



If it is Christian, can it be youth work?  
An examination of the relationship between  
Christianity and Youth Work, from the mid 19<sup>th</sup>  
century to 2014

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# Abstract

The association between Christianity and youth work is evident to anyone who looks for it. Indeed, since the 1960s practitioners can be found arguing over whether it ought to have a place or not. Regardless of this, Christianity's relationship with youth work has remained under researched and until now has lacked a comprehensive study. Similarly, no study into youth work has utilised the analytical method of Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc, along with the social philosophy of Charles Taylor and Alasdair MacIntyre's work on language and translation to provide a deeper interpretation of the development of youth work.

Through data gathered from texts and literature written by youth workers to inform youth work, from semi-structured interviews and from additional social and history studies, this thesis provides an *événementielle*, a narrative of Christianity's relationship with youth work as it developed over time and an account of its *conjonctures*, the often unseen evolution and changes within that relationship. It also situates Christian faith-based practice within the current youth work environment.

By providing an *événementielle* of Christianity's relationship with youth work, this thesis addresses a gap within its existing literature and reveals the extent of Christianity's formative stimulus and continuing presence within youth work up until the 1960s.

The *conjonctures* of this relationship are revealed through the use of Taylor's concept of providential deism and MacIntyre's ideas on language and translation. This exposed the way in which youth work expanded from being Christian endeavour into Judaism and providential deism, from Christian-as-faith to Christian-as-ethic, and finally being translated into a secular language. It also made visible the older, theistic language of youth work and suggests that the ideals of modern, post-1960s youth work – voluntary participation, democracy, equality – are present because of their Christian inheritance.

Taylor's interpretation of the post-1960s period as the Age of Authenticity enables this thesis to situate Christian faith-based practice within a wider interpretation of youth work. In doing so it encourages youth workers to ask new questions of generally accepted interpretations.

The Ricoeurian-based methodology also provides a gateway for other research into the *conjonctures* of youth work: gender, class, models of practice, the masculine nature of youth work's practice and literature, and the influence of changing economic and political environments.

# Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Contents	iv
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter overview	1
Introducing my thesis	1
The significance of the Albemarle Report	6
The contested nature of youth work	7
Youth work in Scotland	26
Youth work and youth ministry	35
Overview of the chapters	39
Summing up	40
Chapter 2: Literature review	41
Chapter overview	41
The histories of youth work	42
Christianity – minimised or overlooked in the histories of youth work	43
Christianity – minimised or overlooked in the literature of youth work	50
Christianity’s place in youth work as it is presented in the youth work literature	54
Approaches to the past in the literature of youth work	55
Gaps in knowledge and research questions	63
Summing up	65
Chapter 3: Methodology	67
Chapter overview	67
Reflexivity	67
Hermeneutic phenomenology	72
Theoretical considerations	73
Gathering the data	85
Ethical considerations	99
Data analysis: Ricoeur’s hermeneutical arc	106
Summing up	114
Chapter 4: Youth work and Christianity	115
Chapter overview	115
The formation of youth work	115
The shapers of youth work	124
The establishment of the Youth Service	133
The Albemarle Report and the new language of youth work	143
Summing up	145

Chapter 5: The minor and major translations of youth work's Christian language	147
Chapter overview	147
Taylor's providential deism	148
MacIntyre's language and translation	150
Youth work's Christian language and its minor translations	152
Youth work's theistic vocabulary	168
The major translation of youth work's religious language	170
Summing up	187
Chapter 6: Participants' views of the relationship between Christianity and youth work	188
Chapter overview	188
Youth work's Christian inheritance	188
Youth ministry and youth work	189
Differing attitudes to youth work practices	192
Reflections and analysis	204
Summing up	207
Chapter 7: Christianity and youth work in the Age of Authenticity	208
Chapter overview	208
The Age of Authenticity	209
The disagreement between MacIntyre and Taylor	215
Youth work in the Age of Authenticity	220
Youth work and its closed world structures	247
The fusion of youth work's horizons	263
Summing up	270
Chapter 8: Conclusion	272
Chapter overview	272
Thesis summary	272
Discussions and implications	276
Areas for future research	282
Conclusions	287
Bibliography	289
Appendices	340
Appendix 1: Generic email invitation	341
Appendix 2: Participant information sheet	342
Appendix 3: Participants' details	347
Appendix 4: Semi-structured Interview questions	349
Appendix 5: University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee ratification	351
Appendix 6: Informed consent agreement	374
Appendix 7: Chronology of the founders and shapers of youth work	375

Tables	
Table 1: Participants' organisations	95
Table 2: Themes emerging from the youth workers' interviews	110



# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Chapter overview

This chapter introduces the thesis and sets out how it adds to existing knowledge on youth work. It explains the youth work expressions used within this thesis. Following this it acknowledges the contested nature of youth work and provides a description of the wider youth work context within which my research is situated. In particular, it focuses on the significance of the publication and implementation of the government document *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (Ministry of Education, 1960), the increasing influence of state-sponsored youth work in England and, in contrast to this, three forms of academic and professional youth work which are currently in crisis: liberal democratic youth work, liberationist youth work and technical youth work. I then acknowledge that despite these developments most youth work is still provided by local volunteers. This leads on to a section where I describe the development of state-sponsored youth work in Scotland and its relationship to English policy developments. I follow this by giving a brief outline of the relationship between youth work and youth ministry.

### 1.2 Introducing my thesis

This research was generated by the realisation that within academic and professional youth work, the influences of Christianity have been subject to a period of neglect and criticism. Despite recent developments which aimed to reverse this situation, a full understanding of the role and place of Christianity within youth work has yet to be achieved. In this environment my research is not neutral; it is written with a persuasive purpose and in the belief, articulated by Ricoeur, that ‘the “true” histories of the past uncover the buried potentialities of the present’ (Ricoeur, 1995f:295). Its theoretical structure is built on MacIntyre’s view summarised below by Craig:

MacIntyre has described institutions as 'embodied' argument. Every institution is marked by the moment of its foundation as the embodiment of a historical argument and the expression of a set of values. Institutions survive by a continuous adaption of their argumentative base, a continuing fulfilment of their original argument in a new context; the history of an institution is the history of its development of the argument on which it was founded and the strength of the argument is reflected in the institution's ability to continue to sustain its fundamental values in changed conditions. At some point, of course, an argument may become redundant or irrelevant and the institution founded on it will itself become redundant or will have to re-organise itself around a different and more relevant position (2003:177).

Underpinned by this view, this thesis utilises primary sources: the texts and literature of youth work written by youth workers to inform youth work practice and theory; information gathered from interviews with youth workers, managers and academics from 2012; and evidence assembled from modern youth work publications. These, supplemented by secondary sources from historians and social researchers who have examined youth work and youth organisations, provide the sources of data for this research. The evidence is correlated in response to three specific questions:

- What is the extent of evidence for Christianity's presence within the foundation and development of youth work?
- How did youth work expand from being a Christian endeavour to become a secular practice, and what influence did this have on contemporary youth work?
- What place does Christian faith-based youth work have within youth work today?

In answering these questions, this thesis adds to our knowledge of youth work by: exposing the relationship Christianity had with youth work from its inception in the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century up to 2014; presenting an account of how this relationship altered and evolved from its earliest days up until the 1970s, which explains how youth work expanded from being a Christian endeavour to become a secular social practice; and situating Christian faith-based youth work within the modern, more recent social practice of youth work. Indirectly, this thesis also raises questions concerning:

- The way Christianity's place within youth work has been treated within some of the existing academic and professional literature.
- Claims that youth work is an exclusively secular humanist, left-leaning enterprise.
- Arguments which seek to exclude Christian faith-based work with young people from the youth work narrative.
- Some prevailing interpretations of modern youth work.

The thesis also provides a gateway for future research by providing a non-reductive narrative of Christianity's relationship to youth work and a theoretical framework through which its relationship with other important formative elements may be uncovered: gender, class, models of practice, the masculine nature of youth work literature, and economics. It encourages researchers to ask new questions of liberal democratic models of practice and to consider the possibility that we must speak of youth works, rather than youth work.

'If it is Christian, can it be youth work?' might appear a somewhat abrupt question. While it may be appreciated by those within the professional youth work field, it might benefit from being placed in context for those who are reading this from an external vantage point. It is intended to be mildly provocative and reflective of the kind of questions Christian practitioners say they are often asked. To be clear, however, I am not claiming that youth work is or ought to be exclusively Christian or that it is superior to other expressions of practice. I am not implying, to quote

Milson who was caught up in a similar debate over 50 years ago (Henderson, 1968; Milson, 1968), ‘anything so ludicrous as “only Christians can be good group workers”’.<sup>1</sup> Instead, I am engaging in this discussion of Christianity’s relationship with youth work within a critical environment (Bardy *et al.*, 2015; Green, 2008; 2010; Harris, 2015; Jolly, 2015; Milson, 1974; Pugh, 1999a).

This research was also carried out over a period when there is a growing desire amongst youth workers to uncover their histories as a means of understanding their present situation (Bright, 2015a; Cooper, 2018). This is a development which includes a number of Christian researchers (Griffiths, 2008; Ward, 1996) who were responding to a sense that increasingly youth work was being distanced from Christianity (Smith, 2009). It was begun when the most prominent histories were either dismissive of Christianity or overlooked its real influence and status and was concluded when Christianity’s place within youth work was a growing area of interest (Bright and Bailey, 2015; Pimlott, 2013; Smith, 2013; Thompson, 2017). My research adds to these works. Focusing on the years between the formation of youth work in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century up until 2014, it provides a comprehensive narrative of Christianity’s relationship with youth work as it developed over time (*événementielle*) and an account of the often unseen evolution and changes within that relationship (*conjunctures*).

Throughout this thesis I have used some generally accepted expressions used by those writing about youth work. When referring to *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (Ministry of Education, 1960) I have used the terms *the Albemarle Report*, or simply *Albemarle*. These are expressions with symbolic significance for those within the youth work community (Sercombe *et al.*, 2014). Similarly in Scotland, *Adult Education: The Challenge for Change* (Scottish Education Department, 1975) is commonly referred to as the *Alexander Report* and is

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<sup>1</sup> Here Milson is writing of group work as a form of youth work.

considered to be a seminal publication for Community Education in Scotland (McConnell, 1997). More recently youth work in Scotland, at least within its professional and academic capacities, came under a group of practices referred to as Community Learning and Development which is generally referred to as CLD, an abbreviation I use here.

The research is also impacted by a number of important secondary issues on which I provide some clarity as my theses is contingent on readers understanding my views on these. They include: the significance of Albemarle in the development of modern youth work, the contested nature of youth work, and the resultant competing political definitions of youth work this engendered. This latter section is present in some detail as my views might be considered contentious as they differ from those presented within much of the existing literature of youth work. For example, with the exception of a small number of researchers like McGimpsey (2017; 2018), state-sponsored youth work is often viewed as being antithetical or destructive to what is considered genuine youth work, and as a result it is excluded as non-youth work (Davies, 2008; 2009a; 2018; Davies and Taylor, 2019; Taylor *et al.*, 2018; de St Croix, 2016). For example, Davies and Taylor accuse the state of ‘smuggl[ing] their ideology into [youth work] practice’ (2019:11). This limits the definitions of youth work available in much of the academic literature and enables bold politically left-of-centre pronouncements as to what youth work to be made (Bright *et al.*, 2018; Coburn and Gormally, 2015).

In contrast to these approaches, despite any personal political misgivings, I recognise that state-sponsored youth work has generated a particular form of ideological youth work which ought to be recognised. I acknowledge that within youth work this is a controversial claim and one likely to be disputed; therefore I take some time to present my understanding of its development here (see section 1.4.2.). The reality is that the ‘term “youth worker”’ is not a protected title and there is no requirement to register or obtain a licence’ (The Committee Office: House of Commons, 2011:44), and neither can the expression youth work be

legitimately owned exclusively by one ideological position. Equally, the relationship between youth work in Scotland with youth work in England has received little attention, and here again I provide my understanding of their interconnectedness. Before presenting my perception of the different streams of youth work, I first highlight the significant place of the Albemarle Report in our understanding of modern youth work.

### 1.3 The significance of the Albemarle Report

The implementation of Albemarle is widely considered to be a defining moment in the construction of modern youth work in the UK and is widely accepted as modern youth work's most influential articulation (for Scotland as well as England and Wales) (Barr *et al.*, 1996; Coburn and Wallace, 2011; Davies, 2010b; Davies and Taylor, 2013; Frizell, 1967; Furlong *et al.*, 1997; Lord Craigton, Minister of State for Scotland Hansard H.L. Deb, 1960; Jeffs, 1979; Ord and Davies, 2018; Peters, 1969; Scottish Community Education Council, 1982; 1985; Scottish Education Department, 1962a; 1968; Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1967c; Sercombe *et al.*, 2014; Smith, 1988; Smith and Erina, 2002; de St Croix, 2016). In a House of Lords debate at the time it was noted by a minister that '[m]y right honourable friend the Secretary of State for Scotland has accepted the [Albemarle] Committee's recommendations in principle, to the same extent as the Minister of Education has accepted them for England and Wales' (Hansard H.L. Deb, 1960), and a more succinct, Scottish equivalent, *The Future of The Youth Service* (Scottish Education Department, 1962a), reveals an echoing of its themes.

The publication of the *Youth Service in England and Wales* was the result of a remit given to the Albemarle Committee in 1959 by the UK government (Hansard H.L. Deb, 1959b; McLeod, 2007), and it breathed new life into the Youth Service which, after an initial burst of enthusiasm in the early 1940s, once again had become run-down (Hawes, 1966; Leighton, 1972; Robertson, 2005). Smith, for example, considered Albemarle to have 'created a new youth service... part of the welfare state' (1997:31).

Hawes referred to Albemarle as a 'shock-wave' (1966:2) that went through the service. Sercombe *et al.* summarised its continuing significance when they wrote that Albemarle 'founds the modern discourse of youth work, at least for Britain. The key tensions, purposes, and frameworks are drawn together in this document: youth work's contemporary self-understanding is grounded there' (2014).

Yet Albemarle was not without its critics. For example, Leighton wrote of someone who accused Albemarle of just 'sanction[ing] entertainment' (1972:29), a perspective which might have some merit when we read Brew's *Youth and Youth Groups* (1968), where Brew encouraged youth groups to include pop music and modern dancing as part of their provision. These ideas appear quite widespread, as Hawes observed 'coffee bars, skiffle cellars, juke boxes and "[C]oke" were imported into clubs' (1966:2). Other critics suggested Albemarle isolated, distrusted and patronised young people, or that it was at least not trusting enough of young people to suggest they should have full autonomy (Gosling, 1961; Leighton, 1972; Musgrove, 1964). It was also accused of perpetuating a middle-class agenda (Chivers, 1977), and a negative image of young people who were 'unclubbable' or 'unattached' (Ewen, 1976). Consequently, Albemarle has been viewed as either largely conforming to the existing government agenda of the time (Jeffer, 1979; Smith, 1988) or as presenting a radical break with the past (Davies and Taylor, 2013). It is also central to the development of the contested nature of youth work.

#### 1.4 The contested nature of youth work

The expression *youth work* has nowadays a variety of acceptable uses. Banks claims that '[i]t may describe: (1) an activity or practice (what people do); (2) an occupation (a practice undertaken by qualified or recognised workers within a culture of norms); and (3) a discipline (an identifiable area of study and practice)' (2010:4). This situation is indicative of a deeper problem in which the term *youth work* can be used exclusively by people who hold to any one of these three uses, and in which proponents of these different views appear to be in conflict.

This is not a new state of affairs, as youth and community work have long existed within this anomaly. Within youth work and the Youth Service, there is a heritage of disagreements and disputes (Board of Education, 1944; Morgan, 1948; Percival, 1951); however, it is from the decades following the 1960s that the contested and confusing nature of youth work really developed (Bradford and Cullen, 2014; Edinburgh Youth Work Consortium and the University of Edinburgh, 2015; In Defence of Youth Work, 2014; de St Croix, 2016; Taylor *et al.*, 2018; University of Strathclyde: Humanities and Social Sciences: School of Applied Social Science, 2011).

Following Albemarle (Ministry of Education, 1960), disagreements emerged between voluntary and statutory definitions (R. Davies, 2013; Jones, 2018), between professional and part-time workers (Davies and Taylor, 2019), and between left- and right-wing ideologies (Jones, 2018; de St Croix, 2017a). In part this was because youth work post-Albemarle contained different strands of practice: preparation for adult life, controlling 'deviant' behaviour, changing the nature of society, addressing the status of young people in society, and protecting young people from exploitation (Smith, 1976). Furthermore, Albemarle had provided a definition of youth work to fit with multiple different practices and agendas, from 'religious conversion, self-actualisation, enjoyment, self-development, consciousness raising and the building of character' (Jeffs and Smith, 1988b:4).

Davies suggested that from the 1970s onwards 'the [Youth] [S]ervice was characterised by uncertainty over what its distinctive role was' and there developed 'meandering discussions on what "real" youth work was...' (1999b:191). Carr (1973), for example, listed eleven 'major areas of work' and sixteen significant contexts where practitioners could operate, including schools, community associations, youth centres, pre-school groups, voluntary youth groups and community organisations. The National Youth Bureau's professional journal *Youth in Society* was also revelatory as to the expansive and complex nature of youth work when its editor wrote: 'what extent can it be said of the youth worker (whether he be



teacher, careers officer, social worker or youth club worker) – that he is “genuinely on the side of the young”?’ (Ewen, 1974a:3). By the late 1980s, Jeffs and Smith claimed that “professional youth workers” have been reduced to little more than the beachcombers of welfare, collecting the driftwood thrown overboard by other agencies’ (Jeffs and Smith, 1988a:256); Keeble wrote that ‘[t]he fact is that youth work as a whole is searching for an identity’ (1981:82), a viewpoint shared by others (Lindsay, 1975; Westacott, 1976). Davies (2004) recognised that the practice of youth work has developed in a melting pot of agendas and ideas – of which a significant, if not always positive, catalyst is the intervention of the government – and he acknowledged that the more youth work clamours for statutory recognition, the more it has to respond to the demands of the government of the time. From outwith youth work, Furlong recognised this reality:

Contemporary youth work is extremely varied both in type of provision and underlying philosophies... Although all forms of youth work stress the importance of personal and social development and place an emphasis on skills for life, youth work is a broad concept built on a range of value systems (Furlong, 2013:244).

Currently there are a number of ways of defining youth work. One of these is to provide it with a set of core values: respect of persons, promotion of well-being, truth, democracy, and fairness and equality (Jeffs and Smith, 2005). These values are, however, ‘notoriously hard to define and often open to debate’ (Jolly, 2010:7) and usually interpreted by the youth worker within their own value systems.

Another way of defining youth work is through a practice’s commitment to a set of general characteristics: an age-specific endeavour in which young people participate voluntarily or working with young people in groups to generate association and build relationships (Davies, 2010b; Jeffs, 2018; Jeffs and Smith, 2010a; 2010b; Smith, 2013). More recently, however, even the most treasured of these, such as the voluntary principle, have been questioned (Coburn and Gormally,

2019; Williamson, 2003a; 2003b). The reality is that even those ideals which are considered universal to all youth work, such as voluntary participation, are not unique to it (Jeffer, 2018; Wood and Hine, 2009). While some of the attempts to define youth work have more political elements, such as shifting the balance of power in favour of young people (Coburn and Wallace, 2011; Davies, 2010b), it is evident that these elements are not found in all youth work practices (Cooper, 2012). That said, such attempts point to a further development which has boosted the contested nature of youth work.

Since the late 1980s, youth work has been increasingly politicised (Jones, 2018). Over 30 years ago, Davies (1986) suggested that the dominant contestation in youth work was between a radical right-wing youth work promulgated by the state through its youth policy, and the ideals of youth workers who situated themselves in the ideology of the progressive left. Williamson's reflection of the current situation is that 'youth workers have become notoriously reluctant to engage in the unfolding policy agenda for young people, however much it may relate closely to youth work practice and aspiration' (2011:75). Davies characterises the level of debate as being where 'groups shout their beliefs and opinions at other groups with whom they disagree. They do so in the certain knowledge that they cannot persuade the other of the rightness of their position, and in the confidence that others cannot undermine their beliefs' (2013:53). Thus it might be claimed that academic and theoretical literature has been to an extent colonised by left-leaning perspectives which are generally dismissive of competency-based, apolitical or right-wing provision (Davies and Taylor, 2019; Kennedy, 2014; Seal and Frost, 2014; Taylor *et al.*, 2018). In contrast to this, the UK and Scottish governments have both taken a proactive role in reshaping youth work to conform to their own agendas. The result of this is that youth work's values and generally accepted characteristics have been bound to different streams of political youth work which developed since the 1960s.

#### 1.4.1 State-sponsored youth work

While Albemarle is seen as being a catalyst for state involvement in post-1960s youth work (Ord and Davies, 2018), in the decades that followed, its development was sporadic. Successive governments appeared to take little interest in it (Ord and Davies, 2018). For example, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* (the Fairbairn/Milson Report) (Youth Service Development Council, 1969) failed to be accepted by consecutive governments, and other attempts were similarly unsuccessful (Cyril Townsend MP Hansard H.C. Deb, 1975; 1979; The Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1982). The two government-sponsored reports – the Fairbairn/Milson Report and later the 1982 Thompson Report (The Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1982) – were considered as largely ineffectual and ignored by policymakers (Davies, 1986; 1999a; Ord and Davies, 2018). Yet despite this, by the mid-1980s Davies (1986) had come to acknowledge the development of a state-sponsored youth policy, something he saw as being in conflict with youth work and the Youth Service's traditional social-democratic tradition.

By the 1990s, the state was taking an increased interest in youth work and established the National Youth Agency (NYA), introduced a new model of funding and began to describe organisations delivering state-sponsored youth work in a new way. They became known as service providers, who now had to compete and bid for funding (John MacGregor MP, Secretary of State for Education and Science Hansard H.C. Deb, 1990b). In this climate funding was being provided to these organisations which were 'contributing to the effective and efficient implementation of ministerial objectives...' (Alan Howarth in Hansard H.C. Deb, 1990a), and this situation continued despite the election of a Labour government in 1997 (Bradbury *et al.*, 2013).

These developments signalled a social change, which McGimpsey called a shift from the 'Welfare State' to the 'Market State' (2016; 2017). Something which framed youth work shaped state-sponsored youth work with the ideals of 'market liberalism... based on... the idea of meritocracy... [with] [l]aissez-faire economic

policies, a deregulated economy, private ownership and wealth creation as prime political objectives' (Collins-Mayo *et al.*, 2010:96), and which is often referred to as neoliberalism by youth workers (Davies, 2018; Davies and Taylor, 2019).

This affected both the practice and procedures of youth work (Davies and Taylor, 2019), as evident in the comment by Wylie, then Principal Officer and later Chief Executive of the National Youth Agency, that the Youth Service had a responsibility to develop 'alternative forms of youth work... and to fashion a culture which is more orientated towards outcomes, rewards innovation and welcomes collaboration' (1998:25).

Alongside this a report was published by the National Youth Agency in its magazine which reviewed a pilot for the Connexions Service (Department for Education and Employment, 2000) run in Newcastle. It contained no negative comments and quoted youth workers who spoke positively of its new employment-focused agenda and who were critical of traditional forms of youth work, deeming them to be no longer relevant (Burke, 2000a). In this shifting landscape, the government adopted a more controlling attitude to youth work and the Youth Service (Ord and Davies, 2018), something which can be seen in the language of a government minister quoted in *Young People Now*:

The concept of Connexions is not up for debate... youth workers 'need... to move away from ideological dispute over the concept of Connexions and move on to discussing the implementation scheme" (2003b:2).

In conjunction with the government's agenda, the National Youth Agency, through its magazine *Young People Now* (Burke, 2000b; Ghoseka, 2003; Lamb, 2003; Young People Now, 2000a; 2000b; 2000c) and its chief executive Wylie, were promoting a positive attitude to the Connexions Service, advocating that there was no reason to prevent 'a youth worker in a youth work project [from being a] personal [Connexions] adviser for part of their time' (Young People Now, 2000c:4). The

National Youth Agency also rewrote its manifesto, which set out to give 'defined support to the Connexions Service' (Young People Now, 2000b). In general, youth workers appeared to be resigned, if not accepting, of their union with the Connexion Service (Holloway, 2001; Parsons, 2001), and although there were some critical comments (Lamb, 2003), Connexions was thought to be good for youth work as it brought in funding even if it led to having to meet targets (Ghoseka, 2003).

Shortly after the establishment of the Connexion Service, the Labour government took a more proactive step in shaping youth work and published *Transforming Youth Work: Resourcing Excellent Youth Services* (Department of Education and Skills, 2002), a policy said to have been 'specifically designed to align state-sponsored youth work with Connexions targets' (Smith, 2007 [2000]). In its ministerial introduction, Clarke, then Secretary of State for Education and Skills, wrote of its being 'a new beginning for youth work in England' which set out to 'ensure that every young person participates fully in society and the economy' (2002:3).

On publication it received a mixed response, ranging from negative, through critical engagement, to acceptance (Barrett, 2004), since it addressed the variations of quality within youth work practice (Young People Now, 2002). Quoting from section two, Burke gave it a cautious but upbeat review, saying 'It gives a government definition of the youth service. "The only service that has as its primary purpose the personal and social development of young people"' (Burke, 2003:17). More recently it has been considered as a document that significantly changed youth work as a social practice because it highlighted youth work's inability to change with the times and triggered the current government's disregard for statutory youth work (Jefferies, 2015). It also considerably altered the expected outcomes of youth work interventions (Davies, 2015) and it was followed three years later with the publication of another government policy, *Youth Matters* (Department of Education and Skills, 2005), which built on the government's *Every Child Matters* (British Government, 2003). While not directly a policy document on youth work and the

Youth Service, it informed the government's interpretation of youth work and provided it with its aims (Hammonds, 2013 [2008]; HM Treasury, 2007).

Yet there were some concerns regarding this policy (Lloyd, 2005b) as it implemented an approach which was to affect the future of youth work, integrating work with other agencies and youth workers into multi-agency teams with targeted interventions (National Youth Agency, 2007; Ord and Davies, 2018). Barrett's (2005f) editorial in *Young People Now* suggested that *Youth Matters* would require a balance to be struck between universal and marketed provision, but others were less enthusiastic, saying that it failed to make youth work statutory or address staffing shortfalls, pointing out that it also side-lined the voluntary sector and signalled the end of the Connexions Service (Barrett, 2005a; 2005d; Ghose, 2005c; Lloyd, 2005a; 2005c; White, 2005d). Alongside this the tendering out of youth services by local authorities also became a reality (Donovan, 2004c; Rogers, 2005a).

Davies suggested that these policy documents arose as a result of youth work's own rhetoric in the 1980s and 1990s which was drawn from forms of practice which were 'little more than time filling' and from practitioners who saw their work as 'good' and 'progressive' just because they got on well with young people (2004:93). This, he said, left youth work exposed to external critical appraisal, and he quoted a government minister in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century: 'It's the patchiest most unsatisfactory of all services I've come across. I've never met such down-at-heart "can't do" representatives as I've met of youth services throughout Britain' (B. Davies, 2004:94).

What is evident is that from around the time of the *Youth Matters* publication, the Labour government continued to dismiss traditional youth work in favour of their interpretation of youth work and the Youth Service, as seen when Kelly, who became Secretary of State for Education in 2004, said, 'There is a clear need for things to do and places to go, and that might mean rethinking the idea of the traditional youth club and being more creative about what young people say they want to do' (Kelly quoted in Barrett, 2005b:11). Alongside this Tony Blair, then

Prime Minister, was said to have used the term 'Youth Service' in what was described as a 'loose' manner (Lloyd and Barrett, 2005:2), an imprecise use of the term which received a supportive response from Wylie: 'I don't think [most] people use the phrase in the narrow way that people who are close to the trade sometimes use it' (quoted in Lloyd and Barrett, 2005:2). Blair's inexact use of the term might now be more clearly seen as part of the government's drive to redefine youth work and the Youth Service:

We are no longer talking about youth services in the traditional sense. Youth services in that [19]60s sense are not part of the agenda and they've been proved not to work (Phil Hope, government minister quoted in Lloyd and Barrett, 2005:2).

The kind of people we are trying to deal with won't necessarily want to come to a youth club. We have to be more inventive about how we provide our youth service, as well as putting more money in (Hazel Blears, government minister quoted in Lloyd and Barrett, 2005:2).

[The Youth Service] should have some sort of compulsion about it... [W]e waste a lot of money on youth services that young people don't use (Lord Adebawale quoted in Lloyd and Barrett, 2005:2).

A report on the launch of *Youth Matters* in *Young People Now* added power to this argument by quoting a 'young person': 'Charlene Jones, 19... says traditional youth activities aren't what young people want. "They want to do constructive things that are fun, such as design or mechanics, not just playing pool", and the article's author goes on to observe that the 'function of the youth club and "unstructured" youth work was being questioned' (Barrett, 2005c:10).

This prompted a defence to be made of youth clubs (White, 2005b) '[R]umours of the demise of youth clubs have been exaggerated. Contrary to recent

pronouncements by politicians there is still much good work going on in the traditional youth work environment' (Barrett, 2005e:15).

All of the above is indicative of a clash between the government – who were critical of youth work and youth workers: 'youth professionals, as good as they are, are not engaging with the young people who need it most' (government minister Beverley Hughes quoted in *Young People Now*, 2005b:3) – and those who saw *Youth Matters* as signalling the possible end of traditional youth work (Jefferies and Smith, 2006). Eyres observed that '*Youth Matters*, like each previous chapter of our policy legacy, will no doubt give rise to concerns about whether this is the turning point, the moment at which this permanency of youth service values and principles is to be finally broken' (2005:27). Others, however, viewed the post-*Transforming Youth Work* environment as positive, something which gave youth work a clear place in the network of young people's support (Moore, 2005).

Those critical of *Youth Matters* though considered that with 'its emphasis on accrediting young people work (informal qualifications) it would reshape the youth service, and the model of funding provision it instigated (where agencies could bid in for money to supply a service) meant that some organisations would have to set aside their ideals to bid for funding (Glover cited in Rogers, 2006a:17), creating an environment where 'traditional youth work can struggle to compete' (York cited in Rogers, 2006c:9). Issitt and Spence suggested that '[t]he interests of the academy are now tied to practice through questions often not generated within intellectual work or the practice situation, but through the instrumental and authoritarian demands of politicians' (2005:77). When Davies republished *Youth Work: A Manifesto for Our Time* (2005c), he expressed his concerns that youth work was being reshaped in a manner inconsistent with its heritage. Others spoke of the end of the Youth Service (Donovan, 2004a; 2004b; Goddard, 2006a; Jefferies and Smith, 2006; Rogers, 2006a; Smith, 2003a).

Within this developing environment there is evidence of two broad responses to the increasing government involvement: those who were rigorously critical of the



state's increasing intervention (Davies, 2005a; Jeffs and Smith, 2006; Merton, 2005; Oliver, 2005; Peake, 2005; Williams, 2005; Wolfe, 2005) and those who accepted its involvement (Burke, 2000a; Doswell, 2001; Ghoseka, 2003; Holloway, 2001; Lamb, 2003; Rogers, 2006a; Young People Now, 2000a; 2000b; 2000c). This internal tension is revealed when Wylie, in a comment aimed at Jeffs and Smith, pointedly referred to 'knee-jerk oppositionalism [which will end] in a set of utopian propositions of little use to the young or those who work with them' (2003b:20). This criticism opened up a short debate within the letter pages of *Young People Now*, with one correspondent claiming that 'Tom [Wylie] as... [The National Youth Agency's] figurehead should be supporting those who attempt to protect the principles and heritage of youth work' (Robertson, 2003:6), whereas another reads:

Tom Wylie's tirade, against the anarchic oppositionalism that exists within some unrepresentative quarters in youth work..., was a welcome blast against those like Mark Smith and Tony Jeffs who fail to appreciate the great effort that has gone into recent reforms (Nicholls, 2003:6).

