MODELS OF YOUTH WORK

A Sociological Framework

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CONTENT

Introduction

In 1992 the Government increased the allocation of grant aid for youth work to £10.806 million. This funding supports a wide range of youth work support services from the traditional mainstream forms of youth work such as youth clubs, guide and scout groups to the community-based special projects targeted at communities designated as 'disadvantaged'. Despite the growth in funding and the subsequent expansion in the number of full-time staff employed in the development of youth work, little or no sustained attention has been devoted to the development of a theoretical base for Youth Work. Any written reflection on the part of practitioners and trainers has been primarily based on a British perspective. This is largely concerned with experience rather than theoretical concepts. In Ireland also, there has been very little written critical reflection on youth work theory and practice despite the growth in provision and state support in the last twenty years. Any theoretical concepts which exist are those which are implicit in the various policy documents on youth work. In Ireland there are three government sponsored policy documents on youth work: the Bruton Report (1977); the O'Sullivan Report (1980); and the Costello Report (1984) together with the Government's official policy statement on youth work, *In Partnership with Youth*, (1985).

The definition of youth work presented by the Costello Report (1984) received widespread endorsement by the voluntary youth organisations at the time of publication and it still remains the most frequently quoted reference on youth work in Ireland. The Costello Committee Report defining the purpose of youth work states that:

> "Youth Work must empower young people and enable them to emerge from the enveloping state of dependence ... young people must know, feel and believe that they have some control over their situations in the sense of having ability to influence intentionally what happens to them and their community. The ability of young people to assess alternatives and choose the most appropriate one in any given situation, is central to our views of Social Education."
>
> **(Costello, 1984, p.115)**

INTRODUCTION

Despite the widespread adoption of the core emphasis of the Costello Committee Report (1984), the theory of youth work still remains implicit rather than explicitly stated and a dearth of literature exists in the field which might inform practice. There have only been eight studies completed as part of post graduate courses in the last four years on youth work. Such work, while valuable in its own right still remains as unpublished theses stored in the libraries of the universities involved and thus outside the access of youth work practitioners in general. The resultant emphasis on practice outside an explicit theoretical framework has resulted, according to Smith, in a belief among practitioners that:

> "the only good theory is that which derives from experience, anything else can be dismissed as jargon".
>
> **(Smith,1988, p.81)**

What research on youth work practice in Ireland exists (Treacy, 1989, Hurley, 1990, Staunton, 1992), indicates that many youth workers (paid and unpaid) are currently free to interpret the concept of youth work according to their own analysis, experience and competence. Staunton's study, (1992) of community-based special projects concluded that the methods used by paid youth workers were rarely grounded within any one theoretical framework and therefore there are no explicit guides to practice. Thus it may be concluded that there is a significant need to create a theoretical framework for understanding youth work based on educational theory. This paper seeks to provide such a framework.

Overview

This paper argues that youth work, similar to other educational interventions, is not value free. The values which inform the work in any given situation influence the types of outcomes which are likely to be the result of the specific intervention. Such values influence the work at both institutional and youth worker levels. Our starting point is, thus, to examine how learning occurs in the youth work context and to explore the implications for youth work practice based on sociological theory. Our overview of social theory will summarise the main arguments of the two broad social theories: functionalism and conflict theories. Based on this overview we adopt a framework for exploring social theory and practice, outlined by Burrell and Morgan (1979), since it provides a useful framework through which a wide range of social theories can be located and also allows us to interpret these in terms of basic youth work models. The Burrell and Morgan framework is based on the two broad sociologies of functionalism and conflict theories and distinguishes between four theoretical paradigms based on these: functionalism and interpretive paradigms based on functionalist theory and radical humanism and radical social change based on conflict theories.

It is our intention to do the following related to each paradigm:

a) Review the theory applicable to that paradigm
b) Provide a summary of the assumptions about society presented by the theory
c) Examine the application of the theory to youth work in terms of a specific youth work model
d) Present the broad characteristics of each specific model of youth work under the following headings:
   - analysis of young people's needs
   - programme emphasis
   - role of the youth worker
   - process which is reflected in the relationships which are formed
   - outcomes for society
   - outcomes for young people

In the final part of the paper a composite model using the framework summary for each paradigm is presented.

Learning in a Youth Work Context

Youth work is generally defined as the social education of young people in an informal context. As such youth work usually takes place in an out-of-school context where adults and young people take part in various educational activities that are generally aimed at providing opportunities for young people's social development. Given that youth work thus involves both adults and young people interacting through defined educational processes, it is important to understand how learning occurs in this context since there are a variety of very different contexts within which adults engage in educational interventions with young people: formal education, non-formal education and informal education.

The term formal education refers to the education which usually happens in schools and other educational institutions. Non-formal education, by contrast, refers to the planned learning which happen in an out-of-school context. Informal education refers to the accidental and/or unplanned learning which takes place by virtue of the hidden messages individuals receive in their interaction with eachother.

Learning within the youth work context clearly occurs through both the non-formal and informal contexts in which young people interact with eath other and with adults. Within a youth work context it is, thus, important to recognise that learning occurs in the following ways.

(i) The social relationships in the group between the adults and the young people and between the young people themselves;
(ii) The content of the programmes;
(iii) The opportunities provided for the young people to be involved in decision making and taking responsibility in the running of the club.

(i) The Social Relationship in the Youth Group

Social learning occurs around the personal encounters and situations which occur amongst members themselves and between members youth workers. Many of these situations are planned, such as discussion groups and structured programmes, but the majority of learning situations for young people occur in the natural encounters, which arise in the everyday youth group situations, for example:

- Having an argument
- Refusing to pay subs
- Winning a competition
- Volunteering to help
- Being left out of things
- Being given responsibility

All of these incidents centre on relationships in the group, between members themselves as well as between adults and members. The youth workers, thus, need to concentrate on more than the administration and 'smooth running' of the programme, but recognise that learning occurs within the youth group environment. The youth workers must be conscious of creating an atmosphere which encourages both the forming of relationships and have expertise in dealing with both the opportunities and with issues as they arise, to ensure a positive learning outcome. In a typical youth work situation, for instance, a youth worker can use an argument about the use of a pool table to generate positive or negative learning. Rather than allowing a 'bully' win through and dominate the use of the pool table for instance, the youth worker can effectively intervene to help the members resolve a more equitable use of the table and thus contribute to positive learning for the members in terms of effective conflict resolution. Similarly, 'snide' sexist remarks made by young people in their informal conversations can be challenged by the youth worker to expose the underlying sexist attitudes inherent in such encounters and, thus, again contribute to positive learning experiences for young people.

(ii) Programmes

One of the defining characteristics of good youth work practice is the extent that programmes are developed as a means to and end and not an end in themselves, Treacy (1992). On the appearance of things many of the programmes run in many youth groups appear to be similar: basic recreational programmes; personal development group work; creative programmes; outdoor pursuits; using various art media etc. However, the experience of participating in a programme can be used to create learning about social relationships. In a programme, for instance, where a number of key members dominated, the youth worker can use this to explore underlying issues between the young people in relation to power and control in an informal context. Similarly, in a non-formal context, planned programmes and interventions can often carry very strong political messages, that are perhaps unintended. Thus, a development education programme operating from a specific value system will

transmit an underlying value on building solidarity amongst those committed to economic and political change that will improve the negative impact of current international economic policies on third world countries. By contrast, a development education programme which operates from a different value system might emphasise a benevolent approach of fundraising for third world development programmes. On the appearance of things, then two youth groups could be operating development education programmes, while exposing the young people to entirely different perspectives and values.

It is important youth workers understand that in all circumstances learning occurs through the content of such programmes. Within the description of each of the models of youth work we, thus, give attention to summarising the likely learning outcomes of various programmes inherent in the value system of the youth worker.

(iii) Opportunities for Decision Making

Within all youth groups opportunities are either provided or denied to promote the active participation of young people in decision making processes. Within youth groups the leadership team works with individuals and in small groups in planning, preparation and implementation of activities of interest to them. The way in which this is done will again reflect the values that youth workers bring to the situation and the awareness they have of the importance of creating opportunities for the group or young person to evaluate the action, reflect on its consequences and learn from the experience. To this end, the report on Youth Work Practice in Community-Based Projects recommends that:

> "each youth organisation or group include opportunities where young people are encouraged to develop progressively towards full participation as partners with adults in the running of youth organisations"
>
> **(Treacy, 1992 p43).**

Thus in the section summarising each model we give attention to illustrating the likely opportunities for participation that are created for young people to participate in decision making structures within youth groups dependant on the perspective under discussion.

Implicit in each of the above is that the underlying message for young people will be determined by the values and beliefs of the adults. These

beliefs and values are in turn determined by the adults implied world view or theoretical perspective, whether this is specifically understood or not. Thus, if we are to understand the potential impact of youth work interventions on young people and society then we need to understand the basis on which the value systems of adults who work with young people are based.

The values youth workers bring to the youth group are consciously or unconsciously a reflection of their philosophy. Irrespective of the values adopted by youth workers, the Costello Committee Report (1984) identified the following as core values those who work with young people in the youth service should be committed to:

CORE VALUES

- Young people have the right to identify options/choices and choose the most appropriate one for them in any given situation
- Young people have the right to self determination
- Young people have the right to confidentially in their relationship with youth workers
- Young people have the right to develop their own values and attitudes
- Young people have the right to develop the capacity to analyze critically the world around them and to take action in response
- Young people have the right to challenge the youth worker and to be challenged by the youth worker, in areas such as attitudes expressed and ways of behaving
- Young people have the right to be treated as equals

Theoretical Overview

There are basically two broad sociologies of education: functionalism and conflict theory. The central concept of functionalism is that society operates on the basis of values/norms/beliefs that are agreed (consensus). The foundation is functionalism is thus, the notion of consensus, that is, that people agree on the basic values of society in which they live. It is in everybody's interest that consensus exists. For functionalists, then anything that threatens the stability of society must be kept under control.

Within functionalist thought, the family, the law and educational systems are the agencies for enforcing this control. These are thus, the institutions which ensure that society operates smoothly and in accordance with the value consensus. Schools and other educational institutions help young people discover their talents so that when they join the workforce they will enter an occupation suitable to them and needed by society.

The education system forms a major function in analyzing the needs of the economy and how the school relates to these needs.

Functionalist argue that the main function of schools is to allocate and recruit people to the range of positions in society. To do this schools must develop the particular values and intellectual skills needed by children to perform the role in society to which they have been allocated. This will ensure that society will survive and develop. The role of schools and educational institutions are thus to:

- Develop in young people the values and beliefs that will help them perform adult roles in society
- Allocate them on the basis of their talents and skills to a particular role in adult society/ workforce.

Functionalist argue that inequality is a natural feature of society since people are born with unequal talents.

Conflict theory in contrast rejects the notion of consensus. Conflict theorists argue that all societies are formed out of class struggle - capitalist society was formed out of struggle between the landed aristocracy and a class whose wealth was based on industrial production and trade. A basic assumption of Marxism is that at a particular stage in

history of capitalism that the working class will win power and society will be transformed.

