Spirituality SPECIAL ISSUE

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EDITORIAL

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It is a pleasure to edit this special edition of Youth and Policy on spirituality especially as the subject could not be more topical with the approach of the new millennium. At this time of transition people tend to take a long-term perspective both as they reflect on the past and as they anticipate the future. The questions which arise from this reflection tend to be deeper, more philosophical, and less day to day. These are the areas where spirituality engages and can make a major contribution.

This reflection can be at a personal level, but it also takes place as reflection on working practice and on the very nature of the youth work profession. The reflective process which characterises the profession equips its workers to ask what sort of values are at the heart of the work and how can we move forward into the future with integrity and effectiveness. Understanding the key values and beliefs of the profession is crucial in gaining a long-term, deep perspective.

Spirituality is a major part of this debate as although it is a somewhat amorphous and 'slippery' term, it relates to a core part or dimension of human experience. Spirituality is concerned with how to be fully human both in terms of individual endeavour and as part of a fulfilled, healthy community. It provided the energy and motivation for many early youth work pioneers as they sought to live out their religious principles in their local communities. It was spirituality and religion which motivated many of the early youth work movements and uniformed organisations. However these are viewed now it is important to recognise that early youth and community work has left a legacy of spiritual and religious thinking which has fed into the current ethics of the profession.

It is also important to recognise that faith still is a powerful motivation for many youth workers. A huge amount of current youth work is delivered by the voluntary sector and a large proportion of that sector is provided by religious organisations. There has been a rise in 'youth ministry' courses and in many areas youth workers employed by religious organisations outnumber local authority workers. There are also many people working within local authorities who are there because of their religious convictions. In addition there are workers who do not profess a particular religion but are inspired and motivated by their conviction that young people should be given the opportunity to achieve their full potential and that this potential has a spiritual dimension.

All of this points to the need for an internal debate within youth work concerning the role of spirituality in informal education. It is important that the experience of

work arising from a spiritual or ideological perspective can be recognised and incorporated into the body of the profession. It is important too that the experience of these workers is seen as enriching the profession rather than being seen as a marginal activity.

In addition to the internal debate there is a larger context, one where the value base of youth work is being challenged by political and socio-economic factors which are also affecting other educational and social service providers. The market economy provides powerful metaphors which shape the direction of the work insidiously. The focus on citizenship and social exclusion claims some youth work process skills but are based on values which are non-voluntary and set towards prescribed outcomes.

Spirituality offers a starting point which is outside the short-term framework of profit and loss and is focussed on the humanity of the individual and the community.

Many of the articles in this edition of Youth and Policy illustrate how bringing in religious and spiritual thinking to the profession can provide new insights and understandings. There is a challenge to the profession on how these can be used to strengthen both theory and youth work practice.

One way that the insights can be used is in understanding the ethics of youth work, building on the work of Sarah Banks and others in the publication of 'The Ethics of Youth Work' and by contributing to groups such as the ethics group convened by the National Youth Agency.

Another way is by engaging with work around the Occupational Standards. In drawing up such standards which are based on competencies it is notoriously difficult to evidence the values underlying the work and these can be lost in the endeavour to plot skills and knowledge. The importance of understanding and developing the value base of the profession at this time cannot be overestimated and this includes thinking about spirituality.

One of my aims in inviting guest writers for this issue was to articulate some of the themes which have significant contributions to make to the debate. There are three central issues which have emerged. These are:

- *What spirituality means to the profession and what contribution it can make*
- *The place of spirituality in secular youth work*
- *The place of religious youth work as a part of the youth work profession*

Each of the contributors has in some way articulated these issues and has clarified terms, mapped out current thinking in the field, or has used spirituality and religious

viewpoints to enlighten the debate. In the next few paragraphs I have drawn out some of the key points that have been explored.

In the debate on spirituality, there is often a confusion of terms, with the concepts of spirituality, religion and faith being used with little precision. In order for there to be a rigorous debate it is important that the meaning of the concepts is understood and the terms are not interchanged or conflated. It is a brave and knowledgeable person who is willing to map a territory so full of minefields, and I am particularly grateful to John Hull (who is both brave and knowledgeable) for his contribution. In addition to mapping the relationship between spirituality, faith and religion, he also attends to the difference between spirituality, culture and morality and explores non-spiritual as well as spiritual transcendence.

An important point that Hull makes is that spirituality is not universally good but can dehumanise as well as humanise. There is a prevalent assumption that any spirituality is a good thing whereas Hull shows that it can have either a negative or positive effect on people's lives. He writes of the false spirituality of money and also the concept of false religion or religionism which is based on a false spirituality which degrades humanity. Hull sets this concept against true religion through which 'we transcend the limits of our self awareness' and in the presence of which, 'the finite discovers itself in the presence of the infinite' with the infinite representing the 'Ultimate limit'. Hull also argues that the spiritual is not an added on part, but has a dimensional quality, which cannot be prised away from the whole person and treated separately.

This understanding of the whole person and the role of the spiritual in education can be summed up in Hull's phrase 'Children and young people are... spiritually educated when they are inspired to achieve a fuller realisation of their humanness in solidarity with others'. This surely offers a challenge to those working both in religious and in secular fields.

At a time when there is increasing pressure on the utilitarian, vocational and national functions of education, Hull writes 'Education has a vocation towards humanisation. Education is not only concerned with making citizens of the state; it is concerned with making people for the human race.'

The vocational theme is examined in the article from Michele Doyle. She explores the nature of vocation and calling and how this is re-emerging as an organising concept within the profession. She says 'Vocation and calling hold some hope for informal educators. They honour the ethical base for practice, individual and group life, and emphasise what we are, what we do and what we are to become'. Doyle draws from the Christian and Muslim understanding of calling to make

observations which fit both religious and secular experience. There is great importance in testing vocation, naming and identifying it and seeing it not just as a private individual concern but as an ongoing, public process.

At a time when the profession of youth work is exploring ethics Doyle's framework based on the idea of 'being, doing and becoming' is particularly valuable as it offers a different perspective to the debate. Being relates to the 'commitment or sense of belonging to sets of ideals' and Doyle extends this to say that 'informal educators are called to the study and the generation of, as well as the commitment to, sets of ideals'. She takes this further by saying that calling reflects the nature of these ideals so that informal educators must practice what they believe in for example, not only work for justice, but be just, not only work for human flourishing but to flourish themselves. Doyle explores 'doing' as it relates to a community experience and speaks of 'becoming' in terms of an integrity both of the work and the worker. She concludes 'Fulfilling our calling as an informal educator means we work with others *for* the processes of knowing, testing, naming, being, doing and becoming. Our hope is that both we and others prosper'. Doyle thus gives us a different perspective and starting point from which to view and analyse the professional ethical debate in youth work.

Carole Pugh adds to the debate by looking specifically at Christian Youth Work and poses the question as to whether it is evangelism or social action. Pugh starts her argument with an historical context showing that the debate is not new. Through the article she argues for greater clarity about what is youth work and writes 'I believe that it would be beneficial for youth work and young people if certain methods and purposes were defined as outside the boundaries of youth work and education'. Pugh identifies some work as formal or closed in style and draws on Milson (1963) who sees some workers as having an obsession with conversion with the aim of collecting 'spiritual scalps'. This scenario is not inevitable and Pugh says that Christian youth work 'does not have to take the form of inculcation. If the Christian faith is reasonable and equally valid to other belief systems, it is possible to present it while remaining faithful to educative principles (Milson 1963)'. It will be interesting to develop this further to discover what is meant by a 'reasonable faith' and to tease out whether belief systems can be equally valid especially in the light of Hull's assertion that there is good and bad spirituality. She also writes that 'a broader approach recognises the possibility that demonstrating Christ's care through social action, is an equally valid method of "proclaiming" the gospel'.

In order to illustrate her points Pugh has four case studies drawn from Christian Youth Work. Here she analyses the processes used by the organisation against the criteria she has established in the body of her article. Some of these organisations

she concludes are doing youth work and some are not. She is particularly critical of the segregation of Christian young people and Christian training away from the secular professional world. She suggests that this segregation separates this body of work from rigorous analysis, critique and the possibility of improvement. Her final conclusion is that 'I would rather work towards encouraging young people to be "honest doubters", who hold their own autonomous faith, who can and do critique teaching that is put to them, than work towards producing converts who are encouraged to accept on authority their beliefs'.

How young people arrive at a belief system is explored by Jeff Astley and Nick Wills and this article has direct use for practitioners by providing a good theoretical input. The focus of the article is the process of faith and value development rather than the content of faith, as they write it 'is not with the content of faith, *what* objects we believe in, but rather with its form, *how* we believe in them'. Astley and Wills use the new sculpture 'the Angel of the North' as a subject and show the completely different reactions of groups of 9 year olds, 13 year olds, 15 year olds and undergraduates. They then link these reactions with the different stages of faith development theory.

It is surprising how many youth workers in both religious and secular youth work do not have a theoretical base from which to understand faith or value development. There is a challenge in youth work training to help prospective youth workers understand this process so that they can offer appropriate opportunities and interventions. For example, those working in religious youth work may model their work around young people who are at the 'faith current' or 'faith crowd' stage (Fowler's Stage 3), and are distressed as the young people start to individuate their faith as they move to the next stage (Fowler's stage 4). Without understanding faith development, a worker may see the questioning, doubt and movement to a more individual approach as a 'drifting away' rather than a positive spiritual development for the young person concerned.

This article also has relevance for the worker in a secular context as awareness of the process of faith development is linked closely with how young people reach ethical, moral and spiritual positions and how they are likely to react to outside influences.

Chandu Christian takes the subject of spirituality and places it in the context of multi-cultural youth work. He says that 'spirituality is an idea whose time has come' yet writes of the difficulty of defining the term, especially in the context of youth work. Using an historical context Christian adeptly traces some of the key routes to spiritual development in the major faiths. He concludes that in spite of the diversity, there is some consensus 'that within the human body, there exists a

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part which is not material, which is the life substance and which somehow spurs us on to do things that raises us 'just below the level of angels'. This understanding of the human condition with an integrated spiritual dimension has direct relevance in the debate on values as it lifts discussion away from functional or material levels and encourages a developmental approach.

Christian cites Zaehner's (1997) four types of spirituality within religions and suggests that these classifications could enable different youth workers to choose how they would like to address spirituality in their youth work. He poses the question of whether it is the job of youth workers to 'take the horse to water and let it decide whether or not to drink, or whether they should lead the horse to water only when asked'. Whichever route is chosen and whatever approach is used, Christian says that 'it is always made to meet the over-all and planned aim of youth work'.

Finally, after giving much information Christian raises five crucial issues which arise from the subject. 1) to challenge the role of youth workers; 2) how spirituality is tackled in a multi-cultural context; 3) how youth work can draw from the faith traditions and 'apply them both for personal spiritual development of young people and to create a tolerant and understanding society; 4) how the youth service can help to 'stir the spirit' of young people; and 5) whether spiritual insights are able to challenge major trends, particularly relating to 'market place' values which have permeated the education system.

I believe that some of the most significant contributions to youth work as a profession are related to values and many of these are coming from those who are working closely with spirituality. In these changing times as we move into the next millennium the fundamental aspect of being human needs to be at the centre of debate and discussions. If we are to offer these opportunities to the young people we work with we must be clear about the significance of spirituality, understand the way young people develop a spiritual life, and develop skills to enable this to happen.

The engagement with spirituality offers a distinct perspective, it also offers theological and philosophical tools which can help us to shape our profession. It is urgent and necessary to address the challenges laid down by Christian, Doyle, and Pugh as we comprehend and develop professional values.

One of my frustrations in my role as guest editor was how little could be included in one issue. I would have liked to include contributions which were rooted in other faiths and am sorry that the significant work from Jewish, Moslem, Sikh and Hindu traditions are not represented here. I hope that this issue will encourage others to send in articles for inclusion in subsequent editions of Youth and Policy so that the debate can continue in this professional journal as well as in other fields.

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CHRISTIAN YOUTH WORK:
Evangelism or Social Action?

CAROLE PUGH

Emerging Themes.

Christianity played an important role in the development of work with young people from the work of Raikes in the Sunday school movement, through the Victorian era to the inception of the statutory youth service in 1939.

Hannah More, perhaps the first documented youth worker undertook a programme of elementary education, religious instruction, industrial and domestic training and social welfare in the 1790s. She openly proclaimed her supreme aim of making Christians; rather than challenging the established order. She saw her Christian duty embracing both evangelism and social action (Jones, 1968, Collingwood & Collingwood, 1990). This brought More into conflict with a village curate, for undertaking educative work that challenged the established authority of the church and local farmers. Her desire for action was unacceptable to some religious organisations. This initial tension continues unbroken throughout the history of Christian youth work. For while some insist evangelism is the primary aim, others perceive a broader role, placing social action alongside conversion. For example 'Robertson of Brighton' formed the Brighton Working Man's Institute, against prevailing evangelical sentiments, for recreational and cultural education. He advocated a social gospel, believing that failing to tackle social issues led to working people focussing on social action and rejecting religion (Eager, 1953).

Tensions also existed between evangelism and Christian Socialism. Dolling, established St. Martin's mission which was a practical amalgamation of social life inspired by religion, a 'club-cum-chapel' but was forced to resign after allowing Socialist politics to be preached (Eager, 1953: 217).

The YMCA quickly recognised that it could not limit its membership to young professional Christians, or its content to purely devotional activities. Its aims from early on included mental improvement, and it allowed non-Christians as associate members (Binfield, 1973). Seeing Christian discipleship relating to the whole of life, religious, educational, social and physical. The outworking of these principles have proved complex.

The Girls Friendly Society aimed to prevent girls from 'falling', setting standards of purity for each member to maintain (Heath-Stubbs, 1926: 4). While working towards change, initiating the registration of domestic employment for example, it focussed on promoting Christian character. The YWCA recognised no division
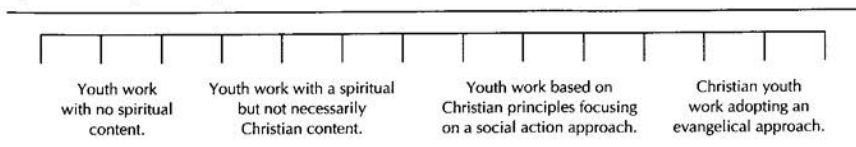
between the secular and the sacred, and aimed to meet the physical, mental, social and religious needs of young women.

The emergence of the Boys Brigade and Scouting movements revealed similar tensions. Smith, founder of the Boys Brigade, embraced the evangelical tradition and consequently the movement had a religious motive and purpose, with each company being associated with a Christian church (Eager, 1953: 320). Baden-Powell on the other hand rejected evangelical revivalism. He refused to bind the Scouting movement to one institutional religion.

Circular 1486, which in 1939 presaged serious state involvement in youth work, stimulated some churches into action. The Methodist Association of Youth Clubs was formed to promote standards and use Christian evangelism within club work. The MAYC however has been criticised for, on the one hand becoming too involved with the secular youth service resulting in a weakening of the evangelical message, on the other for being too church minded and failing to serve the unattached (Hubery, 1963).

State involvement in the provision of youth work raised further debates. While Abermarle pays tribute to those 'whose strong ethical feelings' motivate them to undertake the work it questions their appropriateness (HMSO, 1960: 38). The importance of spiritual and moral development and the 'Communication of Christian values' were still recognised. However it was felt that these principles should be introduced by example rather than through assertion (HMSO, 1960: 39). There was concern that the youth service should not be a disguised backdoor to religious belief. Three forms of youth clubs were identified; the closed club, for church members only; the interdenominational club, in which religion still plays some part; and clubs in which there is no obvious religious observance (Brew, 1943). The debate post 1940 was no longer over evangelism or social action as the appropriate expression of Christianity. The place of Christianity in youth clubs had itself been questioned. Practice was now broader ranging from secular provision to overt evangelical approaches.

Fig. 1. Themes in youth work practice.

Youth work with no spiritual content.	Youth work with a spiritual but not necessarily Christian content.	Youth work based on Christian principles focusing on a social action approach.	Christian youth work adopting an evangelical approach.

However this is not an either or dichotomy, as members, workers and situations change so the balance may shift. Even for example within a residential week the

different sessions and interactions can be placed in different places between the polarities. The pull between them creates a constant tension within Christian youth work that can flare up at any time, may simmer and simply blend into everyday practices or may be denied.

The debate between the application of Christian evangelism or a broader view of Christian social action to youth work revolves around beliefs, consequently there can be no solution as both sides, in their view, hold equally valid positions, which ultimately rest on statements of faith rather than proof. Certain practices have been questioned by reference to both the principles of the faith and of youth work. In a democratic society it is wrong to prevent the expression beliefs, however I believe that it would be beneficial for youth work and young people if certain methods and purposes were defined as outside the boundaries of youth work and informal education.

Motivation

Barnett (1951) argues that Christian youth work is and should remain different from 'secular' youth work, that it is a sacred Christian duty to meet the spiritual needs of young people. Faith sets Christian and non-Christian workers apart providing a unique motivation for Christian workers.

Central to Christian youth work is a sense of vocation, a calling or invitation from God to engage in young people's lives. God is sighted as the sustenance, guidance and inspiration for their work. Christian care for young people is based on the value each individual has as an 'object of God's redeeming love' (Warner, 1942:45). The Christian youth worker is seen as a servant of the kingdom of God rather then of a political or social agenda.

While the motivation of Christian workers has been examined, there has been less of a focus on non-religious motives although they must exist and play a vital role in youth work. Secular workers' motivation derived from their life philosophy may not be examined for varying reasons, possibly because of a lack of opportunity to do this during training (Jeffs & Smith, 1990). Christian youth work practice provides many situations where workers contemplate their faith; this consideration of life philosophy is not built into secular youth work practice.

This motivation sets Christian youth work apart, as it is based on beliefs, which to non-Christians may seem unfounded. While the concerns around social justice may appear the same, the agenda is different (Ward, 1997). Motivation alone does not explain the differing approaches, it is dependant on the individuals beliefs about the primary purpose of their work.

Purpose

Debate over the purpose of youth work is ongoing; based around notions of the 'good' and 'human flourishing' definitions of which remain open for discussion (Jeffs & Smith, 1990, Ward, 1997) argues that 'youth work' never applied solely to secular settings. Christians have used the term to describe their work with young people including 'evangelism and Christian nurture' alongside the principles and values advocated by secular youth work (1997: 3).

Christian youth work has varying purposes, encompassing different approaches. The particular purpose a Christian worker seeks will have implications for the methods and content of their work. Influencing their choice of a structured, semi-structured or unstructured approach (Breen, 1993, Ward, 1995).

The models that follow are simplified. Often clear distinctions between approaches are obscured. However their construction based on broad trends is useful for a theoretical consideration of varying approaches.

Conversion as purpose.

Christian youth work is often accused of being pre-occupied with conversion, rather than building self-reliance and maturity (Milson, 1963). Should it seek conversion or take a broader view of ministry, embracing social action to benefit local communities as well as preaching (Sainsbury, 1970)? The Christian community holds no consensus on the relationship between evangelism and youth work (Ellis, 1998).

Where conversion is the purpose Christians 'are involved in youth work for no other reason than to tell the gospel story' (Ward, 1997:27). Or as Ashton and Moon explain:

> *Christ does not teach us to support the personal development of young people so that they may realise their full potential. We are instead to call them to repentance and faith, because only in that way can they realise their full potential. (1995: 27)*

Accordingly success constitutes large numbers of young people making 'decisions' for Christ (Ellis, 1998: 10).

This approach has been criticised as constituting the sweetening of an 'ideological pill' using social and recreational activities (Milson, 1963: 124). The evangelist seems unwilling to allow young people to work out their own problems, rather seeking conformity to a previously accepted theological pattern. The evangelist must always be a propagandist rather than an educator, seeking 'inculcation of a creed' and not 'the enrichment of a person' (op cit: 124). This approach has been

criticised for promoting middle class morality and narrowing the programme because of its preoccupation with spiritual issues. The content of Evangelical youth work will differ, focussing on bible study, prayer and evangelism alongside social activities (Farley, 1998). But it has been criticised for over-simplifying the needs of young people, seeing only spiritual and not social ones (Milson, 1963).

This approach often adopts a formal, or closed, style of work. Ward (1997) identifies two approaches: the 'inside out', working with young people within the church and, the 'outside in' working with those outside it. The 'inside out' uses authoritarian methods based on a formal programme. Allowing less exploration by young people; instead having clearly defined behavioural expectations. Fowler (1981) identified four distinct stages of faith. Stage three fits well within this method. At this time the views of peers and leaders are significant. Young people may be 'embedded' in their faith, unready to reflect on their personal beliefs, instead deriving these from the group. Movement to the next stage where the individual can separate themselves from the group and decide what they believe requires space for the conscious examination of beliefs (Astley, 1995). All are useful, the educator should not rush young people through them, although always mindful of extending development, this approach however seems to discourage movement beyond stage three (Astley & Wills, 1999).

Evangelical youth work has also been criticised for tending to over-simplify; offering single explanations for complex realities. Substituting enthusiasm and inspiration for critical analysis and reflection (Holloway in Ward, 1996). This can be linked to its intolerance of the possibility that other views may be valid expressions of Christian faith or the 'good'. Tendencies that can lead to the breeding of authoritarian rather than democratic leadership styles.

Ward (1996) argues that the evangelical movement reveals a desire to control young people. Following an agenda set by parents to keep Christian children 'safe' within the faith, away from 'threatening' modern youth culture. Youth work then becomes something done to young people, rather then something they participate in, fostering dependency rather than independence. Encouraging a fear of the secular world so the church youth group becomes an escape from, rather than an engagement in, the world (op cit: 19).

Evangelical youth workers have been seen as 'indoctrinators' and 'brain washers' whose obsession with conversion reduces their interest in developing self reliance and maturity, eyes are clouded by ideology; they see young people as 'spiritual scalps' (Milson, 1963: 27). Ellis (1998) claims Christ always sought to maintain an individual's autonomy and would oppose such coercion. This claim is unresolvable,

who can know which side God takes, each rely on interpretations of Christianity. Examining the accusation of indoctrination may be more helpful.

Indoctrination is the intentional inculcation of unshakeable beliefs. It seeks to stop growth, and restrict the young persons' ability to function autonomously. Theissen (1993) argues that Christian evangelism and nurture do not seek autonomous individuals who may then reject the faith. Autonomy requires decisions based on knowledge, the ability to reflect critically on beliefs; often the biased presentation of information prevents this. Doubt and questioning are seen as negative, as drawing young people away from God (Ball, 1995). Belief in the evangelical tradition demands 'absolute acceptance and unquestioning obedience' to God (Peshin quoted in Theissen, 1993: 122). This precludes dialogue and critical analysis.

However, education can never be neutral it is 'incorrigibly normative' (Smith 1988: 117 also Hollins 1964). Informal education is built on certain values and ideas of 'the good'; a belief in democracy and dialogue; a respect for persons; and a commitment to fairness and equality and critical thinking (Jeffs & Smith 1990 & 1996). If Christian youth work is not inherently contrary to these then a Christian interpretation of 'the good' is not problematic. The problem arises where dialogue proves difficult because Christians recognise that theirs is the only truth. The application of critical analysis to beliefs can prove problematic, as faith demands an unshakeable commitment, even when this appears irrational.

A Broader Approach?
This does not mean it is inappropriate to present the Christian message. Hubery (1963: 63) asserts that while there is no room in youth work for 'dogmatism or narrow minded indoctrination' there is for 'guides, philosophers and friends' who show 'a way of life that is religious in its truest sense.'