In the eventuality, the government moved to incorporate (some might say hide) Youth Service funding in wider budgets (Barrett, 2006; White, 2006), meaning that the Youth Service funding was no longer clearly visible and could be manipulated as required.

In 2007, following on from *Youth Matters*, the Labour government introduced another policy, *Aiming High for Young People (Aiming High)* (HM Treasury, 2007), which Wylie (2010) saw as being part of one of the most positive periods for youth work since Albemarle. It was generally welcomed by larger national youth organisations (Smith, 2007a) as it acknowledged the role of youth work and announced significant funding (Ord and Davies, 2018), although it also revealed that the Labour government was now using the expression *youth work* according to its own definition. For example, youth work could be coercive: '[w]here possible, participation is voluntary. Where it is not, youth workers can overcome initial

resistance through negotiation' (HM Treasury, 2007:22). It prioritised structured over unstructured youth work and emphasised the importance of volunteering opportunities. When *Aiming High* was advertised to young people, it wrote to them as consumers and only briefly summarised the role of youth work as being 'right adults working with people' where 'workers know enough about health matters to dish out sound advice' (Department of Children Schools and Families, 2014 [2009]:16 and 17), but the Youth Service got no mention. It is also evident that youth work was now considered as being in the service of the state; the National Youth Agency's response to *Aiming High* states that '[y]outh work contributes to the government's vision for young people' (Hammonds, 2013 [2008]).

*Aiming High* was also the last significant publication from the Labour government on work with young people (Davies, 2009b), and its review, *Aiming High for Young People – Three Years On* (HM Government, 2010), signalled the adoption of an integrated approach to youth work, functioning within and alongside other services, and of the government's desire for the voluntary sector to take over provision. Its publication at the end of a Labour government means that its specific impact is hard to assess. However, when the Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition was elected in 2010, it published its own policy framework, *Positive for Youth* (HM Government, 2011), which to a significant extent followed the previous policy trajectory of targeting and commissioning provision. It also encouraged youth work and Youth Services to develop what they termed 'social impact bonds', a form of payment by results (B. Davies, 2013; Education Select Committee, 2011). As with previous government policies, it received a mixed response, being accepted by national agencies and viewed with suspicion by some youth workers (B. Davies, 2013; Goddard, 2012).

What made post-2010 significantly different is that, along with youth work now being increasingly defined as an approach and its continuing integration into other social services, the Conservative government also began to de-professionalise the status of youth workers by establishing its own form of youth work provision, *The*

*National Citizen Service* (NCS) (B. Davies, 2013; Education Select Committee, 2011; HM Government, 2011).

At the time of my research, *Positive for Youth* was the last youth-specific policy published by the Conservative government (Williamson, 2018a), and while its publication has been widely accepted (B. Davies, 2013), there were a number of responses (Nandy, 2012; Strycharczyk *et al.*, 2011). However, Nandy's work was criticised as providing a left-leaning alternative which proposed a similar mode of working (B. Davies, 2013; Taylor, 2015), and the paper by Strycharczyk *et al.*, while setting out a way forward for modern youth work, was overlooked by the policy makers (Buckland, 2013). The increasing involvement of the state in both Scotland and England has resulted in the development of *market liberalist youth work*, which is increasingly seen by some as being in opposition to its academic and professional narratives.

#### 1.4.2 Academic and professional youth work

Following Albemarle (Ministry of Education, 1960) the increasing academic nature of youth work training courses, expanding from one to three years (Eggleston, 1976; National Youth Agency, 2017; Scottish Education Department, 1975; 1977; Watkins, 1971), caused its 'expertise [to be] institutionalised' (Bradford and Cullen, 2014:97), something which produced three different strands of theoretical youth work. Bradford called two of these 'liberal democratic' and 'liberationist' youth work (2011b:60).

##### 1.4.2.1 Liberal democratic youth work

Liberal democratic youth work is the form of social education promulgated by Davies and Gibson in their book *The Social Education of The Adolescent* (1967; Infed: the encyclopaedia of informal education, 2013), a book which 'offered the first major approach to defining youth work in secular terms' (Wylie, 2009:337) and which prioritised a person-centred approach within practice (Ahmad and Kirby, 1988; Davies, 1986; Davies and Gibson, 1967; Smith, 1988). It became combined

with Batten's non-judgementalism and non-directive learning (Batten and Batten, 1970:168; Ewen, 1972; Jeffs, 1979) to create a powerful motif which, while contested at the time (Corrigan, 1982; Marsland and Day, 1975), continues to be an influential perspective within professional youth work today (Anderson, 1975; Bardy *et al.*, 2015; B. Davies, 2004; Green, 2010; Harris, 2015; Leigh and Smart, 1985; Robertson, 2004; Sapin, 2013; de St Croix, 2010; Taylor, 1987; The Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1982; Wylie, 2003a; Youth Service Development Council, 1969). Green suggested that from the 1960s, and especially through the 1970s, 'value-driven work of all sorts, including religious or spiritual, was out of fashion' (2008:70) and the effect of this would appear to continue to influence youth work training:

[A]n appreciable number of youth workers on graduation struggle to provide a clear statement about the social function and political purpose of 'education'... declaring that education is about 'promoting positive activities' and making 'informed judgements'. It is unclear how it is decided what 'positive' might be: or who controls or formulates the information provided for the making of judgements (Belton, 2010:xi).

In contrast to this position, a second, theoretical perspective developed in the 1970s and 1980s – liberationist youth work.

#### 1.4.2.2 Liberationist youth work

The late 1970s and early 1980s, have been described as the decade of youth work's 'radical insurgents' (Davies and Taylor, 2019:10). This was a short-lived period in which youth work was politicised, and when there was a changing dynamic in the training of youth workers, which had an influence on its pedagogical development and established 'liberationist' youth work (Bradford, 2011b:60; Davies, 2001:17). This was also called 'social liberalism... civil rights, social justice and an individual right to self-determination' (Collins-Mayo *et al.*, 2010:96) and has recently also been called 'radical youth work' (de St Croix, 2010).

This approach was infused with a left-leaning political narrative (Davies, 2018; Nicholls, 2012; Seal and Frost, 2014; Taylor, 2009a; 2009b; Taylor *et al.*, 2018) and grew out of and identified with social movements such as Women's Liberation, Gay Liberation Front, race, or disabled young people (Bradford, 2011b; Davies and Taylor, 2019; Marsland and Day, 1975; Taylor, 2009c). While all different from Marxism, they share a common trait: to adopt MacIntyre's expression, they used 'Marxist vocabulary for the purpose of self-identity' (1968:139).

#### 1.4.2.3 Technical youth work (professional competencies)

These expressions of practice were further contested by the development of competency-based definitions of youth work, something which turned youth work into a technical endeavour since a person was deemed to be a professional youth worker when they achieved a set of predetermined professional competences. Although Marsland (1978) suggested such a technical approach to training youth workers in the late 1970s, it was not until 1983 that *The Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work*, the first validating agency, was established (Jeffs and Spence, 2008). By 1997, McCulloch and Martin (1997) acknowledged that it had become the dominant model of articulating good professional practice, although it was seen as contradicting youth work's original (i.e. 1960s and 1970s) academic approach of educating youth workers into a particular, liberal-humanist, values-based practice, and replacing it with a skill-based technical assessment system, something which was perceived as giving employers and funders the power to define youth work (Banks, 1996; Bardy *et al.*, 2015; Bloxham and Heathfield, 1995; Davies and Norton, 1996; Jeffs and Spence, 2008; McRoberts and Leitch, 1995).

Despite these concerns, competencies remain a central means of validating professional youth work (CLD Standards Council for Scotland, 2009; 2018; Joint Education and Training Standards, 2015; Lifelong Learning UK, 2008; 2010; National Youth Agency, 2012; 2019; PAULO: The Standards Setting Body for Community Based Learning and Development, 2002). Although some of these early criticisms

continue to be an area of debate (The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education, 2017), the growth of multi-agency teams which prioritise a skill-set above ideologies (Bright and Pugh, 2019b; Davies and Taylor, 2019) will in all likelihood maintain this model.

#### 1.4.2.4 The crisis in academic and professional youth work

From 2010 onwards, the above forms of youth work have been widely considered to have undergone dramatic repositioning, and within some areas youth work built on these forms of practice has been dismantled altogether (Batsleer, 2010; Bradford, 2011b; Bright, 2015b; Bright and Pugh, 2019a; B. Davies, 2013; Edinburgh Youth Work Consortium and the University of Edinburgh, 2015; Hammonds, 2013 [2008]; Jeffs, 2015; Norris and Pugh, 2015; Pugh, 2019; Richards and Lewis, 2018; Taylor *et al.*, 2018; Wood and Hine, 2009; Wylie, 2015).

In particular, traditional models of statutory youth work are being closed down (B. Davies, 2013), bringing to an end the statutory provision of open access youth work, (Bradbury *et al.*, 2013; Davies, 2018; Education Select Committee, 2011; McGimpsey, 2018; de St Croix, 2017b),<sup>2</sup> a model of working which was inherently bound to the earliest ideals of the Youth Service (Bradbury *et al.*, 2013; McGimpsey, 2018). The result of this is the closure of traditional youth centres and the unemployment of many youth workers (B. Davies, 2013; Davies, 2018; Edinburgh Youth Work Consortium and the University of Edinburgh, 2015; Hillier, 2010; McGimpsey, 2018; Offord, 2016; de St Croix, 2015; 2017b; White, 2010). This has resulted in 'the virtual demise of professional youth work in parts of England and Wales' (Bradford and Cullen, 2014:95). Unison suggested that between 2012 and 2016, 3,652 youth work jobs were lost (most of which were part-time) (2016:5) and Jeffs (2019) suggested that over the same period there has been the loss of 4,000

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<sup>2</sup> This would be true for some areas of Scotland too. For example, Perth and Kinross Council no longer run any open access youth clubs.

full time posts. In addition to this, the number of people undertaking professional training is falling (Hayes, 2017; Lepper, 2017b; Parton, 2019), estimated to be at '52 per cent during the last six years' (Jefferis *et al.*, 2019:23).

There has been a growing genre of ideologically indifferent, apolitical, technical (competency-based) expressions of youth work. In a field where only 3% of graduates in England find employment within statutory youth work (Jefferis *et al.*, 2019), and where growing numbers are employed within multi-agency teams, it is increasingly likely that youth workers will be employed for their skills and will have little opportunity to develop politically driven youth work (Bright and Pugh, 2019b).

In contrast, in England the government has also established a new form of provision for young people, the National Citizen Service which was given statutory status in 2017 (Puffett, 2017) and appears to have ongoing government commitment (Lepper, 2018). It is perceived by some as a new form of youth work (Mills and Kraftl, 2014; Mulraney, 2013), and criticised by others (Ord and Davies, 2018; de St Croix, 2017a). Regardless of these views, its establishment has seen funding reallocated away from traditional youth work (Education Select Committee, 2011; McGimpsey, 2018; Murphy, 2017; Williamson, 2018b). Its establishment was relatively unchallenged or analysed by those involved in youth work (B. Davies, 2013; de St Croix, 2011), with various youth organisations welcoming its arrival (B. Davies, 2013; Ricketts, 2017; The Chief Scout, 2017). In contrast, from within professional youth work, its more political segment criticised these developments for de-professionalising practitioners and for propagating a right-wing, neoliberal ideological position (B. Davies, 2013; de St Croix, 2017a).

These changes have also had an impact on academic theoretical and technical youth work (Lepper, 2017a), with a drop in the number of institutions providing degree-level youth work training courses (Donovan, 2018; Lepper, 2017a; Richards and Lewis, 2018). Of particular significance, as noted by the editors in the 116<sup>th</sup> and final edition of *Youth and Policy*, is that the 35-year-old academic journal had to cease publication as it was struggling to attract a sufficient number of articles of adequate

quality to maintain regular publication, and it was failing to reach a sufficiently wide readership (Connaughton *et al.*, 2017)<sup>3</sup>. Although it has been restructured to publish less-academic, shorter, 2000-word articles, the loss of a peer-reviewed journal is indicative of the academic environment and atmosphere of contemporary youth work. In Scotland, *A Journal of Youth Work*, produced through a partnership between the University of Strathclyde and YouthLink, has also ceased publication and is no longer available online, meaning that articles published within it are now lost.

Besides the more discernible political expressions of youth work, there is a less visible arena of practice, one which is often facilitated by local volunteer youth workers. When compared to these other streams of practice this mode of youth work continues to numerically dominate the field.

#### 1.4.3 The volunteer youth worker

While accurate figures for England are difficult to come by, and numbers provided vary, there is a significant gap between the number of volunteers and salaried youth workers. In 2013 Hammonds suggested there were 500,000 volunteer youth workers, 4,000 salaried practitioners and a further 17,000 in support roles (2013 [2008]). In 2005, the publication *Every Child Matters* estimated there were 7,000 full-time equivalent youth workers (and 7,000 Connexions workers), and the Children's Workforce Development Council (2011) suggested there were 85,000 salaried and over half a million volunteers (including faith-based youth work); these numbers appear to have been accepted by parliament, which noted however that 'reporting was inconsistent' (The Committee Office: House of Commons, 2011:44).

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<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, limited circulation was one of the reasons given by the editor (1972) explaining the reasons for the closure of the journal *Youth Review*, which ran from 1964–1972.



The discrepancy in numbers between volunteer and professional youth workers is important, as volunteer youth workers and voluntary groups are seen by some as the last hope for the survival of traditional youth work (Davies and Taylor, 2019; Smith, 2003a; de St Croix, 2016). Yet these voluntary youth workers and voluntary groups have largely remained committed to the older languages of youth work: character-building and training young people to be responsible citizens, and often placing greater emphasis on recreation rather than education (Davies and Taylor, 2019; Davies and Gibson, 1967).

Rather than following wider agendas, many volunteers generally work within their local communities, facilitating groups which meet that community's and its young people's needs (D. Scott, 1990), where they provide spaces of entertainment or places to go to relax, because this was perceived to be a primary need in communities where resources were limited and access to commercial entertainment restricted (Smith, 1988). The reality of youth work is that:

[U]ntil relatively recently, youth work was a 'mass movement'. Made up of thousands of clubs and units; hundreds of thousands of leaders freely giving of their time and energy; and a million-plus voluntary members. From this potpourri of talents, youthful zest and commitment to public service emerged a constant flow of innovation (Jefferies, nd [c2015]:11).

The reality is:

For thousands of young people, probably the vast majority using the Youth Service, many 'ordinary' women and men act as youth workers on the basis of no or very minimal training and without knowingly meeting any restrictive professional criteria. Given such 'dilution', pretensions to professional standing alongside doctors or lawyers... are surely entirely illusory (Davies, 1988:214).

The challenge for the researcher is that these groups are often maintained through their oral traditions rather than keeping written records (D. Scott, 1990; de St Croix, 2016), resulting in a lack of available literature, something which limits the ability of historians and researchers to access and write about these groups (de St Croix, 2016). One result of this, as Jeffs and Smith observe, is that ‘the long trail of history and the dominance of the voluntary sector are often overlooked. Much contemporary comment is focused on the problems and travails of the statutory or state sector’ (2010a:4). Despite this, the place of the volunteer in youth work cannot be overlooked, and the battle between government and theoretical and academic youth work to own the expression needs to be seen within the context of where older, wider, often hidden civic voluntary endeavour continues. It is also important for my research, as much Christian faith-based youth work is located within this stream of practice.

One result of this youth work environment is that academics and practitioners are presented with a choice of definitions from which they can select their favourite (see de St Croix, 2016). In this research, I adhere to the position that youth work is ‘much more like a methodology than a profession’ (York quoted in Rogers, 2006b:9), and there is no precise definition of youth work (Bohn, 2008; Zentner and Ord, 2018). It can only really be considered as a ‘way of working or a concept’ (Jeffs, 2018:30), with the latter of these – a concept – being perhaps the most accurate. Yet despite this its increased politicisation has resulted in its being vied for and fought over by a number of political streams.

## 1.5 Youth work in Scotland

While many of the aspects described above are applicable to youth work in Scotland (Sercombe, 2015), practice here is not completely compatible; it has been described in colloquial terms as ‘the same, but different’ to youth work in England (Sercombe *et al.*, 2014).

This is reflected in the way developments in Scotland and England tend to reflect aspects of each other. The Youth Service in Scotland was also shaped by the UK government's wartime publications (Frizell, 1967). Those who wrote the *Community of Interest Report* (Scottish Education Department, 1968) related the establishment of the Consultative Council for Youth Services in Scotland in 1959 to the publication of the Albemarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960). In fact, the significance of Albemarle for Scottish youth work practice was reiterated in the 1980s and 1990s (Barr *et al.*, 1996; Scottish Community Education Council, 1982). Henry (1992), who saw Scottish community education as being distinct from practice south of the border, made a connection between the Albemarle Report and the Scottish Education Department's *Professional Training for Youth Leaders* (Scottish Education Department, 1962b). The Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations (1970) suggested a link between *Youth and Community Work in the 1970s* (1969) and *The Report of the First National Conference of the Standing Consultative Council on Youth Service in Scotland* (1962a), where there was a shared aim of drawing youth work and community work together.

Henry (1992) also made particular reference to the significant influence in Scotland of *Youth and Community Work in the 1970s* (Youth Service Development Council, 1969), recognising that the Youth Service Review group in England and Wales (the Thompson Report) (The Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1982) shared many sentiments with *Training for Change* (the Drought Report), which was published by the Community Education Council in Scotland (1984). More recently, the work of Furlong *et al.* (1997) highlighted the significance of the Albemarle Report for Scottish youth work and suggested that the Kilbrandon Report (The Secretary of State for Scotland, 1964) was its Scottish equivalent (recently reiterated by Coburn in Jeffs *et al.*, 2019).

However, in contrast to England the amalgamation of youth work into community education provided it with a distinctive character, the seeds of which can be seen in the Scottish Education Department's publication *Community of Interest: Schools*,

*Youth Service, Community Service, Further Education Colleges, Evening Classes and Sports Organisations* (1968:51), which reached fruition with the implementation of *Adult Education: The Challenge of Change (the Alexander Report)* (Scottish Education Department, 1975). Sercombe *et al.* wrote:

[T]he Albemarle vision for the Youth Service flows directly into Scotland's own foundational document, *Adult Education: the Challenge of Change*... Alexander constitutes a key discontinuity between the practice in England and Scotland, and pulls youth work into a different set of relationships, resolving some tensions and creating others (2014).

In 1975, youth work was brought together with Adult Education and Community Development to form the 'profession' of Community Education (McConnell, 1997; Scottish Education Department, 1975). This created a situation where academic institutions trained generic practitioners who were trained in and could practice across the three areas which became known as *specialisms*. In practice, qualified practitioners continued to retain their identity as youth workers rather than adopt the description of community educator. This was particularly so in voluntary organisations where *youth worker* rather than *community educator* remained the dominant term (Sercombe *et al.*, 2014).

In the academic and professional environment where this developed, Scottish youth work lacked an autonomous academic base and drew its theoretical underpinnings from wider, mostly English literature (Sercombe *et al.*, 2014). The result of this is that academic and professional strands of youth work in Scotland largely conform to the three forms presented above.

The establishment of community education as a professional discipline had the result of embedding youth work within a set of government policies, which reveals the proactive nature of the Scottish Office and later the Scottish government. Barr *et al.* (1996) listed these policies.

Following after the Alexander Report came the *The Carnegie Report* in 1977 (Scottish Education Department, 1977), which was followed by the *Training for Change Report* in 1984 (Scottish Community Education Council, 1984). One important facet of these is that they added additional disciplines into the profession of community education. These included Adult Basic Education, Vocational Training, Unemployment Measures, Community Schools, Multicultural Education, Older People, and Women's Education. Alongside this, there was a significant focus on addressing 'multiple deprivation and poverty' (Scottish Community Education Council, 1984:7–10), all of which supported the comment that 'community education tends to be an umbrella term' (Scottish Community Education Council, 1984:13).

Two results of this were that youth work in Scotland was defined in broader terms than that in England. In Scotland youth work was less bound to the provision of open youth clubs (Sercombe *et al.*, 2014), and practitioners were more likely to work beyond their professional boundaries (Bidwell, 1982; McConnell, 1997). Another result was that the academic and professional strands of youth work were traditionally less confrontational, more dialogical to the development of state-sponsored community education (youth work) in Scotland (Barr, 1982; Hendry *et al.*, 1991; Martin, 1980; McConnell, 1997).

Despite these differences there is further evidence that youth work in Scotland was reflecting its development in England. Between the publication of the Carnegie Report and *Communities: Change through Learning – Report of a Working Group on the Future of Community Education (the Osler Report)* (Community Education Working Group, 1998), there were three papers published in Scotland which focused on youth work. In the 'Youth Inquiry Report: A Discussion Paper 2' (Scottish Community Education Council, 1982), it was suggested that the Thompson Report (The Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1982) had implications and relevance for Scottish youth work. This was followed the next year by the publication of 'Youth Work in Scotland: A Consultative Document' (Scottish

Community Education Council, 1983). The last of these papers, 'Our Tomorrow: Investing in the Future – a Statement on Youth Work in Scotland' (Scottish Community Education Council, 1986), also started its section 'What Is Youth Work?' with a quote from the Thomson Report (The Thompson Report quoted in Scottish Community Education Council, 1986).

More recently, Mackie *et al.* (2013) suggested that this stream of government influence continued through publications such as *Communities: Change through Learning – Report of a Working Group on the Future of Community Education* (the Osler Report) (1998), *Community Learning and Development: The Way Forward* (2002), *Empowered to Practice: The Future of Community Learning and Development Training in Scotland* (2003), *Working and Learning Together to Build Stronger Communities* (2004) and *Strengthening Standards: Improving the Quality of Community Learning and Development Service Delivery* (2006c).

Of these reports the most significant was the Osler Report: its implementation brought to an end community education being considered as a profession and redefined it as an approach called Community Learning and Development (CLD) (Mackie *et al.*, 2013). These policy developments also signal a similarity with youth work in England in that they reveal that the Scottish Office and later the Scottish government were becoming more proactive in developing their own state-sponsored youth work. For example, the response of Perth and Kinross Council to the Osler Report was welcoming, yet they acknowledged that in light of its suggestions they would need to discuss and redefine youth work (Concept Journal, 2000). Like in England, there were some who saw it as a positive development that would provide 'community education with a clear focus' (Malcolm *et al.*, 2002:44), helping it achieve government outcomes, something which Malcolm *et al.* (2002) suggested would not be fully felt until the mid 2000s.

During this period we begin to encounter an approach similar to the one adopted by the UK government in England. In Scotland, traditional youth work approaches were also being criticised:

It is important to remember that more 'participative' youth work may not resemble traditional youth work at all. If emphasis is placed on choice and responsibility then a move is required away from the method of programming youth facilities by offering a timetable of fixed activities for which only members are eligible. 'Participation' may sometimes be more easily achieved by leaving aside the concept of membership, in favour of drop-in centres where young people need not pursue timetabled interest.

A good example of this type of provision is the Youth Enquiry Service (Scottish Community Education Council, 1983:11).

More recently, this was added to by criticism from the government:

Too often youth workers appeared unwilling, particularly in informal settings, to practice intervention. Many of those seen by HM Inspectors were disposed to an inactive mode of operation, often in the belief that by leaving things alone everything would work out alright in the end. When intervention was necessary, often in order to control a situation or to contain an individual, it was of the negative variety with little in the way of educational impact (The Scottish Office, Education Department, 1991:30).

The first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw an approach being taken by the Scottish Executive which was broadly similar to that of the UK government. When *Youth Work: Opportunities for All* (Scottish Executive, 2006d) was published, Munro (2006) said it was viewed by the Scottish Executive as being 'broadly the equivalent' of the UK government's *Youth Matters* (Department of Education and Skills, 2005), which provided a 'modern and positive' image of youth work (Munro, 2006:3). The Scottish government's publication of *More Choices, More Chances: A Strategy to Reduce the Proportion of Young People Not in Education, Employment or Training in Scotland* (Scottish Executive, 2006b) was seen by some as being a delayed

Connexions Service (Lloyd, 2006:9). Scotland's policy documents largely follow the language and agenda of its English equivalents (Smith, 2007b).

*Youth Work: Opportunities for All* (Scottish Executive, 2006d) is a document in the development of youth work in Scotland and should be understood as part of a developing narrative which began with the Osler Report. In a less recognised manner these two policy documents began and established the development of state-sponsored youth work in Scotland.

Contrary to Malcolm *et al.* (2002), the Osler Report presented a very general definition of community education, the result of which was that when the Scottish government set out to provide a definition of youth work, it was also vague. In its publication *Working and Learning Together* (WALT) (Communities Scotland / Scottish Executive, 2004), a publication which reflected the agenda of Osler (Mackie *et al.*, 2013), the definition of youth work was only provided in the glossary at the end of the document: 'informal learning and personal and social development work with young people, enabling them to gain a voice, influence and place in society' (Communities Scotland / Scottish Executive, 2004:34). These were not the only definitions of youth work available. *Step It Up* (Milburn *et al.*, 2003) and later YouthLink (the Scottish equivalent of the National Youth Agency) produced its *Statement on the Nature and Purpose of Youth Work* (2005), both of which provided more detailed, yet widely acceptable definitions of practice. When *Youth Work: Opportunities For All – A Consultation Paper* (Scottish Executive, 2006d) was published it acknowledged both the WALT and YouthLink (2005) definitions. Yet when the official youth work strategy *Moving Forward: A Strategy For Improving Young People's Chances Through Youth Work* (Scottish Executive, 2007) was published and implemented it overlooked YouthLink's definition in favour of that from WALT. This set the groundwork for a further development, where youth work was tied to other Scottish government policy agendas:

The national youth work strategy *Moving Forward: A Strategy for Improving Young People's Chances through Youth Work* (Scottish



Government, 2007) highlights the youth work contribution to strategic initiatives such as Curriculum for Excellence, Getting it Right for Every Child and More Choices, More Chances: A Strategy to Reduce the Proportion of Young People not in Education, Employment or Training in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2006). Skills for Scotland: A Lifelong Skills Strategy (Scottish Government, 2007) and 16+ Learning Choices: First Step Activity and Financial Support (Scottish Government, 2008) also reinforce the importance of the youth work contribution to equipping young people with skills for learning, life and work (Learning Teaching Scotland, 2009:6).

Youth work was now being said to be making 'an important contribution... in achieving national outcomes' (Learning Teaching Scotland, 2009:7). This development was welcomed by some Scottish youth work providers. In *Bridging the Gap: Improving Outcomes for Scotland's Young People Through School and Youth Work Partnerships* (Learning Teaching Scotland, 2009), Peter Cory wrote on behalf of the voluntary youth work sector in Scotland: 'I warmly welcome this publication' (2009:28).

Sweeney (2006) similarly highlighted the convoluted nature of the policy environment in which, along with *Moving Forward: A Strategy For Improving Young People's Chances Through Youth Work* (Scottish Executive, 2007), we find *Curriculum for Excellence* (Scottish Government, 2003) and *16+ More Choices More Chances* (Scottish Executive, 2006b; Scottish Parliament, 2006a), the Scottish government's social well-being, education and employability policies. This is evidence that Scottish youth work is generally less confrontational to government policy initiatives than its counterpart south of the border (Smith, 2007b).

*Curriculum for Excellence* was another significant development for youth work as it has become the dominant framework through which all work with young people in Scotland, including youth work, is diffused (Jefferies *et al.*, 2019; Learning Teaching

Scotland, 2009; Scottish Government, 2009b; Scottish Parliament, 2006b; Sercombe *et al.*, 2014). The first line of *Youth Work Opportunities for All: Consultation Paper to Inform a National Youth Strategy* (Scottish Executive, 2006d) reveals the importance of *Curriculum for Excellence* (Scottish Executive, 2006a; The Curriculum Review Group, 2004): ‘the Curriculum for Excellence set out the outcomes we want for young people today. Youth work has always contributed to delivering these outcomes and now has a key role in taking this forward’ (Scottish Executive, 2006d:np). *Young People Now* reported this development as creating an environment where ‘youth organisations in Scotland are fighting to avoid assimilation of youth work into the schools’ curriculum. They were worried the Scottish Executive want to “bury” youth work in schools...’ (Goddard, 2006c:13; Rogers, 2006d).

That said, *Curriculum for Excellence* informs youth work in different ways. The Scottish government sees its emphasis as being directed towards the employability of young people (Scottish Government, 2007), and its employability aspect is considered to be part of the *Curriculum for Excellence* programme (Scottish Government, 2009a). Sweeney (YouthLink Scotland, 2011), the head of YouthLink and *Building Capacities through Activities and Outcomes* (Youth Work and Schools Partnership – CfE, 2011), use *Curriculum for Excellence* focus on the personal and social outcomes. It is also the medium through which other organisations and partnerships, such as Scripture Union, YMCA, Scouting and others (Youth Scotland, 2013; 2015; Youth Work and Schools Partnership – CfE, 2011; Youth Work and Schools Partnership – CfE, 2013), define their work with young people.

Youth work in Scotland is also entwined with *Getting it Right for Every Child* (Scottish Government, 2008b; 2012) and is said to have a role in the Scottish government’s 16+ programme (Scottish Government, 2010), with *Delivering Outcomes in Community Learning and Development* (Scottish Government, 2008a), suggesting that youth work approaches are being adopted by other agencies such

as Youth Justice. This last document is also important as it provides a contemporary view of youth work.

So, when Coburn wrote that ‘a vibrant and now integrated youth work sector survives and continues to flourish [in Scotland]’ (Coburn in Jeffs *et al.*, 2019:27), she did so because it has largely conformed to the position of the Scottish government, which is ever increasingly defining youth work provision (Fyfe and Moir, 2013). In Scotland the descriptor *youth work* is a term that can be used by organisations and agencies involved in employability, welfare and education, as well as more traditional youth work projects (Clyne, 2011).

Alongside increasing government involvement in the development of youth work, it is also evident that, as in England, the largest percentage of youth workers in Scotland are also volunteers. YouthLink Scotland (2017) suggested that the youth work sector has over 80,000 youth workers, 70,000 of whom are volunteers. Youth Scotland, which supports many small, independent youth groups, provides a much lower number based on their membership. Their statistics reveal a similar distinction: they have 7,603 practitioners registered to their network, of whom 530 are full-time salaried and 2,078 are part-time (Youth Scotland, 2015:np). From a church perspective, Mallon (2008) suggested that there are 15,000 people working with young people in the Church of Scotland, almost all of whom are volunteers.

## 1.6 Youth work and youth ministry<sup>4</sup>

Youth ministry is a form of Christian work with young people. It shared many of the same foundational events and founders with youth work, and in its earliest incarnations may have been indistinguishable from it (Brierley, 2003a; Griffiths, 2008; Ward, 1996). It had from its earliest days a particular evangelical focus

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<sup>4</sup> This was drawn from a more detailed analysis of youth ministry’s professional narrative (Clyne, 2015).

