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Youth & Policy is devoted to the critical study of youth affairs and youth policy. The National Youth Agency provides information and support for all those concerned with the informal, personal and social education of young people.

EDITORIAL
Global Youth Work

HORACE LASHLEY

In recent years globalisation has become a concept of some concern across the world. It has stimulated a great deal of debate and controversy on social and economic issues related to peoples of the rich Northern and the poorer Southern hemispheres of the globe. We have however tended to refer to the situation it highlights in terms of the levels of industrialisation and economic development (Kirkbride, 2001). The alternative conceptualisation of the social inequalities and environmental exploitation of the 'shrinking world' seem to have less credibility than the more economic definition and focus of globalisation (Held et al, 1999). In some quarters, as a consequence, the focus of globalisation has been much more related to the economic dominance and expansionism of the Transnational Corporations (TNCs) and global capitalism (Soros, 2000).

However, Giddens (2000) suggests that despite economic forces having played a significant role it would be wrong to suggest that they alone produced it. He therefore suggests that 'globalisation is created by the coming together of political, social, cultural and economic factors'. How these factors interplay and the consequences to us all have been the major aspects of concern for ordinary people be they in the so-called developed or the developing world. This process of 'globalising' also brings with it an attempted form of unicultural normalisation. The process is advanced through the use of the communication revolution which is significantly controlled by small groups of Western dominated media moguls. Parekh (2000) therefore argues that the introduction of new industries by multinationals, as well as the installment of the new communications developments and systems of management, 'require the receiving societies to create the necessary cultural preconditions.'

Global Youth Work (GYW) has emerged with the principal concern of addressing the social and cultural implications of the process of Globalisation. For some these implications and consequences are enfeebling while for others they may be enriching. The conceptualisation of globalisation examined for this special issue of the Journal focuses on consequential socio-economic and environmental inequalities. Within this conceptualisation there is a sense of closer connectedness and commonness about the impact of globalisation for the wider world and the majority of its peoples. There is also an implied connectedness about the unfairness of exploitation by the prosperous North over the less well endowed South and the extent of the effects of the ramifications in terms of social, environmental and human consequences. Here globalisation is not seen merely as a process of the so-called

'opening up the world for the benefit and uplifting of the downtrodden' but as a new form of Western imperialism without the fronting of single national governments (Callinicos et al, 1999). It is also seen as a processing of significant portions of the world 'becoming at the behest of Transnational corporations' and new forms of capitalist exploitation beyond the control of the 'nation state'. The exploration of the issues of young people and their conceptualisation of this process will be the main theme of this special issue of *Youth and Policy*.

Young people have an interest in this 'changing world' that we keep talking about. Equally young people have a concern for the consequences of these changes. This was clearly demonstrated by the extensive youth presence in the million attendance anti-war march which was held in London during February 2003. The contributions in this issue will explore these concerns. In the process they will draw together themes that will focus on the relevant theoretical perspectives and practice in the field of youth work to address the issues of actual oppression and exploitation that seem to go hand in hand with the process of Globalisation.

Doug Bourn the Director of the Development Education Association (DEA) opens the batting with an analysis of some of the underpinning considerations for Global Youth Work. He asserts that, 'whatever the different views of globalisation, there is a consensus that we are living in a world that is more closely interconnected than it has ever been before. Economic systems and markets are more and more being determined at an international level'. As a consequence he suggests that, 'there is some justification for saying that international bodies such as World Trade Organisation (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are the most powerful institutions on this planet'. Consequently, the traditional bodies that influence and secure political and social change such as governments and non-government national and international organisations, are being replaced by international/transnational corporations, bodies such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The application of the power of these institutions are explored in the succeeding contributions within a reference frame-work related to youth work and the wider social education forum of young people.

An important theme that predominates in many of the contributions is that of citizenship. In Paul Adams' paper he addresses the theme through a thorough analysis of Global Citizenship and Youth Work. He indicates in his introduction to the paper that he specifically aims at exploring the contextual relationship between globalisation and the development of citizenship education and how globalisation shapes this context. A major under-pinning factor of his argument is the need for education to meet the challenge of citizenship education in a way which optimises intervention. He sees this challenge as the need to, 'enable young people to develop skills, values

and knowledge within a frame-work of Human Rights and to be able to make sense of and influence the world around them'.

The issue of social inclusion/exclusion is central to the topic of citizenship. It therefore features strongly in his discourse on the theme. He effectively explores the contradiction that exists in the concept of being gainfully employed and the destruction of human rights that often take place as a consequence of globalised capitalism being used to exploit the workers. He therefore asserts that, 'the rapid pace of change includes the relocation of capital throughout the world to countries offering favourable conditions to the market'. As a consequence he suggests that, 'young workers in the UK will have more common interest with workers in countries in the South than with company shareholders'. Part of the contradiction he alludes to is the extent to which Citizenship education can really address these issues.

Adams then shows that the principles for addressing these issues are implicit in good youth work practice. In the process he sets out a useful list of dos that will ensure the transition to good global youth work practice. He concludes by reiterating the 'need to nurture and develop active global citizenship' in view of the 'global dimension to all our lives' and need to 'challenge injustice'. The issue of citizenship education and global citizenship appear elsewhere in other contributions since citizenship itself is a major operational factor in the humanitarianised conceptualisation of globalisation.

A major concern about much that is said and written about Globalisation is that it is a Northern based concept which is to a substantial extent the views of the dominant European cultures and operationalised substantially to their benefit. A 'black' (generic) Southern view is limited and almost non-existent among the dominant features of/on the concept. The contribution on Black Perspectives emphasises this point and argues for a reconsideration of this approach. Vipin Chauhan therefore argues that 'it is necessary to have a Black viewpoint and to incorporate the perspectives and experiences of Black people into any analysis of contemporary and historical global life'. His over-arching argument suggests that a Black perspective is necessary if we are to achieve global democracy as well as having a Black view-point in decision making processes either globally or nationally. He significantly emphasises his point on the fact that there is 'a need to nurture and develop active global citizenship' among young people.

Another of the contributions focuses on an analysis of government policy exploring the consequence for and possible development of Global Youth Work. This particular contribution also provides readers with an opportunity to view how the process of governmental regionalisation is impacting and can impact on wider political issues

which may not seem to have an immediate localised policy priority. The document of discussion, *Extending Entitlement, Support for 11-25 year olds in Wales* was published by the Welsh Assembly in November 2000, in response to the Learning and Skills Act 2000. The author emphasises that one of the strengths of the document is that it reassures young people that 'they are more than the sum of their problems'. In conclusion the author sees the document as, 'highly visionary and idealistic'. However, she suggests that it 'is a healthy development' which should help in the process of establishing Global Youth Work practice with the young people with whom they work.

Two presentations appear in this Issue which focus specifically on the contribution to Global Youth Work by the Voluntary Sector in youth work. The first of the two articles was prepared by Richard Kyle and it highlights the work of the Boys' Brigade. Kyle initially provides some historical information on the origin of the Brigade. The article also provides some in-depth exploration on the work of the Brigade and its involvement with Global Youth Work.

It is indicated that the Brigade has both a significant UK membership as well as a world wide one in sixty different countries formulated within the 'Twin Pillars' of a Christian underpinning and the perception of its membership as an 'International Family'. The Brigade's Global Youth Work has taken a variety of forms including special events, projects and political campaigns. The article also explores some of the groups' international work as well as its use of its international family within the UK.

The other article which focuses on an action based project highlights the work of the Woodcraft Folk. The article reports on a sustainable development education project and some campaigning work which resulted from it. The report extensively illustrates how youth work can 'provide an environment in which young people can shape their own futures'. The report also shows that when young people work together in a cross cultural and empowered situation they have the capacity to deal with significant social problems. A 14 year old girl who attended the project consequently noted, 'having had this experience I'd like to think that I'm no longer going to sit at home and think "Oh well, the world's in a mess but there is nothing I can do" - I know there is!'

The article concludes on a note of confidence on the impact of the use of education for sustainable development with young people. However it is suggested that only through the empowerment of the young people can they address the social, environmental and economic issues which are setting us on a spiralling course to self-destruction.

This special issue on global youth work has provided an opportunity for an exploration of the skills and knowledge needed to understand, interpret and challenge many of the social consequences of globalization. The authors of the articles have also highlighted the need for these factors to take a central position when working with young people. In the process of the discussions leading to this issue the concept of sustainable development appeared with some regularity, as did global citizenship and citizenship education. These re-occurrences emphasise the natural relationship of these concepts to the principles and practice of Global Youth Work . It is important that these concerns have a range of focus that starts from the preparation of youth workers, to discussions on actual projects and finally to an extensive exposé in practitioner activities.

This opportunity to prepare this special issue has indicated the importance that *Youth and Policy* gives to Global Youth Work practice. In the process we hope that the end result can provide some answers to questions that many readers have had about the area. The Development Education Association (DEA) has been the leading light in bringing this Special Issue to life. In the process Paul Adams, the DEA youth officer, has worked ceaselessly to ensure that the issue became a reality. The behind the scenes effort by Doug Bourn, the DEA Director, also requires a mention in the achievement of this issue.

Horace Lashley *teaches in Reading University.*

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GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES IN YOUTH WORK

DOUGLAS BOURN

This paper argues that a priority for youth work should be to provide young people with the skills and knowledge to respond to the unfolding impact of globalisation and the global society. It further suggests that for this to be effective, global youth work needs to ensure that its practice is grounded in participatory methodology, promotes a positive value base and connections are made between local and global issues.

Globalisation

Globalisation is often thought of in terms of the increased nature of interconnectedness that exists around the world. Instant communications and technology which allows sharing of information and knowledge in an instant has created a sense that the world is a smaller place. (Held 2000: 2) Tomlinson refers to globalisation as the complex connectivity evident everywhere in the world today (Tomlinson, 1999: 32). Beyond this however there is less consensus. Whilst it is not the purpose of this paper to address various theories of globalisation, it is appropriate to refer to the debates about its impact on citizens and society.

There may be a widespread recognition that globalisation exists, but there is less consensus as to what it means and whether it is a force for good or bad. Responses range from Held, who states that 'Globalisation is an idea whose time has come' (Held et al, 2000:1) to Hobsbawm who refers to the power and influence of corporations in an 'increasingly globalised transnational world' and the negative impact this has on citizens' ability to influence change (Hobsbawm,1994). Hobsbawm writes about citizens at the end of the twentieth century feeling increasingly isolated from processes of change in society because the major decisions which impact upon their lives are decided not by government but by multinational companies. Gundura develops this further by stating that bodies such as the World Trade Organisation determine capital flows and structural adjustment programmes that do not necessarily take cognisance of local sovereignties (Gundura, 2000: 175) Gundura however goes on to suggest that globalisation can play a positive role if it recognises interculturalism. 'Instead of the current globalisation imposed by capital, there is a need for processes which take the social, economic, cultural and political needs of peoples as their central focus' (Gundura, 2003). Issues such as human rights, he suggests, can offer an important opportunity to connect issues which can link personal and local experience to global issues and perspectives.

At one level this could relate to the idea of the 'global citizen in action' (Edwards and Gaventa, 2001) but it can also be about addressing the complex personal relationships

of multiple identities, linking the local to the global. As Osler has stated in relation to global education, it is important to recognise 'cosmopolitan citizenship, multi-layered roles and relationships' as important components (Osler, 2003).

Globalisation reflects a widespread perception of the world as 'rapidly being moulded into a shared social space by economic and technological forces' (Held, et.al 1999). Developments in one region of the world can have profound consequences for the life chances of individuals or communities on the other side of the globe. For many, globalisation is associated with a sense of political fatalism and chronic insecurity but it does also represent a significant shift in the spatial form of social relations. Thus the interaction between apparently local and global processes, for example, become increasingly important. It also involves the organisation and exercise of power at a global scale. It is a multi-dimensional process, applying to the whole range of social relations and lifestyles. It can be seen positively as well as pessimistically (Held, 2000).

The MP David Lammy has stated that his 'generation is fortunate because so much of the world is now within our reach'. He refers to opportunities provided by the Internet and communications technologies that allow 'youngsters to build friendships across the globe, exchange stories and develop a cultural literacy that they could never learn from a textbook'. Reflecting on his own constituency in Tottenham, Lammy states that 'globalisation has brought the world to our doorstep, with friends and neighbours from all over Europe, Asia and Africa. We don't need to go and discover the world because the world has come to us' (Griffith and Leonard, 2002).

Globalisation not only gives a context that can enable us to make links between our day-to-day experiences to that of the wider world. It can also provide a framework with which to understand the effects of economic, political and cultural forces today. It is as Giddens suggests, 'transforming the institutions of the societies in which we live' (Giddens,1998).

Living and Learning in a Global Society

Education policies in many of the leading industrialised countries over the past decade have been re-shaped to respond to the challenges of globalisation. For example at the G8 economic summit held in Cologne in 1999, the heads of state of the eight major democracies taking part issued a joint charter of aims and ambitions for lifelong learning. According to the Cologne Charter, because of globalisation, the challenge facing every country is how to become a learning society and to ensure its citizens are equipped with the knowledge, skills and qualifications they will need for the next century. Economies and societies are increasingly knowledge

based. Education and skills are indispensable to achieving economic success, civic responsibility and social cohesion (G8, 1999).

The primary response to the impact of globalisation on education policies in the UK has been the development of a more skills and competency based approach to learning. Tony Blair for example has stated, 'Our young people must develop the competence, confidence and contacts which will secure their place and influence in an increasingly globalised society' (Central Bureau ,1999). There are direct references within UK government education policies to developing the skills within society so that people can play an active part in the global market. The Department for Education and Skills (DfES) strategy up to 2006 states that 'we can only create wealth through the knowledge, skills and enterprise of our people. We must measure our education and training performance against international benchmarks, learning from the best of international experience and sharing good practice' (DfES 2002).

The need for education to respond to the challenges of the global labour market have been re-enforced in the government's White Paper on the future of higher education: 'In a fast changing and increasingly competitive world, the role of higher education in equipping the labour force with appropriate and relevant skills, in stimulating innovation and supporting productivity and in enriching the quality of life is central' (DfES 2003b). This perspective is reflected in some educational practices and has even been adopted as a public relations tool for recruiting students by one course at the University of Birmingham, which in promoting their new postgraduate business studies courses claim to be 'Developing Global competence for a changing world'.

Such economy-based policy responses obscure the wider issues that the challenge of globalisation poses for education. For the question which must be asked is whether the purpose of education is to equip people to work within the global economy, or to provide the knowledge, skills and values base to understand and interpret the changing world so that people can be more active and engaged citizens.

It would be difficult to argue against education being seen as essential to a competitive knowledge-based global economy. Yet even embracing this dominant view, as Alexander (1998), has stated, can pose major questions:

- *How does the global economy work, and what can people do to influence it?*
- *What is and should be the relationship between global, regional, national and local economies?*
- *How does the global economy affect the environment and sustainable development?*
- *How does decision-making affect citizenship? (Alexander, 1998).*

Whether or not such questions are addressed, depends to some extent upon the educational approach adopted. Education in the early twenty first century is inevitably linked to globalisation, but what form of education are we talking about? Is it one of resistance, of transformation, of accommodation to globalisation or something yet to be defined? One of the challenges of global education as it impacts upon all aspects of learning, including that adopted by youth work, is to acknowledge, rather than reject outright the economic and technocratic model, but at the same time to ensure it is included within a broader and more person centred, valued based and participatory learning perspective.

McKenzie has proposed two models within the framework of higher education which she summarises as the narrow and the broad, the technocratic versus the learning linked to needs of individuals within society and the development of a concept of global citizenship (McKenzie,1999). Her perspectives build on the Delors report for UNESCO which refers to lifelong learning not only needing to respond to changes in the nature of work but also to the changing roles human beings need to play in society. Delors refers to the importance of developing critical faculties, of encouraging engagement in society and improving the quality of life for all (UNESCO, 1996). Green (1997) has suggested that 'the scope for education to act as a socially integrative force in contemporary society is not necessarily diminished or impeded by the forces of globalisation and post modernity. He further suggests that the west has perhaps shown less support for supporting the goals of social cohesion and solidarity. It could be argued that since 1997, in the UK at least, these goals are back on the agenda, responding in part to national and international events, and manifest in the introduction of citizenship education and the recognition of the importance of values within the school curriculum.

As indicated earlier, globalisation has also opened up the debate about the role of education and learning when the nation state is no longer so dominant in influencing personal, social and economic change. Stephen Sterling (2001) suggests there are negative as well as positive features to a situation where education is in itself becoming globalised. There are wide questions to ask about the role and relation of education to the changing global economy, global society and changing value bases around the world.

The development of a global civil society opens up possibilities to dissolve the historical connection slowly between nation-state and 'civil citizen'. Ove Korsgaard (1997) suggests that just as adult and popular education became an important lever for democratic development a century ago, a new approach is needed now. He therefore argues that:

A new concept must build upon the reality that today the global and the local are interconnected and interdependent in ways that humanity has not experienced before. Today, the many different local communities around the world share a common destiny and humanity is a geo-ecological entirety within the same biosphere. This way of understanding the world is completely new and unique (Korsgaard, 1997:24).

Oxfam's curriculum for Global Citizenship has been one practical example of taking this forward within the UK education system. Phil Hope MP, one of the instigators of the term 'global youth work' has stated: 'To be effective citizens of our own country, we need to understand this global society and learn to act as global citizens' (DEA 2001c:1).

Global Perspectives Within Education

There is some evidence to demonstrate that within Labour government educational thinking in the UK there is an almost contradictory trend to that of the economic and skills based approach which appears so dominant. There is now, for example, an explicit recognition of the need to understand society at local, national and global levels:

Education is... a route to equality of opportunity for all, a healthy and just democracy, a productive economy, and sustainable development. Education should reflect the enduring values that contribute to these ends. These include valuing the wider groups to which we belong, the diversity in our society and the environment in which we live. Education must enable us to respond positively to the opportunities and challenges of the rapidly changing world in which we live and work ... we need to be prepared to engage as individuals, parents, workers and citizens with economic, social and cultural change, including the continued globalisation of the economy and society, with new work and leisure patterns and with the rapid expansion of communication technologies (QCA, 2000:5).

But more than this, DfES also published 'Developing a Global Dimension for the School Curriculum' which stated:

The importance of education in helping young people recognise their role and responsibilities as members of this global community is becoming increasingly apparent.

Including a global dimension in teaching means that links can be made between local and global issues and that what is taught is informed by international and global matters. It also means that young people are given

opportunities to examine their own values and attitudes, to appreciate the similarities between peoples everywhere, to understand the global context of their local lives, and to develop skills that will enable them to combat prejudice and discrimination. This in turn gives young people the knowledge, skills and understanding to play an active role in the global community (DfES, 1999: 2).

This booklet goes on to suggest that the global dimension should be based on the following key concepts; interdependence, citizenship, diversity, sustainable development, social justice, values and perceptions, and human rights

The Labour Government's stated desire to have a more socially inclusive and engaged populace, resulting in the development of citizenship education suggests another move away from a pure technocratic approach. From 2002, citizenship has been a statutory subject on the school curriculum. It has three strands: political literacy, social and moral responsibility and community involvement. Citizenship strands are also being developed at post sixteen level as a core skill and the topic is emerging more and more in the debates about role and purpose of lifelong learning.

Of course it could be argued that all youth work has the achievement of ideals of citizenship as its goal. However, to address the concept poses challenges which cannot be ignored. Whose citizenship, and to be engaged in what society? The global dimension which can and should be a feature of all aspects of citizenship, raises particular issues in this context. Adopting a global approach to citizenship education has been advocated in a recently published DEA booklet for schools, funded and supported by DfES.

Local citizenship can only be really understood if it is seen in the (global) context and the systems that link us with other places...To allow pupils to remain unaware of the global dimension to citizenship would be to leave them uninformed about the nature of their own lives and the position and role they hold in relation to the world in which they live (DEA, 2001: 2).

Meanwhile, another trend within education and learning which reflects a more values-based and future looking perspective is that of education for sustainable development. This has also been supported by government.

The agendas and promotion of education for sustainable development date back to the Brundtland Report and the outcomes of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. However, it is only since 1998 that significant advances have been made throughout Britain. A key catalyst for this in England has been the Sustainable Development Education Panel. This panel has successfully secured a recognition of sustainable

development within the school curriculum, the work of the Learning and Skills Councils and the strategic plans of some of the Regional Development Agencies.

An important feature of the Panel's work is to consciously promote a concept of sustainable development that is not just about the environment. The Panel emphasises, for example, the interrelationship of environment, economy and society. This has meant including the agendas of citizenship and social inclusion, combating poverty in the UK and at a global level, and general public concerns about the quality of life. It sees learning as essential in moving towards a more sustainable society for all.

Our vision is a world in which there are many opportunities to learn about sustainable development. A world in which a skilled population make informed decisions in their home, community and working lives and in their leisure activities. A world where people understand and take responsibility for the impact they have on the quality of life of other people, locally and globally (DETR, 1998: 11).

However, in reviewing its work in 2003, the Panel concluded that whilst it had made some progress at a principled level, there was less evidence of the recognition of the importance of sustainable development and quality of life at the delivery end of education (DEFRA 2003).

The challenge for educationalists is to demonstrate that not only is the values-based perspective legitimate and in theory part of government policy, but to show that it must be paramount over and can integrate the skills based perspective. For without learning being framed within a values and social perspective, then the opportunity to influence a generation of young people towards a positive and critical view of their place in the world and in relation to others will be difficult to secure. It is from within this perspective that those who advocate 'global youth work' must develop their approach.

Global Perspectives and Youth Work

In his foreword to 'Transforming Youth Work' which signifies the government's policy for the future of the profession, the Secretary of State for Education re-enforces the democratic and citizenship focus: 'the youth service is well placed to support young people in understanding their rights and responsibilities and to develop as active citizens and participants in our democratic processes' (DfES, 2002: 3). But in the same foreword he also states that the government is determined to achieve, as well as social justice, 'economic success for all citizens' (Ibid: 3).

In its suggestions for a 'curriculum for youth work' the document does go on to talk not only about skills and knowledge for longer-term employability, but also helping

young people to explore the issues which affect them, 'to make responsible choices; to encourage social interaction and compassion; to promote self-acceptance through offering positive feedback; and to act on their understanding' (Ibid: 11). This offers a context within which global youth work might be effectively developed.