Similar to functionalism it regard education as serving an economic purpose for society. Schools in conflict theory are provided by the state to meet the need of capitalist employers. They operate as a mechanism for social control and maintain stability in society. Schools maintain inequality in society because they function to reproduce class structure from one generation to the next.

Conflict theorists argue that as the capitalist society develops the division of wealth becomes more unequal and that society faces growing problems of social control. Schools play a role in maintaining social control by its emphasis on discipline and respect for authority. Theorists within this tradition try to examine ways in which this control and domination can be counteracted. They argue that there are two major means of doing this:

- Changing human consciousness
- Changing structures

Burrell and Morgan's Framework

Based on the two broad sociologies, Burrell and Morgan (1979) presents a framework of four paradigms as follows: functionalism and interpretive paradigm based on functionalism and radical humanism and radical social change based on conflict theories. The difference between the paradigms reflects a different emphasis within each.

The four paradigms thus define four views of the social world based upon different multi-theoretical assumptions with regard to the nature of science and society. They offer alternative views of social reality and to understand the nature of all four is to understand four different ways of viewing society. They also provide a convenient way of locating one's own personal reference with regard to social theory and thus a means of understanding why certain theories and perspectives may have more personal appeal than others. However, it is important to bear in mind that the four paradigms are mutually exclusive, one cannot operate in more than one paradigm at any given point in time, since in accepting the assumptions of one, the assumptions of all the others are rejected.

Figure 1 below illustrates the relationship between the four paradigms which Burrell and Morgan (1979) label 'radical humanist'; 'radical structuralist'; 'interpretive' and 'functionalist'.

Figure 1: Burrell & Morgan's Framework

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RADICAL CHANGE

SUBJECTIVE	RADICAL HUMANIST	RADICAL STRUCTURALIST	OBJECTIVE
	INTERPRETIVE	FUNCTIONALIST	

THE SOCIOLOGY OF REGULATION

What follows is a summary of each of the paradigms outlined in Burrell and Morgan's framework. The outline of what follows is to:

a) provide a review of the theory applicable to the paradigm

b) Summarise the assumptions about society implicit in the paradigm

c) Outline the application to youth work through a specific model of youth work practice based on the paradigm

d) Outline the general characteristics of the youth work model and specifically describe how the model interprets the following:
   - Analysis of young people's problems
   - Programme Emphasis
   - Relationships between young people and adults
   - The structure of the youth group
   - The outcome for young people
   - The outcome for society

1: THE FUNCTIONALIST PARADIGM

(a) Review of Theory

> "The functionalist paradigm generates regulative sociology in its most fully developed form. In its overall approach it seeks to provide essentially rational explanation of social affairs. It is a perspective which is highly pragmatic in orientation, concerned to understand society in such a way which generates knowledge which can be put to use. It is often problem oriented in approach, concerned to provide practical solutions to practical problems. It is usually firmly committed to a philosophy of social engineering as a basis of social change and emphasises the importance of understanding order, equilibrium and stability in society and the way in which these can be maintained. It is concerned with the effective "regulation" and control of social affairs".
>
> **(Burrell & Morgan, 1979,p.26)**

Functionalism centres its analysis on a view of society as a cohesive unit made up of interrelated institutions all functioning to maintain society as a whole. The fundamental assumption of the functionalist approach is that societies cannot survive unless their members share at least some perceptions, attitudes and values in common (Lenski, 1966). Social order is brought about by people's commitment to norms and values of behaviour:

> "Within this perspective society is usually viewed as an ordered consensual whole with needs that have to be met to ensure the maintenance of the social pattern. These needs or functional prerequisites as they are called are met by activities of various interrelated parts of the social system all of which perform functions for the totality "
>
> **(Reynolds & Sullivan, 1980, p.170)**

Thus, society is described in terms of a number of institutions which as school, family, church, industry, which, through the way they relate to each other achieve social cohesion and the reproduction of society. The foremost institutions are considered to be the family, the school, the economy and politics. The family and the school are the main socialising agents, with the school acting as intermediary between the family and political society (Farrell, 1984). The function of each institution is to reproduce the society in a way that will allow it to continue from one generation to the next. For the school, this involves teaching in way that transmits a selected set of traditions and values to the young generation and socialising pupils so that they can fit into their future roles in society.

Durkheim is recognised as one of the founding theorists of functionalism and wrote much on the role of education. According to him the prime function of education is not to develop the individual's abilities and potential for their own sake. Rather it is to develop those abilities and capacities that societies need. Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity. Education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities that collective life demands.

The function of education then is:

> "to arouse and develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states that are demanded of him, by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which it is specifically destined".
>
> **(Durkheim,1956,p.71)**

Education then provides a controlling function in its role of socialising those who are not yet ready for society by passing on physical, intellectual and moral states to maintain social cohesion:

> "Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces this homogeneity by fixing in the child from the beginning the essential similarities that collective life demands.
>
> **(Durkheim, 1956, p.70)**

All societies need an amount of specialisation Durkheim suggests, and a function of education is to prepare people for the particular milieu for

which they are destined. This is accomplished for society through the process of socialisation. For Durkheim then, the process of socialisation is vital for it is:

> "the means by which society prepares, within children, the essential conditions of its very existence."
>
> **(Durkheim, 1956, p.71)**

Durkheim asserts that while socialisation is required by society, it is also necessary for the individual's peaceof mind. The alternative to the socialised individual for Durkheim is 'anomie', that is individuals who suffer from:

> "the malady of infinite aspirations."
>
> **(Durkheim, 1961, p.40)**

People who constantly live in a state of 'anomie' live in perpetual unhappiness, so that the restraints placed on individuals through their socialising process is necessary, not only for society's good but also for the individual's sense of well being. Durkheim attempts to show how individuals can be saved from 'anomie' through schools' socialising function. Schools, according to Durkheim (1961), must challenge children's openness to ideas through discipline rules and punishment. Through discipline the child can grow and develop to the stage of self-discipline and attachment to groups. For Durkheim, the positive attachment to groups by schools helps the child to see himself as part of the wider society.

Durkheim distinguishes between two general types of society, roughly corresponding to pre-industrial and modern society. The earlier form of society is bound together by what Durkheim calls 'mechanical solidarity' where the members shared a strong 'collective conscience'. That is all members tend to hold the same values and abide by the same norms and think in much the same way. The collective conscience had a religious character and great moral authority. The development of larger cities, better means of communication and larger population, increased the 'moral density'. As more people engaged in more frequent relationships, the way society was integrated had to change. The new developing form of order Durkheim called 'organic solidarity'. The old collective conscience which gave fairly detailed rules and regulations became inappropriate in the complex new society. The collective conscience now becomes more general, providing abstract values which the individual must apply in everyday situations. But for both to apply society must

develop individuality among its members, so that they intelligently apply the abstract values to their lives.

In this context, functionalists see the need for a new social institution, youth work, to support the school, the family, and the Church to develop the individual's capability to distinguish 'right from wrong' and to live by the moral codes of society. This role for youth work is ideologically a conservative one, and will be discussed in more detail later.

In summary then, education through its function of developing 'appropriate' consciousness among pupils is seen as the means by which society recreated and perpetuated the conditions of its existence. Within this perspective those concerned with inequality within society focus on the sources and problems of educating children. They attempt to relate background factors,either familial or sub-cultural, to working class failure at school. Failure is situated firmly within the individual and his social background. Strategies for change tend to be based on the view that large amounts of un-tapped talent exist within the working class which could be used not only to their own benefit but also for the benefit of society. Educational interventions, thus tend to concentrate on individuals attempting to alleviate the negative influences of their backgrounds. Increasing educational opportunity is seen to be the basis of a fairer society. Improving opportunities for access to education is therefore seen as a key element in creating a just society for all. Schools are seen as capable of redressing the balance in favour of the disadvantaged pupil.

Talcott Parsons (1971) viewed society as a complex system which achieves integration and functional stability through the acceptance of broad moral principles. Parsons, similar to Durkheim, sees social activity, including education, in terms of its cohesion and maintenance functions within society. Parsons specifically developed a model of society in which culture, social structure and personality are linked together in a logical and coherent way. The cultural system is made up of the values shared by all members of society. The social system is made up of social roles, and finally the personality system or individual personality is composed of motives and needs. He argues that while some human needs or motives are innate, they are primarily social in nature. These motives he argues are acquired during the socialisation process.

Parsons argues that the relationship between systems is hierarchical. The cultural system controls the social system which in turn controls the personality system. For Parsons, the broad values of society define the nature of the role persons are expected to play. Individual choices, then,

are understood by Parsons as being resolved by reference to the moral standards of the cultural system. In addition society can get individuals to fulfil their role expectation since the individual, through his socialisation, has internalised the moral values of society which he/she feels obliged to fulfil. (Parsons & Shils, 1962, p.142)

Education for Parsons has thus two functions:

> "the socialisation of individuals and their allocation to specific roles within society".
> **(Parsons, 1961, p.453)**

His analysis concentrates on how schools function to internalise in pupils the capacities to enable them to perform in future adult roles. He also describes how schools function to differentiate and allocate the specific human resources to their differing roles in adult society. He argues that all pupils are treated in school in a more or less equal manner. However, he does admit that some pupils have a higher level of independence on entry to school than others. Independence is regarded as the pupil's:

> "level of self-sufficiency relative to guidance by adults, his capacity to take responsibility and to make his own decisions in coping with new and varying situations"
> **(Parsons, 1961, p.437)**

Furthermore, it appears that pupils with a higher level of independence are likely to be successful in education, particularly on the academic side. There are two types of achievement that can be obtained in education according to Parsons, cognitive learning of information skills and frames of reference associated with empirical knowledge and technological mastery. The other can be called 'moral' and involves:

> "responsible citizenship in the school community, such as respect of the teacher, consideration and co-operativeness in relation to fellow pupils and good work habits.."
> **(Parsons, 1961, p.440)**

For Parsons, the existence of common culture, or a commonly shared system of symbols, whose meanings are understood, is crucial to the stability of the social system. Culture is transmitted and learned through the social process which itself determines the system of social interaction. Thus a:

> "social system is a function of common culture, which not only forms the basis of intercommunication of its members, but which defines, and so in one sense determines the relative statuses of its members".
>
> **(Parsons, 1964, p.22)**

Common culture then defines and regulates what persons are, so that what persons are is understood to define what they ought to be. The ways in which these two issues are interrelated are the main points of reference for Parson's elaboration of the functions of the school as a social system.

Parsons has developed a model of complex societies which shows how different kinds of social structure, including education, relate to one another within a total social system. The whole system achieves integration by regulating the flow of exchanges between its subsystems. This entails changing the structures where imbalance causes tensions in the system. These tensions are expressed in everyday life as conflict, rule-breaking, group disorganisation, and personal distress. Social systems are often driven by disruptive tensions to create new structures to improve the way they function, and thus regain integration and functional stability (Demaine,1981).

(b) Assumptions about Society

In summary there are a number of implicit assumptions which characterise the functionalist approach to understanding society and the role of education. Ryan (1991) summarises the salient points of the functionalist approach as follows:

- **Functionalists seek to provide essentially rational explanations of social order. They believe that rules and regulations exist which govern society, the task is to discover these laws and apply them to bring about greater order, equilibrium and stability.**
- **The person is viewed as a bundle of desires which need to be regulated and tamed, etc. and given direction for the sake of social order and individual happiness. Hence there is a concern with the effective regulation and control of the individual. Coercion, external authority and restraint are**

necessary for the sake of the wellbeing of society as a whole and its individual members.