(Brierley, 2003a; Cannister, 2001; Ward, 1996), a distinction which became more evident post-1900 with the establishment of revivalist campaigns focused exclusively on the conversion of young people (Cannister, 2001; Ward, 1996). This continued between world wars, when evangelicals predominantly targeted young people through proselytising endeavours, which focused on soul saving and tended to overlook work with wider social concern (Bebbington, 1995; 2002; Ward, 1996).

While modern youth ministry is a global endeavour strongly influenced in the UK by practices from the USA (Pimlott and Pimlott, 2008; Ward, 1996), its expansion and professionalisation was also a response to the publication of Albemarle and the subsequent developments within youth work, which was said by some Christians to have lost its spiritual direction (Ashton *et al.*, 2007; Brierley, 2003a; Stow and Fearon, 1987; Ward, 1996; 1997)<sup>5</sup>. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, there was a rapid expansion of professional youth ministry practitioner numbers (Brierley, 2003a; Collins-Mayo *et al.*, 2010; Davies, 2008; Mallon, 2008; Smith, 2013) with a burgeoning of its literature, of which a significant proportion has been considered to be of questionable quality (Doyle and Smith, 2002).

Presenting a description of youth ministry's relationship to youth work is complex, firstly because youth ministry writers have created terms unique to its own environment, such as *youthwork* (one word) (Ward, 1996), a descriptive expression of which the meaning is unclear (Doyle and Smith, 2002) and which is bound to other terms such as *relational youthwork* (Griffiths, 2013; Ward, 1995b) and *incarnational youthwork* (Hickford, 2003; Nash, 2008; Pimlott and Pimlott, 2008; Ward, 1996; 1997). A similar challenge is that the expressions *youth work* and *youth ministry* are used interchangeably (Nash, 2011a; Pimlott and Pimlott, 2008; Saunders, 2013; Ward, 1997) and the term *youth work* can be used to describe any form of faith-based work with young people (Pimlott, 2015). Furthermore, the

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<sup>5</sup> Ward acknowledges the complexity of this, as Christian practitioners working within youth work may also have a Christian understanding of their practice.

expression *youth work* can be given an exclusively Christian interpretation (Ashton *et al.*, 2007:20).

It is my view that youth ministry is distinct from youth work in that its locus of good practice is situated in the spiritual integrity of the worker (Griffiths, 2013; Ward, 1995a; 1997). Furthermore, professional youth ministry is underpinned by different social theories from youth work: adolescent development theory (Adams, 1995; Borgman, 1999; Church of England General Synod Board of Education, 1996; Clark, 2001; Gerali, 2008; Nash and Palmer, 2011; Tilley, 1995); and generationalism, often categorising people as boomers or busters (Borgman, 1999; Codrington and Grant-Marshall, 2004; Kinnaman, 2011; Nash, 2011a). Connected to these is an emphasis on youth culture, which for many in youth ministry carries negative overtones (Borgman, 1999:73; Gardner, 2008; Gerali, 2001; Hutchcraft, 2000; Jones, 2001:46; McDowell, 2000a; 2000b). Finally, identifying the current period as post-modern is another important facet of youth ministry thinking (Dean, 2001:29; Hickford, 2003; Jones, 2001; Pimlott and Pimlott, 2008).

Nash is correct to conclude that 'youth ministry is multifaceted, it is not a one-dimensional activity' (2011a:xiii); however, despite its breadth, and Nash's desire for it to include in a single grouping all aspects of Christian work with young people, there are others who do consider certain articulations of Christian faith-based practice to be a form of youth work (Brierley, 2003a; Passmore, 2004; Richards, 1999; Thompson, 2019; Thomson, 2007). I locate myself with those who see a distinction between youth ministry and Christian faith-based youth work, an endeavour which is part of youth work as a social practice. The professional and academic strands of youth work and youth ministry are distinctive social practices:

I would define youth work as work with young people that is based on a professional system of values and skills that are shared beyond Christianity and [for] which (for Christian youth workers) faith is a central motivating factor... [Y]outh ministry I define as work for a church or Christian organisation in which faith is not

just a motivating factor, but the explicit purpose and message of the work (Hall, 2007:14).

De Feu suggested that the distinction between youth ministry and Christian faith-based youth work is that the latter has 'a relationship with youth work theories, histories and professionalism, however explicit or not this is' (2018), whereas youth ministry does not. Savage *et al.* also suggested a broader distinction which might be applied to voluntary as well as professional endeavours, that youth ministry assumes its participants and its youth ministers hold to the same 'Christian' world-view. In contrast, a Christian faith-based youth worker's world-view may be quite distinct from that of the young people with whom they work. This creates a differential where 'youth ministry tends to focus on transformative spirituality, whereas Christian faith-based youth and community work is primarily working with formative spirituality' (2006:17). Thomson provides a similar distinction where youth ministry contains a 'church building' component, 'evangelism, pastoral care, teaching, preaching and prophesy' (2007:225), whereas Christian faith-based youth work has no commitment to them.

These views are helpful in distinguishing between youth ministry and Christian faith-based youth work, the former being a distinctive way of working while the latter is part of the youth work environment which has a growing presence (Davies, 2008; Smith, 2013). That said, within the realities of daily work such distinctions may be unobservable, and it may also be the case that whether a practice is understood and presented to others as youth ministry or Christian faith-based youth work is simply down to the language used by its proponents (Bright and Bailey, 2015; Du Feu, 2018; Thomson, 2007).

## 1.7 Overview of the chapters

Chapter 2: Literature review, establishes the need for my research and highlights the gap which exists within our knowledge of youth work.

I begin by highlighting some of the excellent histories of youth work and go on to show that Christianity has been an overlooked or minimised influence with the more recent of these. I also discuss how those writing the modern histories of youth work have engaged with the past. I follow those who have resisted revisionist accounts and who have recognised the expansionist nature of youth work's development.

In Chapter 3: Methodology, I begin by reflexively situating myself within youth work and within my research and follow this by giving a brief view of hermeneutic phenomenology, the world-view which underpins this research. I outline some of the theoretical considerations which informed my research. I then describe how I gathered the data through literature, texts and semi-structured interviews, and I explain the ethical considerations I undertook in choosing to name the participants before describing my method of data analysis.

Chapter 4: Youth work and Christianity, responds to the existing histories of youth work and provides a narrative of Christianity's relationship with youth work from its formation until the late 1960s early 1970s.

Chapter 5: The minor and major translations of youth work's Christian language, uses Taylor's world-view, providential deism, and MacIntyre's ideas of language and translation to explain how youth work expanded from a Christian endeavour to become a secular endeavour and to suggest that some of youth work's 'givens' can only be accounted for by accepting its particularly Christian heritage.

Chapter 6: Participants' views of the relationship between Christianity and youth work, looks at the ways in which they recognise and recount the relationship between Christianity and youth work and presents the findings.

Chapter 7: Christianity and youth work within the Age of Authenticity, sets out the relationship between Christianity and youth work within Taylor's Age of Authenticity, explaining two different modes of youth work: *soft relativism and the ideal of authenticity*. The multiple horizons of youth work, the influence of closed world structures and a detailed examination of the work of Paulo Freire and Carl Rogers are all discussed.

The final chapter, Chapter 8: Conclusion, discusses the implications of my research for our understanding of youth work and how it provides a gateway for future research by highlighting areas worthy of some consideration.

## 1.8 Summing up

In this chapter I have introduced the thesis, acknowledged the contested nature of youth work and provide a description of the wider youth work context within which my research is situated. I have also described the relationship between youth work in Scotland to that in England and followed this by giving a brief account of the relationship between youth work and youth ministry.

In the next chapter, I justify the need for my research by examining the histories of youth work and its current academic literature. I also situate my work within the different approaches taken in the past by those writing the histories.



## Chapter 2

### Literature review

#### 2.1 Chapter overview

This literature review is purposely constructed in such a way as to, in the words of Wallace and Wray, ‘develop an argument to convince a particular audience about what the published – and possibly also unpublished – literature (theory, research, practice or policy) indicates’ (2011:151). It is also to some extent personal as, like all literature reviews, it ‘reflect[s] the intellect of the reviewer, who decided the focus, selected the texts for review, engaged critically with and interpreted the evidence they offer, ordered and synthesised what was found and [written in] a final account’ (2011:151).

This thesis was also written within a particular environment, in which many of those writing about youth work have sought to define it exclusively as a left-leaning liberationist endeavour (Bardy *et al.*, 2015; Bright and Pugh, 2019b; Bright *et al.*, 2018; Davies, 2004; Davies and Taylor, 2019; Harris, 2015; Kennedy, 2014; Robertson, 2004; Sapin, 2013; Seal and Frost, 2014; de St Croix, 2010; 2016; Taylor *et al.*, 2018) and some have questioned the place of both the state (Davies and Taylor, 2019; de St Croix, 2016) and the church (Davies, 2008) in the delivery of youth work.

In this chapter I acknowledge the number of influential texts which examine the past of youth work, and I reflect on a number of the more recent of these to expose a gap in our knowledge of youth work. In particular, I critique the most significant of youth work histories: Smith’s *Developing Youth Work: Informal Education, Mutual Aid and Popular Practice* (1988) and Davies’ three-volume *The History of the Youth Service in England* (1999a; 1999b; 2008). In addition, I draw on papers published from the *History of Community and Youth Work Conferences* (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2011b; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2001; 2006; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2013; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2009a). I use these to show that Christianity has been a minimised or overlooked

influence in these most detailed histories of youth work. Within this context, I go on to show that when Christianity is discussed, it is generally presented as either an early catalyst for future developments, as a prominent relic of its bygone days or as an existing influence in the present. A related situation which I also discuss is the number of different approaches to the past that researchers and writers have adopted in their analyses of youth work, so that when taken together, these reveal that despite being overlooked by some writers of its history, the role and influence of Christianity within youth work is recognised. However, the evolution and significance of this relationship still awaits a comprehensive chronological presentation, a deeper analysis (Smith, 2009) and a detailed appraisal of its place within the present.

## 2.2 The histories of youth work

For youth workers the history of youth work has been an overlooked resource (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2009b). There has also been little interest shown in youth work's histories from within its academic environment (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2011a). Existing youth work histories have either been written by academics external to youth work or by youth workers who are amateur historians (Smith, 2009); youth work still awaits a comprehensive history (Smith, 2009). This has shaped the volume and nature of histories available, particularly those written by youth workers to inform youth workers about youth work. While Smith noted that this situation is changing, when histories have been written they have 'overwhelmingly focused on activities of individuals, groups and organisations who operated within civil society and who were concerned with the public domain' (2009:12); there are some excellent examples of this form of writing in the series of books which grew out of the *History of Community and Youth Work Conferences* (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2011b; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2001; 2006; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2013; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2009a) and on *Infed: The Encyclopaedia of Informal Education* (YMCA George Williams College, 1995). There are also a number of more detailed, longer presentations on the past of youth work (Davies, 1999a; 1999b; 2008; Jeffs and Smith, 2002; Smith, 1988;

Smith, 1996; 2005 [1996]; Smith, 2013), some of which focus on Christian faith-based work with young people (Griffiths, 2008; Ward, 1996). In addition to these are some older publications which are informative: Davies' and Gibson's *The Social Education of the Adolescent* (1967), Eagar's *Making Men: The History of the Boys' Clubs and Related Movements in Great Britain* (1953) and Percival's *Youth Will Be Led: The Story of the Voluntary Youth Organizations* (1951).

Eagar's work 'still remains the standard work of history on the subject [of the Boys' Clubs] (and on the emergence of youth work more generally)' (Smith, 2004b), being described as '[q]uite the best historical treatment of UK youth work' (Smith, 2013). From outside the youth work environment, Rosenthal and Springhall also provide a number of important histories which informed this research, including: *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (Rosenthal, 1986); *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements 1883–1940* (Springhall, 1977); and *Sure & Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883–1983* (Springhall *et al.*, 1983). Despite these, the histories written by youth workers to inform youth workers either minimise or overlook the place and influence of Christianity.

### 2.3 Christianity – minimised or overlooked in the histories of youth work

Within some of the histories of youth work written by youth workers, there are those where the place of Christianity appears to be overlooked, minimised or un-reflected upon (Davies, 1986; 1999b; 2009a; Jeffs, 1979; Nicholls, 2012). Some even seem to attempt to re-articulate the past of youth work in such a way as to avoid the particular religious nature of its foundation (Davies, 2009a; Davies and Gibson, 1967). On other occasions, the relationship between Christianity and youth work is overlooked. For example, the book *Methods in Youth Work* by Walkey *et al.* (1931) is acknowledged to be the first publication which uses *youth work* as a description of practice in the title and its text (Jeffs, 2018; Smith, 2013), and is therefore of some significance:

Like so much subsequently written on 'youth work', [it] emphasised the merits of: working with small groups; listening to what young people said; responding to their interests; and meeting where possible, their express needs. It called workers to possess 'personalities' that made them attractive to be with and warned that you 'cannot standardise leadership, nor turn it out by mass production' (Jefferies, 2018:32).

That Walkey *et al.* use the expression 'youth work' to describe an approach within a set of Christian activities they were delivering at the time remains unrecognised: it described Christian work in rural parishes, the development of a Sunday school programme and the running of confirmation or church membership meetings, all with a focus on religious 'conversion' (1931:37). Similarly, Smith's (2013) more recent history of youth work ignores the Christian elements in the work by Walkey *et al.* That said, Smith's position has evolved over the years, something which can be seen in his more recent reflections on his earlier work *Developing Youth Work: Informal Education, Mutual Aid and Popular Practice* (1988). I will reflect on this here along with Davies' three-volume *The History of the Youth Service in England* (1999a; 1999b; 2008).<sup>6</sup>

Smith's intention in writing was, at least in part, to provide a history for what he called 'popular youth work' (1988:140), a form of working-class egalitarian practice which he juxtaposes against bourgeois youth work, and which he sees as an attempt to inculcate middle-class values to manage and control the working class. In Smith's reflections on his original 1988 text, provided as an introduction to *Infed's* online publication of the book, he makes a number of reflective comments which are informative:

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<sup>6</sup> One further challenge in using Davies' work is that he has not always referenced his quotations or citations.

There is a need to go back to the work of people like Hannah More and Robert Raikes – and link the development of some of the strands identified with debates and tensions within the churches... [T]he activities of different churches was not given enough evidence – and the work of key figures like Maud Stanley, Emmeline Pethick and Baden-Powell was not properly located with regard to ‘the religious impulse’ (Smith, 2001 [1988]-b).

One of the major problems with the chapter [Definition, Tradition and Change in Youth Work] is that it doesn't deal adequately with the variety of church-based work that was, and is happening [at the time of writing in 1988] (Smith, 2001 [1988]-a).

These quotes show how Smith's own understanding has changed over time. That said, in the original he does acknowledge the role of Sunday schools, churches and chapels (i.e. non-conformist Protestantism) in the development of popular youth work,<sup>7</sup> and of the way youth work continued to be entwined in a Christian language, up until the 1950s. He wrote, ‘stripped of the requirement to maintain morale following the end of the war, the language of official reports once again became peppered with references to character and to Christianity...’ (Smith, 1988:45).

Over a decade later, Davies wrote the first two volumes of his three-volume history of the Youth Service: *From Voluntaryism to Welfare State: A History of the Youth Service in England (1939–1979)* (1999b), *From Thatcherism to New Labour: A History of the Youth Service in England (1979–1999)* (1999a), and 18 years later added the third volume, *The New Labour Years: A History of the Youth Service in England (1997–2007)* (2008).

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<sup>7</sup> Smith acknowledges that there is some ambiguity in his interpretation of these groups as populist.

The importance of these texts to youth workers and their understanding of youth work is seen in the way in which they were received by fellow practitioners. They were described as 'the definitive history of England's youth service', 'the texts for generations of youth workers', and 'a spur to greater effort based on a deeper understanding of our roots' (Wylie quoted on the dust cover of Davies, 1999a; 1999b; 2008). The first two volumes were deemed to be so important that 'all youth workers should read them' (Nicholls quoted in Holmes, 2000), with the last volume considered to be 'essential reading for tutors and students on professional youth work courses' (Holmes, 2009:100).

From the beginning, Davies openly acknowledged that his work was written to address a particular aspect of the service, the 'institutional and professional concerns which have stayed *current* through most of the youth service's development' (1999b:ix). His approach to constructing the history of the Youth Service was to 'filter the past through present preoccupations in order to construct a *contemporary* history' (1999b:1), one which recognised the 'unresolvable tensions' (1999:2) within the Youth Service of the 1990s. In particular: whether the Youth Service should provide universal or targeted provision, whether it should be focused on social education or remedial interventions, and how much it should rely on paid, professionally qualified staff and move away from its traditional reliance on volunteers. Along with these, he also set out to examine how the Youth Service provided for young people who self-identified as 'black, female, disabled, gay, lesbian and bisexual along with supporting those living in rural areas' (1999b:2).

Davies' work was seen by some to provide only a partial history of the Youth Service, examining only its relationship to national governments and failing to describe the changes and developments in practice and provision over its 60-year history (Holmes, 2000; 2009; Smith, 2013). The result of this was, according to Holmes (2000), that Davies' work created an understanding of the Youth Service in which the state was presented as the 'ultimate force, whether saviour, enforcer or obliterator' (2000:85). Secondly, it overlooked those agencies and organisations less

closely bound to the government and its agenda which had, on occasion, facilitated the survival of the Youth Service and youth work when governments had, in particular periods, lost interest in it. Holmes (2000) also claimed that Davies' own agenda in shaping the narrative was more powerful than Davies himself acknowledges, something which might allow for the suggestion it provides us with a specific interpretation of the Youth Service as well as a limited history.

Davies (1999b) appears to relegate Christian influences to the earlier, pre-Youth Service period of youth work, with the exception of a brief mention of *The Youth Service After the War* (Youth Advisory Council, 1943), a document which he passed over with the comment that it 'reflected critically on young people's lives and on the (strongly Christian) philosophy which it believed should inform youth work' (1999b:22). He then moved quickly on to discuss how Albemarle challenged both the dominance of the Christian or religious emphasis in youth work and provided it with a new language. However, such a rapid move from 1939 to Albemarle overlooks the fact that out of the 13 original organisations which formed the Youth Service at the time, 'six were explicitly religious in their bias and there were others which tended in practice to be linked with Churches' (McLeod, 2007:118). It also ignores the place given to evangelical and Christian youth work at its formation (Clarke, 2014 [1949]; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Morgan, 1943; 1948), where a Christian ethic and a focus on spirituality continued to be important for many Youth Service groups, both statutory and voluntary (Edwards-Rees, 1944; Keeble, 1965; King George's Jubilee Trust, 1951; Wolfenden *et al.*, 1955).

Similarly, while Davies briefly reflected on the way that Albemarle realigned youth work and the Youth Service's relationship to Christianity, he failed to acknowledge the continuing presence of Christian faith-based youth work. For example, in the early 1960s, there were still 294,578 members of Anglican clubs, most of whom were said to be aged 14 to 17, and with girls being in the slight majority. Similarly, 3,574 Methodist youth clubs in England had 108,017 members (McLeod, 2007).

A similar criticism can be made of Davies' second volume, *From Thatcherism to New Labour* (1999a), in which he provided a critical appraisal of the Youth Service's relationship to social class and feminism along with its work with black young people and disabled young people, LGBT+ young people and rural youth work, but which overlooked any Christian influence.

In the last of his three volumes, Davies did recognise that Christian churches employed more youth workers than the secular youth work environment (Davies, 2008), and in a section titled 'Back to the Future: The Resurgence of Evangelism in Christian Youth Work' (2008:79), he recognised '...evangelical Christian youth work's substantial advance accumulated during the New Labour Years' (2008:79). He also mentioned that significant levels of funding were being given to national Christian agencies to provide a service. At that time, there were two National Youth Agency accredited training courses for Christian youth workers; however, he considered that most Christian practitioners were underpaid and untrained.

While his use of the expression 'evangelical Christian youth work' appears to single out a particular Christian tradition, his citation of Mallon from the Church of Scotland (a denomination with a breadth of theological perspectives) suggests his criticism is also of wider Christian work. In this section, three points are worth specific attention.

Firstly, his quoting of Wylie (then Chief Executive of the National Youth Agency) reveals his own attitude and suggests it to be a widely held viewpoint:

I don't believe that we can turn over budgets to (faith groups) and they'll get on and do the job – it won't be diverse or pluralistic, especially when it comes to areas such as sexuality and teenage pregnancy... If they want public support and recognition then they must meet our requirements, including our statement of ethical conduct and our established quality and training standards (Wylie quoted in Davies, 2008:80).



Secondly, his further claim ‘that the essential test of the “faith” organisations’ role within the [Youth] Service was that “young people should have a diversity of provision in any locality”’ (Davies, 2008:80) is not a requirement he places on any other form of youth work within the Youth Service and also appears to be suggesting that Christian faith-based youth work in the Youth Service must set aside its religious conscience.

Thirdly, he observed that ‘[c]ritical questions [regarding evangelical Christian youth work] remained however about their place and impact within a Youth Service whose remit had historically started from young people-centred priorities and agendas’ (2008:80). His point can only be accepted if we believe Davies’ version of history and overlook the fact that the Youth Service was a relationship established between the government and the voluntary organisations, most of which were Christian faith-based enterprises (McLeod, 2007). He also overlooked the significant presence of Christian faith-based work with young people at that time (Green, 1999), and the minimisation of Christian faith-based groups in his work clearly suggests a view that faith organisations do not belong in youth work. More recently, Davies (2009a) continued to minimise Christianity’s place in the foundational history of youth work, excluding it as part of the socially controlling, manipulating political agenda of the time.

Another important source of literature on the history of youth work are the published papers of the *History of Community and Youth Work Conferences* (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2011b; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2003; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2001; 2006; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2013; Gilchrist *et al.*, 2009a). However, none of the pieces published within these provide a detailed analysis of Christianity’s relationship to youth work, although some identify its place within youth and community work. For example, Jones and Rose (2001) recognised the role of non-conformist Christianity in the development of Welsh youth work, and Fabes and Skinner (2001) recognised evangelicalism’s place in the development of the Girls’ Friendly Society. Cranwell (2003) critically appraised the trips and holidays organised by Sunday school and

other Christian faith-based organisations, considering them to be a form of social control designed to perpetuate the Christian influence in society, and Jeffs and Spence (2011) recognised Christian worship as being part of the programme of early youth work with girls. These titles, along with some biographies which show the Christian faith of early practitioners (Davies, 2006; Martin, 2006), are the only occasions where the presence of Christianity within youth work is recognised.

## 2.4 Christianity – minimised or overlooked in the literature of youth work

Not only was Christianity a minimised aspect of youth work history, but one can argue it was also overlooked in youth work literature. The magazine *Youth in Society* was published between 1973 and 1988 by the National Youth Bureau and was targeted at a broad range of youth workers (1974b:18). Within it, Christianity as a topic for discussion was absent, although in one article, Booton and Woods (1976) made reference to an unnamed book which expressly explores Christian faith-based youth work, and another article mentions spiritual development (Cattermore, 1983). Although its advertising pages held regular adverts for Christian training establishments, its articles mainly addressed issues affecting young people in society at that time, unemployment, work experience, homelessness, careers, counselling, marriage, divorce and gender. Another title from the 1970s, Leighton's *The Principles and Practice of Youth and Community Work* (1972), which was in part written to help churches understand their place in modern youth work, makes minimal reference to Christianity or evangelicalism in its earliest years.

The academic youth work journal *Youth and Policy: The Journal of Critical Analysis* began publication 1982, although in 2017 it ceased its initial academic format. This was described by Davies as a journal which 'mirrored the ebb and flow' of the social landscape in which youth work functioned and that it 'reflected and penetrated key developments in the youth policy field' (2010a:14). Yet, its first article relating to Christianity and youth work was only published in the early 1990s (Roberts, 1991b), with a discussion of the place of women in church-based youth work. It was not

until 1999 that a complete issue of the journal (issue 65) was given over to spirituality and in which Christianity was a significant part. More recently, in 2006, (issue 92) Muslim youth work received a special focus.

Green's editorial (1999) of issue 65 provides a description of a youth work world where Christianity is well represented:

A huge amount of current youth work is delivered by the voluntary sector and a large proportion of that sector is provided by religious organisations... [I]n many areas youth workers employed by religious organisations outnumber local authority workers. There are also many people working within local authorities who are there because of their religious convictions (1999:1).

In the same issue, Pugh's (1999a; 1999b) analysis of Christian faith-based work with young people also appeared and is acknowledged as the first attempt to analyse the relationship between Christianity and youth work (Clyne, 2008; 2012; Pimlott, 2013). She suggests there are four strands of Christian faith-based youth work: No Spiritual Content, Conversion as Purpose, A Broader Approach, and Christian Relational Care. The importance of this piece is that it was the first to seriously analyse the relationship between Christianity and youth work, providing a framework on which later research could build. In my review of her work (2008; 2012), I suggested that her analysis was too one-dimensional, and my research showed that evangelistic youth work might also be built on a person-honouring relationship, devoid of manipulation.

In another article in the same journal, Doyle (1999a; 1999b) reflected on the nature of 'calling' in youth work, as a Christian understanding of vocation, where a Christian has a sense of divine calling to a particular role; calling is explained as 'experiencing some kind of revelation or knowing-ness and responding accordingly' (1999a:29).

Doyle suggested that another religious term, *holiness*, can be interpreted in a broader way to speak of ‘a commitment or sense of belonging to sets of ideals... morals and values...’ which enable practitioners to delineate between good and evil (1999a:32), and in relation to personal practice, living in equilibrium with the values and ideals of informal education.

She suggested that most youth workers might accept ‘spirituality’ as being a ‘higher awareness of the self or being in touch with one’s “real” self’ (1999:44) and goes on to propose that this baseline definition could be used by both secular and faith-based practices. The latter could, should they wish to do so, combine it with other interpretations of spirituality, which might include uncovering one’s relationship with a ‘personal God’ or a higher being to spiritually articulate their work. Her approach creates an environment where religion and spirituality can blend, giving space in youth work for both secular and faith-based practices.

In the same issue, Hull proposed a similar definition of spirituality, where ‘spirituality... is concerned with achieving personhood’ (1999:50). Astley and Wills (1999) follow the work of James Fowler by suggesting faith is a universal human attribute: ‘everyone “believes in” something or someone, some “centre of value”, “image of power” or “master story”... [R]eligious faith is a species of this wider genus of “human faith”...’ (1999:61).

Chronologically, the journal did not carry afterwards any other articles regarding Christian work with young people until 2015. In 2015, it published my own article ‘Uncovering Youth Ministry’s Professional Narrative’, which although critical, agreed with Pugh’s suggestion that some Christian work with young people might be better understood as youth ministry.

Another practitioner-focused journal with a wider focus which included community work was *Concept: The Journal of Contemporary Community Education Practice*

*Theory*.<sup>8</sup> It was published by Moray House at Edinburgh University from the autumn of 1990, moving online in 2010. Throughout its years of publication, articles on spirituality, religious or Christian faith-based practice or issues were few, with only a review of Moss' book on spirituality (J.N. Young) in 2006. More recently, a series of articles were written by me which described the evangelical roots of youth work and how its language evolved from being initially a Christian language, to becoming a secular one in the 1960s (Clyne, 2016; 2017; 2018).

A decade after *Concept Journal* began, *The Scottish Youth Issues Journal*, a joint publication between YouthLink Scotland and the University of Strathclyde, was launched. It was first published in 2001, changing its name in 2009 to *A Journal of Youth Work*, before ceasing publication in 2013; its online presence was also removed, meaning that its articles are now difficult to trace. During its years of publication, two articles on Christianity and youth work appeared. The first of these (Mallon, 2008) challenged the Scottish government to explain why, in its strategy (Scottish Executive, 2007), it ignored the faith-based sector in Scotland, and noted that alongside this oversight, none of the main denominations appeared to have taken part in the consultation process. Mallon also reflected that Christian engagement with the journal appeared to be limited, with a lack of academic articles on Christianity and youth work.

The second article, which I authored, discussed the findings of research into the nature and purpose of Christian work with young people in Scotland (Clyne, 2012). Challenging Pugh's (1999b; 1999a) linear interpretation of faith-based work and revealing it to be a complex arena of practice, the article included some approaches and aims which would be recognised and accepted by wider youth work. It also found that some specifically focused, faith-based work might adopt open youth work methods, and that what differentiated practice was to some extent the power

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<sup>8</sup> Here I have abbreviated the title to *Concept Journal*.

dynamics involved in practice, rather than whether it might be faith- or secular-based.

While these journals have all contained articles on Christianity, it is difficult to judge their influence, although their increased presence may indicate that Christian faith-based organisations were becoming more visible within the field of youth work provision from the late 1990s and early 2000s. Low numbers of academic articles reflecting on the place of Christianity within youth work present a particular image of the relationship. In this new environment, Christianity is written about in a number of different ways: as a relic of its past, the architect of future developments, or one aspect of its present social practice.

## 2.5 Christianity's place in youth work as it is presented in the youth work literature

The way in which Christianity is set out in the modern histories and academic literature on youth work can be said to take three forms, all of which continue to leave it underexplored. The first of these accepts it to be a relic of its past, either as a foundational force within the birth of youth work or as part of the diet of youth work activities. The second recognises its early role and influence in youth work and understands it to be an architect of the development of future practices. The third positions it as a provider of youth work in the present.

Some authors present it as a historic relic, which was once part of an evolving story, one of the core activities of the youth club and youth work of a particular period (Cranwell, 2003; Fabes and Skinner, 2001; Jeffs, 1979; 2009; Jones and Rose, 2001; Jones, 2013; Spence, 2003a; 2003b). For example, Jeffs' and Spence's writing on Girls' Clubs work in the 19<sup>th</sup> century refer to the 'predictable diet of religious instruction' (2011:10). Here Christianity is seen as one part of a youth club's or youth group's provision.

Others acknowledge it as a driving impetus in its foundation (Bright, 2015a; Bunt and Gargrave, 1980; Davies and Gibson, 1967; Jeffs, 1979; Smith, 2013). Some of

this group would accept this impetus but would be keen to exclude Christianity from being formative of current youth work (Davies, 2008). One positive example of those who recognise Christian work with young people as a formative influence in youth work is provided by Bright and Bailey:

Faith-based organisations – and, churches in particular – have a long and rich history in youth and community work that represents a significant kernel from which other practice has grown (2015:145).

Similarly, in contrast with his earlier work (Smith, 1988), Smith's (2005; 2013) more recent writings acknowledge the place of Maude Stanley and Thomas Barnardo as early exponents of what was to become known in the 1960s as detached youth work.

A third approach, by those who recognise youth work's Christian past, is simply to argue for the place of Christian faith-based youth work to be recognised as part of modern youth work (Bright, 2015a; Bright *et al.*, 2018; Ellis, 1990; Green, 1997; 2006; 2010; Jolly, 2015; Keeble, 1981; Milson, 1970; Nurden, 2010; Stanton, 2013a; 2013b; Thompson, 2019). There has also been some research on the relationship between youth work and Christianity within the current period (Clyne, 2012; Pugh, 1999a; Stanton, 2012; 2013a).

## 2.6 Approaches to the past in the literature of youth work

While the past is becoming more important to youth workers, the way in which they write about it varies. Some hold to the standard secularisation theory and revisionist approaches. Others are selective of what they consider to be youth work and contrast youth work narratives from different periods without considering any intermediate changes. Jeffs highlights the importance of the past:

The study of... youth movements and youth work agencies offers a potential route to a deeper understanding of contemporary

practice. Once we have acknowledged and paid due deference to all the essential caveats relating to time, place and setting, it remains the case that exploring the history of youth work gifts an opportunity to formulate ideas, insights and even templates relating to how our practice might develop in the future (2010:17).