A distinction can be drawn between 'inculcators' and 'facilitators' (Barnes in Barnett, 1951). Inculcators are thoroughly convinced by a set of principles and their associated code of behaviour, and seek to impress these. Education becomes an acceptance of dogma not a voyage of discovery. Facilitators create climates for growth and debate. These two positions present problems for Christian youth work. Inculcation is not acceptable in youth work, but a Christian worker holds a firm belief position, which faith demands should be passed on. This does not have to take the form of inculcation. If the Christian faith is reasonable and equally valid to other belief systems, it is possible to present it while remaining faithful to educative principles (Milson, 1963). Providing this is undertaken in an atmosphere where young people are respected and trusted to form their own opinions, where space exists for dialogue. This does not require the worker to become neutral but to open

topics for discussion and critical analysis; to be honest and open to challenge; to the possibility that through discussion the beliefs of all may change.

Christian Relational Care

This is a long term approach and begins by demonstrating God's 'care' for non-Christian young people by building committed relationships with them (Ward, 1995). It has a broader definition of Christian mission, aiming towards 'the good' while recognising that the worker does not posses the sole definition. This must be worked out through dialogue with young people. However, 'in the last instance, what is "good" in each circumstance will be defined by reference to Jesus' (Ward, 1995: 36). This approach advocates questioning Christianity without offering ready-made explanations, allowing young people to determine its relevance to their lives (Mayo, 1995). It recognises the need to respect people and acknowledges that the Christian definition of good is normative, based on faith.

This differs from the evangelical approach as it respects individuals as they are, not dismissing them as sinful. 'Extended contact' follows as the relationship with the group deepens, the worker negotiating to become leader. 'Proclamation', the explicit telling of the gospel, using a more formal approach in a contextualised form, follows and is raised as the primary aim of the work. Young Christians are then nurtured, with the worker acting as resourcer and translator for the group. The ambiguity of this position is recognised;

> Trying to leave space for young people to explore the faith for themselves needs to be balanced with some idea of the limits of Christian expression and interpretation (Ward, 1997: 63).

Initially this approach seems to remain faithful to the educational principles of youth work. However it still contains the possibility for the adoption of an authoritative 'inside-out' method (Ward, 1997). Telling people the gospel has changed, and the initial nurture work embraces a more exploratory style, but what lies beyond? Is it that Christian nurture is incompatible with dialogue and critical thought? Is Christian nurture different from Christian youth work?

Theissen asserts that 'autonomous people must be able to reflect critically on their beliefs (this) goes against the aim of Christian nurture' (1993: 122). This assumes that Christianity cannot survive critical scrutiny, if so, is it a worthy belief? However some believe it is possible to: 'Toss the whole Christian scheme of things for intellectual examination and practical testing, saying... 'Break it if you can' (Milson, 1963: 126).

A broader approach recognises the possibility that demonstrating Christ's care through social action, is an equally valid method of 'proclaiming' the gospel

(General Synod Board of Education 1996). That Christian youth work should not focus exclusively on spiritual issues but embrace social action.

The actions of Jesus often expressed the love of God without requiring any response. It may be inappropriate in many work situations to make explicit links with the claims of Christ. However faith is an integral part of life. It is inevitable that it will arise in dialogue with young people, and workers should be open about their beliefs and realise the effect this alone may have (Ward, 1995, Rosseter, 1987).

Spiritual Development.
Youth work's development has tended to polarise Christian and secular perspectives. Although 'spiritual development' has remained on the secular youth work agenda, there is little evidence of it in practice (Huskins, 1996). Recent years have seen a debate concerning spiritual development in the youth service. However, its precise meaning is contested. The term encompasses 'an awareness of that which is deepest within us, that which responds to other people and the world around us, that which gives us a direction in life' (Salmon, 1988:10). Christian youth workers could seek 'spiritual development', allowing young people to explore 'what is meant by the term God' before considering what God to believe in (Cattermole in Dunnell, 1993: 62) restoring spirituality to youth work practice, giving young people opportunities to explore what makes them who they are (General Synod Board of Education 1996, Salmon, 1988).

However the usefulness of these developments to the Christian youth work debate has been questioned. For example to what extent should Christians support concepts of spirituality outside Christianity? (Dunnell, 1993). To adopt this approach Christian workers need to accept the equal validity of other spiritual experiences without condemnation; this may prove difficult. For those who can this spiritual development offers a method for approaching spirituality that recognises its importance and opens it to critical reflection.

An Informal Education approach to Christian Youth Work?
Informal education is premised on certain values and concerns: the worth of the individual learner; the importance of critical reflection; and the need to examine things that may be taken for granted (Jeffs & Smith, 1990). It is a process requiring certain ways of thinking and acting in order to encourage people to engage in the world.

Ellis (1990: 91) argues that Jesus 'used the principles now enshrined in informal education to great effect' by creating shared experiences that challenged individuals to rethink their value systems. However informal education in a Christian setting has been seen as largely ineffective in achieving conversion (op cit). The lack of

'success' in Christian informal education has been attributed to the gap between Christian and non-Christian worldviews. The proposed solution is the blending of formal and informal methods into an approach that allows the necessary explanation of the Christian position (op cit).

However this assumes it is acceptable to measure success by the production of committed Christians. This may not be applicable. Informal education does not seek specific changes in individuals but has a broader concern with development towards 'the good' (Smith 1994). The adoption of an informal education approach entails creating conditions that enable young people to make their own enquires and formulate their own philosophy (Brew 1943). A commitment to dialogue requires openness to the possible truth in what others say, accepting the validity of others beliefs and being willing to reassess Christianity in their light (op cit 19). A commitment to critical enquiry requires movement away from strongly held opinions, to a place where beliefs can be scrutinised (Abbs 1994). There will always be disagreement over what constitutes 'the good'; the application of reasoning and critical reflection however allows for debate and some degree of agreement. If Christianity has nothing to fear from critical thinking and moral reasoning then it has nothing to fear from the application of the informal education approach. It offers both Christians and non-Christians an invitation to consider their beliefs in the light of others experiences, providing the opportunity for young people to adopt and adapt their own philosophies, rather than inherit the beliefs of others.

Case Studies

These models will now be used to examine the practise of four different Christian youth work agencies.

Methodology

The analysis is based on the examination of materials produced by these agencies. I contacted the agencies, explaining the purpose of my research and asked them to send information including annual reports, training programmes, mission statements, and any material they produced. All four responded, sending varying amounts of information. Where there were gaps I also used Internet sites to gain additional information. I acknowledge that these reports are written with a particular purpose in mind. The content is carefully monitored to present a certain image of the work. The variety of practices and philosophies at local level may not be represented. However I was interested in the motives, purpose, methods and content of the work of these organisations, the analysis of these reports provided a useful insight into the issues and approaches they regard as appropriate and important. Their chosen presentation of their work reveals something of their values and purpose.

The four agencies were selected to gain a broad view of Christian youth work. Large, high profile organisations were chosen as these represent a large proportion of Christian youth work practice and produce much of the written Christian youth work 'theory'.

Youth For Christ (YFC)

Youth For Christ operate in 120 countries (YFC, 1999a). They have 50 British centres (YFC, 1999b). British Youth For Christ has responsibility for five creative arts teams who 'travel around and share the gospel with young people' (YFC, a). They run Operation Gideon and Apprenticeship schemes, which are one, two, or three year training programmes in 'evangelism, discipleship and youth work, (YFC, b). 'Street Invaders' is a three-week training experience in 'evangelism and social action' where young people work with evangelists sharing their faith with their peers (YFC c). YFC produces material for Rock Solid clubs run by affiliated churches throughout the country. These are aimed at non-Christian young people. The programme is pre-prepared combining games, group discussions, video clips and role-plays culminating by examining 'how God wants to help' (YFC, d).

Purpose

YFC's mission statement commits them to 'Taking Good News relevantly to every young person in Britain' (YFC, 1997: 8). Their ethos focuses on the declaration of the gospel through contact with 'thousands of young people a week' sharing the 'Good News' with them (YFC, 1997: 4).

Methods

YFC is committed to evangelism comprising:

Demonstration - The practice of engaging in community development as a means of alleviating material need *and* building long term, unconditional relationships with young people demonstrating acceptance and love.

Declaration - Any means of communicating the gospel that invites people to make an informed choice about what has been communicated.

Decision - The point at which a person becomes aware of the need to make this informed choice to follow Christ and does so.

Discipleship - A process by which people follow Jesus and grow in relationship with Him. (YFC 1997: 9)

YFC states its commitment to an 'incarnational approach' that demands a 'relational model' of working. However 'a vast amount of the total time and effort of YFC ministry is devoted to schools' using assemblies and lessons as opportunities to present their message (CRA, 1998). This formal method does not fit well within the

relational model of youth work outlined by Ward (1995). The focus within YFC is on developing 'culturally relevant' methods of communicating the gospel on an occasional basis, rather than adopting a long-term relational approach. Of the five creative art teams only one focuses on a particular location, and this has a regional remit. While varied methods of communicating the gospel are used the content of the programme itself is narrow, focussing on conversion and nurture.

The work of the centres in running school Christian Unions, Christian youth groups, drama clubs or bands are long-term approaches, focusing more on relationship building. Again a large proportion of this work is undertaken in schools, but a shift away from a teacher and lesson orientated structure towards more informal, relational methods has occurred in some centres (YFC, 1997: 10). A more relational approach is seen in the work of Urban Action Manchester. Here the stated purpose is a broader one of enabling marginalised young people to 'transform their lives' and 'reach their full potential'. However the underlying theme is still conversion rather than social action possibly seeing only spiritual needs and failing to address social issues.

Operation Gideon is a one to three year programme of 'top training in evangelism, discipleship and youth work' beginning with six weeks residential training covering 'theological issues, evangelism, youth work skills and practice and communication skills' (YFC, b). The remainder of the year involves placements in churches and centres. Second year students have the option of gaining a part-time youth work qualification. The third is spent as a trainee worker with a view to a permanent position.

This provides young people with the opportunity to practice youth work, however the omission of a theoretical consideration of the work raises concerns. There is a notable absence of theory drawn from 'secular' youth work (YFC, 1994). The inclusion of the part-time course in second year moves towards correcting this, however the implied possibility of employment following the third year, with much experience, but only limited theoretical knowledge raises concerns. This practice could contribute to Christian youth works 'lack of a well articulated and theologically informed body of knowledge' (Ward, 1995). The apprenticeship programme comprises a placement combined with the option to study towards a youth and community work degree from the Centre for Youth Ministry or the basic training scheme for part-time workers run of Brunel University each offer the possibility of a more considered theoretical analysis. However the selection of a Christian rather than secular Youth Work course raises questions. This could reflect the need for Christian workers to have considered theological debates which secular courses do not provide the opportunity to do. It might indicate a desire to protect Christian youth work from the 'unhelpful' scrutiny of secular youth work theory (Ward, 1996: 73).

YFC explicitly states its purposes as evangelism, conversion and nurture. There are many variations in style and focus between the centres affiliated to the national movement and the teams run more directly by British YFC. There is little mention of participatory practice, or the promotion of autonomy among young people. This raises concerns about the possibility that the work fosters dependence rather than independence. Much of the work undertaken is based on formal education practices and there is little evidence of a commitment to democracy, dialogue or critical thought. The material and training it produced are based on a large quantity of experience, but are not subject to a theoretically informed analysis.

Methodist Association of Youth Clubs (MAYC)

The MAYC's purposes include the promotion of high standards in youth work; the use of 'the club as a means of Christian evangelism, education and service'; and co-operation in united Christian action (Barnett, 1951: 75). Clubs wishing to join the MAYC were required to provide a balanced programme, 'facilitating physical, social, mental and spiritual well being', and to offer opportunities for members to share in club management and Christian teaching by 'invitation rather than compulsion' (Barnett, 1951: 76). Today the MAYC works throughout Britain often operating through supported and trained voluntary workers (MAYC a).

Purpose

MAYC today is 'about enabling young people to achieve their full potential, in the company of people of faith, by;

Creating an environment where that can happen.

Developing a sense of identity.

Enabling young people to make choices and influence their world.

Making disciples of those who have begun a journey of Christian commitment.

Servicing the network and the whole church. (MAYC a)

This is a broader approach concerned with young people's development and not only conversion. There is not the same focus on evangelism, in terms of gospel presentation. 'Most people in the work (with the MAYC) would see it as the churches expression of mission in the widest sense offering young people, and especially the most vulnerable the opportunity to realise their full potential' (Bagnall 1999 personal communication). The broad nature of this approach, seeking to move towards 'the good' and not only conversion, is still seen as problematic, often church members wish to see 'success' in terms of increased church attendance (op cit).

Methods

MAYC works in a variety of settings, some are church based, others have a more 'secular' feel. It promotes a number of different activities, performing arts, sport, and discussion groups, avoiding the narrow programme of some Christian youth work. There is a focus on participation by young people, both in planning and running events organised by MAYC and seeking to give young people a voice in the Church (MAYC, 1995). There is also a focus on social action. 'World Action' forms part of MAYC and is committed to 'action for change on issues of justice and peace' encouraging young people to become 'citizens of today's world' by providing 'opportunities, information, skills, inspiration and affirmation' for participation in international and local community work (MAYC a). MAYC organises youth exchanges, which provide opportunities for culture to meet culture and faith to meet faith for 'Through listening and sharing together, lives have been challenged, enriched and changed for ever' (MAYC a). MAYC is organised democratically; its structures encourage participation and representation by young people in forums such as the Methodist Conference, and the MAYC Executive (op cit). This appears to open the route for broader consideration of spiritual development and the use of critical reflection. There is a respect for people of other faiths, a prerequisite for dialogue, and a willingness to engage with them (MAYC, 1997). MAYC's volunteer leaders appear valued and the benefits of training and supporting them recognised, although the reports provide no examples of this in practice.

The MAYC adopts a broader approach to Christian ministry thereby maintaining the educative focus of youth work. The MAYC acknowledges the distinction between youth work and youth evangelism and the methods and philosophy adopted apparently leave room for both approaches (MAYC a).

Church Pastoral Aid Society

Church Pastoral Aid Society (CPAS) aims to help churches 'make disciples of Jesus Christ'. The Society was founded in 1836 with the vision of 'taking the gospel to everyman's door [sic]' (CPAS 1999a). They aim to promote evangelism in local churches, support church leadership and youth, children and families through the production of resource material and training for leaders (op cit). CPAS has the largest church based youth and children's work in the Anglican Church of the UK and Ireland (CPAS 1999b).

Purpose

CPAS is primarily an evangelistic organisation, promoting evangelism through training and resourcing churches. There was virtually no social action agenda present in their material. Where social issues were raised a very passive approach was advocated, in terms of 'being aware', and 'praying' and 'supporting a ministry that deals with

them' (CPAS, 1997: 20). There is an underlying theme of keeping Christian young people 'safe' in the church, rather than reaching out to the wider community. The approach appears to seek to control young people through the creation of a separate Christian culture.

Method

The CPAS provides training and resources to groups run by local churches. Groups envisioned by CPAS exist primarily for Christian young people, adopting the 'inside-out' approach. Success is judged through, 'evidence of the Bible being studied, faith being shared with friends, participation in church life, willingness to serve and regularity of attendance' (CPAS, 1997: 4). It is seen as vital to challenge young people regularly with the gospel. Young people may chose to leave the group, provision is not made for them outside of a Christian context (op cit).

The materials and 'tools' produced focus on practical 'handbooks', and advice, useful tips and 'ready to use sessions' (CPAS, 1998). Few resources had any theoretical considerations and none were from a secular perspective (op cit). The 'ready to use' programmes seem to be narrow, focusing on biblical approaches to certain issues. There is little scope for young people to determine these programmes. An authoritarian rather than dialogical approach is encouraged.

This approach seems to pay no regard to the nurturing of self-reliance or maturity in young people; concerning itself solely with producing compliant Christian young people, satisfied by the ready-made doctrine and faith supplied to them. Milson identifies such approaches and accuses them of representing 'counterfeit Christianity' (1963: 27). In the worst examples of this approach this is probably true, at best it could only be viewed as well intentioned but very poorly informed and considered.

The World Wide Message Tribe/ Project Eden

The World Wide Message Tribe (WWMT) formed in 1991 uses dance music to present Manchester high schools with the Christian message (The Message a). This led to Project Eden, on the Wythenshawe housing estate in Manchester, aiming to move up to 50 young Christians into the area to live out their faith and establish a number of grass roots projects (The Message b).

Purpose

There is a commitment to demonstrating as well as declaring the gospel. The presentation of which in schools using high-energy dance music is combined with a long-term commitment to the area. The establishment of grass roots projects seems to offer promises of social action. However Christians were moving to Wythenshawe to live alongside young Christians expressing a desire to 'keep' as well as 'reach' young people rather than to engage in social action (The Message c).

Methods

The WWMT focuses on schools work. Project Eden also works in schools but adopts a more informal relational approach. They have established a creative arts club and undertake detached work reflecting the 'Relational Youth Work' model put forward by Ward (1995). Opportunities for dialogue are created where Christianity can be applied to the young persons' cultural context. Once young people have made a decision to follow Christianity there are discipleship groups for them to attend which use material produced by WWMT as their basis. This package includes written and visual introductions to the Christian message, 'with exercises to help young Christians grow' (The Message, 1998a). This material addresses issues of social injustice; however the application of a more formal approach restricts the possibilities for young people to engage in dialogue and influence the direction of their exploration of Christianity. Christian nurture again raises questions about the creation of dependency rather than independence.

Project Eden, although having no explicit social action agenda has noted an 'improvement in the physical area' (The Message 1998b). If workers are to develop relationships and 'care' for the young people there must be a concern with broader issues and not only spiritual conversion (Milson 1963). The WWMT and Project Eden represent an interesting combination of formal and informal education, setting the Christian relational care and informal education approaches against the background of an overtly and formally proclaimed Christian agenda. However the extent to which young Christians are allowed to work out their own faith raises questions. This approach offers some interesting opportunities, but is narrow in its omission of social action. Faith is being demonstrated, but what is it being allowed to change?

Summary

The four agencies examined show differences in purpose, approach, content and emphasis, yet all are contained at present under the title of Christian youth work. This breadth is not necessarily a strength. The reluctance of many Christian organisations to use 'secular' theory and critical analysis has left Christian youth work with a weak theory base. Christian youth work training seems to suffer from similar problems focussing on 'skill development', rather than a critical analysis of the purpose and methods adopted. Some of the practice analysed revealed tendencies towards inculcation rather than education and critical analysis, toward the creation of dependency rather than independence. However some practice reveals hope

that Christian youth work can offer young people the opportunity to critically examine their world. Revealing Christianity as a positive, challenging and active philosophy. One which is capable of informing a progressive theory and practice of youth work, that can work constructively towards achieving 'the good'.

Conclusions

The postmodernist interpretation posed questions to youth work and Christianity. Postmodernism encompasses a distrust of meta-narratives, a recognition of subjectivity, plurality and relativism and a search for spirituality (Bauman 1993; Tomlinson 1995). This encouraged the identification of two approaches to education (Usher & Edwards 1994). The legislative approach, which is rooted in modernity, seeks to determine reality for the majority of people; and an interpretist orientation.

The postmodernist critique challenged the Christian conception of 'truth', by demanding the acceptance of plurality. For evangelicals 'truth is a very clear-cut issue: something is either true in a fairly literal or historical way or it is not true at all' (Tomlinson 1995: 87). Thus evangelical youth work adopts a legislative approach, seizing opportunities to define reality. While youth and community work is urged to adopt an interpretivist stance that recognises the role of spirituality amongst many. Evangelical approaches however cannot function within this model as they adopt a legislative role, determining spirituality in any broader context as outside Christian youth work.

Training

The examination of practice raised questions about the quality of Christian youth work theory and training. While secular and Christian youth work share similar roots differences are apparent in their practices. The education provided by secular youth work courses shapes the values and practices of their students. Ward proposes that secular youth work has moved away from its Christian heritage and become 'less and less sympathetic to a committed Christian perspective' (Ward, 1996: 73). The practice of Christian workers graduating from professional secular training courses and undertaking Christian youth work has been criticised for lacking the desire to save souls. Ward (1997) argues that Christian youth work covers evangelism and Christian nurture alongside the principles and values proposed by secular courses, however combining youth work skills and methods with evangelical concerns and expectations has proved difficult. The evangelical concern with specific results in terms of conversions does not fit well with secular youth work practice (op cit). The 'unhelpfulness' of secular youth work theory to evangelical Christian

youth work suggests that Christian youth evangelism is different. That it is based on different principles. If this is the case then the term 'youth evangelism' may more accurately reflect this different emphasis?

What is it about secular youth work training that makes it unhelpful to evangelical Christian youth work? It seems to rest on the insistence that the plurality of views present in our society are recognised and respected. That young people are trusted to form their own views and that these are respected even when this takes them outside Christianity. If some advocating Christian youth work practice cannot accept this plurality, then how can they operate using dialogue? Can they seek to be educators not indoctrinators? The critical analysis of beliefs allows for discussions on such topics to reach some kind of agreement. However a fundamentalist standpoint cannot allow critical analysis.

It seems necessary to acknowledge that some Christian youth evangelism is different from youth work and rejects some of the principles on which youth work is premised. This leaves Christian youth evangelism free to develop its own methods and practises. To provide different training, perhaps still embracing elements of secular youth work theory, but also focussing on theology and missionary practice and acknowledging the difference in the purposes of the work.

Milson (1963) did not believe that secular theories are inherently unhelpful to a broader definition of Christian ministry. He held Christian youth work can remain faithful to educational principles. In this case secular training should not present insurmountable obstacles to the exploration of youth work practice in light of Christian faith. It may challenge assumptions and leave no easy answers, but is this not the nature of youth work, that, in seeking 'the good' there will be no one solution. This challenging can be positive. Offering opportunities to consider the complex debates surrounding the appropriate purpose of Christian and non-Christian youth work through debate, dialogue and critical analysis. The tendency to seek separate Christian courses reflects problems identified within the evangelical tradition. Where 'safe' provision for Christians is sought, where the regulation of beliefs restricts questioning, laying the foundations for the situation we have now where Christian youth work practice is not rigorously analysed, critiqued and improved because there is no platform for this discussion.

For those who view the differences between Christian and secular youth work as surmountable the possibility of Christians training and working with non-Christian workers can be explored. I have found nothing in mainstream youth work that is

inherently contradictory to Christianity providing Christians are willing to engage in dialogue and critical reflection. The inclusion of an exploration of spiritual development as an aim of youth work on secular courses offers the opportunity for an examination of what this could mean for both Christian and non-Christian practice. Encouraging all students to examine their motives and ask questions about what they believe and how these beliefs may influence their practice. Encouraging Christians to undertake secular courses, rather than establishing separate Christian youth work courses seem to hold many benefits. Placing Christians in a position to influence the development of secular theory and critically examine their own contribution.

Practice

In a heightened climate of dialogue doors are opened for a more integrated approach to practice. Networking Christian and non-Christian organisations provides opportunities for young people to meet and enter into dialogue with those who hold different beliefs in a climate of respect. This would broaden the approach of Christian organisations, and avoid criticisms of an overly narrow programme.

Informal education offers Christian and non-Christian approaches a means to enter dialogue. It is not only concerned 'with those who are going through a phase of atheism, but [also] with those who are going through an emotional hot bed of religious experience' (Brew, 1943: 146). Informal education leaves room for young people to question their own beliefs, rather than promoting the acceptance of a pre-packaged deal. Aiding young people in moving towards the final stage of faith development with beliefs having been examined and 'consciously adopted' (Fowler, 1981). Trusting young people and allowing them the space to develop from one stage of faith to another.