- Society exists independently of the individual, the individual can do little or nothing to effect change. The needs of society come before the individual.
- People are approval seekers and want to conform. Once the individual is aware of the rules and regulations of society they will be committed to them.
- If and when problems arise it may be because the transfer of the socialization process is incomplete, e.g. parents are not handing on values, hence there is a breakdown in the commitment to core values and norms.
- Change occurs as a result of a major event outside the society or as a result of the breakdown of the socialization process. In the normal course of events society is able to regulate itself so as to accommodate change which is usually a gradual and natural process of evolution.
- Inequality is socially acceptable, it represents different abilities which respond to the different needs of society. The unequal distribution of power reflects natural differences in abilities and efforts.
- Education is an integrating and stabilising force in society and is responsible for the selection and allocation of human capital.
- Education is responsible for the transmission of new knowledge which will ensure that the individual has the appropriate skills and learning for the economy.
- The maintenance and conservation of society takes precedence over any ideas of social change.
- There are norms and values which are shared by all members of society. Society operates on the basis of consensus among its members.

(c) Application to Youth Work: Model 1 - Character Building Model

The primary purpose of youth work operating from within this perspective is to provide a further controlling function in society in relation to young

people. This can be achieved by assisting other state institutions in their role of socialising those who are not yet ready for society by passing on physical, intellectual and moral states youth work serves to maintain social cohesion. The essence of this approach has been illustrated by Lord Radcliffe-Maud, in 1951 who commenting upon the core purpose of youth work stated that it is:

> "to offer individual young people in their leisure time opportunities of various kinds, complementary to those of home, work and formal education, to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit and thus to better equip themselves to live the life of mature, creative and responsible members of a free society".
>
> **(Radcliffe-Maud,1951)**

This approach to youth work has its roots in the history of the youth work movement itself. Youth work, it is argued, evolved out of a desire by the victorian middle classes in Britain and the Church and other philanthropic associations in Ireland, to reinforce the existing social order and attempt to improve the conditions of the poor by influencing their attitudes and behaviour, (Hunt and Gargrave, 1980, Davies and Gibson,1967 and Davies, 1986). Youth work within this mode offers a supportive function to other institutions.

(d) Characteristics of the Character Building Model

The functionalist paradigm as presented by Durkheim and Parsons has indicated a number of characteristics which would be present in this model of youth work which we term the Character Building Model.

1. Youth work is complementary to family and school.
2. It recognises that young people must be prepared for specific roles in society.
3. It supports the moral values of the society.
4. It recognises that young people need to have their energy and drive directed in a constructive fashion.

5. It is concerned about the 'apparent' decline in moral values.

6. It sees that young people need to have contact with adults of good moral character as role models.

Durkheim's model is grounded in what he termed the 'collective conscience', of society, where all members tended to hold the same values and abide by the same rules. As seen earlier, the development of urbanisation and industrialization created a 'moral' threat to society which required additional institutions to be formed to support the process of socialization. Davies and Gibson (1967) have described in detail the control motivations which fostered the development of recreational centres and uniformed movements such as the scouts and guides in England in the late 19th century. They state that:

> "the ideas underpinning the volunteer commitment to work with adolescents were derived from an altruism based on an anxiety that working class children should grow into workers and subjects who were loyal and responsible."
>
> **(Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.36)**

The following characteristics or indicators are, thus, likely to exist in a Youth Work setting where the conservative Character Building Model is dominant:-

(1) The Analysis of Youth Problems/Adolescence

- Young people are in a stage of transition from childhood to adult life.
- Within a stage of transition, young people have the capacity to rebel and thus need to have that rebellious capacity directed towards socially acceptable ends.
- An underlying concern of this approach is the apparent decline in moral values and the need for young people to have contact with adults of good moral character as role models.

(2) The Programme Emphasis

The programme emphasis will concentrate on inculcating existing moral and social values of society and act as a means through which rule breaking and disorder is prevented.

Education for Life Programmes, Health Education, Relationships, Faith Education, Alcohol and Substance Programmes etc will focus on preventing deviance from the existing values system. Typically this will be in the form of talks from respected adults in a community on drink, religion, sexuality, etc.

Recreational Programmes will be viewed as a constructive means of engaging young peoples' energies in a positive manner and promoting healthy lifestyles.

Vocational Training will tend to focus on pre-determined role preparation and skill development to fulfil those roles: cookery, needlework, sewing for girls and woodwork and crafts for boys.

Within this model Social, Political Awareness will take the traditional 'civics' mode, that is, information and talks about existing political structures and how they work. An additional emphasis will be pride and responsibility typically through 'tidy towns projects', old folks parties, etc.

(3) The Process/Relationship

The process/relationship that illustrates this model is one where the youth worker is viewed as a role model concerned with guiding young people along a path which society and their local communities desire. The relationship is furthermore usually authoritarian with the group norms and values decided in advance by the adults.

(4) The Role of Youth Worker/Adults

The role of youth worker/adults in youth work settings based on this model is to act as a role model and organiser. This model requires the selection of adults:

> "of such character as will provide good example as well as wholesome guidance"
> **(National Federation of Catholic Boys Clubs,1965,p.3)**

(5) Structures for Participation in Decision Making

Structures for participation in decision making within this model are almost always hierarchical in their nature. Where committee structures are in place these will be dominated by adults who make all of the major decisions. Where decisions are devolved to young people these will usually centre on basic programme decisions.

(6) The Outcomes

The outcomes whether intended or unconscious will be to develop

Young People who:

- are disciplined
- have accepted the moral values of society
- contribute to the maintenance of social order through their allegiance to existing social institutions and structures

A ***Society***

- Where the status quo is maintained.
- The institutions of Church, family and state remain unchanged.
- Values which underpin these institutions are inculcated in the younger generation and maintained as a result.

This model is summarised in Table 1 overleaf.

TABLE 1A: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING YOUTH WORK THEORY AND PRACTICE

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS	IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE		TYPOLOGY OF YOUTH WORK	ANALYSIS OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEVELOPMENT NEEDS	ROLE OF YOUTH WORKER
	THEORETICAL LEVEL	*PRACTICAL IMPACT*			
FUNCTIONALISM	Conservative	• Value system is actively pursued through human and programme content	Character building	• Young people in a stage of transition from childhood to adult life, have the capacity to rebel. Their energy thus, needs to be directed towards constructive socially 'acceptable' ends. • Concern for the moral development of young people.	• Organiser • Role Model

TABLE 1B: IMPLICATIONS FOR YOUTH WORK PRACTICE AND OUTCOMES

YOUTH WORK MODEL	PROGRAMME EMPHASIS	PROCESS/ RELATIONSHIP	STRUCTURE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	OUTCOMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE	OUTCOMES FOR SOCIETY
CHARACTER BUILDING	• **Education For Life Programmes** - Preventative Focus • **Recreational Provision** - Focus energies of young people in a constructive way - Promote healthy lifestyle - Promote competition, individual achievement • **Social/Political Awareness** - Information about existing structures: how they work - Promotion of civic responsibility and community pride responses • **Vocational Training** - Role Preparation • **Arts/Creativity** - Occupational	• Youth workers act as role model • Development of relationship with young people serves to 'guide' and 'form' young people in the way society views as acceptable. • The nature of the relationship is determined by the adult's agenda/authoritarian style.	• Hierarchical structure with the youth workers as decision makers • Young people's input to decision making centres on basic programming issues. • No structure in place to increase young people's leadership potential, since youth workers control all aspects of the programme and organisation	• Young people develop - discipline - moral values of the recognises majority • Young people recognise their role in society and contribute to the maintenance of society.	• Status quo is maintained • Institution of the Church, family and state remain unchanged • The values which underlie these are actively inculcated

2: THE INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM

a) Review of Theory

> "The interpretive paradigm is informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience. It seeks explanation within the realm of individual consciousness and subjectivity, within the frame of reference of the participant as opposed to the observer of action."
>
> **(Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p.28)**

Interpretive sociology is concerned with understanding the essence of the everyday world primarily from the viewpoint of the actions directly involved in the social process. Often those who operate within the paradigm adopt a consensus approach to society because they fail to question the social realities and structures which perpetuate those realities within society. It is underwritten by an involvement with issues relating to the nature of the status quo, social order, consensus, social integration and cohesion, solidarity and actuality (Burrell & Morgan, 1979).

The interpretive approach largely originated out of a response to the functionalist and structuralist approaches which neglected the role of human creativity and freedom and ignored the richness and complexity of human life:

> "At best the macro-approaches give us a general framework with which to analyze education, but one that is of little use in day-to-day classroom encounters. Its all very well to say that pupils and teachers are alienated and that we must change society but this hardly helps us to get through Friday afternoon".
>
> **(Blackledge & Hunt, 1985, p.223)**

Although Weber (1864-1920) was writing in exactly the same period as Durkheim, albeit in a different intellectual tradition, his sociology is dramatically different from that of his contemporary. He asserts that:

> "Sociology ... is a science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action, in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effect."
> **(Weber, 1947, p.88)**

Weber would not deny that individual human actions might be susceptible to the influence of large collective elements in society, like the state, the form of family life or education. However he would argue that it must be recognised that they are solely the modes of organisation of the specific actions of individuals. The danger, therefore, of starting sociological investigation with an analysis of these larger features is that there is a temptation to treat such representations as if they had a mind, a consciousness, and intentionality of their own.

Thus according to Weber, sociology can only move towards an understanding of both social institutions and individual psychological conditions from an understanding of the practical form which gives these two sets of properties their realisation, the specific act of individuals. This section will therefore, begin by examining assumptions of the micro interpretive approaches.

Micro Interpretive Approaches

Generally speaking, these micro interpretive approaches begin from very different assumptions from the theories examined so far. These assumptions can be summarised as follows:

1. Everyday activity is the building block of society.

2. Changes in education or in society are brought about be changes in the day-to-day activities of teachers, pupils, administrators.

3. Everyday activity is never totally imposed, there is always some autonomy and freedom.

4. To understand everyday activity we must grasp the meanings that people give to their behaviour. It assumes that the meanings are personal to the actor, they are not given by the culture or society, rather they are constructed from culture by the actors involved.

5. Everyday activity rarely involves a person acting in isolation, rather it consists of interaction with other people. Consequently, we interpret the behaviour of other people with whom we interact.

6. An analysis of action must include a study of the actor's meanings and interpretations. However, it would be incorrect to think that meanings and interpretations remain static and unchanging. It is clear that people do modify their views. Interpretive sociology tends to suggest that over time actors come to have shared understanding and interpretations. The sharing is brought about through a process of 'mitigation' of meaning, which is a continuous process.

These are the basic assumptions of the micro approach, but is should be noted that there are three variations in emphasis within it, the interactionists, phenomenologists and ethnomethodologists.

