen's **Taking it Lying Down**. This text integrated research and theory from Britain and America and allowed the experience of young people and professionals to emerge. This gave a firm grounding in the issues and made the book enjoyable to read.

Preventing Adolescent Pregnancy is a much stronger book than **Adolescent Sexual Behaviour and Childbearing** primarily because it has a clear idea of its target readership. It is a text which is designed for policy makers, programme designers and researchers and aims to provide a framework for implementing and evaluating interventions with young people. The book is basically a collection of evaluation reports on various programmes which focused on preventing teenage pregnancies. As with all edited collections some sections are more well written than others. The introduction and conclusion were particularly good, the former set out the rationale for programme evaluation and raised both practical and theoretical considerations for researchers. The conclusion returned to the issues drawing on the experience of the programmes reviewed.

One striking aspect of the programmes reported on in the book is their scale - the smallest one involved 300 young people and the largest 3000 (!) and again the emphasis was on number crunching rather than accounts of individual experience. The two chapters that impressed me the most dealt with programmes from either end of the numbers scale.

The first study reported on a huge and very well designed programme called the Mc Master Teen Program with over 3,000 young people (between 11 and 16) which included follow-ups over a 4 year period! Unfortunately, in terms of the central objectives, the programme failed to achieve significantly better contraceptive use or higher rates of abstinence. Nevertheless the research identified factors that could be used to modify programmes and made the authors aware of the need to develop a range of initiatives which recognise that young people are a heterogeneous group.

The second study evaluated the Postponing Sexual Involvement Program - a very interesting initiative that was derived from 'social inoculation' models which have been successfully employed in preventing smoking. This was a smaller scale study with around 500 participants who were followed through for 18 months. This programme did achieve its main objective, namely, to delay the onset of sexual activity, both for male and females. However, it was far less effective in assisting those young people who were already sexually active before joining the programme.

The strengths of the book lie in its combination of an overview of current American interventions with an accessible 'how to measure it' blueprint. The writers provided a lot of detail on establishing projects and the difficulties of research which gave the reader an accurate perception of the practicalities of doing this work.

The main drawbacks to the text were, like the first book, an exclusive focus on American studies and, again, the obsessive concern with quantitative measurement. Some of the programmes did include qualitative elements but they weren't reported in the text. It seemed that easily countable targets were preferred to qualitative data. The irony of this is that on the quantitative side (i.e. a decline in the rate of teenage pregnancy) the programmes largely failed whereas what was learned (and thus could be of use in future initiatives) came from the experiential aspects of the programmes. For example; younger adolescents (12 -14s) were often frustrated at their omission from these programmes and wanted information and access to services; chaotic use of contraception was related to perceptions about the spontaneity of sex - an awful lot of young people reported not using contraceptives because they hadn't anticipated having sex at that time.

Premarital sexual activity is now very much the norm and it is questionable whether preventative educational campaigns that focus on personal behaviour change will have much effect unless the participants believe themselves personally to be at some sort of risk. Until young people are enabled to accept their sexuality and are empowered to negotiate their needs and wants with others including sexual partners, health officials etc. then I would suggest that the rate of pregnancy would continue to rise. Both books reviewed here affirm the almost impossible challenge of preventing teenage pregnancy but both largely miss the opportunity to draw out more important structural messages about the (non)status and (non)power particularly of young women, but also of young men, as they embark on their sexual careers.

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Martin Rosenbaum
Children And The Environment
National Children's Bureau, 1993
ISBN 1-874-579-01-6
pp 98

Bryan Langley

How very advanced and sophisticated our society has become. It seems light years ago since I was appalled by what seemed to my immature, child mind the barbarism of the post-war National Coal Board. Apparently when poisonous gas was suspected at the coal face, miners carried those most

delicate of birds, the beautiful yellow canaries, with them. Presence of toxic air was indicated by the birds becoming distressed, incapacitated, and finally by dying. These tiny creatures were chosen because of their physiological affinities to human beings, but more importantly because there small mass and simplicity made them more vulnerable to a toxic environment. This exploitation of animals is now considered disgusting and has hopefully been consigned to history alongside bear-baiting and cock-fighting. However, there was always implicit acceptance in the practice that using small, simple, similar organisms was useful because of their very vulnerability. In Thatcher's Britain, this basic concept appears to be beyond the comprehension of the nation's politicians and planners. Martin Rosenbaum on behalf of the National Children's Bureau, sets out the arguments against using our children to test the rank air of capitalistic 'enterprise'.