Conclusion?

It is impossible to form one conclusion. The nature of belief prevents this. I may argue Christian evangelism is not youth work as it is based on different principles. However it is possible for an evangelical Christian to question the appropriateness of the principles I have cited as underpinning youth work. The argument that it is necessary to accept and respect the plurality of beliefs in the world today in order to achieve dialogue is premised on a belief that no religion is objectively true. This secular humanist belief is dominant today. The acceptance of this as the basis for argument opens criticisms of becoming an 'evangelist' for this view (Ellis, 1990).

I acknowledge this criticism, but cannot answer it, as again this is ultimately a matter of belief rather than reasoning. The advantage of accepting this stand, however, is that it opens ideas for critical analysis alongside possibilities for dialogue. Although this may never result in one solution it leads the way to communication and mutual respect.

Adopting an informal education approach to practice may mean fewer young people become Christians, and those who do have to constantly struggle for answers and live with a faith that in many ways is ambiguious. But I would rather work towards encouraging young people to be 'honest doubters' who hold their own autonomous faith, who can and do critique teaching that it put to them, than work towards producing converts who are encouraged to accept on authority their beliefs.

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CALLED TO BE AN INFORMAL EDUCATOR

MICHELE ERINA DOYLE

Vocation and calling have been under attack within education. We have seen it pushed to the edges by a too heavy reliance on technical expertise (Collins, 1991), and marginalised by the drive within the associated professions to specialise (Perkins, 1989). This process of under-powering calling and vocation has been aided and abetted by links with religion, and in particular, Christianity. As we shall see, Christian texts offer rich pickings for informing our understandings of vocation and call. However, our learning can be hampered by their somewhat fundamental approach. Arguments are often framed around one path, one destination and focus more on what Christianity has to give, rather than receive, from others. This means the richness of these traditions may be lost to other groupings, and consequently lack the vibrancy of wider debate.

Yet, this once unfashionable idea has been re-emerging as an organising concept. Collins (1991) has argued for approaching adult education as vocation; Breen (1993) looks to calling and youth work; and Smith (1994) has begun to use the notion in relation to informal education. Vocation and calling hold some hope for informal educators. They honour the ethical base for practice, individual and group life, and emphasise what we are, what we do and what we are to become.

In much of the literature of education, however, the idea is used in a loose, taken for granted manner that betrays a weak knowledge base in relation to practice. The absence of an adequately thought-out, theoretically based understanding of call and vocation is at best misguided. In common usage, these words are bandied around by professionals, politicians and practitioners - each with their own under- standing, but not necessarily related. If we are going to start using theses terms within informal education we need a firm basis of understanding on which to ground our explorations. At this stage what is needed is a ground clearing exercise. As a result, this article is centred around an exploration of the literature available and has necessarily drawn from philosophy and Christian traditions of thinking. As an exercise in pre-fieldwork ground-clearing, the article aims not to define notions of vocation and call, nor to identify traits and attributes. Rather it attempts to draw from, and explore beyond, Christian understandings, and to reveal the hope these hold for informal educators.

Calling

The Latin stem of vocation is *vocare*, meaning to call. As a result, calling and vocation are often used interchangeably. The term vocation has a wide usage in particular referring to specific jobs or professions. Calling, on the other hand is

linked to religion and more often a relationship with God. Here, we are concerned with moving these terms beyond the confines of occupational and particular religious discourses, focusing more on the way that we are called to live or be in the world. Belonging to a particular profession or religion may spring from or to this, but not necessarily, nor to the exclusivity of others. Drawing from primarily Christian understandings, we will necessarily focus more on calling.

Knowing

Within Christian traditions calling is often tied to spiritual prompting and the relationship between a person and God. Biblical examples include the call of Amos as he was tending his sheep in the Judean hills, and Isiah during the temple ceremonial (Melinsky 1992:244). Here God plays a central role in revealing calling to people.

Within Islam the public call to prayer *(adhan)* invites people daily, to perform *salats* and weekly, to Mosque. The mu'adhdhin calls and Muslims are expected to listen and answer. So calling involves invitation and response. When called, we need to know what is being asked in order to shape the appropriate response. From this example we also know who calls and who responds. It is not only God that calls - but also people.

People talk about calls from God, inner calls and gut feelings. These may be expressions of spiritual prompting, but this is only half the story. Calling can also be understood in lay terms. Horne tells us that calling can be 'a discovery of, and assent to, one's abilities, circumstances and tendencies' (1996: 2). We may experience flashes of inspiration and gradual growths in certainty. So within Muslim, Christian and lay understandings there is agreement that calling involves people experiencing some kind of revelation or knowing-ness, and responding accordingly.

Testing

An interesting feature of these revelations is that they happen in a variety of ways, some shared between people, others seem individual or personal. What is striking is that individuals are central in naming their calling. This poses problems for us as informal educators. How do we know the calling is genuine? It is a gamble to take claims at face value, but without taking risks we may never find truth. Horne says we should take notice of happenings that are difficult to describe (1996:2). However, we need to tread carefully. People may be misguided or misled. We must test the calling. It is not valid unless experienced and recognised by both ourselves and others.

Some time ago I was talking with a newly appointed youth worker who described himself as 'having a heart for young people'. I was puzzled and asked him what

he meant. At this point the conversation reached a standstill. Beyond saying he had been called by God, and that God talked directly to him, he was unable to articulate what this meant, particularly in relation to his practice, or why I should believe him. He expected me to accept his claims at face value. My experience of working within Christian youth and community work agencies tells a similar story. Interview panels crumbling into sentimental gatherings when faced with the enthusiastic worker 'called by God', a lack of inquiry and an almost tangible fear of questioning the communication between Saviour and Saved. Later, recriminations and damage control exercises when the 'called' worker and God turn out to have their wires crossed.

So how may we test the calling of an informal educator? One would have thought the discussion within the interview would have been an ideal setting, but if we have a limited view of calling, this is not always possible. Often claims of calling within informal education are taken at face value. Given the lack of adequate theory to inform our practice, this is not suprising, but nonetheless reprehensible. We need to explore what is happening with the individual and include others in the process. Moving a private experience into a public arena for scrutiny allows us to gather evidence that the calling is genuine. Whatever the outcome, people are in a better position to take informed action. This avoids gambling with our own and others' future. Even if we have experienced a calling from God or within ourselves, other people will still need to recognise us as educators and call us into conversation with them. We need to check we have the blessing of others.

This is by no means a new idea. Schillebeeckx (1981) plots the central role of local Christian communities in the choice of their leader. For the first ten years of the Christian Church's history, ordination was linked with the person's function within their community. No-one could be ordained unless requested by the community. Ordination was not absolute. If a person stopped being seen as a leader, they immediately became a layman (Dewar 1991:1).

Naming

Mirroring the early days of ordination, our authority as an informal educator is a gift from others (Jeffs and Smith 1996: 52-4). Accepting that people call others, much as the mu'adhdhin calls Muslims to prayer, means that we can test and name the calling to be an informal educator. We should come to the field by having our qualities recognised and named by others (and ourselves). The giving and receiving of the name 'informal educator' depends on these processes.

We might hear people say, 'you help me think about things', or 'you'd make a good youth worker'. On the other hand, this may be expressed by their behaviour;

they may pose a question, hang around, or ask for help or advice. Conversation is central to our practice; we work through it. This means we and others need to be called to, and engage in, conversation. We then have the space to take on an educative role to which people respond. If we are to be informal educators people must call us into conversation, or at the very least respond to our call. They engage with us through choice and as such they may reclaim their gift if we are not deserving. So the role of others, (not just our colleagues), in initially and continually calling us to be informal educators is central. They earmark us for this special purpose, naming as well as testing our claims of calling.

So, in naming calling (of both ourselves and others) we must look to the behaviour of people in relationship and conversation. Our private experiences become known by how we act and what we say. We show intentional and unintentional signs of our private experiences (Horne 1996:57-58). A revelation here is that naming our calling involves initially and continually reflecting on, and exploring, practice. Calling then, is not a one-off, private experience, it is a public process. We are called to be and become informal educators. So far we can see that this process involves coming to know, test, and name our calling. It also involves being, doing and becoming.

Being, doing and becoming
Establishing our calling means being someone in particular. This is more about the kind of people we are in the world, and less about being some*thing*, like an electrician or nurse, although these may be linked. Master Eckhart puts this eloquently, 'people should not consider so much what they are to do, as what they are' (Fromm 1979:8).

Following Benvenistes (1996) study, Fromm argues for the meaning of 'to be' as a verb. Being, then, is about a kind of existence; a way of living. This is about orientation to the self and the world, rather than our personality or temperament and is named our disposition (Smith 1994: 77). It also involves doing. In order to be, one must do, and in order to do, one must be. Put simply, being (existing in the world), involves us as beings (humans), doing (acting). Since being and doing are tied, what we do expresses what we are.

Dewar (1991: 2, 31) describes calling as 'a task or activity...that expresses the unique essence of yourself'. He goes on to say, that through such an enactment, people may discover a little more of who they are. In other words, shaping our identity needs to happen with others in everyday life, as well as privately through reflection and introspection. Linked to Dewar's ideas is the assertion of George Simmel (1970) that being is becoming. Fromm takes this on arguing that living

things can only be, if they become. Change and growth are qualities of life process (1978:34). So what are we called to do, be and become?

God, holiness, group life and tasks
From a Christian perspective, calling involves certain commitments. Aided by Walton (1994:13-26) and Dewar (1991:2), we can identity four. The call to:

- *belong to God*
- *holiness*
- *the body of Christ with a commitment to people*
- *take on particular tasks or roles (Walton 1994:13-26)*

God and our ideals
It is difficult to pin down what is meant by God, and in turn what God means, if anything, to people. Some argue that God is beyond human comprehension, so words are inadequate in trying to describe its nature. For example, with Sikhism, *Akal Purakh*; the timeless being, is beyond our understanding and can only be known by gracious self-revelation (Cole, 1997: 328). Attempts have been made to understand God via negative approaches. These focus on what God is not, for example, God is not evil. Others have tried a positive approach, describing nature and characteristics, for example, God is omnipotent. From Christian, Jewish and Islamic perspectives God is the supreme reality (Swinburne, 1995: 314-5). This belief in a supreme being is also shared by African classical religions and can be described as theism (Stuart 1997: 703). However the existence of God is questioned and there are different understandings of what God might mean. Most philosophical theologians have regarded God as:

> *a personal being, bodiless, omnipresent creator and sustainer of any universe there may be, perfectly free, omnipotent, omniscient, perfectly good and a source of moral obligation; who exists eternally and has the divine properties listed (Swinburne 1985: 314).*

Whether we believe in God as a being or not, is beside the point here. What we need to look at is what this means in relation to calling. Here, it means that calling involves committing to something. Freeman (1993), a Christian priest, suggests that God is not objectively real but rather a name for our ideals. So, even within the confines of a belief in God we can argue that it means belonging to a set of ideals. If we whip God out of the equation the argument remains - calling involves a commitment or sense of belonging to sets of ideals.

Ideals, morals and values are paradigms of what makes for good and evil, right and wrong. They are words used to describe ideas people have about religious, moral

political and ideological principles, beliefs and attitudes. These ideas are called upon by people informing and guiding their action for the good (Banks, 1995: 3-4). What does this mean for informal educators?

As informal educators we generate and appeal to sets of ideals, morals and values with purpose and deliberation. We must focus on ethics: the study of what is regarded good and evil, with a concern for what ought to be (Banks 1995: 3-4). These ideals shape our action for human flourishing. Jeffs and Smith suggest that we are 'guided...by their understanding of what makes for the good; of what makes for human well being' (1990: 17-18). It follows that informal educators are called to the study and generation of, as well as the commitment to, sets of ideals.

Holiness and us as individual

Calling involves holiness. Within Christian traditions, the word holy was first used of God and meant to describe the nature of being separate, distinct and special. It stems from Greek meaning set apart, carrying notions of being earmarked for a special purpose. Holiness is linked with conduct and is used to describe particular ways of being in the world. The bible refers to the call to live distinctively, reflecting the character of God; 'be holy, for I am holy' (Leviticus 11.44). Being holy can mean people are called to walk their path worthily; reflecting the nature of their ideals. Melinsky (1992: 168) describes the character of this;

> a priest may be ordained to preside over the sacraments; he is also called to be, in a manner of speaking a walking sacrament, that is to say, someone through whom the reality of God discloses itself in unmistakable terms.

Being called as an informal educator involves being someone in particular. Part and parcel of this disposition is that we work with and for sets of ideals. These include respect, truth, justice and democracy (Jeffs and Smith 1996:10, 1990:10-11 and Smith 1994: 24-6). This means, for example, that informal educators work *with* respect *for* others, *for* respect *with* others. Working *with* expresses something of partnership. We work with others as participants.

If calling involves reflecting the nature of our ideals, informal educators need to become good. In deciding to work for human flourishing, we too must flourish. If working for justice, we must be just. Anything else is hypocrisy, and denies our calling.

The body of Christ and us as group

As we have already established, being called is a process that happens between people. It is experienced individually, in pairs and groups. We now find it involves a commitment to others. The 'body of Christ' may refer to the church: groups of people and their lives together. Teaming this with a commitment to people looks

to us like sharing interests and forming attachments. Calling, then, involves a commitment to group life.

Group life - the sharing of interests and forming attachments - is to do with building communities. Interest communities are people linked by factors like ethnic origin, religion and occupation. Attachment communities describe people having a shared sense of identity and interaction with others. These may interconnect and overlap (Willmott 1986).

Community expresses notions of similarity and difference, inclusion and exclusion. The word itself implies, 'a group of people that have something in common with each other that distinguishes them in a significant way from members of other punitive groups' (Cohen 1985:12). This is a relational idea, posing the opposition of one group of people to others and often in the service of making such distinctions (op. cit.). 'Where there is belonging, there is also not belonging and where there is inclusion, there is also exclusion' (Cornwell 1984: 53). Calling also involves, then, learning that our groupings may encourage and discourage people to participate. This is not necessarily a negative aspect of community, but we are called to pay attention to what is shared by people as well as their differences. We therefore need to take into account how participation happens and what part this plays in our lives.

All people have a hand in building communities. They 'construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity' (Cohen 1985: 118). The idea of a community where non-intentional, non directional social order and integration naturally emerge, is dismissed as romanticism by Suttles (1972: 9). He argues this neglects the active role of the builders, developers and government agencies in the process of the social construction of communities (see also Crow and Allan 1994:5-6). Here the call to community means acknowledging the hand we and others have in their construction. Part of this commitment involves being aware of the economic and social factors that determine how communities are born, live and die. Calling is also about appreciating the perception people have of the communities in which they live and participate, and how this determines their fate.

Communities are shaped by their boundaries. Cohen focuses on the nature of boundaries as the element that embodies a sense of discrimination and plots them as largely symbolic. The symbolic element refers to what the boundary means to people and the meaning they give it. Such boundaries are marked, yet may not be objectively apparent. The way they are marked is dependent on the community in question and may be perceived in different terms, or not at all, by people within

and without (Cohen 1985:12-14). Calling alerts us to the boundaries between people and the significance these have in their lives. We are called to appreciate the factors that shape our own and others' existence. It can therefore be understood to involve a commitment to; unite with others, finding and sharing areas of commonality and difference; and to build flourishing communities.

All of these elements are important within the practice of informal education. If called to be an informal educator we embrace a 'commitment and concern to foster a sense of community', and all that this implies (Smith 1994: 152). This entails working so that people may be together in the interests of human well-being. We work with people *for* community, taking care to honour difference and acknowledge 'the extent to which it can act to marginalise and exclude voices of subordinate groups' (Smith 1994: 154). We need to appreciate the significance of communities in the lives of people and how this impacts on their happiness.

Group life is also important *for* informal educators. The commitment to community does not end with those we work with, rather it is something we seek to foster within our field. Lave and Wenger call upon the notion of community of practice in exploring this phenomenon. 'Community of practice implies participation-in an activity system about which participants share understandings concerning what they are doing and what that means for their lives and their communities' (1991: 98).

Within our community of practice we are called to acknowledge our commitment to the generation and sharing of ideas about what makes for the good. Informal educators may be seen as a community of interest and attachment. In seeking to foster community between ourselves and others, we look to its social and symbolic construction. As a community of practice this is important in forming who we are and what we do. We create an identity. Given the exclusive element of community of practice, others may not understand our place as readily. The clues are given in our practice - through this people come to know us. By reflecting on our work with people and participating in our community of practice we come to know ourselves.

Task

So far we know that calling involves being someone, and that in turn, this means doing something. To do is about activity (the exertion of energy with diligence) and task (a piece of work undertaken as duty). In being called we actively undertake a task to succeed, answer or serve. We are not only expected to do, but to do well. Our calling is expressed by the action we take - what we do, and importantly, how we do it. In turn our actions shape us - we become different and change.

Informal educators are committed to doing a job. Essentially what informal educators do is act so that people may learn. To paraphrase Smith (1994: 78-9), we enter

situations with others. Guided by our personal and shared idea of the good, a clear understanding of role, and an ability to think critically in-and-on action, we encourage conversation. Our hope is that people are then able to make sense of their situation and act accordingly. So our call to be an informal educator involves commitments to growth and change. This means we appreciate and work with who people are, and what they want to become. We are concerned with people taking informed, committed action. In a nutshell, we work with people so that they come to know, test, name, be, do and become someone that expresses their calling. This is an on-going process of development and change, by no means linear, nor synchronical. It is a life-long process of learning.

It follows that if we think this process is important for others, it is just as important for ourselves. This means as practitioners we should undertake the tasks called for. We should enter conversations, read, reflect, etc. so as to learn and grow.

Conclusion
All people are called to be someone and to do things - it is part and parcel of human existence. Discovering and becoming who we are supposed to be, and what we are meant to do in the world is a life-long process of growth and change. This process involves certain commitments and these become revealed to us along the way. Informal educators can play a special part in encouraging these processes. Their role is to work so that people may shape and follow their calling.

All informal educators are called and responded to. Deny this and we undermine the relationship in which the work takes place, and the ability of people to invite us into conversations. Informal educators also call. They ask people to join with them in conversation. If no-one calls us, or responds to our call, we cannot be informal educators. Experiencing spiritual prompting in our journey may be present, but it is only in relationship with others that this can be tested and verified. Recognising our calling means appreciating what it involves. We need to work with, and for particular values, act appropriately as individuals, and commit to group life, growth and learning. Fulfilling our calling as an informal educator means we work with others for the processes of knowing, testing, naming, being, doing and becoming. Our hope is that both we and others prosper.

Calling must be taken beyond particular religious discourses and shared widely. Anything less denies people the opportunity to explore calling and what it means in everyday life. As informal educators our focus now should be on fieldwork, discovering the meaning and processes of calling, and how these come about.

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SPIRITUALITY IN THE CONTEXT
OF MULTI-CULTURAL YOUTH WORK

CHANDU CHRISTIAN

Spirituality must conquer the West. Slowly they are finding out that what they want is spirituality to preserve them as nations. They are waiting for it. They are eager for it. Where is the supply to come from?
(Vivekananda:1924:276)

As far as youth service in Britain is concerned, the above words, from one of India's foremost Hindu philosophers, seem to retain a resonance despite the lapse of time. There is a great desire to create an environment in which young people can get in touch with their spirituality. None of the three main reports on youth service [HMSO Albemarle (HMSO 1960), Milson-Fairbarn (HMSO 1969), Thompson (HMSO 1981)] mention spirituality *per se*. The Hunt Report, *Immigrants and the Youth Service* (DES 1967), also failed to acknowledge the spiritual dimension. Now, the picture is somewhat different. The Church of England's report on youth work, *Youth A Part* (1996), the Frontier Youth Trust's Spiritual Development Project, the YMCA's *The vision that transforms* (1992) and the *Ofsted's* (1994) *Spiritual, moral and cultural development* are but four examples of the quest for spirituality within a youth work or educational context. The commercial world, often ahead of the rest in identifying a 'need' and then responding to it, staged the 22nd International Festival on Mind, Body and Spirit last year at the Royal Horticultural Halls in London. It offered everything from the 'higher spiritual learning' to 'crystal angels', and was packed out for a whole week. It seems spirituality is the idea whose time has come.

Problems in studying spirituality

In seeking to explore spirituality, one at once faces a bewildering variety of starting points. One could narrow down the choice and approach spirituality from a purely religious and theological point of view, or one could include all movements, religious and non-religious, and seek to interpret the third dimension in the Mind-Body-Spirit configuration. A purely humanistic approach could not be ruled out either. It would be equally rewarding to look at the intellectual traditions, notably those of Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud in this century, and turn spirituality into a quest for a scientific understanding of much that is wrong with the human condition and seek to ameliorate it by addressing the economic or psychological wrongs in our chosen two examples. Abraham Maslow (1954), in a classic synthesis of those two positions, suggested that human beings attain self-actualisation or nirvana in a

spiralling order, beginning with the satisfaction of physiological and economic needs, gradually moving on to seeking satisfaction of psychological needs and ultimately arriving at a position that cannot be described as either physiological or psychological or the combination of the two. One can therefore speculate and say that even in Maslow's hierarchy, the spiritual dimension, although unnamed as such, existed. All of the routes mentioned here have produced benefits to some, whilst others have criticised those traditions they did not like as inadequate, irrational or not holistic - that is to say, not creating an integrated understanding of the mind-body-spirit dimensions. The very nature of the subject makes it speculative, unsuitable for empirical tests which can produce irrefutable, or at least replicable conclusions. *Neti, Neti,* cried the Hindu philosophers, meaning 'it is neither this nor that'.

Spirituality and youth work

For this article, I have taken the view that young people are influenced by a whole variety of traditions - religious, humanistic, intellectual and New Age. But if spirituality is 'neither this nor that', then what is it? Why is it that we seek it? Why do we provide environments in which young people can 'get in touch' with their spiritual dimension? Where does our mandate to cater for the spirituality of young people come from?

A historical context

Historical records available to us suggest that past civilisations took the business of educating or training the young seriously. At first it was probably to meet the needs of the society. There was a need for 'standardised' tools, so the technical knowledge which enabled the tools to be replicated and used had to be standardised and passed on from one person to the next, from the adult to the young. Bowen suggests that it was this making and use of tools that marked the organisation of society and the beginning of culture, *the accumulation of instruments, ideas and institutions by which social life proceeds.* (1972:2) The processes by which instruction and training gave way to education may have been slow and arduous, but Bowen sums them up admirably as processes of development in three stages, leading from the dominance over the physical environment to the development of social environment which in turn surrendered its supremacy to the intellectual environment. (Ibid:2) It was of course the domination by the intellectual environment that gave rise to systematic, formal education.

Throughout human history, there has been a creative struggle in education between the needs of society and those of the individual. Youth workers, in particular, seem to classify this struggle as that between social control and personal development. This is probably an oversimplification. Youth workers, as adults, cannot dissociate themselves totally from the need for socialising the young into the ways of society. Bloom (1965), in his now classic work, created a system of classification of knowledge, atti-

tudes and skills (cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains in his language) and suggested that education serves both as a process of social control as well as that of personal development.

It would do injustice to Bowen and Bloom to suggest that their work was devoid of spiritual dimension. They were both expressly seeking to understand the interplay between the mind and body, and the part education played in their development. They do not address the question of the spiritual dimension expressly. (That was left to the ancients. The Hindus created the Goddess Saraswati, the Goddess of Knowledge. Even today, Indian schools are referred to as her temples. The Greeks too created Athena, the Goddess of Wisdom).