Yet, it is also true that the way we interpret the past will affect our understanding of youth work in the present. Within youth work there is evidence of writers adopting different approaches and attitudes to its histories. There are those whose writings fall within what Taylor calls 'mainstream secularisation theory' (2007b:21), an approach he describes as being subtractionist:

Concisely put, I mean by this stories of modernity in general, and secularity in particular, which explain them by human beings having lost, or sloughed off, or liberated themselves from certain earlier, confining horizons, or illusions, or limitations of knowledge. What emerges from this process – modernity or secularity – is to be understood in terms of underlying features of human nature which were there all along, but had been impeded by what is now set aside (2007b:22).

In contrast to this, Taylor holds an expansionist view, where the development of secularism provides those living in the West with additional 'fields of choice' (2007b:437) (i.e. additional forms of beliefs), which came to coexist and compete with the older Christian meta-narrative.

Within the literature of youth work, Davies' (1999a; 1999b; 2008) three-volume history of the Youth Service provides evidence of the subtractionist interpretation. For Davies, the Youth Service and youth work are exclusively secular, with Christianity and religion being viewed as a residue of the past, or at least a potential negative influence in the present (2008). This has been a consistent approach of Davies, one he set out in some detail in his earlier work with Gibson (Davies and



Gibson, 1967), in which they sought to dismiss the older Christian and religious underpinnings of youth work and replace them with a new secular expression. To achieve this, they distinguished 'its essentials', the core elements which made these endeavours definable, from the 'common basic features [of its founders]' (1967:21), their shared values, ideals and beliefs.

In segregating youth work from the essentials of its founders and values, Davies and Gibson concluded that the original commitment of youth workers to social, moral or spiritual development were simply forms of social control, and were unacceptable in the youth work of their 'emancipated age [of the 1960s]' (1967:17). In contrast, the early 'common basic features' of youth work are transcendent and defined youth work as being an educationally focused, leisure-time activity in which young people could choose to participate. Once involved, they had a democratic right to be included in the management and decision-making processes, ideals which remain valid for these authors and which continue to define a unique approach to working with young people. For example, Davies more recently wrote:

[T]he principle of young people's voluntary participation is a – perhaps *the* – defining feature of youth work. The basis for this position is not simply theoretical or ideological, as has sometimes been asserted – 'conservative' or bloody-minded youth workers holding onto a belief which has passed its sell-by date. Rather it is rooted in the historical fact, and it is a fact, that such 'voluntaryism' has from the start shaped the development of the *practice* and especially its process (2005c:12).

As part of his approach to the past, Davies also adopts a revisionist attitude and wrote of pre-Albemarle youth work and the Youth Service as being 'run through with powerful ideological and political messages, most of which I [Davies] rejected' (2001:9); therefore he treated them with suspicion. This has led him to believe that the more radical or socialist past of youth work has been 'hidden (or written-out)

of... [its] practice' (Davies, 2001:10), a claim which Ord and Davies (2018) repeated more recently.

This has been a constant view of Davies and, decades earlier, when he and Gibson (1967) set out their history of youth work, they acknowledged that what they provided was 'not a simple factual account, but an interpretation which deliberately emphasise[d] aspects of the whole picture to which other interpretations have understandably given less attention' (1967:23). They acknowledged that their work was a hypothesis which required more detailed research. They proposed that while some of the earliest 'essentials' of youth work were set up by altruistic, generous benefactors, this was not always the case. The language they used suggested that, in their view, more of these founders were driven by self-interest, class anxiety, social fears, and a desire to inculcate their middle-class values into working-class young people and suppress their culture, and that often they used religion to do this. They also suggested that early literature of youth work (Pelham, 1889; Russell and Russell, 1908; Baden-Powell, 1908) reflected this middle-class domination and therefore presented a narrow and very limited expression of what actually existed.

More recently, other writers who have attempted to write this alternative history have acknowledged that evidence for populist or working-class forms of youth work were difficult to find (Jeffs and Smith, 2002). While some named organisations such as the Clarion Scouts, Kindred of the Kibbo Kift and Woodcraft Folk or other small groups (Smith, 1988; de St Croix, 2009; 2010), these were more middle-class than working-class, bottom-up expressions of socialism in youth work (Jeffs and Smith, 2002; Paul, 1951).

Taylor (2009c) similarly recognised that evidence from the 1970s and 1980s for radical or socialist youth work is scant since, while it existed, it was for a short period and very little was written down. Another response to this lack of evidence is that some researchers (Smith, 1988; de St Croix, 2009; 2010) used groups who might not have perceived themselves to be or which were not considered youth work at the time of their existence. Even Davies, with his continuing commitment to

this alternative history, had to acknowledge in his recent articulation of this past that what he was proposing was ‘very tentative – some I suspect may even judge them fanciful’ (2009a:69). Despite these challenges, a revisionist attitude to the past has been widely adopted (Bunt and Gargrave, 1980; Davies, 2009a; Davies and Taylor, 2019; Jeffs, 1979; Jeffs and Smith, 1989; Ord and Davies, 2018).

This raises an interesting question discussed by Fabes and Skinner (2001) about how to decide what is and what is not youth work when looking back on social settings and practices which may appear very different from current ones.

One example of this revisionist approach is encountered in Pimlott’s view of scouting, derived from his reading of Warren (1986), Foster (1997) and Watt (1999):

Conversely, it has been argued (Warren 1986; Foster 1997; Watt 1999) that the inception of the Scout movement was not youth work at all, was not intent on helping young people flourish, but little more than militarism in disguise preparing future recruits for the Boer Wars’ (2013:44).<sup>9</sup>

However, while Warren and the others were saying that Scouting was established to support and develop young men to serve the needs of the British Empire, they made no mention as to whether this was youth work or not. They were simply presenting a social analysis of Scouting. It is Pimlott’s interpretation of their work, mediated through his own concept of youth work which leads him to make his claim. An interpretation of Scouting’s place in youth work which was at odds with other histories (Bright, 2015a; Davies and Gibson, 1967). For example, Leighton wrote that ‘[n]o historical account [of youth work], no matter how brief, can omit to

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<sup>9</sup> The discussion regarding whether uniformed organisations can be understood as youth work would appear to be prevalent within some environments (Ash, 2018; Taylor, 2018).

mention the development of boys' and girls' clubs, the growth of uniformed organizations and the work of the university settlement movement...' (1972:15).

A similar example of this approach is the manner in which the Army Cadet Force was treated. Brew (1968) reflected the consensus view which was held for much of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, that Youth Service and youth work included a wide breadth of youth organisations, including military cadet forces. However, by the 1980s, the Army Cadets were excluded and used as examples of non-youth work by Jeffs and Smith (1988b:6). In contrast, *Young People Now* (1999a) and more recent work by Roberts (2015) sees the Cadet forces as a long-established and continuing part of youth work. These examples suggest that defining what is and what is not youth work may change and can be down to the subjective choice of the author.

Another approach found within the literature of youth work is to critique and contrast youth work practice or agendas from two different periods as if they belonged together:

As a founder of the YWCA explained, a central role was to release girls 'enchained by Judaism, Popery, and heathenism' (quoted in Moor 1910:244). Yet flagrant attempts to train and convert are difficult to square with the role of the youth worker as educator. As Peters (1966:203) argues, the function of the educator is to initiate young people 'into skill, attitudes and knowledge which are necessary for them to participate intelligently as citizens of a democratic state' and not to act 'as a missionary for any church or as a recruiting officer for any political party' (Jeffs and Smith, 2010b:65).

Such a move fails to recognise that youth work has always been a product of its time and that many of the original youth work organisations significantly changed their views over time (Davies and Gibson, 1967). In the intervening gap between Moor (nd [c1910]) and Peters (1966), there were a number of developments which

might make present-day youth workers uncomfortable. For example, early youth work was influenced by Hall's theories of *Storm and Stress* (Smith, 2013), the Boys' Brigade dallied with Social Darwinism (Springhall *et al.*, 1983), as did the Scouting movement (Springhall, 1977), along with having an interest in eugenics (Rosenthal, 1986) – ideas which were widely accepted at the time. Later in the 1930s, some prominent youth work voices were also enamoured by and sought to emulate the work of the *Hitler-Jugend*, the Hitler Youth (Dawes, 1975; Evans, 1974; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Smith, 2004b).

Jeffs' and Smith's approach fails to recognise the socially constructed and evolutionary nature of youth work, and of the YWCA in particular. As Percival (1951) showed in her book published 15 years before Peter's (1966) work. In it she provides an account of how the YWCA's ideological position had evolved beyond its original evangelical perspective to become more inclusive.

In contrast to the approaches above, I follow those who recognise that to fully understand the past of youth work, we must appreciate it within its original social context, and then examine how it has evolved and changed through the passage of time (Bright, 2015a; Leighton, 1972; Milson, 1970; Percival, 1951). While I recognise some of the conclusions of these writers regarding the politically and socially conservative attitude of those early youth workers, what is less recognised is their civic radicalism (Griffiths, 2008; Stanton, 2011; Thompson, 2017). They appeared to genuinely want to make a difference and in their own way aimed to create pathways out of poverty for young people by challenging the *laissez-faire* attitude to youth employment and the abuse of young people in the work place (Bright, 2015a; Eagar, 1953; Smith, 2013). We must, however, recognise we can only rely on traces of that past which come down to us in the form of our heritage, and into which we reach back to create our traditions (Ricoeur, 1988).

I have also followed the ideas of Smith (1988) who adopts an expansionist attitude, suggesting that the breadth of modern youth work can only really be appreciated when the span of its different traditions is properly appreciated. When Smith

reflected on the period between his original 1988 text and its 2001 online publication, he concluded that 'relatively little research has been undertaken in the intervening years on the forms of practice outlined...' (Smith, 2001 [1988]-c). He identified only two papers which focused on the development of what he called populist youth work: one examining Girls' Clubs and its shift from challenging the employment conditions of young ladies in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century to providing social spaces primarily focused on entertainment by the 1940 and 1950s (Turnbull, 2001), and another examining the settlement movement in South Wales between the wars (Cannan, 2001).

Almost two decades later, Smith (2009) made the same point, highlighting that there were only two books which examined Christian work with young people, *East End Youth Ministry 1880–1957* (Griffiths, 2008) and *Growing Up Evangelical: Youthwork and the Making of a Subculture* (Ward, 1996). More recently, Thompson wrote *Young People and the Church since 1900: Engagement and Exclusion* (2017).

Smith also recognised a further absence within the literature of youth work and he highlighted the limited way in which youth work writers have traditionally written its history. Using Braudel's term *événementielle*, Smith suggested that most histories of youth work are straightforward narratives of events, of individual clubs or of people. The pieces in the series of books from *The History of Community and Youth Work Conferences* which I mentioned previously (page 48) would generally conform to this. In his view, these fail to examine what he calls (using Braudel's other terms) the *conjunctures* and *longue durée* of youth work, those near-indiscernibly slow and subtle social, structural, ideological and philosophical changes that go unregistered by those living through them. Smith (2009) uses these expressions to critically highlight what he considers to be a gap within the research knowledge of those investigating youth work.

It is worth noting at this point that Smith's use of these terms may not conform exactly to those provided by Braudel. For example, Smith suggested the *longue durée* can be considered in centuries, and the middle time frame, *conjuncture*, can

be periods of around 50 years, meaning that both periods are shorter than would generally be accepted. In contrast, Ricoeur<sup>10</sup> said that the *longue durée* is 'the long time span belonging to an almost static geohistory, [*conjoncture*] the intermediate time spans characteristic of institutions and social structures, or [*événementielle*] the short time span of contingent events' (2005:138). That said, Ricoeur was also critical of what he considered to be Braudel's lack of clear definitions and of the way his presentation of *longue durée* minimised the role of human action. Yet despite this, Ricoeur acknowledged 'the indisputable achievement of the Braudelian methodology, namely, the idea of the plurality of social times' (1984:208). Here I use *conjoncture* as understood by Ricoeur, or as Evans described it: 'tides of history... slow moving social and economic trends, often imperceptible to contemporaries, changing... social structures and state systems' (2000:154).

## 2.7 Gaps in knowledge and research questions

My research responds to this deficit highlighted by Smith. I, therefore, aim to add to our knowledge of youth work by analysing data from primary and secondary sources: the texts and literature of youth work written by youth workers to inform youth work practice and theory; information gathered from interview participants; and evidence assembled from modern youth work publications. These sources will be enhanced by information from historians and social researchers who have examined youth work and youth organisations. The evidence which these provide is presented in response to three specific questions.

- What is the extent of evidence for Christianity's presence within the foundation and development of youth work?

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<sup>10</sup> Charles Taylor agreed with Ricoeur's analysis when reviewing *Time and Narrative* (vol 1); he wrote of 'the magnificent discussion [Ricoeur] gives us of Braudel's famous work' (Carr *et al.*, 1991:179). More recently, 'Ricoeur shows both the inestimable contribution that [Braudel and others] made to historiography and also their insensitivity to the limits of their approach. Even long-term structures undergo change, rise, and eventually may disappear; in a broader sense, these changes have to be seen as "events" ...' (Taylor, 2016:295).

In reply to this question I provide an account of the *événementielle* relationship of Christianity with youth work from inception in the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1960s. My account provides a counterbalance to those histories written by youth workers to inform youth workers about youth work and which overlooked or minimised Christianity's presence. This chapter is also important to my thesis as it provides the evidence base for addressing the next question.

- How did youth work expand from being a Christian endeavour to become a secular practice and what influence did this have on contemporary youth work?

Through a critical analysis of youth work's texts and literature, I provide a description of the *conjunctures* of Christianity's relationship with youth work. Setting out how through a series of minor and major translations the languages of youth work expanded and developed beyond its first Christian language to include Judaism and different strands of providential deism along with developing from the language of Christianity-as-faith to Christianity-as-ethic, eventually post-1960s including a new secular language. It is an account which explains how the professionalisation of youth work realigned its relationship with Christianity while maintaining important ideals and practices.

- What place does Christian faith-based youth work have within youth work today?

I answer this third question by presenting the data provided by participants in Chapter 6 and then adding to their input in Chapter 7, incorporating their views into a more detailed interpretation of Christianity's relationship with youth work in the Age of Authenticity. This reveals youth work in the modern, post-1960s period to be increasingly fragmented, developing different political streams of practice. Within this landscape I expose the continuing existence of Christianity within youth work through the presence of Christian faith-based youth work.



I therefore add to our knowledge by providing a more complete narrative of the relationship between Christianity and youth work (its *événementielle*) and by explaining the small, subtle, and often unseen changes (its *conjonctures*) which occurred between its inception and the 1970s which account for the changing nature of that relationship. I also analyse and present a description of this relationship within the current, post-1960s period.

The research presented in this thesis is thus necessary as it responds to an imbalance within the existing literature of youth work, its written histories and literature, which appear to have overlooked or under-represented the influence and relationship between youth work and Christianity. It is important for the youth work academy as it responds to Smith's (2009) call for research which goes beyond that which only shows the *événementielle* and reveals the *conjonctures* of youth work. It is also important within the arena of practice where Christian faith-based youth work is recognised as having an increasingly significant role (Jefferies, 2015).

## 2.8 Summing up

In order to highlight a gap in our knowledge of youth work and its history, in this chapter I have acknowledged the literature which examined the history of youth work and, in particular, how the presence of Christianity has been minimised or overlooked. Such histories are important.

Within this context of under-representation, I have highlighted articles where Christianity is recognised. Christianity is generally presented as being an early catalyst for future developments in youth work, a prominent relic of its past, or an existing presence, an underpinning aspect of some current youth work practice.

This thesis aims to add to our knowledge of youth work by addressing the lack of recognition of the relationship between Christianity and youth work. It does so by adopting an approach which seeks to understand and value previous writers and their descriptions of the historic role of Christianity in youth work, within their original contexts. I aim to present in the first instance the *événementielle* of the

relationship between Christianity and youth work, followed by its *conjunctures*; finally I will examine the relationship between Christianity and youth work within the current period.

To explain how I intend to achieve this, in the following chapter I will first present the methodology I adopted and my theoretical considerations.

# Chapter 3

## Methodology

### 3.1 Chapter overview

I begin this chapter with a section on reflexivity, in which I explain how my background, experience, learning and world-view have influenced this research. I then provide a description of the theoretical considerations which are drawn from Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenology: his use of the term *discourse*; his understanding of what *constitutes a text*, a form of discourse in which there occurs a *fixation of meaning* and how it *escapes from the author's intent*; and finally what he calls *distanciation*. Following this, I explain the nature of our *social imaginaries* and the ideas I adopt to provide me with theoretical distanciation. Moving on, I describe how I gathered my data, firstly through texts and literature and then through semi-structured interviews. Finally, I set out my approach to data analysis, Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc, a technique which enables the detailed understanding of a text and which provides us with the ability to see into the world beyond it. This is a process which begins with an exegetical analysis, before adopting a more critical attitude.

### 3.2 Reflexivity

There are two modes of reflexivity within the research environment. The first, prospective reflexivity, 'concerns itself with the effect of the whole-person-researcher on the research', while retrospective reflexivity 'concerns itself with the effect of the research on the researcher' (Attia and Edge, 2017:35). While both modes are recognised within hermeneutic phenomenology, here I focus on prospective reflexivity, which requires the researcher to express their relationship with their research environment and to understand how it has influenced their work, an important aspect of all social research (Etherington, 2004).

It is generally accepted that a methodology will flow from the research question (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007; Reason and Marshall, 2001; Valentine, 2001; Vaus,

1991). Clifford *et al.* suggested that ‘the most appropriate method(s) for your research will therefore depend on the questions you want to ask and the sort of information you want to generate’ (2010:8). This is, however, only part of the research dynamic. In the words of Crotty, ‘justification of our choice and particular use of methodology and method is something that reaches back into the assumptions about reality that we bring to our work’ (1998:2). One must also acknowledge that our research methods will be in tune with the world-view of the researcher. It is also crucial to recognise that there is no such thing as neutrality in research, as MacIntyre writes:

[I]t is an illusion to suppose that there is some neutral standing ground, some locus for rationality as such, which can afford rational recourses sufficient for enquiry independent of all traditions... To be outside all traditions is to be a stranger to enquiry... (1988:367).

The researcher’s world-view goes beyond just informing methodology, it also impacts what they are capable of observing and how they interpret their observations (MacIntyre, 1985; 1988; Ricoeur, 1995i). Within the research paradigm, Reason and Bradbury observe that ‘we participate in our world, so that the “reality” we experience is a co-creation that involves the primal givenness of the cosmos and human feeling and construing...’ (2006:7). Lived experience is a key aspect of any research (Marion in Horner, 2010:25).

While there is an attitude held by some that unless the researcher is a dispassionate observer, the veracity of their findings will in some way be diluted (May and Perry, 2010), reflexivity simply recognises that there is no such thing as the neutral observer or researcher. MacIntyre (1990) acknowledges that research is not an abstract production but is written by individuals who must account for and make the best argument for its being ‘*true and sound*’ (italics in the original) (1990:201), and in such a way as to persuade others of their case.

That being so, it is incumbent that I make my relationship to youth work and with Christianity clear from the outset, as well as my ontological and epistemological perspectives (D'Cruz and Jones, 2004). My personal story, as a youth worker and a Christian, will have unavoidably shaped and influenced my research. Along with this, I need to recognise that attributes such as my gender, social class, ethnicity and culture influence my positioning in relation to the research and my participants (Etherington, 2004).

Professional youth workers generally have a commitment to anti-oppressive practices and a strong awareness of power imbalances and approaches which might be taken to mitigating the effects of these. However, social norms and practices will also influence how individuals interact with each other and how oppression may work in practice.

In addition, as a youth worker researching youth work, my thesis is inevitably bound to my everyday experiences of practice and training. In my case, this goes back much further than my professional involvement, beginning as a 14-year-old participant, starting a journey that saw me become a volunteer youth worker and later a professional practitioner. In 2005, I graduated with a degree in Youthwork (one word) and Applied Theology, followed by a postgraduate diploma in Community Education in 2007 and a Master of Science in Applied Professional Studies in Community Learning and Development in 2008. This makes youth work precious to me and means that, in the first instance, my research was driven by a personal desire to understand youth work better and to enhance it as a social practice.

Those first experiences as a 14-year-old were through a Christian faith-based youth club run by the church in which I was baptised as a child and which I continued to attend. This church was a Free Church of Scotland, a denomination which describes itself as being situated in the Reformed Evangelical tradition and which encouraged critical thinking as well as my theological awareness. My faith also played a role in my decision to become a volunteer, and then professional youth worker, albeit with

a gap of 15 years as a firefighter. Later, my undergraduate degree enabled me to gain a more theologically theoretical understanding of my faith and introduced me to liberation theology, particularly the work of Leonardo Boff and Gustavo Gutiérrez. These, along with the writings of John McMurray and Martin Buber on human agency and the theological texts of Michel Henry, have informed my thinking. My Christian faith continues to be a constitutional aspect of who I am; in fact it was the relationship between my Christianity and my youth work which prompted this research.

May and Perry (2010) wrote that the ‘production of reflexive thoughts on social scientific activity takes place against a background of pre-reflexive assumptions’ (2010:15). Hence, my research was prompted by a growing awareness that Christianity was considered by a significant number of my practitioner peers to be antithetical to academic and professional practice, a situation which has also been recognised by others (Bardy *et al.*, 2015; Green, 2010; McLeod, 2007; Milson, 1970).

At a personal level, two important developments in my thinking were when I became aware that the pedagogy of Paulo Freire was taught in a manner which gave little or no cognisance to his Christian faith, and that Christian (and secular) youth work practitioners appeared to be unaware that Freire’s theory was informed by his Catholicism. Related to this was a growing realisation that the expression *youth work philosophies* was used in a way that brought together different pedagogies and thinkers with different world-views without apparently recognising their ideological differences (which I will examine in section 7.5). In addition to this, during my training as a youth worker between 2002–2005, I was involved in numerous conversations with my youth work peers who questioned whether my practice could be youth work as it was Christian-based and I worked for a church. In their eyes, this made my work inherently judgemental and contradictory to what they understood to be pure value-neutral youth work which they practised.

It is my situatedness as a Christian within youth work which has highlighted for me that there is something here requiring research. Taken together, these experiences

led me to develop an interest in understanding the relationship between a practitioner's values and the values of youth work in my postgraduate work and publications (Clyne, 2007; 2008; 2012). More recently, I have had a number of articles published on the relationship between Christianity and youth work (Clyne, 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018).

Valentine (2001) acknowledged that often research questions are generated by the observations of the researcher, while Rambo went further when he suggested that 'scholarship is ultimately a projection of one's own predicaments' (1993:xii). Machi and McEnvoy suggested that it is this 'personal attachment to an interest [which] provides the passion and dedication necessary for conducting good research' (2012:19). Consequently, this research is energised and informed by my experiences of this apparent antithesis between how Christianity is viewed by some academic and professional youth workers, and how it has been treated within the academic youth work world. Clearly, as a Christian who is also a youth worker, I am not neutral to my research questions, yet it was this lack of neutrality which made it visible to me in the first place, seeing that there was something in the relationship between Christianity and youth work which was worthy of research.

As a professional practitioner with over 15 years of experience, I am also in some sense a resource (de St Croix, 2016), something which enhances my research (May and Perry, 2010).

As a Christian and a youth worker, I live and operate with both these fields and as such I have the opportunity to translate from one to the other. Yet to do this with rigour and integrity, I aim to examine critically the evidence regarding the relationship between Christianity and youth work to inform current practice. In doing so, I am not suggesting youth work is or ought to be understood as a uniquely Christian activity or that Christianity should have a priority of usage. My youth work journey has been inspired by youth workers who have been atheist, agnostic or Buddhist, as well as those from more secular ideologies such as Marxist and

socialist. I acknowledge these as valid perspectives within the youth work environment.

### 3.3 Hermeneutic phenomenology

Hermeneutic phenomenology is a philosophical perspective articulated by Ricoeur, where he 'grafted the hermeneutical problem onto the phenomenological method' (Ricoeur quoted in Abel, 2008:187). It brings together the idea of *phenomenology*, which recognises that the external symbol, text or action exists, and in its existence presents itself for interpretation, so that our existence is never seen or understood apart from interpretation (Ricoeur, 2007b). It is a world-view which accepts, in the words of Kearney, that 'meaning is never the intuitive possession of the subject, but is always mediated through signs and symbols of intersubjective existence' (2008:71). Hermeneutics reshapes our interpretation in that it binds the phenomenological interpretation to a historic context (Ricoeur, 1995g). Therefore, in drawing hermeneutics together with phenomenology, Ricoeur recognises that phenomenology is always exegetical (Ricoeur, 1995g) and that language cannot be seen as incidental to these interpretations; it is constitutive and formative of what is being interpreted (Ricoeur, 1995g; 1995k).

In Ricoeur's words, 'interpretation is interpretation by language before it is interpretation of language' (1995k:145). Kearney summarises this connection when he wrote that 'the task of hermeneutics is to show how existence arrives at expression' (2004:2). Kockelmans draws from Heidegger's explanation of the relationship between hermeneutics and phenomenology, where 'the subject matter of phenomenology... is the science of Being of beings; and it is in this sense that phenomenology may be called ontology' (2004:149), the action of which is fundamentally interpretive, something which makes hermeneutics 'the fundamental methodological concept of ontology' (2004:151), making hermeneutic phenomenology the way we interpret the world of which we are a part. Ricoeur writes:



In contrast to philosophies concerned with starting points, a meditation on symbols starts from the fullness of language and of meaning already there; it begins from within language which has already taken place and in which everything in a certain sense has already been said; it wants to be thought, not presuppositionless, but in and with all its presuppositions (2007b:287).

It is, according to Ricoeur, a perspective which understands its primary truth to be that of 'perception' which is, he says, 'a superstructure... a first foundation of presence and existence, that of a world lived through perceptually' (2004:19).

I have aligned myself with the views of Ricoeur, who sees the importance of existing things to our understanding (Abel, 2008; Kearney, 2004). Consequently, hermeneutic phenomenology binds inseparably together the event, meaning and context (Ricoeur, 1995g) with understanding and interpretation, or perhaps multiple, sometimes competing interpretations of the phenomena of existent things. Hermeneutic phenomenology also recognises that all interpretations are done in a particular language which forms our understanding of the things we observe (Kearney, 2004). However, this reality should not be assumed to be clearly articulated, as 'reality is inherently ambiguous. Interpreting something, understanding it, is therefore a matter of settling on one of the several possible interpretations' (Baumeister, 1991:25). Hermeneutical phenomenologists recognise the complexity of interpreting the lived world and mediate their claims accordingly. They strive to provide a truthful representation of things, rather than claim that what they are presenting is the truth. In the next section, I set out some of the theoretical considerations informing my work.

### 3.4 Theoretical considerations

In utilising hermeneutic phenomenology as a research method, I recognise that all social science has what Thompson called 'a hermeneutical character' (1998:24). However, as Ricoeur said, 'phenomenology is a vast project whose expression is not

restricted to one work or any specific group of works. It is less a doctrine than a method of many exemplifications...’ (2004:16). Friesen and Henriksson also noted that phenomenology is ‘as much a disposition and attitude as it is a distinct method or programme of enquiry (2012:1). Within the research environment, hermeneutic phenomenology has often been grouped under the broad descriptor of social constructionism (Lock and Strong, 2011). Burr says it functions within four generally accepted ideas:

- A critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge
- [Understanding is] historically and culturally specific
- Knowledge is sustained by social process
- Knowledge and social action go together (Burr, 2002:2–4).

The position of hermeneutic phenomenology within social constructionism sites it with a group of views which challenge positivism and empiricism (Burr, 2003). However, social constructionism also groups hermeneutical phenomenology with other perspectives such as, for example, that of structuralism and post-structuralism (Burr, 2003; Lock and Strong, 2011), although this affinity is limited. Consequently, although these general principles of social constructionism hold true, it is too broad an epistemological descriptor as it fails to provide an adequate explanation of the perspectives which have informed this research.

In the first instance, hermeneutic phenomenology is also critical of structuralism and post-structuralism (Thompson, 1998). Ricoeur called it ‘a cage’ (1995e:213), ‘a sterile game, a divisive algebra’ (1995e:217), by which he meant it plays linguistic games from which there is no escape. For example, Ricoeur (1988) objected to what he considers to be Foucault’s lack of allegiance to the original event. In contrast, Ricoeur suggested that ‘there is good reason to believe that events exist’ (1994:85). The other theorists I have used within this research take a similar view. Taylor was also critical of Foucault for what he said was Foucault’s deconstruction of the agent and of his ‘delegitimising’ horizons of significance (Taylor, 2003a:66), and MacIntyre’s perspective on deconstructionism was that ‘meaning becomes

unstable' (2007:153). Their view was that structuralism disconnects language from the thing it is constituting; it is no longer saying 'something about something' (Thompson, 1998:9).

Further, Stiver (2012) wrote that hermeneutic phenomenology contrasts with the Cartesian view, because it recognises the complex nature of the way humans recognise their own subconscious influences, and it is committed to a narrative identity of the self, recognising that action and thought cannot be separated. It is similarly in contrast to positivist and empirical methods, in that it seeks to uncover that which is often hidden from these approaches (Lavery, 2003; Taylor, 1985b), acknowledging that these methods are simply a methodology drawn from the ideology of science (Ricoeur, 1995i).

That said, what is and is not considered a hermeneutical phenomenological method is an area of some debate (Finlay, 2012; Giorgi *et al.*, 2017). Finlay (2009; 2012) suggested that research which follows a Ricoeurian method has an interpretive, rather than descriptive, emphasis. She also recognised that there is no such thing as the neutral observer, a position held by the theorists underpinning my theoretical framework (MacIntyre, 1988; Ricoeur, 1995i), and this needs to be recognised and managed. Accepting this, it becomes difficult to place the hermeneutical phenomenological methodology in any one descriptive method. Primarily, method becomes the servant of the creative researcher.

Hermeneutical phenomenological methodology takes us beyond the idea of a traditional understanding of methods and places a specific onus on the researcher. Mills observed that 'every working social scientist must be his own methodologist and his own theorist, which means only that he must be an intellectual craftsman' (2000:121). Within this environment, the researcher plays a different role. To use Taylor's terms, research in this vein is about 'interpretation' rather than 'correlation' (1985a:124, 125), where the researcher is not gathering 'facts'; rather, they are relying on intuition to interpret. This kind of research seeks to explore what Duncan terms 'telling interconnections' as opposed to 'reductionist simplifications'

(2000:1). Hermeneutic phenomenology does not pretend to uncover 'absolute knowledge' (Ricoeur, 1995a:193).

Ricoeurian-informed hermeneutic phenomenology, which provides the theoretical framework for my thesis, is developed around a number of points which require some elaboration. These are Ricoeur's use of the term *discourse*, his views on what constitutes a *text*, the importance of fixation of meaning, how a text escapes the author's intent and, finally, *distanciation*, which I clarify next.

#### 3.4.1 Ricoeur's use of the term *discourse*

Ricoeur uses the term *discourse* to describe a dialogue which is always about something (Ricoeur, 1976b) and is delivered and heard within in a particular language, spoken or written (Ricoeur, 1995e). For Ricoeur, a discourse can be a conversation between two or more people, but it can also be a written *text*, a discourse (conversation) between the author and the reader, something which is distinctive, in as much as a text is potentially accessible to an innumerable number of readers across time or social space. It is also different as a text is bound within a particular genre and it achieves an independence not available to that of a verbal discourse. He claims that a text is a 'discourse fixed by writing' (1995k:145); its meaning becomes fixed as something which gives it a 'semantic autonomy' (1976b:29), enabling it to escape the intentions of the author. A discourse is more than an event (a happening); it is an 'event given meaning articulated to another' (Ricoeur, 1995c:133) and can be the meaningful narration of something which happened in the past or across geographic spaces.