Interactionism

Language allows people to reflect on their situation and their place within it. Mead (1934) argues that because of language people are able:

1. To organise and store up impressions and understandings of the social and physical world.

2. To transmit these understandings to others who share the language form.

3. To apply already required understandings held in the mind to new situations, perceptions or symbolic communications received from others and, therefore, to deliberate upon these and create newly fashioned understandings of such signals.

Language therefore, facilitates the development of a conception of 'self', because by possessing language an individual is able to see himself/herself as both an object in the world and a subject acting upon that world. Mead depicts this development in terms of the emergence of distinctive 'I' and 'me' sections of the individual mind. Language also allows the objective side of a person, the 'me' to which things happen, be held up for inspection by the subjective side of the person, the 'I', which is reacting to these happenings.

Hargreaves builds on Mead's concept further:

> "The self has an important reflexive quality: it is both subject and object. In interaction a man learns to respond to himself/herself as others respond to him ... He acquires a self by putting himself in the shoes of others and by using their perspective of him to consider himself."
>
> **(Hargreaves, 1975, p.7)**

The self is thus seen as a product of thinking about oneself from the viewpoint of others, it is not something bestowed in a mechanical way. The essence of this legacy from Mead is that the individual:

> "... does not merely respond to those forces that play upon him/her from inside and outside. The person thus constructs and chooses what he/she does; his/her acts are not predetermined responses."
>
> **(Hargreaves, 1975, p.10)**

It must also be remembered that when one acts, one does so within a social situation. Society says Hargreaves is a complex structure of interrelated positions such as child, parent, teacher, etc. Each role carries with it,

> "... behavioural expectations associated with the position."
>
> **(Hargreaves, 1975, p.46)**

A person is also involved in a 'role set' comprising of others in related roles , and each person has expectations of the others in the role set. Very rarely do expectations define everything and on occasions different expectations may come from different members of the role set. For example in youth work the adult volunteers may be expected to organise and supervises members by parents, and be expected to facilitate the members running the club by their parent organisation. These different expectations cause role conflict or strain.

The individual must create the role in specific detail, and will do so by bringing their self perception, as well as their interpretation of the role of others, into account. Interaction is thus a dynamic process involving continuous interpretation and decision-making by all parties concerned. The definition of the situation which is used as a basis for action by participants is a 'working consensus' arrived at by those involved, where people involved in a social situation share a 'common understanding', the

level of consensus will be strong. If thereis disagreement or lack of awareness about each others' interpretations, their consensus will be weak. Nevertheless, some workable basis for interaction must be reached if the association is not to be terminated abruptly.

The concept of negotiation then can be used to explain why so many classrooms are orderly and not chaotic. Gradually teachers and pupils come to share a common definition of the situation and an orderly classroom becomes the norm, it is suggested. However, since neither party is fully satisfied, it is possible that the truce may be broken and negotiation begun anew.

Secondly, where compromise is unattainable, a 'workable' consensus is achieved by the most powerful partners in the interaction imposing their definitions. Hargreaves (1975) listed a number of techniques such as, threats, appeals to reason or tradition, withholding of privileges, rewards, and opportunities. However, this type of interpretation introduces a concept and form of explanation which certain critics of interactionism see as a difficult notion for the perspective to manage - the concept of power. It is argued that if individuals are seen as having the freedom to define reality and to act upon their definitions, where does the ability come from which allows some individuals to make their definitions count more than those of others? As Sharp and Green (1975) have argued:

> "... the ability of the headmaster to influence the actions of his teachers, the ability they have to process pupils, the ability of teachers collectively to protect themselves against the felt threats of parents, lie not merely in their linguistic and conceptual superiority but in their position in the power structure. If they are linguistically and conceptually superior it is only because those who have power in the macro structure define it to be so and have given them available sanctions to reinforce their definition of reality against others."
>
> **(Sharp and Green, 1975, p.70)**

Hargreaves (1978) attempts to address this weakness. He seeks to provide a 'framework which might link structural questions to interactional concerns". In one sense he is successful in that he is able to show that the constraints which teachers experience and the problems they face have their origins within the wider society. In particular Hargreaves tentatively introduces the notion of ideology and hegemony into the teacher's definition of the situation. He argues that a progressive

ideology has been realised in the organisation of the primary classroom, whilst the ideology of individualism has become realised in the organisation of the secondary school. By becoming realised these different ideologies come to form the experience of both teachers and pupils. Which ideologies will dominate depends, to a great extent on who has the power to make them real, according to Hargreaves. The important point for us is that the experience of people is partly shaped by the ideologies of the powerful.

Blackledge and Hunt (1985) suggest that:

> "... actors create goals for themselves in order to make sense of their past and present experience and to project into the future an intelligible and attainable, plan for life.
> **(Blackledge & Hunt,1985,p.287)**

There is then, if this suggestion is correct, a dialectic between the socially constructed society and the consciousness of individual actors and groups of actors, as Berger (1966) has suggested. King (1980) believes that the importance of a Weberian approach lies in the fact that it does not seek to explain educational change in terms of the operation of certain 'external factors'. Both the functionalists and Marxists try to find the cause of change in education in the wider society. Neither take into account the purposeful action and social relationships of those involved in the education.

At the macro level, Archer (1984), working from a Weberian perspective suggests that when examining education it is important to seek an understanding of it as a social structure in which social interaction takes place. This structure conditions the interaction which in turn leads to a change in or modification of the structure (structural elaboration). In Archer's (1984) terms the process has three parts:

- Structural Conditioning
- Interaction
- Structural Elaboration

In other words, the national education system is the structure which conditions the interaction, which in duecourse modifies the structure.

(b) Assumptions about Society

In summary, Ryan (1991) identified the implicit assumptions of the interpretive paradigm as follows:

- **All the theories reflect a common concern for the sociology of regulation. The interpretive theorists by and large concentrate on the study of ways in which social reality is meaningfully constructed and ordered from the point of view of the actors directly involved. They present a perspective in which individual actors negotiate, regulate and live their lives within the context of the status quo. Everyday activity is the building block of society. Everyday life is produced by people acting together and producing their own roles and patterns of action.**
- **To understand everyday activity it is important to grasp the meanings that people give to their behaviour. It assumes that the meanings are personal to the actor, they are not given by the culture or society, rather they are constructed from culture by the actors involved.**
- **Everyday activity rarely involves a person acting in isolation, rather it consists of interaction with other people. Consequently we interpret the behaviour of other people with whom we interact.**
- **An analysis of action must include a study of the actors' meanings and interpretations. however, it would be incorrect to think that meanings and interpretation remain static and unchanging. Interpretive sociology tends to suggest that over time actors come to have shared understanding and interpretations. The sharing is brought about through a "negotiation"**

> of meaning which is a continuous process.
> - Social reality insofar as it is recognised to have any existence outside the consciousness of any single individual, is regarded as being little more than a network of assumptions and intersubjectively shared meanings.
> - Interpretive sociology is concerned with understanding the essence of the everyday world. It is underwritten by an involvement with issues relating to the nature of the status quo, social order, consensus, social integration and cohesion, solidarity and actuality. (Burrell & Morgan,1979,p.31)
>
> (Ryan, 1991, p31-32)

(c) Application to Youth Work: Model 2 - Personal Development Model

Youth Work from this perspective focuses on the personal development needs of young people with little reference made to the social situation or environment in which the young person lives. Young people are seen as passing through the youth stage of life and therefore must surmount the tasks which that stage brings with it. Youth work contributes to the smooth transition through this phase by providing a variety of opportunities to acquire the skills necessary to take on the responsibilities of adult life.

The personal development model is according to Smith (1980) the conscious attempt to help people to gain for themselves the knowledge, feelings and skills necessary to meet their own and others' developmental needs.

While functionalism, as we have illustrated through the review of literature is concerned with conservative outcomes Jarvis (1983a) maintains that those who are relatively free from the constraints of the structure and who exercise power are more likely to embrace a classical liberal ideology which views:

> "individuals as independent, free to pursue their own interests and to consider that they are able to do this through the exercise of their own rational judgements"
>
> **(Jarvis, 1983, p.11)**

This form of liberalism may be viewed however as having conservative outcomes in terms of political ideology because it maintains the status quo. Similar to the Character Building Model, it contains similar assumptions and emphases and outcomes.

(d) The Characteristics of the Personal Development Model

(1) The Analysis of Youth Problems/Adolescence

- Young people are passing through a transitory period from childhood to adulthood.
- Young people need to surmount the tasks that go hand in hand with that stage.
- The key development tasks for young people are to develop positive self images, stable interpersonal relationships and the social skills necessary to participate within existing structures of society.

(2) The Programme Emphasis

The programme emphasis within this model will be to promote, within the existing values of society, personal responsibility for individual choices.

Education for Life Programmes will focus on helping young people explore and clarify their own values related to health, sexuality, faith etc and to understand the consequences of the choices they make for themselves.

Recreational Programmes will be viewed as a means through which young people can learn to mix socially with others. Typically, recreational programmes will deny competitive elements and

concentrate on group and non competitive techniques as a means of promoting co-operation, inter-dependence and group commitment. The social skills of co-operation, inter-dependence and group commitment. The social skills of co-operation, trust building and the development of intercommunication skills are key underlying values of this approach.

Social and Political Awareness programmes will be based on promoting participation amongst young people within existing social and political structures through involvement in local community initiatives, environmental protection programmes etc.

Vocational Training will within this model provide a method for passing on necessary life skills. While needlework, sewing etc will be part of programmes within this model they will not be confined to what is 'appropriate training' on the basis of ones sex. Typically, this model will include traditional male/female life-skills programmes across sex groupings. Underlying this approach will be the promotion of gender equality.

(3) The Process/Relationship

The process/relationship adopted within this approach is regarded as a key factor since it is believed that the form of education is as important as the curriculum content. Based on group work approaches, young people are respected and treated as partners by the adult volunteers.

(4) The Role of the Youth Worker

The role of the youth worker in this process is thus, that of group worker, confidante, supporter, motivator and counsellor. Underpinning this approach is the belief that young people can be enabled to develop as individuals in their own right, who can think, reflect, develop their life view and accept responsibility for their own behaviour.

(5) The Structures for Participation

The structures for participation reflect the nature of this trust. Structures are created with projects and clubs to contribute to decision making. Typically, this will be in the form of membership and programmes committees where young people are involved in a limited way in the decision making process. Within this approach young people are involved within decision making structures as a mechanism for promoting leadership potential and responsibility. The structures for participation are, thus, seen as an additional and central mechanism within the youth work project to promote and harness young people's development needs.

(6) The Outcomes

The outcomes whether intended or unconscious will be to develop:

Young People who :

- are prepared for an active role in society.
- have developed the ability to build and maintain relationships.
- have a positive sense of their own identity and personal values.
- have experience of leadership role and learned decision making skills.
- have a sense of control over their lives and believe that they can succeed if they try hard enough.

A ***Society***:

- where the status quo remains largely unchanged.
- participation within the institutions of the state is based on personal choice.

This model is summarised in Table 2 overleaf.