Indeed, it is suggested here that youth work provides an excellent location within which to ensure that 'global perspectives' within education and learning can be framed within more than a skills based model. In achieving this it needs to promote positive values, provide a learning framework, make connections with a young person's everyday experiences and engage them in taking forward ideas themselves into whatever action they wish to take. The concepts and principles behind the notion of 'global youth work' developed by the DEA and others offer a starting point for a global educational approach in the youth work context suggesting that, 'It is an approach, which starts form young people's everyday experiences and engages them in a critical analysis of local and global influences on their lives and their communities (DEA, 2002b: 2).

The strategy for 'global youth work' developed by the DEA and others has identified that in an increasingly globalised society, the future employment of young people is likely to be heavily influenced by global market forces. Communications technology can also provide young people with instant access to knowledge and links with people from throughout the world. Therefore as the advocates for global youth work have suggested, 'young people therefore need to understand their own situation in a wider context' and to be 'able to make connections between local and global events', and to 'develop skills and knowledge to interpret events affecting their lives' (DEA, 2002b:3)

The DEA has also found through its work in lifelong learning that an important part of learning should be about promoting positive values around concepts of rights and tolerance. If this is then developed to recognise that we live in a global society, there is a need for people to 'understand the causes of global inequality', to know what social justice means, to 'understand views, perspectives and cultures from peoples elsewhere in the world' (DEA, 2001:b).

The perspectives which are rooted in the 'development education movement' aim to raise awareness and understanding of how the global affects the local and how individuals, communities and societies can and do affect the global. The intention is to bring global perspectives into all aspects of learning - from the school classroom to universities to local community activities to the media.

As defined by the DEA, development education is:

- *enabling people to understand the links between their own lives and those of people throughout the world;*

- *increasing understanding of the global economic, social and political environmental forces which shape our lives;*

- *developing the skills, attitudes and values which enable people to work together to bring about change and to take control of their own lives;*

- *working to achieve a more just and sustainable world in which power and resources are equitably shared (DEA 2002a: 2).*

This approach has gained some legitimacy in practice as a consequence of Governmental support for the value and importance of development education and sustainable development education.

DFID in 1998 published a strategy document on development education entitled 'Building Support for Development'. They noted that not only was more support and resources needed for this area, but there was a need to think about these agendas in a different way:

If we are to achieve this [breakthrough in development awareness], it lies in going beyond attitudes to development based on compassion and charity, and establishing a real understanding of our interdependence and the relevance of development issues to people's everyday lives. We need to strengthen public confidence in, and support for, the fight against global poverty, acceptance that it matters to our future, that great progress is possible and that the behaviour of each of us can make a difference (DFID 1998:1).

The Development of Global Youth Work.

A major impetus for bringing the agendas of development education and youth work together came from a research project undertaken by the DEA, published in 1995 'A World of Difference.' This research identified some positive work being undertaken using a global perspective but that there were major problems about terminology. A main outcome of the report was therefore the creation of the term 'global youth work'. It was also apparent that some NGOs interested in working with young people are inclined to start from their own campaigning or fundraising agendas and not those of young people. This runs counter to the comprehensive notion of global youth work (Bourn and McCollum, 1995).

Having asserted the significance of the idea of global youth work, the research report made a number of recommendations to NGOs, governments, local authorities and

voluntary youth organisations mainly in the areas of investing development in the area of young people's concerns with global and development issues, to support training of workers and to encourage innovative work. Subsequently a number of these recommendations were pursued.

As the interest and support for global youth work has grown, so have new challenges and issues. What has now emerged following its successful development and support from the key participants in youth work is the recognition that global youth work is youth work which is socially relevant to young people. It is also closely linked to the broader educational agendas of our time, active citizenship, improving quality, identity and cultural diversity. But above all it provides an understanding of the impact of globalisation upon all of our lives (White, 2002).

One of the most commonly discussed areas of concern amongst youth workers is how issues of international development and discussion about globalisation can be brought into good youth work practice and not be perceived as a bolt-on extra. For some young people becoming involved in action around fair trade issues, for example, would emerge from their own personal interests and peer group background. For other young people, particularly those who are feeling excluded and disengaged from society these issues may well appear as irrelevant to their needs. Why would they want to know about international development or eliminating 'world' poverty when they are struggling with their own issues of poverty and injustice? The response to this of course lies within the interconnectedness of the local and the global. It is this that locally based youth workers can mobilize so effectively.

However, to do so requires information and knowledge. Opinion polls over recent years have shown that people of all ages are concerned about these questions (Mori 1998. See also DFID Public Attitude Surveys, 2000,2001,2002, available from www.dfid.gov.uk). The issue of motivation to learn more about, and be actively involved in, international development was recognized in the 1997 White Paper on Eliminating World Poverty which stated:

> *There are two reasons, above all, why we should embrace the objectives of international development. First because it is right to do so. Every generation has a moral duty to reach out to the poor and needy and to try to create a more just world. Second, because we have a common interest in doing so. Global warming, and degradation, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, polluted and over-fished oceans, shortage of fresh water, population pressures and insufficient lands on which to grow food will otherwise endanger the lives of everyone - rich and poor, developed and developing. As a country which depends more than most on international trade and investment, jobs*

and prosperity here in Britain depend on growth in the global economy to which countries of the South could contribute so much in the future (DfID, 1997: 16).

Yet knowing about all of these issues can not in itself change the situation. Indeed, it can produce a sense of powerlessness and of being overwhelmed with the enormity of the task to eradicate poverty and achieve a more equitable world.

The 1995 DEA research report reflected these concerns. Young people interviewed in Norfolk, for example, were concerned about global poverty, but they stated that they did not feel well informed. Action was all too often reduced to giving money to a charity. Meanwhile, young people in London, Sefton and in a number of national youth organisations indicated that young people were primarily concerned about immediate issues in their own environment and their personal needs but there was also a concern about the wider world: as one young person commented, 'if we can't help and clean up our own area, how can we expected to be able to clear up the world where we live?'. There were differences in response to the issues between those from monocultural and multicultural communities. It was notable that whilst young people from minority communities were more globally aware, they had a distrust of political structures, at local, national and international levels (Bourn and McCollum, 1995: 52/53).

A fundamental principle of youth work practice must be to enable young people to build from their own concerns, needs and experiences (DfES, 2002a:11). With regard to global issues, this could mean young people bringing a wide range of perspectives and levels of awareness linked to their existing knowledge of issues, views about their own personal lifestyles and the lifestyles of others. It means using personal as well as local experience and perspectives to make the global connection. Global youth work thus emphasises learning centred approaches and focuses upon the development of the individual within the context of action for change.

The DEA research report argued that too many of the resources produced and projects developed started from the idea of action for change rather than from the position and experiences of the young people involved. For example some excellent participatory games and activities may be available on issues such as fair trade, drugs or aids but the resources have been promoted without taking account of where and how they should be used within a youth work framework. Unless the resources are linked to training and participatory learning methods, their use can be restricted to encouraging young people to sign up to campaigns without any integrated understanding of the context within which such campaigns operate.

Nevertheless, a major feature of the growth and development of global youth work in England since the late nineties has been the move away from NGO agenda determined youth work to young people agenda determined practice. NGOs are now working much more in partnership with either the voluntary youth work sector or with locally based projects. These include joint work undertaken by Christian Aid and CAFOD with church based youth groups, Save the Children working with Guides and ActionAid working with Scouts and Woodcraft Folk.

It is proposed here that the global youth worker brings three strands to their work which can be summarised as context, values and methodologies.

Developing skills and competences to respond to the challenges of globalisation and living in a global society, requires the need for young people to see the connections between their own lives and needs and those of the wider world. This means putting the local, national and international context into the formal or non-formal setting. Within a youth work *context*, this could mean looking and discussing young people's social and cultural roots and surveying where and how families came to live in their area. It could also lead to discussions around identities and how young people see themselves in relation to their own community.

Secondly, it means encouraging the development of a set of *values* concerned with a commitment to interdependence; an acceptance that we are not independent either as groups or as individuals, but that our actions impact upon others, environmentally, socially, culturally and economically. This could mean discussions and activities linked to improving the quality of their own lives locally which could be linked to improving the lives of others. It may start from a project around transport but it could lead to discussions around climate change. Social justice and rights can also be the subjects for discussions, be it the Iraq War or asylum seekers.

Thirdly, it means developing a *methodology* which focuses on supporting active learning, valuing and building on existing knowledge, encouraging critical reflection and enabling the participants to make informed choices in their own context. It does not mean just doing a role play game produced by Christian Aid and then moving on to something else. It means putting activities like this in a broader context, creating space for the young people to decide in what way they wish to take their engagement in an issue further. Just because young people play a role play game on fair trade should not mean that you assess its effectiveness by how many young people then go out and buy Fair Trade coffee. What should be assessed is how young people themselves reflect upon and share what they have learnt from the activity and discussion.

Conclusion

This paper has proposed that whilst global youth work needs to be developed further in order to respond to the enthusiasms and interests of young people, it needs also to avoid the pitfall of being perceived as another interest group peddling its own agendas and perspectives.

The roots of the global youth work approach are in development education which is usually defined to include 'action for change'. Some could interpret global youth work as being about encouraging young people to action themselves to change the world. The logic of this perspective could be that assessing global youth work could be by the number of young people who sign up to a campaign, join a demonstration or send petitions to nasty multinational companies or governments.

Whilst this might be a positive consequence of youth work activities, global youth work which is comprehensive needs to ensure that the outcomes from discussions and activities are those determined by young people themselves and not by the youth worker. Youth workers, like development educationalists often quote Paulo Freire to justify their work. Certainly at the heart of Freire's thinking is critical consciousness, but he goes out of the way to encourage learners themselves to come to their conclusions, to get to the root causes of the problem (Freire, 1972).

Global youth work includes promoting a values based perspective to learning. But it also means encouraging the development of greater knowledge and skills to live in a global society. It also means creating the space for a methodological basis that has as its heart young people themselves being empowered to engage in issues on their own terms and in their own ways.

The demonstrations around the Iraq war demonstrate that many young people are concerned about global issues and want do to something about what is happening in the world. Global youth work needs to harness this interest within young people so that they can develop the skills and confidence to actively engage in society. As Kofi Annan has stated, young people can and do make a difference. They are more at home with communications technologies and 'are coming of age at a time when global interdependence is a more keenly felt part of their daily experience. To them, the idea of global citizenship may not require as big a leap of imagination as it perhaps did for current and previous generations' (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2002: 59).

In conclusion whilst it is likely that global perspectives will be taken forward and developed by different organisations in different ways, the key message is that youth work 'which does not take account of our global interdependence fails to

give people a full understanding of whatever subject or skill they are learning' (Bourn, 2001:337).

This means ensuring that within the wider debates relevant not only to youth work but to education in general, the response to globalisation is not a narrow skills based perspective, but one that is located within a values and knowledge as well as skills framework. The early years of the twenty first century have been dominated by global insecurity and wars. But at the same time the long standing agendas, which have to a large extent fuelled these events, of poverty, social injustice and inequality, not only have not gone away but have also increased. As Tim Brighouse commented on the events of September 11th, 2001:

> *suddenly everybody in the developed world began to feel like people in the undeveloped world, that life is fragile and there is no guarantee of personal or collective security. We all learnt that day that if dependency is bad, so too is independence and that somehow or other we have to have the reach to grasp the advantages offered by interdependence (TIDE, 2002: 5).*

This paper has not wished to develop a theoretical analysis of what global perspectives are to youth work. Rather, it has tried to show that if there is an acceptance that global perspectives are important then by merely putting it on the agenda, it poses wider questions about the purpose and role of education. Globalisation can be a threat but it can also be an opportunity. What cannot be denied is that it exists. There is evidence within the UK that there are trends within education which recognise the importance of global perspectives within a broad social and learning framework.

Young people more than any other sector of the population are and will in the future be directly affected by its impact. They have a right to have the skills, knowledge, value base and tools to actively shape the global society in which they now live and will in the future, for not only themselves but society as a whole. Indeed it could be argued that the promotion and support for global youth work has to be one of the priorities for youth work practice. Without it being at the heart of youth work, we are short changing young people and denying them the entitlement they deserve.

Dr Douglas Bourn *is Director of The Development Education Association, which is the umbrella body for promoting global perspectives within education in England. He has been a member of two government advisory bodies, Sustainable Development Education Panel and Development Awareness Working Group.*

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SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND CITIZENSHIP IN A GLOBAL SOCIETY

PAUL ADAMS

Within the development of citizenship education in the UK there has been limited recognition of the global nature of society and the impact globalisation has on young people's lives including the effects which international institutions such as the United Nations, World Bank, European Union, and multi-national companies such as Microsoft and Monsanto, have on local communities. In this article I will suggest how globalisation shapes the context in which social exclusion can develop and describe the need for citizenship education within youth work to address this 'global dimension' to the lives of young people and communities.

Effective youth work can and does create the space and opportunities for young people to participate in informal educational activities, which complement and expand on the work that is taking place in schools. In the formal education setting some work has been undertaken to support teachers and pupils to explore the global dimension of citizenship through curriculum guidance, (Brownlie, 2001). Youth work could enable young people to demonstrate a global awareness through *participative* action, which seeks to challenge the local and global injustices that have resonance with their lives.

To play an active role in UK society and the world around them young people need to be able to make sense of democratic and other institutions and engage with them. Even though they often appear distant and perhaps complex these institutions have a direct impact on young people's lives through legislation and policy e.g. Human Rights Act, EC Working Hours Directive (European Parliament, 1993). Some international institutions, such as the European Union are notionaly democratic in nature and can be influenced by adults through representative structures and processes.

Citizenship Education as outlined by the Crick report is intended to encourage political literacy to ensure that 'democratic institutions, practices and processes must be understood' (QCA, 1998). However it is also true that an overwhelming majority of international agencies and influences arise from undemocratic institutions such as the operations of multi-national companies, which are beyond individual or even the national Government sphere of influence in some cases.

> *The blunt truth is that there has never been a time when domestic and foreign policy were so closely linked. The world economy will be intimately affected by world events on peace and security, for good or ill. The British economy is hugely dependant on developments both in the US and European economies* (Blair, 2003).

Global agencies and business corporations can instigate and implement policies that have serious implications for the quality of life of local communities and their young people in nations throughout the world. This power of globalisation manifests itself through the environmental impact of industry e.g. global warming, oil exploration of the Arctic, and has a direct human impact for instance through the relocation of manufacturing to nations with non-unionised work forces and with low pay and conditions. Women, Black people and poor communities, who form the majority of the world's population, often bear the brunt of the negative impact of globalisation, which is compounded by racial discrimination at a local interpersonal and national economic level. There are numerous examples but the picture of multi-national companies operating for profit without a direct stake in any nation or community of citizens is striking. All too often the very people who experience the effects of the force of globalisation locally are the least skilled and least able to harness its effects for the benefits it can afford to some. Indeed some thinkers and activists have viewed the process of globalisation as a form of neo-colonialism.

> *When the people fought against slavery, or apartheid, or colonialism, they did not speak in terms of sharing better the benefits of slavery or apartheid or colonialism. They fought the systems of slavery, apartheid and colonialism themselves. So too, we cannot just talk of sharing better the benefits of globalisation. We have to fight the system of the globalisation we have today* (Khor, 2000).

The rise of 'Islamaphobia' and the simplistic, racialised and polarised discourse of the 'civilised' and 'uncivilised 'world, involve a dumbing down of people's understanding of the causes of world events and contribute to a situation where interlinked issues of religion, economic power, and inequality are reduced to sound bites by the global media (Chomsky, 1999). Indeed it could be that terms such as 'axis of evil' and the 'war on terrorism' (Bush, 2002) themselves reflect an underlying and fundamental threat to peace, civil liberties and the welfare of all people of the world.

To view citizenship in only a national context is therefore not only limiting but also has increasingly less meaning in modern societies. No country in the world is untouched or unconnected to another; we only have to reflect on the events of September 11 in New York and its aftermath to see how lives are inter-linked. To fully understand the meaning of active citizenship, young people need to understand this 'interconnectedness'.

The very notion of citizenship has been inextricably linked to the historical role and function of a nation state. The nation states of the western hemisphere have historically been responsible for the control and welfare of their citizens through

colonisation, business and international trade and the practices of their institutions; the judiciary, the education system, the police, and the military. In more recent times in the UK, particularly since the Second World War, the nation has come to demonstrate some of its responsibilities to its citizens through the welfare state. T.H. Marshall (1950) suggested that the concept of citizenship has historically developed in a particular sequence. He identified civil rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom to practice religion, and the ownership of property as leading to the right to engage in political processes. The final sequence to this process was seen to be the development of 'social' rights. These rights have been embodied in the welfare state and the state education system in the UK and have been seen to go some way to enabling the creation of equal opportunities for all to play an active part in society, both economically and culturally. (Gamarnikow and Green, 2000)

However Marshall's interpretation of citizenship was developed during a period of relative stability in the domestic and international political arena. The process of globalisation whilst perhaps not a new phenomenon is one that has rapidly increased in pace over the last 15 years since the collapse of the Soviet Union (Hertz, 2002). The certainties of the world order shaped as it was by the cold war have long since dissolved and the advent of multinational corporations, which in some instances have more wealth than the GDP of small nations have had a direct impact on communities locally.

> *The state under globalisation, under the free market system, under deregulation, privatisation, the move from social welfare to social control and neo-liberalism -the market state, in other words, as opposed to the nation state (and within parenthesis, let me say that if the Nation State was the vehicle of industrial capital, the Market State is the vehicle of global capital) is more concerned to serve multinational corporations and big business than the poor and deprived of our societies* (Sivanandan, 2002).

More recently the limits to the power of the nation state to provide for and protect its citizens has become more evident. Decisions made at a national level are increasingly subject to the influence of multinational corporations (Walden, 2002) and international institutions including the European Union, the European Court of Human Rights, the United Nations, NATO and various trade bodies such as the G8, and World Trade Organisation shape and sometimes dictate the direction of national government domestic policy and services both in the 'south', the poorer parts of the globe and the more affluent north, including the UK. Structural adjustment programmes imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have resulted in nation states dropping trade barriers to goods from other countries, withdrawing subsidies from domestic producers and drastic cut backs in public

services. This has particularly affected countries in the south. For instance in the year 2000 US Corporation Bechtel took over the public water system of Bolivia's third-largest city, Cochabamba as part of a privatisation programme. Within weeks water rates were raised by as much as 200 %, far beyond what families there could afford, leading to widespread civil protest (Shultz, 2002).

It can be suggested that the UK national Government has little room for manoeuvre on economic policy. National government has less legitimacy because more power is wielded elsewhere by multi national corporations, which tend to have the maximisation of profit as a motivating force. Similarly powerful individual states like the USA, whose international policy is arguably dominated by business interests and lobby groups (Palast, 2002), greatly influences the economic policy of smaller states.

Voters and particularly young people may be left with the impression that votes cast in an national election will have little or no impact on influencing Government policy. National administrations of any political persuasion offer less substantive difference in policy as all aim to operate within the constraints of internationally accepted free market liberal democracies. For instance the potential for the UK to entry the European Single currency has raised issues of national sovereignty in both right wing and left wing political circles. Indeed loss of 'sovereignty' has become a key political issue for both the political right and left over recent years and this demonstrates a widespread unease about the control that nations and elected democracies have in the face of global forces and institutions.

For young people these are important issues but I suggest their scale and perceived complexity can add to a sense of powerlessness in the face of external powerful and international forces that are often undemocratic in nature and can lead to a sense of conflicting loyalties and in some instances, conflicting cultural identities. Ironically at a time when citizens of the UK are freer than ever before to move and make links (DFID, 2000) literally and virtually through various information technologies, mass media and travel beyond national borders, measures introduced to combat terrorism and the hysteria over asylum seekers and refugees reflect the power of the nation state in very real ways. In a world of globalisation, national citizenship is still an important factor; to claim that one is a 'global' citizen perhaps offers a vision of the values, skills and knowledge to which one *should* aspire (Oxfam, 2000). However the harsh reality is that national Government can still sanction people and even exclude them from their territory or even, as in the recent Asylum, Immigration and Nationality Act (S.4), remove citizenship altogether if they are deemed to 'seriously prejudice' the UK's interests (Home Office, 2002).

Norman Tebbit's 'cricket test' (Tebbit, 1990) suggested that identifying which the national team one supported, would reveal whether one has been assimilated into 'British' cultural life or whether one remained 'unassimilated' and loyal to another state and culture. More recently devolution and regionalisation of government in the UK have further stimulated these debates about what it means to be a UK citizen (Macmillan, 2002). Commentator Yasmin Alibhai-Brown discusses the need to open up the debate further to include a dialogue about what it means to be English in the twenty first century and how this can be explored in a positive way rather than reverting to either negative xenophobic rhetoric or celebratory jingoism (Alibhai-Brown, 2002).

These issues reinforce long-term concerns of Black communities, and specifically asylum seekers and refugees, about the legal and often racist nature of citizenship issues (Kundnani, 2003) where young people are viewed as domestic 'subjects' of the state rather than empowered citizens of the world. However opportunities do exist to enable young people in particular to identify and understand the globalised context of their local situations and livelihoods and develop considered responses to this context. Devolution in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales has also resulted in divergent approaches to education and youth policies which directly impact on young people e.g. the abolition of tuition fees in Scotland and the reinvestment in youth services in Wales through the *Extending Entitlement* policy (Welsh Assembly, 2002).

The challenge for educators is significant; a first step is to enable young people to develop critical skills, values and knowledge that reflect a culture of Human Rights. They need firstly to be able to make sense of the world around them and secondly to develop the ability to influence it. In the related field of Human Rights Education, an 'education for empowerment' approach has been proposed where a capacity for critical reflection must help learners: 'analyze the underlying structures of an issue, action or experience, to unveil and apprehend its causal relationships, and to discover the hidden motives or interests which it conceals. To understand how any given policy benefits some and harms others is an important step towards action' (APAP, 1996).

A number of agencies and organisations produce educational materials for youth workers and offer guidance training and advice to encourage and support educators to integrate a global dimension to their work. For instance Oxfam's curriculum framework and educational materials for global citizenship identifies the Global Citizen as someone who 'is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place and takes responsibility for their actions' (Oxfam, 2000).

This approach to 'global citizenship', presents a challenge for UK educators who are often primarily concerned with the personal and localised (national) interest of young people. The importance of education for global citizenship has been emphasised by those involved in Development Education who suggest that 'global citizenship education is about learning how the world works in economic, political and social ways. It is about exploring and developing those key elements that bind us together as human beings and about challenging those factors which have the potential to tear us apart' (Brownlie, 2001).