#### 3.4.2 What constitutes a text?

For Ricoeur a text is broader than the written script:

The text is a complex entity of discourse whose characteristics do not reduce to the unit of discourse, or the sentence. By text I do

not mean only or even mainly something written... I mean principally the production of discourse as a work (2003:259).

He follows Dilthey's perspective, where hermeneutics also seeks to engage with 'inscription[s] equivalent to writing' (Ricoeur, 1995j:51), and some forms of art (Ricoeur, 1976d:32,42). He also expands his own interpretation of *text* to include 'meaningful action', what he terms 'the *documents* of human action' (Ricoeur, 1995e:206). However, for meaningful action to be text, it has to fulfil certain criteria. It must extend beyond its occurrence in its original environment and carry a transcendent meaning across time, which can be realised in other situations. Further, it must be an act which is available to an indeterminate variety of potential 'readers', meaning that is an act which can be interpreted by people in a range of different social and historical settings. It is not unreasonable to suggest that, for Ricoeur, 'the text' includes purposeful actions such as the creation of music, works of art, the making of films, broadcasting, etc. It has been suggested that the recorded responses of research participants may additionally be considered as text (Tan *et al.*, 2009), a position I accept. Therefore, written accounts and recorded interviews can be brought into one context when we recognise them to be, in the words of MacIntyre, a 'relatively fixed, even analogically related and historically developing set of meanings and genres...' (1990:205).

Another important aspect of a text is that it is constitutive of the thing itself (Ricoeur, 1995f; Taylor, 2016). Ricoeur (2003) uses the term *metaphor* to explain this, and suggests that metaphor goes beyond a linguistic or descriptive function. A metaphor has 'a power to redescribe reality' (Thompson, 1998:12), a 'power to transfigure reality' (Sweeney and Carroll, 2014:397). Therefore, when the authors of youth work texts write, they do more than simply describe youth work; they play a role in constituting what youth work is. This is written in a specific language in a text, where what Ricoeur called the 'fixation of meaning' occurs.

### 3.4.3 The fixation of meaning

The fixation of meaning occurs because a text is bound to its author and its birthing discourse (Ricoeur, 1976c; 1976d) and it maintains the validity of the text within its original context (Ricoeur, 1995e; 2007b). Ricoeur (2007d) acknowledges that the interpretation of a text is constrained by this; therefore, its interpretation is not limitless (Ricoeur, 1976c; J. Scott, 1990), and any interpretation of a text has to ensure it is more credible than any other (Ricoeur, 1995e). To adapt MacIntyre's example, 'there is no such thing as English-as-such... [T]he boundaries of a language are the boundaries of some linguistic community which is also a social community' (1988:373); by this he means that language is bound to time and place. In relation to youth work, this means that we have to accept that there is no youth work in an abstract sense, but only youth work as it is practiced and written about in different periods and places. The community of youth work is bound by its languages, which have changed and evolved over time.

This enables us to see what youth work was in a particular period and observe how it changed over time. However, the fixation of meaning is not narrowly bound to what the author intended to say, or the 'verbal meaning of the text' (Ricoeur, 1976b:30). A text 'belongs to neither its author nor its reader' (Ricoeur, 1995j:62); it has a 'semantic autonomy' (Ricoeur, 1976b:29). This means that the 'author's intention and the meaning of the text cease to coincide' (Ricoeur, 1976b:29); the text has escaped from the author's intent.

### 3.4.4 Escaping the author's intent

For Ricoeur, the text inhabits a space in which it both confirms the original discourse and its situatedness in a particular event, yet it also becomes free from it. The text makes a journey which sees it being central to the fixation of meaning, and at the same time 'it becomes disassociated from the mental intention of the author and displays non-ostensive references to a universal range of addressees' (1995e:210). For Ricoeur, there is a constant tension: the text, in escaping the

intentions of the author, remains bound to the discourse into which it was written (Ricoeur, 1976b; 1995k).

A text transcends its founding discourse; it 'escapes the finite horizon envisioned by the author' (Ricoeur, 1995e:201), and in doing so it reveals subject matter beyond its original focus. It inherently contains an ability to reveal the landscape into which it was written. Ricoeur wrote that 'what we want to understand is not something hidden behind the text, but something disclosed in front of it' (1995e:218). A text therefore reveals a wider perspective regarding the social world into which it was written. In being recorded and shared, a text escapes the intentions of the author and in so doing exposes the world of the author, the world into which it was written, what Ricoeur termed 'the text before the text' (1995c:143). The text reveals thus a fresh meaning; it is enabled to do this because of what Ricoeur calls *distanciation*.

#### 3.4.5 Distanciation

Distanciation is the gap between the author and the reader and can be a historic gap, a geographic distance or a conscious distance (Ricoeur, 1976a; 1995i). It can also be a 'methodological attitude' (Ricoeur, 1995d:74), something which allows the reader to 'interrogate' the text, and then 'the world [is] opened up by the text' (Ricoeur, 1995d:93), providing the possibility for the researcher to 'give a critique of the real' (Ricoeur, 1995d:93). In doing so, Ricoeur (1995b) is clear that there is a moral imperative on those who encounter the past through such texts to prevent distortions of foundational events. That said, distanciation also exposes the *social imaginaries* in which these texts were originally written.

#### 3.4.6 Social imaginaries

In this section I provide a brief description of our social imaginaries and introduce the tools of distanciation I have drawn from them.

*Social imaginaries* is an expression used by both Ricoeur and Taylor (Kearney, 2004:7; Ricoeur, 1995h:39; Taylor, 2007a:23). However, the emphasis in their writings is distinctive, with Ricoeur's (1995i) focus being on the nature of ideology, and Taylor's (1985b) being on social narratives. Both, however, understand these social imaginaries to carry out the same role and function. While MacIntyre did not use this exact term, he wrote about 'setting' (2011a:240) to describe this situatedness of life. While he did not use the term *social imaginary*, in his most recent book, *Ethics in the Conflicts of Modernity: An Essay on Desire, Practical Reasoning, and Narrative* (2016), he provided a full account of how he understands the modern capitalist economic narrative to have become the dominant social imaginary of this period.<sup>11</sup>

According to Taylor, social imaginaries contrast with social theory in that they are most often expressed in story legends and images rather than by expounding theories. They are widely held by most, if not all, in a society or culture, rather than being the preserve of academics and social scientists. They provide a common understanding which enables and legitimises common practices (Taylor, 2007a; 2007b). They form what Ricoeur termed the *interpretive code*; 'the interpretive code of an ideology is something *in which* men live and think, rather than a conception *that* they pose' (1995i:227). Such imaginaries are accepted to be 'reality' which infuse our lived experiences, culture and world-view:

So the culture which lives in our society shapes our private experience and constitutes our public experience, which in turn interacts profoundly with the private. So that it is no extravagant proposition to say that we are what we are in virtue of

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<sup>11</sup> The function of MacIntyre's book *Ethics in the Conflicts of Modernity: An Essay on Desire, Practical Reasoning, and Narrative* mentioned above is to argue for a method where such imaginaries can be morally evaluated. While this is a discussion beyond the scope of this research, it is related to the disagreement between Taylor and MacIntyre which I present below.



participating in the larger life of our society – or at least being immersed in it, if our relationship to it is unconscious and passive, as is often the case (Taylor, 1979:88).

It is also true to say that, more often than not, our social imaginaries are glimpsed rather than presented. Often they remain hidden from us (Hiebert, 2008; Taylor, 1992; 2007b), implicit and unquestioned, until some event causes them to be challenged (Taylor, 1992). They exist within what Taylor, borrowing an expression from Foucault, termed our *unthought* (2007b:427) – our existing, unconsidered beliefs. In this, they play a role in shrinking our theoretical vision, in as much as often we cannot imagine any alternative way to evaluate or interpret the world around us (Taylor, 2007a). Taylor (2007b) showed that social imaginaries change and evolve over time; often starting as ideas held by the elite, they become dominant ideas within the social consciousness of a society. Over time the languages we use to describe and constitute our social imaginary reality also change (Taylor, 2016).

Within this research, I follow Taylor who provided the more detailed description and said that our social imaginaries developed over two periods. The first of these was the Age of Mobilisation (Taylor, 2007b:423–472), a period of change which began at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and reached fruition in the 1960s. Taylor's second age is our present period, the Age of Authenticity (Taylor, 2007b:473–504), which came to prominence in the 1960s and has been growing in dominance since.

Taylor said that our current social imaginaries are created out of three extra-political and meta-topical spaces. These developed following the earlier Reformation and the theories of Natural Law in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, creating what he called the *modern moral order* (2007a; 2007b) – the drive to establish a civil society, also interwoven with the 'ideal[s] of courtesy, civility and (religious) reform' (2007b:216). Ideals connected with this modern moral order were concepts such as 'ordered government, reduction of violence, disciplines of self-control and economic reform' (Taylor 2007b:216), all with the aim of constructing a harmonious

society which smoothed social relationships and maintained a connectedness between the social classes (Taylor, 2007b). By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, developing this civility included 'broadening one's perspective and entering into a higher mode of being... [T]he emphasis now is on the virtue of benevolence and a mode of life less overtly competitive than those fostered by earlier warrior or courtier codes' (Taylor 2007b:218).

The three social imaginaries which were particularly influential in reshaping modern, Western world-views were: the economy, the public sphere and the practices and outlook of democratic self-rule (2007b:176). These interrelated in such a way that they created a dominant belief that society is to serve and benefit autonomous individuals who work together for their mutual advantage. Its ultimate purpose is to provide protection and security, while facilitating transactions and creating affluence, and concepts such as individual freedom and self-dependence become virtuous attributes.

This *new moral order* created what Taylor termed a 'radical secularity' (2007b:192), a world-view which was in contrast with the existing belief that societies were divinely established, and people lived and functioned within the great chain of being. In the *new moral order*, relationships are understood as transactional and new contract theories of government developed. Decisions are made in a mythical space known as the public sphere, an arena of agreement and disagreement where the people are deemed to be sovereign, directing government to do the right thing and pass the right laws. As a result, any concepts of transcendent or hierarchical authority were rejected and it brought about the 'Great Disembedding' (Taylor, 2007b:147), the silencing or the removal of God from our world-view.

Within these ages the growing variety of world-views becoming accepted by people were generated through what Taylor described as the 'nova effect, the steadily widening gamut of new positions – some believing, some unbelieving, some hard to classify – which have become available [belief and world-view] options for us'

(2007b:423). From these social imaginaries I have adopted two of Taylor's ideas to provide theoretical distancing for my research.

#### 3.4.7 Distancing tools

These two concepts I adopted from Taylor's ideas provide a theoretical distancing for my research. This enabled me to move beyond the *événementielle* and view the *conjonctures* of Christianity's relationship with youth work. I summarise these below, but I provide a more detailed explanation with references within Chapters 5 and 7, respectively.

The first of Taylor's ideas is his concept of providential deism (1992; 2007b). Providential deism (which I explain in section 5.2) is a development which grew out of Western Christianity. It expanded the world-views of many in the West beyond the older understandings of Christendom and provided an additional set of languages through which God's relationship with the world could be articulated. In this it played a role in the developing secularisation of the West. According to Taylor, providential deism did not replace the Christian meta-narrative but added a new language to it; nor did secularism replace providential deism. These developed through 'the nova effect' where each provides additional ways of interpreting and understanding the world, forming alternative master-narratives which exist alongside the pre-existing Christian one (Taylor, 2007b).

The second tool of distancing I utilise is Taylor's Age of Authenticity (which I describe more fully in section 7.2). This Age is one in which personal authenticity has become the central virtue. It can be defined in two different ways: soft relativism and the ideals of authenticity. Soft relativism is a self-focused, hedonistic and hyper-individualised way of forming human agency where choices are made with little regard for wider moral or social considerations. In contrast, the ideals of authenticity agency is where human agency is formed within a set of values deemed more worthy of acquiring and adhering to; this is an agency formed within a community or social setting, where these values are of shared importance. The Age

of Authenticity is also important as it is one in which there is an absence of transcendence and where there are many horizons of categorical worth from which a person might draw their values.

To appreciate the evolution of Christianity's changing relationship with youth work from its inception up until the 1970s, I apply MacIntyre's ideas on language and translation (which I explain in section 5.3.) to Taylor's providential deism, that an institution is the product of a particular foundational language which, if it is to survive and remain relevant, is continuously translated and re-translated over time. MacIntyre presented two types of translation, which I have called minor translations and major translations.

Minor translations are when the use of a word or term is translated, but its meaning is not; to use MacIntyre's example, 'god almighty' becomes a swear word rather than a prayer. Major translations are when 'epistemological ideals' (MacIntyre, 2007:19) are translated. For example, MacIntyre (1983) says that Christianity, Marxism and psychoanalysis are all redemptivist ideas, with the latter two being translations of the former. While Christianity understands liberation in eschatological terms, Marxism presents it as a social ideal in the immediate future, whereas psychoanalysis has an individualistic redemptive emphasis. The result is that Marxism shares much of the 'content and function of Christianity as an interpretation of human existence' (MacIntyre, 1968:6). Marxism was also once referred to as 'the story of salvation in the language of economics' (Fetscher quoted in Bentley, 1982:80). That is, there remains a redemptive narrative, but it is now very different.

When analysing the relationship between Christianity and youth work in the Age of Authenticity, I accept MacIntyre's critique of Taylor's positive acceptance of the Age (as explained in section 7.3.). MacIntyre believes that Taylor's view creates an impasse where it becomes near impossible to avoid subjectivism when making evaluative judgements. In such an environment MacIntyre proposed the veracity of

a particular practice can be proven by appealing to its tradition and explorations of its languages.

### 3.5 Gathering the data

Morse and Niehaus emphasised the difference between what they called the core and supplementary methods of gathering data, with the 'core component' being the 'foundational study' (2009:23) of the research. The supplementary method, which they call 'strategies' (2009:24), are additional approaches adopted for gathering data. According to their approach, the core component is the form of data which, if need be, is sufficiently encompassing that the analysis of it might be deemed sufficient for it to be published on its own. In my research, this would be the analysis of the texts and literature of youth work. Data gathered through supplementary methods does not meet this criterion, and in my research this would be the semi-structured interviews carried out with youth workers or writers in the field. As Czarniawska pointed out:

It is important to remember that interviews do not stand for anything else; they represent nothing but themselves. An interview is an interaction that becomes recorded, or inscribed, and this is what it stands for (2004:49).

As Ricoeur (1976b) observed, while a discourse-as-conversation is immediate between a number of people in a set place and time, and may disappear without a trace, discourse-as-text can involve an infinite number of people and is sustained across time and geographic areas. By transcribing and including parts of these interviews within this thesis, I provide them with some permanence, becoming discourse-as-text.

While gathering data through interviews enables a creative dynamic engagement with my question, my participants' answers reveal their informed personal views and something of the status of the relationship between Christianity and youth work in the current period. Equally, I am committed to MacIntyre's view that

written documents can be viewed as 'moments in conversation' (1990:196) and Ricoeur's view that they are a 'form of discourse' (1976b:23) which occurs between the writer and the reader. The literature and texts of youth work enable us to access conversations between their authors and youth worker readers from other time periods as well as our own; these conversations may also be ongoing through time.

While semi-structured interviews and textual analysis require different approaches to gathering and storing data, Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc is a method of data analysis (see section 3.7.) which can be applied to both.

### 3.5.1 Gathering data from documents

The expression *documentary source* is a broad description (McCulloch, 2004; J. Scott, 1990) and I have included within it academic and professional journals, textbooks, magazines, websites and other online resources, along with government documents, youth work and Youth Service publications. Amongst the advantages of using documents is that they may provide 'the only means of access [to the past]', 'allow a glimpse "behind the scenes"', 'trace the genealogy of ideas' and 'provide another dimension to our data' (Gidley, 2011:266). However, in using them, it is important to remember that they are socially constructed and may not always reflect accurately the reality of their social setting (Gidley, 2011). To quote Fairclough, the documents I used are 'sensitive barometers of social processes, movement and diversity and a textual analysis can provide particularly good indicators of social change' (1995:209).

While journals, particularly if they are peer reviewed, are generally considered valid sources of data, Healy and Mulholland (2012) noted that their academic standing is an inadequate judge of relevance. Here, I focus on journals which have set out to influence and inform youth work, its academics and its practitioners. Similarly, textbooks are 'basically concerned with presenting existing knowledge, very often in a novel way, or from a new perspective' (Oliver, 2012:25), and although they are

not universally recognised as an appropriate source, Machi and McEnvoy (2012) suggested there are occasions when it is appropriate to use professional literature within academic work. My use of text books here acknowledges that they have been written within a particular social setting and thus they reveal the ideologies and values with which they are imbued (McCulloch, 2004).

At a practical level, they are also sources of 'key words' and 'important authors' and provide a source for 'name searches'. According to Galvan and Galvan (2017), they may also highlight what their authors considered to be the most significant texts, something else which has the potential to provide the researcher with the tools to form a basic historic narrative. These, along with professional journals and magazines, have traditionally been called 'grey publications' (Healy and Mulholland, 2019). These are particularly important where significant observations and views would go unnoticed if such publications and articles were not used (Aveyard, 2014; Aveyard and Sharp, 2013). They are also revelatory of social attitudes (McCulloch, 2004).

Aveyard (2014) wrote that practitioner-focused literature is important for understanding and interpreting a particular social practice. This form of literature often carries more influence over practitioners than more academic works (Galvan and Galvan, 2017). Government documents are also important, as they reveal the political context and governmental attitudes towards particular areas or endeavours, and this is particularly the case in youth work where different governments have taken an increasingly proactive role (Davies and Taylor, 2019). Consequently, the diverse nature of youth work means that it is informed and formed through a collection of different documents: government policies, national youth work agencies' statements, magazines, periodicals, journals, online forums, websites and books. To fully comprehend the relationship of Christianity to youth work, we must look at all of these, even while acknowledging that many do not conform to traditional definitions of academic literature.

To uncover these documents of youth work, I adopted a number of complementary approaches which are discussed next.

#### 3.5.1.1 Personal knowledge

'Personal knowledge' utilises 'the researcher's existing knowledge and resources, our personal contacts and academic networks' (Greenhailgh, 2005:1064). The researcher should begin their research using their personal knowledge, which also means that the researcher should be understood as a component of their research (Ó Dochartaigh, 2012; Wallace and Wray, 2011). I began my research using my personal knowledge, 'brainstorming' (Branley *et al.*, 2018:67), and carrying out a hand search through the literature (Aveyard, 2014; Greenhailgh and Peacock, 2005; Oliver, 2012).

#### 3.5.1.2 The snowballing technique

I enhanced this by adopting a snowballing technique or approach which involves reading the citations and references in known papers, journal articles and books and then seeking out these publications, a process which can be repeated several times (Greenhailgh and Peacock, 2005; Ridley, 2009). According to Aveyard (2014), snowballing is one of the most effective methods for uncovering appropriate documents. Through using references from the literature which I had already read, I uncovered other relevant literature from citations, quotations, indexes and bibliographies. This I combined with what Hart calls a 'helical search' (2001:30), which enables the researcher to move in a multi-directional manner through the literature, something which helps not only uncover literature but also reveals the level of its connectedness and relevance. Using the snowballing and helical approaches provided me with a means of assessing the importance of a piece of writing (Oliver, 2012) and an understanding of its place in the history and story of youth work. To this I added another means of gathering documents, the serendipitous approach.



### 3.5.1.3 The serendipitous approach

Serendipitous discoveries are also an important aspect of any research (2005:1065). Sharp *et al.* (2002) believe that developing it as an approach enhances the quality of literature searches. This is achieved by a straightforward browsing of academic library shelves and having conversations with peers. Aveyard (2014) suggested that while such approaches may appear laissez-faire, they are actually important since databases and catalogues are of limited value, and up to 20% of literature is uncovered using other methods.

Such systematic, yet creative approaches are a particularly appropriate method for research into youth work, as the editors of *Reflecting on the Past: Essays in the History of Youth and Community Work* noted: 'the study of our antecedents is given little importance on youth and community work training programmes... Driven from the academy and lecture-hall and excluded from the policy forum, the study of the history of community and youth work has become an oppositional activity' (Gilchrist *et al.*, 2011b:v). However, while these models of research proved significant, I added an academic protocol.

### 3.5.1.4 The academic protocol

This included hand searches of known journals and other relevant literature and electronic searches of databases. For this research, I carried out Boolean searches (Aveyard, 2014; Galvan and Galvan, 2017; Oliver, 2012) of the catalogues of two universities, Strathclyde and Dundee, where, in their earlier incarnations as Jordanhill College and Northern College, community education (and before that youth and community work) had been taught since the 1960s. This approach was of particular importance, as I became aware that universities were storing many older youth work books off-site. I also used the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland, augmenting this by searching a number of other university repositories, and EThOS: e-theses online service (British Library, nd) along with visits to specialist booksellers. I also utilised online search engines and visited the websites of both

national Christian and mainstream youth work organisations, who also publish open access information.

To trace online literature and texts, I used key words and expressions (Aveyard, 2014; Oliver, 2012) focusing on terms such as *youth clubs*, *Boys' Clubs*, *Girls' Clubs* and *mixed Clubs*, *uniformed organisations*, *settlements*, *friendly societies*, and others which are traditionally associated with youth work, along with terms such as *youth ministry*, *youthwork* (one word), *community work*, *community development*, and *community education*. Along with these, I carried out author name searches of known youth work writers, and various combinations of the two.

While information found online has to be treated judiciously, this research has benefited from resources such as *The Internet Archive* ([www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)), where old, often hard-to-find books have been scanned into their database, and websites such as *Infed: the Encyclopaedia of Informal Education* (YMCA George Williams College, 1995), where publications have been republished (often in part) on webpages, with helpful introductions and critical reflections.

To carry out a preliminary examination of all the literature, I adopted a skimming and scanning approach (Wallace and Wray, 2011). To this I applied a form of textual analysis advocated by Fairclough (1995) who considers the absence of references, (in our case to Christianity), to be as significant as their presence. Alongside the use of literature, and to provide a contemporary, more dynamic understanding of Christianity's relationship with youth work, I also carried out a number of semi-structured interviews.

### 3.5.2 Gathering data from semi-structured interviews

The qualitative method of data-gathering I adopted within this research was of semi-structured interviews (Robson, 2002). It was an approach I selected in contrast to structured interviews in that it moves beyond information gathering and has the potential for knowledge construction through dialogue; it also has an advantage over unstructured interviews as it enables the interviewer to direct the interview

according to the needs of their research (Brinkmann, 2014). Being form of conversation interviews also reflect a core aspect of youth work (International Christian College, 2012; Jeffs and Smith, 2005).

While interviews are labour intensive, thus limiting the number of possible participants (Darlington and Scott, 2002; Robson, 2002), they have the advantage of being suited to participants who have a personal or vested interest in the question (Denscombe, 2003b). According to Secor, they also ‘...provide opportunities for in-depth, flexible engagement with research participants’ (2010:199), allowing a level of fluidity and allowing the interviewer, where appropriate, to follow where the participant leads (Denscombe, 2003a; Johnson, 2001). Interviews also enable the researcher to ask follow-up questions to aid clarity (Darlington and Scott, 2002), permitting a fuller understanding of the participant’s point of view (Corbetta, 2003). When carried out well they are also a method which maintains a level of equality between interviewer and interviewee, being ‘collaborative, communicative events’ (Ellis and Berger, 2001:851). They create space for ‘communicative equality and interdependence’, if done properly (Gubrium and Holstein, 2001:17).

To summarise, the advantages of semi-structured interviews are:

- The depth of knowledge and learning available to be shared is likely to be significant
- The nature of the conversation assumes a more equal power relationship
- The conversation enables not just the voice, but also the outlook and attitude of the interviewee to be heard
- Through the interaction of dialogue, the interviewer can gain a depth of questioning, thinking and understanding which less-interactive approaches cannot achieve
- Perspectives can be challenged, weaknesses highlighted, and previously unthought of perspectives and conundrums can come to light.

Within the context of the interview, it is important to hear what people say rather than what the researcher interprets them as saying (Johnson, 2001). Corbetta (2003) went as far as to suggest that, in qualitative research, it is the participant's voice that must be dominant. However, of equal importance is that semi-structured interviews ensure that the researcher and their role in the co-production of knowledge is visible throughout the process (Brinkmann, 2014).

These are particularly important points, as my interpretation of both youth work and its relationship to Christianity is built on accurately understanding and recording what participants said. Utilising interviews can also reveal how the present is in a constitutive relationship with the past (Brunner quoted in Darlington and Scott, 2002) and interviews have been integrated with and add depth to historical social studies (Galletta, 2013).

#### 3.5.2.1 Finding and inviting participants

Ascertaining the current number of youth workers in Scotland was not without its challenges; thus, Rapley's (2004) observation that one of the challenges in using interviews is that of recruiting knowledgeable participants would appear to be pertinent. I specifically sought to engage with those whom Descombe describes as 'gatekeepers', people with 'institutional authority or... personal influence' (2003b:81), the key informants, people who can 'provide valid insights beyond their own' (Kane and O' Reilly-de Brún, 2001:209). To recruit participants, I adopted a purposeful sampling approach (Galvan and Galvan, 2017; Kane and O' Reilly-de Brún, 2001; Longhurst, 2010; Seale, 2018), where I spoke with fellow youth workers and examined university, local authority, youth work agencies and church websites to gather names. I then emailed named individuals from local authorities, academic establishments, national youth work institutions, local youth work organisations and projects, along with all the main Christian denominations in Scotland: the Church of Scotland, the Catholic Church, the Free Church of Scotland, the United Reformed Church, the Methodist Church, and the Baptist Church. Whenever possible, I emailed a named person (Appendix 1: generic email invitation).

To expand the cohort of participants, I also adopted a snowball approach (Arber, 2001; Gobo, 2004; Merkens, 2004; Sarantakos, 2005; Seale, 2018). I included in my initial invites a request to recommend others who had an interest in the subject and who might also wish to be involved. I also invited people from organisations which were mentioned as examples, or appeared to be significant to the initial invitees. While this may have led to the sample being clustered around the known associates (Merkens, 2004), my initial mailing was broad enough to limit this possibility. Regardless of this, it is important to recognise that some voices went unheard, something which limited the boundaries of my research (and I set this out in more detail below in section 3.5.3).

I invited those to whom I wrote to take part in a semi-structured interview to discuss the question 'If it is Christian, can it be youth work?' Participants were invited to take part regardless of their faith or non-faith perspectives, and the breadth of differing standpoints is in itself helpful in this discussion.

Over the months of June and July 2012 I emailed 45 individuals and sent eight generic invites to every Catholic diocese in Scotland, inviting potential participants. Thirty-two people gave positive replies to these emails, all of whom I interviewed. Prior to meeting I sent all interviewees a participant information sheet (Appendix 2) in which I introduced myself and detailed the nature of the research, the voluntary nature and time implications of participation. It explained the risks of taking part, how their data would be handled and their right to withdraw at any point. I began interviewing late in June and concluded the process in December 2012. A list of participants' details is provided in Appendix 3.

#### 3.5.2.2 Introducing the participants

Within Scotland, locating the 'gatekeepers' of youth work is not an arduous task. My search for those gatekeepers, within the current youth work landscape, highlighted people like Rory McLeod from the CLD Standard's Council, Jim Sweeney of YouthLink Scotland (YouthLink) and Peter Croy of YMCA Scotland. It also uncovered other names because of their role in teaching youth work and/or

authoring articles (Barber, 2005; 2007; Coburn and Wallace, 2011; Furlong *et al.*, 1997; McArdle and Briggs, 2012; McCulloch and Tett, 2006; McGinley and Mackie, 2002). Andy Furlong was the Professor of Social Inclusion and Education, University of Glasgow, with a particular interest in youth and youth work, and Terry Barber, Karen McArdle, Ken McCulloch, Annette Coburn and Brian McGinley were all involved in training youth workers at the universities around Scotland. Alongside these, Ann Swinney was both a lecturer on the Bachelor of Arts in Professional Development (University of Dundee) and an adult literacies worker with a focus on young people (Perth and Kinross Council). Maggie Murphy and Graeme McMeekin also trained youth workers at further education institutions (International Christian College and John Wheatley College), and both also served on the Standard Council for CLD.

From a church-based environment, Stewart Cutler and Garry Williams were responsible for co-ordinating work with young people in national church denominations (the United Reformed and Methodist Churches), and Rachel Romain and Elizabeth Duffy were diocese workers from the Catholic Church. Outwith the established churches, from para-church agencies, Bill Stevenson (Boys' Brigade), Phil Wray (Scripture Union) Graham Brooks (Youth for Christ), and Crawford Bell and Ian Marr (YMCA Scotland) also took part. Wray, Brooks and Bell were all part of the organising committee for Deep Impact, a Scottish conference for Christian youth and children's workers which attracted around 300 people each year.

Within the cohort of participants, Ted Milburn (Professor Emeritus Community Education, University of Strathclyde), Bob Holman (author and community worker, Easterhouse Project, Glasgow) and Richard Morrison (Reality Adventure Works) provided a historic depth to my research, being part of modern youth work since the 1960s and 1970s. I also interviewed a small cohort of youth work graduates: Matty Blakeman, Helen Buchanan and Ross Clark, all graduating from community education courses in 2012. Blakeman graduated from George Williams College, and Buchanan and Clark from the University of Strathclyde. Other participants included

Tim Frew (Acting Workforce Development Manager at YouthLink Scotland) and Margaret MacLeod (Policy and Information Manager at the same organisation), who both also work as volunteers with young people in their local churches. In a similar vein, Fiona Forrester, along with Bell, Buchanan and McMeekin, had also worked in both statutory and Christian faith-based youth work environments. Verity Scott's (Central Team Leader for Youth Work at Dundee City Council) experience of Christian work with young people was through partnership with an organisation called Hot Chocolate. The Hot Chocolate Trust was referred to by a number of participants as an example of good youth work and was both a member of YouthLink Scotland and used within the Christian environment as an exemplar of quality Christian practice (Pimlott and Pimlott, 2008). Its then acting director, Charis Robertson, was also interviewed.

Some participants – like Coburn, Furlong, McLeod and Sweeney – had experience of Christian youth work in their own childhoods. McCulloch spoke of being reminded by his partner on the morning of our interview as to how beneficial Methodist youth work had been to her.

Although participants were speaking for themselves rather than on behalf of an agency or organisation, they were drawn from across academic and professional youth work and worked within statutory, voluntary and church-based environments (see Table 1 below).

Table 1: Participants' Organisations

	Female	Male
Academic Institution	4	6
National CLD or youth work agency	1	3
Local authority CLD or youth work	3	
National church co-ordination work		2
National para-church organisation		2
Local church-based work with young people	2	1
National uniformed organisation		1
National Christian faith-based youth work		3
Local Christian faith-based youth work	1	2
Community work		1
Total	11	21



In recruiting participants for this research, every attempt was made to include people from across the youth work field; however, I have to acknowledge the pragmatic reality that the researcher can only work with those who choose to be involved (Darlington and Scott, 2002). This fact shapes what the research is able to uncover. Within this research, a number of significant voices went unheard.