TABLE 2A: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING YOUTH WORK THEORY AND PRACTICE

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS	IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE		TYPOLOGY OF YOUTH WORK	ANALYSIS OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEVELOPMENT NEEDS	ROLE OF YOUTH WORKER
	THEORETICAL LEVEL	*PRACTICAL IMPACT*			
INTERPRETIVE PARADIGM	Liberal	• Personal value system of worker is not imposed	Personal Development	• Young people are passing through a transitionary period from childhood to adulthood and need to surmount the tasks that go hand in hand with that stage. Young people thus need to develop: - positive self images - stable inter-personal relationships - social skills to participate with existing structures of society.	• Group Worker • Confidante • Supporter • Motivator • Counsellor

TABLE 2B: IMPLICATIONS FOR YOUTH WORK PRACTICE AND OUTCOMES

YOUTH WORK MODEL	PROGRAMME EMPHASIS	PROCESS/RELATIONSHIP	STRUCTURE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	OUTCOMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE	OUTCOMES FOR SOCIETY
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT	• **Education for Life Programmes** - Promotion of Personal Responsibilities for choices made - Leadership Development • **Recreational Provision** - Means through which young people can learn to mix socially with others and learn more about themselves • **Social / Political Awareness** - Community Involvement - Environment Protection Awareness • **Vocational Training** - Necessary Life Skill - Gender Equalities • **Arts/Creativity** - Mechanism for creative expression	• Youth workers act as confidante / counsellor. • Development of relationship with young people to take part in all aspects of the programme structures. • Group processes and group work values guide the operations of practice. • Young people are respected as equals by adult volunteers. • Relationship created supports the personal learning and development.	• Structures created for young people in the project to contribute in a limited way to decision making. • Adults will usually exercise a veto in relation to decision making.	• Young people are prepared for an active role in society. • Young people develop respect for themselves and others and have the ability to build and maintain relationships. • Young people have learned basic leadership skills by limited opportunities in decision making structures. • Young people have a sense of control in their lives and believe that they can succeed if they try hard enough.	• Status quo is maintained • Support for the state institutions is based on personal choices which is usually supportive of the majority.

3: THE RADICAL HUMANIST PARADIGM

(a) Review of Theory

> "The radical humanist paradigm is defined by its concern to develop a sociology of radical change from a subjectivist standpoint. The approach places most emphasis upon radical change, modes of domination, emancipation, deprivation and potentiality".
>
> **(Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p.32)**

One of the basic notions underlying the whole of this paradigm is that the consciousness of the individual is dominated by the ideological superstructures with which a person interacts, and that these drive a cognitive wedge between oneself and ones true consciousness. This wedge is the wedge of "alienation" or "false consciousness" which inhibits or prevents true human fulfilment (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). The main concern of this approach is to try and find ways in which the individual can be freed of the structural constraints and reach their full potential. This approach is known as resistance theory, because it stresses the importance of resistance within education to the process of the reproduction of capitalism.

Willis (1977) attempts to take a step back from cultural reproduction to show that pupils are in fact producing culture and that much more is going on at the level of the school then either cultural reproduction or social reproduction theorists allow. He accepts an important role for ideology, though, as a limiting factor which guarantees that cultural production finally involves cultural reproduction. His study attempts to demonstrate how ideology and class function in schools. Willis, through an examination of a group of 'lads' who constitute a counter-school culture, attempts to show how their language, behaviour and attitudes in school penetrates the ideology of the school:

> "The most basic, obvious and explicit dimension of counter-school culture is entrenched general and personalised opposition to authority."
>
> **(Willis, 1977, p.11)**

Willis found that the 'lads' had an acute and perceptive understanding of the schools authority system. They saw school as an alien environment, but one that they could manipulate to their own ends. They derived positive pleasure from the constant conflict they carried on with teachers. In Willis's words:

> "The 'lads' specialised in a caged resentment which always stops just short of outright confrontation. Settled in class as near a group as they can manage, there is a continuous scraping of chairs, a bad tempered 'tut-tutting' at the simplest request and a continuous fidgeting about which explores every permutation of sitting or lying on a chair. During private study, some openly show disdain by apparently trying to go to sleep with their heads sideways down on the desk, some have their backs on the desk gazing out the window, or even vacantly at the wall."
>
> (Willis, 1977, p.12)

In a later passage he describes the nature of this confrontation as it is manifested outside the confines of the classroom:

> "In the corridors, there is a foot-dragging walk, or over-friendly 'hello' or a sudden silence as the deputy passes. Derisive or insane laughter erupts which might or might not be about someone who has just passed."
>
> (Willis, 1977,p.13)

Willis maintains that this opposition to the school is an attempt to penetrate the entire fabric of the school, its curriculum, its norms, its ethos. Farrell (1984), commenting on Willis's work suggests that:

> "The 'lads' opposition to school pervades their whole response to both the hidden and overt curriculum. Even classes which would appear to be aimed at capturing their interest suffer the same fate. Time in school is spent winning space from the institution and subverting its every attempt to force them to work. Making it through the day, lasting until the bell rings and 'having a laff' are the

> essential aims of the 'lads'. Delaying tactics, diversion and so on, are used to win time from the institution and to pace lessons to their own liking. Time exists as such for the lads only when they are free of institutional time. When they are free they return to the real world on the street. Experience on the street is the paramount reality for the lads... Their language, dress and general demeanour is oppositional and they have rejected the costs and potential rewards of schooling infavour of the working class culture.... by penetrating the conditions at the heart of the school, the counter-school culture liberates its members form the burden of conformism. It is this rejection of the conformism and the cultural influences which promote it that leads ultimately to social reproduction."
>
> **(Farrell, 1984, pp.223-4)**

For Willis, the rejection of the culture of schooling is more than a rejection of the possibilities of mobility through 'schooling success'. It is also a rejection of mental work in favour of physical work.

In the later parts of this paper which deals with Marxist concepts, this division between mental and physical labour will be a key concept in the perpetuation of capitalist relations of production. Willis's work, then, represents a departure from deterministic theories. Willis claims that it is the perception of superiority of manual work by working-class 'lads', and their identification with manual work that creates the capitalist relations of production. For Willis it is the culture of the lads that reproduces these relations. This contrasts with the work of the political economists of education, who argues that reproduction is directly engineered or reproduced to serve the need of the base:

> "There is a moment - and it only needs to be this for the gates to shut on the future - in working class culture when the manual giving of labour power represents both a freedom, election and transcendence and a precise insertion into a system of exploitation and oppression for working-class people."
>
> **(Willis, 1977, p.120)**

In discussing the possibliity of change, Willis argues that cultural production can be prevented from becoming cultural reproduction, through intervention at the level of culture. He argues that those working with the working class, should insist on equality of outcome in schooling. In addition, he proposes that de-streaming should be implemented in school practices and that entry into higher education for the working class should be sought. He suggests that vocational and guidance teachers, in particular, have scope for action.

Like Willis, Apple (1982) claims that schools are not just reproducers, but also produce. In discussing schooling, Apple suggests that a core dilemma for proposals for change is that while minorities may react to the process of schooling and thereby indirectly recreate their own class situation, many do not question the purpose of schooling. He suggests the elements of resistance are needed in any proposals for change; a critique of the present, a vision of the future and a strategy:

> "Without clear programmes that seem to provide for at least partial solutions to local and national problems, most people will accept the dominant view, which is inherently undemocratic and anti-egalitarian. Thus these programmes need to be sensible not only to the hard core activists but to working people with families and jobs."
>
> **(Apple, 1982, p.131)**

Thus the hidden curriculum is not absorbed directly, rather it is 'mediated' by the class culture of the pupils. Like workers in industry, pupils possess a culture containing values and norms at odds with those of the dominant culture of the wider society. This not only enables them to see through the capitalist ideological facade to the reality of inequality at its base, it also provides a means of challenging the system of control in their schools. With these notions of resistance and creative adoption Apple is seeking to develop a more voluntaristic form of analysis. He seeks to abandon the view that education is determined by the economy, and is trying to show that the school and the culture of the pupils is relatively autonomous.

Giroux (1983) also stresses the voluntaristic nature of resistance theory and concerns himself directly with the level of pedagogy. He believes that critical action can lead to change. He views education as potentially emancipatory or controling. This allows for proposals towards an emancipatory pedagogy. Giroux's proposals are based on the 'dialectic' which in practical terms involves communication based on dialogue and

grading in schools, the importance of history as the basis of raising people's awareness about social inequalities (ie,conscientization) and the assertion that the recognition of oppression should lead to action for change. Giroux develops the theme of human agency as a way of breaking out of the deterministic dilemma faced by the conflict theorists who centre their analysis on ideological or economic determinism. Giroux's concern is to develop:

> "a radical pedagogy that connects critical theory with the need for social action in the interests of both individual freedom and social reconstruction."
>
> (Giroux, 1981, pp7-8)

Individuals, he claims, must be led to examine and critique their own history and the history of their ideas, andbe shown that they can place themselves in the course of events to change them.

Giroux maintains that a crucial development is from critical thinking to intervention in the world. This then is liberation defined in social as well as individual terms. One of the earliest theorists who placed an emphasis on human consciousness while at the same time applying a radical critique to society was Gramsci (1971). He developed the notion of hegemony which refers to the way one social class exercises political control or economic influence over other classes. Social control occurs through wide ranging consent to and acquiescence in the culture and ideas of the dominant hegemony. The institutions which contribute to social formation that are outside the production process have a central role in maintaining an economic system founded upon the exploitation of propertyless labour power. Advanced capitalism is a complex and sophisticated social system that has used the organs of civil society very effectively in the service of the status-quo, e.g., the education system. It is precisely because a consensus has been created that it is able to resist and incorporate protest.

Gramsci therefore challenged the idea that one could challenge and overthrow the system while operating within it. The ruling class have the power to determine what ideas constitute commonsense amongst the majority of people and the ability to isolate radical opposition as a form of deviation from these ideas. Gramsci believed that individuals were capable of independent thought and of challenging the system. He advocated the need for a grassroots form of workers political education which would provide the seeds of thought as the basis for a continued ideological struggle and political action.