It is possible to transfer the educational insights from Bowen and Bloom to the field of spirituality. Bowen's work suggests that human society gradually began to go beyond the mere technical instruction, eventually addressing the higher questions of life. The quest for technical instruction and knowledge eventually leads to the question McBrien (1994), in his best-selling book *Catholicism*, puts: *Who are we?* The question has been asked thousands of times before and has occupied the human race for a considerable period, perhaps ever since we gained consciousness about ourselves. McBrien suggests that since we are both the questioner and the questioned, our answers are always inadequate. (Ibid:1994:100) He paints a somewhat disturbing scenario of what would happen if we were to arrive at the final answer to our question. *'Life would no longer be a mystery to be faced and experienced with love, trust, wonder, and not a little anxiety and fear'* (Ibid:100). Despite this speculation, our preoccupation with who we are, how we discover who we are and where we are going remains. It seems that we humans have taken two different routes to discover who we are. One route, taken by the anthropologists, looks at our ancestors' sense of wonder about the physical phenomena, for example thunder, flood and lightening, or human experiences of birth and death, which led them to establish the 'existence' of spirits. Another route, taken by the Greek philosophers of the 6th century BC and Gautama the Buddha, was that of self-reflection and speculation. Buddha, for example, arrives at *nirvana,* a state of being in which one's soul is in freedom or detachment from the worldly delusions. The Greek search for the self can be seen through the motto on Apollo's temple at Delphi: *Know thyself.* One interpretation of the story of Adam and Eve also suggests that the bite of the proverbial fruit from the Tree of Knowledge, and the resultant awareness of nakedness was an allegorical way of describing how humans achieved self-consciousness. By avoiding rituals, Zen, (from the Sanskrit *Dhyana,* the intense inward concentration, meditation), too claims to offer true awareness of the self.

Within the last two thousand years, Christianity and Islam, between them, have accounted for a huge number of followers. Christianity offers a clear command about how salvation or nirvana can be attained. *Love your God with all your heart and follow his ways.* The word *Islam* means submission, and for Muslims, submission to the will of god as revealed in the Quaran is the only way to lead a *'pak'* or pious life in this world and to attain heaven in the next. Moses and Jesus are both given the status of prophets in the Quaran. Jesus in particular, is given the title of Ruh Allah, the Spirit of God. Sikhism believes that when a person removes *humai* (me first) from themselves, they reunite themselves with God. To the Rastafarians, the human body is the living temple of Jah, who is resident within. A Rasta thus has to strive to develop an inner-consciousness of God dwelling within him or her.

The routes described above can hardly be considered anything other than a superficial account of the variety of faiths or beliefs that they represent. There are however many excellent books which remedy the shortcoming of this article. Its purpose was simply to show the numerous ways in which the topic of spirituality can be pursued.

Some over-lapping between the words 'soul' and 'spirit' also exists. The Greeks preferred to talk about 'soul', the life force, that was permanent and transmigrated from body to body. The Hindu word 'atman' too has been translated more frequently as 'soul'. Another Sanskrit word, *'prana'*, meaning 'breath', links more closely with the Latin *spiritus* which also means breath. Yoga is effectively the discipline of controlling prana and thus getting in touch with one's real or inner-being. The notions of *paramatman* and *atman* roughly correspond to the Islamic notions of *nafs*, the 'higher' or the incorruptible soul, and *ruh*, the spirit which gives human beings the 'selfhood', a notion of being a unique creature, different from animals.

It would be apparent that these observations can be explored to a much greater depth philosophically and theologically. But this cursory excursion suggests that there is some consensus among the humanity that within the human body, there exists a part which is not material, which is the life substance and which somehow spurs us to do things that raises us 'just below the level of angels'.

The French call their youth workers *animateurs* (after anima, spirit). The term is evocative of the sentiments and actions in Genesis: 'The *earth was a vast waste, darkness covered the deep, and the spirit of God hovered over the surface of the water.'* (Genesis 1:2) It is the hovering and stirring of the water that leads to the third verse: *'Let there be light'.* Adolescence is often a period of darkness and void, and perhaps it is an apt metaphor to call youth workers *animateurs,* people who hover in the void with the young and enable them to separate the light from dark-ness. The term also gives a clear mandate to youth workers; their job is to stir the spirit in the young.

The world's first international youth organisation, the YMCA, took the equilateral triangle as its symbol - the three corners depicting mind, body and spirit - to commit itself to facilitate a holistic development of young people. The Albemarle Report on Youth Service in England and Wales (1959) talked about *challenging* young people to develop their mind and body, but fell short of incorporating the spiritual dimension. More recently, a document from *Ofsted* expressly mentions the spiritual dimension. It also defines spiritual development:

> *...that aspect of inner life through which pupils acquire insights into their personal existence which are of enduring worth. It is characterised by reflection, the attribution of meaning to experience, valuing a non-material dimension to life and intimations of an enduring reality... (Ofsted:1994:8).*

Zaehner (1997) suggests that there are four types of spirituality within and between religions: loving union with a personal god; a sense of oneness with the Absolute and the world; a sense of being separate from the world, and becoming one with one's real self. Many of the New Age movements may not accept the first two types but would have little difficulty in embracing the latter two. Newport (1998: ix) suggests that the New Age spirituality contains an eclectic 'hodgepodge' of beliefs, practices and ways of life. Citing Clark and Geisler (1990) he identifies the traits that go with the New Age spirituality:

1   *People want mystery, awe, inspiration and wonder in their lives.*

2   *The New Age movement highlights the right-hand brain, the intuitive, 'feeling' side, and downplays the rational left-hand side.*

3   *It offers people a way of over-coming their low self-esteem.*

4   *It exalts the human worth. Although it does not support the concept of sin, by implication at least, it would entertain the notion of avoidance of wrong-doing to others and to one's own self.*

5   *It offers people hope.*

(Quoted in Newport: 1998: 142-43)

If we remove allegiance to a specific deity of any given religion, then this list of attributes is not really very different from what religious people might also consider attributes of spirituality. One particular attribute, on which both the religious and the non-religious are likely to agree, is that whereas religion might be the external and the organised side of spirituality, with rules, rituals and symbols, spirituality might be seen as the phenomenon that human beings experience within themselves, without necessarily taking on the paraphernalia that goes with religion.

What then is spirituality? It is by no means to be confused with theology,
which is chiefly an elaboration of concepts. It is a (sic) life. All human life
has a spiritual aspect...
(Jacques Madaule in Jones, Wainwright et al: 1986: xxvi)

Spirituality in youth work

At a cursory glance, formal education and youth work seem to pursue two different
goals. Formal education may be about acquiring knowledge and skills so that the
learner becomes imbibed into what Bowen called the processes of developing,
maintaining and standardising processes of technical and social institutions. On
the other hand, youth work may be about recreation, socialising with other young
people and just having fun. In practice, both are complementary to each other,
and carry out similar functions. By asking the question *Who are we?* and by trying
to find observable, replicable answers to the question, formal education has
enormously increased our knowledge of the observable world. Through physics
and chemistry, through psychology and sociology, we have come to understand
our world as well as ourselves far better than our predecessors did a hundred years
ago. To some youth work seems an indulgence, and yet its complementary role to
formal education cannot be over emphasised. The time of adolescence is particularly
turbulent for a young person. *Who am I?* becomes a particularly demanding
question. In their struggle for an answer, a youth worker or *animateur* has a
particular role to play. Formal education may enable a young person to be more in
harmony with the external world (to wit Bowen and Bloom), and as a consequence
with their own individual self. Youth work enables a young person to be more in
harmony with his or her own self and as a consequence with the rest of the world.
Both formal and informal education thus have a part to play in enabling young
people to find their 'real' selves.

Bowen's argument about standardisation also applies to youth work. Since the
eighties, there has been a particular drive in formal education to developing curricula
the contents and methods of which are observable and outcomes measurable.
University, secondary schools and even primary school league tables are now part
of our lives. This raises some related questions for us. Firstly, since spirituality is
the unobservable, intangible and inner-world phenomenon, how will formal
education incorporate spiritual endeavour into its curriculum? Is it likely that it
will abandon its pursuit under the relentless pressure for results and achievements?
Secondly, youth work, as a part of the educational endeavour of a society is often
expected to follow the example of its formal counterpart. For example, most if not
all youth service constituencies in Britain have produced curriculum documents.
Since youth service has argued that personal development of young people is its

forte, how should it now respond to the need for a set curriculum and observable outcomes where spirituality is concerned? Hutton and Reed (1994: 85) argue that spirituality cannot be organised, but could youth service succeed where formal education, thanks to its strict organising, may be failing? Thirdly, the phenomenon of spirituality is still strongly linked with religious institutions and beliefs. A religion based youth organisation is likely to expect its youth workers to cater for the spiritual quest of its young members by recruiting them into the religious fold. Britain now has many single religion based youth organisations (for example, the National Association of Muslim Youth, the Association of Jewish Youth Clubs), reflecting the muliti-faith nature of the British society. On the other hand, statutory LEA youth clubs and many voluntary youth organisations have membership that is 'open' implying that religious affiliation was not a necessary condition of membership. Given this mixture, how can youth work incorporate spirituality as part of its mandate? How can it cater for the youth of the multi-cultural, multi-faith British society?

There is no one answer to this question. Zaehner's classification of four types of spirituality, cited earlier, could enable different youth workers to choose how they would like to address spirituality in youth work. It would seem that his fourth type, *becoming one with one's real self*, would appeal to most youth workers as it could be based within the educational brief, rather than within the religious one. In a single faith setting of a youth club, the aim of a youth worker may well be to act as an *animateur* within the parameters of a particular faith. In a multi-cultural setting, the task becomes complex. From my personal experiences in multi-faith settings, it seems to me that adopting educational aims that lead to spiritual awareness *(a la* Zaehner) provide a way of functioning for a youth worker without being 'branded' a missionary. Youth work is rightly seen as the informal arm of education. Although often the adjective 'informal' is emphasised, it is important to remember that as an adjective, it only suggests a method, a style through which processes and products are contemplated and achieved. Informal education must therefore have as its aim education, whether an activity was planned or spontaneous. Spirituality, that higher awareness of the self or being in touch with one's 'real' self, may lead a young person to seek any or all of the remaining three modes of spirituality in Zaehner's typology, that is where spirituality and religion may combine to the benefit of the seeker.

Youth workers often wonder whether, metaphorically speaking, they should take the horse to water and let it decide whether or not to drink, or whether they should lead the horse to water only when asked. In reality, a youth worker has to take both approaches. The planned curriculum route may encourage young people to taste (and even test!) the water which they otherwise would not have done. At the

same time the spontaneous approach, in response to an expressed need is equally vital. The point to bear in mind is that however spontaneous the response, *it is always made to meet the over-all and planned aim of youth work.* There is no other justification for it.

A complex subject like spirituality needs space and time for a sustained and deliberate exploration in training courses as well as in staff development programmes. In the oriental 'guru-disciple' relationship, a guru could not really teach a disciple unless he had submitted to the rigours of discipleship himself. Education, in itself, was a spiritual quest. In our multi-cultural society, perhaps youth work training needs to incorporate some of the ideas on spirituality from other cultures and faiths. Unless our youth workers have themselves experienced the quest for the 'fruits of the spirit', such as love, truth, joy, beauty and peace, it will not be easy for them to engage with young people in similar pursuits.

Earlier in the article, McBrien was quoted as saying that a life that is fully revealed will be very dull, without any wonder left in it. It is perhaps just as well that we still do not have a full agreement on what we mean by spirituality. It is much better to be left wondering, to have greater glimpses of love and beauty, truth and peace, without feeling that there is nothing more to know. It keeps the show going.

The following few suggestions, mostly culled from other writers and thinkers, might help us to think more specifically about spirituality in our multi-cultural context:

1   *Youth workers as **animateurs** or spirit shakers can encourage the natural ability that young people have to ask questions. **Who are we?** and **Who am I?** are two profound questions through which young people can develop individual and social identities. (Youth A Part: 1996:33)*

2   *It needs to be borne in mind that spirituality cannot be organised. On the other hand, many young people, particularly those from the minority cultures will have had some participation in religious or communal festivals. It would be right for youth service to acknowledge the part organised religion plays in kindling spiritual thoughts.*

3   *Youth work has yet to absorb and use the multi-faith or multicultural concepts that are now available to it. For example, the concepts of **Guru-Shishya** as relationship, **Islam** as submission, the **Tao** as the way, **Zen** as a method of self-actualisation without complicated rituals, the **Shabad** (Word) as a revelation - these and many other concepts are now part of our multi-cultural legacy. Youth work can apply them for both personal spiritual development of young people as well as to create a tolerant and understanding society.*

4   Nearly all youth work reports emphasise that young people themselves should be active partners in youth service. This may well call for a paradigm shift in the way that young people may be perceived. When they say they are bored, perhaps they are telling the truth. Perhaps they are asking for their spirit to be stirred!

5   A society that is increasingly becoming quantity orientated has to pay the price for weighting quantity over quality. The question 'how much?' from the market place has now deeply penetrated our education system. As this article is being written, the Secretary of State for Education is trying to persuade the teachers' unions that performance related payment to teachers is a professionally justifiable proposal. How long before he says that the idea is **morally** justifiable? Should youth work have something to say about this, both through its practice with young people **and** through dialogue and debate with the adult society? In **Mahabharata**, the Indian epic, the 'good' side - the Pandavas - annihilated the bad side, the Kauravas, with the help of the god Krishna. They won the performance related award - the kingdom and all the material benefits that go with it. But peace only came to them when they renounced it all and took a **padyatra** - pilgrimage on foot - in search of **Moksha** (salvation). Yet another narrative, and moral, for youth service to reflect on.

(Author's note: This article has largely arisen from my own experiences of living in the multi-faith community in India. In recent years, the experience has been enhanced by living in Britain, and several visits to Hong Kong, China, some countries in Africa, and India).

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SPIRITUALITY, RELIGION, FAITH:
mapping the territory

JOHN M HULL

Education as personal development

One of the differences between training and education is that training seeks to develop a skill or a set of skills whereas education seeks to develop the person. Training is skilled-based but education is person-centred. Before the modern era the soul was often conceived of as being joined to the body at the time of conception and loosed from the body at the time of death. The soul was possessed absolutely, or not at all. There could be no educational development of the soul. Education was generally thought of in social terms. It was the modification or the grooming of speech and manners so as to produce courtesy, refinement or socially appropriate behaviour. With the arrival of modern psychology and the social sciences, self-hood was conceived of more as an achievement. Psycho-analysis showed us that the infant is a body of desires, which is co-ordinated and controlled by the realisation of social and physical reality as the ego develops. Although personhood is a possibility for the pre-natal child, its actualisation requires years of development.

It is belief in these years of development which give modern education its characteristic emphasis. To become a person is to achieve something, but that achievement can only be realised in the context which confers it. We strive towards personhood, and we also receive personhood as a gift. We may strive to learn various languages and to improve our skill in speaking our mother tongue, but at first language is imparted. The wonder of human society is that it imparts language; the miracle of childhood is that it is capable of receiving it. It is because of the centrality of this humanistic education in many modern societies that spirituality, religion and faith have become closely associated with it. The infantile chaos of desire is largely biological in origin. The infant desires food, drink, warmth, sleep and to be held. The formation of personhood implies the development of a set of potentials, which although latent within the biological nexus are only gradually developed, and which when mature transcend the biological. These include language, symbolic functioning, conscience, self-awareness, interpersonal relations, creativity, and the giving and receiving of love in freedom. That which transcends the biological may be described as the spiritual.

Education as spiritual development

It is in the light of these modern assumptions that education in England and Wales

[since 1944, re-emphasised in 1988] is required, to advance the spiritual. Indeed, the first and foremost criterion of a broad and balanced curriculum is that it should promote 'the spiritual ... development of pupils ... and of society' (ERA, 1988: I.2).

This requirement has led to a brisk discussion about the meaning of the spiritual, including a good deal of research activity (Wright, 1988). Much of this is concerned with the similarities and differences between spirituality, religion, and to a lesser degree, faith (Best, 1996). What follows is not a summary or a discussion of the results of this activity but is merely a series of my own reflections.

The three expressions we are considering, spirituality, religion and faith may be imagined as three concentric circles decreasing in size. Thus spirituality includes religion but is a more comprehensive category. Religion as a whole is concerned with spirituality but not all spirituality is concerned with religion. Similarly, there is much in religion which is not particularly concerned with faith. In so far as faith is a trustful response to the object of religious worship, it is included within religion, and our imaginary diagram reveals this. See Graph 1 below.

Graph 1

However, several contemporary descriptions of faith describe it from a psychological or anthropological point of view as being a wider category of human response, the religious response being but an important example (Fowler 1981). If we accept this point of view, then we should arrange the descending series of

concentric circles so that spirituality remains the largest, containing the circle of faith, which in turn contains the smaller circle of religion. See Graph 2 below.

Graph 2

The Spiritual is Not a Part to be Added

Since the spiritual is, broadly speaking, concerned with the achievement of personhood, it may be thought of as synonymous with the process of humanisation. Becoming a human has both absolute and relative aspects. From the absolute point of view, that which is born of the human is human. The advantage of this position is that being biological it applies to the entire species, and thus human rights and human dignity are extended to every living creature which is born of human parents regardless of race, class, or disability. Within the order of creation, so to speak, the quality of being human permits no degree. Nevertheless, human beings can lose their humanity. We speak of cruel and barbarous punishment as being degrading, brutal and de-humanising. This reminds us that becoming human is a process, the result of which is an achievement, and therefore we may speak of the process of humanisation as being our ontological vocation (Freire, 1972; 1985). This process may also be called spiritualisation, since there is no achievement of humanness without a realisation of the human spirit. The human spirit is not the human soul. This would take us back into the static thinking of earlier centuries. The spirit is not a part of the human, as we seem to suggest when we speak of educating the whole child, the mind, the body and the spirit.

This kind of language seems to suggest that human development would be lopsided without the development of the spirit. It might be thought that the Education

Reform Act in listing a series of attributes, the spiritual, moral, cultural and so on, suggests that these are portions, parts of the human. It is better, I think, to regard these as dimensions rather than as parts. If you take away the third dimension from an object, there is nothing left but an idea. In a similar way, the cultural is not a part of being human for without culture there would be no human beings. Similarly, the physical is not a part of the human, not a material part added onto the spirit, but represents the whole of our human life looked at from a certain point of view.

Similarly, it is impossible to imagine human beings entirely without bodies. Even a ghost, supposedly a spirit without a body, has some kind of thin, partly visible substance. You can thrust your hand right through it, but it can speak to you, pass by you, and clank its chains. Without the body, and thus without any sensible properties, there would be nothing to imagine, which is why the concept of a disembodied spirit is probably incoherent.

When the Christian faith speaks of the resurrection of the body, reference is made to the idea that the human person is one indivisible body/mind/spirit organism. Neither is the mental or the intellectual apart of our being human, for without the mind, without some capacity for thinking, without speech, there could be no self-awareness, no realised consciousness, and our humanness received potentially at birth, would fail to be actualised.

The same is true of the spiritual. When we speak of the spirit of a sporting team, we refer to some quality of the behaviour and attitudes of the team as a whole, and the same is true of the expression 'the spirit of the nation', 'the spirit of war' and so on. In such expressions we do not refer to a part of the whole, but to some energising and invigorating quality of the whole.

What is the Spiritual?
We have spoken of the human being as a complex but organic unity which can be viewed from a number of perspectives. When we think of the moral dimension, we think of the whole person in so far as the actions of the person are guided by responsibility, duty and so on. To what aspect of the human organism do we refer when we speak of the spiritual? In the broadest sense, this expression applies to everything which lifts human beings above and beyond the biological, but that is also true of the cultural and the moral and the mental. Thus there is a spirituality of culture, and there is no culture without spirituality. There is a spirituality of the moral life, and all moral life participates in the spiritual. At the moment, I am describing that which the spiritual, moral and cultural have in common, namely, their elevation beyond the merely biological. In a moment, we will discuss the differences between them.

Is there then no spiritual dimension of the merely biological? In order to consider this question clearly, we must distinguish between potentiality and actuality. A biological entity is a living thing. Living things are the product of their kind, they are born in some way and they die. They require food or nourishment of some kind and they reproduce. In some way or other, they exhibit purpose, seeking for the conditions which will enhance their survival. Even a virus is capable of adopting such strategies for survival that scientists do not hesitate to describe them as clever or intelligent in a rudimentary and yet sometimes amazingly complex way. The border line between living and non-living entities is difficult to determine, and nature exhibits an unbroken continuum from entities which are clearly non-living like rocks up to beings who have realised self-conscious and critical life. Human beings are that part of nature in which nature has realised its potential for self-conscious, critical life. Nature as a whole may be said to have spiritual potential, and this potential is actualised to varying degrees. Even human beings, we may suspect, have only actualised spiritual potential of nature up to a certain point, and there may be forms of life in the galaxy or beyond, whose spiritual development is far beyond the human.

Spirituality as Transcendence

When we speak of the biological as being lifted up beyond the inert, and of the human as being lifted up beyond the biological, we are speaking of degrees of the spiritualisation process. Each stage of the actualisation of the spiritual transcends the previous stage. Transcendence is, indeed, a key feature of spiritualisation. In speech we transcend the limits of our own bodies; in imagination we transcend the limits of space and time; in creativity we transcend the limits of our own particular experience; in mathematics we transcend the grip of the particular, and in music we transcend noise. In religion, we transcend humanity all-together, postulating a transcendence beyond which there is no transcendence, a transcendence greater than which no further transcendence can be imagined, and we name this transcendence the Ultimate, the divine or God. There is a sense, therefore in which we may describe religion as being the climax of the spiritual quest, since in religion the transcendent which typifies the spiritual may reach its height.

There is truth in that claim, but it must be qualified by two further points. First, there are forms of spirituality which are not religious, and secondly, religion may become corrupt, false or may fail to realise the transcendent to which it points.

Non-religious forms of Transcendence

On the concept of spirituality which is not religious, we should remember our opening illustration of the concentric circles, in which spirituality is a broader concept than religion. Thus we speak quite properly of the spirituality of art, the

spirituality of music, the spirituality of science and so on. By such expressions, we mean to say that in activities such as art, music, science and many others, the merely biological aspects of our humanness are transcended. Technology extends the human bios but art transcends it. The wheel is an extension of the foot (McLuhan, and Fiore, 1989), and a crane is an extension of the hand. The wheel does what the foot does only faster; the crane does what the hand does, only it picks up things which are too heavy for the hand. Art transcends the human by helping us to realise and to break through the limits of our self consciousness. Science transcends our present humanness by helping us to realise and to break through the limits of our self-knowledge. Certainly, the wheel breaks through the limits of mobility imposed by the foot, but that breakthrough occurs on the same level. One merely goes faster. In so far as science merely extends our knowledge, it could be regarded as an extension of the senses, but that would be to speak of scientific instruments and of scientific technology. However, in so far as science presents a new paradigm of nature or the place of human beings in nature, it breaks through the limits not of the senses but of language and of imagination, thus lifting us up to a new ontological limit, a new threshold of the ontological vocation.