#### 3.5.2.3 Using the interview method

Each interview was started by ensuring consent was given to make an audio recording of the conversation and then followed the same set of interview questions (Appendix 4), beginning with 'If it is Christian, can it be youth work?', and included a series of sub-questions. From these answers I gained some understanding of how participants understood youth work, which may not always have been the same as my own. My primary focus, however, was to gain an understanding of their views of Christianity's relationship with youth work.

#### 3.5.3 Limitations of this research

Within this research a number of significant voices went unheard. For example, while I invited national representatives from within the four 'uniformed' organisations, only two of the four replied. Of these two, only the representative from the Boys' Brigade was available for interview within my time frame. Equally, while representatives from all major church denominations were invited to join the discussion, only representations from the Methodist Church, the United Reformed Church and workers from Catholic dioceses participated.

A further issue highlighted by some participants was that in some national organisations there is an anomaly between the way a national body defines their practice as youth work and the description of practice language its volunteers might use. Equally, there was a voice from within mainstream or secular youth work, which might reflect that not all agencies are comfortable with this discussion as seen when one (anonymised) respondent from my initial request to join the discussion gave the following reply:

The question that you pose is an interesting one and is likely to generate some passionate debate.

Although that makes it appealing, it would also place me in a situation that would make doing my job more difficult and for that reason I have to decline your request. The youth groups and youth workers that access [our service] represent a vast range of interests that cover the full spectrum of responses that you are likely to receive. For this reason, regardless of the opinion that I might have, I would be guaranteed to disenfranchise myself... from those that we rely on to provide quality youth work opportunities to young people.

Similarly, the voices of young people are also unheard in my research, and this is something said to be lacking in research into youth work in general. It is worth noting that regardless of the intended aim of youth work, young people often have a different agenda to that of providers and engage for their own reasons (Barber, 2001; Furlong *et al.*, 1997). The work of Furlong *et al.* (1997) suggested that while young people may access Christian faith-based youth work, they can be impatient with its more Christian aspects. Young people, while engaging with youth work, may choose to ignore or only give tokenistic engagement to the aspects of its provision in which they have no interest. This points to the fact that although young people may have a role in shaping their youth club, the long-term maintenance and development of youth work is an adult endeavour, and because of this I have not included young people.

While the participants I managed to recruit spoke beyond their own personal views, their standing as gatekeepers enabled them to speak with authority. That said, it is important to recognise the background of the participants mean that it is weighted towards academic, professional and state-sponsored expressions of youth work. It has also a particularly Scottish voice, although a number of participants belonged to UK-wide associations or denominations: the Methodist and Catholic Churches, Boys'

Brigade, YMCA, Youth for Christ, and Scripture Union. Others had practised youth work in England as well as Scotland: Holman, Milburn and Morrison; or, like Coburn, McArdle and McCulloch were involved in UK-wide discussions regarding the nature of youth work. It is also important to note that my decision, in agreement with the participants, to use their real names situated them within a geographic and temporal space. It also presented some ethical considerations, and in the section which follows I examine these and validate my decision.

### 3.6 Ethical considerations

All researchers view ethics as an important part of research (Darlington and Scott, 2002; Hopf, 2004; Sarantakos, 2005), and having a rigorous ethics policy to which the research adheres is part of what it means to be a good researcher; it is *a professional good* (Oancea, 2014). This is an important point, as good research is always ethical research, and research can only be ethical when due diligence is given to reflecting on it within the context, and when that reflection results in an approach and policy which is adhered to and understood by all.

However, if we understand research to be a practice or a craft as defined by MacIntyre (1994b; 2011b), then ethics should be 'valued as an end worthy of pursuing for their own sake' (2010:66). That is, to be a good researcher one must strive to be an ethical person. For me, ethics has as a foundational quality: it is more than an aspect of the 'professional integrity' of researchers (Denscombe, 2003b:175); it is a personal trait (I. Gregory, 2003).

This thesis is bound to the perspective that ethics is not just another requirement of the methodology, but at its heart (Valentine, 2001) something which is of particular importance when researching what Darlington and Scott termed 'the swampy lowlands of practice in human services' (2002:1). My engagement with participants and handling of the literature and texts of youth work are underpinned by a strong level of personal moral responsibility (Ryen, 2011), where 'the most important ethical imperative is to tell the truth' (Johnson, 2001:116). Part of this is an 'ethical

summons to respect the “reality of the past” (Kearney, 2008:78). As a researcher who understands their endeavour to be part of a practice, I am with those who see being ethical as a character trait of the researcher themselves (Attia and Edge, 2017; Fisher and Anushko, 2009; Hallowell *et al.*, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Oancea, 2014; Secor, 2010), and because of this I have to ensure the dignity and voice of participants are both protected and accurately heard.

In this study, there are two related ethical considerations to discuss: specifically, the decision to name and not anonymise my participants’ contribution; and the death of two participants.

As I was interviewing the participants, the offer of complete confidentiality, where not even the researcher knows the names of participants, was not an option (for an explanation of this distinction, see Bell, 2014; Tilley and Woodthorpe, 2011). What is also evident is that in choosing to name participants, I was going against what is considered the norm (Barbour *et al.*, 2017; Oliver, 2012; The Social Research Association, 2003; Walford, 2005).

However, the naming of research participants has been an area of some debate (Hammersley, 1995; Tilley and Woodthorpe, 2011), and some recent research has challenged this convention of anonymity. Several authors (Attia and Edge, 2017; Bruckman *et al.*, 2015; Tilley, 2006; Wolfe, 2003) have elected to name the participants in their research. Naming of projects or participants can also be found within youth work (Bright *et al.*, 2018; Fyfe *et al.*, 2018; Pimlott and Pimlott, 2008; de St Croix, 2016), and youth work agencies also seem content to name young people as part of their internal research and validation processes (Youth Scotland, nd [c2018]). Similarly, the UK government has on occasion chosen to name organisations in its research into youth work (Office for Standards in Education: Children's Services and Skills, 2005).

Bruckman *et al.* (2015) suggested that anonymising participants who are willing to be named has echoes of colonialism, where contributors were viewed as subjects

who did not require a voice. Re-narrating is a contentious area (Dunne *et al.*, 2005). What is also evident is that often participants are 'pleased to be identified' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:645). Furthermore, Bruckman *et al.* (2015) suggested that the internet has fundamentally changed the research environment in that it makes published research significantly more accessible, and that contributors have a right to be recognised for their role in any research. They concluded with their view that researchers should 'get into the habit of assuming from the start that [participants] will respond, and [researchers should] plan how to make their response a productive contribution to the research process' (2015:248).

Promising anonymity causes some other problems for this research, not least of which is my ability to guarantee it while retaining enough information to make my research meaningful. Oliver (2012) and Bell (2014) suggested that any form of anonymity has to be recognised as limited, since any biographical information may inadvertently reveal the identity of participants. Crow's and Wiles' (2008) paper recounts an occasion where anonymity was used but failed, and this led the researchers to change their view:

I have come to see that the time-honored practice of bestowing anonymity on our communities and informants fools few and protects none.... Anonymity makes us forget that we owe our anthropological subjects the same degree of courtesy, empathy, and friendship in writing that we generally extend to them face to face in the field... (Scheper-Hughes quoted in Crow and Wiles, 2008:np).

It is impossible to avoid some biographical detail, as the credibility of participants underpins the value of the information they provide and is therefore an important means through which a reader of the research can assess the authority of their input (Best, 2012; Nespore, 2000; Oliver, 2012). Wolcott claimed that '[t]o present [qualitative research] material in such a way that even the people central to the study are 'fooled' by it is to risk removing those very aspects that make it vital,

unique, believable...' (Wolcott quoted in Nespor, 2000:548); therefore, as Nespor (2000) pointed out, fellow contributors, peers, managers, colleagues and even some more external readers will have little difficulty in discovering the identity of participants. Walford (2005) and Wolfe (2003) went further and suggested that in a significant number of instances anonymisation does not work.

To apply the above to my research context, using generic descriptors such as 'the head of a national youth work agency' or 'a recent graduate from George Williams College' would have referred to a group of people who numbered in single figures, making them easily identifiable with a minimal amount of research. A related issue is that some titles or descriptors no longer apply to the participants but to others who now fill these roles, leading to the possibility that views may be wrongly attributed to their successors. For these reasons, offering anonymity to participants in this instance was ethically problematic (Walford, 2005).

Further, anonymity might be considered to have three other inherent problems. Firstly, as Wolfe suggests, providing false names and descriptors 'makes it impossible for others to verify a scholar's findings because, technically speaking, we cannot know for sure what is being observed' (2003:B13-B14). Indeed, the Edinburgh Youth Work Consortium and the University of Edinburgh (2015) suggested that this is an inherent problem for youth work research which relied heavily on case studies. It gives the example of Coburn's (2011a; 2011b) research, where she uses a case study approach to show the positive influence of youth work. They suggested that the absence of the social demographic detail in this study means that other researchers have a limited ability to revisit the location to re-examine her findings, making claims difficult to validate.

Secondly, academic anonymisation within research, according to Nespor, means that 'people, organizations, and groups are dislodged from their histories and geographies' (2000:550). Being unable to reflect the dynamic nature of interviews also de-politicises and de-socialises them from any recognisable context (Dunne *et al.*, 2005). This de-coupling of participants from their context has the potential to

de-contextualise the research, enabling more generalised claims to be made beyond what the research might be able to support (Nespor, 2000; Walford, 2005). Nespor (2000) went further and suggested that there is an inherent potentiality for generalisation in anonymised research. To combat these situations, Wolfe concluded that:

Transparency is now a virtue much on the public mind, when corporations hide profits, churches protect criminals, and politicians make unsubstantiated claims for their policies. Transparency is best achieved by frankness. Research subjects should be told that good scholarship requires trust between writers and readers, and that such trust is best achieved when no promises of anonymity are made. Most people would understand and cooperate, and social scientists would no longer have to engage in deceptive practices, no matter how innocent the deception (2003:B13–B14).

Accepting this position, the decision to name participants has to be thoroughly considered; it should be done for positive rather than negative reasons, and it is this which underpinned my own decision. Tilley and Woodthorpe wrote:

[W]here participants are active agents in the research – as they can be within participatory or emancipatory approaches – there is a strong case to be made for offering individuals and organisations the choice as to whether or not their identities are disclosed, even if this may create conflict between participants’ and researchers’ autonomy (2011:6).

Denzin and Lincoln suggested that when participants are to be named, an ‘ethical covenant’ (2005:645) is created between researcher and participant. Participants should provide ‘informed consent’ to the disclosure of their details (Ali and Kelly, 2018:51). Bruckman *et al.* (2015) provided some further considerations. Firstly, the

researcher needs to have a high degree of certainty that naming will cause no harm; secondly, that informed consent is given; and, finally, that participants have an opportunity to comment on a draft publication prior to full publication. These principles were adhered to within this research.

I invited participants to be named because it honoured their passion and commitment to young people through their commitment to delivering and maintaining what they considered to be high-quality youth work. Furthermore, it is their status within youth work which gives their views authority. It was also my intention to provide participants with an equal status to named others whom I cite and make reference to, something that anonymity appeared to hinder (Wolfe, 2003). Using real names also enables readers to make connections between participants and their published work (Bruckman *et al.*, 2015). For example, it might be instructive to know that one participant wrote the highly respected *Kids at the Door* (Holman, 1981) and established the Easterhouse Project, another carried out a significant piece of research into Scottish youth work (Furlong *et al.*, 1997) and was a noteworthy contributor to youth studies (Furlong, 2013), and another recently challenged the commitment of youth work to the voluntary principle (Coburn and Gormally, 2019) and encouraged practitioners to think about youth work in new, creative ways (Coburn and Gormally, 2015; Coburn and Wallace, 2011).

Naming and locating participants in space and time also shows the transitional nature of youth work, where individuals can be very committed to it for a particular period of their life and then move on, to be replaced by others who in their turn shape and re-shape its social practice. To fully appreciate youth work as a living tradition, its relationship to identifiable people is important, e.g. the head of the National Youth Agency or YouthLink will not always be the same person with the same understanding of youth work, and anonymising names hides this reality. Youth work is also a dialogical social practice, and there is near constant discussion about what it is and is not (R. Davies, 2013). Electing to invite participants to be named in my research also seemed consistent with the commitment of youth work



to equality and empowerment. That I as a peer/researcher should have a recognised voice while the other participants should be denied this right appeared to me to be antithetical with the values of youth work.

The decision to name participants was ratified by the School Ethics Committee at the University of Strathclyde (Appendix 5). I also gained written informed consent from every participant to use their real name and role (Appendix 6). Prior to the commencement of each interview, the interviewee and I had a detailed discussion in which I explained why I would prefer to name participants, and each was offered the choice of anonymity, which they all turned down. It is important to say that accepting the offer of anonymity would not in any way have prejudiced inclusion in this research. They were also all offered the possibility of anonymising particular statements, comments or viewpoints they felt were important but did not want attributed to themselves. A number of participants asked for this.

After the interview process, during 2014 and 2015, all participants were offered a digital recording of their interview and they had the opportunity to read and comment on the first completed draft of this thesis. I also gained written informed consent from every participant to use their real name and role and how I could use the material they provided (something particularly important in the two cases where participants have passed away). I am also content, after re-examining the two drafts, that my use of the data provided by participants has remained consistent. That said, it should be borne in mind that some participants have for various reasons not been able to respond to this piece of work. Consequently, within this kind of research environment, there is a necessity for researchers to be accurate interpreters of real occurrences, engaging with real people with an attitude of honesty and integrity, what Ricoeur called their 'moral duty' (1995b:290).

### 3.7 Data analysis: Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc

For Ricoeur, the joining of the 'hermeneutical problem' with the 'phenomenology method' has two paths: a short route and a long route. In Ricoeur's thinking, the short route leads to a space where understanding is gained through critical analysis, a perspective he acknowledges as important, but limited. Alternatively, he suggests that what he terms the long route, 'carr[ies] reflection to the level of an ontology' (2007a:6).

To assist in handling and analysing this data, my approach has also been informed by the '[m]ixed method simultaneous design' of Morse and Niehaus (2009:16) which provided me with a technical guide on how to analyse different types of data, based on the following key points:

- [R]espect the project's theoretical drive
- Adhere to the methodological assumptions of each method
- Keep the two data sets separate until the point of interface
- Whatever is coded and/or counted must make sense' (2009:21)

I also adopted Scott's (1990) four criteria to ensure the texts and literature which I used were appropriate for research requirements. His first criterion, *authenticity*, is ascertaining whether a text is primary or secondary data, if the evidence is genuine, and if it is written by the author(s) and at the time claimed in the text. The second criterion, *credibility*, is about the text's production, examining if the evidence is error free and well produced. The third criterion, *representativeness*, is confirming the status of the text within its original social setting, asking if it is representative of the texts and views of that period, or is it an anomaly, standing out from all the others, something which requires a knowledge of the period in which the text was produced. The final criterion, *meaning*, requires the researcher to be able to distinguish between the meaning that the author intended and the meaning of the text itself (which may not be what the author intended); this might only be observable by distanciation.

Scott's criteria are not to be understood as distinct phases but as interdependent, which means that the researcher must apply them throughout the research process. Primarily these texts have to be understood within their original context (McCulloch, 2004; J. Scott, 1990), the phase of Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc which is exegetical analysis.

### 3.7.1 An exegetical analysis

The function of the exegetical approach is to explain the text in terms of its structure and internal veracity (Ricoeur, 1995k; 2007b), to understand the text in terms of itself and its genre (Ricoeur, 1995c). As part of my data-gathering process, I have ascertained what Scott called the 'authenticity, soundness and authorship' of the text (1990:19), by confirming the status of the authors within youth work. This process also caused me to conclude that the texts I used were representative of youth work at that time, being written for networks, associations and youth work initiatives or having been published in authoritative research literature. For example, most of these older texts were written by those involved with the largest, most influential voluntary endeavours. I have also ensured that these documents are the originals, or complete reproductions of the originals as far as possible technically.

Part of this process introduced me to the literature which informed my approach in that it revealed some of the *conjunctions* of youth work. One example is Spence's chapter 'Working with Girls and Young Women: A Broken History' (2006), in which she reflects on the way feminist youth work in the 1970s and 1980s was inspired by uncovering an older heritage in the foundational texts of youth work. Similarly, Davies' journal article 'Youth Work, Protest and a Common Language' (2013) attempts to find a common language for youth work by exploring the languages of its past. These, along with two older books, Eagar's *Making Men: The History of the Boys' Clubs and Related Movements in Great Britain* (1953) and Percival's *Youth Will Be Led: The Story of the Voluntary Youth Organizations* (1951), also pointed me towards this approach.

Smith's 'Developing Youth Work' (1988) was important as it presented a non-reductive interpretation of the development of youth work and as such prompted my use of Taylor's (1992; 2007b) wider, more academic social analysis. Similarly, Davies' use of MacIntyre as a means of locating a common language for youth work encouraged me to adopt MacIntyre's concepts of *language* and *translation* as tools through which to interpret the evolution of youth work through time. This exegetical analysis is also important as it encourages us to see that a text has more than one possible meaning (Ricoeur, 2007a), something which leads on to a more critical reflection.

### 3.7.2 A critical analysis of the text

The next step in Ricoeur's approach takes us beyond an exegetical understanding of the text and provides us with a creative access that takes us beyond the actual text and the intention of the author. Here, Ricoeur (1995e) suggested the interpreter should adopt a structuralist stance of literary criticism, a perspective which moves us from a 'naïve' or 'surface interpretation' of a text to a 'critical' or 'depth interpretation' (Ricoeur, 1995e:218). It is during this process that I confirmed the 'credibility' (J. Scott, 1990) of the texts, examining the authors' motives and agendas in writing.

Within youth work, as I mentioned before, there has been a tendency amongst some to adopt a revisionist approach, which led to a critical analysis of those who influenced it from its earliest days on into the 1950s. Often this analysis takes a strongly negative view of these philanthropic endeavours and the individuals who carried them out. However, my reading of these early texts of youth work have led me to a different view, that while these early youth workers may have been politically and socially conservative, they were well intentioned and possessed a civic radicalism. This deeper, critical analysis has enabled me to recognise the 'sincerity and accuracy' (J. Scott, 1990:22) of the early writers in that they did not consider themselves socially controlling or undertaking social engineering.

This methodology does not privilege the post-1960s texts and attitudes as being more enlightened, or of a critically superior position from which to analyse the older literature. To all of them and to the participants who took part in my research, I would apply Bright's maxim: '[y]outh workers embody genuine concern for young people, their learning, their personal and social development, and the fulfilment of each young person's potential' (2015a:2). It is this that has informed my attitude to both writers and participants and my approach to the literature, texts, interviews and practices they produced; they appeared to genuinely believe that what they were writing or speaking about was good, right and truthful.

Scott's last criterion, 'arriv[ing] at an understanding of the meaning and significance of what the document contains' (1990:28), is both a literal and an interpretive understanding. In the first instance, this enables one to see the point the author is intending to make, and the meaning his audience would have taken from it. That said, Ricoeur suggested that if a researcher stops at this point, his understanding will still be limited; he will continue to limit the text since at this stage, it still has 'only an inside' (Ricoeur, 1995e:216) of the text which is seen. It is here that the researcher becomes part of the audience and the text opens up some other possible interpretations and excludes others (J. Scott, 1990). At this stage, I also carried out a critical analysis of the data from the interviews with my participants.

### 3.7.3 Interview data analysis

The analysis of semi-structured interviews is a dynamic process, where I gathered and reflected on data starting from the interview process, looking for emerging 'thematic patterns' (Galletta, 2013). It was during this process that I became aware that not all participants had the same understanding of youth work.

The first step, according to Galletta (2013) is for the researcher to immerse themselves in the data. I did this by listening and re-listening to each recorded interview up to five times. This process revives memories of the interview, some of which may be significant and worth recording (Wengraf, 2001). While these

memories fade as the process is repeated, subsequent listenings are slower as segments are paused and reflected on, or perhaps replayed. This is a process which Wengraf said gives 'your conscious mind time and opportunity to generate and sense new understandings of "what it's all about"' (2001:209). I followed this by carrying out partial transcriptions of the interviews (Richards, 2005), a pragmatic decision made after carrying out a number of experimental transcriptions, which recognised the importance of this activity. However, this is a time-intensive process (Richards, 2005; Wengraf, 2001) that was particularly difficult for me as a dyslexic person. The portions transcribed provided a verbatim text of my question and the interviewees' answers, including pauses, interjections, unfinished sentences, incomplete turns of phrase, and sentences that changed direction midway. When these are presented within the data chapters, quotations are limited to the interviewees' answers, unless the question is important, and they may include a descriptive comment. Initially, these partial transcripts were read and reread and the appropriate sections of recordings re-listened to (Richards, 2005).

During this process, I adopted an inductive method of analysis. Wengraf described this as a way of analysing the interviews which enables the researcher to make 'inferences to extra-interview realities' (2001:6) using the specific replies of the participant to form general themes (Morse and Niehaus, 2009). This is a method which moves from the particularity of one interview through the shared particularities of others in such a way that commonalities and differences are revealed and which can extend beyond different data sources (Galletta, 2013). Using this process, I have drawn out a number of themes which show the different ways my participants interpreted the relationship of Christianity with youth work. Yet to ensure that I do not dilute their position within this research or to their individual views, in presenting the data I give priority to their answers and then I relate it to the wider youth work literature. Table 2 below summarises the main themes which were identified through the process outlined here.

Table 2: Themes emerging from the youth workers' interviews

Theme 1	The Christian heritage of youth work
Theme 2	Christian work with young people as a manipulative form of practice
Theme 3	The relationship of Christianity with youth work
Sub-theme 1	Christianity and youth work as having conflicting world-views
Sub-theme 2	Christian faith-based youth work provided a distinctive genre of youth work
Sub-theme 3	Christian faith-based youth work as youth work
Sub-theme 4	Christian faith-based youth work as a practice with a theistic language

#### 3.7.4 The depth semantic

Ricoeur considers critical analysis to be an important way of looking at a text, but he claims true understanding requires another stage, what he calls *depth semantics* (Ricoeur, 1976b:87; 1995e:217). The depth semantic is a 'creative interpretation' at once 'bounded and free' (Ricoeur, 2007b:300). It is where the reader, in Ricoeur's

words, 'unfolds the revelatory power implicit in [the author's] discourse, beyond the limited horizon of his own existential situation' (1995a:191). It is here that the relationship between the reader and the text begins to change; Ricoeur wrote of this relationship as developing an 'emotional[ly] intense' (2007b:297) nature. It is here where the readers enter the hermeneutical circle; they 'understand in order to believe and believe in order to understand' (Ricoeur, 2007b:298). Ricoeur provided us with a succinct description:

The depth semantics of the text is not what the author intended to say, but what the text is about... Therefore what we want to understand is not something hidden behind the text, but something disclosed in front of it (1995e:218).

To assist me with interpreting the evolution of the influence of Christianity on youth work down through time and its current status, I have brought to bear on my data aspects of Taylor's social history as he sets it out in *Sources of the Self* (1992) and *A Secular Age* (2007b). From his books, I have taken his view of providential deism and understanding of the Age of Authenticity. To interpret this evolution of youth work from being Christian through providential deism to the secular, I have applied MacIntyre's ideas of *language* and *translation* drawn predominantly his book *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (1988). I describe these in more detail within their appropriate data chapters (providential deism, section 5.2; language and translation, section 5.3; the Age of Authenticity, section 7.2). It is this reflective, analytic process in which *appropriation* occurs.

### 3.7.5 Appropriation

Appropriation is the final, reflective aspect of Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc and is attained only after the landscape or the 'text in front of the text' is fully appreciated. It is the culmination of a developing relationship between the text and its reader, a relationship which flows from distanciation to appropriation (Ricoeur, 1995d) and which is achieved through reflection (Ricoeur, 2007a) on the



hermeneutical endeavour. It results in the 'fusion of horizons' (Ricoeur, 1995a:192), when there is a union between the landscape of the author and reader, mediated by the text. According to Klemm and Schweiker, in this arc '[u]nderstanding, explanation and appropriation together form a "hermeneutical arc" in which "understanding precedes, accompanies, closes, and thus envelops explanation. In return, explanation develops understanding analytically' (1993:8).

This means in fact that Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc is more of a spiral (Stiver, 2012), where understanding enriches explanation, which in turn cultivates understanding and so on, developing what Ricoeur termed an 'insuperable structure of knowledge' (Ricoeur, 1995e:221).

In appropriation, we can go further than simply understanding the intention of the author and beyond what his readers would have understood from what he had written. We transition and understand this discourse as conforming to a master-narrative reflecting the social imaginaries of its time, in an 'unthought' manner (Taylor, 2007b:427). What is appropriated by the reader is, in the words of Ricoeur, 'the power of disclosing a world which constitutes the reference of the text' (1976b:92).

Importantly, Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc is an approach which can be applied to the data gathered from literature and interviews, where often the observations and statements of the participants raised more questions, which called for them to be examined in light of the literature, a cyclical dynamic which played a role in the way my research developed. For example, it became evident during the interview process that not every participant meant the same thing when they spoke of youth work, and although they acknowledged Christianity's place within youth work, they interpreted that relationship in different ways. These understandings could only be appreciated when related to wider youth work literature.

### 3.8 Summing up

In this chapter, I began by explaining how my personal and professional background, experiences, learning and world-view have influenced my research. I provided a description of the theoretical considerations which underpin this research and which are drawn from hermeneutic phenomenology, in particular Ricoeur's use of the term *discourse*, his understanding of what constitutes a text and how it escapes the author's intent, something which requires what he calls *distanciation*. Along with these I provided an explanation of living within social imaginaries. Following on from this, I described the approaches I adopted to gather data, firstly from documentary sources and then through semi-structured interviews. I also discussed the ethical considerations in my decision to name participants. In the subsequent section, I set out my analytical method, Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc, a technique which enables a detailed understanding of a text and provides us with the ability to see into the world beyond it, moving as it does through stages of exegetical analysis, critical analysis, the depth semantic, and appropriation. I have briefly explained my reasons for adopting ideas from MacIntyre and Taylor to aid this process.

In the following chapter, I begin my presentation of evidence and provide first an *événementielle* of the relationship between Christianity and youth work from its inception up until the 1970s.

## Chapter 4

### Youth work and Christianity

#### 4.1 Chapter overview

By drawing together people and events which current youth work authors consider significant for our understanding of youth work, I provide an *événementielle* of Christianity's relationship with youth work with the aim of revealing the true extent of that relationship by showing the continuing presence of Christian faith-based youth work throughout its development. I begin by providing a description of the formation of youth work, including its forerunners and antecedents; its pre-youth work influences, people and social endeavours; the Christianised environment where evangelicalism was a significant force for change; and the religious views of its founders.

I follow this by providing some biographical details of those youth workers, people born in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who wrote about youth work and carried it forward into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, people I have called its shapers; and by showing Christianity's continuing presence during some of changes which occurred between the two world wars.

Then I examine the establishment of the Youth Service, which is understood to be one of the most important moments in the development of youth work, and recount its relationship to Christianity. I then discuss the publication and implementation of *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (Ministry of Education, 1960), which occurred at a time of significant social and cultural change, and how it provided youth work with a new language through which to articulate its aims.

#### 4.2 The formation of youth work

The main challenge when writing about the earliest forms of youth work is that its founders rarely wrote anything down, and when they did it was so flimsily published that most of it quickly decayed (Eagar, 1953). Initially, these volunteers might have

referred to themselves as social workers (Attlee, 1920; Eagar, 1953), and described what they did simply as ‘work with or among boys and girls... or youth’ (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Smith, 2013), so when we turn to the earliest texts which survived we need to be mindful of this situation. When we examine this literature, or what remains of it, we should also see it as being descriptive of various forms of work with young people, which later on would come to be called youth work.

Regardless of these difficulties, the consensus amongst youth workers is that what we now call youth work came into being in the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Barbour, 1951; Booton, 1985; Bright, 2015a; Davies, 2010b; Davies and Gibson, 1967; Dawes, 1975; Eagar, 1953; Jeffs and Smith, 2010a; Leighton, 1972; Milson, 1970; Smith, 1988; Smith, 2013). Particularly significant is Arthur Sweatman’s use of the expression ‘Youths’ Clubs’ (1985 [1863]) in a paper presented in Edinburgh (Springhall, 1986), as this was said to have been the first occasion the term was used to articulate a form of work with young people in the United Kingdom (Pelham, 1890; Smith, 2001a). As with any such claim, there is debate around its validity (Dawes, 1975; Eagar, 1953; Percival, 1951). It does, however, serve as an emblematic moment when, to use Ricoeur’s expression, youth work became ‘a discourse fixed in writing’ (1995k:145). Sweatman’s use of the expression signalled that something was occurring in the work with young people within society which was adopting the descriptive term *Youths’ Clubs*.

As time passed, what would become known as *youth work* expanded to include different genres of practices (Davies and Gibson, 1967), with different aims and agendas: the YMCA (established 1844), the Naval Lads’ Brigade (the Sea Cadets) (established 1856), the YWCA (established 1858), Girls’ Friendly Society (established 1875), the University Settlement Movement (established 1884) and development and rapid expansion of Girls’ Clubs and Boys’ Clubs.

The first Boys’ Clubs appeared in the late 1850s (Eagar, 1953) and Girls’ Clubs in 1893 (Spence, 1999). Their number expanded rapidly through these decades, with the first Jewish Youth Club being established in 1883 (Rose, 2005). What was to

become known as *youth work* also included uniformed organisations, including Boys' Brigade (established 1883), the Church Lads' Brigade (established 1891), the Jewish Lads' Brigade (established 1895), the Catholic Lads' Brigade (established 1896), the Girls' Brigades (established 1893), the Boy Scouts (established 1908) and the Guides (established 1909), along with the Army Cadets which, although older, view 1889 as a significant date, when Octavia Hill understood it to be a means of supporting young people's escape from industrial squalor (Roberts, 2015).<sup>12</sup> These were followed by later endeavours: The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry (established 1916), Kindred of the Kibbo Kift (established 1920), Woodcraft Folk (established 1926), the Young Farmers and the Youth Hostel Association which came into being in the 1920s.

The development of these new forms of work with boys and girls was an evolutionary process. For example, Sweatman observed that Youths' Clubs had metamorphosed from Youth Institutes, and Eagar (1953) reiterated this form of development. Such clubs began an irregular process of federalisation, firstly across cities and districts: beginning with the London Federation of Boys' Clubs, which formed 1887 and which seemed to operate on denominational grounds (Eagar, 1953). In other cities federalisation occurred later: in Manchester in 1907, Liverpool in 1911, Birmingham 1928 and Nottingham 1935.

Within this environment, if we are to appreciate the development of what was to become known as *youth work*, we should have some appreciation of its forerunners and antecedents, the strength of the Christian environment and its founders.

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<sup>12</sup> The Army Cadet Force view 1889 and the establishment of 'London's first independent Cadet Battalion – the Southwark Cadet Company' by Octavia Hill as an important moment in it becoming a youth movement (Army Cadets, nd).

#### 4.2.1 The forerunners and the antecedents of youth work

Those forerunners of youth work who are considered to be important by youth work authors include people like Elizabeth Fry, Hannah More, Robert Raikes, John POUND and Ellen Ranyard, who along with the stimulus of the temperance movement, education, district visitors (Bible women), Ragged Schools and Sunday schools (Bright, 2015a; Jeffs and Smith, 2002; Jeffs and Spence, 2011; Morgan, 1939; 1948; Percival, 1951; Russell and Russell, 1932; Smith, 2003 [2001]; 2013) all played a role in the development of youth work.