Freire (1972) expanded on many of Gramsci's ideas as he looked at ways of counteracting the form of domination experienced by oppressed groups in society. He claims that economic and cultural dominance is practised by metropolitan societies upon dependant populations:

> "Societies which are dual, 'reflex', invaded and dependant on metropolitan society cannot develop because they are alienated. Their political, economic and cultural decision-making power is located outside themselves, in an invader society."
>
> **(Freire,1972,p.130)**

Freire also maintains that this domination is also apparent in the domination of one class over another within the same society. He argues that man's historical task is the transformation of reality. Freire's central concept is the 'humanisation of man'. He proposes a concept of 'complete being'. By contrast the character of the oppressed, is 'incomplete' or not 'fully human' being. The historical task of transforming reality becomes that of "the oppressed liberating themselves and their oppressors as well." (Freire,1972a,p.130)

Education, for Freire, plays a crucial role in maintaining the oppressed as alienated beings. Freire outlines two basic concepts to describe education. The first is the 'banking' concept. This entails education taking the form of 'depositing' information into those who are to be educated. His argument is that education, as a form of cultural action, ensures that a form of false consciousness or a 'culture of silence' is transmitted to the oppressed. He views education as an 'ant-dialogical cultural action' which serves to process individuals into a state of oppression of alienation. Furthermore, he argues that oppressive reality is constructed on the basis of this false consciousness or 'culture of silence':

> "The mode of culture is a superstructural expression which conditions a special form of consciousness. The culture of silence 'over-determines' the infrastructure in which it originates."
>
> **(Freire,1972,p.57)**

People, then, become submerged in 'an oppressive reality' because of their submerged consciousness which is transmitted as part of the functioning role of schooling:

> "Pedagogy which begins with the egoistic interests of the oppressors (an egoism cloaked in false generosity of paternalism) and makes of the oppressed the objects of its humanitarianism, itself maintains and embodies oppression. It is an instrument of dehumanisation."
>
> **(Freire,1972,p.30)**

The second concept used by Freire is conscientization; Freire proposes that the transformation of the consciousness of people from their conditions of alienation/oppression is achieved through a process of conscientization. This should replace what he terms the 'anti-dialogical action' of schooling practices. Conscientization is a process by which a person's 'critical consciousness' is raised. This, he claims, is a process of 'dialogical cultural action' and is a form of pre-revolutionary struggle. The move towards humantransformation (the task facing each person) is a cultural struggle. The movement towards cultural struggle and cultural revolution is achievable because a person is no longer in a 'culture of silence' but fully conscious of his/her state of being. The programme of cultural action for freedom is the 'pedagogy of the oppressed'. The pedagogy of the oppressed, Freire claims is the process of humanization by which all people supersede both oppressor and oppressed and are thus fully human:

> "....it is always through action in depth that the culture of domination is culturally confronted. In the first stage this confrontation occurs through the change in the way the oppressed perceive the world of oppression; in the second stage, through the expulsion of the myths created and developed in the older order..."
>
> **(Freire,1972a,p.31)**

Much use has been made of Freire's work particularly in adult education and it is argued that, while his work is based in Latin America, his theory is relevant to sociology generally. What Freire offers is a pedagogy which critical theorists have so far failed to supply. As well as posing a critique of the present, he presents what, for many, is a practical way forward.

(b) Assumptions about Society

The implicit assumptions of the radical humanist paradigm are summarised by Ryan (1991) as follows:

- Common concern for the freedom of human spirit and how to prevent the alienation of the individual. They start from the premise that the individual lives in a world which constrains rather than develops her/his full range of possibilities and they are committed to providing an analysis and critique of the ways in which this occurs.
- A central concern is the raising of consciousness as the basis for social transformation.
- The notion that any understanding of society must embrace in their entirety the objective and subjective world which characterise a given epoch. An understanding of this totality must precede an understanding of its elements, since the whole dominates the parts in an all embracing sense.
- Human will and agency as well as structure are important. People can creatively adapt to and influence the environment in which they find themselves, there is a major emphasis on human consciousness.
- Reproduction still takes place but indirectly rather than directly, that is alongside or through the process of resistance.
- Conflict is a normal and natural part of social reality. It is only through conflict that social transformation can take place where the individual will surmount the limitations of existing social arrangements.
- Resistance to the demands of a capitalist economic structure is a fundamental feature of the education

system. Oppositional cultures exist within schools.

- Schools have a certain autonomy from the demands of the wider society, but according to the majority of resistance theorists the economy is the ultimate determinant.

(Ryan,1991, p.24-25)

c) Application to Youth Work: Model 3 - Critical Social Education Model

In our review of Conflict Theories, the common thread of the analysis, is a view of ideology that is imposed rather than agreed or based on consensus. Society is thus, viewed as and inequitable society separated by race, class and gender. These inequalities are unjustifiable, psychologically and socially damaging to all, but especially those whom the existing social structures have allocated to positions of subordination. The Conflict Perspective views structural forces as seriously impeding the personal development of young people as they become incorporated into the dominant value and belief system. The role of conscientization and awareness raising strategies are thus essential elements of these approaches. Youth work is thus, concerned with raising young people's awareness of the effects of the dominant value system and how it serves to inflict damaging consequences on them as a group of people and as a consequence impede their personal development. The act of naming experiences is thus seen as a crucial first step in the awakening of consciousness of young people as an oppressed group.

Youth work within this perspective thus:

- Recognises that young people are victims of injustices in society.
- Challenges the values of society since they are seen to promote inequality through the maintenance of the status quo.
- Develop consciousness raising strategies as a core curriculum approach.

The foundation of this model is that if young people can be made critically aware of their social and political situation they will be motivated and mobilised to seek change within structures of institutions that impact negatively on their life situation. This emphasis on youth

work contributing to social change, enters youth work and young people into a political arena. Therefore, it is proposed to term this process as a Critical Social Education model of Youth Work, to emphasis its political nature as well as its personal development potential for young people. Young people need to recognise that the opportunity to redefine this reality is open to them and that having taken it they may construct a new social reality in which they are creators and not consumers of given social norms. The role of the youth worker is thus to assist young people to define their world and to act upon it. This process is based on the consciousness raising strategies proposed by Apple, Freire and Giroux.

(d) Characteristics of the Critical Social Education Model

This model has the following characteristics:

(1) The Analysis of Youth Problems/Adolescence

- Structural factors impede the personal development of groups of young people.
- Inequalities which exist in society impact adversely on the life chances of groups of young people, particularly the disadvantaged.
- If changes can be made through existing institutions, the position of young people can be improved.

(2) The Programme Emphasis

The programme emphais within this model will centre on consciousness raising strategies that view the dominant value system as an inherent part of young people's problems.

Education for Life Programmes will thus concentrate on examining and exposing the 'hidden curricula' of programmes. Typically, such programmes begin with young people's own experiences as the basis on which a consciousness about broader global issues are raised.

Recreational Provision within this model will be seen as a means through which solidarity can be built. Common approaches are outdoor events that bring those from different minority/oppressed groups together as a means of sharing and understanding the life situations of the other more clearly.

Social and Political Awareness within approach builds on consciousness raising programmes as a mechanism for heightening the social and historical enquiry of the oppressed group. This enquiry is then synthesised to form the core of action campaign in an effort to raise the awareness of the general public to issues and mobilise for change as a result.

Vocational Training as a programme within this model will be very different to the personal development and character building model. A 'critique' of how roles are reinforced is the foundation philosophy of such programmes. Understanding behaviour and patterns of interaction and how they serve to reinforce male/female inequality will thus be key elements.

Arts/Creativity programmes similarly will be viewed as a creative mechanism through which young people's life situations can be highlighted and explored.

(3) The Process

The process within this model is one where youth workers have the positive intention of transferring power to young people. Relationships with young people are thus undertaken with a view to engaging them as partners. Within this partnership young people are actively involved in identifying and exploring issues of concern to them.

(4) The Role of Youth Worker

The role of the youth worker is thus, that of enabler, consciousness raiser and critical social analyst.

(5) The Structure for Participation

The structure for participation within projects based on this perspective, will as their most notable feature, reflect the interests and energy of young people. Self managing groups supported through the advice and encouragement of adults will be created around issues and programmes. The structures will thus be a formalised means through which issues are explored to form the priorities and responses of young people themselves.

(6) The Outcomes

The outcomes intended or unconscious is to develop:

Young People who:

- have developed the ability to analyse and assess alternatives.
- have developed the capacity to define 'their position' in their world and the skills to act to change it if they wish.
- are active in mobilising groups at local level to seek changes within existing structures.

A where ***Society***:

- institutions are challenged to undergo adaptation in response to demands for change.
- within a stage of change, tensions exist within institutions as they undergo reflection and adaptation related to a stage of change.

This model is summarised in Table 3 overleaf.

TABLE 3A: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING YOUTH WORK THEORY AND PRACTICE

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS	IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE		TYPOLOGY OF YOUTH WORK	ANALYSIS OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEVELOPMENT NEEDS	ROLE OF YOUTH WORKER
	THEORETICAL LEVEL	*PRACTICAL IMPACT*			
RADICAL HUMANIST	Reformist	• Personal value system actively guides the approach of the worker	Critical Social Education	• Inequalities exist in society which impact adversely against some young people. • Structural factors impede the personal development of groups of young people. • Inequalities can be addressed through change within existing institutions.	• Enabler • Consciousness Raiser • Community • Animateur • Critical Social Analyst

TABLE 3B: IMPLICATIONS FOR YOUTH WORK PRACTICE AND OUTCOMES

YOUTH WORK MODEL	PROGRAMME EMPHASIS	PROCESS/RELATIONSHIP	STRUCTURE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	OUTCOMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE	OUTCOMES FOR SOCIETY
CRITICAL SOCIAL EDUCATION	• **Education for Life Programmes** - Young persons personal experience is explored as a means of raising consciousness about broader/global issues. - Underlying principles and values of programmes are examined to expose their hidden 'curicula' • **Recreational Provision** - Useful mechanism in building solidarity • **Social/Political Awareness** - Campaign/issue based - Historical Enquiry • **Vocational Training** - Critique of how 'roles' are reinforced • **Arts/Creativity** - Creative mechanism for exploring young peoples' life situation and issues of injustice	• Youth work has the positive intention of transferring power to young people. • Relationship with young people is undertaken with a view to 'engaging' them as partners. • Youth worker adopts the role of 'problem poser'. • Young people actively involved in identifying, exploring and understanding issues of concern to them. • Two way process of mutual dialogue between young people and adults. • Action the result of analysis and reflection.	• Enabling self-managing structures. • Young people and adults are seen as partners within the systems • Reflect the interests and energy of young people.	• Young people have developed the ability to analyse and assess alternatives. • Young people have developed the capacity to define 'their position' in their world and the skills to act to change it if they sought. • Young people are aware of the inequities which institutions promote. • Young people are active in mobilising groups at local level to seek changes within existing structures.	• Institutions undergo internal structural change to respond to demands for change. • Tensions exist within institutions as they progress and change.

4: THE RADICAL STRUCTURALIST PARADIGM

(a) Review of Theory

Theorists from both the functionalist and radical structuralist paradigm share an approach to the study of social reality. A basic premise of both approaches is a belief in the existence of societal laws which govern reality. The radical structuralists theorists differ from functionalists in their emphasis upon contradiction and crisis:

> "Theorists located within this paradigm advocate a sociology of radical change from an objectivist standpoint. Radical structuralism is committed to radical change, emancipation and potentiality, in an analysis which emphasises structural conflict, modes of domination, contradiction and deprivation. It approaches these general concerns from a standpoint which tends to be realist, positivist, determinist and nomothetic".
>
> (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p.34)

The radical structuralist concentrates upon structural relationships within a realist social world. They emphasise the fact that radical change is built into the very nature and structure of contemporary society and they seek to provide explanations of the basic interrelationship within the context of total social formations.

While Marx himself never wrote extensively about education, his work has been interpreted to form an analysis of the educational system. Marx's theory involves categories such as social formation, productive forces, the relations of production, ideology, superstructure and the determination of the superstructure base. Marxism remains unique in its claim that it is the economic that determined consciousness. Marx argues that it is through labour, and in co-operation with others in the production process, that people constitutes themselves.