Increasingly Government education policy and funded programmes involving young people (Connexions, New Deal, Education Action Zones etc.) do tacitly acknowledge the need for young people to learn about the world. But this essentially reflects the economic dimension of the globalised society, the needs for a skilled and educated work force to compete in the global economy and the needs to engage the socially excluded in the world of work. Less developed is discussion about the need to tackle economic inequality (Gamarnikow and Green, 2000) which could be begun through citizenship education. Those concerned with education for global citizenship, Human Rights Education and others may contest this current imbalance in education policy and practice, whilst others propose a more idealised form of education.

The primary purpose of education is not to enhance the profits of global corporations, nor even to get students jobs. We believe the primary purpose is to prepare students to become stewards of the earth and participants in democracy for global social justice. Jobs or other means of livelihood need to be explored in this context (Andrzejewski and Alessio, 1999).

Economic inequality has largely been replaced by the rhetoric of social exclusion, which has become increasingly part of mainstream discourse throughout the European Union. The Maarstricht and Amsterdam treaties include a commitment to combat social exclusion (Silver, 1998). Dialogues about social exclusion in the UK have tended to focus on the deficiency of the individuals concerned, including lack of employability and social skills, rather than the structural causes of their poverty (Gamarnikow and Green, 2000).

The Government emphasis on social exclusion provides a description of disadvantaged sections of society, where poverty is determined as much by culture, family circumstance and where one lives, rather than inequality due to unequal distribution of wealth and resources (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999). To look critically at the underlying cause of poverty can be an empowering process for individuals identified as, or experiencing social exclusion, recognising and exploring the external causes of their situation rather than internalising their poverty as a personal deficiency. It can

be suggested that those in the youth and community work sector concerned with social justice have acknowledged the need to address the structural and economic causes of social exclusion and that they 'have long been aware that many of the causes of these issues lie outside local communities and that only by understanding wider forces can we begin to design more effective interventions that address issues both here and abroad' (Scottish Executive, 2001).

The Government gives the impression that the public must make the best of the opportunities available. The reality for young people may mean working in a local outlet of a fast food franchise or at a telesales desk. In a globalised economy young workers in the UK may have more common interest with workers in countries in the south than with company shareholders in their own country. The implication is that certain sections of the population have not been taking advantage of these opportunities and need to be coerced through welfare to work initiatives of the Third Way (Giddens, 1998).

Traditionally Labour Governments have attempted to provide a welfare state to shield the individual and community from the harsher aspects of capitalism. Current social policy reflects the dominance of globalisation and the loss of the power, or will, of the state to tackle inequality. Instead it seeks to create the conditions or framework for young people to adapt and play a full role in a society (e.g. through Connexions in England), but does not encourage a vision of the future of society that is significantly different to the status quo, it is the individual that must change. 'Technological change and globalisation demand that young people of today must develop knowledge, skills and flexibility for their world of the future' (DfEE, 1999).

Central to current government thinking and policy on education are the development of social capital and community cohesion amongst young people. This reflects both the local structural issues at work (e.g. post-industrial communities, lack of investment, poor education facilities) and breakdown of interpersonal relationship of trust 'belonging' and participation in community networks and civil society. The Government sees the development of social capital as the essential resource to combat social exclusion (Blair, 1998).

In addition, a culture of consumerism, aimed specifically at the young (Monbiot, 2003) has contributed to the propensity of some young people without access to significant financial resources, to exercise anti-social and 'deviant' freedoms (Bourdieu, 1977), including theft, illegal drug use and benefits 'scams' all of which rank highly on the Government crime and disorder agenda.

Focusing on the global dimension of such issues can form a dynamic starting point for young people. The involvement of young people in anti-globalisation protests,

the Fair Trade campaign and anti-war demonstrations highlight their active political engagement in issues that transcend national boundaries. Similarly drugs, music and the media offer immediate examples of how young peoples interests have a global dimension that can be usefully explored. Education for global citizenship means learning from and working with people from around the world, and can even enable people to act in solidarity with others to bring about change (Adams, 2002).

Youth Work

Youth work in the UK can and does create opportunities to challenge prejudice and celebrate cultural and ethnic diversity locally and globally and support young people who want to develop their understanding of the world and the skills to take action. Of course youth work practice that challenges negative stereotypes of people and places, needs to be supported, developed and extended. In practice the skills, knowledge and values essential for global citizenship can be developed through a range of high quality youth work interventions including using arts, media and intercultural education activities; encouraging campaigning and community action on local and global issues; developing international links with young people around the world; facilitating local or international volunteering; organising peer education work on global issues that affect young people's lives and arranging international youth exchanges. All of these creative interventions present opportunities to improve the quality of existing practice, helping young people to develop both personally and as active members of communities. It is an approach which starts from young people's everyday experiences and engages them in a critical analysis of local and global influences on their lives and their communities (Adams, 2002).

This global youth work recognises that the gap between the rich and poor is widening and the worlds resources are unfairly distributed and remain in the hands of a small minority globally. It acknowledges and seeks to understand the implications of the fact that 'the richest 5% of the world's people have incomes 114 times those of the poorest 5%. Every day more than 30,000 children around the world die of preventable diseases, and nearly 14,000 people are infected with HIV/AIDS' (United Nations, 2002).

Young people have a central role to play in changing the world now and in the future. It has been proposed that this work needs to ensure that the most disadvantaged, along with the majority of young people, have the opportunities to understand and engage with these issues of globalisation (Adams, 2002). It is work which can be described as 'Informal education with young people that encourages a critical understanding of the links between the personal, local and the global and seeks their active participation in actions that bring about change towards greater equity and justice' (DEA, 2000).

Developing global youth work

In 2003, the Development Education Association (DEA), with the endorsement of the National Youth Agency, Wales Youth Agency, Youth Council of Northern Ireland and Youth Link Scotland produced a lobbying document, Young *People in a Global Society* (Adams, 2002). In its key recommendations to youth officers, senior managers and decision-makers in voluntary and local authority youth services and training agencies, it emphasised the need to ensure that youth work reflects the fundamental global nature of society. It focused upon the potential to build on the practice of individually motivated youth workers and the interests of young people, to develop organisational policy frameworks that:

- *Ensure that training for staff and volunteers recognises the skills, knowledge and experiences needed to develop global youth work.*

- *Develop youth service/organisational mission/curriculum statements that include global youth work, ensuring all staff are aware of and engaged in the process.*

- *Ensure that young people have the opportunity to shape the development of global youth work so that it is based in the reality of young people's lives locally and encourages and supports youth led initiatives.*

- *Identify, celebrate and share examples of good practice, experiences and learning about global youth work with the wider youth work and education sectors.*

- *Build partnerships with the development agencies, international networks and educators in citizenship, sustainable development, human rights and anti-racism, to develop collaborative approaches to projects and policy development.*

- *Develop effective, where possible 'face- to-face', links with partners abroad.*

- *Disseminate information on global issues and campaigns to youth workers and young people to enable the development of informed and innovative programmes and activities.*

    (Adams, 2002)

The document goes further to suggest that youth workers need to be equipped with appropriate skills and knowledge to be able to confidently address issues of global citizenship in their work with young people. It challenges the youth work training agencies to ensure global perspectives are reflected within their programmes and suggests: local authorities, the voluntary sector and initial training courses in higher education need to: *Recognise the skills, knowledge and experiences needed to develop global youth work, through curriculum content and placements, including youth work curriculum design and delivery as well as analysis* (Adams, 2002).

Conclusion

It is clear that the processes of globalisation affect us all but there is debate about how the UK Government should respond to this phenomenon, within the nation state, through its education policy and in particular through Citizenship Education. Community cohesion, social exclusion, lack of political participation and social capital are major concerns and fuel Government's enthusiasm for the development of active citizenship amongst young people. But these issues cannot be seen in isolation from the livelihoods of people throughout the world. It is not enough for education to stop at the domestic economic agenda, where young people are encouraged to understand and seek, the employment and educational opportunities that a globalised economy offers. There is a need to nurture and develop active global citizenship whilst recognising the global dimensions to all our lives and taking action to challenge injustice.

A central issue for those concerned with citizenship education should be inequality and the resulting poverty locally and globally which results in lack of participation in society and breakdown of the 'community cohesion'. 'At the heart of being a "good citizen" is a sense of belonging to and participating in a community. In global citizenship we are not just talking about the global community but the global that is present in local communities' (Brownlie, 2002).

Social exclusion can be seen as a result of poverty within and between societies, which exist in a free market, globalised capitalist economic system. The 'market state' requires inequality to enable it to function, and neo-liberal doctrine advocates only a minimalist welfare state in the form of a 'safety net'. The government's drive for citizenship education does offer a means for young people to develop skills and knowledge but does not demonstrate a commitment to change the conditions and structure of the global society. Nor is the urgency that this needs to be addressed in the education of young people reflected in changes in policy or institutions.

> *no one is born a good citizen, globally or nationally. Such commitment must be cultivated by Governments, by community leaders, teachers, religious figures and others from birth, and endure over a lifetime. Only by building opportunities for them today can we hope to build healthy, stable and equitable societies of tomorrow* (Annan, 2002).

In many respects western governments are moving further towards a polarised view of the world where powerful westernised economic interests are in a position to impose their will on citizens of all nations of the world. To question this and to begin the process of building an alternative, a renewed form of political education is required. This is at the core of Global Youth Work practice.

Paul Adams *is Youth Officer for the Development Education Association and responsible for the national development of 'Global Youth Work'. This involves designing and delivering accredited training programmes and supporting organisations and individuals in developing training, policy and practice.*

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REVOLUTIONALISING YOUTH WORK:

Black Perspectives in Global Youth Work [1]

VIPIN CHAUHAN

GLOBALISM

> *When the Europeans sought to acquire ownership of lands from the inhabitants of America, the aboriginals were surprised, and exclaimed, 'Now you are asking for the ownership of lands. Are you going to shortly demand ownership over jungles, mountains, rivers and skies too?'* (Ramaswamy: 1995:205)

Globalisation has often been portrayed as a neutral process (DFID, 2001) benefiting all nations equally when in fact, Western/Northern interests dominate it. Modern globalisation veneers over the exploitative relationship of the Black Southern majority by a white Northern minority. For people in the Black majority world, globalisation often represents a further imposition of mainly negative western global outlooks and the displacement of indigenous ways of life. For the Black majority world, instead of 'universalisation' of rights and benefits (Bauman, 1998) it has witnessed the progressive modernisation of its own subservience.

The profit motive, the ideology of nuclear families, individualism and materialism are assumed to be the dominant values of the contemporary global society. Aided by advances in information and communications technology, it is claimed that the world has moved into an age where such values are no longer the aspirations just of the North, but also increasingly desired by people of the South. CAFOD, in its brochure on globalisation refers to this process as 'One Disney McWorld'.

Roddick argues that globalisation:

> *is inherently destructive to the natural world because it requires that products travel thousands of miles around the planet, resulting in staggering environmental costs such as unprecedented levels of sea and air pollution, increased energy consumption, and use of packaging materials. It also requires devastating new infrastructure developments: new roads, ports, airports, pipelines, and power grids* (Roddick, 2001:136).

Modern globalisation has managed to create a more direct relationship between international (white) capital and localised (Black) labour. This has been achieved through the work of trans-national corporations (TNCs) as well as intermediary bodies such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Indeed many authors now use the term 'globalisation' as a code name for imperialism and what I have described as 'globalism':

the major economic units are owned and operated in large part by stockholders in the imperial countries; and profits, royalties, rents and interest payments flow upward and outward in an asymmetrical fashion....In comparison, the dominated countries are low-wage areas, interest and profit exporters (not importers), virtual captives of the international financial institutions and highly dependent on limited overseas markets and export products. Hence the concept of imperialism fits the realities much better than globalisation (Petras et al, 2001:30).

The Challenge for Youth Work and Community Work

Youth work in England is witnessing a wholesale reconstruction of its core ethos, methods of working and the messages that all this gives out about the role and place of young people in this society. The funnelling of young people into Government policy vessels such as 'Transforming Youth Work' (DfES, 2002) and 'Connexions' (DfES, 2000) has heightened the tensions for many practitioners between responding to the Governmental priorities and the needs of young people and their communities. The growth of funding led work with young people, short-termism and the marginalisation of many young people and their communities from decision making processes have served to exacerbate their position and bottleneck them into convenient slots and compartmentalise their life experiences into schemes and programmes.

Our aim is to ensure that all young people have the opportunity to learn the skills they need to make a success of their adult lives. Young people should be stretched so that they can achieve higher standards, and so half of them are later able to go to university. Equally, young people should be supported so that those from disadvantaged backgrounds or at risk of disaffection become motivated to participate in society through learning (DfES, 2000:17).

The invasion of Iraq, September 11th., the growth of Islamaphobia, global trading, music, satellite TV, travel and so on have all served to put young people and their communities in much closer proximity to each other, if not physically then culturally, politically, socially and economically (Ohri,1997). On a day-to-day basis, it is inevitable that a young person in this country will be a consumer, purchaser and/or producer of products and services that find themselves in the global marketplace.

Thus the practice of youth and community work needs to begin incorporating global dimensions and enable young people and their communities to locate themselves within a global context. The youth work process needs to enable young people and their communities to acknowledge that the global village consists of both a Black majority and a white minority, with the latter acting as a key global

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power broker. As such it is important that young people and their communities have opportunities to explore the dynamics and myths about issues such as globalisation, the role of TNCs, global racism, the politics of aid and world economics (White, 2002).

The Challenge for Global Youth Work

To engage in Global Youth Work either as a practitioners or as a young person is to acknowledge that the global village consists of people of different racial, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds and that relations between them often tend to be based on exploitation and subjugation.

Colonialism installed racism as an ideology (Nandy, 1983) right across the globe and provided Europeans with the opportunity to institutionalise and enforce their own particular brand of colour-coded racism. The ideology of white supremacy has been so deeply ingrained that the tensions between being modern (which often means being western) and being traditional often drive many development agendas.

The challenge for Global Youth Workers and development educators is not to retreat into denial and defensiveness but to face this reality and look at how they can help their respective professions to be re-configured. Both sets of professionals need to look at how they contribute towards tackling structured inequality and the oppression of the Black majority by the white minority. As tools for liberation through education, Global Youth Work and development education need to ask the degree to which they serve to massage the systematic oppression of the South by the North through complicity with say, aid programmes and the 'development' agenda.

The aftermath of September 11th. and the ongoing war against Iraq has brought home to many people across the world the reality of living in a global society that was diverse and consisted of people who had different experiences and views about world events. The lives that were lost were tragic; but September 11th had an impact beyond this, demonstrating the ability of a well-oiled group to numb the power brokers and citizens of the West by challenging their status, powers, privileges and most of all, their security. September 11th. demonstrated that though they might dominate global thinking and policies, Western perspectives are not universally held and in many quarters, such perspectives are often despised. Meanwhile, the focus upon the horror of September 11th. serves to mask the everyday 'terrorism' of Western companies and Governments that results in the deaths of hundreds of poor people in the South directly as a result of the regressive trade practices of Western nations.

Central to the thesis of Global Youth Work is the colour of oppression and the recognition that at the heart of North-South, minority-majority relations is the question of race and ethnicity. More specifically there is the question of global racism, that is, white racism on a global scale that serves to systematically, overtly

and covertly, oppress Black peoples of the world. When we talk about the South or the 'developing world' we usually mean Black people and when we talk about development education, we usually refer to the development of the non-white nations of the world. Thus, understandings about Black perspectives are essential if we are to acknowledge the true diversity of the world and if we are to tackle oppression and racism on the basis of skin colour on a global scale and most importantly, acknowledge that people in the South too have a world view.

Towards a Conceptual Framework

A perspective that aims to strive for global democracy and place Black people at the forefront of global and local decision-making. Far from being kept on the fringes of global society, Black people ought to be at the heart of global society, securing fair and just rewards for their contributions to a shared and interdependent world. The majority world cannot simply be ignored or wished away. (Joseph et al: 2002: 8)

A Global Black Perspective refers to that process of investigation and education that necessarily includes a Black viewpoint and incorporates the perspectives and experiences of Black people into any analysis of contemporary and historical global life. That is, a systematic and deliberate process of learning about and understanding Black peoples' viewpoints about world events. It is estimated that 4/5ths. of the world's population (Regan: 1996:133) is non-white and this 'majority' population, mainly living in the South, shares a common experience of being subject to global domination by Western (white) nations and institutions, that is, the minority world. As a majority of the world, they are still marginalised from global decision making processes and there is a need to re-assert their right to be heard on a global scale as part of a drive towards greater global democracy.

A Global Black Perspective then, is a perspective that examines Black people's experiences globally and identifies common structural factors that bind and attempt to articulate those experiences. It gives voice to Black people and the majority world with the intention of generating a more holistic outlook that genuinely celebrates the diversity of culture, knowledge and values that exist locally and globally and acknowledges the power differentials between the North and South, Black and white. It is a perspective that has to necessarily challenge Euro-centric racial stereotypes, assumptions and beliefs about the way of the world.

Such a Global Black Perspective is not merely an extension of the Black British Perspective (Sivanandan, 1993:63-69) that has evolved from the experiences of the Black community in Britain. Here, the term 'Black' evolved from united political struggles both to describe this struggle as well as an inclusive term to refer to

Asian, African and African Caribbean and other minority ethnic peoples ('visible' minorities) who shared a common experience of white racism. In contemporary discourse about race and ethnic relations, the term has become increasingly contestable, partly because of the much sharper differences in the range and type of labels that different Black people apply to themselves and others like them and partly because of the deconstruction of race as a political entity. Despite such internal variances, these diverse Black communities share significant common experiences shaped by migration, settlement, colonialism, the label of being a 'minority', white racism and so on.

Diagram 1: The 3 Core Elements of Black Perspectives in Global Youth Work

ANTI-RACISM

BLACK BRITISH PERSPECTIVES

GLOBAL BLACK PERSPECTIVES
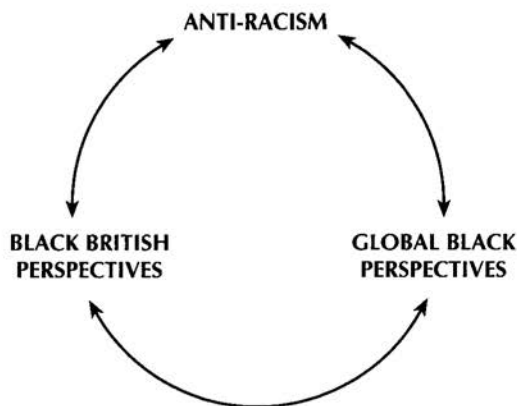
In order to understand the implications of Black perspectives for GYW and our worldviews, it is important to examine some underlying principles. Firstly, there was and continues to be an exploitative relationship by the minority North of the Southern majority. Secondly, sections of the population in the South contribute to this exploitation through their collusion. Thirdly, just as the majority world has an internal relationship to itself, so countries of the South have relationships (exploitative or otherwise) with each other. Finally, people in the South are not just passive objects of exploitation but have engaged in anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, and independence struggles to counteract their oppressors and still continue to do so. (Joseph et al: 2002)

These relationships between the minority North, the majority South, intra-South and intra-North are dynamic ones and have evolved over a very long period of time through the direct and indirect interaction between these different elements. As such, the ideology of Black perspectives has evolved over a period of time through a series of dialogues and will continue to take new and different forms as the world order changes.

The Core Principles of Black Perspectives in Global Youth Work

The core principles that are highlighted below have evolved from a pioneering four-year project co-ordinated by a working group comprising of four Black youth and community work professionals, supported by the Development Education Association (DEA). A series of conferences were held for youth and community practitioners, policy makers and managers supplemented by interactive workshops and presentations. The ideas that are presented below have evolved out of these processes and are now offered back to the field for its consideration and implementation.

The core principles of Black perspectives form the bedrock of good Global Youth Work practice and will shortly be incorporated into the Global Youth Workers' Training Manual (DEA, 2000). The purpose of the principles is to lay down some foundation stones for developing good practice and offer practitioners a benchmark against which they might wish to examine their existing Global Youth Work practices.

Principle 1

When working with young people and their communities, there is a need for youth and community workers to acknowledge, respect and honour Black contributions to the evolution of the globe as we know it. There is a need to make explicit and visible the contributions made by the Black majority world and more importantly, highlight how Black contributions, individual and collective, have served to benefit the whole of humanity in arenas such as science, mathematics, the Second World War, religion, spirituality, economic growth and so on.

Principle 2

Youth and community workers need to enable young people and their communities to see through the illusion of the world being a white world purely because of the monopoly that the minority community has managed to gain over global affairs and ideology. There is a need to highlight and celebrate the fact that Black people are in the majority in this world and that the control of the global political economy by the white minority should no longer be allowed to mask this reality.

Principle 3

Despite the fact that we all live in a global society, with the Southern Black majority often at the mercy of the white Northern minority in terms of the global political economy, there is a need to re-affirm and accept the right of self-determination ('Swaraj') (Ramaswarmy, 1995) by the Black majority.

Principle 4

Youth and community workers especially those working with white communities in the North need to be able to educate communities about global racism and challenge white supremacist views of globalisation and the world. This is especially important in areas say, where factories have been relocated to the South and there is a perception

that 'they' have taken our jobs or when the export of white minority products and ideologies is seen to be inherently beneficial to the South (e.g. the export of Coca-Cola and the lifestyle messages that go with this)

Principle 5

The challenge for the practitioners of Global Youth Work is to acknowledge that Black perspectives are inclusive and to be effectively incorporated into youth and community work practice, it requires equal responsibility by Black and white people. Black perspectives are not just about Black people - they are also about white people and the relationship between Black and white.

Principle 6

Past history especially that of colonialism and slavery has created a psyche not just within the white mind but also in many Black minds of viewing Black people as mere chattels and units of labour to be used and abused (Fanon,1967). The youth work dynamic has to empower young people and their communities to acknowledge that Black people are holistic, cultural, spiritual and gifted human beings and not just economic units for exploitation by the minority or victims of poverty to be pitied.

Principle 7

Globalisation has purportedly opened up opportunities and widened the choices available to all peoples of the world. In reality, it has succeeded probably in widening choices for a minority in both the North and the South, with most people in both hemispheres unable to take advantage of or access the opportunities supposedly thrown up by globalisation. The Global Youth Work process has to enable people from the minority world to take responsibility for their behaviours and actions when it comes to the choices they make say, regarding the purchase of fair trade products versus products that have been produced by child labourers under inhumane conditions.

Principle 8

There is a need for practitioners and policy makers to appreciate the fact that there are a number of parallels between the experiences of the Black majority and other oppressed communities such as women, disabled people, white working class people and so on. The Global Youth Work process needs to help young people and their communities explore how systematic racism against Black people is also related to other forms of oppression and how the oppressed can be enabled to connect with other oppressed communities.