Eagar (1953) considered the most significant forerunners of youth work to be: the Ragged Schools, Boy's Homes, Youths' Institutions, the University Settlement Movement, and evangelical endeavours within deprived areas which were known as Home Missions. Alongside these, four socially significant ideals were also important: the idea of *Useful Knowledge*, the *Soldierly Impulse*, *Virile Recreation* and the *Temperance Drive*.

Societies for Useful Knowledge were inspired by the writing of Henry Brougham and his Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the focus of which was to provide technical skills and training necessitated by the development of industrialisation. According to Edgar, societies for Useful Knowledge ranged from local, independent self-improvement groups to more institutional endeavours and played a role in the development of Mechanics' Institutes. They promoted education disassociated from religion, which was seen to be in conflict with the some within the church, although Eagar suggested religion remained a central part of many endeavours. In the arena of work with young people, they were perhaps the least influential, being overwhelmed by Arnold's idea of *true Christian manliness* (Eagar, 1953:89-97) or 'muscular Christianity' (Freeman, 2010; Watson *et al.*, 2005).

The Soldierly Impulse was partly due to the number of military men involved in voluntary work with boys. These men 'had seen the need and the worth-whileness of conserving the vigour of the nation's stock' and considered 'the military virtues...

loyalty, courage, endurance [and] discipline' to be the foundational Christian virtues of manliness (1953:97–98).

Alongside this, a belief in the benefits of 'Virile Recreation' as a method of forming character was beginning to take hold within public schools. By the 1880s, it was beginning to be considered both a benefit to and a missing 'birth-right' of even the poorest working-class boys, diverting them from anti-social behaviour; the Boys' Club aimed to instil the same character in working-class boys as the public school (1953:98-111).

Lastly, the Temperance Drive was, according to Eagar, easy to caricature and deride; yet he suggested that this drive was particularly formative for work with young people, since from it came the belief that young people might be worked with in their own right, and that any successful work with young people had to encompass education and positive holistic opportunities (1953:111–116).

While these, in different ways, influenced the subsequent development of Youths' Clubs and what was to become *youth work*, they were largely informed by the Christian faith of their organisers (Smith, 2013), which was in turn shaped by the Christianised social milieu of the time.

#### 4.2.2 The Christianised environment in the formation of youth work

What was to become known as *youth work* came into being in a particular social landscape, where changing attitudes to children, young people and education, poverty and employment, industrialisation, rapid urbanisation, social changes and moral fears all played a significant role in its birth (Bright, 2015a; Eagar, 1953; Jeffs, 2000; Leighton, 1972; Musgrove, 1964; Rosenthal, 1986; Springhall *et al.*, 1983).

However, it is Christianity which is seen as being the most significant influence on social endeavours in the UK at this time (Bebbington, 2002; McLeod, 1996). The establishment and shape of these groups which would subsequently be known as youth work were significantly informed by this Christianised social landscape

(Bright, 2015a; Roberts, 2015; Smith, 2013). In the words of Eagar, '[t]he significance of the beginnings of the Youth Service will be missed if the missionary spirit which impelled its pioneers is overlooked' (1953:117). He described it as an 'added force' that 'operated powerfully on all ideas and opinions' (1953:1), suggesting that in this period all social endeavours were infused with a 'religious character', regardless of whether the agency itself was political or non-religious (1953:88).<sup>13</sup> This view was expressed more recently by Harris:

Even though philanthropy performed a number of very important secular functions, it is essential to recognise the extent to which religious feeling not only provided a general foundation for philanthropic activity, but helped to influence both its character and orientation (B. Harris, 2004:62).

Snape (2015) observed that non-conformist Christianity was a powerful influence in shaping the leisure activities of the period, and that most of the work with young people which developed in the 1870s and 1880s was built on the foundation of Christian charitable works, with its chief protagonists coming from established religious groups (Hendrick, 1990; Morgan, 1943; Percival, 1951; Springhall *et al.*, 1983), in particular evangelicals, Anglo-Catholics and Christian socialists (Eagar, 1953; Percival, 1951; Springhall *et al.*, 1983). The most active amongst these were the evangelicals (Percival, 1951; Prochaska, 2006; 1980), so that by the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century most social endeavours were said to be evangelical in 'character and control' (Bebbington, 2002:120; Springhall, 1986).

Particularly influential at this time was the changing attitude within evangelical thought which saw a shift away from a belief that the poor lived in poverty because

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<sup>13</sup> Prochaska suggested this is the case for Christianity's role in the development of UK social services in general.



this had been pre-ordained by God, to a perspective which came to believe that Christians had a responsibility to alleviate the poverty of others (Hilton, 1988) and where philanthropy became an important expression of faith in its own right (Hilton, 1988). Evangelicalism developed a world-transformative aspect which included the desire to make society better (Smith, 1998; Springhall, 1986), although there were different views as to how this should be achieved (see, for example, D. Smith, 2001: who writes about the different approaches taken by Thomas Chalmers and Thomas Guthrie in Scotland). It was into this Christianised milieu that the founders of youth work were born, and this is evidenced in their religious views.

#### 4.2.3 The Founders of youth work

To provide the names of those I have termed the *founders* and later the *shapers* of youth work, I have drawn on the work of other youth work historians who have written about those people they considered important in the development of youth work. These historians included Bright (2015a) and Smith (2013) in conjunction with the earlier works of Eagar (1953) and Percival (1951), and from the mid 1970s Dawes (1975). I gathered a list of names of the people they considered to be of significance and placed them in chronological order according to their dates of birth (Appendix 7). I then placed them into two generational groups, what we might think of as first- and second-generation youth workers. Setting these named individuals within a chronology reveals two different phases in the relationship between Christianity and youth work in its early years and distinguishes its *founders* – those who provide a newly created social practice with a ‘particular language and culture’ (MacIntyre, 1988:371), from its *shapers* – people who translated it into new languages and continued to influence its development as it rapidly expanded, maintaining their influence well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Importantly, it also aligns with Smith’s summary of the period:

[F]or all their differences, [youth work] emerged out of the work of evangelical Christians. However, there began to be a significant shift away from evangelicalism in great swathes of youth work.

Workers with very different religious views had begun to come into the work (2013).

The founders of youth work include people like Henry Solly (1813–1903) (Ruston, 2004), who was a Unitarian minister;<sup>14</sup> and Jane Kinnaird (1816–1888) (Garnett, 2004) and Emma Roberts (c1818–1877) (Moor, nd [c1910]; World YWCA: Women Leading Change, nd), who were founders of the Young Woman's Christian Association (YWCA) and were both evangelicals (Moor, nd [c1910]).

There were three Scots: George Williams (1821–1905) (Springhall, 2004b), founder of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); William Smith (1854–1914) (Springhall, 2004a), founder of the Boys' Brigade (Doggett, 1922; Gibbon, 1953; Springhall *et al.*, 1983); and Arthur Kinnaird (1847–1923) (Fishwick, 2004), who also played a role in establishing the three organisations. All shared an evangelical perspective (Fishwick, 2004; Moor, nd [c1910]).

Maude Stanley (1833–1915) (Bonham, 2004; Stanley, 1878), Arthur Sweatman (1834–1909) (Hayes, 2003) and Thomas Pelham (1847–1916), who was considered to have written the first handbook for Youths' Clubs (Eagar, 1953), and John Stansfeld (1854–1939) (Baron, 1958; Smith, 2004a), were all founders of Boys' Clubs and Girls' Clubs and all claimed to be evangelicals.

Others were also described as evangelical Christians: Thomas Barnardo (1845–1905) (Batt, 1904; Wagner, 2004); Quintin Hogg (1845–1903), who was one of the founders of the Polytechnic (Eagar, 1953:248; Hogg quoted in Hogg, 1906:302; Hogg in Wood, 1932; Woods and Stearn, 2010); and John Brown Paton (1830–1911) (Eagar, 1953; Springhall, 1977), founder of the Boys' Life Brigade.

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<sup>14</sup> Bebbington (2002) suggested that there was a blurring of boundaries between some forms of evangelicalism and Unitarianism; see also Young (1992).

In addition, the Anglican influence within youth work's foundational moment can also be seen in Mary Elizabeth Townsend's (1841–1918) (G.M. Harris, 2004; Percival, 1951) formation of the Girls Friendly Society.

Samuel Barnett (1844–1913) (Koven, 2008) and Henrietta Barnett (1851–1936) (Koven, 2004) played a key part in the formation of the Settlement Movement, and Walter Mallock Gee (c1845–1916) (Morris, 2015; Phillips, 2015; Springhall, 1977) established the Church Lads' Brigade, the Anglican equivalent of the Boys' Brigade. However, not all from this generation were Christian, as Albert Edward Goldsmid (1846–1904) (Kadish, 1995; Springhall, 1977), the founder of the Jewish Lads' Brigade, was a Jew.

Finally, to these we might add another significant voice, that of Berman Paul Neuman (1853–c1942) (Kemp *et al.*, 1997), author of *The Boys' Club: A Manual of Suggestions for Workers* (1900), a book considered to be of significant influence (Bunt and Gargrave, 1980; Russell and Russell, 1932).

What is clear from this extensive list is that, with the exception of Edward Goldsmid, all of these founders were considered to be Christian, and a significant number evangelical.

It should be recognised, however, that this Christianised milieu was exceedingly complex (Thompson, 1980). Eagar (1953) acknowledged that the environment into which Boys' Clubs was born was one imbued with religious disagreement, debate and controversy. In 1889, Anglican Bishop Browne voiced the position of a number of bishops when he declared himself to be 'quite as much an Evangelical as... a High Churchman' (Browne quoted in Harrison, 1973:133). Not all relationships were quite so magnanimous though, with Braithwaite (1904) and more recently Morgan (1943), Harrison (1973), and Jeffs (2003) highlighting that many of the institutions established to work with young people were created in an atmosphere of less-than-positive competition.

However, there were positive aspects to this environment, which included the cross-fertilisation of ideas and the interdenominationalism of evangelicalism. For example, the earlier work of evangelical Calvinist Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847) was influential in the establishment of the University Settlement Movement (Rose, 2001), which was itself drawn from a number of different Christian denominations and churches (Ashley, 1911). Similarly, early YMCA and Boys' Brigades were established across denominational boundaries, although this induced established churches to respond by setting up denominational clubs, such as Catholic clubs in the 1850s (Percival, 1951). There was also a further challenge in that not all practice was of a similar quality, so that by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the poor standard of some provision had already been pointed out (Braithwaite, 1904; Neuman *et al.*, 1900).

This environment was to change as a new generation of influential youth workers emerged with distinct world-views, which were to influence the expansion of youth work.

### 4.3 The shapers of youth work

Differing from the earlier founders, the shapers were born into the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, coming from and adhering to different religious faiths, different interpretations of Christianity and different ideological positions. I have called them *shapers* because they carried forward their visions of youth work into the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, if not beyond.

This group included people like Lily Montagu (1873–1963) (Alderman, 2004) and Basil Henriques (1890–1961) (McCabe, 2004), who were both of the Jewish Faith, and Ernest M. S. Pilkington (1858–1925) who wrote *An Eton Playing Field* in 1896 and also a chapter in Neuman's *The Boys' Club: A Manual of Suggestions for Workers* (1900). Jane Addams (1860–1935) (Brown, 2000) was significant in developing the second generation of the Settlement Movement. Charles E. B. Russell (1866-1917), along with his future wife, Lilian Rigby, 'wrote what was the

standard text on lads' work' (Smith, 2001b): *Working Lads' Clubs* (1908). Kuentler said that Russell's work was an exhibit of his 'deeply religious humanity' (1960:2).

Robert Baden-Powell (1857–1941) (Warren, 2004) founded the Boy Scouts in 1906, and the two men whose youth movements seceded from Scouting in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were also born in this period: Edward Westlake (1856–1922) (Craven, 1998; Springhall, 1977; Taylor *et al.*, 2013), who founded The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry in 1916; and John Hargrave (1894–1982) (Oxbury, 2004), who founded the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift in 1920 (Elwell-Sutton, nd; Oxbury, 2004). Westlake was brought up as an evangelical Quaker (Freeman, 2010), although his later beliefs might better be described as a Christian deist. Hargrave was also from a Quaker background, although Eagar described the Kibbo Kift as having a form of mysticism that went with 'jerkens and long-haired politics – Jibbahs and gibberish (1953:331). Another of its founding members was Emmeline Pethnick-Lawrence (1867–1954) (Harrison, 2004; Law, 2000; Oxbury, 2004) who, in the 1890s, established the Maison Espérance and authored *The Working Girls' Club* (1898). From being an evangelical in her early years, her beliefs moved through Christian socialism to a form of deism (Inkpin, 1996) and theosophy (Pollen, 2015).

William Hartley Carnegie (1860–1936) (Westminster Abby, nd) established the Street Boys' Union in Birmingham, which in 1907 was to become the Street Children's Union. Norman Chamberlin (1884–1917), who had lived for a time at Toynbee Hall, moved to Birmingham, where he organised and ran clubs for boys who were deemed too rough for Carnegie's Street Boys' Union in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Eagar, 1953). Alexander Devine (1869–1930) laid claim to founding the first Boys' Club in the country and was characterised by Eagar as a flamboyant, ill-informed liability who was 'conscious and too proud of his power over boys, reckless of its dangers and careless of the obligations it carried' (1953:273). Along with the above names, another two people born in the 20<sup>th</sup> century also shaped youth work: Josephine Macalister Brew (1904-1957) (Smith, 2001c), whose book *Service of Youth* (1943) was said to be the first 'statement of "modern" youth work'

(Smith, 2001c:208); and Leslie Paul (1905–1985) (W. H. S. Smith, 2004), who split from the Kibbo Kift to form Woodcraft Folk in 1925, which was considered by Springhall (1977) to be the first socialist youth movement in the UK. Paul was also involved in the writing of the Albemarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960), by which time he had returned to the Christian faith of his childhood (Paul, 1951). These shapers carried the language of youth work beyond its initial Christian source (Cranwell, 2003; Eagar, 1953).

#### 4.3.1 The development of youth work after World War I

After the First World War, the situation of young people continued to raise concerns. For example, through the 1930s employment opportunities were limited and under 16 year olds had no real employment rights, being employed in ‘blind alley’ jobs and being dismissed at 16 (Evans, 1974:19). This situation was seen as detrimental to their health, which by the late 1930s was being compared unfavourably with the *Hitler-Jugend* and Italian Fascist Youth organisations (Evans, 1974; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). It was also a period when youth work had to contend with other competing attractions such as the cinema (Fowler, 1995) and the development of sports centres (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]).

Prior to the mid 1920s, work with young people was hampered by poor infrastructure, often resulting in meeting in inadequate premises such as ‘derelict school[s]... or a very old and probably insanitary house with nominal rent’ (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]:136), lacking equipment and more often simply renting a hall for one evening a week. They also had to rely on the precarious situation of poorly trained volunteers who had little understanding of informal education methods, and teachers who only understood formal classroom work and lacked the spontaneity of the club leader (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). In addition, voluntary organisations lacked the financial resources to deliver the number of clubs and activities required (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Morgan, 1948).

It was also a period where the work with boys and girls began to be described as part of what was being called *voluntary social services*, or *social work* (Jennings, 2003 [1948]). This was broadly defined, according to Mess, as those voluntary endeavours carried out as an expression of people's 'goodness and enthusiasm... [and where the] aims are formulated, organisations are founded and directed, [and] money and service are provided by volunteers', and 'implicit in the notion of voluntary social service [is] that some help shall be given by the privileged to the unprivileged' (2003 [1948]:2).

In 1948, Jephcott gave an overview of the changes which had occurred in voluntary youth organisations between 1918 and 1945, in her piece *Work Among Boys and Girls* (2003 [1948]). One of her first observations was that there were two ways that youth clubs or groups were formed: YMCA and the like were established already federated to a wider organisation, whereas Boys' and Girls' Clubs usually began as autonomous endeavours and became federated to local and national groupings over time. Despite this distinction, however, she considered that '[d]iversity of structure and independence of the local unit... were marked features of the local unit' and fiercely defended by those involved in these voluntary organisations (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]:130).

During this 20-year period, there remained a significant level of continuity between the clubs of the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 1930s, although there was also the birth of some new movements (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Ross, 2003; Spence, 1984). For example, some of Pelham's 1889 writings continued to influence the shape of Boys' Clubs (Eagar, 1953); similarly *The Principles and Aims of the Boys' Club Movement* (National Association of Boys' Clubs, 1930b) was written by Eagar in 1917 (Dawes, 1975) and continued to be republished into the 1940s.

Despite these continuities, however, 1918 was also a catalyst for some changes, unobservable at the time (Milnes, 2003 [1948]). As mentioned earlier, the 1920s saw the establishment of the Young Farmers and the Youth Hostelling Association, also the seeds of some later developments. The growing commitment of clubs and

organisations to outdoor pursuits such as camping and hiking (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]) also led to the creation of Outward Bound School in 1941.

Importantly, by 1918 the state was beginning to recognise the importance of these social work services for young people (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Wolfenden *et al.*, 1955), so that by the 1920s and 1930s a number of Acts of Parliament began to influence the provision of youth work and the nature of voluntary organisations. These Acts included the 1921 Education Act, the 1932 Special Areas Act, and the Physical Recreation and Training Act in 1936.

From 1921, local authorities could, if they wished, subsidise youth clubs, and in the early 1930s a number of trusts were providing funding for youth organisations, although many organisations lacked awareness of this or were too disorganised to be able to access it. There was also funding available from charitable trusts. For example, in 1926 the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust provided funding for libraries, and later in 1930 for the National Council of Girls' Clubs to employ two national physical fitness instructors. In 1933 the Pilgrim Trust and in 1935 the King George's Jubilee Trust (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]), through public subscription, began funding endeavours which promoted the 'physical, mental and spiritual welfare of the younger generation' (Evans, 1974:22).

The growing number of large funders and the different sources meant organisations now appealed to the social conscience of groups and individuals, rather than their religious duty (Jennings, 2003 [1948]). The relationship between government funding and youth organisations was further consolidated when, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, voluntary youth work organisations received funding to establish work in areas of particular deprivation, where local education authorities supported the establishment of many Boys' Brigades (Springhall *et al.*, 1983) and Boys' Clubs (Dawes, 1975). Dawes (1975) suggested that at least some of the success of the Boy's Clubs in this period was due to their response to the Victorian levels of poverty brought about by the Great Depression. Alongside these, local authorities began to establish youth centres of their own (Morgan, 1948).



These new sources of external funding for work with young people also encouraged the development of new structures through which these distinct voluntary organisations could cooperate (Jennings, 2003 [1948]). Prompting the continuation of federalisation, with a national federation of Girls' Clubs called the National Association of Girls' Clubs (NAGC) set up in 1911 (becoming the National Association of Girls' and Mixed Clubs in 1944), and in 1925 the National Association of Boys' Clubs (NABC).

From the earlier impetus of the National Council for Social Services (established in 1919) (Evans, 1974), which preceded the establishment of the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Juvenile Organisations in 1936 (later the National Council for Voluntary Youth Services) (Evans, 1974; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]), a mechanism was created that brought together voluntary youth organisations. In the first instance, membership of the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Juvenile Organisations was limited to eleven of the largest youth organisations: the YWCA, the YMCA, the Boys' Brigade, the Girls' Life Brigade, the Girls' Guildry, the Girls' Friendly Association, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Guides, the National Association of Boys' Clubs, the National Council of Girls' Clubs, and the Church Lads' Brigade (National Council for Voluntary Youth Service, 2018). These national associations began to employ staff to manage and direct the funding they were now receiving, and also instituted inspection processes by which they could ensure the quality of provision in local clubs (Jennings, 2003 [1948]).

From 1918 and throughout the inter-war decades, a new agenda for work with young people was also developing. Jephcott (2003 [1948]) noted that initially much work had been ameliorative, simply compensating poor young people for their substandard living and social conditions. However, alongside this a new educative aim was also becoming part of the work, with a particular emphasis on learning how to live, act and participate in a democratic society. That said, Jephcott also recognised that there was little interest from youth organisations to challenge the

poor social situations in which many young people found themselves living; rather, they continued to focus on character building (2003 [1948]).

While these two aims continued to function throughout this period, the educative aim began to replace the ameliorative one in the priorities of youth work. This development signalled another shift from the original focus, which was on working with young people in areas of deprivation (Goetschius and Tash, 1967), to one which sought to engage with young people from across the social spectrum (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). It was also a time when the youth leader role became a salaried job, professionalisation developed and youth leaders' training schemes (open to all youth leaders) began to emerge, albeit firstly in a haphazard way, becoming popular in the mid 1930s (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]).

The period between the wars was also a time when the relationship with Christianity and youth work was altering. Eagar (1953) suggested that while the ethos of the Boys' Clubs in the 1930s remained the same, it had expanded beyond and become disassociated from its specifically Christian roots (Dawes, 1975). The Church of England was losing some interest as their clubs were not resulting in increased church membership (Eagar, 1953). Some within evangelicalism refocused their work, and evangelical work with young people was to become one-dimensional, focusing on soul saving (Bebbington, 2002). This was something which began before the First World War when the Wood brothers, two Irish evangelists, noticed that in their evangelistic rallies between 1902 and 1911 the majority of people who were responding to their message were young. This caused them to run evangelistic rallies specifically for young people (Wood and Wood, 1961). By the 1930s, there were also those who were no longer willing to associate with what they considered to be pagan endeavours (i.e. The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides)

(Bebbington, 2002:226).<sup>15</sup> Jephcott wrote about the attitude of churches during this period:

The Churches as a whole had no uniform policy about their provision for juveniles. Some local churches maintained organisations open to all, irrespective of their religious affiliations, while others demanded a religious loyalty. Some generously helped unattached groups, while others regarded them as rivals, distracting young people from their own religious body and duty (2003 [1948]).

In this environment the Church of Scotland at this time had 600 youth clubs, which they divided into two groupings: the congregational youth club and the parish or community youth club (Church of Scotland: The Committee on the Religious Instruction of Youth, 1944:2). Yet it was in this period that there was a change.

The ongoing evolution of youth work can be seen in that many clubs moved from being single sex to mixed (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). Hedges, later wrote that 'this new understanding of youth work is ideally centred around the club, and at best a mixed club' (1943:8). Of this environment Jephcott wrote:

[T]here were a number of cleavages of opinion and of practice, sometimes resulting in tensions. Some organisations had a permanent religious basis. Others omitted specific religious teaching, though most of the organisations contained some reference in their constitution to their function of meeting spiritual needs (2003 [1948]:131).

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<sup>15</sup> These concerns are indicative of the coming separation between youth work and youth ministry (Ward, 1996).

There also developed a greater level of conflict between denominationally based youth provision as well as competition between voluntary provision, and those run by local authorities and between different religious organisations to attract young people (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]).

It was into this environment that the expression *youth work* was first used to describe a practice, in the title and text of the book (Jeffs, 2018; Smith, 2013) *Methods in Youth Work* (Walkey *et al.*, 1931), perhaps signalling its general usage. Jeffs suggested it was simply a 'euphemism for mixed provision' (Jeffs in Jeffs *et al.*, 2019:17). The book by Walkey *et al.* is made up from the content of three talks delivered at the Assembly of the Baptist Union of Great Britain (which is in reality the Baptist Union of England and Wales) and describes a number of explicitly Christian activities:

We are very uninspiring in the eyes of young people if we are only out to amuse and entertain in our Societies. We do not impress much, if we only give moral guidance and literary assistance. We do however, strike imagination if we create the impression that we are soul-awakeners and soul-makers (1931:18).

Later Jephcott was to place youth work in a more defined context, related to this new funding environment, where increasingly the state was, directly or indirectly, providing the money:

The issue was no longer a question of whether youth work should be adequately financed but was rather whether youth organisations and their leaders should be provided and conducted by the local authorities, or subsidised out of public money though controlled by voluntary organisations or whether both financial support and control should be shared (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]:137).

In drawing these strands together, we see that it was between the two world wars when work with boys and girls became known as youth work. There was also a

change in its relationship with wider society, one which affected its relationship with Christianity. Despite the fact that the book by Walkey *et al.* (1931) showed that youth work is an expression which could be applied to Christian faith-based work and there is continued evidence of Christianity being involved in the provision of youth clubs, Jephcott's observation above suggested that youth work is also a description of practice which was bound to state-sponsored provision. Perhaps it was the distinctive nature of these two perspectives on youth work which can account for Brew's observation in 1968:

Hence, between the wars (1918–39) we were perhaps at the mercy of two main types of leaders, those whose eyes were firmly fixed on the service of God and who somehow, in the excess of their devotion, lost grip of the young people they were trying to lead to see the vision as they saw it; and those whose eyes were so firmly fixed on the humanity they desired with their whole soul to help, that they lost touch with the fountain of inspiration, the God to whose feet they wished to lead that same humanity (1968:212).

Christianity's presence in youth work between the wars is evident despite these structural changes: the changing modes of funding, the increasing role of the state, the continuing development of federalisation, and increasing inter-agency representation through the National Council for Social Service and later in 1936 the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Juvenile Organisations (which was to become the National Council for Voluntary Youth Services in 1972). All of these foreshadowed the establishment of the Youth Service (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]).

#### 4.4 The establishment of the Youth Service

In September 1939, the Board of Education established the National Youth Committee, a UK-wide committee which included 'representatives of the local education authorities, of the teaching profession, of industry, of trade unions, of

employers, and of the voluntary bodies' (Davies and Taylor, 2013:164). In November of the same year, it published and circulated *In the Service of Youth (Circular 1486)* (British Government, 1939), an event which established the Youth Service. This event was and is widely regarded by youth work writers to be a significant moment in youth work's history (Barbour, 1951; Davies, 1999b; 2001; Edwards-Rees, 1943; Frizell, 1967; Goetschius and Tash, 1967; Hedges, 1943; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Brew, 1968; Morgan, 1948; Roberts, 2004; Youth Advisory Council, 1945; Youth Advisory Council (reproduced in Infed), 2002). Percival called it the 'most remarkable event in the history of British youth work' (1951:157). It was established in part to promote social responsibility and in part because there were growing concerns regarding young people's health and literacy. This was along with concerns about the effect of growing up in war conditions (Milson, 1970) and where, within youth work, young people were considered to be increasingly irreligious (Davison, 1943; Hedges, 1943; Brew, 1943; The Standing Joint Committee, 1948).

Initially membership was limited to those organisations with a membership of over 10,000 young people (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; National Council for Voluntary Youth Service, 2018), and of the 13 original organisations which formed the Youth Service (Davies, 1999b), 'six were explicitly religious in their bias and there were others which tended in practice to be linked with Churches' (McLeod, 2007:118). Along with this development, 'The Youth Service After the War' (1943) opened the way for youth wings of adult clubs, or self-generating groups such as cycling, climbing and camping groups, to be thought of as part of the Youth Service. In addition to these were *pre-Service organisations*, which now included the Air Training Corps (established 1941), the Army Cadet Force, the Sea Cadet Corps, the Training Corps for Girls (formed in 1942) and the Cadet wings of the Red Cross and St John Ambulance Brigade.

The establishment of the Youth Service also consolidated the funding structure of youth provision, which had begun in the 1920s, and which now saw the Board of

Education providing substantial grants for organisational and youth leaders' salaries along with equipment and infrastructure. The only types of organisations excluded were those with political affiliations (Hansard H.C. Deb, 1942; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). These grants introduced a debate between the voluntary organisation and the state, regarding the expectation these grants placed on recipients to meet the aims as set out by the state, to provide competent reports and accounts, and to be open for inspection by the Board of Education (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]; Youth Advisory Council, 1943).

The establishment of the Youth Service signalled that '[t]he age of voluntarism was over though it was hoped the voluntary organisations would flourish in a new partnership' (Milson, 1970:9), and the Clark Report noted that the establishment of the Youth Service was when 'the State for the first time explicitly made its influence felt in this sphere' (Ministry of Education, 1947:60). The former development presented the new Youth Service with the fresh challenge of how to define a *voluntary organisation*: '[i]n practice this name is given to organisations which derive their funds wholly from voluntary sources or wholly from public sources or in widely varying proportions from both' (Youth Advisory Council, 1943:15), something which remained problematic up into the 1970s (Wolfenden *et al.*, 1978). The latter was recognised as being something which reshaped youth work provision; in this new environment it was inevitable that the Youth Service would increasingly have to conform to the growing agenda of the state (Edwards-Rees, 1943; Morgan, 1939; Morgan, 1948). This induced a rapid change; the 'State intervention in the Service of Youth was to come quicker than even the most optimistic could hope' (Hubery, 1963:47).

Another result was that local authorities established local youth committees to manage the local provision of youth work (Milson, 1970), which resulted in the growth of paid staff within local authorities and voluntary organisations (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). However, despite this rapid expansion of provision, the existing youth organisations still could not meet the demand and local authorities were said to

have 'encouraged the setting up of pretty well any type of youth society, so long as a few responsible adults were connected with it' (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]:141). Federalisation also increased in the years between 1939 and 1945, and by 1944 the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organisations had extended its membership to 18 (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]).

The McNair Report established the educational emphasis of the Youth Service when it noted that the 'new thing about it is that it is being woven into the pattern of education for which public authorities are responsible' (Board of Education, 1944:93). It also revealed the level of state involvement. Clarke described these educational aims:

[They will] inculcate both moral values and new levels of personal hygiene... to give young people an awareness of their functions as citizens so that, through resultant knowledge of the social and political structure of their locality and country, they eventually will pass on to active co-operation as mature citizens... [And they aim to] inculcate in them habits of seriousness and self-discipline, emotional and intellectual... (Clarke, 2014 [1949]:227).

Other aims which underpinned this new Service were to prepare young people for the future possibility of military service, to educate young people in the principles of democracy and to ameliorate the adverse effects war-time conditions may have on the development of young people (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). Others considered it to have an emphasis on employment and employability initiatives (Lindsay, 1975) and in some areas the Youth Service and the Youth Employment Service were joined together (Milson, 1970). The breadth of this new Service was recognised early: '[t]he task of the youth organisations was to help individual boys and girls, infinitely varied in character and need, to reach maturity along not one but many different paths' (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]:143).



The *Challenge of Youth* noted '[v]ariety of approach with a common purpose is no new principle in our education system; but it has even more significance in youth work than in schools, because of the strong traditions and individuality possessed by the national voluntary organisations' (Government Board of Education, 1940:np). Lord Hankey suggested those organisations situated under the umbrella of the Youth Service could be grouped under 'three main heads... of youth organisations, physical training organisations, and the national voluntary organisations of the Youth Service Squads', (Hansard H.L. Deb, 1942). However, Clarke (2014 [1949]) provided a more detailed description of the Youth Service, and she separated it into five modes of practice:

- *Free Entry and Association* – these were Boys', Girls', Mixed and Jewish Clubs, and they offered a mixture of recreational activities and cultural programmes and generally did not require committed regular attendance. [These groups were inward facing, by which Clarke meant they focused predominantly on personal and skills development.]
- *Service to Others* – these included the Guides and Scouts, along with other pre-service groups like St John Ambulance; Clarke described them as 'fac[ing] outwards towards society and [the participants] are constantly reminded that the things they are learning are ultimately for use in service' (2014 [1949]:228).
- *Missionary and Evangelistic* – these were similarly outward looking and included groups such as the Salvation Army and the Young Christian Workers who, she said, were 'highly disciplined and exceedingly militant regarding members as crusaders who set out to Christianise their environment' (Clarke, 2014 [1949]:228).
- *Self-dedication* – these groups were similarly Christian, although without the missionary focus of the above, and they included organisations such as the YMCA, YWCA and Boy's Brigade, and denominational youth fellowship-type groups, and their focus was on developing a young person's life centred on their personal Christianity.