He explains why children are vulnerable (physiology, behaviour and low status), and shows in a scholarly, yet light, very readable way, how they are especially prone to the main environmental problems, which, like the plagues of Ancient Egypt, currently afflict the UK. He then makes a series of recommendations which could significantly and relatively cheaply, reduce the risks attendant on the young people growing up despite environmental hazards. There are chapters on Drinking Water, Air Pollution, Ozone Depletion/Global Warming, Land Pollution, Radiation, Transport, The Built Environment and the Indoor Environment. To cover, so expertly, such a wide field and relate the issues to children is a genuine tour de force completed in less than 100 pages. In addition, the explanation of fairly complex scientific concepts is brilliantly done. Rosenbaum's handling of Biology, Chemistry and Physics are equally good. His discussions of faecal coliform screening, entrophication, chlorofluoro carbons (CFC's), UV-B radiation, ionising radiation are masterly and easily followed by the lay reader.

Throughout the text, Rosenbaum speaks fluently for children. He makes it clear that little has really changed in the way society treats children since the days of 'The Water Babies' and children being 'Seen but not heard'.

By comparing the record of Western European states, he shows how representing young people and enfranchising them makes for safer, happier living conditions for them. He argues strongly in favour of children being actively involved, at all levels in environmental policy making. This is in line with Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which requires that children's views on all matters affecting them should be given due weight. This could be done through something like a Children's Rights Commissioner of the sort operating in Norway, Sweden and New Zealand, where young people are accorded much more respect than in the UK. In the meantime, consider the unhappy lot of a child living in a built up area, by a busy road in Cumbria, in a house lit by fluorescent lights, plumbed with lead pipes. Furthermore, both parents and elder siblings smoke heavily, although the family is poor. Holidays every year and most weekends are spent sunbathing (SIC) on the beach in Blackpool. Rosenbaum demonstrates how every

listed aspect of the above fictious family puts children at very real risk of harm from the environment without any redress.

To take only one aspect to demonstrate the strength of argument, perhaps transport is most easily dealt with. He uses Department of Transport figures to show that the UK fatality rate for child pedestrians is 31% higher than the EC average. In the case of 10-14 year olds, we come jointly, (with the former Yugoslavia), bottom of 19 other European nations. In addition, the risk of a child of professional parents being killed by a car is half the national average, whilst a child of parents in unskilled employment is twice the national average, and a child of unemployed parents has a risk three times the national average.

Rosenbaum highlights each environmental factor just as cogently, and cleverly exposes the way that authority and power resort to victim blaming; at a superficial level - 'you drink too much water', 'I told you to keep your T-shirt on', 'I said you'd get a migraine reading too much' etc etc.. He quotes an amazing Department of Transport statement on children's road casualties: 'Children in traffic are at greater risk of an accident than adults. Younger children in particular lack skill and experience, their observation and listening powers are less fully developed, their small stature makes them difficult to see, and their general immaturity and lack of judgement lay them open to danger in traffic. Older children are less likely to be supervised and may be influenced by their peers to take risks;'. In other words, 'Yes, Minister it's their own fault!'.

If we were ruled by a government of sanity and humanity, there would be no need for books such as this. Unfortunately, at a time when children are so at risk, the cabinet are becoming even more cavalier about environmental safeguards for young people. The Education Secretary has just gained approval for the abolishment of 1981 regulations on teaching space and minimum areas for playing fields. The Thatcherite dogma of deregulation allows schools to 'pile them high and teach them cheap'. Patten is happy that 'output measures' are sufficient indications of a schools effectiveness and presumably is prepared to condone any Dotheboys Hall set-up as long as exam results are acceptable. It is difficult to understand, with the 1986 and 1988 Acts centralising bureaucratic control, why on earth the Secretary of State cannot ensure the physical quality of the school environment. The more people who read, understand and act upon this brilliant small book the better. Writing such as this may one day reduce the number of canaries we are forced to sacrifice. Children, and especially underprivileged children from impoverished family backgrounds deserve a much better deal. Martin Rosenbaum shows succinctly and objectively how this can be achieved.