Principle 9

Good youth and community work practice starts from the premise that young people and their communities should be involved in determining and addressing the

issues that affect their lives. This should apply equally to idea of Black young people and their communities in the North and the South being involved in the determination of global agendas and ensuring that their views, experiences and voices shape global strategies.

Principle 10

Good and effective youth work practice demands that the process should start from where young people are at. For Black young people in the North, this has to necessarily mean that their global Black identity is an integral component of who they are, whether or not they acknowledge it. Global Youth Work has to ensure that the perspectives of these Black young people and their communities form and shape the design and delivery of all youth and community work, of which GYW should be an integral component.

These principles are designed to raise discussion in day-to-day youth and community work with young people and enable young people and their communities as well as the people who work with them to actively engage with global issues. The challenge is how to incorporate them into GYW and more critically how to incorporate GYW into routine youth work. GYW as a form of youth work has to evolve into an inclusive way of working with young people so that Black perspectives are an explicit and integral part of such work.

The Practice of Black Perspectives in Global Youth Work

Whenever you are in doubt, apply the following test: recall the face of the poorest and weakest person you may have seen and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to them (M.K. Gandhi cited by Roddick: 2001:105)

The practice of Black perspectives in GYW requires a conscious application of the above principles in order to ensure that the experiences of young people are qualitative and meaningful to them. It is proposed that this can be achieved through a 'Goal Oriented Empowerment Approach'[2] which needs to incorporate four dimensions:

Dimensions	Description
Me	Enabling young people to come to terms with who they are and exploring the issues that affect their lives (e.g. sex, sexuality, culture, religion, spirituality, future hopes and so on).
My world	Enabling young people to be aware of their rights and responsibilities to themselves, their communities, their neighbourhoods, the global community and also to 'Asasi Yaa' - the Mother Earth.
My place in it	Enabling young people to see themselves, their families and communities in relation to the rest of the world and the connections between their lives and those of other people around the world.
What I do about it	Enabling young people to come to their own understandings and analyses about issues such as world poverty and examining the choices and actions available to them.

Conclusion

Modern day globalisation is not as fair and equitable a process as has often been made out in the North/West. An understanding of Black perspectives is essential if we are to enable young people and their communities in this country to challenge the negative effects of globalisation, most of which are delineated along the lines of race and class with the rich, mainly white North benefiting at the expense of the poor, mainly Black South.

Black perspectives in Global Youth Work calls for a reassessment of past and present relationships between the minority and majority worlds. As global interdependency grows there is a need to move from colonial and hierarchical relationships of the past to democratic partnerships of the future. This would apply to relationships with Black communities in Northern countries such as Britain just as much as it would apply to Black communities of the majority world. The terms 'Black' and 'majority' are not perfect but still they provide us with useful analytical tools for the purposes of understanding globalisation from a Black perspective.

There is an urgent need for the Youth Service as well as development education bodies to put young people, their communities and the issues that affect their lives at the heart of Global Youth Work. There is a need to enable young people and their communities to be better located within a global context and activate a process of exploring the self within a global environment. What is needed is not a transformation but a revolution in our thinking otherwise there is every danger that Black as well as white young people will continue to marvel at their global world without acknowledging their part in it or what they can do to change it.

Vipin Chauhan is an Independent Consultant and Trainer who has been working with the DEA on its Black Perspectives in Global Youth Work project and can be contacted on Tel: 0116 251 9611.

Notes

1 This article is based on an initiative to develop a pedagogy for Black Perspectives in Global Youth Work. The deliberations of this initiative are documented in the report, Joseph et. al (2002) (see references).

2 This approach was developed through practical work in the field by the working group, both here and overseas, and can complement other similar approaches such as Kolb's cycle of learning and Freire's conscientization model. A fuller exposition of this model is contained in the main report on Black perspectives and Global Youth Work.

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EXTENDING ENTITLEMENT AND GLOBAL YOUTH WORK

GERALDINE MURPHY WITH CHRIS URACK

The Welsh Assembly Government's Youth Policy Unit report *Extending Entitlement, Support for 11-25 year olds in Wales* (2000) represents a uniquely Welsh approach to New Labour's position on young people. *Extending Entitlement* outlines the principles for strategic development of young people's support services in Wales within the context of the Assembly's overall aims for children and young people. Direction and Guidance issued in July 2002 under section 123 of the Learning and Skills Act 2000 sits alongside additional Assembly advisory guidance on establishing an overall strategic framework for services for all children and young people aged 0-25 years.

Every Local Authority is directed to facilitate the development of a Young People's Partnership (YPP) that has representation from a broad range of agencies that work with and for young people. The partnerships are expected to develop rolling 5-year strategic plans for improvement of 'Youth Support Services' based on the Assembly's identified priorities and also on locally identified priorities as evidenced by extensive auditing of provision, resources and need. *Extending Entitlement* guidance urges YPPs to adhere to a structure of 10 universal entitlements that enable and assist young people to:

- *Participate effectively in education or training*
- *Take advantage of opportunities for employment*
- *Participate effectively and responsibly in the life of their communities.*

A central tenet for all activities is seen as the inclusion of children and young people at all stages of decision-making. The key role of youth services and youth workers' abilities to engage with young people in informal learning is acknowledged. *Extending Entitlement* states that young people's '...abilities to take advantage of opportunities available to them depends critically on good health, self confidence, high expectations, the ambition to be independent and the life skills to make effective choices, together with the encouragement and support of family and community' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2000:4). Young People's Partnerships are asked to make this journey easier for all young people by providing accessible services that are relevant to their needs and to ensure equal opportunities for those requiring extra support. Additionally, improved information services that will help young people make their own informed choices are seen as a priority.

This article aims to pose some questions about the Youth Service's role in achieving the required outcomes and how varying perspectives on social inclusion and

empowerment of young people might be observed during the process of developing priority objectives for Young People's Partnerships. It also seeks to highlight ways in which the methodology of development education or Global Youth Work (GYW) might support young people and youth workers to participate in the process.

Preserving a Youth Work Ethos within 'Youth Support Services'

While the UK Youth Service has lacked a statutory base and realistic funding, the 1990s saw the framing of a series of youth focused strategies. New Labour's Social Exclusion Unit set up action teams to frame policy. The focus for youth policy was initially predominantly on schools while the Youth Gateway (New Deal for 16-18 year olds) support role was given to the employment service. The National Youth Agency (1999) published proposals for modernising the Youth Service and redressing the years of neglect, which reflected major academic and practice-based analysis of the role of youth work in meeting the needs of the young population. The impact of government policies and the restructuring of social and cultural meanings of citizenship have had a major influence on the language of youth work. It now increasingly refers to participation and empowerment of young people, but what meaning is construed may be seen to vary according to agendas of different agents.

In Wales, under *Extending Entitlement* each local authority area has been allocated extra funding to facilitate required activities. A Youth Policy Team has been established in the Assembly and resources channelled towards supporting the development of the Children and Young People's Assembly for Wales which is also called Funky Dragon (see the web-site at www.funkydragon.org). Further funding has been provided to Local Authorities to develop their Youth Services. Youth forums and school councils have been established or further developed in every area and two representatives from each of the 22 local authority areas will sit on Funky Dragon. Protocols for how young people will be included in adult decision-making processes must be established by the YPPs and protocols for inclusion of all adult partners must be agreed also.

Extending Entitlement represents a potential shift in government youth policy from the deficiency model that many critics contend has been feeding much of the strategies and programmes over the last thirty years. This model has tended to characterise young people as, by their nature, lacking in appropriate skills, qualities, attitudes and habits. The proposed changes therefore suggest a movement towards a model of youth that sees young people as more than the sum of their problems and difficulties and as having the potential to analyse and take responsibility for their own lives. This perspective suggests a developmental strategy for youth work practice and service delivery that will emphasise a person-centred rather than problem centred methodology.

Extending Entitlement presents a major challenge to the Youth Service in facilitating the engagement of the young population of Wales and in playing a key role within the YPPs. It offers the Welsh Youth Service an opportunity to come in from the margins (Cinderella service goes to the Ball!). However, given the many years spent on the margins it is necessary to explore the extent of the Youth Service's capacity and likely contribution in meeting the challenge. The Wales Youth Agency's (WYA) draft *Position Paper on the Role of the Youth Service in Young People's Partnerships* (Holmes, 2003) welcomes both the Assembly's 'inclusion' agenda within a 'human rights' approach and also the proposals for changes in the institutions that fail to sufficiently provide opportunities or entitlements to young people. The Agency's paper reports on current discourse on the Youth Service's place within *Extending Entitlement's* agenda in the light of varying traditions and models of 'social inclusion' that have formed, and are reflected within, the profession. Holmes contends that, while *Extending Entitlement* recognises young people's wider leisure needs, New Labour's social inclusion agenda has in practice come to mean social 'integration' with a resultant emphasis on paid work and the educational/training qualifications to gain access to the labour market.

Youth work has in recent years been increasingly involved in targeted and issue based work which has led to debate about the danger posed to youth work's voluntaristic ethos. The WYA acknowledges youth work's role in the broad tradition of 'social rescue' or risk limitation in addition to its starting point of broadening opportunities for young people. It cautions, however, against losing its traditional role of supporting young people on their own terms and thus suggests that youth work fits some of the YPPs' required activities better than others.

> *Whereas most young people are keen to get a good job, youth work is still primarily defined around that social space where young people can be themselves apart from the pressures of adult defined institutions such as work and school* (Holmes, 2003:5).

Raising Youth Work Standards

Given the high level of current activity around achieving required outcomes specified by *Extending Entitlement* it will be important to balance adult agendas with those of the young people in each YPP area. It will also be important to support youth workers in getting the balance right. A number of studies have suggested unevenness in quality of youth work provision especially in terms of the application of a youth work curriculum. The OHMCI's 1997 survey of quality and standards of youth work in Wales sought to assess to what extent the youth work curriculum had been implemented in Wales. The survey revealed an uneven range of attainment by young people,

'...from outstanding examples of personal development and personal achievement to cases where young people are passive and show little evidence of having developed new skills or interests or gained in knowledge, understanding or awareness as a result of their involvement' (OHMCI, 1997:4). The 1997 Audit of Youth Services in England noted that while there were examples of quality developmental youth work, the overall service was patchy and of poor quality.

Wylie (1998) observes that experiential learning within the context of youth work can be achieved through a progressive curriculum, which offers varied experiences. He suggests that, 'by reviewing and reflecting on their own learning and by deciding to take a step further, young people begin to take responsibility for their own development and are empowered in consequence' (Wylie, 1998:46). Wylie also notes, however, that too many youth work programmes neglect such important core principles and that the experiences offered to young people are weaker in consequence.

> *As a result, for some young people, the curriculum offered is too narrow, too dominated by trivial recreational pursuits. For others, little progress is made - they stall at a particular level of skill in activities or their social development. They can, for instance, relate to one social group or setting but lack the experience to move more widely with the necessary confidence* (Wylie, 1998:47).

Williamson's 1997 study of the relationships between young people and youth services highlights how fundamental differences in methodologies for youth work delivery and the new 'issue' focused agenda resulted in varying degrees of success in engaging young people. The critical dimension in successful work would appear to be the participation and sense of ownership by young people rather than achievement of prescribed outcomes from 'above'.

> *The curriculum demands were seen to restrict the spontaneous element in youth groups but some felt that flexibility could still be maintained and that the curriculum guidelines do promote good practice. However, new demands for evidence of what they do has created a ...tension within the 'new world' of youth work which is preoccupied with planning and programmes...The softly-softly, negotiated, individualised and often invisible approach did not fit comfortably into new requirements, according to some workers...* (Williamson, 1997:70).

The involvement of young people at all stages of decision-making will need to be real and meaningful in order to keep the focus of activities on the needs of young people. Estyn's inspection of YPPs will begin in 2004 and it remains to be seen whether its stated recognition of 'soft outcomes', such as increased self-esteem

within leisure focused activities (measuring 'the distance travelled') as well as accredited basic skills and 'employability focused' activities, will be valued equally. It also remains to be seen whether inspection of YPPs can measure the quality of partnership working, including young people as partners, and what 'added value' the partnerships bring to service delivery and how they will make a difference to the lives of young people.

Empowerment and Global Youth Work

The basic principle of youth work involves the setting of agendas by young people who are provided with support and opportunities for personal, social and political development. Global Youth Work (GYW) methodologies offer a discipline that focuses on children's and human rights, justice and equality in a global context. Can GYW offer youth workers tools that enhance their ability to address issues around empowerment and equality as required under *Extending Entitlement?*

Funky Dragon, the Children and Young People's Assembly for Wales, and County-based youth forums/assemblies are developing their own processes to ensure young people's empowerment and inclusion in decision-making. YPPs are engaging with young people's groups and forums in the development of their initial plans. Pembrokeshire's YPP has representation from its newly established Youth Assembly. An all-Wales network of local forum co-ordinators allows for sharing of experiences and good practice. It is too early to judge the level of success of the process. Forum co-ordinators report (at national seminars) that very high levels of youth work support will be required in the next years in order to sustain and further develop what has been achieved.

A number of studies (Adams, 1994; Williamson, 1997; Leahy,1996) have highlighted the reluctance of young people to get involved in issue based activities. The same studies revealed that those young people who are included in the setting of agendas are more likely to gain a sense of empowerment to change the problematic issues in their lives. While the principle of young people's inclusion in decision-making is hopefully unarguable, the question of what structures and ways of interacting with adults will attract and retain young people is not answered yet. Suffice to say that the methods used by local forums and Funky Dragon allow for more creative and dynamic debating styles than most senior managers are used to!

How interested and empowered are young people in bringing about improvements in their communities? This question has been explored with varying results. In Britain, a MORI poll of secondary pupils in England and Wales reported more than half saying they felt powerless to do anything to change the world (MORI Poll reported in DEA, 1998). A DEFY/IMS, (Development Education For Youth, 1995)

study in Ireland on young people's sense of capacity to contribute to society was most widely confirmed in relation to local issues (3 in every 4). However, two-thirds of young people were convinced of their capacity to contribute at both national level and in the context of global problems. Members of voluntary organisations and youth clubs were more 'encouraged' than the population of young people generally. Research by Pembrokeshire's YPP in 2001 revealed that, while a majority of 11-18 year olds are interested in issues that affect their lives, 55% believe that adults are mostly out of touch with young people's views.

The extent to which youth workers take these findings on board for their work with young people and particularly with those who are marginalised or disengaged from school and community is of major concern to practitioners who wish to ensure engagement of a broad representation of the young population. Are the 'more difficult' young people likely to be more pre-occupied with their immediate needs and interests? Leahy's (1996) pilot study of development education with marginalised youth groups (i.e. young people who are either experiencing disadvantage or are living in a designated disadvantaged area) led to the following conclusion:

> *It was apparent from all workshops that marginalised young people are open to development education. Their responses were insightful and added interesting perspectives to many of the issues... there was an overall acknowledgement by participants that their experiences of exclusion are not unique but rather part of a global pattern* (Leahy, 1996:30).

Leahy's study suggests that GYW needs marginalised young people to inform the process rather than assuming that workers know what they want to put across. Youth workers' skills development may also be an outcome should they gain confidence in working on a broader spectrum of issues. Young people setting their own agendas is also a challenging prospect for the radical GYW advocate as it presents the possibility of young people rejecting traditional radical perceptions of action for change. There is a challenge to Global Youth Workers not to be too set on their own agendas.

Chris Urack (2002) reported on a programme of workshops commissioned by Bridgend's YPP and facilitated by Global Connections (World Studies and Resource Centre based in West Wales). The consultation, with groups of young people around their priorities for developments in their communities, highlighted that participants stated that they felt empowered but sceptical about being consulted about the future of their communities. In evaluation sessions participants acknowledged that they had discovered that fun and hard work are not mutually exclusive. The young people presented the report to full Council and reported how they valued the experience of being listened to.

A Long Way to Go

The experiences that many participants in youth forums are having across Wales are early steps in encouraging active (global) citizenship for all young people but particularly for disenfranchised and marginalised young people. If people are engaged early enough and feel their voices have value it could create lasting good habits such as community involvement, awareness of and interest in local, national and global issues. There is a need to embrace participation not as a panacea to all of youth's woes but as a starting point to gaining self-confidence and self-realisation. This alongside awareness of their rights as stakeholders can help to focus energies towards positive change according to their perceived perspectives and solutions.

The Youth Work sector is poorly funded and under pressure to tackle a myriad of social and personal issues with young people. An understaffed profession cannot deliver the outcomes which it has the potential to do. Looking on the optimistic side, increased funding to youth services and the focus of *Extending Entitlement* on the holistic perception of young people i.e. that they are more than the sum of their problems, is a healthy development for how we support a vulnerable section of society. Global Youth Work has the potential to raise awareness of issues of poverty and inequality but it must also promote advocacy for young people and contribute towards building a much needed vision which reflects greater confidence in their potential.

Extending Entitlement is a challenge to Wales' democratic systems and planning processes. It is highly visionary and idealistic. It highlights significant differences in approach to youth policy development than that envisaged by England's Connexions Services despite the similarity of many of the outcomes expected. It will be interesting to compare how the two endeavours turn out.

Geraldine Murphy *co-ordinates the Young People's Partnership in Pembrokeshire.*

Chris Urack *works with Global Connections, World Studies Resource Centre, West Wales.*

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'THE END OF THE BEGINNING':
Global Youth Work in The Boys' Brigade

RICHARD G. KYLE

Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end.
But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning. (Winston Churchill)

The Boys' Brigade and Global Youth Work

On Thursday 4th October 1883 the first voluntary uniformed Christian youth organisation in the world was founded by William Alexander Smith in Glasgow. Faced with the weekly challenge of a lively, and somewhat bored, group of teenagers at the Sabbath School of his local church where he was a teacher, Smith decided to apply the military techniques and principles he used in the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers to create a disciplined environment where boys could advance their Christian learning (McFarlan, 1982:13). Thus, The Boys' Brigade (hereafter BB), with its unique mix of discipline and religion which King George VI later termed the organisation's 'twin pillars'[1] (Springhall et al, 1983:178), was born. The organisation has since grown to a worldwide movement with a membership of half a million spread throughout sixty countries (Global Fellowship, 2002).

Inevitably, in its almost one-hundred and twenty year history, the BB has had to adapt, not only to changes in the political, economic, cultural, and indeed, moral and religious, foundations of society, but more importantly to changing attitudes towards young people and, particularly, what 'youth work' can, and should, do. Yet, amidst this change, the BB remains a Christian uniformed youth organisation, true to an object unchanged since 1893 [2], and committed to delivering quality youth work; offering a myriad of entertaining, educative and challenging programmes for the almost sixty-four thousand boys between the ages of five and nineteen who compose its UK membership (McLaren, 2002). One small, yet developing aspect of its work - in part an adaptation to the challenges presented to youth work by an increasingly interdependent world - is an active engagement with the principles of Global Youth Work (hereafter GYW).

This paper examines the BB's recent engagement with GYW paying particular attention to the role and outputs of its International Team - a group of young leaders charged with integrating GYW principles with the BB's youth work agenda. The paper is divided into two main sections. In the first, using responses to a recent questionnaire of International Team members, I tease out what I term the 'twin pillars' of the BB's GYW. The second section then moves to outline the practice of the BB's GYW; the International Team itself is introduced and a historical survey of its outputs offered.

The 'Twin Pillars' of The BB's GYW

Apparent from a number of responses to a recent survey of the membership of the International Team [3] is that members feel the nature of the BB itself provides opportunities to advance Global Youth Work principles with its young people. Alongside the BB having a large potential 'audience' for such work, two clear factors emerge, its Christian underpinnings and international 'family' of members. Dealing first with the latter, Global Fellowship (formerly The World Conference) is an organisation, founded in 1963, which supports and strengthens the 'BB family' of Christian youth work organisations and their aforementioned half million members. International Team members feel that the BB should make active use of this 'global network' (IT Member, 23), particularly to highlight that there are many young members of the 'BB family' who are facing the very challenges and issues explored through GYW, and moreover, that these are being faced *within* the BB.

The compassion for other (young) people is, however, central to the Christian underpinnings of the organisation, and particularly the life and teachings of Jesus Christ which inspires and guides the BB's work. As one International Team member notes, 'Christ set the example, let's go out in the world' (IT Member, 19). Those driving forward the BB's GYW agenda therefore do so in and through the Christian faith grounded in the gospel of Jesus. Thus it is the personal, 'everyday' experiences of members of the 'BB family' and a solid grounding in the Christian faith which are, to invoke King George VI's metaphor, the 'twin pillars' upon which GYW in the BB stands - a foundation which provides a unique starting point for practice.

The Practice of the BB's GYW

Following the Development Education Association, Global Youth Work can be defined as:

informal education which starts from young people's everyday experiences, seeks to develop their understanding of the local and the global influences on their lives, and encourages positive action for change (Development Education Association, 2002).

When faced with this definition of GYW, each organisation will inevitably, and necessarily, implement these principles in an individual way, according to the nature of the organisation and its underpinning rationale for the development of its GYW agenda. Turning again to the survey data, and specifically a question regarding the perceived benefits of GYW to young people, raising awareness of issues facing 'other people in other places' is a frequent response, while a recognition of the need for young people to be responsible global citizens also emerges.

Raising awareness in order to encourage global citizenship is a key aim of the BB's GYW, enshrined in clause four of the BB mission statement (see below), and realised through global awareness projects, created, co-ordinated and delivered by the aforementioned International Team. Careful examination of past projects, and particularly their evaluation, provides an understanding of how the International Team has developed while also charting the process of integration of GYW principles within the BB. First, however, the origins and role of the International Team should be examined.

Introducing the International Team

The International Team (IT) is an example of youth work principles in action, particularly youth empowerment and peer education. Formed in 1995, the IT was initially involved in promotion of the BB's international work through The World Conference, yet since 1996 its focus has shifted to global awareness projects and a growing engagement with GYW principles (Martin, 2001:48). In 2002, the IT comprised forty-five young BB leaders from throughout the UK who collectively have successfully delivered two global awareness projects, with a third in progress, and fourth being planned. This motivated group, mainly between sixteen and twenty-six years of age, is committed to delivery of quality GYW through the project based mechanism and extending the BB's involvement with GYW in all branches of the organisation, through newer initiatives currently in progress (see below). The International Team can therefore be considered the nexus of Global Youth Work in the BB. Each component of each project is created and directed by IT members with the support of a full-time BB staff member whose remit is, in part, the management and development of the team and its work.