Religion as Ultimate Transcendence

Religion in principle and at its best offers not merely an extension of the senses on the same level, although it may do that, but something qualitatively different at a higher level. Through religion we transcend the former limits of our self awareness. Religion relativises all our human achievements by placing them under the domain of the transcendent itself. Religion transcends human life itself not only by enabling human life to become more human, but by enabling a further qualitative stage on the path to humanisation. It sets human life against that which represents its Ultimate limit. Thus, in the presence of religion, the finite discovers itself in the presence of the infinite, the temporal discovers itself in the presence of the eternal, partial love discovers itself in the presence of perfect love.[1]

As the Department of Education's circular 1/94 (para 4) (DFE 1994) puts it, every subject of the curriculum has a responsibility for the spiritual development of the pupil but religious education has an important although not exclusive contribution.

Spirituality, Culture, Morality

Now we come to the differences between spirituality, culture and morality. Spirituality necessarily generates a culture, since spirituality is necessarily social, but a culture need not be considered only from a spiritual point of view. Culture may be described as that set of myths, actions and institutions which place human life within a symbolic framework. The spiritual is that same framework considered from an anthropological point of view.[2] In other words, culture could be considered

from the perspective of the human vocation. In so far as a given culture invites us to transcend the biological level, and nurtures us, time and time again breaking through the limits of our self critical understanding, culture may be said to perform a spiritual task.

As we have already observed, the moral life is certainly part of the spiritual life, since morality relates us to others and thus demands that we transcend our skin. However, the domain of morality is characterised by such concepts as duty, responsibility, obligation, right and wrong. It is the task of moral philosophy to elucidate these concepts, and it is the task of the moral person to live in accordance with them. The spiritual person would hardly be immoral, but neither would the actions of the spiritual person be governed by the principles of duty or obligation. After all, Jesus was executed as a law breaker, and the spiritual domain is characterized by freedom, spontaneity and joy, which transcend the moral realm. When the rich young ruler asked Jesus what he had to do to inherit eternal life, Jesus replied in terms of the moral law. When the young man asked what more he could do, Jesus told him to get rid of his possessions and follow him (Mk.10: 17-22). This was not a demand of morality, but a promise of something which transcended morality. It was the promise of life in the spirit (Rom.8:2), the perfect law of liberty (James 1:25). Children and young people are morally educated when they come to understand the nature of the moral law, but they are spiritually educated when they are inspired to achieve a fuller realisation of their humanness in solidarity with others.

Falsehood in Spirituality, culture and morality

Is the concept of false spirituality a contradiction in terms? Certainly, the concept of a false morality is not a contradiction in terms, since we have such a thing as the misguided conscience, and as an individual progresses through the stages of moral development, the earlier stages would appear to be false. If one were to tarry in a lower stage through fear of the responsibilities and sacrifices of entering into a higher stage, one's morality would have become false, however natural it might have been at first to enter into that lower stage from a yet earlier one (Kohlberg, 1984; Kegan, 1982).

What about the concept of a false culture? We might describe a culture as being artificial, in the sense that it is an imposed or an imported set of myths, institutions and symbols introduced from outside the society, leading to an alienation of the society from its own historic culture. Perhaps we might say that this happens when a culture of consumer desire is created by several large multinational companies invading some more vulnerable society with their products, legends and symbols. We can also speak of a degrading culture or an immoral culture, and we might now think of the old apartheid South Africa, or the culture of Nazi Germany.

Returning to the question of a false spirituality, we may say that a society may nurture its members so as to transcend the previous limits of self-hood, and to open up new vistas of self realisation which, nevertheless, might be false in the sense that they do not conform to the anthropological vocation. In other words, a spirituality can de-humanise as well as humanise. Naturally, this is a question of values, and hinges upon our estimation of the human itself. If we believe that 'rational man', that is a person always maximising personal profit in the market place, the bargaining person whose bargaining is dictated by self interest and is thus held to be rational, then we would regard the market place as offering a spiritual education. However, if we regard the mother and child symbiosis, with its mutual dependence and its freedom from exchange relations as being more typical of the human, then we would regard the rationality of the market place, with its commitment to competitive individualism, as being de-humanising (Hartsock 1983).

The False Spirituality of Money

Insofar as money offers people transforming dreams of what they might become, insofar as these dreams take possession of the imagination, the purposes and the self understanding of people (Madanes, 1994), insofar as money actually determines the character of human relationships and motivates human beings in their search for human maturity (Dodd, 1995), we may say that there is a spirituality of money. Insofar as the human maturity which money offers is expressed through having, not through being (Marcel, 1949), insofar as the possession of money transforms one through power and not through love, insofar as this dream denies human solidarity, creating a kingdom of means rather than a kingdom of ends (Kant, 1993), to this extent we may say that the spirituality inspired by money is a false and degrading spirituality. That does not mean that we should despise or neglect the power of money to alleviate human poverty, and we know that poverty degrades and brutalises human life, but if we set our hearts upon money itself rather than upon the justice which distributes money (Martin and Schumann, 1997), if we seek to generate money and not to generate freedom and democracy for all (Rowbotham, 1998), then the spirituality of money will debase our humanity. Money is a symbol of the self, and God is also a symbol of the self (Hull 1996a). The two selves thus symbolised are incompatible, which is why you cannot serve God and money (Mt 6:24).

False Religion as Religionism

Religions may be understood as those more or less systematised structures of speech, actions, ethics and institutions which aim to bring human beings to the limit of humanness by exposing them to the Ultimate. In that sense, the religions represent the most definite crystallisation of the various social and individual techniques of spiritual development. There is thus a sense in which we may say

that whatever you take to be Ultimate will be your religion (Brown, 1965), and in so far as the nature of the Ultimate will determine the character of the spirituality, we may speak both of true religion and false. True religion will be that which encourages the realisation of true humanity, and false religion will be that which encourages false and degrading humanity, and the difference between these two will naturally and inevitably mean a choice and perhaps a conflict of values (Hull, 1996b). Although religion at its best and finest seeks to elevate human spirituality to the highest degree, religion is also vulnerable to corruption and self deception. There may well be cultures where an authentic and humanising art may represent a finer spirituality than a corrupt, inward looking and sectarian religion. When religion seeks to build up individual or collective identity by creating negative images of other religions, I call it 'religionism' (Hull, 1998). Religionism is religion focused upon itself while religion is true and faithful when it focuses upon the goals of religion, which are the spiritualisation of human beings in the presence of the transcendent Ultimate. Religion and money are both instrumental. When religion and money are desired for their own sake, when they serve their own ends, then the spirituality which they generate is a debased spirituality.

Let us take the case of the Christian religion. Christian faith is an instrument of the mission of God. It is probably not the only such instrument. If Christian faith is faith-less to the mission of God, and concentrates instead upon its own aggrandizement, God will discard it and will find other instruments to advance God's mission. The mission of God is to bring life and liberty to all.

Faith

This brings us at last to the question of faith. Religion and spirituality are not attitudes. Spirituality, as we have seen, is the achievement of humanness, and the religions are the traditions and techniques for achieving this in relation to the transcendent Ultimate. Faith, however, has to do with subjectivity. It is the positive human response to the issues raised by spirituality and by religion. When we describe faith as the attitude which responds to spirituality in the broad-est sense, then faith occupies the concentric circle mid-way between spirituality and religion. In that case, faith would be a human potential for responding with trust, to whatever centres of power, meaning and purpose a person selects (Fowler, 1981) in order to advance his or her spirituality. In that sense, faith is larger than religion. We may speak of faith without religion but not of religion without faith. Faith without religion would be the name we would give to the human response of trust or acceptance directed towards the symbols which provide integration and purposeful movement towards spirituality. Thus there may be a human faith directed towards the symbols of the human. Faith in this sense would include not only human faith but religious faith, the former being faith

directed towards the symbols of the human and the latter (religious faith) being faith directed also towards the symbols of the divine ultimacy.

Religious Faith

If, on the other hand, we imagine our concentric circles arranged in such a way that faith comes in the centre, then we would be defining faith in an exclusively religious way. Within the general sphere of the Christian religion, there is a centre made up of people who respond to it faithfully. Beyond the circle of faith there would be people who respond to the Christian religion only nominally, or partially. Religion is the instrument; spirituality is the goal; faith is the attitude of trust that the instrument will lead to the goal.

In so far as religion is usually manifest as a specific religion, such as Buddhism, Islam or Christianity, faith would be defined by the particular religion. Thus there would be a Christian understanding of faith, an Islamic understanding of faith and so on, although it must always be remembered that by its origin faith is a Christian word and we must be cautious in applying it to the attitude which the believers in other religions have towards their objects of ultimacy. We cannot assume that faith is the same from religion to religion.

If this discussion is pointing in the right direction, we can speak of faith in three senses, according to the position of faith on our diagram, and according to the specificity of the religion circle. First, in the widest sense, faith is the attitude of trust and faithfulness towards whatever leads us to increased spirituality. Secondly, faith is trust directed towards religion, religion being the agent of spirituality. Thirdly, faith is the specific faith characteristic of a religion, and this is a distinctively Christian use of faith, although there may be similar attitudes in other religions. It is in this last and most specific sense that Christian faith can speak of faith as being given by God 'For it is by grace you are saved through faith; it is not your own doing. It is God's gift' (Eph 2:8).

Educational Implications

Education is that process whereby human beings are raised above the limits of their biological natures through increasing knowledge and understanding. Other processes, such as socialisation, may lead people beyond their biological natures through other means, and the schooling experience will include both education, socialisation and perhaps other processes as well.

In so far as knowledge and understanding help people to expand linguistic skills, cognitive perspective, self understanding and understanding of the world and so on, education develops personhood beyond the biological. In so far as knowledge and understanding help people to break through the barriers of limited self knowledge

and knowledge of the world which enclose them, and to transcend these former limits, in an ever mounting process of increased love and freedom, diminishing egocentricity and leading to a practical sense of solidarity with others, we may say that education promotes spirituality.

Every subject of the curriculum has the responsibility to attempt this, and a special responsibility falls upon religious education in so far as the religions are especially adapted to become instruments of spiritual development. This means that education not only has a utilitarian, vocational and national function; it also has an anthropological function. Education has a vocation towards humanisation. Education is not only concerned with making citizens of the state; it is also concerned with making people for the human race.

Religious Education

Religious education contributes to human spiritualisation in so far as it helps people to advance in their self knowledge and their knowledge of the world, and also advance their knowledge and understanding of the Ultimate. This divine Ultimate may be studied as expressed in one religion or several. In view of the fact that the specific goals of religious education deal with knowledge and understanding, it seems preferable to religiously educate from more than one religion. Only in this way can the learners acquire a cognitive perspective which will help them to transcend the limits of their earlier self-understanding and world-understanding.

Religious education, however, does not seek to develop, in the specifically religious sense. Schools in particular and education as a whole should encourage young people to have a trustful and optimistic faith in life and in themselves and others, and that is the wider definition of faith of which we spoke earlier. The narrow definition of faith, whether in religion as a whole or whether in specific religions, is beyond the scope of education and thus beyond the scope of religious education.

If religious education were to seek to nurture faith in any specific religion, it would no longer be religious education as we have described it, but would be better described as religious nurture. Religious nurture in the form of christian nurture or islamic nurture has an important part to play in human spirituality, because the religions are agents of human spirituality. Education, however, is only concerned with that humanisation and spiritualisation which flow from increased knowledge and understanding. These represent important, indeed essential contributions towards spirituality, but they are not necessarily the only paths to spirituality and they do not necessarily take the learner to the mountain top.

It is enough for us as teachers and those who work with young people that we refuse to accept economic, social, educational and physical limits which prevent

the children and young people in our care from entering upon the process of becoming more human, and thus exploring and developing their potential nature as spiritual (i.e. truly and deeply human).

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Notes

1 I do not wish to suggest that religion must always be expressed in these anti-thetical terms, such as divine/human, spiritual/material, transcendence/immanence. I agree with Jantzen (pp. 62-77) that binary thinking is a feature of Western theology and philosophy which must be overcome in the interests of the fullness of life. Transcendence and immanence are not so much two realms as two perspectives on a single realm. It is one of religions gifts to humanization that it both presents the dichotomy and overcomes it.

2 I am not referring to anthropology as one of the social sciences (the study of human societies) but to philosophical anthropology as reflection upon the nature of the human

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ADOLESCENT 'FAITH' AND ITS DEVELOPMENT:
Introduction and Implications

JEFF ASTLEY AND NICK WILLS

Different people think and feel differently. One aspect of this difference is caught by faith development theory. To understand how young people at different stages approach the same subject in different ways, it might be helpful to listen in on a series of discussion sessions:

> *Shortly after Antony Gormley's huge sculpture 'The Angel of the North' was erected to the side of the A1 outside Gateshead, a primary school teacher in a nearby town asks her class of nine-year-olds what they think about it. At one point she asks those who don't like the sculpture to put their hands up. Then she asks those whose parents don't like it to do the same. The same hands stay up; the same hands stay down.*

> *Opinions on the same topic are canvassed from a year 8 class (age 13) at a neighbouring secondary school. Friends glance at one another, pausing to sense the mood before committing themselves. When the teacher asks them what they think the sculpture means, someone finally ventures, 'It's like an angel watching over us.'*

> *Meanwhile a year 10 English lesson is devoted to a class debate on the motion, 'We believe that "The Angel of the North" is good for this area.' The teacher has split the class of fifteen-year-olds in two, one half support-ing the motion, one half opposing. They work in groups for half an hour, coming up with their arguments before being let loose on one another. Most of those taking part are able to enter into the debate, identifying with their side of the argument and asking questions aimed at challenging and undermining the opposition.*

> *A few miles away in Durham, some first year undergraduates are in the union building discussing media coverage of this event. Their discourse ranges over personal reactions to the sculpture itself, reflections on its sym-bolic nature, and conjecture about whether it should win local approval and become a national tourist attraction. They all know what they think. Some like the way it looks; others like what they think it stands for. Others don't like anything about it, and argue that the money should have been better spent.*

The discussions continue...

What is faith?

What, if anything, do these scenarios illustrate about young people's *faith*? This paper is predicated on the claim that the 'faith stances' illustrated above are by no means just about belief (or disbelief) in angels.

The word 'spirituality' has been broadened in much recent discussion, especially in education, so as explicitly to include non-religious examples. The same has happened, at least in one area of theory and research, to the word 'faith'. For the American practical theologian and psychologist of religion James W. Fowler, and those who have been influenced by his faith development theory, faith is a human universal. Everyone 'believes in' something or someone, some 'centre of value', 'image of power' or 'master story', as Fowler categorises the objects or contents of faith. Religious faith is a species of this wider genus of 'human faith', where the focus of attitude, value and commitment is on divine beings and their activities, and the practices and products that represent the responses of their human worshippers and followers. But even St Paul acknowledged that in a sense 'there are many gods and many lords' and Luther wrote that 'whatever your heart clings to and relies upon, that is properly your god', for people ascribe value to ('worship'), make meaning out of and find meaning in, and commit themselves to a range of other 'gods': material objects, individuals, social groupings, values, causes and ideals. These constitute the idea or image of a person's 'ultimate environment', that which is of ultimate concern to him or her. 'The centres of value and power that have god value for us ... are those that confer meaning and worth on us and promise to sustain us in a dangerous world of power' (Fowler, 1981, p. 18).

James Fowler's main interest, however, is not with the content of faith, *what* objects we believe-in, but rather with its form, *how* we believe in them. Faith, Fowler argues, is a noun that has the logic of a verb. It is a human activity: 'faithing' is what we all do as we reflect on and seek to understand, warm to, value and develop a relationship of commitment to the particular focus of our concerns. Our faith is the stance or orientation with which we face, meet and shape our experience, as we lean and move into the 'force field of life' (1981, p. 4). (Perhaps the famous *Titanic* scene at the ship's prow captures that image best.) Thus faith is primarily about *meaning*:

> Faith has to do with the making, maintenance and transformation of human meaning. It is a mode of knowing and being. In faith, we shape our lives in relation to more or less comprehensive convictions or assumptions about reality. Faith composes a felt sense of the world as having character, pattern and unity. (Fowler, 1980, p. 53; cf. 1981, pp. 92-93)

Faith thus includes our knowing, valuing, interpreting, understanding, experiencing and feeling. For Fowler, we might say, faith is almost synonymous with *spirituality*, understood in terms of a stance and disposition towards others and to the perception of a wider reality, which incorporates attitudes, values, beliefs and behaviours that animate and give direction to human life.

Within this multi-faceted human phenomenon, Fowler discerns seven dimensions, inner structures, strands or 'aspects' of faith. They offer us 'windows into' at least parts of our way of relating to what we believe to be ultimate. These aspects are:

- **Form of logic**: *our pattern of judgement and reasoning;*

- **Form of social perspective-taking**: *our ability to adopt the perspective of others;*

- **Form of moral judgement**: *our way of making moral decisions.*

These first three aspects place Fowler firmly in the tradition of cognitive developmental psychology, and he draws on the work of Jean Piaget, Lawrence Kohlberg and Robert Selman in developing his account of these dimensions of meaning-making. As a result, his work is sometimes criticised as being individualistic and over-cognitive. However, Fowler repeatedly stresses the affective side of faithing. Faith is an orientation of the whole person and within it 'cognition and affection are interwoven' (1974, p. 11) and 'knowing and valuing are ...inseparable' (1976, p. 193). The next two aspects of faith are more socially-oriented:

- **Bounds of social awareness**: *how we answer the question, '*
  Who is my neighbour?', and set the limits of our 'community of faith';

- **Relation to authority**: *who and how we acknowledge others as authorities for*
  truth, value and meaning.

The final two aspects seem most relevant to conventionally religious faith, but in fact they form part of all meaning-making:

- **Form of world coherence**: *our way of unifying experience, of 'getting it all*
  together' and forming our world-view;

- **Relation to symbols**: *how we view, use and respond to symbolic objects and*
  language.

It is through such structures in the mind and heart that individuals both construct an image of ultimate reality and respond to it, to others and to themselves. Faith is therefore to be understood both as 'the composing or interpreting of an ultimate environment and as a way of being-in-relation to it' (Fowler and Keen, 1978, p. 25).

Developing faith

It is these aspects that change as faith develops. At the heart of Fowler's work is the claim that there are up to six stages of faith, each represented by a balanced relationship with the experienced world, in which the person assimilates what there is to be known and related to into the structures of her knowing and valuing, and where there is a balanced interactive dynamic among the different faith aspects. These stages alternate with periods of transition in a developmental sequence. While recognising that faith development theory understands faith in its widest sense, it is proper to describe such stage transitions as marking a time of 'loss of faith' phenomenologically. Transition involves a shift from an equilibrated stage of one way of being-in-faith into a less secure and confident, more erratic and unstable interval of developmental change. This time must be worked through before the person's faith aspects achieve a new balance and, by means of the process of accommodation, his patterns of thinking, relating and valuing are adapted and reconstructed to produce a better fit to experience at the next stage (Fowler, 1996, p. 72).

Of course, our faith often also changes in its content, as we are *converted* into and out of different beliefs, to and from different 'gods'. But faith development theory points to a different sort of change, a *developmental* process that may result in our believing in the same things as we did at an earlier stage, but believing in them very differently.

The conceptualisation of the 'stage' is not as popular as it once was, and many prefer to speak of 'styles of faith' without the implication of a developmental sequence that is hierarchical (with each stage building on the previous one) and invariant (with stages following one another in a specific order). Nevertheless, the forms of and changes in faithing described below will ring bells for many who work with adolescents. These accounts are based on the results of many hundred semi-structured, two to three hour interviews, which have been assessed in terms of the stage characteristics of the seven different aspects of faith. Despite some criticisms of Fowler's research methodology and its theoretical undergirding (see Astley and Francis, 1992, section 2; cf. Slee, 1996), it has been endorsed as adequate at least for the proposal of his theory (Nelson and Aleshire, 1986) and further research has been interpreted as providing tentative support for the theory's legitimacy with a degree of construct validity (Snarey, 1991).

Stage 2

Although the stages of most interest to those working with adolescents are Stages 3 and 4, we begin here with Stage 2 to show the style of faithing that the teenager has recently moved away from (in fact 4% of Fowler's sample of teenagers are still at this stage).[1] What Fowler calls 'mythic-literal' faith is a stage in which people are

very much 'belongers', with their self-image constituted by belonging to an already-constituted group (such as family, school or club). The individual at this stage orders her experience through concrete operational thought processes, and particularly through the power of narrative, although she has not yet developed a viewpoint from which to compare and criticise her own 'life stories'. 'At Stage 2 significant authorities are still largely limited to those who have the power to exert a concrete influence on the individual (Moseley, Jarvis and Fowler, 1993, p. 41).

Our cameo of the discussion in the primary school offers a picture of the way in which values can be assimilated by children without their reflecting on them. In this particular case, the teacher correctly guessed that their 'source of authority' lay in parental opinion. Those children who had seen local news footage of the erection of the statue would be able to recount this story, some of them in great detail, but they would be unable to bestow on the event any real meaning of their own. An inability (or, sometimes, unwillingness) to engage in abstract reflection further hinders their meaning-making.

Stage 3

By the next faith stage the ability to think abstractly and reflectively is fully present, together with a new capacity for perspective-taking. Together they create a different, typically 'adolescent' urge towards conformity with 'my group'. 'It is a time of going with a particular faith-current, or faith-crowd' (Astley *et al.*, 1991, p. 25).

Belonging, which is important enough to the child, both as image and affiliation, becomes crucial for the adolescent. It is through belonging that the adolescent's spirituality is expressed. Indeed, adolescent spirituality (whether religious or secular, idealistic or cynical, virtuous or vicious) *is* essentially a matter of belonging. In identifying with others, the adolescent finds his home and, for a time, his self.

In the two scenarios from secondary school recounted above, some of the features of Stage 3 faith are exemplified. The source of authority has shifted largely from the parents and other authority figures of Stage 2, to a pool of influences of which friends and the wider peer group form the dominant part. Young people at this stage are beginning to form their self-identity in earnest, and a large part of this comes through identifying with one group over against another. The fear of exclusion from the group, or standing out, can operate as a powerful negative motivator. Many of the externals of this identity formation - clothing, haircut, musical tastes - appear to be the result of conscious, explicit choice; but the internals - values, beliefs and moral judgement - will be formed mostly unawares. The debate in the year 10 class illustrates the growing ability for abstract thought and reasoning, and for recognising different perspectives and identifying empathetically with them.

But we note that the young people there do not have to express their *own* opinions, being allowed the 'cover' of their side of the debate to explore an issue more fully without making themselves vulnerable. This is an important 'distancing' function in the educational process for learners at this stage.

Sixty-three per cent of teenagers are either at or in transition towards Stage 3 (by the time they reach the 21-30 age group, only 22% will be in one of these two categories). Fowler categorises this stage as 'synthetic-conventional faith'.. This is apt, for it is the stage when adolescents (and the many adults who will remain in this stage), with their now well-developed capacity for mutual, interpersonal perspective-taking ('I see you seeing me. I see the me I think you see': Fowler, 1987, p. 64), are dominated by the world-views of the significant others around them:

> *The power of the valued group is tacit and often very strong. Social convention plays an important part in the validation of authority at Stage 3 and the stamp of social approval is often the determinative factor in deciding whether or not a given authority will be accepted by the person in Stage 3. Lacking Stage 4's reflective and principled forms of reasoning, the individual at Stage 3 often selects objects of trust and authority on the basis of whether they seem to be accepted by significant others.*
> (Moseley, Jarvis and Fowler, 1993, p 49)

Another researcher in this field, Sharon Parks, has described the adolescent as living 'under the tyranny of the "they"' (Parks, 1986, p. 76). She sees the developmental task of late adolescence as the development of a new form of self-identity, with a self-aware responsibility, that has the power to counter that tyranny.