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Kieran O'Hagan
Emotional and Psychological Abuse of Children
Open University Press 1993
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pp 167

Robbie Gilligan

This book is interesting in a number of respects. It addresses a theme - the emotional and physical abuse of children - which has been curiously invisible despite all the brouhaha about child abuse in the professional and public domains in the past two decades. O'Hagan adopts an unashamedly polemical stance as he fights to get emotional and psychological abuse onto the professional and policy agenda in Britain. This is a key to understanding the work in my view. O'Hagan seems to see himself as laying down a challenge to the professionals and their employers to stop ignoring emotional and psychological abuse. He is concerned that these forms of abuse be seen separately each in their own right, and as the hitherto invisible or more correctly unseen constant companions of physical or sexual abuse.

O'Hagan defines emotional abuse as 'the sustained, repetitive, *inappropriate*, (emphasis in original) emotional response to the child's expression of emotion and its accompanying expressive behaviour' (p 28). Adult indifference, anger and mockery, O'Hagan contends, are the staple diet of the emotionally abused child. Psychological abuse represents a similar concentrated threat to 'the creative and developmental potential of crucially important mental faculties and processes...(including)...intelligence, memory, recognition, perception, attention, language and moral development' (p 34-35).

O'Hagan has an interesting pedigree for a book such as this. This is no ivory tower academic pontificating on the real world, while safely insulated from it. Here is a practitioner with seventeen years of recent coalface experience to draw on. He has only recently succumbed to the temptations of academe (or is it the opportunity to take up a new life back in his native Belfast?). His 'street' credentials shine through in a work which is avowedly grounded in the realities of practice. A highly respectable academic style is balanced with elaborate use of typical case examples. His two earlier work *Crisis Intervention in Social Services* (1987) and *Working with Child Sexual Abuse* (1989) have endured and their status suggests that this new work will also receive considerable attention.

This project of O'Hagan's to place the emotional and psychological abuse of children at the centre of the child protection agenda is not without its difficulties. The absence, to date, of specific definitions is a serious problem, (but one that he sets out to rectify). The relative invisibility of emotional and psychological abuse is another. The typical chronicity of these forms of abuse, combined with this invisibility, means that they command much lower priority than physical or sexual abuse. These latter seem to owe something of their primacy to 'sponsorship' by medical

'moral entrepreneurs' and to the anxiety physical and sexual abuse cause adults (rather than the harm they cause children).

Another major problem is trying to gain the attention of social workers who are already trying, Canute - like, to reverse the tide of work unleashed by the public and bureaucratic obsession with physical and sexual abuse. Finally there is the explicitly political nature of his project. Getting emotional and psychological abuse onto the agenda means a radical new commitment to a truly child - centred view of the world. This means that the burden of responsibility cannot be placed at the door step of deficient or pathological parents or caretakers or hapless professionals who become ensnared in a particular celebrated failure of the 'system'. From this perspective, this issue raises very fundamental questions about the relationship between adults and children and the child and society.

Strengths

The book has many strengths. For me one of its main strengths is its relentless commitment to a truly child centred view. There is a constant emphasis on the central importance of assessment/observation of the experience of **this** child. In the English and Welsh jurisdiction, it is also highly topical as services grapple with operationalising the principles of the Children Act 1989. It will undoubtedly have relevance for those who will usher in legal reform in Scotland and Northern Ireland. It also fits very well with the pervading ethos of the UN Convention for the Rights of the Child. Not bad for starters.

The book also seems set to make a considerable contribution in helping practitioners conceptualise more clearly what they are talking about in this general area. I have been around this field for some time, and yet I have to confess to having learned from this careful distinction of key concepts in this field: the **psychological**, the **emotional** and the different forms of abuse in both these domains of a child's life. I cringe to recall the number of times I have been party to discussions which have involved sloppy confusion around these crucially different concepts.

This reviewer must confess to a strong belief in the school as a core child welfare institution and so warm very much to O'Hagan's views in this regard.