Projects begin life as an idea. A study visit usually ensues to research the issue and strengthen partnerships with members of the Global Fellowship. This group then becomes a 'task team' which manages the production of 'in-house' resources which demonstrate, and encourage thinking around, the chosen issue [4]. Its responsibilities also extend to co-ordination and delivery of the project launches at both the BB-run Christian youth festival 'Firm Foundations', held annually, and BB Council, an annual peripatetic gathering of BB leaders. Moreover, they manage all aspects of the project over its lifespan (usually eighteen months to two years), steering it through regular meetings and frequent e-mails to its conclusion and, ultimately, evaluation. Crucially, this somewhat simplified overview exemplifies that the process of the BB's Global Youth Work places control in the hands of young leaders, generating a sense of ownership, commitment and shared responsibility which serves to bring (young) people together, not only through working towards common goals, but also friendship.

Comments made in the recent survey regarding the team's thrice yearly meetings highlight the 'fellowship and fun' (IT Member, 25) of a 'great weekend allowing everyone to meet each other again, learn new things and develop our faith' (IT Member, 19). The IT is therefore more than simply 'project management', and this is important to stress. Nevertheless its *raison d'être* is to formulate and deliver such projects, and it is to these that the focus must now turn.

Global Gangs

The Global Gangs project was arguably the BB's first tentative step into Global Youth Work. The project was a national activity roadshow which ran between 1994 and 1995. It consisted of a series of fifteen 'internationally' themed activities taken to over twenty venues throughout the UK and Eire. Between one and two hundred of the BB's younger members, in the eight to eleven age range, participated at each location. In retrospect, it is now admitted that Global Gangs was not entirely approached from the principles of Global Youth Work, especially given their particular emphasis on encouraging young people to take action (Personal Communication, IT Manager, 11.9.02). However, it resembled the International Team's first 'cohesive work' (ibid), proving the viability not only of the Team, but also The Boys' Brigade, as a potential vehicle for the delivery of GYW.

Streetwise

Building upon this particular success of Global Gangs and the experiences of two International Team members who during 1995 and 1996 spent four months in Durban, South Africa, working on a social project with FDF (a Danish member of the Global Fellowship), a decision was taken that the pertinent issues surrounding street children in South Africa be explored through the first IT global awareness project, Streetwise.

Initially scheduled to last between 1997 and 1998 (although later extended for a further year (Percival, 1998: 3)), an integral part of this project, was an 'Alive Kids' tour. The 'Alive Kids', formed through a community project in the Durban township of Kwa Mashu, are a group of young people, some formerly street children, who use music and dance, primarily in two dramas, 'Cry not child' and 'We ARE Alive Kids' to tell the story of children affected by landmines and street children, respectively. Their powerful performances, previously used by the South African Government to 'entertain' visiting dignitaries, caught the imagination of the International Team manager, who eventually persuaded BB UK to allow over thirty 'Alive Kids' to visit the UK for a one month tour in November 1997 (ibid:5; Personal Communication, IT Manager, 11.9.02). As one ex-IT member reminisces: 'Alive Kids - Excellent but tiring, expensive and time-consuming. However, it really had a strong impact on those who were involved'.

Participation in Streetwise was widespread. Over four thousand people from schools, colleges, churches and local BB companies were introduced to Streetwise through the 'Alive Kids' tour, which also obtained national media coverage, most notably on both the *Channel 4* News and long-running children's magazine *Blue Peter* (Percival, 1998:18). Furthermore, thirty-two percent of BB companies in the UK and Eire subsequently used the IT-produced resource materials [5] (ibid:3), either unaided or with the assistance of IT members who attended over one-hundred and forty engagements during the project's life (ibid). Measuring effectiveness of any project is always a difficult process, particularly with regard to GYW, yet, when measured against its stated objectives, Streetwise was considered a success by both the International Team and the Boys' Brigade, in many ways exceeding its original aims. For example, Christian Aid (a Streetwise project partner, see below) was subsequently persuaded to adopt the 'Alive Kids' as a partner group (Personal Communication, IT Manager, 11.9.02), and contacts established with the South African High Commission in London led to a review of the South African government's responses to the needs of street children (Percival, 1998:17). While there are important issues surrounding limits to such 'campaigning' work within a charitable organisation if construed as overtly 'political', it nonetheless illustrates that action, integral to GYW principles, is an important part of the BB's GYW.

The viability of the IT was also further tested and its delivery mechanisms, particularly its peer education approach, commended. One leader notes in an evaluation of an IT engagement:

> ...*several [boys] chose the [IT] presentation as the part of the [BB leadership] course they enjoyed most. My personal view - its vital element is that it is presented by young officers, not much older than the participants* (quoted in ibid: 5).

Moreover, the success of Streetwise provided further integration of GYW with the BB's 'mainstream' work. The role of Christian Aid here cannot be underestimated. Previously partners in international, but by no means development education, projects, latterly 1988's 'Water Means Life', Christian Aid was once again a vital partner in this endeavour, underwriting its production costs with the important condition that the project represented a longer-term commitment to advancing GYW in the BB. To this end, proposals were put before the International Forum [6] in November 1998, ultimately resulting in clause four of the BB Mission Statement adopted at Brigade Council in Dundee in September 1999.

This clause now makes 'Raising awareness of boys and young people to the needs of others (especially other young people) locally, nationally, and globally and

encouraging them to engage in activities and projects in which they can make a difference' an aim (Martin, 2000:42). Clause four represents considerable integration and acceptance of GYW within the BB and, when allied to a strengthening International Team, provided a strong foundation for the BB's second global awareness project, RAW Deal.

RAW Deal

Running between 1999 and 2001, RAW Deal attempted to raise awareness of issues surrounding exploitative child labour, particularly in India, through a broader exploration of children's Rights At Work, hence the acronym of the project title. Given the commitment to GYW demonstrated by both clause four and the International Forum's adoption of a formal GYW policy in May 1999, Christian Aid renewed its partnership. Partnerships are vital in the community and youth work sector, particularly its voluntary branches. Although they bring their own unique set of challenges, if the differing strengths and limitations of each partner are acknowledged, partnerships also offer opportunity. As outlined above, the underlying rationale for an organisation's GYW will dictate its form. Here, the approaches of Christian Aid and the BB, necessarily, differ. Where the aim of the former is increasing awareness with a view towards educating, fund-raising and campaigning, responsible empowerment and participation are central to the BB's endeavours. Alongside offering greater avenues for action, RAW Deal's partnership with Christian Aid also drew upon another of Christian Aid's particular strengths, the production of high quality GYW resources. With this expertise, and crucial financial support (obtained for the first time) from the Department for International Development (DFID), the resources produced for RAW Deal were of a qualitatively different order than Streetwise. Moreover, for the first time an on-cover CD-ROM distributed through the BB's bi-monthly publication, the *Gazette*, and a website was produced.

Participation in RAW Deal increased six percent on Streetwise, to thirty-eight percent of local BB units (7), although of note is a marked decrease in the number of IT engagements to fifty (Martin, 2001: 80-2). If tied to a decrease in participation rates, this would have provided cause for concern, but as participation increased, it instead illustrates that resources are empowering the voluntary BB leadership to do GYW themselves, a change which will ultimately affect the role of the IT.

RAW Deal also demonstrated that the International Team is both 'process' and 'product' of the BB's Global Youth Work. As examined above, it is in the hands of the IT that projects are sculpted yet, at this time, the IT also becomes a product of the BB's GYW, particularly an outlet for action by young people. Twenty-three of

the current IT membership joined during this period, most having come into contact with its work through RAW Deal, facilitating the necessary throughput of membership essential to ensure its work remains fresh, dynamic and young people led.

On The Edge
Launched at Firm Foundations in May 2002, the current (DFID funded) project, On The Edge, explores the myriad of reasons, such as poverty, prejudice, disease and disability, which lead to the marginalisation of young people. Following two British Council funded research visits by eight IT members, this wide spectrum was focused into a detailed examination of issues surrounding reduced education and employment opportunities due to poverty and the African HIV/AIDS pandemic, particularly highlighting the BB run skill workshops offering young people training in Jamaica and widely acclaimed HIV/AIDS peer education projects run by the (united) Boys' and Girls' Brigade of Uganda. Highlighting situations where the BB is actively meeting the needs of young people is central to the response section of the project, Beyond The Edge, which will attempt to encourage young people to examine their own area and respond to the needs of local marginalised young people. This is crucial as GYW is concerned not only with 'there', the links between 'there' and 'here', but also how similar issues exist 'here'. It is too early to foresee the impact of On The Edge, but it is speculated that the trends remarked upon above, particularly increased participation and leader empowerment, will continue.

Conclusion: The 'End of the Beginning' of GYW in the BB
As Churchill attests in the quotation with which this paper opened, the beginning is not an event but a process. In recent communication an ex-IT member, now the International Forum Secretary, remarked:

> In reality, and to quote Churchill, 'this is the end of the beginning [sic.]'! Effectively, the Streetwise project gathered together issues, personnel and ideas; the progress onward including the RAW Deal period developed a strong foundation, and in the future, On The Edge will take that further, i.e. an incremental approach that is working across a number of platforms, but when combined, it demonstrates some good work by IT members that covers the major [GYW] issues (Personal Communication, 23.8.02).

After eight years, the BB's Global Youth Work and indeed International Team, has reached an important developmental phase. The BB's GYW is now recognised both within and outwith the BB as a provider of quality GYW, evidenced, at least partly, by the increasing financial support from both the BB and central government departments such as DFID, and also by respect, support and encouragement gained from partner organisations such as Christian Aid and the Development Education

Association. For the IT, it is also a period of increasing professionalism and maturity. Better use is now being made of commercial project management techniques, resource quality is continuing to rise, and skills and knowledge bases expanding.

A great deal of work remains to be done, however, especially within the BB. Recent changes in BB training regulations require that all leaders attend quinquennial 'renewal training'. The IT is working here through new initiatives, including the production of a Global Youth Work Manual - designed with Oxfam's 1997 'Curriculum for Global Citizenship' in mind - for use by BB training leaders and IT members, to ensure that GYW is a component of such courses.

Without doubt, and as stressed throughout the discussion of the projects above, the role of the IT is changing, away from visiting local units to *do* GYW to empowering others, through provision of quality resources and support, to do GYW *themselves*, or in the future training those who will then empower other leaders. This is an inevitable and welcome development, and a consequence of the success of GYW in the BB such that past efforts are steadily leading to a greater integration of GYW in the BB's work. The beginning, quite literally, ends here.

Acknowledgments

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Richard G. Kyle has been a member of The Boys' Brigade's International Team since 2000. He is currently a postgraduate student in the Department of Geography and Topographic Science at the University of Glasgow.

Notes

(1) King George VI noted on the occasion of the Royal Inspection at Windsor on 16th October 1943, 'I feel sure that the Boys Brigade will go from strength to strength because it is built upon the twin pillars of religion and discipline and so is meeting two of the greatest needs of the present time' (quoted in Springhall et al, 1983:178).

(2) The Object of The Boys' Brigade was laid down in 1883 as 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Reverence, Discipline, Self-Respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness'. The word Obedience was inserted before Reverence ten years later (McFarlan, 1982:14).

(3) A survey of the current International Team membership was conducted between 24th August 2002 and 14th September 2002. Of the forty-four questionnaires sent either via e-mail (26) or post (18), thirteen were returned, representing a response rate of 29.5%. The questionnaire was composed of ten questions, three to determine the name, age and location of the respondent and the remaining seven on issues related to Global Youth Work and the International Team. A further opportunity to comment on any aspect of IT or GYW was also presented at the close of the survey. In the interests of confidentiality IT members' responses are identified only by their age throughout.

(4) Resources from the current project On The Edge can be found at www.on-the-edge.org.uk/resources.htm. Archived resources from the RAW Deal project can be viewed at www.raw-deal.org.uk. Last accessed: 21.11.02.

(5) This information was obtained from a telephone survey of local BB units undertaken by IT members during May 1998. Two hundred and fifty-three contacts were randomly selected from BB records (Percival, 1998:10).

(6) Previously the International Committee, the International Forum was created in 1996 after a report by the Committee's chair advocated this change to encourage the Brigade Executive (the BB's elected management body) to address international

issues itself rather than through a committee. Significant is that the International Forum comprises four IT members, elected by the IT membership annually, and it was stipulated that the chairperson should be an IT member, an aim met within three years (Personal Communication, IT Manager, 11.09.02).

(7) A survey form was issued to all local BB units during May and June 2001, 13.1% of which were returned (Martin, 2001: 37).

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YOU GOTTA BE SUSSED...
Sust 'n' Able

JULIE THORPE

In Summer 2000 the Woodcraft Folk began to plan a sustainable development education project which culminated in a group of young people from the organisation participating in the World Summit on Sustainable Development. This article explores two pre-existing models of Education for Sustainable Development and a further model, based on the experience of this project, is suggested.

Sustainable Development

At present levels of consumption in the UK we would need three more planets like Earth to provide, indefinitely, for all our needs (WWF, 2002). In the words of a 10-year-old 'we use too much stuff'. Probably the most widely accepted definition of sustainable development is that of the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987):

> *development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.*

The UK-government backed Sustainable Development Education Panel (1998) has defined ESD as being:

> *about the learning needed to maintain and improve our quality of life and the quality of life of generations to come. It is about equipping individuals, communities, groups, businesses and government to live and act sustainably; as well as giving them an understanding of the environmental, social and economic issues involved. It is about preparing for the world in which we will live in the next century, and making sure that we are not found wanting.*

The Woodcraft Folk

The Woodcraft Folk is an educational movement for children and young people, set up in 1925 as an alternative to the single-sex, king and country, youth groups of the day. Throughout its seventy-five year history the organisation has remained committed to teaching the principles of co-operation, peace and equality. Begun by some of the 'backwoodsmen' of the early Scout movement, the Folk has also retained a keen interest in environmental education.

In common with much of the voluntary youth sector, the Folk's educational programme has responded to the changing demands of twentieth-century society. It has been careful to avoid dogma and has pursued a pedagogy of 'learning through doing'. The principle of co-operation, for example, is taught through games where there

are no winners or losers but where all players must work together for the game to 'work' and be fun.

Camping was an activity pursued, originally, within the Folk to offer working class children from the inner cities the chance to experience the countryside. Today, the organisation continues to use this activity not only to give an experience of the outdoors but also of building and living in a community on a scale where every member can feel they are a valued part with a contribution to make.

When the concept of 'Education for Sustainable Development' (ESD) came along it brought together all the Folk's concerns: social, economic and environmental justice and a secure future for the generations still to come. Many sustainable development issues were already being addressed within the programmes of Woodcraft Folk groups.

In 2001 the Folk embarked on its most ambitious project yet in the field of ESD. The project eventually led to the participation of a group of young people in the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development. In reviewing its success, a model of what the Folk sees as the critical inputs and outcomes of ESD was defined.

Modelling ESD
Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) is a fledgling discipline and its principles, content and method of delivery are still the subject of experimentation and debate. To date, two frameworks have been put forward for the development and delivery of the ESD curriculum.

The Development Education Association's model (DEA/CEE, 2001) of education for sustainable development takes the four objectives from *A better quality of life* (DETR, 1999) and, somewhat uncritically, launches them into the youth work arena. The first three of these objectives: equitable social progress, protection of the environment, and prudent use of natural resources are fairly obvious themes for education for sustainable development. It is difficult, however, to reconcile the fourth: 'maintenance of high and stable levels of economic growth and employment' alongside the others. All the available indications on the environmental footprint of those countries which have high levels of economic growth and employment lead to the conclusion that consumption at current levels is unsustainable (WWF, 2002; Wackernagel et al, 2002).

The DEA go on to adapt a model developed by the Department for International Development in relation to poverty and sustainable livelihoods (DFID, 1999). This model may well have a great deal to offer to the Ghanaian cocoa farmer but it does not seem to map onto the landscape of youth work in the UK in a convincing

way. The model focuses on the quality of life of the individual young person and how this can be enhanced by 'developing a balance between the social, human, financial, physical and natural assets essential for young people to live a more sustainable lifestyle' (DEA/CEE, 2001).

What is missing from the DEA model is any explanation of a mechanism that will lead to lifestyle modification. The provision of all the assets outlined is no automatic guarantee of such change. There is no foundation on which to base the suggestions that an improved 'quality of life' will lead young people to see the light and live more sustainable lifestyles. On the contrary, the popular understanding of an improved quality of life, and the definition that many young people would give, is of greater purchasing power and increased consumption.

Oxfam's Global Citizenship model (Oxfam, 1997) defines the key elements of a Global Citizenship programme as the development of knowledge and understanding; skills; and values and attitudes. The model is aimed, however, at the formal education sector rather than at youth work and, possibly for this reason, does not strongly promote action-orientated outcomes. Knowledge and understanding have a value in their own right but that value is increased many-fold when they find an application in action.

One of the main differences between the Oxfam model and that put forward by the Woodcraft Folk lies in the emphasis placed on empowerment and action as outcomes.

Youth work can and should offer an environment in which young people can shape their own futures. For the Woodcraft Folk, the fundamental concept underpinning its educational programme is the need for social change. Big changes will be necessary to eradicate poverty, to provide the foundations for peace, to ensure all human beings are respected and have the chance to achieve their potential, and to use the earth's natural resources in such a way as to guarantee a long term future for our planet.

The issues that must be addressed in a programme of education for sustainable development can be extremely disturbing to young people and result in them feeling increasingly anxious and vulnerable. From the Woodcraft Folk's experience the way to avoid the process turning into a negative experience is through empowerment. The Folk's Sust'n'Able project could have left hundreds of young people feeling that the world was in a hopeless mess, spiralling towards self-destruction. In the event, they went away feeling that there was hope and something which, both individually and collectively, they could do to ensure a secure and sustainable future.

Figure 1: A Model for Education for Sustainable Development drawn from the experience of the Woodcraft Folk.

THE INPUTS	THE PROCESS	THE OUTCOMES
Knowledge and understanding of the present and predicted impact of human life on the global environment at all levels - personal actions; local and national governmental decision making; multinational trade, industrial and economic activity; world organisations; and of the complex nature of the interaction between these levels of activity.	**PROGRAMME** **of** **EDUCATION** **for** **SUSTAINABLE** **DEVELOPMENT**	Demonstrable understanding of the relationship been one's day to-day actions and wider economic, political and environmental issues.
		Measurable changes in lifestyle that will contribute to a reduced environmental footprint.
Opportunities to explore alternative scenarios and to identify the changes that will be required to achieve a sustainable and universally sized human footprint on the earth.		Evidence of a self-perception of empowerment, and an active involvment in bringing about sustainability-positive change.
Opportunities to practice active and effective participation in society, and responsible patterns of consumption.		

An empowerment and action orientated model of ESD, developed from the Woodcraft Folk's experience, is shown in Figure 1. For each key input there is a corresponding and measurable outcome. Empowerment and action are the critical outcomes. This model embodies the Woodcraft Folk's firm commitment to 'education for social change' (Woodcraft Folk, 1998). It provides a framework for educational programmes which will lead to young people taking action to bring about a more fair, just and sustainable world.

An illustration of this model in practice is given in the following description of the Woodcraft Folk's 2001 International Camp. The input of knowledge together with an environment where understanding could be tested against a variety of scenarios and the support to take action were built into the programme. The success of the programme in bringing about lifestyle changes was evaluated in a study funded by the Energy Saving Trust (Devine-Wright and Fleming, 2002). The other main outcome of the programme was the involvement of a delegation of young Woodcrafters in the World Summit on Sustainable Development.

The Camp

The Woodcraft Folk holds international camps every five or six years - inviting guests from sister organisations around the globe. These camps are a chance for young people in the Woodcraft Folk to see that the movement is much bigger than just their local group. Participants have the opportunity to meet and make friends

not only with young people from other parts of the UK but from all over the world. They put into practice the Folk's motto: 'Span the world with friendship'. This time there were 4,000 participants including 700 international delegates from as far away as Nicaragua, Vietnam, India, Senegal and Peru. The camp took place in Sherwood Forest, Nottinghamshire.

'The words "There's nothing we can do" don't exist here...', wrote 16-year-old Neela Dolezalova in a letter to the *Guardian*.

> *The atmosphere here is amazing. 'What's your name, and where do you come from?' a line that won't be worn out. Here the word apathy is quite dead, and in its place a remarkable optimism, one that I know will stay with me for a long time after the solar showers have been taken down* (Dolezalova, 2001).

Her description of the Camp appeared in the paper the following week and environment correspondent John Vidal packed his rucksack and took up Neela's invitation to 'come and see for yourself' (Vidal, 2001). Vidal reported on how the Nestlé chocolate vending machine at the campsite had become the focus of a fierce debate between 11 to 16-year-olds over the activities of global food companies.

Twelve months earlier the planning of the camp programme had commenced. An open invitation to Folk members prepared to work on this project brought forward an enthusiastic gang of volunteers. Most of these were in the 16-25 year age group. Some had been involved, as representatives of their groups, with the organisation of previous camps for 13-16 year olds. Others were active in the national committee of DFs (16-20 year age group). Others were members of the Folk's General Council which has places reserved for under 25s to ensure strong youth participation in the running of the organisation. It was a day of open discussion around their interests and concerns that the idea for the *Sust 'n' Able* programme emerged.

The programme was to offer ways of helping young people to understand the world's problems - becoming 'sussed' - and also about taking action to make it a better place now and for the future - being 'able'. Both were seen as essential elements in creating a 'sustainable' future.

At previous camps simulation games have been used as tools to convey an educational message. Whilst involving very large numbers of people, these games had been heavily role-play based and played in a limited time slot. This time the idea was to move beyond role play and, instead, to get everyone to make small modifications in their real-life behaviour. It was intended that these lifestyle changes should become permanent.

The aim of the camp is to bring about a change in the attitude of every participant towards those transformations which will be required to achieve global sustainability. Whilst we know that many of our members are deeply concerned about the environmental, social and economic problems that the world faces, we also know that they are often complacent about the impact of their actions to change things.

Our objective is that this camp should be a life-changing experience for every single person who attends it. That change may be large or small. But no matter how minor it may seem, put it together with 4000 other small changes and it will add up to something big. And we're hoping for some big changes too! (Woodcraft Folk, 2001).

A pack of activity resources designed to introduce the concept of sustainable development was produced and distributed to all groups who said they were coming to the camp. During the Spring children and leaders in Woodcraft Folk groups all over Britain were frantically constructing solar powered showers, planning low 'food miles' menus and calculating the relative environmental costs of different methods of transport to get there

By the time of the organisation's annual conference in May debates were raging about, for example, the relative energy consumption of producing ceramic mugs compared to that of making a life-time's supply of polystyrene ones - and how to calculate into the equation the cost of disposal of the latter and the environmental impact of the land-fill they would create.