So my faith at Stage 3 is typically second-hand and heteronomous, derived by a clumsy process of surrounding myself with friends, parents, teachers and other influences and taking over parts of their world-views to construct out of them ('synthesise') a patchwork edifice of my own (Fowler, 1985, p. 183). This is a process about which people at this stage are largely unaware. It often results, inevitably, in a compartmentalised sort of faith, with elements of ideology and morality left hanging in the air, 'believed in' but unconnected with my other beliefs and values, and the rest of my world-view. Stage 3 is the stage of tacit-meaning-making, engaged in by those who are 'embedded' in their faith (*ibid.*, p 184) and unable to reflect on their own values and beliefs. Fowler writes of this stage:

> *While beliefs and values are deeply felt, they typically are tacitly held - the person 'dwells' in them and the meaning world they mediate. But there has not been occasion to reflectively step outside them to examine them explicitly or systematically. At Stage 3 a person has an 'ideology', a more or less*

> *consistent clustering of values and beliefs, but he/she has not objectified it*
> *for examination, and in a sense is unaware of having it. (1979, p 334)*

The world-view and moral outlook of those young people who are subject to a less diverse universe of influences, for example those brought up within a strong religious or ideological tradition that rejects outside viewpoints, may be more coherent, containing less of the inconsistencies or mixed agendas shown by their fellows at this stage. But this does not mean that such a person has created her coherent world-view through her own self-reflection, but rather that the figures of authority who influence her all share similar values, which she has tacitly absorbed.[2]

Perhaps one of the reasons why adults so often cannot 'get through' to adolescents is that this Stage 3 form of meaning-making is implicit and blind to itself. Young people mostly cannot recognise where their values and beliefs come from, or how they have created their world-views. The frustrated adult's question, 'Can't they see that they are just copying other people's ideas and not thinking for themselves?', would be answered by faith development theory with a 'No, of course not, not yet...'.

Stage 4

In Fowler's teenage sample some 29% are already in transition out of Faith Stage 3 towards Stage 4 (the 'highest' stage exemplified in this age group, but only by 5% of the sample). Subjects in their twenties are most likely to be at Stage 4 (40% of Fowler's sample, nearly twice the number who are still at Stage 3). Although few adolescents are yet fully equilibrated at this stage, its importance as the direction in which their self-identity and perspective-taking is moving is enormous.

Typically the transition to Stage 4 begins in one's seventeenth and eighteenth year, although for many it will be delayed until mid-life. On Fowler's account it is accompanied by a psychological 'leaving home', which may be an aspect of a literal, geographical move away to college, work or marriage, but which can also take place for those who remain within the family home. Essentially it is a *distancing* from the others with whom I surrounded myself at Stage 3. Fowler quotes Santayana, 'We cannot know who first discovered water. But we can be sure that it was not the fish' (1981, p. 161; cf. 177). In order to see, let alone critique, our all-enveloping culture we need to escape it. Stage 4 is a leaping out the 'faith current' to discover what I really believe for myself. I may then jump back into one of the many ponds I have suddenly discerned, in a new 'vertigo of relativity', but my adoption of the same faith-perspective as others is now a conscious, reflective *choice*. I now know what I am doing, and I know what I am believing. My former, second-hand faithing will no longer do. Psychologically, the unexamined life has proved to be not worth the living. I shall never be the same again.

Fowler calls this stage of choosing faith, 'individuative-reflective' faith. It is marked by a double development:

> *The self, previously sustained in its identity and faith compositions by an interpersonal circle of significant others, now claims an identity no longer defined by the composite of one's roles or meanings to others. To sustain that new identity it composes a meaning frame conscious of its own boundaries and inter-connections, and aware of its self as a 'world-view'.*
> *(1979, p 335)*

Fowler's account of this stage presents an image of a 'transcending standpoint', a 'third person perspective' from which the subject evaluates and adopts relationships and beliefs. It is as if she is asking herself, 'Who am I when I am not being defined by others?' The answer provides a different perspective on one's own meaning-making, which is now more critical and reflective, but above all is *one's own* The goal of this self-reflection is the construction of an explicit, coherent view of the world to which the individual can commit herself whole-heartedly (Fowler, 1984, p. 62). The undergraduates' discussion presented above might lead to some of the individuals present changing their minds; at this stage discussion is one of the mechanisms by which the critical examination of one's beliefs takes place.

Parks proposes a modification of Fowler's account of Stage 4. She suggests that young adults may demonstrate a great deal of commitment to a particular religious, political or ecological worldview, whilst still maintaining a questioning stance towards it. She terms this in-between period the stage of 'probing commitment', as the adolescent pushes away from the dock 'of that which has been sure moorage, to move out into the deep waters of exploring for oneself what is true and trustworthy' (Parks, 1986, p. 55, cf. ch. 5 *passim*). Fowler himself describes the transition between Stage 3 and Stage 4 as a painful and prolonged period for many individuals, perhaps lasting several years.

Arrival faith?

But the achievement of the reflective cognitive maturity and self-identity represented by Stage 4 faith is not all gain.

There are several points to make here. Fowler warns his readers against treating his stage theory as a prescription rather than a description, and acknowledges that the stage a person is at is often the most appropriate - and therefore 'correct' and 'proper' - stage for that person (Fowler's 'Foreword' to Astley and Francis, 1992, p xi). No stage is more 'worthy' than another. Stage 4 is not 'better' than Stage 3, except for those who are ready for it. Educators and others should resist the temptation of forcing people through the stages.

Other things being equal, persons should be supported and encouraged to continue to engage the issues of their lives and vocations in such ways that development will be a likely result ... But we must remember that developmental stage transition is a complex and often protracted affair. Transitions cannot and should not be rushed. Development takes time. Much of our concern in pastoral care has to do with helping persons extend the operations of a given stage to the full range of their experiences and interactions.
(Fowler, 1987, p 80-81)

Faith development engages the individual in redesigning and reconstructing new, more appropriate and more satisfying patterns of knowing and valuing for the next stage of faithing. During the transitional periods, which involve what Fowler desribes as the 'normal developmental crisis of faith' (1985, p. 201), a large part of the responsibility of the adult is simply to walk alongside the adolescent and assist her in this psychological task. But we cannot take it from her or do it for her.

Further faith development is often needed, especially as people recognise their world to be complex and multifaceted (cf. Fowler, 1988). Despite his instinct simply to describe, Fowler acknowledges development to be a 'good thing' and sees the later faith stages as 'more comprehensive and adequate' than earlier ones (1981, p. 101). They give a wider perspective on life and other people, and they are more adequate in meeting the demands and perceptions of the new experiences of later life. Faith Stage 3 is not really adequate for adulthood, which is partly why so many develop through it and out of it. Adolescent faith, after all, is for adolescents.

But Fowler is sometimes critical even of Stage 4 faithing. At this stage our new ability to reflect on and choose a faith of our own is coupled with a confidence in our own reasoning, indeed in the power of reason itself, which can later seem naive and misplaced. Stage 4 people yearn for an orderly world-view. They want to 'think things through', 'to come to a clear decision'. They are, therefore, often keen to collapse tensions and paradoxes in their thinking, where a wiser head may find more value in apparently opposed positions. Stage 4 faith is an 'either-or', rather than a 'both-and', type of faith. This rather breezy self-confidence in clear thinking often goes along with a reluctance to place much value in symbols, whether in reality or in language, unless they are translated into their more prosaic 'equivalents'. Family and religious rituals are thus likely to be frowned upon: 'What are we doing this *for?*' The symbolic dimensions of wider cultural life are also frequently disparaged. The overall feel of Stage 4 faithing is rationalistic and intellectually 'tidy'. It very often emphasises the subject's independence in thought, and indeed in life. A more balanced, open style of meaning-making, which values others' beliefs and is willing to live with some confusion and intel-

lectual tension, and to acknowledge the interdependence of human life, may come later (in fact it is represented by Fowler's Stage 5, which is rare before the age of thirty), but it is not yet here.

Perhaps a word is in place at this point about *choice*. Stage 4 faithing is paradigmatically a stage of choosing one's own beliefs, values, actions and life. Yet even young children are encouraged, by advertisers and some educators, to think that they can and should be choosing. There is perhaps a danger in our culture that the rhetorical, superficial lineaments of choice will become so familiar to the child that when he comes to a stage of self-conscious awareness about his beliefs and values and where they come from, and can exercise a real choice in his believing for the first time, he will have no appropriate language at his disposal to describe this new way of meaning-making. Whatever autonomy means, it must be distinguished from the dependent choosing behaviour encouraged by ('manipulated by'?) our commercial culture. 'Choice' is seen by the young as cool, mature, grown-up behaviour. But it can often appear to be present before its time.

Empathy and the adolescent

For the youth worker who is seeking to encourage young people to develop their spirituality in a way that is most appropriate for their stage of development, whether in a religious or non-religious context, the most fruitful aspect to concentrate on with young people at Stage 3 is empathy. Here is another snapshot of faithing:

> *A group of twenty or so eleven- to fourteen-year-olds is sitting around in a semi-circle on the floor. In the middle is a volunteer youth worker who is a trainee doctor. Two weeks previously she had been in Uganda, in a Kampala hospital. She talks about her experiences: adjusting to a different climate and diet, climbing up dusty mountains, working with children with HIV and AIDS.*
>
> *The young people sit in silence, attentive. She shows them some photographs. After she had finished speaking she asks if there are any questions. Quietly, one by one, they are asked: mainly questions of fact about the hospital, about the diseases. But one of the older ones in the group asks her how she felt when children died. Another points to a photograph of her holding a living baby in her arms and asks her what happened to that one...*

Young people at Stage 3 are developing the ability to think themselves into different perspectives. Spirituality, of course, is about the emotions and the imagination as well as the intellect. The development of empathy is a core spiritual and moral value, and lies at the heart (in both senses) of the ethical imperatives to 'Do to others

as you would have them do to you' or 'Love your neighbour as yourself.' At Stage 3 the sense of empathy with those in need is very strong, and support for charities such as Comic Relief and Children in Need is almost a shibboleth of virtuous identity. The involvement with and giving to such charities is a fairly extravert business - there is little room for the secret giver - and the natural response to the scene outlined above is to use such an occasion as a spring-board to action, directing the young people's empathy as a motivation for charitable fund-raising, letter-writing or campaigning.

But an adult response (certainly a Stage 5 response) to many such situations may be that 'It's not that simple.' In writing their poems about the homeless, young people will not get it all right. Nor will they be able to enter fully into that experience, really to know what another person is going through.

According to faith development theory, Stage 3 perspective-taking 'often blends fantasy and projection with observation' and is oriented 'towards feelings, moods and emotional states in the others' (Moseley, Jarvis and Fowler, 1993, p. 46). Later it may change:

> Perspective-taking at Stage 4 is more critical, conceptually mediated, and less responsive to emotional concerns. At Stage 4 the individual sees the other not only as one 'like me,' but also in terms of the other's particular thought system, worldview or history. The person at Stage 4 understands these qualities as marking the other as a unique individual. He or she is also concerned with comparing, justifying and maintaining his or her own worldview with respect to those of others. (ibid., p 55)

There are dangers in unleashing empathy and fellow-feeling at Stage 3, but if sessions such as the one above are handled sensitively and non-manipulatively by youth workers they can offer the young person the opportunity to transcend their own needs and situation. An opportunity for the group to work on something together as a response provides an appropriate environment for nurturing Stage 3 faith, in that it results in a peer group with common aims and values. Such action could also provide a natural faith-content bridge for development to a more critical and self-aware Stage 4 faith, when the young people are ready for it, and a practical outlet for the more reflective passion and drive for self-expression associated with Stage 4's more 'choosy' commitment.

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Notes

1   Stage 1 (approximately age 3/4 to 7/8) is a stage of intuitive thinking, in which the child believes in a chaotic collage of powerful images derived both from fantasy and from more mundane reality.

2   Much religious youth work is centred around presenting religious claims to young people and asking them to commit themselves to them. Fowler's work shows us that most adolescents are cognitively unable to make the move to existentialist self-reflection required for such a commitment, because they are at Faith Stage 3. It is possible that such 'premature' religious commitments owe more to the youth worker taking on an 'authority' role within the young person's life, and achieving a greater influence than competing voices such as the peer group, than to the young person taking on authority for evaluating the evidence for such a commitment herself. Adolescent religious commitment may often simply be an expression of the young people taking on trust what they have been told.

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Jean Spence

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Youth workers are seldom afforded the luxury of being able to assess the impact of their practice upon those young people who use their projects and clubs because of the short-term duration of funding for many projects, because the contact which young people have with workers covers a relatively short period of their lives, or because of the informal nature of the work. While it is possible to evaluate short-term practical achievements and to locate 'outcomes' in a mechanistic and functional manner, this type of assessment does nothing to estimate the worth of the social educational dimension of youth work interventions which might take years to come to fruition and be acknowledged. In this context, Celia Rose's account of the Clapton Jewish Youth Club, in which she allows the reflections, reminiscences and assessments of former members to speak for themselves, is a valuable contribution to youth work literature.

Those who responded to the author's request for information about their experience of the club have provided a wealth of information about its impact upon their lives. Of course, there is no way of claiming that these particular ex-members are representative of those who were part of its life between 1946 and 1973 when, in response to the decline in the Jewish population in Clapton, the club closed. However, representativeness is hardly necessary. It is enough to know that contact with youth workers did affect the lives of some young people - that the opportunities to participate in social and educational activity were meaningful and had long term and positive consequences. Earlier this year I had the privilege of representing Youth and Policy at the launch of this book at the Jewish Museum in Finchley. The hall used for the occasion was packed with 'old Claptonians' and it was more than clear to an outsider like myself that during its existence the Clapton Jewish Youth Club had indeed 'touched lives', had created deep and lasting friendships among those associated with it and had generated an atmosphere of community and belonging which many youth workers today can only dream about.

The creation of such a sense of community was not accidental. In the years after the Second World War, the Jewish Community in Clapton was a community in transition and the young people in particular embodied the hopes, the contradictions and the insecurities of a group of people wishing to assert their British citizenship whilst retaining their Jewish identity and at the same time seeking new skills and opportunities through education for their children. Celia Rose and her husband Lou Rose, founded a club which provided independent space for the young people of this community whist at the same time retaining the goodwill of families, of the synagogue and of community representatives. The club succeeded partly because it was a community club. Within its organisation and management, all interests were represented whilst simultaneously the youth work which was practised responded directly to the interests and needs of the young people themselves. The club culture which emerges from the book is one of forward-looking, modern thinking within a safe, friendly and in many ways, traditional environment.

Clapton JYC catered for a range of ages and interests among young people and participated in a lively network of youth organisations, particularly the competitive sporting opportunities offered through the London Union of Youth Clubs, the London Federation of Boys' Clubs and the Association of Jewish Youth. At the same time, the resources offered by the state were used to full advantage, particularly the London County Council Instructors who were mobilised to supplement the educational work offered by volunteer managers. Through the sporting interests of Lou and Celia Rose, sport made an important and popular contribution to the success of the club, but at the same time, arts and drama-based activities were encouraged and widely supported. A high level of participation in group activity was an essential aspect of membership. Relaxation and chatting were reserved for the second half of the evening in the club, after activities were over. That the members acquiesced to the requirement to be involved in a group activity was undoubtedly an indication of the willingness of many of the young people to conform with the expectations of the adults in the community and it does not seem to have been experienced oppressively. On the contrary, the high level of group participation only added to the level of identification with the club and its principles.

The management system facilitated representation at different levels of all those involved, giving ultimate control to adult sponsors and managers whilst encouraging the participation of young people in the organisation of their own social affairs and activities. This system, like other aspects of

the club, seems to have provided space for young people but within strictly defined limits. The Clapton JYC worked by acknowledging the significance of youth, responding to the needs of young people as young people, tolerating the expression of 'youth culture' whilst at the same time reinforcing the significance of the Jewish community as represented by the adults involved. In this way, youth workers mediated the different interests manifesting themselves in the lives of Jewish young people after the war.

Although the Clapton Jewish Youth Club was in many ways unique, belonging to a particular time and place, there are moments in reading this book which remind the reader of the universality of the experience of youth work. Anyone who has ever worked in a building-based youth project will recognise the story of the young people who hide at leaving time and emerge after the workers have locked up and left. All youth workers know the problems associated with young people sharing premises with other adult groups, and difficulties with caretakers are perennial. Recollections of holidays and outings, of group achievements and of friendly discussions and good times in rickety old buildings; sadder accounts of contact with struggling, isolated young people; conflicts around information and advice relating to sex; the anecdotes related in this book are the very stuff of youth work.

Celia Rose has provided us with a history of the life of one youth club. Within that history there is much to give us cause for reflection about the importance of youth work as community based educational provision, about the place of different types of activity and about the importance of clear structures of organisation. Many times whilst reading the book I found myself reflecting upon the significance of the story for today's situation and upon the need for more stories like this to be produced.

Touching Lives is written in a straightforward and accessible style. The clarity of the prose and of the organisation of the book should make it attractive to even the busiest 'non-reader' in youth work. Whilst it makes no pretensions to being an academic or theoretical text, it is nevertheless open, reflective and self-questioning. It is well organised and beautifully presented with photographs and excerpts from the Roses' scrapbooks as well as the comments from those who responded to the request for information. Ultimately, it is a book which affirms the value of committed, creative youth work and as such deserves to be read.

Jean Spence *University of Sunderland.*

REVIEWS

Sharon M Parker

As a youth work practitioner, I was looking forward to reviewing this latest addition to the growing scope of youth work literature. *Ethical Issues in Youth Work* is the first publication to discuss both the practical and theoretical questions surrounding ethical considerations as they pertain specifically to youth work. This book draws together a number of practitioners and leading authors, notably Tony Jeffs, Mark Smith, Andy West and the editor, Sarah Banks. This volume is organised in two parts. The first explores the ethical context of youth work, including discussions of the values of youth work and virtues of the youth worker, and conceptualisations of 'professionalism' and worker, managerial and organisational 'accountability'. The second considers a variety of ethical issues prevalent in different approaches to youth work practice, for example, work in religious or ethnically diverse contexts.

Sarah Banks comments that 'youth work is full of ethical tensions and dilemmas' (p 3) and bases such an assertion on the often dichotomous role youth workers are expected to perform. Banks endeavours to explore the consequent 'tensions and dilemmas' with a critical glance at the nature of youth work, both in terms of its definitions and subsequent boundaries, and (lack of) status as a 'profession'. Banks provides a useful summation of ethics as relating expressly to the realm of youth work by distinguishing between a 'principle-based' approach, which centres upon the 'core values and ethical principles said to underpin the work', and 'virtue-based' ethics 'where the focus is not on principles for action, but on the dispositions or character traits that are integral to good youth work' (p 4).

The second chapter, supplied by Phil Mizen, provides the reader with an overview of the changing nature of the welfare state and the implications of its restructuration for both young people and youth workers. In the context of 'work-welfare', Mizen argues that there is increasing pressure upon young people to assume a position in the labour market and a burden on youth work to cater for unemployed youth. The temptation to

seize precious resources offered to youth work to enable work with excluded young people is matched by the ethical dilemma of having to negotiate the 'strings' often attached to such funding. *'Resourcing Youth Work'* by Tony Jeffs and Mark Smith also highlights some of the difficulties faced by youth work in a permanent state of being 'strapped for cash' (p 55). This chapter raises some interesting and important points regarding the funding of youth work by examining the way in which resources are achieved, the 'appropriateness' of sources of funding, and questioning whether youth workers and/or young people should be involved in canvassing for financial support.

The second part of this book includes a number of chapters which purport to examine some of the roles workers typically perform in a variety of different settings and the assumptions which are said to underpin 'good' youth work practice. Kerry Young provides a summary of those concepts viewed as crucial to youth work; 'participation' and 'empowerment', and evaluates the importance of sound young person-youth worker relationships in the context of achieving these aims. Tony Jeffs and Sarah Banks investigate various notions of 'control' in youth work and consider some of the potential ethical dilemmas faced by youth workers practising with a 'control' agenda, such as in crime prevention initiatives and 'managing' 'problematic' groups (p 105). Subsequent chapters review the position of workers in religious organisations and problems faced by those working in ethnically diverse communities where tension is an inherent feature. Sue Morgan and Sarah Banks' chapter reflects on the practical difficulties concerning confidentiality and is a must read for any youth worker anxious about their position with young people, particularly when dealing with sensitive issues.

I found the final chapters to be particularly engaging but somewhat misplaced in *'Ethical Issues in Youth Work'*. David Crimmens and Anna Whalen present an informed and informative account of the marginalised position of young people in an adult-centred environment. The authors propose a 'Rights-based approach to work with young people' which considers that listening and involving young people in matters which affect them is of crucial importance if they are to shed their excluded status. The view that young people can, and indeed should, contribute is reinforced in the final chapter by Andy West which examines participatory research, where young people are not simply the objects of research but become a significant part of the research process.

Although some chapters provide only a cursory glance at ethical dilemmas, overall this book adequately deals with ethical issues in the context of youth work and highlights the necessity for this field to possess its own code of ethics. *'Ethical Issues in Youth Work'* provides a useful exposition of debates of fundamental importance, such as the professionalisation of youth work and the nature of 'good' practice. This accessible and engaging text will become an invaluable source of reference for both academics and practitioners, whether experienced or 'new' to the field.

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Ruth Scott and W A Scott,
Adjustment of Adolescents: Cross-cultural Similarities and Differences
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pp 166

M Borland, A Laybourn, H Hill and J Brown
Middle Childhood: The Perspectives of Children and Parents
Jessica Kingsley
ISBN 1 85302 473 2
£14.95 (pbk)

Priscilla Alderson

The past decade has seen great political changes: the massive shift in resources towards older people, the growth of child labour, homelessness and poverty, the collapse of communism and, by 1998, threats to capitalism, widespread effects of wars, environmental disasters, debt and epidemics such as AIDS which leave many children having to fend for themselves and their siblings. These large scale changes link to the smallest daily effects, for example, anxiety about international economic competition is cited as a reason to regulate school students' learning more rigidly and intensively.

There have also been major changes in understandings of childhood. The 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child advocates children's

qualified rights to freedom of information and expression, to peaceful assembly, thought and conscience, to the physical and mental integrity which many adults can take for granted. The new sociology of childhood, and research especially by NGOs, examines how young children can be strong moral agents who contribute to their communities, and share in shaping them. The great variety in children's daily lives around the world challenges received beliefs about children's universal (in)abilities and needs.

In 1498, the human story tended to have a short prelude of infancy, and then children and adults, young and old shared fairly similar lives. by 1998 this story is still lived in many parts of the world, but in others it has several new chapters: babyhood, early years, middle childhood, youth stretching up to 25, young adults, middle age, retirement, the elderly, frail old age. Do these chapters helpfully discover the real human story? Or are they the social invention of quite oppressive boundaries which licence the way power tends to be held in the middle aged? How can researchers explore these questions and not simply build their work on assumed answers? And how can they offer policy related conclusions without repeating the dubious history of child and youth care manuals? Recent research about childhood challenges all the later chapters. If children can be so competent, what are the real differences between children and adults, and what happens to the supposed dividing line of youth? I reviewed the two books with these questions in mind.