Theorists, using Marxist analysis, are broadly categorised into Reproduction Theorists and Resistance Theorists. Reproduction Theorists concentrate on the power of circumstances, be they directly

economic, or based on hegemony. Reproduction Theorists differ in the analysis between those who concentrate on exploring the structural links between the educational system and the economic order, (Bowler & Gintis and Althusser) and those who seek to explore the ways in which cultural beliefs and practices, which support capitalist society, are created, perpetuated and reproduced through the educational system (Bourdieu).

Resistance Theorists concentrate on resistance, human agency and counter hegemonic action with the focus frequently on the cultural level. They aim to rise above the level of critique and discuss strategies for change. The authors illustrated as representative of this tradition are Willis, Apple, Freire and Giroux and are examined in detail in the 'radical humanist' paradigm:

> "In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will: these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society - the real foundation, on which legal and political superstructures arise and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness."
>
> **(Marx, 1859, pp.182-183)**

The process of evolution which arises from the activity of human work is argued by Marx to be a relationship between people (subjects) and the natural or person-created material world. In gaining control over the material world, human beings not only change the nature of the material world but also the relationships between human beings:

> "Through man's ability to labour, man takes natural forces and through conscious imaginative manipulation makes social productive forces of them. The most

> important social productive force is the tendency among men to co-operate in the use of natural forces to produce the means of subsistence....In the 'harnessing' of natural forces into productive forces, a determinate mode of co-operation develops with a consequent social stage of development. Each subsequent change in the production of the means of subsistence will entail concomitant changes in social relations; each 'mode of production' will have a correspondingly developed system of social relations."
>
> **(Farrell,1984,p.83)**

According to Marx, in the initial stages division of labour was based on attributes of age, strength and sex. However as successive modes of production developed a division of labour also developed. This manifested ina division between manual and mental labour and the development of specialised activity as a result of technological development. This according to Marx results in a division of society into classes based on their relationship to the means of production.

In capitalism, this division of labour itself in the separation of conception and execution of a product, there is, a separation between the planning and shop-floor department. This division, it is maintained, results in the de-skilling of operators through the fragmentation of tasks. The division of labour in capitalism has also resulted in the control of the means of production by those who own and control property (Bilton, 1989). Marx claims that those who are dominant in society, through their ownership of the means of production, are also its dominant 'intellectual' force. For Marx, it is through his labour, and in co-operation with others in the production process, that people create themselves. In this view people are born into a particular era which has reached a particular stage of development; the social relations into which the individual enters determines the consciousness of the individual.

Two key concepts emerge from this analysis; the forces ie the implements used for production and the social relations of production. Meighan (1981) summarises the dialectical relationship between people's productive life and their other social relationships as follows:

> "From each kind of production system evolves a unique set of social relationships

> according to the circumstances of ownership and the social division of labour. (For example, freeman/slave, patrician/plebian, lord/serf, guild master/journeyman, bourgeois/proletarian). That the form of social relationship established around production (i.e. base structure) conditions the other forms of social organisation - political forms, cultural life, religion, family form, legal structure - which emerge (i.e. superstructure). That classes emerge only when one group of men who stand in a common relation to production unite in a conflict with other groups of men. That most importantly, social change or the transformation from one social order to another is a result of a contradiction between existing productive forces and existing relations of production, i.e., the social relation of production become, as a result of technological or cultural change, inadequate for the regulation of production itself."
>
> **(Meighan, 1981, p.241)**

Thus Marx sees society as composed of two major parts. The first is the economic structure or 'base' and the second is the 'superstructure' or the social institutions and practices such as education, religion, family life, beliefs and values.

The attempts to define the relationship between the base and superstructure gives rise to many interpretations of what Marx actually understood the relationship to be. While all Marxists believe that all components of the superstructure of society are in some way related to economic activity (the base), they differ in their interpretation of the nature of that relationship.

One viewpoint argues that the economic base determines the superstructure. In this view society's institutions are a direct consequence of the nature of its economic system. Furthermore, as the economic base changes, so too do the institutions.

This view known as (determinism) is challenged by other Marxists who interpret Marx as allowing more independence and autonomy to the various parts of the superstructure. There exists, according to this view,

a dialectical relationship between the base and the other social and political institutions, which forms a process of reciprocal influence.

Reproduction Conflict Theorists

Education according to the Marxist theory of 'direct reproduction' helps to reproduce or maintain the capitalist economic system. Schools according to these theorists eject pupils at appropriate levels in the economy: for manual labour, managerial work and so on. In this way, schools assist in the reproduction of the basic force of production which is labour power. They prepare pupils with the required skills for different levels of the economy and develop the appropriate dispositions which they will require in the work force.

For Bowles & Gintis (1976) education in the United States serves to perpetuate or 'reproduce' the capitalist system. It is one of the several social institutions which maintain or reinforce the existing social and economicorder. This it does in two main ways. Firstly, it prepares young people for their place in society by preparing in children the capacities, qualifications and so on which are appropriate to a capitalist economy:

> "Different levels of education feed workers into different levels within the occupational structure, and correspondingly, tend toward an internal organisation comparable to levels in the hierarchical division of labour."
>
> **(Bowles & Gintis,1976,p.132)**

Secondly, it legitimates the class structure and inequality by fostering the belief that economic success depends on ability which allows young people to succeed in education:

> "The relations between the economy and the education system are 'overseen' and 'legitimised' by an ideology called 'IQism'. Thus, appropriately alienated consciousnesses are secured in individuals, and individuals are differentiated and distributed to the economy and the various levels of the production processes of the capitalist economy. Individuals recognise their positions in the production processes of the capitalist economy as legitimate and

> appropriate as a function of the ideology of IQism."
>
> **(Demaine,1981,p.101)**

For Bowles & Gintis, then, the legitimation process (through the reward of intelligence) preserves class-based inequality, without the foundation of inequality being seen as problematic:

> "The educational system legitimates economic inequality by providing an ostensibly open, objective and meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal positions. Indeed, the more meritocratic the educational process 'appears' the better it serves to legitimate inequality."
>
> **(Bowles, Gintis & Meyer, 1975/6,p234)**

The process of legitimation is supported by a process of socialisation, a process by which consciousness is shaped. For Bowles & Gintis education:

> "tailors the self-concepts, aspirations and social class identification of individuals to the requirements of the social division of labour."
>
> **(Bowles & Gintis,1976,p.129)**

In contrast to Marx, Althusser proposes a 'relative autonomy' for the superstructure. Althusser argues that while the base and the superstructure function relatively autonomously, they both function for the same purpose, that is, the reproduction of the forces and relations of production. Similar to Marx, Althusser distinguishes between the legal superstructure, the state and ideology.

Althusser's theory of education is best understood in the context of his theory of ideology. Althusser retains the classical Marxist notion of state as an apparatus of repression, which he terms the Repressive State Apparatus (R.S.A.). In addition, he proposes a number of Ideological State Apparatuses, for example the educational, the religious, the family, the political, the cultural ideological state apparatuses (I.S.A.s). The main distinction between the R.S.A. and the I.S.A. is the way they function. The R.S.A. according to Althusser:

> "functions massively and predominantly by repression (including physical repression) while functioning secondarily by ideology."
> **(Althusser,1971,p.138)**

The I.S.A.'s by contrast function:

> "massively and predominantly by ideology but they also function secondarily by repression, even if ultimately, but only ultimately. This is very attenuated and concealed, even symbolic."
> **(Althusser,1971,p.138)**

For Althusser, education is one of the I.S.A.s, the central function of which it is to reproduce the relations of production, that is labour relations. The requirements of future labour, he argues, are reproduced through schools by the development of appropriate dispositions in pupils. The transmissions of these dispositions is part of the ideological function of the school. It is through:

> "the massive inculcation of the ideology of the ruling class that the relations of production in a capitalist formation, i.e., the relations of exploitation, are largely reproduced."
> **(Althusser,1971,p.148)**

Althusser argues that individuals with these dispositions are ejected at appropriate levels for economic activity:

> "each mass ejected en route is practically provided with the ideology which suits the role it has to fulfil in classsociety: the role of the exploited, (with a 'highly-developed professional', 'ethical', 'civic', 'national' and a-political consciousness), the role of the agent of exploitation (ability to give orders and enforce obedience without discussion, or ability to manipulate the demagogy of a political leader's rhetoric), or of the professional ideologist (ability to treat consciousness with respect, i.e., with the contempt, blackmail, and demagogy they deserve).
> **(Althusser,1971,p.147)**

Althusser argues that the reproductive role of education is not penetrated due to an ideology of neutrality which surrounds it. This he claims stems from its relative autonomy from the economic base. The school according to Althusser represents its function as the promotion of equality and human development in a neutral environment. He argues that while sone practitioners attempt to penetrate the reproductive function of schooling they ultimately are trapped by the system and its practices.

Pierre Bourdieu develops an understanding of reproduction different to Bowles & Gintis and Althusser, who, as we have seen concentrate on the links between education and the economy, or what is termed 'the political economy of education'. By way of contrast, Bourdieu, attempts to formulate a theory of education that centres on the role of culture in reproduction.

Like other conflict theorists Bourdieu's analysis centres on education as part of the reproductive mechanism, which serves to maintain the dominant position of the ruling class. This contrasts with functionalist writers outlined earlier who views education as a cohesive socialising agent which benefits all.

Bourdieu's work represents a shift from a direct analysis of economic power to an analysis of the symbolic power of culture. Unlike functionalists, who stress the consensus of values and norms as the basis of an acceptance of the socialisation process, Bourdieu suggests that norms are arbitrary and imposed.

Bourdieu argues that the education system contributes to reproduction in two ways: firstly by reproducing the culture of the dominant groups and thus of class relations and secondly through the examination system. Bourdieu suggests that examinations are an important part of reproduction because, in posing as objective tests of ability, examinations transfer social advantage to academic advantage, which is then converted to economic advantage.

Schools, then, reproduce inequality by simply treating all children as equal. For, by demanding the same from all, the school demands what some can give and others cannot. As Bourdieu, himself argues:

> "In fact to penalise the underprivileged and favour the most privileged the school has only to neglect, in its teaching methods and techniques and its criteria when making

> academic judgements, to take into account the cultural inequalities between children of different social classes."
>
> **(Bourdieu,1976,p.113)**

The role of the teacher in Bourdieu's work is closely linked to the cultural reproduction role of the school. Teachers, Bourdieu argues, value the culture of the upper class and as such, simply need only to be themselves to reproduce inequality. In simply being themselves, Bourdieu argues that they will automatically categorise working-class children as failures, since they themselves identify with the ruling ideology and culture. The authority of the teacher to transmit these values is legitimated by the school's pedagogic authority, which is vested in the teacher. In this way, teachers become accepted as being worthy to transmit and thereby impose a dominant culture.

(b) Assumptions about Society

Ryan (1991) presents the following summary of the assumptions about society from this perspectve:

- **It is obvious that within this paradigm adopt different views and beliefs. Ryan (1990) however, identified a number of implicit beliefs underlying all the theories in the radical structuralist paradigm.**
- **Social reality exists independently of any reaffirmation which takes place in everyday life. There is an emphasis on the notion of structure, the focus is upon the configurations of social relationships which characterise different totalities and which exist independently of individual's consciousness of them. The individual can do little to effect change.**
- **Conflict and contradiction is natural in society as different groups compete for power and resources.**
- **Eventually the contradictions will reach a point where there is a crisis and radical change occurs, involving**

the transformation from one totality to another, in which one set of structures is replaced by another of a fundamentally different nature. It is through such conflict and change that the emancipation of man from the social structures in which they live is seen as coming about.