By the time the tents went up in Sherwood Forest a large part of the awareness raising we had set out to do had already been achieved - and the best was yet to come. What happened (sparing a lot of detail) went something like this:

On the first afternoon each of the camp's 39 villages (groups averaging about 100 people) ran a workshop to introduce the theme. This included making 'feet' three times normal size (to represent the environmental impact of the UK lifestyle) and trying to play games whilst wearing these - to make the point about how impractical a footprint this big is.

Later that day each village was given a set of credit targets that it had to try to meet. The targets were calculated using a formula which took into account the actual number of people in the village, the age profile, how they had travelled to the camp and the like with a few random variables thrown in for good measure.

During the first week the aim was to achieve sustainability within the village unit. This was to be done by the village reaching or exceeding its credit targets. There

were a number of different types of credits and these were awarded for different things: Food; Energy; Health and Housing; Waste; Education; Labour; Conflict; Culture; and Co-operation.

Each afternoon a wide variety of activities were on offer at a range of centres - Peace, Global Links, Performance, Craft, Energy, Media. Most of the activities had something to do with sustainability, for example, the Craft Centre made recycled paper whilst the Energy Centre built bicycle trailers.

A 'Council of Ministers', made up of young people from all the villages, was responsible for the allocation of credits. Some credits could be claimed 'by right', for example, those for participation in activities - credit stickers were given to participants at the end of each afternoon. Credits could also be 'bid for' and awards were made for innovations in camping practices that the Council of Ministers considered to be sustainability-positive.

Just like the real world, the goal posts didn't stand still. One the second day a (virtual) typhoon hit three low-lying villages on the south east corner of the site, causing massive (virtual) flooding. This wiped out all their Health and Housing credits and nearby villages found their targets increased to simulate the impact of their relief efforts.

Of course, no one could resist the opportunity for a bit of drama and in no time at all tents, food, blankets, tarpaulins and medical supplies appeared and refugees from these three villages were taken away to be fed and sheltered by their neighbours. A village at the far end of the site organised a benefit concert.

Amongst the foreign delegations in one of these three villages was a group from Egypt. Concern about the flooding of the Nile delta, predicted as a result of rising sea levels caused by global warming, was a hot topic of discussion. The fictional issues of conflict caused by refugees displaced by the flooding; pressure on food, health, housing and energy resources of neighbouring villages; and the failure by the rest of the camp to have prevented the flooding by reducing their carbon emissions could be related to real-world events.

Sadly, the weather during the second week of the camp was not kind and the very part of the site that had been targeted for virtual disaster found itself under real, very wet, water.

At the end of the first week, the Council of Ministers convened the first Earth Summit with representatives from each age group in each village. The progress towards sustainability across the camp was discussed and a number of resolutions emerged: 'Villages should not put up barriers'; 'The whole camp ought to eat less

meat'; 'This camp should have an education policy for no litter'; 'Every village should have a conflict resolution strategy' and so on. The most significant motion was one that abolished the credit target system and opened up the way for inter-village co-operation. During the second week the focus moved outwards.

On the final afternoon of the camp a second Earth Summit took place. The issues that had concerned young people within the camp environment were translated to their counterparts in the real world. 'All villages should attempt to filter water and re-use it where hygienically appropriate' transformed, for example, to: 'There should be clean water and equal access to health care world wide. We call for action to preserve and not pollute clean water supplies. Whilst this need is commonly accepted it has not been achieved. Now, do it.'

Under the glare of the *Newsround* cameras, and using a pedal-powered PA system, the 250 Summit delegates - aged between 6 and 20 - discussed, amended and agreed upon the clauses of a Declaration which they wanted to present to the United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg in 2002. Later that evening, copies of the Declaration were being signed by campers in every village.

In Neela's words:

> *This manifesto represents a 4000-strong voice of young people from across the world, from South America to children from refugee camps in Western Sahara to the 6 to 9-year-olds I work with back home in London. These are the issues that we really care about and we want to say 'this is what needs to be done - this is how we can do it'. We want to submit this declaration to the Rio + 10 World Summit, and this is something we have a chance to do. Over the past few days I've learnt so much. Awareness has replaced indifference, and this is more than just a start'* (Dolezalova, 2001).

To measure the impact of the programme, funding had been secured from the Energy Saving Trust for researchers from De Montford University's Institute of Energy and Sustainable Development to study the outcomes. Their interim report summary concludes:

> *The research results suggest that the activities at the Woodcraft camp, both informational and practical, were well received by participants and considered useful and interesting. Very high proportions of respondents indicated their intention to continue to use energy efficiently and switch to renewable power sources, most obviously solar, when the camp was over and they returned to their homes. The data suggests that the camp will have positive*

impacts on levels of awareness, attitudes and actual behaviour (Devine-Wright and Fleming, 2002).

To Johannesburg...

At the outset we had imagined that the project would come to its conclusion at the end of the camp. When that arrived, however, it was clear that *Sust 'n' Able* had generated a life of their own and we're going places. The first stop would be Johannesburg.

The following months saw a steering group, composed of young people from Woodcraft Folk groups around Britain, beginning to plan participation in the World Summit. One of the early tasks was to apply to the United Nations for accreditation to attend Johannesburg.

The group decided that the delegation should be aged between 13 and 25 and young people in the Folk were invited to submit applications. The final group of 11 young people who travelled to South Africa were selected by a panel of their peers. Others helped with publicity and fund raising for the trip.

The Steering Group ran an international seminar at the Earth Centre in South Yorkshire with participants from youth organisations in Sweden, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The programme covered a mixture of discussions about sustainability issues and workshops on using the media, public speaking, and producing educational materials.

At the same time, the Woodcraft Folk's Education Committee was preparing resources to offer practical activities and projects to our groups in the UK as a follow-up to the camp, and a build-up to the Summit. These were published on a web site.

The delegation finally left for South Africa on 20 August and their adventures are recorded at www.woodcraft.org.uk/earthsummit.

...and back again

A Woodcraft leader at the *'Party for the Planet'* - a post-Johannesburg festival and conference - asked whether the delegation had come back 'very disillusioned'. On the contrary, their sense of empowerment had soared. They didn't go to Jo'burg with high expectations and grand illusions of the likely outcomes of the political process. They were well prepared to face the political bartering and the blockages of national self-interest. There were three aspects of the experience which the young people had not expected. First, they had not anticipated the extent to which they would be accepted as equal partners in the process. They were invited to daily briefings by the UK Government delegation and 14-year-old Rachel expressed her surprise at how open and inclusive these meetings were.

> *At the beginning it was very 'I can't believe I am sitting at a table with Margaret Beckett' but by the end I was no longer star-struck and everyone was simply a partner working towards a common goal - a more sustainable future.*

Secondly, the group found that they had been able to make a real impact through their lobbying efforts. One example of this related to discussions on a clause in the Summit implementation document about economic, social and environmental development, and how all three went hand in hand. There were attempts to add a further clause making any developments subject to World Trade Organisation rules and thus, effectively, giving the WTO a veto on international sustainable development policy. As Lloyd explained:

> *This is obviously not something we agreed with so, along with the rest of the Youth Caucus and many other NGOs, we lobbied various governments and, in the end, got them to change their minds.*

Thirdly, they were delighted to find so many others who shared their views. As Rhiannon put it:

> *What has been important here in Johannesburg has been forming links with other like-minded NGOs and meeting young people from all over the world. I think it is probably this, in fact, which will have the greatest impact on creating movements for sustainable development.*

The delegation returned with a renewed determination to make their voices heard and their actions felt. Rachel summed up the experience:

> *I'd like to think that I'm no longer going to sit at home and think 'Oh well, the world's in a mess but there's nothing I can do' - I know there is! Perhaps that's the most important lesson of all - young people can be involved and they can make a difference.*

Conclusions

A programme of education for sustainable development must have, as its aim, the intention to bring about real change in young people's everyday lifestyles. This will be based on a clear understanding of the links between that lifestyle and wider economic, political and environmental issues. If young people are to have an impact creating sustainable futures then they need to believe in their own ability to effect change. Education for sustainable development programmes must ensure that their outcomes include the empowerment of those they set out to educate.

Julie Thorpe is a writer and multimedia designer. She has worked with young people for 25 years as a volunteer in the Woodcraft Folk; sat on the organisation's General Council; and devised its 2001 International Camp Programme.

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Viola Nzira

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This book is about African struggle for culture, power and democracy. It is divided into twelve chapters in which themes of gender class and race are dominant features used to inform the discussion. While the author's research was primarily based in Nigeria, she also drew on her employment experience within a local authority in the UK to produce comparisons as appropriate.

In chapter one Ifi Amadiume presents an overview of the position of African women and possibilities for the future. She argues that African women should not be presented as destitute and in need of charity from the West, because historically these women have demonstrated their capabilities in economic, political and social spheres. However the evidence presented within this chapter suggests real and serious problems of destitution across Sub-Saharan Africa and women bearing most of the social burdens. The wisdom of such an approach becomes questionable when addressing issues affecting diverse communities across a continent. If African women are not to be seen as victims, the evidence about the problems they are facing, including the internalisation of their oppressive material condition, would need to be counter balanced by examples of real self managed successes.

On the issue of leadership a comparison is made between Danish women and African women. It would have been helpful to know why Denmark, a country, was selected as a basis for comparison with a whole continent. It would appear that there is a tendency to specify European spaces and countries but not to do likewise for African spaces and countries; perhaps this is a legacy of how Africa has been written about and not Europe. Is this an inevitable oppressive culture of imperialism? Some strategies for changing the lives of women are articulated, but on the whole the discussion seems to confirm the powerlessness and victim position of African women across the continent. They remain dependent on external powers to bring about positive changes.

After setting the scene in chapter one the remainder of the chapters are issue based, examining how women's groups, professional associations, local and national government in Nigeria affect the lives of women and

girls. Western social class based analysis highlights how colonialism continues to influence the reproduction of a small but elite class of women in Nigeria who hold power to the detriment of grassroots women. The complexity of women's oppression is clearly articulated and illustrated by each of the activity or relationship areas covered within the economic, political and social arena. The catalogue of problems is a well rehearsed and thoroughly depressing path - giving examples from HIV infection to violence against women. The nature and content of the research meant that a multi-disciplinary approach was inevitable producing a controversial, but rich tapestry of ideas. The controversies will no doubt pave the way for further research to inform women-directed social action.

In the final chapter Ifi Amadiume uses evidence from Britain, South Africa and Nigeria to provide an exposition of a possible way forward for multiethnic and multicultural societies. She favours the creation of local government democratic systems that will facilitate the active involvement of beneficiaries.

The book deserves a wide readership among those who have an interest in African women's participation in economic and political development. A point for emphasis is the need to recognise the uniqueness of individual countries as well as commonalties among African peoples across a continent, then make the appropriate references explicit.

Viola Nzira *School of Health and Social Care University of Reading.*

L. Measor and P. Squires
Young People and Community Safety:
Inclusion, risk, tolerance and disorder
Ashgate, 2000
ISBN 0 7546 1131 0
£45 (hbk)
pp 277

Tony Jeffs

This book was dispatched for review almost two years ago. After a lengthy delay the prospective reviewer returned it, then it lingered in the office - destined to be overlooked. Faced with the choice of returning it to the publisher or doing the job myself I perused it. A couple of pages

in, it became self-evident this book was too good to be overlooked. Even if the review appeared over two years after publication - so be it.

The authors rightly acknowledge there is little published research 'on the phenomena of young people simply socialising together in public places' (p.9). This text on 'congregating' and 'gathering' indubitably helps to fill the gap.

Based on research commissioned by an umbrella organisation called Brighton and Hove Coalition for Youth it commenced as an investigation into 'juvenile nuisance'. Researchers interviewed those living in the neighbourhoods where the 'hanging out' occurred, a variety of 'concerned' welfare professionals and the young people themselves. Three neighbourhoods were subjected to the attention of the researchers, who found that the tolerance granted the young people in their midst fluctuated widely. Basically the more prosperous the community the lower the levels of forbearance.

Basically the young people gathered to have a good time - doing the things their elders did when they socialised. Eating, drinking, smoking, flirting and conversing. They might be slightly more raucous when doing so but in part the heightened noise levels can be accounted for by the character of the venue itself. And like their seniors they congregate in locales where they perceive themselves to be safe and comfortable. Town centres at night, for example, were perceived to be too dangerous to loiter in. Therefore best avoided. Overwhelmingly, individuals affiliate to and congregate in these 'gatherings' until they are old, or confident, enough to transfer to the pubs and clubs catering for their social needs.

Despite the fears frequently articulated by residents and some welfare professionals regarding the behaviour of the young people 'hanging around' the researchers found that 'very little of the behaviour taking place at the gatherings ... is primarily criminal, nor does it lead to significant levels of offending behaviour' (p. 24). It might be noisy, and perceived by some as a threatening phenomena, but these 'gatherings' are largely harmless.

Close observation bought into question a number of commonly held assumptions regarding those joining the 'gatherings'. Equal numbers of girls and boys were involved, it is not just the young men out on the street. Just that many workers and residents seem to suffer gender blindness when assessing the 'nature of the problem' seeing only the young men. Equally it is not exclusively the low achievers and socially excluded out there. Many of the brightest and academically most able delight in joining

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these 'gatherings'. As such they bring together many young people isolated from each other in the school system by rigid streaming. Further:

> *contrary to what we might have expected, more young people who claimed to attend youth clubs were also involved in 'gatherings' activity ... Indeed the difference here was most marked for those claiming to take part in gatherings on a regular basis. The message here would seem to be clear, conventional youth clubs don't exist as an alternative to gatherings and young people appear to be making clear choices about how they wish to spend their own free time. (p. 199)*

They gather because it is only beyond the confines of buildings that they are able to enjoy some of the amusements they seek. The blanket ban on alcohol and smoking within youth clubs means they must go outside to indulge. Many of the young people spoken to wanted youth clubs that served alcohol. But that is not a wish they are going to see fulfiled. Even though it would self-evidently be to the advantage of all the parties that their consumption of alcohol took place in a setting that was welcoming, indoors and supervised. Paradoxically, as this study shows, a youth club and school campus both provided venues for substantial 'gatherings'. The difficulty was that it was outside and adjacent to rather than within that these took place. The young people gravitating to them as places that they have a partial ownership of and familiarity with.

The research exposed undesirably high levels of mutual antagonism between the young people and older residents. The uneven political clout of the two groups ensures that unless this antipathy is reduced the latter will translate their antagonism into policies designed to manage and control young people. CCTV cameras, curfews and intrusive policing designed to cope with and eradicate 'gatherings' will lead to the creeping criminalisation of the public behaviour of young people. Behaviour that is benignly tolerated when engaged in by older citizens acting out in their own space. In part this is what makes this book so useful because it requires the reader to think carefully before rushing to judgement regarding the behaviour of groups of young people in public space. Providing those instinctively nervous about the 'managing youth agenda', swiftly gaining ground in England and Scotland, with evidence to counter the alarmist demands for action to deal with a problem 'out of control'.

This is a book that has not dated post publication. Current youth policy agendas and legislation have made it more rather than less relevant. In

England, Blunkett and in Scotland, Curran should be obliged to read it. However that is not likely to occur, therefore others need to use its findings to expose the fallacies under-writing the policies they are pushing through. Policies unambiguously designed to restrict and control young peoples access to public space. By any measure this is an important youth work text but the price puts it out of the range of all but those with access to a private income to supplement the weekly wage. This therefore is one that the librarian and training officer need to be sweet-talked into purchasing.

Tony Jeffs *Community and Youth Work Studies University of Durham.*

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Creative Force:
Arts-based exercises for work with young people around issues of violence
Save the Children, London 2001
ISBN 1 84187 950 1
£9.95

Karen Belfield

Violence is a problem almost all young people experience today. This can come in the form of violence they effect, violence they are the victims of, or a general awareness and fear of violence. *Creative Force* has been designed by Save the Children in collaboration with UK Youth as a practical manual for youth workers to use to explore these issues and related topics with young people, using the arts as a vehicle. Central to *Creative Force* is the United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child. The objectives are largely on developing active citizenship and empowering young people to recognise their rights and responsibilities, how violence can suppress those rights and how they themselves could be perpetrators of violence.

The manual is divided up into sections relating to one of four art forms: drama, poetry, photography and creative writing. It succeeds in its aim to be a practical manual for within each section there are 6 to 8 easy to follow session plans, along with an introduction to the art form and some examples of work created by young people participating in Save the Children Projects.

A different arts worker has compiled each section, so the focus and curriculum for these are slightly different. For example the creative writing tutor opts

to focus on confidence building via the development of skills in language and writing, gradually introducing violence, as a theme to explore the use of those skills. The photography section encourages a very direct exploration of issues relating to violence and then looks at ways these concepts might be represented and created in a visual format. However it is worth noting that the focus may have been influenced by the nature of differing art forms. By their nature visual arts pieces need to be conceptualised before the end product is completed whereas writing enables the writer to develop their thinking as the prose unfolds.

The manual is designed for use as a session-by-session guide and this should be no problem for workers provided they tackle one art form at a time. The manual does encourage workers to dip into other art forms to compliment their programme (the drama activities are especially recommended as a compliment to the others). However mixing and matching would, in the end, come down to your confidence and experience of working with the arts. Though many youth workers were involved in the pilot schemes undertaken prior to the writing of this book, it is stressed that they all undertook some pretty hefty arts training before embarking on work with young people.

Creative Force offers a substantial guide for work on a medium to long-term issue based project. However as the book itself recommends this work is only possible with a well established group who have already, or as part of the preliminary work, engaged in some generic issued based youth work around violence. The book offers little factual information about violence and the surrounding issues. Therefore workers will need to engage in background research into the types of violence, the situations in which violence can present, as well as some of the causes and effects of violence, before starting work with young people.

Another concern of any work around sensitive issues such as this is the emotional well-being of the young people involved. As arts work often allows young people to explore and voice their own experiences with this can come disclosures, youth workers must feel able to work with these safely and effectively. Though the manual includes several help line numbers it would be worth looking into local organisations that could support young people around issues relating to violence prior to commencement.

One criticism of the activities relates to the 'practicalities' involved, these being - time, physical resources and promotion. It seems that time could be a problem, as to cover one of the art forms in the book would need at least 6-8 weeks of 2 hour sessions along with a couple of sessions explor-

ing 'what is violence' before arts work commences. Time is also linked to promotion in that young people are, quite rightly, very selective regarding how they choose to spend their leisure time. How does the youth worker go about selling an issue based arts programme to young people when it may seem laboriously similar to school work? One suggestion in the book is to re-name the 'arts' to make them 'more credible to youth culture'. For example using 'Rap' and 'MC'ing as an alternative to the word 'poetry'. In terms of physical resources all except the photography section are relatively inexpensive to run although space may be an issue for some of the drama workshops. Most of the photography sessions require access not only to cameras but also fairly sophisticated computer equipment and image manipulation software. However having worked on some similar projects using digital photography the process of taking an idea from conception to the end product was found to be extremely empowering in terms of the IT skills gained. It was also extremely fulfilling to see the professional product that can be created using digital facilities. Though most youth clubs don't own such equipment local FE colleges, museums and adult education centres, who do, are often willing to work in partnership.

I would recommend *Creative Force* to two types of youth workers. First, those who enjoy arts based work and would like to present their youth work curriculum in this way. Secondly to those working in organisations already addressing the issue and who would like fresh ideas regarding ways of presenting and handling it. Youth arts workers may also find it useful not only for mix and matching from the session plans but to build on for use on a larger scale such as workshop events or residentials.

Karen Belfield *is a Community Development Worker with NECA
(North East Council On Addictions).*

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A. Dearling and A. Skinner
Making a Difference: Practice and planning in working with young people in community safety and crime prevention programmes
Russell House Publishing, 2002
ISBN 1 898924 39 2
pp 170

Steve Rogowski

When it comes to working with troubled and troublesome young people there has been a move from the 'nothing works' thesis of the 1970s. Now 'what works' is in the ascendancy. But as Pitts notes in the preface to this edited collection there are no quick fixes, even though, as the contributors suggest, it is possible to 'make a difference' to young people's lives. Attempting to make that difference has to be done with a clear view of the objectives sought, and the principles and ethics that should guide action. Practitioners' lives are increasingly dominated by auditing, monitoring, performance management and league tables, so it is vitally important that we continue to value and protect work whose qualities are often far removed from those being measured. This book undoubtedly helps in this process. Chapters include: preventative work; befriending; mentoring; games and activities; inter-agency action; staff development and training; victims; school bullying; volunteers and, not least (see below) community and neighbourhood strategies. There is even a useful chapter on working away from base, of taking young people away, on trips or for residential periods, that harks back to the Intermediate Treatment schemes of the 1970s, unfashionable as this is at present.

At the outset Dearling notes there are contradictions framing young peoples lives. Not least they are encouraged to become citizens, to be involved and included, and yet they all too often find themselves without meaningful employment and forced onto low pay 'training schemes' and into living with parents into their 20s still without a route to independence. Furthermore, government policy in relation to young offenders and those on the margins of society focuses on protecting victims and reparation rather than broad social initiatives to improve the lives of young people in marginalised communities, though these are not mutually exclusive. It surely goes without saying, therefore, that along with protecting victims and property, work with young people should involve key principles such as: empowerment, advocacy and self-determination; anti-discriminatory practice; and the upholding of the rights of young people to dignity, trust and self-respect. For me the chapter that comes nearest to encompassing

all of this is Skinner's on community and neighbourhood strategies which utilises the social action approach (Centre for Social Action, 2000).

The social action approach, drawing on self-directed groupwork (Mullender and Ward, 1991), embodies principles such as: commitment to social justice; recognising all people have rights; knowing people working collectively can be powerful; believing all people have skills, experience and understanding; and social action workers being facilitators rather than leaders. It differs from other crime prevention or neighbourhood interventions in several ways. For example, young people and their communities start with an open agenda to determine issues important to them. In addition, echoing the foregoing principles, professionals are a resource to the group in achieving goals rather than taking a major role themselves, and there is recognition that young people can think creatively about resources they can own and which take account of neighbourhood needs. From all this detached youth work is used to make contact with young people, that talks and listens to them on their own ground. Followed by planning for action work with a group of young people on what are the problems, why they exist and how things can be changed. All this can be linked with what the 'old' radical social workers, or as they may now be called 'critical professionals' (Humphries 2000), would practice. Put simply this could involve the young people arguing for improved recreational facilities and taking this up with their local council. Ultimately, and I know many will see this as either overly optimistic or naively idealistic (or both!), it may lead to arguing and fighting for fundamental change in societal arrangements. But possibly I digress.