Data for *Adjustment of Adolescents* were collected during 1986-7, in seven cities around the world including Berlin. Yet the intervening political changes, including the fall of the Berlin Wall, are not mentioned. The psychological model sees adolescents as reactive, adjustment is largely having to 'conform to the adult world'. Given the way adults manage the world, should we question this assumption? 'Objective' data are drawn from teachers, parents and peers, and 'subjective' data from 2531 students in high school grades 7 to 12, though it is not explained why their views are more subjective than other people's. To make the cross-cultural questionnaires apply widely, words like 'car' and 'lawn' were omitted. Little reference is made to things, relationships are emphasised, and are summarised by generally negative questions like: '1. I am a rather poor student. (not true, true).' 'Culture' is defined abstractly as people's views about their lives, and so few differences were found between the cities.

Examples of 'adjustment' are not given. Instead the young people are assessed manly for their supposedly fixed traits, not their activity but their

rated self-esteem, anxiety and hostility. The survey mainly covers teenagers' broad satisfaction with school, friends (in their school class) and family. Among the few conclusions is the point that teenagers who do well at school tend to be appreciated by their friends, parents and teachers. Those who do less well are more likely to have over-protective or punitive parents and critical teachers. How teachers' assessments of ability may be coloured by their assessments of behaviour are unfortunately not discussed. The researchers found, against their expectations, that compliant young people can have close peer friendships. Though admitting that it is uncertain whether reported success follows or precedes approval, and longer term outcomes are unknown, the main author continues to write of 'predictions' of adjustment and the need for further global research. The relevance and benefit to young people of such work is not explained.

Middle Childhood refers to global changes and shows how these directly affect parents' views and fears much more than the children's views. The authors review recent changes in childhood research and compare psychological and sociological approaches. The book draws on two health education funded studies of interviews and group discussions in central Scotland from urban to rural settings. One was about parenting children aged 8 to 11, with 75 parents and 34 children from separate families. The other was about children's emotional well-being and included 69 children aged 8 to 12. Both topics inevitably emphasise active adults and relatively passive children who need care. Most of the book reports the adults' and children's contrasting views. Adults tend to see children's friends as much less valuable than the children do, linking to the authors' surprise in *Adjustment of Adolescents* that youth friendships are not necessarily subversive. The children showed more awareness, sensitivity and concern about their parents' feelings than the adults tended to assume in their children, or at times to show themselves.

Middle Childhood helpfully increases situated knowledge of children's and parents' own views. The authors show how parents' uncertainty and anxiety about children's rights suggest that parents need to be more involved in informed public discussions on this topic. Yet I think the authors should be more cautious about developmental theories and age stereotypes which they repeatedly emphasise: the apparent limitations they report in younger children may reflect researchers' limited skill and insight rather than children's actual abilities; turbulence attributed to 2-

years-olds and teenagers can stem from problems in child-adult relationships rather than from the child-as-a-problem. Parents' discussion groups may confirm and exaggerate prejudices, such as the claims that a good parent is an anxious one, or that all children are afraid of being at home without adults. (I am writing this review in Finland where children from about 8 years routinely look after one another at home when their parents are at work.) One father in the book said that he invents misdemeanours in his children so as to have excuses to 'ground' them and keep them 'safely' at home. The growing stresses of mainly media-incited parents' agoraphobia should perhaps be challenged rather than catered for in the kind of health education leaflets these two studies produced.

A concluding message of the book is that adult guidance should take more account of children's wishes. However, many of the children seem to be recommending something rather different: while accepting inevitable age differences, that more equal, mutually respectful, adult-child relationships as partly two-way interdependence can be acknowledged. This means that child-adult relationships could be seen, not as identical to, but as more similar to, adult-adult relationships. And this involves rethinking avoidable and negative ageist-stereotypes which *Middle Childhood* partly does but which, disappointingly, both books also perpetuate.

Priscilla Alderson *PhD is reader in childhood studies at the Institute of Education, University of London.*

Clive Harber (ed)
Voices for Democracy:
A North-South dialogue on education for sustainable democracy
Education Now 1998

Nick Ashwell

This book has drawn together a set of papers presented at a colloquium, supported by the British Council and the University of Natal, which was held in Durban in April 1998. It addresses the central question of how education can contribute to a sustainable system of democracy and

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reflects upon the relationship between education policies and practices and the political systems of the four countries of South Africa, Botswana, Britain and Namibia in the 1990s.

The authors have explored the form and nature of the political and education systems in each of the four countries by focusing on the realities each country has faced when building its own particular style of democracy. They also expose the *naïveté* in beliefs which assert that education can be conceived independently of the political system in which it is located. Refreshingly, the authors spell out how democracy, of whichever definition or working practice, can only be constructed effectively when the same energy is invested in the development of an education system based on, and designed specifically, to promote democratic principles. The extent to which each of the countries has been able to grapple with this co-dependency has been well explained.

The book demonstrates, through the individual accounts about each of the four countries, how important it is to ensure that political education about democracy must occur at all levels in society. It is made abundantly clear that it is futile to expect school children to comprehend and work to democratic principles without at the same time ensuring that the parents, the school teachers and the education authorities also engage seriously with democratic principles.

A general assertion is that the processes of introducing and implementing education for democracy will naturally pose a challenge to established cultural norms and values in all four countries. The most significant challenge arises from the universally encountered close association between patriarchy and authoritarian structures. It is therefore of little wonder that the book also affirms the need to incorporate issues such as masculinity, human rights and peace studies into an education curriculum which is designed to educate for democracy. This has been argued very convincingly through deliberations about community participation in curriculum planning, conflict resolution and violence against women.

Continuing with the logic of this philosophical approach, the book advocates the adoption of Freirian principles and the need to shift the pedagogy from the 'factory approach' (or the *banking* model so condemned by Freire), which is becoming so prevalent in the western industrial countries education systems, through a critical examination of school management structures and teacher education.

Although the discussion is highly politicised the writing remains accessible to a wide audience because the major issues are encountered through the practices of the authors' own experiences. By setting the arguments in their own reality each author is enabled to examine critically the extent to which their particular approach has been successful in establishing democracy in education.

The book makes no claims to have a complete solution, but each author has placed his or her own contribution in the political and historical context of each country's own progress towards building a democratic society. Most interestingly it becomes difficult to discern any significant difference on a north-south division if Britain is indeed an accurate indicator of the North's version of the relationship between democracy and education.

On a more personal level, more information about the authors would have been welcome. The writing begs so many more questions about what brought the writers to the point of working together on the colloquium and it is sad to feel deprived of this.

Despite being composed of a series of individually constructed articles, the book holds together well. It provides a worthy source to which educationalists can refer when eventually they choose to change the structure of schools education to encompass democratic principles. It also needs to be read by anyone addressing or teaching issues of educational pedagogy and it ought, routinely, to be placed on reading lists for those students training for any form of school teaching or informal community education work.

Nick Ashwell *Department of Professional Education in Community Studies, University of Reading.*

REVIEWS

Eva Skoe and Anna von der Lippe (eds)
Personality Development in Adolescence:
A cross national and life span perspective

Pam Toussaint

The above work sets out to examine adolescence from a cross cultural perspective and contains papers based on research from as far afield as Canada and Japan. The book takes an interesting look at the topic by breaking it down into three main categories; Family context, Cultural context and Life Span development.

The book is not for the faint of heart or the uninformed; my brain does tend to groan a little when reading sentences such as:

> *The family as an arena for the development of ego functions in the offspring is widely accepted p 38.*

However it is only fair to note that this is not a work intended for light reading and in terms of being informative it serves it purpose. After all who says learning has to be enjoyable?

It is always going to be a difficulty with books that contain various authors that at times styles may not sit well together, and so having read two rather 'heavy' first chapters, it may be with surprise or relief that the reader comes to a chapter on moral orientation in the family, that is not only interesting, (looking at gender and the development of values) but understandable.

In the second main category my major complaint would be that there is an assumption that the reader and the authors all share the same understanding of culture and its context. Possibly because of the difference between the perspective of the authors (all three appear to be Scandinavian) and myself, (black British female), what I searched for was the politics of culture and how it formed contemporary youth. In the chapter by Torild Hammer the aim is to challenge psychological research by analysing sociological change in the last decade. Education, gender employment and poverty are seen as key, yet there is no pulling together of this material in a way that gives a coherent political picture of the youth experience. I would argue that the other two chapters looking at development of self and language and ethnic identity although well researched, tell very little of interest.

By the third main category I have to confess I was flagging. The first chapter looking at moral development looks at the issue from a different perspective to the earlier chapter but not so different as to make it a must to read. Swiftly moving through the chapter on adolescence as a second separation-individuation process ('What's that?' I hear you asking? 'I do believe it's about teenagers finding their own identity', I reply). The last chapter presents us with a feast; Peer Gynt's life cycle. It actually is quite an interesting take on the topic of psychosocial development. Ibsen's character is used as a case study. If not fully convinced by the stages of development examined, it made me want to read Ibsen!

It may appear that I have been somewhat uncharitable about this book. I do note that some serious research has been carried out and that there are some interesting ideas put forward. It is just that its presentation and general slant leaves me feeling the way that a lot of contemporary research does - asking, 'so what?'.

Pam Toussaint *is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Portsmouth.*

REVIEWS

Lynn E Poynton, MD
The Romance of Risk: Why Teenagers do the Things they Do
Basic Books
ISBN 0 465 07076 0
pp 307

Anna Whalen

The author of this book, a practising clinical psychiatrist and psychoanalyst, begins by looking behind a widely held assumption. Are an individual's teenage years inevitably filled with problematic behaviour and difficult episodes? Poynton states that we increasingly believe that the problems teenagers have are a normal part of growing up, and therefore not worthy of serious attention or resources. She notes that the skills and approaches parents need for parenting a teenager are very different to those needed for a younger child, but we fail to recognise the importance of developing skills to work with or parent this age group.

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The author uses case studies of individuals she has worked with to high-light particular issues in relation to risky behaviour. This makes reading easy and compelling, although Poynton clearly states that she has changed aspects of the stories to disguise identity. Each of the twelve chapters deals with a different set of issues, often connected to the parental involvement and influence in a young person's life or a young person's coping strategy with a difficult situation. However, risk taking can also be about boredom, the search for a thrill or adventure. Various sorts of risky or problematic behaviour, including running away, self-harm, drug use, bullying, sexual behaviour, eating disorders and use of violence, are considered in the context of the family, peer group and the past, and usually viewed as symptomatic of other issues that the family has to address together. The main message of the book is about the con-cept of risk, which is seen on a spectrum from negative, dangerous risk to positive, healthy risk. Poynton argues that young people need to take risks, it is part of developing and growing, a process of self-identification, but that this does not necessarily have to be dangerous or damaging. Risk taking can be a useful tool during adolescence. This is where the role of parents comes to the fore. She states that parents sometimes fail to see the role they play in their child's risk taking, and look first to explain behaviour in the context of the peer group, cultural norms or the physical changes teenagers experience. Recognising the warning signs of negative risk taking early on is also a skill parents need to develop. Parents can encourage young people to take positive risks, which will give them new and challenging situations or experiences, but not lead to behaviours which are potentially devastating.

Throughout the book a clear message is that teenagers want to be cared for, not abandoned, but need choices, respect and to feel a sense of control in the situations they are in. If young people believe they have no control, then they are unlikely to be successful in sorting out their difficulties. This is where parenting skills come in - being able to listen, being comfortable talking to teenage children about risk taking and being able to change what is going on in the family to encourage posi-tive risk taking. The case studies are focused on listening to young peo-ple, encouraging parents to have a flexible and open approach, which enables negotiation around boundary setting.

The author is writing from her experience working in the USA. Many of the scenarios she describes ring true for young people in Britain.

However, issues relating to poverty and the working class are on the periphery, whilst those, for example, of gender were explored in some depth. Most of her clients did not appear to be experiencing the level of poverty and the resulting pressures that many families in both the USA and this country are familiar with. If a similar book was written about risk and young people in Britain, I would expect class to play a more active part in the discourse.

The issue of gender is dealt with in several chapters using a feminist analysis. Masculinity and the importance of positive relationships between fathers and sons is looked at in some detail through case studies. Poynton also affirms the valuable role of mothers who are lone parents in relation to their teenage sons - an area often overlooked in current moral panic around young men.

This is a book written from the perspective of a skilled practitioner rather than an academic, although the author is also a professor of psychiatry. The text is aimed at parents and those working or training to work with families and young people. Apart from the subject area itself, the integrity of the author, her honesty, commitment and genuine warmth towards young people shines through the text and make it an optimistic and enjoyable read. It is also a reminder of the unique identities of young people and how easily we, as a society, lump teenagers and their problems together. Her outlook and approach has consonance with those in the field of youth and social work. An example of this is in the concluding chapter, which recommends more advocacy services for young people, to advocate on behalf of individuals and make more visible their collective issues to those who control policy and resources.

The final chapter looks at young people who have experienced a great deal of trauma, such as abuse, abandonment and several carers, in their childhood. Poynton describes a young man's determination to survive, defining his resiliency as the ability to confront trauma and move forward. When she asks the young man to reflect on what adults need to do to help those young people who go on to take big risks, often involving crime, drugs and violence, his response is:

> *Well, probably most important, don't give up on kids. When kids get caught up in dangerous risk-taking, they need adults more than ever. (p 271)*

This highlights one of the underlying messages of the book; we often

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choose to interpret young people's behaviour as a rejection of adults and society, perhaps because it is the easier option, but this is when young people most need adults to stick with them.

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Marian Barnes and Lorna Warren (eds)
Paths to Empowerment
Policy Press
ISBN 1 86134 128 8
£13.99 (pbk)
pp 143

Joanna Stevens

Paths to Empowerment takes as its focus the empowerment of users of health and welfare services. It is composed of a series of chapters contributed by service users, workers and academics involved in research.

The first half of the book explores issues relating to the disabled people's movement, older people, and the use of forums within a NHS trust. It also includes a chapter by Brian Davey which he entitles 'an empowerment strategy for losers'. In it he explores the 'multiple interlocking problems' (p 37) of those who are seriously disadvantaged in society and proposes strategies for such individuals and groups to engage in defining and planning their own projects. The second section of the book revolves around a discussion of issues for research and researchers. Examples of research practice are drawn from the areas of crime prevention strategies, young people leaving care and work with older people.

The book provides a strong framework for thinking about the issues involved in user empowerment. It serves as a good introduction and offers the reader access to a range of perspectives and approaches to participatory practice. Perhaps the most important area that emerges is the need for people to gain a sense of their own power and capacity to make choices. To do, this users, professionals and academics need to be

prepared to work creatively and continually strive to find ways to express their views and experiences.

As a youth worker I valued Alan Frances's honest evaluation of his experience of undertaking large scale government funded research into youth crime prevention strategies. In it he explored the thin line between the empowerment and exploitation of young people by those who seek to research the impact of services on them. He illustrated the importance of collaboration between those who work with young people and researchers through the example of trying to interview young people who had been primed by their youth worker in advance. He also struggled to negotiate the 'messing around' that interviewees took part in during his sessions. This raises questions around the role of the researcher and the tension that exists between their capacity to work with participants and build relationships whilst maintaining a clear focus on the task they are seeking to undertake. It made me think about the interpersonal skills needed by researchers and academics if they are to be effective in their practice.

Perhaps the most immediate impact of *Paths to Empowerment* on me, was revealed during a recent lecture I attended on evidence based practice within art therapy. The place of user participation in the research process was raised. I found myself able to engage with confidence in a discussion on this area and felt well informed by my recent reading of this text.

The book was weakened by an insufficient link between chapters. This is related to the fact that the contributors all took part in a university seminar series entitled 'Alliances and Partnerships in Empowerment'. The book appears to have emerged from these seminars. This may account for its somewhat random feel. Once I had grasped the connection between authors, I felt more able to think about the threads linking the different texts.

I was interested by the editors' claim that the authors had not been asked to conform to the conventions of academic writing. The texts struck me as far more academic than their introduction lead me to believe. I was also aware of the absence of any images within the text. I like books with pictures in them. In this instance photographs could have been used to help bring the texts to life. I felt I needed a more rooted sense of user empowerment as something tangible, current and involving ordinary people seeking to have their needs met. I wanted to be demystified, as well as enlightened about the issues and processes involved.

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I would also like to have heard the voice of users more fully. Aside from the chapters written by service users, notably those of Davis and Davey, the book carried most fully the voice of professionals and researchers involved in the work of empowerment. The book did not contain the story-telling that Warren had identified in her introduction as such a rich source of debate and information. I was left wanting to know more about the stories of people's lives and experiences. These may in turn have served to ground the often flighty concept of empowerment, in the everyday realities of what it means to use health and welfare services.

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Maggie Lee
Youth, Crime and Police Work
Macmillan
pp 171

Dr Mark Cieslik

This book examines the policing of young people and juvenile delinquency in Britain during the 1990s. In particular it explores both the increasing use of a multi-agency approach to juvenile delinquency and the growing use of the cautioning of young offenders in recent years. It draws on empirical research undertaken in four police divisions situated in the south of England. Interviews were conducted with police officers, social workers, probation workers as well as young offenders and their parents.

There are chapters which illustrate the historical development of police work with young people and the emergence of the cautioning system; the growth and functioning of multi-agency policing and the cautioning system and its merits and demerits; and also a description of how young people and their families experience the cautioning process.

One strength of this book is that it illustrates how current debate about young people and the work of the police, criminal justice system and the role of the state are far from new. Historical sources used by the author show that during the nineteenth century the police often strug-

gled to balance the demands of its welfare/service role with that of its more formal policing roles. A particularly interesting theme developed in the book is how the rhetoric of police concern for the welfare of young people can conceal its role in the surveillance of 'the street' and potentially troublesome youth.

The author shows how the growth in the use of cautioning has come about because of a complex of demands placed on the police and criminal justice system in recent years. The actual policing and justice process is the consequence of struggle between various stakeholders who all have their own interest and agendas to defend. The book suggests that the caution is a cheap administrative form of justice which has aimed to accommodate the growth in juvenile offending during the 1990s. As with services such as education, health and social services in recent years the police and justice system has also bowed to managerialist reforms which increasingly valourise such things as performance indicators and target setting. Yet, as the author suggests, many perceive the cautioning system as a cost-cutting measure and ineffective as a deterrent against reoffending. Moreover, the reality of multi-agency work is one of the police as 'experts' directing proceedings and so the promise of a more accountable and democratic system of dealing with young offenders has, on the whole, not been realised.

This reader felt that the text would be improved by a more thorough going discussion of issues of class, 'race' and gender and their significance for youth, crime and police work. The author acknowledged that the populations of the districts under study had very different socio-economic and ethnic profiles yet there was little analysis of how cautioning and multi-agency work is influenced by such features. This seems to be a significant omission in light of the Lawrence report and recent debate over the institutionalised racism in the police service.

Nevertheless the merits of this book far outweigh its weaknesses. It will appeal to those readers who have a specialist interest in youth, crime and policing as it is a cogent discussion of recent reforms and developments in this field. It will also appeal to a more general audience of those interested in youth issues as it documents reforms in policing which mirror those seen in many other state agencies over the past 20 years.

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Jonathan S Epstein (ed)
Youth Culture: Identity in a Post-modern World
Blackwell 1998
ISBN 1 55786 850 6 (hbk)
ISBN 1 55786 851 4 (pbk)
£30.00 (hbk)
£14.99 (pbk)
pp 329

Mike Presdee

This is a thoroughly American book that fits into a thoroughly American Liberalist perspective. For a British reader it will appear rather dated and exceptionally pessimistic in its message, fitting as it does the tradition of 'shock horror' accounts of the lives of young Americans. It starts with a rather strange thumbnail sketch of Youth Theory that neither shows breadth nor depth leaving the reader frustrated and with the feeling that this is an introduction that cobbles together a series of contributions that talk about youth but otherwise are not really theoretically connected. Epstein, when talking of British cultural theory, summarises:

> The Birmingham school holds that becoming a delinquent is largely a result of the labelling process and that working-class youth is much more likely to be labelled as such than are members of other groups. Borrowing from the Frankfurt school, particularly Adorno - and with a nod towards Antonio Gramsci's theory of Hegemony (p 8).

I would have thought that there was more than a nod to Gramsci as his work became central to much of the Birmingham school's thoughts at that time, but this is always a problem with the 'thumbnail sketch' approach.

The lack of any real debate about a post-modern youth culture leaves the reader only with the past and the 'angst' of the authors who contemplate the 'teenage wasteland' and 'generation X' of Donna Gaines (p 14) whose work is passionate, personal, yet partial.

The various contributions take us through the horrors of the youth 'underclass' (a rather problematic concept in itself), and the perspective of youth as victims of adult society, a position that is thoroughly un-post-modern. There are chapters on 'falling through the cracks' and the horrors of 'Beavis and Butt-Head', the crisis in 'Industrial music sub-cultures', followed by 'Deadhead culture' the rejection of 'religious institutions', 'sexism for ado-

lescents in heavy metal' and a rather dry chapter on 'youth and amateur stripping'. Henry Giroux, one of America's great education theorists, writes on youth as being generally exploited by the media even though he admits that:

popular culture is contradictory and responsible for unleashing a torrent of youthful creativity in the arts, public access radio, dance, video, film, underground journals and computer bulletin boards (p 49).

He could have concentrated here on these creative responses to a post-modern culture rather than on the overly deterministic destruction of youth. Again we see another book that feels 'guilty' about what adults have done and are doing to youth, rather than considering the multiple messages and meanings made by young people as they manoeuvre through the 'hand' dealt them by adult society.

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Barry Goldson (Ed)
Youth Justice: Contemporary Policy and Practice
Ashgate
ISBN 1 84014 3819
pp 219

Steve Rogowski

This is a timely book not least because, as the preface notes, youth crime is a great preoccupation for politicians, the media and the public as the twentieth century ends. The last twenty years have seen extraordinary developments in the political, social and economic spheres and as far as young people are concerned, increasing numbers now grow up in poverty and associated forms of misery and disadvantage. At the same time, the state and its agencies have shown distinct signs of compassion fatigue not least because the latter have been subject to financial cutbacks and frequent policy changes as well as operating under the critical gaze of government. Concerning youth justice, all this is epitomised by John Major's comments in 1993 of condemning more and understanding less, this signalling the move to a more tough law and order approach which has continued since the election of New Labour.

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A key question for this book is how can we refer to policies and practices as comprising a youth justice system when they so evidently combine to produce blatant forms of injustice. By and large, this question is adequately addressed not least in the first three chapters which focus on class, gender and 'race' in relation to youth crime. The next two chapters shift the emphasis to the prevention of youth crime including the experience of the Northamptonshire Diversion Unit with its emphasis on decriminalisation, decarceration and, of course, diversion. Other chapters cover: family group conferencing and its application to youth justice; community supervision; the management of juvenile remands and the provision of community alternatives to secure accommodation in Wales; 'rescuing young people from prison custody; and an analysis of the 'then' Crime and Disorder Bill 1998 showing how the progressive aspects of policy and practice in the 1980s and early 1990s are in danger of being supplanted by the promotion of prosecution, expanded forms of criminalisation and the growth of incarceration.

For me, perhaps as suggested, the first three chapters are the highlights. Thus the editor Goldson shows how it is those young people at the sharp end of socio-economic reality, the working class if you like, who are at the greatest risk of becoming the fodder for the youth justice system. Unfortunately, the formidable and adversarial social and economic circumstances endured by young people in trouble, because of increased inequality, are usually seen as peripheral to any analysis of youth crime with instead the emphasis being placed on parental and individual responsibility. This masks the wider structural factors which are explained away with youth crime being seen as a symbol of moral decay and anti-authority attitudes rather than as signs of alienation, hopelessness, the decline in physical surroundings, unemployment, poverty and the like.