> *There is no professional better placed to observe the consequences of psychological abuse than classroom teachers. Work performance, levels of concentration, and attentiveness, perception (as manifest through written work, art and play), language, and changing relationships within peer groups - all these may be repeatedly observed and monitored over a sufficiently long period to convince teaching staff that there is a serious problem necessitating referral to a child care agency (p 113).*

Another of his points appeals greatly to me, that of this invisibility of the male in much of social work practice. He laments the failure to 'engage and assess males' (as caretakers) in child protection work. He argues that

... the problem is so endemic in the child care and related professions that it constitutes institutionalised abuse of women on a massive scale. It is unwise to avoid for whatever reason a person who is likely to exercise considerable negative influence on the problem one is attempting to solve. It is grossly unfair to concentrate upon the mother, not primarily because she is the principal caretaker, but because she is perceived as less challenging and less threatening than the male. Finally, it is dangerous to ignore the negative influences of the cohabitant (because one hasn't got a clue how to deal with them), yet to expect (and hope!) that mother can cope with them ... (p 97).

Limitations

O'Hagan correctly urges a greater appreciation and application of knowledge derived from psychology in the professional practice of social workers and teachers and other front line professionals. He argues it is wrong to cede expertise in these areas to disciplines such as paediatrics and psychiatry. Having said this however he, curiously, seems not to fully heed his own advice.

He fails to include a chapter which would summarise the existing evidence on the longer term impact of these forms of abuse on the child's development. I think this would have strengthened his argument considerably and would have greatly enhanced the value of the book. It is a curious feature of many British social work texts that they often seem not to exploit fully the strengths of the empirical tradition within British and international social science.

Partly, perhaps, as a by-product of this omission, O'Hagan fails to give adequate attention to the exciting and steadily growing literature from the field of developmental psychology on adversity and resilience in child development (see for instance, D. Cichetti and V. Carlson (1987); M. Rutter (1990)). The crucial insight from this work is that each child brings a highly individual profile of risk factors and compensatory factors to any contingency. Many children will share a range of these protective and risk factors, but the impact of adversity for any one child will depend on the precise configuration of their personal balance sheet of positive and negative factors. Children are not empty vessels of equal shape into which adverse experiences are poured with uniform effect. This view is not a charter, it should be stressed, for ignoring the significance of the social in the child's life. Rather it emphasises that things can be done to make a difference, since it is social experience which is a crucial and modifiable influence on developmental progress. Policy, whether at the level of planning or practice matters therefore in its impact on children's lives. But that policy must be truly child centred, focused on and sensitive to the circumstances of each individual child.

As the book stands the reader must accept O'Hagan's assertion that psychological and emotional abuse harms children. His treatment of the issue does not adequately explore in what ways different children are harmed and to what extent, and, crucially, with what long term developmental effect. Until this problem is addressed it is difficult to envisage

polemic about psychological and emotional abuse having the necessary impact on the behaviour of practitioners and policy makers.

Another source of resistance to his message is its likely effect on the depleted morale of harassed front line social workers. Will his urgings actually add to the exodus of professionals from the field of child protection burnt out by the stress of infinite expectations and decidedly finite supports. Does O'Hagan merely 'up the ante' in terms of expectations? Will social workers be spewed out of the system at an even faster rate as they get eaten up by the guilt of 'failing' the children on an even grander scale? If we keep raising the expectations will anyone want, or feel able, to do the job? Will social service bureaucracies respond by producing even more 'proceduralised' work contexts?

In what seems to reflect the distrust of their workers, management seem set to tie them up in procedural knots: the surveillance of potentially wayward families seems ironically to be mirrored by a similar process in respect of what are seen as potentially unreliable workers. Squeezed from two directions, the practice of child protection risks being seriously deprofessionalised. This arises, firstly, from the exodus of professional trained workers whose ultimate coping strategy is to escape, and, secondly, from the tendency, in the eyes of this external observer at least, for many British employers to risk expropriating the professional autonomy of their social workers by a stranglehold of regulatory procedures. We may wake up to find that the professionally trained and experienced workers are all gone to other fields, driven out by spiralling expectations and the professionally infantilising procedures of authorities struggling to cope with those expectations. I may be guilty of going over the top slightly in order to make my point. But to come back to the book, the serious issue is that the discussion about improving the lot of children has to be addressed to - and heard by - government and society. It cannot be left as just one more mouldering burden on the backs of front line professionals. I think O'Hagan would accept this point but I would like to have seen it made more forcefully, especially in the concluding chapter.

Whatever reservations I have expressed, I would like to stress that this book is a very welcome contribution to a debate which it hopefully will play no small part in provoking or fuelling. At the end I have the reassuring question in mind, 'why didn't somebody think of writing this before now?'.

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