More prosaically perhaps, other chapters that appealed to me were those on such as befriending, mentoring and games and activities. Both befriending and mentoring are linked though the latter is usually more time limited while the former is a more fluid, less formal arrangement. They aim to offer advice, support and encouragement to young people and incidentally this is what social work should be all about rather than the current focus on bureaucratic procedures and routines. As for games and activities, their importance in the context of youth and social work has long been recognised. They provide, for instance, fun, excitement, stimulation and creativity as well as helping young people improve their relationship building skills with both adults and other young people.

Making a Difference is a useful book. It provides a practical set of ideas and suggestions that will benefit all those who work with young people

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whether they be social workers, youth workers, members of youth offending teams or teachers. Policy makers and managers would also benefit from a read not least because it will provide them with a glimpse of what positive work with young people entails. Again as Pitts notes, many of the approaches do not always sit easily with much of what currently happens with the youth justice sector since the passing of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. But this at the very least provides a challenge for the reader to think innovatively, difficulties notwithstanding in the current political, economic and ideological climate.

Steve Rogowski is a Social Worker (children and families) with a local authority in NW England.

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Peter Barnes
Leadership With Young People
Russell House Publishing, 2002
ISBN: 1 903855 07 1
£12.95

Gill Patton

Certain chapters in *Leadership with Young People* stand out; 'Visions and Styles' and 'Motivating Young People' are particularly good at discussing pertinent issues relating to effective youth work. However, elsewhere it can read like a set of guidelines with a few tips on using practical activities. Admittedly, the busy worker seeking a quick and accessible resource may consider it handy, but to what depth is hard to tell. The guidelines are limited, offering principles for good practice without any rationale. This may be fine for an experienced worker, but there is a danger the inexperienced may use these guidelines with little understanding of why they are doing so. For example, there are a few lines given to confidentiality

without any consideration of the dilemmas a worker may face. The section 'Allegations of Abuse and How to Avoid Them' has no reference to ethics or professional boundaries and feels like a tick list of appropriate behaviour with young people. It is sad that the climate in youth work is so often permeated by a fear of allegations. This issue requires debate, but the approach Barnes takes negates years of working towards extending the rights of children and young people and fails to acknowledge the difficulty they face in making a complaint of any kind, never mind one relating to abuse.

Barnes seeks to pre-empt my initial criticism, by claiming to have purposefully designed the text to be a resource to be 'dipped into' and explaining it could have been twice as long. However, it could have remained accessible by replacing some of the superficial material with more in-depth discussion of subjects like confidentiality, risk, outdoors as an equaliser and using touch effectively. Barnes' intentions are good. He notes how he received little guidance when entering practice and the need for greater help to be available nowadays.

The text offers a useful discussion on 'youth', placing it in a contemporary context with a gentle reminder that the fear of young people has always existed. Barnes goes on to describe how the social construction of adulthood, once marked by becoming a parent, leaving home or school, is blurring in response to the changing nature of work and education. He draws on some helpful psychological tools to understand behaviour and it is also worth mentioning in this respect the interesting contribution from Wood, who adds a vital ingredient to understanding leadership - spirituality.

Barnes also focuses on the use of power. There is encouragement for workers to reflect on the kinds of power they may legitimately use within the context of their practice. Alongside this is advice regarding how to identify colleagues inappropriately using power. However, he fails to identify 'personal' power that can be used effectively in all our lives and is encapsulated in a strong sense of identity, confidence and assertion - excellent role modelling when demonstrated in the youth work setting. As the book is about leadership with young people I feel he misses the opportunity to consider the 'lack of power' experienced by many young people and to focus on how workers might recognise this powerlessness and work towards identifying it and enabling young people to overcome it. The discussion where it takes places becomes one of 'control'. The use of language like 'handing power' to, and 'grabbing power' back from young people gives it an uncomfortable feel. The leap to practice in this

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respect falls short, exposing a lack of empathy with young people.

Generally, there is little consideration of the factors affecting young peoples lives; their experiences, their family, poverty and the culture of the estates where they may live. Barnes devotes a small section to work with young men and incorporates a practice-based contribution from Collins about young women in the outdoor environment. However, he does not highlight the changing roles of men and women. When illustrating gender roles he takes away the personal experiences of two young women by labelling their contributions as 'obviously...sweeping statements'. The complexity of human interaction and relationships is not explicit and it too often feels somewhat two dimensional in its approach.

I felt disappointed at the illustration of the limits on learning breakthroughs. Barnes uses a quotation from a teacher who found personal rewards for their teaching efforts were based on young people remembering homework. It is interesting that Barnes states this book is for informal educators, where coercion or compulsory attendance is absent, and then uses a quotation from a schoolteacher to dampen the hopes of workers. He acknowledges that we cannot impose our visions of learning on young people and in the next breath imposes his ideals of being realistic in our expectations of what they can achieve. Ironically, earlier on in this section, the worker is encouraged to be aware of their 'ego' and reflect on their motivation to lead. It makes sense that if the workers main concern is personal reward, then their needs will become the primary motivation. Youth workers require encouragement, feedback and benefits from their work practice, as all of us do, but let us hang on to the notion of altruism as a mark of effective leadership. From this perspective the needs of young people should be the primary motivation in youth work.

This book has many useful elements deserving further exploration. Barnes intentionally opts for the quick advice technique. This approach does not model good youth work practice, which should be underpinned with preparation, planning and purposeful interventions. The book has potential and could have been far more dynamic, with opportunities to debate safety and risk, power, spirituality, motivation, ethics and professional boundaries. Parts of the book are extremely useful, but it never really makes the leap from leadership of the worker to leadership for young people - central to the youth work process.

Gill Patton *is a Community Education Worker with a national voluntary organisation.*

Anne Bannister and Annie Huntington
Communicating with Children and Adolescents: Action for Change
Jessica Kingsley, 2002
ISBN 1 84310 025 8
£16.95 (pbk)
pp 240

Janet Adams

At the outset this book makes a strong and convincing case for the use of creative and dynamic therapies in order to help young people who have problems in communication. The origins of these problems cover an extensive range and includes: stammering, autism, 'at risk' youth, fostered and adopted children, those who have life threatening illnesses and those who have been physically and/or sexually abused. This is a broad, wide ranging and challenging agenda and yet the authors manage to maintain a consistency in approach I found helpful and engaging.

The use of drama metaphors appropriately sets the scene for the abundant supporting evidence contained in the 14 chapters and which lead the reader through a variety of different processes and experiences. I identified and found particularly helpful, the following constant themes throughout the chapters: a) the unshakeable belief in the success of action methods; b) the adherence to the underpinning philosophy of the work of Moreno (1944); and c) the 'let's tell the story' style. These resonate throughout the book ensuring a linking thread from start to finish and avoid the experience of feeling as though a new book is started with each chapter.

The case studies presented are touching and, on occasion, as dramatic as the methods used to work with the young people. The detailed description and use of specific techniques such as doubling, body memories and role reversal as creative therapeutic media, bring the case studies to life and provide engaging (if sometimes disturbing) reading.

A couple of 'free standing' strands of thought stand out for me, the first of which is a convincing and recurring argument which propagates the idea that action methods promote a 'levelling' between therapist and child whilst verbal methods remain in the realm of adult expression. Supporting this was Terr's (1988) research that evidenced the significance of accessing sensory and iconic memories where verbal recall is absent. The second is the recognition that not only do practitioners in the helping professions have feelings, but that a lack of acknowledgement of the existence of

these feelings is incompatible with the interests of the young people they serve. The editors quote Thompson (2000: 9) regarding this point,

> *... if professionals do not find ways to hold onto their compassion and humanitarian principles, they are likely to become 'functionaries' doing little more than negotiate the web of bureaucratic 'routines, procedures and standards' associated with their role.*

There can be few practitioners for whom this quote will not resonate and it is the inclusion of such statements which engaged me and helped me to identify and feel included and as though my own working dilemmas were understood by the author.

I found myself wondering at the wisdom of the inclusion of personal accounts of authors' early lives (chapter 3), although it quickly becomes apparent that the telling of their stories directly linked with the presented working models and the underpinning philosophical base of the work. This in itself mirrored and built upon the therapeutic elements clearly described in the earlier chapters. The 'eco-approach' is innovative and takes into account the whole sphere of the individual's world ensuring that progression is centred and 'rooted' from the client's position, rather than the helper's agenda.

Occasionally I was aware of some confusion in purpose, for example, whilst the account of the experiences of peer education gave an interesting description of structured groups as part of a programme of learning, the intended beneficiaries of the programme remain unclear. An acknowledgement of this tension would have added clarity with regard to the purpose of peer education as well as to the process it involves. Whilst it was clear that learning for both the student counsellors and the group members was probably equal, although the lessons learned may well have not been those which were desired, the intended outcomes remained unclear.

More specifically, part 2 contains a series of stories that stand as exemplars to the power of psychodrama in the repair of different personal dysfunctions, for example speech impediment. These resonated strongly with my understanding of client centred approaches in helping. I was to learn that the steps between using active listening as part of relationship building, and the use of psychodrama in therapeutic situations, were not as steep as I had imagined. In other words, (for this reader) 'therapy' was put into a more everyday context. My cynicism in relation to the promotion of certain

therapeutic processes was severely challenged by the examples given in part 2. The more I read, the more these integrated into my understanding so that I saw illuminated in them the process of relationship building - rather than simply the application of a 'cure'.

In conclusion, this book is a rich source of case studies which catalogues and promotes the use of action methods used in the healing of pain and hurt experienced by young people. In perfect mirror image of the principles of such a child centred discipline, the young people hold the centre stage and starring roles, and therapists and the therapeutic process serve as the supporting cast.

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Janet Adams is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Luton.

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Robert Chambers
Participatory Workshops
Earth Scan Publications, 2002
ISBN 1 85383 863 2
£8.95

Bren Cook

One of the reasons that makes writing these reviews so rewarding is the moment the parcel arrives. I never know what I'm are going to see when I open the envelope and take out the publication. Sometimes I can't wait to get reading, and sometimes the book becomes like the washing up... I'll get around to it eventually! This book fell somewhere in the middle. I really wanted to get at it but other things demanded my time. However that was a mistake because this book, within its understated cover, is a gem. A real joy. Not because of the way it is presented or the format but because of the profoundly timely and radical values that sit within its pages.

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The author, Robert Chambers, is a research associate of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex. He has worked in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia and the United Kingdom in the area of 'development'. The book is a highly practical exposition of the values and methods behind participatory group work that Chambers has collected throughout the years. Therefore the book is rooted in practicality and 'real' life' and a wide and varied array of experiences.

One of the nice touches is the way it is structured into 21 headings each with a guaranteed 21 hints, tips, suggestions or questions that is assembled into a very useful toolbox of facilitation. The 21 headings are grouped into 6 parts: *Brief Basics, Beginning-Middle and End, Messing Up, Groups-Seating* and *Size, Analysis and Learning and finally Behaviour and Awareness.*

What I found profoundly refreshing is that it describes in practical terms how to set about engaging in dialogue with people. There is so much talked about engaging communities or enabling people or (even better) empowering them and a scant regard as to how, in any meaningful or authentic way, this can be done. The wholesale introduction of funding-driven governance that asks the 'community' to judge the plethora of bids may have the tendency to lead to local despotism instead of the idealised nirvana of participation. Instead of the genuine collective participation that underpins Robert Chambers book there is danger of a missed opportunity to really refresh local democracy. Buy this book and start a revolution.

I haven't for a long time read a book that offers such practical hope. It is full of the things that I had learnt but haven't dwelt on for a while e.g. basic principles of belief in collective learning, learning from messing up, avoiding lecturing, going with the groups real agendas and not to be target led all the time. Given the times we live in Chambers is quietly being very radical. The book gave me a sense of perspective that I rarely get nowadays in our accountancy dominated world. This book advocates change and power sharing at a human scale. It is an antithesis and antidote to the economic social engineering of our times. I would like every one involved in youth or community work to read this book and then keep it with them when planning a piece of work.

Gloriously practical, Chambers takes us on a journey from the very basics of attitudes and behaviours necessary for engaging in participatory workshops, through understanding the attitudes that facilitators need; fundamental thinking about the participation process to real ways of gaining group led

learning. The 21 groups of 21 actions are sprinkled with useful realistic ways of achieving dialogue as well as nuggets of the 'Freireian' philosophy that run through the book like the letters through Blackpool rock.

It is obvious that this is a handbook by someone who has 'been there'. Having been involved in lots of training I found myself chuckling as the author described how he made a hash of running a workshop. Certainly his self effacing critique allowed me to identify with him in a way I probably would not have done in the company of one of those 'perfect experts'. The book has a light humourous tone that worked for me, whilst the inclusion of little cartoons is a nice nonintrusive touch. It would be good to see an A4 photocopiable version of the book that could be used in training. You could use this book as a standard text on most courses that involved learning about group work. The phrasing of the text is enormously accessible making it a good one to use with all-comers. I think that this book ought to be standard issue at teacher/ youth/community work training establishments and attached to students by a stout string so that they wouldn't lose it.

I was pleasantly surprised to see the price of £8.95 because a book of this quality, normally aimed at a specialised audience, is usually far more costly. Definitely value for money and well worth purchasing for Youth and Community Workers countywide. Then all that needs to happen is that we challenge the top down hegemony and replace it with the principles of genuine, authentic critical dialogue. This book will help achieve it!

Bren Cook *is an Assistant District Manager for Lancashire Youth and Community Service.*

B. Bradford Brown, Reed W. Larson and T. S. Saraswathi (eds)
The World's Youth: Adolescence in eight regions of the globe
Cambridge University Press, 2002
ISBN 0 521 00605 8
pp 369

Howard Williamson

Any book with such a title needs to be approached with some caution. How much is it going to be full of sweeping generalisations which conceal the important calibrations in the diverse conditions of youth, within individual

nations, let alone 'regions' and the 'world'? On what basis has the book been compiled: where have appropriate data sources been uncovered to advance arguments, if indeed such sources exist at all?

The editors acknowledge the risks attached to their ambitious enterprise, as do the various contributors, who often preface their commentary with contrasting (but stereotypical) images of young people within the regions on which they focus. Is it possible to convey, in relatively short chapters, any kind of overarching analysis of the prevailing circumstances of young people overall, *and* to capture some of the more pressing differentiation in their lives? Some 'regions', notably Western Europe and the North America are replete with useful statistical and more qualitative data. Others have very little. There is, for example, virtually nothing on ethnic differences in Russia, or on adolescent mental health in the Arab region.

Nevertheless, the book is a mine of information, reminding us on virtually every page of both the universal trends in the 'transition' challenges facing young people and the particular social, religious, political and economic traditions and contexts experienced by young people in different parts of the world. The editors note from the start that while such 'youth contexts' and the youth 'policy' which influences them are diverse, there are similar core challenges for the future: around issues such as family life, education, employment, health and political and civic engagement. They offer the 'kaleidoscope' of evidence from around the world as a basis for reflecting on this assertion. Not all agree with it: claims of increasing global homogeneity are sometimes rejected on the grounds that they are in fact a proxy for Eurocentric or ethnocentric colonisation. This critique becomes increasingly hard to contest the further one gets in the book: from 'basic' definitions of 'youth' to academic theses around 'youth transitions' and 'individualisation', one finds their application to African or Arab contexts inherently problematic.

What *is* at stake throughout the world is how young people are managing the tensions and contradictions between tradition and change. Some are clearly falling between the two, with adverse consequences for both themselves and their wider communities. Others are falling *back* to older traditions, though they themselves would not think of it as a retrograde step. The case of Islamic fundamentalism is but one stark example: it is argued that Islamic assertions of indigenous cultural identity in many Arab states 'are reassuring to young people caught in contradictory circumstances' (p 213). Other young people, however are combining the two: the chapter on South East Asia concludes by noting 'youth's ability to co-ordinate and utilise the resources from both worlds of continuity and change' (p 204).

The editors contend that in virtually all countries across the globe there is now some period of transition between childhood and adolescence, although the extent to which a distinctive phase of 'youth' or 'adolescence' is recognised, formally and culturally, does differ. They asked contributors to align their presentation and commentary to a set format which, predictably, includes family structures, peer association and activity, education and employment, and other themes mentioned above. These represent the common issues facing young people, albeit in very different ways, everywhere. In addition, there is the question of what is called 'national preparedness' to support young people in facing the future. Little is certain about the future, except perhaps demographic forecasting and on this the editors pull no punches:

> *The absolute size of their cohorts is a direct indication of future demand for schools, health care, and employment training. The size of their cohorts relative to other population age groups suggests the competition youth will face for public resources. National ability to prepare for these youth cohorts depends on each country's place in the global economy, the international assistance, and attention it gives to planning for the future of its young people (p 56).*

Each chapter therefore concludes with some observations about the current state of 'youth policy' in the region concerned. This often remains embryonic and, in some regions, predominately focused on 'social control'. In other regions (such as many of the Arab states), it is based on good intentions but remains largely aspirational rather than a reality. Even in 'advanced' western societies, youth policy is described as 'haphazard'. There is clearly a major job to be done by governments in shaping more coherent strategies to prevent risk and to promote opportunity.

The common structure for each chapter is immensely helpful for readers to compare and contrast as they work through material from eight different 'regions'. All I can do here is to provide a few illustrative cameo examples. Sub-Saharan Africa, ravaged as it has been by war and now also by HIV, faces the paramount challenge of harnessing the talent of its young people by working alongside them, if things are not going to deteriorate even further. India faces particular issues around drop-out from education and child labour, within a context of massive social and economic disparities, fuelled by its distinctive caste system. China and Japan in their very different ways are tussling with their rapid transitions from relative stability to new uncertainites for young people. The implications of the 'one child' policy

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in China are yet to work themselves through. In South East Asia, urbanisation has produced an 'expanding peer world' but 'dismal' prospects of good employment for young people. The Arab states, characterised still by the centrality of family cohesion in the socialisation of young people are having to address the persisting influence of a strong religious (Muslim and Christian) identity, which can be both 'reassuring and constraining' for young people. Russian youth have had to face an 'unusually turbulent context' and are portrayed, with some level of concern, as increasingly individualistic and materialistic. In Latin America, there is growing anxiety about gang culture and the corresponding violence amongst young people.

Is the overall picture optimistic or bleak? In Western Europe, the future for young people is described as 'astonishingly bright', but even there 'an array of perils lurk amongst their privileges' (p 337). Elsewhere, sometimes surprisingly, young people remain personally optimistic about their future, even when they recognise the collective risks before them.

The book concludes with the UN World Programme of Action for Youth, outlining its proposals for intervention and development. It suggests additional elements such as ensuring more robust support for families, developing more constructive media influences, revising school curricula to incorporate relevant life skills, and addressing the gender divisions which accompany so many accounts in so many policy domains.

Similar social forces are at play in the lives of young people throughout the world, but they 'play out' in very different ways, broadening or narrowing the transition pathways available to them. Greater convergence, rather than increasing divergence, in the opportunities available to them is what is required, but any action must be coupled with greater sensitivity to the cultural and historic traditions which lie behind them – which still provide the foundation stones for young people's trajectories towards the future.

Howard Williamson *School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University.*

Andrew Miller
Mentoring Students and Young People: A Handbook of Effective Practice
Kogan Page, 2002
ISBN 0 7494 3543 7
£19.99 (pbk)
pp 299

Helen Colley

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This handbook collects together a large amount of information about the youth mentoring movement that has exploded in the UK and internationally in recent years. Its opening chapter details the extraordinary numbers – literally millions – of people being drawn into this movement, mainly as volunteers, but also from existing professional fields such as youth work, social work and career guidance. The introduction is followed by a chapter that discusses the concept of mentoring. The central section of the book, on 'the forms of mentoring', presents a series of brief reports on different types of mentoring programme. These are organised according to their particular target group of mentors or mentees (e.g. minority ethnic youth, pupils 'at risk' of social exclusion, university students mentoring in schools), or according to their mode of delivery (e.g. peer mentoring, telementoring), and short 'case studies' of individual mentoring projects are provided. The final section makes recommendations for good practice, focused on the planning, management and evaluation of mentoring programmes.

At first glance, the book appears to be a comprehensive review of the current state of the mentoring movement. It is aimed at practitioners in the education and welfare services and in the voluntary sector, in a format that encourages them to dip into those sections that are most immediately relevant to them. However, my response to the book is inevitably shaped by my own perception of youth mentoring today, and of the kind of research, I believe, we need to support mentoring in practice.

In spite of its tremendous resonance in the popular imagination of the middle classes, and the favour it has found recently with policy-makers, the mentoring movement suffers from a number of limitations (discussed more fully than is possible here in Colley, 2003). Mentoring itself is ill-defined, and there is little consensus about its meaning. It is also under-theorised, in comparison with other practices that support young people, such as career guidance or youth work. Critical researchers have been pointing out for 20 years that much research into mentoring is flawed through biased assumptions about its benefits and under-reporting of negative outcomes.

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'Innovative' schemes, using volunteer mentors, have proliferated, ignoring existing good practice established by professionals such as youth workers, for whom mentoring has long been part of their role. Such schemes also tend to ignore the social networks and 'unplanned' mentors that young people may already have. But they are, of course, much cheaper than employing qualified and experienced youth workers. Mentoring is not only severely under-funded (so that, for example, many volunteers embark on relationships with vulnerable young people after no more than a two-hour induction session). It is also increasingly dominated by the pursuit of employment-related outcomes imposed by government policy and funding régimes, and by a deficit model of intervention which focuses on 'fixing' mentees rather than addressing structural inequalities or institutional discrimination.

Unfortunately, Miller's book does little to address these limitations, or offer practitioners ways to overcome them. There is no coherence to his review of existing literature on the subject, and although he makes some mention of the small (but growing) body of critical research on mentoring, there is no attempt to link these critiques to practice. His chapter on the context of mentoring consists solely of information about the growth of the mentoring movement. Although collating this information is a useful piece of descriptive work, I would have welcomed some debate on the broader social, economic and political context for this phenomenal growth, and some explanation of the rise of the movement at this point in history. The chapter on 'the concept of mentoring' is less successful, presenting an incoherent (and sometimes inaccurate) account of others' work. The result is a kind of 'pick-and-mix' listing of various definitions and models that seems only to contribute to the 'definitional quagmire' that plagues the movement.