As for gender, it is noted that despite some fears about girl gangs, overall young women are not behaving badly and given the parlous circumstances many have to live in, what should be of interest is not that some in such circumstances resort to crime but rather why many do not! As Barbara Wooton commented, *if men behaved like women, the courts would be idle and the prisons empty.* Yet, although young women commit little crime they, and women in general, are seen as responsible for a great deal of it by, for example, their role as victims of rape and domestic violence, as bystanders of their partner's child abuse, and as lone mothers of young offenders.

Concerning 'race', although black young people are over-represented in the youth justice system, research shows there is little difference in white and Afro-Caribbean rates of offending, this suggesting that racism provides the explanation. At a theoretical level, racism and criminalisation can be seen as structural forms within historical materialist processes, as opposed to expressions of individual behaviour. If we look at the economic history of post-war Britain, an influx of cheap labour, black people comprised a 'bargain for capital' at a time of an expanding economy. However, forty years later the combined effects of racism, recession and globalisation have residualised many of today's black young people by consigning them to the pool of surplus labour. Furthermore, the black presence is now reconstructed as a drain on the economy and a threat to public order. In this way 'race' becomes an explanation for a whole range of social problems; too many blacks means too few jobs, houses, pressure on schools and public services, escalating welfare expenditure and too much crime. Instead of social and economic difficulties being seen in terms of antagonistic capitalist relations and under investment in public services, they are seen as inevitable consequences of the presence of black people.

Although I found this book a valuable read, I wish there had been some discussion of a more radical practice in relation to youth crime. David Smith in his usual lucid piece, this time in relation to community supervision, does briefly refer to radical social work (Bailey and Brake 1975) but surely, and I know it is unfashionable to write this in the current ideological climate, this could have been given greater emphasis. Issues such as politicisation and conscienzisation (Freire 1972) as well as radical social work in general (for example, Corrigan and Leonard 1978, Langan and Lee 1989) could, perhaps should, have featured. Indeed there have been attempts, albeit limited, to develop a radical practice specifically in relation to youth crime (Rogowski 1985 and 1990 a & b) but none of this is mentioned here.

Despite the above caveat, this compilation does provide a good overview of current policy and practice in relation to youth justice. It should certainly appeal to practitioners, managers and policy makers but anyone who is interested in youth crime and how to deal with it could do much worse than have a look at this volume.

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Francois Matarrasso
Use or Ornament? The Social Impact of the Arts Comedia 1997
ISBN 1 873667 57 4
£20.00 (pbk)
pp 105

Tony Goode

Paul Willis' 1990 study of the arts in the UK for the Gulbenkian Foundation drew on statistical evidence to create a social profile of engagement with arts/cultural practices. The figures present a sobering picture:

- 5% of the UK population attend the theatre, opera or ballet

- 4% of the UK population attend museums or art galleries

- 2% of the UK working class attend any of the above

- 2% of all young people (excluding students) attend the theatre (the most popular traditional arts venue); and

- 0% of the young unemployed attend the theatre.

In the face of such apparent apathy towards the arts it is perhaps surprising that, while never healthy, funding for the arts at least survives.

In the UK, and under governments of whichever persuasion, there would appear to be two main determinants driving arts funding policy. The first is the concept of the intrinsic value of art; a system which depends on the aesthetic judgements of small group of people who are considered to hold what Pierre Bourdieu has called 'cultural capital', ie the specific education required to decipher the relevant codes of a given art form.

The second requires an assessment of the value of the arts to society in terms of their contribution to the nation's economy, an argument which draws its validity from the wealth creation potential of the arts as a

leisure industry and includes their employment potential, as well as their impact on such aspects of society as tourism.

However, Francois Matarrasso, principal of Comedia, the cultural policy institute, began the process of critical analysis which culminated in this report from a different perspective. Matarrasso sought to explore the social impact of the arts in terms of their potential to tackle serious social problems and community disempowerment. Building on initial research into the role of art in regeneration carried out by Landry (et al) and documented in 'The Art Regeneration' published in 1996, Matarrasso brings together the experiences and approaches of a large and diverse sample of practitioners and participants in an attempt to *develop a methodology for evaluating the social impact of arts programmes, and begin to assess that impact in key areas.*

The report thus argues that direct participation in the arts can provide the key to unlocking the human potential of a community, which can in turn lead to the creation of social cohesion and an increased quality of life for all. Matarrasso lists 50 social outcomes of the arts to elaborate on the ways in which people working in the arts can create the climate for positive social development but also unambiguously points out that, most essentially, *meanings are the currencies of the arts,* so that *art as activity, process and object, is central to how people experience, understand and then shape the world.*

Matarrasso identifies six major themes against which arts programmes can be assessed and suggests that such programmes should be evaluated in terms of their social impact upon the areas of: Personal Development, Social Cohesion, Community Empowerment and Self Determination, Local Image and Identity, Imagination and Vision, and Health and Well Being. All of these themes contribute towards the sustainability of communities at risk.

Of course, these objectives may not suit every arts programme and they do not in themselves constitute a methodology for the practical evaluation of arts programmes or more importantly a currency against which value can be gauged. However, *Use or Ornament?* represents a timely and significant staging post towards finding new performance criteria against which to assess the value of the arts. Not so that we become victims of what Moriarty (1997) calls 'death by statistics' but rather so that we can use the arts more deliberately and effectively to:

...help people think critically about and question their experiences, and those of others, not in a discussion group but with all the excitement, danger, magic, colour, symbolism, feeling, metaphor and creativity that the arts offer. It is in the act of creativity that empowerment lies, and through sharing creativity that understanding and social inclusiveness are promoted.

Tony Goode *is currently Head of the Division of Performing Arts at the University of Northumbria at Newcastle in the Department of Visual and Performing Arts.*

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Willis, P. (1990), *Moving Culture*, Calouste Gulbenkian

Christina Cregan
Young People in the Workplace: Job, Union and Mobility Patterns
Mansell, 1999
ISBN 0 7201 2327 5 (hbk)
pp 232

Clive Hedges

Young people are more likely to be in low-paid, temporary and insecure work and less likely to be members of a trade union. Blanchflower and Freeman (1996), for example, found that in the UK a 1% rise in overall UK unemployment corresponded to a 1.8% fall in youth employment and a 2.4% fall in young male employment. A 1997 Labour Force Survey found that 72% of those aged under 21 are paid less than £4.00/hour compared to 18% of those aged over 21. If anyone should doubt that both employers and the state believe this structural inequality to be a useful function of the labour market they need only examine the debates over the recently enacted minimum wage.

This book is concerned with providing empirically based evidence to counter the view that young people get a worse deal due to their immaturity. This view holds that characteristics inherent in being young lead to a lack of stability and responsibility and so an inability to gain steady unemployment. Put simply, according to this view, it is only when young people adjust to the adult world of work and responsibilities that their employment and employment-seeking behaviour illustrate the same commitment to career and workplace as adults. Cregan instead proposes that the employment behaviour of young people is structured

by the opportunities available to them and that the real structuring agents are local and national labour market trends, state policies and international trends in capital. Her approach weds both sociology and economics, but readers should be aware that without a good grasp of statistical methods, and some knowledge of the relevant literature, many of the chapters devoted to analysis of her data may be slightly impenetrable.

The main source of Cregan's empirical information is a survey carried out in 1979-1981 of 2000 early school leavers. This was a particularly useful period in which to have studied such a topic because Britain was approaching the end of its post-war boom. The effect of this was to produce a youth labour market in which unemployment was beginning to be a significant factor, but in which there was still evidence of heterogeneity in the jobs available. This makes for a good data set for the possible discovery of trends of both purposeful behaviour and purposeless immaturity.

The results Cregan presents, in fact, suggest a young workforce that was, on the whole, optimistic about work and keen to get ahead. However, her analysis of data regarding young people's success in achieving employment straight after leaving school, suggest that the main determining factors in this success were outside of their control. More important than their attitudes to work appeared to be family or wider structural factors, notably racism, household unemployment, lack of parental support and the local labour market. Her analysis also suggests that given a range of different employment opportunities, young people not only exhibit a range of job-seeking behaviours but there is a purposeful approach taken to job searching and a resulting matching process.

These attitudes to work are mirrored in attitudes towards trade unions. Past models of trade union organisation have explained trade union membership by presenting a simple consumerist model, where the union offers a service for its clients. This model was made more complex by adding in factors such as individual inclination, increased or decreased by possible benefits of joining, and the opportunity to join, depending on organisation, employer resistance, etc. Working within such an individualist model of social action has led theorists to see young people's low union membership as reflective of low opportunity and low motivation. It is true that the drop in union membership, and changes in the youth labour market, have meant that there is less opportunity, and some studies have indeed indicated that there is a lack of interest among young people (Rose 1996). Cregan, however, puts forward a

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more complex and multi-faceted model. In this, union membership is the result of a range of behaviours resulting not just from individual action but also from the interaction of the individual in the social environment of the workplace. Thus factors to do with the organisational culture, level of union activity, availability of union representation and the level of staff grievances become more important. Cregan tests this model against her data and finds that the key variable appears to be strength of union organisation, and not immaturity or resistance to trade unionism.

Since 1979, of course, there have been massive structural change in the British economy. The labour market for 16-17 year olds has all but disappeared, along with their state benefits, and there has been a steep decline in manufacturing, in the past the major sector for young male employment. The range of jobs available to young people has narrowed and the sectors in which there has been growth have brought with them more part-time and insecure employment. There have been continuities, such as the continuing importance of clerical work for young female job seekers, but the striking feature has been a polarisation of previous positions. Higher unemployment and more competition for jobs has seen young people choose more education, rather than enter low wage jobs with little opportunity for training, but those without this option have increasingly found themselves in unskilled dead-end jobs. The net effect has been to further disadvantage the already disadvantaged.

Cregan's analysis proves depressing, if unsurprising reading but does suggest that change is possible. Cregan demonstrates that the youth labour market operates as a dynamic and as such is open to change through policy. An outline of how this can be achieved is laid out, centring on managing the transition from education to work through large-scale day-release to work non-standard hours and restoring benefits for 16-17 year olds. The case for this may not totally convince all but there is no denying Cregan's case against the status quo. The current labour market for young people is condemning many of the least qualified into dead-end or no jobs with no chance of entering a career.

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Rolf Loeber and David P Farrington
Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders:
Risk Factors and Successful Interventions
Sage Publications
ISBN 0 7619 1275 4
£30.00 (hbk)
pp 536

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Bridget Gardiner

This book demonstrates the influence of trans-Atlantic trends in criminology on the policy makers in the UK or possibly, and less cynically, it simply demonstrates that trends in research findings can provide a substantial base for the development of good practice. However it has arisen, this book is timely at a point where the emphasis on youth offending is around 'evidence based work'. Youth Offending Teams are being called on to provide evidence to underpin new and developing programmes of work and this book provides this evidence in the form of knowledge about risk and protective factors alongside research on intervention and prevention programmes. The book also confirms the present legislative view that the punishment versus treatment debate should be modified with an increased emphasis on prevention and, more specifically, prevention within a community/social/developmental context.

Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders is compiled from the conclusions of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention's Study Group on Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders and, as such, presents an authoritative set of texts presented in a way that is manageable and which engages ones interest throughout. The work was inspired by the OJJDP's Comprehensive Strategy, which concentrated on identifying early potential offenders, focussing on key risk factors, strengthening the family and other vehicles for socialisation and developing graduated sanctions based on risk and need assessments. The core work is presented in two sections. The first of these considers findings regarding serious and violent juvenile offenders, including risk assessment. The second looks at which type of interventions are effective in reducing levels of offending. This will make interesting reading for those implementing the Crime and Disorder Act who are to be subjected to the publication of league tables showing the reduction in their youth offending figures. Two main themes emerge as:

> *SVJ offenders tend to start displaying behaviour problems and delinquency early in life, warranting early intervention. It is our thesis that*

prevention is never too early. Secondly, we also maintain that inter-ventions for SVJ offenders can never be too late.

More specifically, the book aims to focus on the relative weight of different risk and protective factors in the development of such offending and con-siders the comparative effectiveness of different intervention programmes. This analysis recognises the dangers of generalisations in such work and aims to be specific about 'what works' with reference to various types of individuals, at what stage of development and in what circumstances. Race and ethnicity are considered in relation to serious offending and the contribution of gang membership to an offending career is examined.

Chapter 16 details three issues which need to be considered through further research as:

a) the need to focus specifically on SVJ offenders; b) the need to understand the social ecology of SVJ offending in terms of the interaction between individual, situational, and contextual influences over time; and c) the need to forge collaborations between researchers, practitioners, and individuals whose lives are affected by SVJ offending.

This sort of joined-up thinking moves the book on to consider the policy implications including a contention that:

in comparison to parents, schools and neighbourhoods, the juvenile justice system is in a worst (sic) position to prevent delinquency.

A note to all youth justice workers; this book is essential reading and the worst position is always worth examining! The conclusion to the book also considers 'Who is Accountable', makes recommendations for fur-ther research and then sums up by suggesting that anti-social behaviour develops from the convergence of multiple risk factors. The message for policy makers has to be that targeting any one single factor is unlikely to be successful as an intervention strategy and that the present move towards multi-agency work, considering all aspects of a young person's life is a step in the right direction.

This book provides the reader with an extensive bibliography, excellent charts and understandable presentation of a huge amount of data. It is put together in such a way that it can be dipped in and out of, or read through from beginning to end.

Overall, this book considers its topic critically and in such a way that

one is left with the optimistic feeling that research and academia can justifiably and realistically inform policy makers and practitioners in a real and meaningful way. I would recommend it to any practitioner and also to students who are known for enjoying books with an extensive bibliography and a plethora of summaries.

Bridget Gardiner *is the Manager of Hardwick Tomorrow, a community based regeneration initiative and will shortly be taking up post as the Youth Offending Team Manager for Hartlepool.*

REVIEWS

Jim Wild (ed)
Working with Men for Change
UCL Press
ISBN 1 85728 860 2 (hbk)
ISBN 1 85728 861 0 (pbk)
£30.00 (hbk)
£14.99 (pbk)
pp 245

Keith Pringle

In his preface, the editor sets out clearly what he regards as the original quality of this text claiming that it 'attempts to bring together for the *first* time theory, research and practice' in the field of men, masculinity and social relations. Certainly the contributors do, to varying extents, actively seek to combine theoretical perspectives with research findings and practical applications. And so in that sense the book fulfils its editor's stated ambition.

Doubts only begin to creep in when one considers how effectively the three components are woven together in the various chapters. In my experience, it is difficult to combine them creatively. On the other hand, it is possible. For instance, in very different ways successful examples can be found in Salisbury and Jackson (1996) and Hearn (1998). Overall, in this respect, I found the present book to be a disappointment. It starts off well enough, albeit rather predictably. The short introductory chapter is, characteristically, something of a wake-up call to men from John Stoltenberg. It is what we have come to expect from him - yet no less welcome for all that. In my view, few people can express urgency for an acute change in gender relations so effectively as Stoltenberg

even if his assertive style is not to everyone else's taste. One person who is as effective is Jeff Hearn and he contributes what is in reality a second introductory chapter. Hearn's style is very different from Stoltenberg's; a compelling combination of careful, subtle scholarship with blunt speaking about men's violences. Once again, Hearn is not saying much more than he has told us before; but what he says remains vitally important and it is very well expressed here. Another more general chapter is then provided by Lena Dominelli and this too has much to commend it, even if I find some of her views on the potential positive redefinition of masculinity (p 33) a little overoptimistic.

However, it is when the book turns to more specific issues that I begin to feel less happy. This is not because the topics chosen are problematic. On the contrary, addressing the situation of disabled men or black men and exploring various therapeutic approaches with men are all important and relatively neglected issues. It is the way some of these issues are addressed which concerns me. For instance, the chapter by Tudor on 'Men in Therapy' manages to say almost nothing about the potential for collusion between men therapists and men service users nor about the dilemma of funding for men's programmes being sometimes at the expense of women or other groups. Moreover, his final assertion that in some cases through therapy, 'men become more potent psychologically and, *if this change is genuine,* have no need to express their potency in traditional, negative and dangerous ways in the external, social world' (contributor's italics) leaves a lot to be desired for this reviewer as a depiction of the dynamics underpinning men's violences.

Another chapter, by Wolf-Light, broaches therapeutic issues within a more explicit political and structural framework. However, even then his analysis appears limited. For instance, his discussion of 'hegemonic masculinity' seems to reify that concept in a way which reminds us of Jeff Hearn's warning that such reification may distract from the material reality of men's oppressive practices towards women and others (Hearn 1996). What is also absent from Wolf-Light's discussion is the sense one gains from Bob Connell (1995) that 'hegemonic masculinity' is a complex, organically linked and dynamic manifestation of an oppressive gender order which pervades 'western' societies.

Nor was I further encouraged as the book progressed. For example, the editor has included a chapter by Seidler on 'Men, Power, Control and Violence' which seems to more or less replicate the themes which he

has frequently expressed in a long series of publications. Although, of course, there is valuable material here it also contains some of his familiar views which I have challenged elsewhere (Pringle 1995) - such as the allegedly negative influence of radical feminism on men's practices (pp 187-9). Moreover he asserts that the development of mass unemployment has contributed to a *crisis of traditional masculinities* wherein we can *see the resurgence of male violence in a period when women are seeking greater freedom and autonomy.* This statement begs so many questions. First, when we look at the way the world is, can we say such a crisis really exists? And do we in fact believe that there is a resurgence of men's sexual violences? - when have these ever not been a massive threat to women and others? It also needs to be stated that the majority of research evidence clearly demonstrates no linkage between men's sexual violences and indices of social deprivation.

Having said all this, towards the end of the volume there is a chapter which illustrates that it is possible creatively to combine theory, research and practice. In fact, the piece by Cowburn and Pengelly on groupwork with men is a model of how to use a clear and sophisticated theoretical framework based on thorough research findings to guide best practice - both in terms of men's violences and in terms of groupwork processes. This chapter, together with the first three and some of the others, justifies the value of the book. However, if all the contributions had lived up to those high standards then the ambitions of the editor would have been truly fulfilled. As it is, we have here a useful text rather than one which massively breaks new ground in combining theory, research and practice.

Keith Pringle *is Professor of Comparative Social Policy at the University of Sunderland.*

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Hearn, J. (1996) 'Is Masculinity Dead?' - A Critique of the Concept of Masculinity/Masculinities' in Mac an Ghaill, M. (ed) *Understanding Masculinities*, Buckingham, Open University Press

Hearn, J. (1998) *The Violences of Men*, London, Sage

Pringle, K. (1995) *Men: Masculinities and Social Welfare*, London, UCL Press

Salisbury, J. and Jackson, D. (1996) *Challenging Macho Values*, London, Falmer Press

SHORT CUTS

Richard J Hazler
Helping in the Hallways:
Enhanced Strategies for Enhancing School Relationships
Corwin Press 1998
ISBN 0 8039 6600 8
pp 82

Health Education Authority
Young People and Health: Health Behaviour in School-aged Children
(Summary of key findings)
Health Education Authority
Available from HEA, Trevelyan House, 30 Great Peter Street,
London SW1P 2HW

Marian Wallace Ney
Charlotte Mason: A pioneer in sane education
Educational Heretics Press 1999
ISBN 1 900219 14
£6.99
pp 83

Suzanne Fitzpatrick, Annette Hastings and Keith Kintrea
Including Young People in Urban Regeneration
Joseph Rowntree Foundation 1998
ISBN 1 86134 119 9
£10.95

Tony Jeffs

Hazler has produced a small gem. It is an account of his work as a school counselor operating in an American High School. What it amounts to though is an outstanding description of how to effectively operate as an informal educator in a formal setting. It is quite the best account of school-based work I have come across. It describes how in brief inter-actions on the corridors, in the canteens and recreation areas he listen, talked and observed in order to gain understanding, provide support and model positive behaviour. How in often brief and hurried encounters he sought to offer 'quality advice when asked and actually got invited into problems and issues that seemed critical to both individuals and the whole school'. Here is a professional reflecting on his practice in a cre-ative way. Little is left out from 'what pace should I walk at' to effective recording. This is a text well worth searching out not only for those work-ing in education institutions but also in clubs and on the street.

The Health Education Authority have produced an abstract which draws on the research undertaken in 1997 on Young People and Health. Data covers all the expected topics such as sexual health and drug use but it also provides material on less predictable issues. For example parental involvement in school, television consumption and attitudes to self-image. The result is a useful collection not merely for the researcher but also for the youth worker who asks themselves (as most do continually) 'how typical are the young people I am working with? This text helps answer' that question. It also offers those interested in policy formation at local and national levels material which might help produce more rational policies - not least with regards drug usage.

Ney's book is another in that much needed, if somewhat variable, series produced by Educational Heretics Press on radical educational thinkers. Charlotte Mason is nowadays a somewhat forgotten figure. Although her named lived on long after her death in 1923 thanks to the Teacher Training College she established in the Lake District and which survived as a semi-independent institution into the 1980s. Sadly the book tells us too little about the life and work of Mason. This is a pity for her friendship with individuals such as Ruskin and Baden Powell linked her to a number of key developments within youth work and progressive education. She was a pivotal contributor to those movements which endeavoured to create alternatives to the narrow centralised system which so restricted the education of the majority in the final years of the last and present centuries. What the text does exceptionally well is link her ideas to the work of more recent progressives such as Holt and Freire. It shows their debt to her, largely unrecorded, and why youth workers in the past found so much of value in her work. Certainly Mason's belief that fundamentally 'education is the science of relations' and that the task of the educator is to help people make sense of those relations is akin to a model of practice which many working outside formal institutions find attractive. However, be warned, she had scant sympathy with those who watered down books and experiences to create a separate 'world' for children and young people. Instead Mason always sought to 'spread the feast and let the children choose'. She believed adults, parents, educators and welfare workers tended to interfere too much. That they were far too anxious to do for young people what they could be left to do for themselves; 'that purposeful letting alone is the best path for education'. Not difficult to see why she got on so well with Baden Powell and tried to introduce his ideas in teacher training. Now Mr Blunkett wouldn't approve of such liberal senti-

REVIEWS

ments - or for that matter an old radical like Mason. Reason enough I suspect for reading this book and discovering why a century ago Mason and others loathed and rejected the centralising, controlling approach beloved by politicians both then and now.

Fitzpatrick, Hastings and Kintrea have produced a helpful piece of research well worth searching out by those contemplating becoming or already involved in youth consultation programmes. They looked at the ways in which these were undertaken in 12 localities and sought to assess the results. Youth Forums which are very much a flavour of the month in youth work at the moment featured in a number of these localities along with surveys, conferences and focus groups. The discussion of the strengths and failings of Forums is especially helpful. Sadly these are currently being pushed forward with little thought as to why they failed in the past. Nor does anyone seem especially interested in taking aboard the lessons which might be learnt from those failures. Unfortunately these researchers did not look beyond the immediate past. Yet it would be difficult to think of a better starting point than this short report for anyone involved in a youth participation initiative. It is replete with advice and warnings but not, thankfully, without a dash of optimism. We do, most people seem to believe, need to involve more young people, and for that matter adults. If you share that point of view then you will find this text helpful in helping you to decide upon the next step.

Tony Jeffs *University of Durham*

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Thus, for a book:
Banks, S. (ed) (1999) *Ethical Issues in Youth Work,* London and New York, Routledge.

For an article:
Hall, S. (1995) 'Grasping at Straws: The Idealisation of the Material in Liberal Conceptions of Youth Crime', in *Youth & Policy*, No 48, pp 49-63.

And for a report:
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