- Education reproduces the conditions necessary for the capitalist system. It helps to maintain and legitimate a class divided society.
- Education is one of the chief means whereby the ruling elite maintain their dominance.
- Education acts as a selection agent for human capital, it ensures that those with the relevant beliefs and values are recruited into powerful positions. Education transmits middle class values and has little relevance for the working class. Education therefore prevents social mobility and maintains social stratification.
- The individual is good and rational and requires a rational and good society in which to develop his/her essential nature. The social organisations are at fault not human nature.
- Education promotes a myth of equality of opportunity which conceals deep seated class inequality and alienation from education.
- Inequality occurs as a result of the dominant ruling groups controlling the relations of production.

(Ryan, 1991, p.19)

c) Application to Youth Work: Model 4 - Radical Social Change Model

This model assumes that under conditions of mounting crisis there are chances for the rising generation to make substantial changes in the socio-cultural system. Thus young people may be regarded as potential agents of cultural revolution. From this radical perspective revolutionary change in the socio-cultural system is a necessary though not sufficient condition for transforming economic and political systems from capitalist into full socialised societies, in which human potential is no longer systematically distorted and wasted. Critical theorists do not look to technological progress as a basis for emancipation, but to the political activity of individuals enlightened as to their true interests.

During the 1960's and 1970's rapidly rising income and increased social mobility provided avenues for people to make their own choices in their home life thus cushioning this crisis-tendency. Even during the period there were feelings of relative deprivation among young blue-collar workers who had a realistic appreciation of their career options. By the late 1970's and early 1980's, the life chances of the rising generation in Ireland were being managed institutionally through incomes policy, Manpower, ANCO, Youth Employment Agency and Welfare Support Schemes. Meanwhile, from the radical's perspective, the youth service was continuing to rehash the formula for constructive use of leisure time as the main strategy for helping young people realise their social potential, either through the informal learning of social skills or through the participation in community development.

Davis (1977) states that a strategy for a radical paradigm must begin with the development of workers' collective consciousness and grass roots organisations within their own daily practice. Youth workers must develop a deeper analysis of the causes of social disadvantage, expose the vested interests of established youth work, and produce a strategy for alternative interventions.

Taylor (1987) proposes that if workers are to move forward together then a socialist manifesto is necessary, there would be a need for 'bridging' which would seek to link immediate needs of the situation with the necessary objective of socialist transformation. Such an approach would treat the short term goal with proper seriousness, but would always look to going beyond the immediate in posing questions similar to those raised by Trotsky (1975) "Who has power and in whose interest is it exerted?" and "How might we challenge fundamentally the power of the capitalist state?"

Thus within youth work the task within this framework is to establish a socialist consciousness in agreement with and actively alongside working class young people. Throughout this process workers aspire to play a part in the metamorphosis of the class, from being powerless to being able to act for itself as a self-conscious agency for political change.

(d) Characteristics of the Radical Social Change Model

The radical structural paradigm has a number of characteristics in youth work practice as follows:

(1) Analysis of Youth Problems:

- young people are a socially exploited group in society.
- the interests of dominant economic and social groups have the impact of marginalising young people and reducing their life chances.
- equality for young people cannot be achieved until institutions are made to change their forms, rules and power bases.

(2) The Programme Emphasis:

The programme emphasis within this model will focus on promoting a socialist manifesto and achieving the objective of socialist transformation.

Education for life Programmes: young peoples personal experiences are explored to help locate them as a culturally exploited group in society.

Recreation Provision: Recreation provision is limited, but seen as useful in building solidarity.

Social/Political Awareness: The programmes are structural to indoctrinate young people into the revolutionary and socialist perspective. The emphasis is on the preparation of young people to reject existing social institutions as oppressive.

(3) The Process

The Process in this model is one where the youth worker uses it to recruit young people as activists, with the intention of building anti-institutional groups.

(4) Structure for Participation

The structure for participation adopted by youth workers in this model reflect a preset social revolution agenda within which young people are controlled while being given active roles.

(5) The Outcomes

The outcomes whether intended or unconscious are intended to develop:

Young People who:

- have developed skills to act towards an objective of social transformations. They will act and be viewed as political activists.

A ***Society:***

- where institutions will be overthrown and replaced.

This model is summarised in Table 4 overleaf.

TABLE 4A: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING YOUTH WORK THEORY AND PRACTICE

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS	IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE		TYPOLOGY OF YOUTH WORK	ANALYSIS OF YOUNG PEOPLE'S DEVELOPMENT NEEDS	ROLE OF YOUTH WORKER
	THEORETICAL LEVEL	*PRACTICAL IMPACT*			
RADICAL STRUCTURALIST	Revolutionary	• Personal value system actively guides the approach of the worker • Operate from a clearly articulated social analysis framework	Radical Social Change	• Young people are a socially exploited group in society. • The interests of dominant economic and social groups have the impact of marginalising young people and reducing their life changes. • Equality for young people cannot be achieved until institutions are made to change their forms, rules and power bases.	• Radical Activist

TABLE 4B: IMPLICATIONS FOR YOUTH WORK PRACTICE AND OUTCOMES

YOUTH WORK MODEL	PROGRAMME EMPHASIS	PROCESS/RELATIONSHIP	STRUCTURE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	OUTCOMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE	OUTCOMES FOR SOCIETY
RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE	• **Education for Life Programme** - Youth's personal experience is explored to help locate young people as a culturally exploited group within society - 'Hidden Curicula' of programmes rejected as a 'form' of oppression • **Recreational Provision** - Limited , but useful in building solidarity • **Social / Political Awareness** - Indoctrination of young people into the revolutionary perspective - Preparation of young people to reject existing social institutions as oppressive • **Vocational Training**	• Youth worker has the intention of building anti-institutional lobby groups • Relationship with young people is undertaken to recruit them as activists. • Young people actively identify with and endorse the agenda of the campaign cause.	• Structures reflect a preset social revolution agenda within which young people act as partners	• Young people are viewed as political • Young people are skilled to ac t towards an objective of social transformation	• Institutions are overthrown and replaced arising out of cultural struggles and interest groups gaining dominance and control over former institutions.

Summary

This paper has attempted to provide a framework for examining youth work practice. We have based our framework on the sociology of educational thought and specifically applied Burrell and Morgan's framework to describe four models of youth work: Character Building; Personal Development; Critical Social Education and Radical Social Change.

The interrelationship between theory and models is summarised in Table 5 overleaf.

TABLE 5: MODELS OF YOUTH WORK - A SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK (Summary)

YOUTH WORK MODEL	PROGRAMME EMPHASIS	PROCESS/RELATIONSHIP	STRUCTURE FOR PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	OUTCOMES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE	OUTCOMES FOR SOCIETY
CHARACTER BUILDING	• **Education For Life Programmes** - Preventative Focus • **Recreational Provision** - Focus energies of young people in a constructive way - Promote healthy lifestyle - Promote competition, individual achievement • **Social/Political Awareness** - Information about existing structures: how they work - Promotion of civic responsibility and community pride responses • **Vocational Training** - Role Preparation • **Arts/Creativity** - Occupational	• Youth workers act as role model • Development of relationship with young people serves to 'guide' and 'form' young people in the way society views as acceptable. • The nature of the relationship is determined by the adult's agenda/authoritarian style.	• Hierarchical structure with the youth workers as decision makers • Young people's input to decision making centres on basic programming issues. • No structure in place to increase young people's leadership potential, since youth workers control all aspects of the programme and organisation	• Young people develop - discipline - moral values of the recognises majority • Young people recognise their role in society and contribute to the maintenance of society.	• Status quo is maintained • Institution of the Church, family and state remain unchanged • The values which underlie these are actively inculcated
PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT	• **Education for Life Programmes** - Promotion of Personal Responsibilities for choices made - Leadership Development • **Recreational Provision** - Means through which young people can learn to mix socially with others and learn more about themselves • **Social / Political Awareness** - Community Involvement - Environment Protection Awareness • **Vocational Training** - Necessary Life Skill - Gender Equalities • **Arts/Creativity** - Mechanism for creative expression	• Youth workers act as confidante / counsellor. • Development of relationship with young people to take part in all aspects of the programme structures. • Group processes and group work values guide the operations of practice. • Young people are respected as equals by adult volunteers. • Relationship created supports the personal learning and development.	• Structures created for young people in the project to contribute in a limited way to decision making. • Adults will usually exercise a veto in relation to decision making.	• Young people are prepared for an active role in society. • Young people develop respect for themselves and others and have the ability to build and maintain relationships. • Young people have learned basic leadership skills by limited opportunities in decision making structures. • Young people have a sense of control in their lives and believe that they can succeed if they try hard enough.	• Status quo is maintained • Support for the state institutions is based on personal choices which is usually supportive of the majority.
CRITICAL SOCIAL EDUCATION	• **Education for Life Programmes** - Young persons personal experience is explored as a means of raising consciousness about broader/global issues. - Underlying principles and values of programmes are examined to expose their hidden 'curicula' • **Recreational Provision** - Useful mechanism in building solidarity • **Social/Political Awareness** - Campaign/Issue based - Historical Enquiry • **Vocational Training** - Critique of how 'roles' are reinforced • **Arts/Creativity** - Creative mechanism for exploring young peoples' life situation and issues of injustice	• Youth work has the positive intention of transferring power to young people. • Relationship with young people is undertaken with a view to 'engaging' them as partners. • Youth worker adopts the role of 'problem poser'. • Young people actively involved in identifying, exploring and understanding issues of concern to them. • Two way process of mutual dialogue between young people and adults. • Action the result of analysis and reflection.	• Enabling self-managing structures. • Young people and adults are seen as partners within the systems • Reflect the interests and energy of young people.	• Young people have developed the ability to analyse and assess alternatives. • Young people have developed the capacity to define 'their position' in their world and the skills to act to change it if they sought. • Young people are aware of the inequities which institutions promote. • Young people are active in mobilising groups at local level to seek changes within existing structures.	• Institutions undergo internal structural change to respond to demands for change. • Tensions exist within institutions as they progress and change.
RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE	• **Education for Life Programme** - Youth's personal experience is explored to help locate young people as a culturally exploited group within society - 'Hidden Curicula' of programmes rejected as a 'form' of oppression • **Recreational Provision** - Limited , but useful in building solidarity • **Social / Political Awareness** - Indoctrination of young people into the revolutionary perspective - Preparation of young people to reject existing social	• Youth worker has the intention of building anti-institutional lobby groups • Relationship with young people is undertaken to recruit them as activists. • Young people actively identify with and endorse the agenda of the campaign cause.	• Structures reflect a preset social revolution agenda within which young people act as partners	• Young people are viewed as political • Young people are skilled to act towards an objective of social transformation	• Institutions are overthrown and replaced arising out of cultural struggles and interest groups gaining dominance and control over former institutions.

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