Some of the most important issues raised by critical analyses of mentoring are treated in a very superficial way. For example, there is a theoretically rich debate, grounded in empirical research, about gender and power relations in mentoring. This starts with the early work of Kram, and has been developed in relation to youth mentoring by Roberts' work on androgyny in mentoring, through a number of liberal feminist critiques of mentoring in nurse and teacher education, to Philip's account of more radical feminist approaches to girls' mentor relationships with their mothers or with female youth workers, and my own class and feminist analysis of engagement mentoring as a form of emotional labour that seeks to reform young people as 'employable'.

Sadly, none of this is reflected in Miller's book. Although the index lists several references to 'gender issues', all but one of these simply directs us to the reported percentage of female mentors in an individual project. Despite the fact that this is invariably a majority – and typically a large majority – Miller offers no discussion about gender-related *issues*. Some of these might include:- the reasons why so many mentors for young people are female; the lack of women among business mentors; the consequences of this gender-stereotyping; the potential inequalities of cross-gender mentoring; and the negative aspects for women mentors of nurturing, maternalistic models that have come to replace more traditional paternalistic forms. The one short section entitled 'Gender Issues' (less than two pages) is very limited in its scope, and fails to engage with the very profound gender issues raised elsewhere in the literature.

Another serious weakness in Miller's approach is one that, ironically, he criticises himself: 'Much of the evidence discussed earlier in the book is drawn from so-called "grey literature", that is, research and evaluation that has limitations as an objective study' (p 239). He points out the biased nature of self-reporting evaluations designed to maintain funding, and the flawed survey methodologies that are often used, resulting in exaggerated claims of positive outcomes. Yet this book reproduces numerous summaries of such evaluations, and its guidelines for effective practice are based on their 'findings'. This is a prime example of the way that uncritical fervour for mentoring can reproduce itself through research that has little independence or rigour, and offers few insights into the social processes that generate mentor relationships. All we hear are happy stories, while tensions, conflicts, and unhappy outcomes remain untold. Good practice guidelines can be helpful for practitioners, if they are based on sound research and open to question, critique and further development. But it is hard to see what this book offers to the field in the way of good practice that is not already provided by the National Mentoring Network.

The fundamental problem of the mentoring movement today is that it cannot see the wood for the trees. The fundamental problem with this book is that it offers only more trees. That is to say, it offers a very large number of 'facts' without any critical analysis to help practitioners make sense of them or to support reflective practice. There are issues of crucial importance in mentoring young people, especially the most vulnerable among them. Is mentoring genuinely for empowerment, or is it in fact for control? What and whose purposes does it serve? What does it mean to adopt a holistic approach to mentoring, rather than simply targeting all

aspects of young people's values, attitudes and beliefs as the problem? What are the consequences for mentors – especially the large majority who are female – of a practice that is based on images of self-sacrifice and devotion to the mentee? It is in answering such questions as these that we will move towards more effective practice in mentoring. But to do so, we need greater critical engagement with the realities of mentor relationships – especially their power dynamics and their location within wider social structures – than Miller's book offers.

Helen Colley *Lifelong Learning Institute, University of Leeds.*

Reference

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S. L. Holloway and G. Valentine
Cyberkids, children in the information age
Routledge Falmer, 2003
ISBN 0 4152 3059 4
£18.99 (pbk)
pp 180

Sean Harte

Cyberkids, children in the information age is a stimulating study of young people's involvement with and use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT). Based upon primary empirical research carried out over two years with pupils from three English secondary schools and more intensive study of a sample of these children, Holloway and Valentine have chosen to explore young people's ICT consumption and the influences this has on their lives by placing young people in the central role. It is acknowledged from the outset that the authors understand young people to be social actors within their own right and the research has been principally undertaken directly with those at school, in the home and within cyberspace. What is presented therefore is a legitimate account of young people's interactions with ICT rather than a direct exploration of adult moral panics around their ICT usage or an attempt to justify or discredit government policy in the role of ICT redressing inequalities in future generations.

Cyberkids' initial chapter commences with a rudimentary introduction to the concepts both of technology and childhood, enabling the reader to place the fundamentals of subsequent examinations in perspective. The following chapters use a blend of primary research data and existing debates to explore perceptions and actualities of young people's ICT interactions.

Chapter two examines local and global differences in ICT availability and use, acknowledging young people as a heterogeneous group and exploring differences related to age, sex/gender, socio-economics and geography. The research findings here build a strong case that, contrary to government rhetoric, ICT can often exacerbate and reinforce other inequalities rather than helping to redress them.

Chapter three focuses on how ICT help to shape young people's under-standings of self by, for example, reinforcing and replicating gendered identities. It is shown how ICT use and associated social relations may not only reinforce stereotypes of masculinity, but moreover express femininity as a lack of that which is masculine in a way similar to discussions on the sociology of sports. This chapter also serves as a fascinating insight into ICT's relationship with certain young people's group cultures such as the *lads*, the *techno boys* and the *ludettes* as the authors have chosen to categorise some of the common youth social groups.

The fourth chapter uses a framework of competence in ICT use to deconstruct some common fears and concerns around the potential for ICT to corrupt the young. Here a future potential can be visualised for the destabilisation of adult hegemony as many young people's greater ICT understanding and literacy may challenge the accepted notion of adult superiority. This potential is exacerbated by the near unlimited potential of access to information at a young person's fingertips and may indeed underlie some adult fears around youth and online access.

Chapter five explores consumption patterns of ICT within the home and briefly examines wider aspects of family life and their interplay with ICT use and understanding, such as availability, time-space, social patterns and use. Of particular interest is a short discussion of the education versus entertainment capabilities of ICT, an anecdote often played out between parents and children. Here young people harness the educational potential of ICT as a ruse to gain greater access, only to pursue entertainment through games and the internet.

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The ways in which young people use ICT to communicate with online and offline friends and acquaintances is the focus of chapter six. Here the authors investigate how young people represent themselves as individuals through their use of ICT and try to assess how this shapes their sense of place in the world. The chapter questions the popular representation of cyberspace as a 'placeless social space' and emphasises how young people's online and offline worlds are mutually constructed through a process of blending the global with the local.

The final chapter attempts to succinctly bring together the findings of the previous six into some common themes for both academic theory and policy practice. Whilst it does this, it is a little thin on both counts devoting little more than seven pages to a summary account of what happens when young people and ICT are brought together.

Cyberkids goes some way towards dispelling certain myths and preconceptions about the dark side of children's ICT use and at the same time addresses current topical debates around social inclusion and exclusion within this very specific sphere. *Cyberkids* supports the use of ICT by young people as a natural medium for education and socialisation within contemporary British society whilst warning of certain pitfalls in making assumptions around its entirety and homogeneity of use and misuse by young people both at home and abroad.

Overall, *Cyberkids* whilst intriguing, tends to confirm much of my understanding of ICT use by the young, rather than casting new light onto an under theorised topic. Being prone to overplay that which may be taken for granted to many practitioners working with young people who have even marginal contact with ICT, it at times feels that *Cyberkids* is guilty of over theorising young people's everyday ICT use in order to justify academic exploration. It does not however fall into the trap of using ICT linked jargon and knowledge to relate to the reader and as such in a fairly accessible way draws out the importance and relevance of young people's everyday use of technology in balanced and sometimes sophisticated ways.

Sean Harte *is a Personal Adviser Team Co-ordinator for Connexions Tees Valley based in Hartlepool.*

Gordon Lynch
Pastoral Care and Counselling
Sage Publications, 2002
ISBN 0 7619 7097 5
£15.00 (pbk)
pp 104

Katherine Landon

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When thinking of pastoral care and counselling, one does wonder whether this is simply jargon or an idea worthy of a place within practice? I was immediately intrigued by the title as the subject matter relates to both the boundaries of my professional practice and personal interactions. I was interested to discover how the author would deal with this subject which is so often influenced by an individuals personal values. However, having read the first few pages, I was immediately struck by the fresh, concise approach Lynch takes and I relished the thought of reading on.

The author quickly introduces in the first chapter the main arguments that are gradually developed throughout the rest of the text. He draws attention to the debate surrounding whether or not all pastoral practice is overly influenced by the worker's values and morals and focuses on the need for reflection and practice analysis by presenting the argument in four sections:

- *the content of the pastoral relationship;*
- *the boundaries of the pastoral relationship;*
- *the quality of the pastoral relationship;*
- *the content of the pastoral conversation.*

While these sections may not be understood at this point in the book, Lynch continues to develop them using accessible language, presenting a balanced argument while still leaving room for the reader to consider their chosen point of view. He masterfully picks up the questions raised in the first section of the book and begins to provide basic answers while never underestimating the complexity of values and morals and their place within good pastoral practice. He particularly links his thoughts to the notion of the 'good life' which he argues thus: 'A vision of the good life will often involve an understanding of what it means to live happily or to live well...The second common element of a definition of the good life is a notion of what it means to live in a way that is morally commendable' (p 12).

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As the book progresses and themes are gradually developed, Lynch integrates discussion from the work of a variety of theorists both from the pastoral care and counselling field and those with more specific interest in the ethics of practice, albeit that some would argue these notions are intrinsically linked. The work of well known characters such as Aristotle, Gramsci and Rousseau are considered, while the author continues to write in a user-friendly style, opening up new thought processes for readers in regard to reflection within their own experience and practice.

Throughout the book, it becomes clear that while personal values and beliefs should never be forced on those seeking pastoral care or counselling, an individual's practice is shaped by the belief systems they hold. As part of this, Lynch stresses that as values play such an important part in practice, reflective behaviour and critical analysis are central to a workers role. He argues the idea that 'it seems reasonable to claim that "ethics" or "moral reflection" (the practice of thinking critically about one's values and current context) is also of fundamental importance for pastoral work' (p 10). As a practitioner, I have to agree that this is a role, which is often underestimated and overlooked to the detriment of the work undertaken.

While offering the reader plenty to consider and draw into their own practice, I would have welcomed a slightly different approach to the whole subject as the majority of examples from practice appear to be taken from work undertaken in a Christian setting. Having personally gained a great deal of practice experience within the institutionalised church setting, I am able to relate to the practice examples used. However, this book contains so many fresh insights into the need for specific types of work, it would be a waste if those working in secular settings did not feel they could access the book due to the nature of some of the writing. It is my belief that pastoral care and counselling play a vital role within secular work as well as Christian practice and secular and Christian practitioners alike could benefit beyond measure, from the points the author raises in this text.

In summary, Lynch has skilfully tackled a massive topic, detailing the need for ceaseless reflection and the importance of recognising the centrality of values and morals to practice. The chapters progress naturally from one to the next assisting the reader in coming to his or her own conclusions about the points raised. Without, it should be noted, unduly risking the loss of the novice reader as a consequence of the avoidable use of jargon or obtrusive statements that interrupt the flow of the themes. The author does not avoid questions relating to appropriate boundaries within

practice or the social context of pastoral care and counselling, but writes succinctly leaving the reader with their own questions, which may be answered by Lynch in a later book or through personal practice in the fullness of time. I would recommend this text as a basic reading resource for those with an interest in the field as well as to those who practice pastoral care and counselling, with the caveat that the reader must come to their own conclusions about the arguments raised by Lynch in order to provide holistic pastoral care and counselling for those they endeavour to work with.

Katherine Landon *is a school and parish based youth worker in Cambridgeshire.*

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Alyson Brown and David Barrett
Knowledge of Evil: Child prostitution and child sexual abuse in twentieth century England
Willan Publishing, 2002
ISBN 1 903240 63 8
£25.00

Simon Hackett

Sexual abuse is frequently presented both within the media and within the changing landscape of health and social care provision as something of a recent phenomenon, with the Cleveland crisis in the late1980s portrayed as the watershed in sexual abuse awareness and practice. In critically analysing the phenomenon of child prostitution and child sexual abuse in England during the last century, this book demonstrates how limited such a view is. It offers a careful exposition of the historical awareness of, perspectives on and responses to these two closely intertwined issues. The rationale for the book is therefore clear and sound. Only by knowing where we have come from as professionals working in this broad field, can we truly comprehend why we have arrived at our current position or, indeed, in which direction we need to travel next. Brown and Barrett have provided a fascinating and informative account that helps us on this journey.

The book consists of eight chapters. The first introduces core themes and concepts. The authors are clear about the focus of the book. Child prostitution

is rightly conceptualised as a form of the sexual abuse of children. Each subsequent chapter deals with a distinct historical period; from the late nineteenth century debates about child prostitution, right up to the 'rediscovery' of child prostitution during the 1960s and 1970s and then, finally, to the policy and organisational responses of the 1980s and 1990s. The authors have carefully explored historical archives and provide fascinating illustrations from the early records of voluntary and welfare societies from the beginning of the last century. Each chapter charts the major social and legislative issues pertaining to child prostitution at each period of time. At the end of the chapter there is a very helpful concluding section which summarises the main points emerging from the extensive analysis on offer. As the chapters are so full of information, it is useful to have these conclusions in order to be able to refocus on key points and messages.

What emerges as a whole is the complexity of the changing nature of the discourse on both prostitution and child abuse. Some of the historical themes presented are painfully familiar to our recent past and the current context, including the continuing oppression of women, male attempts to control female sexuality, and the stigmatisation of women involved in prostitution. Writing this on the day that the Climbié Inquiry report is published, calling yet again for better inter-agency collaboration, it is also more than a little salutary to read an extract taken from the NSPCC's Children's Guardian in 1919 which states:

> *It is not enough to know what one public body is doing or of what one voluntary organisation is accomplishing. More especially it is desirable that workers should come together, try to understand each other, and beyond all other things appreciate the fact that of all the subjects under discussion that of the child is of urgent national importance (cited Brown and Barrett, p 87-88).*

Other illustrations stand out as testimony to the insight and struggles of pioneers in the field. To pick one out of many examples, the matron who gave evidence to the 1914 Commission on Venereal Disease and who challenged the dominant thinking of the day by asserting that the condition of children in children's homes with VD was a consequence of sexual assault, rather than merely of poor hygiene, is inspiring.

Overall, the book is well written. Its scope, orientation and content call for a careful reading. Given the sensitivity of the subject matter, the authors take a sensitive approach and they deal with the inherently gendered and

political nature of the subject matter well. In their postscript the authors say that they hope that the book is devoid of nostalgia. I believe they have succeeded in this aim. Ultimately, I feel that the book is stronger in the chapters covering the earlier historical periods. The concluding chapters dealing with the most recent decades appear less detailed and energetic. This notwithstanding, this is a valuable book and to be recommended highly to those working directly with children and young people, students and policy makers, as well as specialists in the sexual abuse and child prostitution field.

Simon Hackett, *Centre for Applied Social and Community Studies, University of Durham.*

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NSPCC (1919) *Children's Guardian,* XXIX (3) (cited Brown and Barrett, p. 87-88)

Ann Wheal (ed)
The RHP Companion to Leaving Care
Russell House Publishing, 2002
ISBN: 1 903855 11 X
£19.95
pp 214

Jayne Clough

The Children (Leaving Care) Act 2000 detailed the services and support local authorities needed to deliver to young people leaving the care system. It was becoming increasingly obvious the Act was needed (care leavers achieved less at school, were more likely to be homeless and unemployed aged 21 and were more likely to develop problems with substance misuse). Some local authorities had already established support systems and procedures for their care leavers while others had vague plans and little budget to work with. The disparity between services across the country remains both a concern and a challenge. The amount of academic research in this field is also growing rapidly, but can be easily missed by Social Services and voluntary agency staff with growing workloads. So Wheal's book is a well-timed (and much needed) collection written by practitioners, professionals and academics with contributions from young people in or having left care.

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The content of the book is clearly divided into 3 sections (The Wider Context, Leaving Care Practice and Issues). The layout is straightforward and the subject matter follows through well. The only problem with this format (as with this type of collection generally) was the repetition of demographic facts, data and legislation. This information was clearly presented in early chapters (particularly by Allard), yet was continuously repeated. The advantage of this is each chapter can 'stand alone', but it became somewhat boring re reading the same facts several times.

Section One gives a thorough overview, detailing policy and legislation along with the obligations these entail. It also explained the issues (personal support, finance, transition to independent living), which were to be discussed in more detail later in the book. Pinkerton's chapter (Developing an International Perspective on Leaving Care) raised European comparisons and legislative contexts such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Pinkerton details the lack of comparative data available, and suggests practical ways to develop political and professional consensus around leaving care issues. He also provides a good range of references to further this.

The second section on practice is an excellent collection with valuable contributions from young people in or having left care. Hazlehurst and Shalom (Involving Young People: A Help or a Hindrance?) make the important distinction between consulting with and actually involving young people in service planning and delivery. Shalom's 10 tips for good involvement and the models of involvement (p 54) are clear and practical. Anyone planning this type of involvement with care leavers would definitely benefit from reading this chapter.

Wyld's chapter on Advocacy clearly presents the issues about provision of this service. However, the timing is unfortunate, as the Department of Health released the National Guidelines for the Provision of Advocacy Services to Children and Young People in November 2002. The guidelines cover the issues raised in this chapter, although it is still worthwhile with valuable life experiences from Voice of the Child in Care service users.

Florris discusses different types of support groups and forums for care leavers in Wales. One issue this raised is confidentiality, and the 100% confidentiality policy used to ensure young people can raise any issues they wish. Florris also provides examples of group models and some of the issues associated with these (resources, and particularly transportation and staff time to arrange these groups).

Chapters on young parents, suitable accommodation, supported lodging schemes and the mentoring of young care leavers are consistently useful and practical with a good range of references and examples.

The final section contains chapters on issues previously raised (health, mental health, finance, education and training). Other chapters highlight recent social developments. Kildane's chapter (Asylum Seeking and Refugee Children in the UK) covers immigration legislation, reasons for unaccompanied exile and issues concerning suitable placements and eligibility for leaving care services. The chapter on Connexions was very general, covering the principles of the service and access to it. Information about personal advisors and leaving care advisors didn't differentiate clearly between the two roles, which would have been useful. The chapter by Harris, Rabiee and Priestly looks at the provision of after care services to young people with disabilities, identifying the gap between the looked after system and services for adults with disabilities. They also highlight the low expectation for disabled young people to participate in decisions about their future, and how multi-agency working is crucial to ensure equal access to services.

The role of foster carers is mentioned several times during the book, raising important points about their recruitment and retention. McAuley (p 102) considers the after-care support provided by foster carers and Borad and Fry (p 118) the support provided by foster care families out of their own pockets without recognition from agencies. These issues are vitally important to many local authorities seeking to improve the number and quality of foster carers.

Overall the book is a useful and carefully considered collection from a good and varied range of contributors. The mix of policy legislation and best practice examples are enlightening from both research and service delivery perspectives. The provision of web references and contact information ensure the book is a valuable resource for anyone interested or already working with care leavers.

Jayne Clough *is Participation and Information Officer, Children's Division, Northumberland County Council.*

REVIEWS

Jeremy Roche

This is a radical, ambitious and interesting text, which succeeds in making the case that sociology has to take children more seriously; it is also accessible and well written. Mayall sets out to include 'children and childhood within sociological thinking: children as participant agents in social relations and childhood as a social group fundamentally implicated in social relational processes'. In order to advance this project Mayall makes extensive use of four research studies in which she was involved:- the Greenstreet Study (1990-2) which explored children's own accounts of daily life; the CHIPS Study (1993-5) which examined the issue of children's health in primary schools; the Risk Study (1995-6) which looked at parent-child understandings of the intersections of home and locality, politics and school; and the Childhood Study (1997-9) which investigated how childhoods are experienced, understood and structured by children themselves as well as the adults and children with whom they have important relationships. Mayall, through a consideration of the above and a wider research agenda, which cuts across the public private divide, is concerned to explore the position of children in the social division of labour, children as agents in the intermediate domain and the idea of a child standpoint. These are the key building blocks of her sociology of childhood, a sociology which will of necessity advance children's rights.

Throughout Mayall makes explicit her debt to feminism and argues that as women's work underpins men's work so too does children's work underpin that of adults. However Mayall is careful not to take the analogy with feminism too far. She observes that the 'political enterprise of feminism differs in important ways from the enterprise of working for children' – feminists have been able to fight for themselves whereas with children very often it is a matter of adults fighting on their behalf. Furthermore the worlds of 'our' childhoods is not the same as those being experienced and fashioned today. This said 'patriarchal structures are the principal

barriers to children's rights' and both women and children are 'faced with conservative appeals to culture, tradition, religion and customs'. Mayall moves beyond Firestone's recognition of the shared oppression of women and children and sets out on a positive task; to contribute to the development of a sociology of childhood in which children themselves are recognised as a minority group whose multiple voice needs to be heard and in relation to whom some core adult assumptions e.g. presumptions of incompetence and irrationality will have to be discarded.

Thus for Mayall the task is to make 'sociology fit for children'. Explicitly drawing on earlier feminist work Mayall sees three lessons for the study of childhood:- the sociology of childhood must be fundamentally relational, it must take account of how children themselves experience and understand their lives and social relationships and it must recognise that children's experiential knowledge 'is a vital ingredient in any effort towards the recognition of children's rights'. Mayall succeeds in theorising a space within which the heterogeneity of children's experiences can find expression and be explored; accordingly she engages with issues around ethnicity, gender and class. She focuses on home and school as two sites in which the contribution of children to the social order can be explored. Her argument, developed through several chapters and revisited in her conclusion, is that given the much neglected fact of children's participation in the division of labour (children work and are worked on) 'we must rethink the sociology of the family' and the categories with which sociologists analyse the social order will have to be enlarged to include 'generation'. Mayall argues that the 'social relations of agency and structure require children to work with and against structures with "ontological depth", with characteristics rooted in the past, such as ideas about childhood, education and parent-child relations' –in this text she embarks on the project of excavating and exploring these forces.

Mayall's observation, that the knowledge generated by the sociology for childhood will be useful if it contributes to a practical reconstruction of the world in 'which children's interests are not subordinated to adults', expresses the linkage with her concern for children's rights. While Mayall explores the substance of the 'new sociology for childhood' in ways that allow discussion of children's rights e.g. by drawing on the work of Alderson the text would have been complemented by a more sustained consideration of children's rights. The works of Minow (1986) and Federle (1994) for instance with their emphases on the imagery of

conversation and dialogue, children's participation and challenges to adult presumptions of childhood incompetence and irrationality are clearly relevant.

I enjoyed reading this text, particularly the way in which Mayall integrates research with theoretical elaboration. Mayall's engagement with a range of sociological theory and research in order to move us towards a sociology for children is both in itself evidence of the purchase of the burgeoning new sociology of childhood as well as a significant contribution to this sociology.

Jeremy Roche *lectures in the School of Health and Social Welfare at the Open University.*

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