- *Pre-service Units* – these included the Army Cadet Force, Air Training Corps, and Sea Cadets and were also considered part of the Youth Service.

Jephcott said that '[t]he pre-service organisation had definitely discovered, though possibly a temporary one, to young people which the older organisations, less dramatically urgent in their appeal, could not present' (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]:141), something which made them the fastest growing youth organisations (Jephcott, 2003 [1948]), drawing young people away from the older traditional ones (Hansard H.L. Deb, 1942). Although this created an atmosphere of increased competition (Hansard H.L. Deb, 1942; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]), they were welcomed as they brought added diversity to the Service (Clarke, 2014 [1949]; Jephcott, 2003 [1948]). Along with these, the *Outward Bound School* was established in 1941 with the aim of developing, initially in young men, a sense of self-reliance, adventure developed through out-door activities along with the hope that it will help develop self-expression and improve their physical health.

Barnes (1948) also provided four broad categories of Youth Service provision, one of which resonated with the Church of England's Youth Council (1955) almost a decade later. Barnes recognised the church groups along with clubs, groups with a focus on self-determination and personal development, pre-service groups such as the Red Cross and those that have become known as 'pre-service organisations'. Barnes' and Clarke's views suggested that the church was accepted as an intrinsic part of the Youth Service; 'allies' is an expression used by Barnes (1948:126), whereas those in the voluntary sector were 'partners' (Ministry of Education, 1947:61). The Church of England Youth Council wrote of the 1939 Board of Education Circular 1489 as 'strengthening the church's partnership with all engaged in youth work' (1955:43):

Thus in many ways, the church finds satisfaction in its partnership in the Youth Service, seeing its partners as colleagues not competitors, as friends and not as rivals. It dares to claim a share in what has been achieved in the past, and, as it faces a period of

uncertainty, it is ready to accept any responsibility that may come its way. Having cashed in it cannot contract out (The Church of England Youth Council, 1955:46).

The above observation suggests that the church was now drawing some funding from the state. Yet within this new relationship, it could evidently maintain its particularly Christian aims within the Youth Service:

- Worship – both in corporate expression and in private prayer
- Study – enhancing young people’s understanding of the Christian faith
- Service – offering their work and recreational life as a Christian service
- Witness – the lived expression of their Christian faith
- Recreation – developing and sustaining a healthy body and mind (The Church of England Youth Council, 1955:65–74).

Within this new Youth Service environment, the *Challenge for Youth* (1940) pointed toward a developing approach which its authors described as youth work and included:

- *Separate Clubs* were run by voluntary groups or churches or were associated with factories’ works clubs and all were committed to their own autonomy.
- *Youth Centres* were run by either statutory providers, voluntary organisations or both in partnership. They had a full-time wardens and were designed to be used by different youth groups who could access their recreational and gym facilities.
- *Recreational Evening Institutes* were run by local authorities and often developed in a way that made them similar to youth clubs.
- *Old Scholars’ Clubs* met in schools and used the school facilities.
- *Emergency Clubs* were informal social spaces for both boys and girls, so they could meet during the blackout

These all shared a number of common attributes, including social spaces where young people could relax, and aimed 'to train to fit young people for membership of a free society' (1940:np). They were committed to being self-governed by the young people, and they provided enjoyable physical recreation and continuing education, such as learning about music or taking part in drama productions. All of these were to be provided in an informal environment, where such training was 'incidental and indirect' (1940:np).

Of these groups, the Challenge for Youth noted that '[s]ome of them... have a religious basis or are in close association with the Churches – and where they are in a position to provide effectively, whether nationally or locally... their work calls for encouragement' (1940:np). Morgan suggested that a significant volume of clubs in this period maintained their Christian emphasis:

It is certainly a fact that almost all the juvenile organisations put religion in the forefront of their objects. The National Association of Boys' Clubs, which speaks for a large section, avers its emphatic belief in its necessity. It is laid down in clear terms: 'A club is not treating its members fairly if it fails to recognise their spiritual need...' (1943:165).

In this post-war environment, Sanderson wrote of two developing strands within church work, the instructional group and the more informal weeknight group (Sanderson in Barbour, 1951), something which appeared to be a common approach (Barnett, 1951; 1962). In general, indoctrination, whether political or religious, was said to be absent from the Youth Service (Morgan, 1948). Again, Barnes wrote of the relationship between youth work and the church: 'the youth service itself may be said to be well permeated by the influence... of the churches...' and that 'to a great extent the churches are the youth service; at any rate they are in the business of youth work in a big way...' (1948:79).

From within the church environment, Barbour (1951) also recognised the significance of 1939 for this changing dynamic between national and local government and voluntary groups within which there was a continuing commitment to religion as a constituent part of youth work (Youth Advisory Council, 1943). The Youth Advisory Council to the Board of Education recorded that 'the Youth Service has itself created opportunities for worship in large gatherings' (Youth Advisory Council, 1945:14) and that members of The Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organisations subscribed to the following statement: 'The Conference affirms that the greatest need of young people is in essence religious and that the true satisfaction of this need should be the aim of all serious endeavour for youth' (Partnership in the Service of Youth. A Statement by the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organisations quoted in Percival, 1951:207). This meant that Christian work with young people maintained a purposeful distinction and gave the Christian youth club a more particular aim of the conversion and discipleship of young people (Barnett, 1951; 1962; Davison, 1943), which was distinct from a desire to 'do a bit for young people' (Barnett, 1962:5).

These aims were still prevalent in the 1960s (Saward, 1963), although we can note that Brew (1943) was critical of Christian youth work which had what we would now call a 'deficit model' of young people. Barnes (1948) also proposed that preaching was an inappropriate method of communicating Christianity in the youth work setting. Equally, Brew (1943; 1968) and Hedges (1943) both advocated a creative interactive model of religious exploration. This is not to suggest that the reality of practice was such that all youth work was 'Christian', since this clearly was not the case (Brew, 1943; 1968).

Barbour (1951) observed that by the 1950s there had been a marked focus on minimising the differences between the church and other groups, including the state:

The church in relinquishing its hold on education in the narrow sense, had come to a broader and fuller concept of what education itself should mean, and although not popular nowadays to admit it, many if not most of the ideas, practices, and organisations which have characterised youth work in the twentieth century come from the later Victorians. They laid great foundations, and while many of the emphases have changed, the fabric on the whole remains (Barbour, 1951:27).

It was within this period that there is evidence of a shift away from the theistic certainties held by older youth work practitioners (O'Brian, 1947 writing in *The Boy Magazine* and quoted in Dawes, 1975; Eagar, 1953; Morgan, 1939; 1943; Patey, 1957, 1961; Percival, 1951). The Church of England's Youth Council (1955) implied that many people's encounters with church were mainly ceremonial, for example, baptisms, weddings and funerals. Of other youth organisations, it was said that their commitment to their Christian source led to them losing relevance; for example, Ross (2003) suggested that the Settlement Movement changed little until the 1950s, when many were closed down. And Percival (1951) observed that even by 1919 the pre-war language of the Girls' Friendly Society was no longer appropriate for the emerging world, yet they appear to have clung on undeterred until they collapsed in the 1960s. Turnbull reflects that by the 1960s the National Association of Mixed and Girls' Clubs 'had lost touch with the realities of women in this environment' (2001:97).

By 1945, however, the relationship between the state and the Youth Service also appeared to be evolving. The government intended to reduce and eventually stop central state funding and to make local authorities responsible for the funding of Youth Service provision (Eagar, 1953; Hansard H.C. Deb, 1945), and some were considering whether it had a role in the future development of the Welfare State (Hansard H.L. Deb, 1959c). This led to a situation where between 1945 and 1960 there was a sense of state disinterest and stagnation in the development of youth

work and the Youth Service (Chataway, 1967; Evans, 1974; Hansard H.L. Deb, 1959a; 1959d; Hawes, 1966; Leighton, 1972; Robertson, 2005; Wolfenden *et al.*, 1955). It was not until the 1960s that this changed, when the government of the day renewed its interest in youth work and the Youth Service, and when the implementation of the Albemarle Report 'saved the service' (Ord and Davies, 2018:33).

#### 4.5 The Albemarle Report and the new language of youth work

I have written previously of the importance of Albemarle in the development of modern youth work. What makes it significant for our understanding of the *événementielle* of Christianity's relationship with youth work is that its implementation changed the language of youth work (Davies, 1999b) by instigating a process of putting aside the older language of 'training people for citizenship' (Ministry of Education, 1960:39), with its previous focus on spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development and a commitment to the ideals of service, dedication, leadership, and character building. This suggested that, while positive, these foci were no longer relevant for 'this new time' (Ministry of Education, 1960:39). In their place, it provided youth work with a new language of association, training and challenge (Ministry of Education, 1960:37). Leighton,<sup>16</sup> commenting in the early-1970s, observed that '[t]he Albemarle Report offered a new trilogy of association, training and challenge' (Leighton, 1972:28). This fresh expression of youth work appeared to be positive (Leighton, 1972; Maclure, 2005 [1965]) and widely accepted:

The Albemarle Committee's ideas on the purpose of the Youth Service were summed up in the three words: Association, Training and Challenge; and the speed with which youth workers embraced the new thinking was testimony enough to its validity. If some

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<sup>16</sup> Leighton was a lecturer at youth work's National College.

older more experienced leaders were reluctant to abandon that other three-part aim to which they had long been faithful – the mental, spiritual and physical growth of the young – they at least reserved judgement and joined, for the most part enthusiastically, in the race to ‘get with it’ and to provide a Youth Service for a modern Britain (Hawes, 1966:5).

Regardless of this changing vocabulary, Hawes pointed out that, as a service, it was still focused on producing ‘a new generation rich in experience, broad in outlook, tough in spirit and mature in personality’ (Hawes, 1966:5). Yet this change of language is indicative of a more fundamental development within youth work. Association, training and challenge could be adopted by people from different ideological positions and be used with a variety of different aims; indeed, it was designed to be ‘accepted by every section of the Service’ (Ministry of Education, 1960:52). Hawes’ observation is revealing in that he saw the three new aims as ‘the vehicle for other, deeper underlying purposes, rather than for their own sake’ (1966:13), implying that some might apply these to their older models of practice. A debate in the House of Lords (Hansard H.L. Deb, 1960) also recognised the loss of the traditional focus of youth work on spirituality, as it was considered that Albemarle was turning youth work into a practice, one which was an ideological, neutral endeavour.

Despite this shift, Eggleston’s (1976) research in the Youth and Community Service of the 1970s showed the continued existence of faith-based youth work. He observed that most youth organisations within the voluntary sector (or voluntary section of the Youth and Community Service) ‘have religious objectives’ (1976:9) and, in a similar way to Clarke (2014 [1949]), he used their characteristics to create six descriptive groupings. Of the 43 national organisations Eggleston mentioned, 19



were specifically Christian. Similarly Bone and Ross,<sup>17</sup> who adopt a broad definition of the Youth Service, noted that '[c]hurch linked youth clubs provide a similar diet of activities [to those of other youth clubs] but evidently placed more emphasis on discussion (which included Bible Study)' (1972:54). Batten and Batten (1970) also situated some of their examples in church youth clubs. These writings point to the continuing presence of Christian work within youth work.

#### 4.6 Summing up

In providing an *événementielle* of Christianity's relationship with youth work, I have examined the available literature and texts of youth work and revealed the continuous presence of Christian faith-based practices within youth work up until the 1970s.

Youth work is a term which came to describe a set of practices which predate its usage by some 60 years. Originally called *work with boys and girls* and later *social work*, these endeavours were recognised as being youth work by the 1940s (Government Board of Education, 1940), and it was also recognised that these endeavours were influenced and shaped by Christianity in a number of ways, such as through the personal faith of its forerunners and founders, along with the Christianised nature of the milieu. However, by the early 1900s, it is clear this had expanded, something indicated by the different world-views of its shapers. I have also shown that despite the changing nature of funding, increasing federalisation, establishment of the national cooperating bodies and growing state involvement, the relationship between Christianity and youth work between the two world wars continued.

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<sup>17</sup> Bone and Ross defined youth clubs as social spaces which share some of their attributes with both sports clubs and social clubs (i.e. businesses run for profit such as coffee bars and discotheques). They also recognised that youth wings of adult social clubs might be considered a form of youth club.

All of this moved these earlier endeavours towards youth work becoming a much more defined social practice. In this environment, the expression *youth work* came into usage which described a set of particularly Christian practices, as well as state-sponsored provision. When the authors of *Challenge of Youth* (1940) provided a more precise description of youth work, as one aspect within the Youth Service, they too recognised the continuing presence of Christianity and that within this evolving environment many groups maintained their Christian culture and identity.

Related to this, I have shown that Christian organisations were present in the establishment of the Youth Service – where the majority of voluntary partners were Christian faith-based organisations, some explicitly evangelistic (Clarke, 2014 [1949]) – and still present through the decades up into the 1970s (Bone and Ross, 1972; Eggleston, 1976; McLeod, 2007). That said, by the 1940s attitudes amongst youth workers and young people towards Christianity appeared to have changed, with both groups being less committed to it or interested in it. With the publication and implementation of the Albemarle Report, the Youth Service and youth work were provided with a new language, one which could be adopted by organisations which had different aims and objectives and different ideological perspectives.

This chapter is important as it exposes the extent and volume of the Christian presence within youth work through the volume of Christian faith-based endeavours which continued from its inception into the 1970s. Despite the changes which occurred in society and in society's relationship with youth work, the status of Christian faith-based endeavours was large enough and powerful enough to maintain Christianity's place and influence. It was this, and the overwhelming influence of Christianity in the formation of youth work, which ensured its continuation and which shaped the *conjunctures* of that relationship.

In the following chapter I examine and explain the *conjunctures* of Christianity's relationship with youth work, which will help us understand its growth from a Christian endeavour to a secular social practice.

## Chapter 5

# The minor and major translations of youth work's Christian language

### 5.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I interpret and build on the *événementielle* of Christianity's relationship with youth work and examine its *conjonctures* (what Smith called its *longue durée*). Using literature and texts which current youth work authors consider to be important, I provide an explanation of how youth work developed and expanded from being a Christian endeavour to become a secular social practice. To provide the tools to interpret this, I adopted Taylor's concept of providential deism. This is a world-view which became prevalent in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and which co-existed alongside the older Christian languages of the West. It eventually developed again into the secular languages of the post-1960s. To these I applied MacIntyre's concepts of *language* and *translation*, which explain the different ways in which ideological languages can be translated. I have called these *minor* and *major translations*.

I begin this chapter by explaining Taylor's providential deism and the nature of MacIntyre's language and translation. I then show how youth work evolved, through a series of minor translations, from its earliest Christian language into those of other faiths and into different strands of providential deism, and from the language of Christian-as-faith to Christian-as-ethic. I expose how these changes provided pre-Albemarle youth work with a theistic language.

I follow this by describing the major translation of youth work's language, from this theistic language into that of secular humanism in the 1960s, signalled by the changing language in the Albemarle Report (as explained in the previous chapter). In particular, I reveal how the language of Albemarle changed the relationship between youth work and Christianity by providing youth work with a new secular language, and the effect this had on Christianity's relationship with youth work post-

1960. Along with this, I recognise that a number of youth work epistemological beliefs were also translated from its theistic language into its new secular one. In bringing together Taylor's idea of providential deism with MacIntyre's two forms of translation, I can expose the *conjunctions* of Christianity's relationship with youth work which will explain how it expanded from being a Christian endeavour to a secular social practice.

## 5.2 Taylor's providential deism

Providential deism was part of a wider set of developments in what Taylor called the *Age of Mobilisation* (Taylor, 2007b). It became part of philosophical thinking at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and began to fade from view by the mid-to-late 18<sup>th</sup> century, although its influence on society continued into the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beyond (1992; 2007b). Taylor observed that '[t]he Deist template has helped to define "good," or "acceptable," religion for much of the Western discussion of the last few centuries' (2011:307), particularly in the UK, where the evolution towards secularism was slower and more evenly paced than in the rest of Europe (McLeod, 1996).

Taylor's descriptions of providential deism are provided in his book *A Secular Age* (2007b:221–269), where he expands on his earlier ideas from *Sources of the Self* (1992). According to Taylor, providential deism was a particular world-view, an intermediate stage in the development of secularisation.

He described providential deism as a belief which grew out of the Christian faith and, in particular, Christian Reformed theology (1992; 2007b), being to an extent a 're-writing of the Christian faith' (1992:271). It re-interpreted many of Christianity's core beliefs, but minimised the redemptive salvific aspects of the faith, the need for a devotional life (2007b), and the understanding of hell as a place where people went after death as punishment for their personal sin against God (2007b). It did maintain a belief in the after-life (2007b) but only as a reward for living a good life in the here-and-now (2007b), proposing that God's purposes are to be equated with

human happiness. Taylor wrote that 'God's goodness consists in seeking our good' (1992:271); 'we owe him essentially the achievement of our own good' (2007b:222). Providential deism developed a particular emphasis on concepts such as civilising and self-control, moral order and good government (2007b), living according to a particular moral order which was embedded in an attitude of benevolence (1992:273, 281; 2007b), and the avoidance of certain vices: sloth, sensuality, disorder and violence (1992). It maintained the belief that God requires our 'allegiance and worship' (2007b:233), yet broadly interpreted that as meaning living according to a certain moral code and of thanking God for his blessing in the here-and-now (2007b).

Within the Age of Mobilisation (Taylor, 2007b:424), a period which Taylor suggested began around the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and continued until the 1960s, providential deism became increasingly infused in the popular cultural narrative (Taylor, 1992; 2007b), where it evolved different forms of expression:

- It enabled the maintenance of a Christian faith, which also had an emphasis on what we would now call social action (2007b).
- It provided the idea that the divine being provided the world with an impersonal moral order which prevented it from falling into chaos and anarchy (2007b). It created an avenue for a return to a form of pantheism (1992), the idea that God could also be encountered in nature, a view expressed in some forms of romanticism (1992).
- It provided the impetus for the development of a new language of secular humanism, where God was no longer part of the story (1992; 2007b).

To fully appreciate how this occurred, I will bring MacIntyre's explanation of language and translation on the development within youth work.

### 5.3 MacIntyre's language and translation

MacIntyre (1988) proposed that different perspectives are narrated through different languages, languages created from specific world-views. While his work is centred on theories of justice, his discussion around language in use has wider significance.

#### 5.3.1 Forms of translation

The translation from one language into another is not a smooth process. MacIntyre (1988) suggested that while some things are translatable because they say the same thing in both languages, the translation of one language into another also encounters words, ideas and concepts which remain, as yet, untranslatable. The translator has to strive to construct different and new images to enable these to be translated, while recognising that some things will remain untranslatable. The untranslatable takes on a greater significance when the language being translated is a language of belief, and where it is being translated into another language which has an incompatible set of beliefs. The translation from a sacred to a secular language is just such a movement. There might be said to be two forms of translation, and to distinguish them from each other I have called them minor translations and major translations.

##### 5.3.1.1 Minor translation

Minor translations occur when there is a 'translation of use but not meaning' (MacIntyre, 1983:171). To use MacIntyre's example from before, it is when the expression 'God help us!' is no longer a prayer but a cry of exasperation. The meaning of the words has not changed, but in a new milieu the expression has changed its function. This is an example of what I will call minor translation and it is through these that youth work evolved from its inception and throughout the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 5.3.1.2 Major translation

Within this form of translation, where originating ideals are not lost but translated, there occurs a transfer of 'epistemological ideals' (MacIntyre, 2007:19). So, for example, with the major translation from a Christian language into a secular one, originating ideals are not lost but are secularised; there occurs, according to MacIntyre, a 'secularization of Christian morality' and in the process it is expanded into a wider narration of 'serving your fellow man' (1983:150). To continue this example, according to MacIntyre (1983), Marxism, psychoanalysis and Christianity are all redemptivist ideas, a point which McLeod makes when he writes that the 'various forms of Socialism that flourished in those years [the 1960s] were as much a faith – explaining the world, showing how to change it, and also giving meaning to the individual life – as was any form of Christianity' (2007:243). It was also once referred to as 'the story of salvation in the language of economics' (Fetscher quoted in Bentley, 1982:80).

MacIntyre (1968) has written about the relationship between Christianity and Marxism: while Christianity understands liberation in eschatological terms, Marxism presents it as a social ideal in the immediate future, whereas psychoanalysis has an individualistic redemptive emphasis.

Foucault also provided us with two useful examples of this type of translation. One of these is when he wrote about how the language of 'sin' and 'transgression' has been translated and replaced by that of 'social injury' (2002b:53), creating a new language where any talk of sin will sound a note of discord. He also suggested that a translation is also a catalyst for expansion. Another, fuller example is when he examined the evolution of 'pastoral power'. For Foucault (1999 [1979]) pastoral power is predominantly an expression of Hebraic thought. While acknowledging that this image of the leader as shepherd does appear in some Greek thinking, he suggested that when it does it has a completely different image, and when the idea of pastoral power becomes narrated within a Christian framework it changes dramatically; the relation between shepherd and sheep becomes highly individual

and is strongly associated with the guiding of an individual conscience, requiring individual self-examination (Foucault, 1999 [1979]).

In the secular environment a further change occurred. In the past, *pastoral power* was limited within the discourse of faith as being 'salvation-orientated' (Foucault, 2002a:333), but it has, in recent times, 'spread and multiplied outside the ecclesiastical institutions' (2002a:333). Now salvation has a multiplicity of meanings, including health and well-being: 'a series of "worldly" aims took the place of the religious aims of the traditional pastorate' (Foucault, 2002a:333). Foucault called this move 'Reactivation' (1977:134), describing it as 'the insertion of discourse into totally new domains of generalization, practice and transformations' (1977:134). He suggested that pastoral care 'suddenly spread out into the whole social body' (2002a:335).

#### 5.4 Youth work's Christian language and its minor translations

In the previous chapter, I have shown how the forerunners and founders of these works with boys and girls were predominantly Christian, and the milieu into which they came to be was a Christianised one. These new forms of work were predominantly outgrowth of the pre-existing pastoral work of the church (Eagar, 1953; Springhall, 1986). In this environment, it was Christianity which provided youth work with its first language, which both described and constituted its practices.

In 1889, Pelham wrote what is considered to be the first youth work handbook (Eagar, 1953; Smith, 2003b; nd), *The Handbook to Youths' Institutes and Working Boys' Clubs*, a book which Eagar (1953) said shaped the form of Boys' Clubs up to the 1950s.

Its second publication, *Boys' Club: Being a Handbook to Youths' Institutes and Working Boys' Clubs* (Pelham, 1890), reveals the powerful religious imperative behind his *raison d'être* for Boys' Clubs, criticising those who did not evangelise: '[i]t is strange that those who believe that our Saviour came to preach the Gospel to the



poor, and to preach deliverance to the captives should be afraid to mention His name to the poor and to the degraded' and that 'the Truth must be taught: but there must be the maximum of sympathy and minimum of formality' (1890:12).

For Pelham, the Bible class or religious service had to be a prominent part of the programme, although he was not in favour of opening and closing the club with prayer, believing that to be 'irksome' for boys. In another of his works, *Homes for Working Boys*, he revealed his commitment to Christian salvation: '[m]oreover, if we go so far as to provide a temporary home on earth for these boys, shall we not go a step further, and do what we can to fit them for their eternal home' (Pelham quoted in Eagar, 1953:245). Eagar wrote that Pelham took his faith very seriously and that for him 'the purpose of the club Bible class was to bring home to boys, however rough, the vital truth that Christ had died for their redemption' (Eagar, 1953:242). Writing at a similar time, Stanley believed that the Girls' Club should be built on a Christian foundation, an attitude which was in part concerned with limiting the growing influence of secular science clubs, but also driven by a desire to challenge the social corruption and poverty of the period which adversely affected young women, who had been manipulated and abused (Stanley, 1985 [1890]). She also provided us with a sense of the breadth of Christian influence in youth work at this time:

Many clubs are started with a distinctly outward religious aim. I say outward, for if we knew the motives of the promoters of most clubs, we should probably find that religion had prompted their work, though they may not have considered it expedient to put it forward in the same way (Stanley, 1985 [1890]:96).

Another important publication followed a decade later, *The Boys' Club: A Manual of Suggestions for Workers* (Neuman *et al.*, 1900), and was said by Bunt and Gargrave to have 'quickly become the standard work amongst those who were prepared to reflect on their practice as club leaders' (1980:63). In it Neuman *et al.* spent some time presenting the importance of developing religion in boys that engaged with

clubs: 'any system of training which neglects the spiritual side of a boy's nature must inevitably be poor and inadequate' (1900:146) and, further, that '[i]t is quite possible, without a word of direct preaching, to make it felt that in the management of the club the teaching of Jesus Christ is the final standard, the Kingdom of God on earth the ultimate ideal' (1900:147). Neuman *et al.* (1900) also acknowledged that there are some clubs where any reference to religion is avoided, yet Russell and Rigby's observation eight years later suggested that a religious element was part of most clubs: 'there are few clubs of any standing which fail to hold Sunday services. These usually consist of "simple Bible teaching"' (1908:207). They suggested that the aim of the club is for young people to become 'God-fearing citizens' and that they 'do not conceive of Almighty God disapproving of glad hearts' (1908:19 and 210).

Along with these, The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge also published a pamphlet in the same period which encouraged people to see the evangelistic opportunity of opening Boys' Clubs and to adopt the Boys' Club approach, explaining why worship in the club should be voluntary and why boys who have no interest in Christian worship should be allowed to attend (Lewis, 1905). However, within this environment were those who considered that religion should be lived out rather than preached (Henriques, 1951b; Neuman *et al.*, 1900).

While Christianity provided a language for youth work, it did not take long before it was adopted by those from within the Jewish faith, something which is indicative of its translation into another religious language.

#### 5.4.1 From a Christian to a Jewish language

Very early on, after its conception, youth work underwent a minor translation as it expanded beyond the Christian to become inclusive of Judaism (Holdorph, 2015; Kadish, 1995; Rose, 2005). By 1908, when Russell and Rigby wrote about religion in the club, they were inclusive of Jewish work, acknowledging that '[t]his chapter would be incomplete without some reference to the Jewish clubs, which are among

the largest and best managed in London. There can be no doubt that these too are doing good work for religion, though few of them seem able to hold regular services on the Sabbath' (1908:213).

This translation occurred during a period when the number of Jewish people in the UK was growing, from 0.2 percent in 1850 to 0.7 percent by 1914 (McLeod, 1996). We get a personal account from Henriques of when he recalled his first meeting with Paterson, who was then working at the Oxford and Bermondsey Boys' Club which, while strongly evangelical, shared the approach of Neuman in that Christianity was lived rather than preached (Henriques, 1951b). Henriques recounted being told that 'it was on Christianity that the club life was built and through Christianity that these boys of the gutter were transformed into men of great virtue' (1951b:xv), and his attendance caused him to reflect and develop his own form of Jewish clubs:

The more I saw of the life of the Oxford and Bermondsey Mission, the more it held me. I realised that here was Christianity really being lived... I realised it was produced by Christianity and I felt a tremendous challenge. Could Judaism create the same spirit of happiness, and service, loyalty and friendship as Christianity had succeeded in doing in the Bermondsey boys' club (Henriques, 1951b:xviii)?

The relationship between Christian and Jewish clubs is perhaps unsurprising since, as we have seen, the Christian Oxford and Bermondsey Club had a profound effect on Henriques (1951a) who acknowledged the inspiration of the evangelical Dr John Stansfeld and Alec Paterson, whom Smith (2011 [2004]) called a Unitarian, as exemplars of inspiring practice. Paterson and Henriques were young men who volunteered for Stansfeld at the Oxford and Bermondsey Club in Southwark (Baron, 1958), and while Paterson left youth work to focus on prison reform, Henriques became a powerful shaper of youth work in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Along with Henriques, another important person in the development of Jewish youth work was Lily Montagu; it was said that her form of Judaism shared its understanding of spirituality with Christianity (Langton, 2010) and was influenced by evangelicalism (Devine, 2012). She wrote that 'the God whom the Jews seek to serve is the God of the Christians' (Montagu quoted in Spence, 1984:94) and was said to have developed her philosophy of practice from her religious faith (Spence, 1984). In terms of practice or structure there was said to be little to distinguish Jewish Girls' clubs from their Christian counterparts (Dove, 1996; Holdorff, 2015; Spence, 2004). Kadish (1995) also recognised that the Jewish Lads' Brigade was inspired by the Christian uniformed organisations already in existence. The first forms of Jewish work with young people were drawn from an Anglicised form of Judaism, and that a strong impetus of the work was to anglicise poor Jews from overseas (Kadish, 1995; Rose, 2005; Spence, 1999).

After the language of youth work had translated from its Christian faith into Judaism, we can conclude that subsequent references to God within the literature and texts could be interpreted by either and might be better considered as monotheistic rather than exclusively Christian or Jewish, and that religion is inclusive of more than one faith. Alongside this development, by the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Christianity's influence with its salvation emphasis was waning (Eagar, 1953; Smith, 2013) and there was a growing belief in the concept of universal salvation and being saved through 'good works' (Brown, 1997). The drive in youth work to proselytise young people was passing (see Russell and Rigby, 1908:202), and the understanding of God and his place within youth work was changing.

#### 5.4.2 From a Christian language to providential deistic languages

When Eagar considered the development of Boys' Clubs, he wrote '[t]he great paradox of the story of Evangelicalism was that it compelled the whole country to accept a view of social duty which its originators sternly resisted' (1953:71); thus, he

revealed a further minor translation which youth work underwent, from Christian to providential deism:

The boys whom [Stansfeld] had won to the Christian life needed the friendship of the men he had attracted to Bermondsey; but their way was not his way. They were of a later generation, a newer spiritual vintage, concerned with social problems whereas he was concerned with people who had sinned and suffered. The instrument of Boys' Clubs which God had put into his hands had been developed by a team of helpers whom God had sent to Bermondsey, and by Bermondsey boys and men, so that the Clubs had a vital force of their own, derived from the conception of living the Christian life – the Club chapel, with evening prayers and its Sunday service was still the pivot of the Club activities – but expressing more easily than in the divine idea of sonship (1953:235).

This reflection reveals another translation which was occurring within youth work, from its Christian source into providential deism. It can be seen in the difference between the salvific intent of Pelham's 1889 and 1890 works and the focus of Russell and Rigby, who considered the aim of the club to be to produce 'God-fearing citizens', (1908:19) and where those running clubs 'do not conceive of Almighty God disapproving of glad hearts' (1908:210), and who were critical of the approach taken by the more fervent evangelical clubs, instead suggesting:

[The boys] will then be led to understand that Christianity does not stand or fall with historical evidences and the witness of miracles, that it is not merely a belief to be professed, but an unimpugnable consciousness of relationship to an all-pervading Divine Love, and a life to be lived in the light of that consciousness (1908:213).

An attitude we encounter in the later language of the principles and aims of the Boys' Clubs was this:

[The Boys' Club] must teach that man's mind and spirit dwell in his body, and man – and we would say God – must be served in the beauty of that Holiness which is wholeness, that is harmonious development of all man's faculties (National Association of Boys' Clubs, 1930b:11).

Another example of the change from Christian into providential deism is found in Percival's re-telling of the debate that took place within the YWCA during the 1950s. This re-articulation of what it meant to be Christian led to accusations of its having 'lost the religious fervour of [its] pioneering days' and of being 'unsound in Bible teaching', causing many to leave the YWCA. This newer YWCA interpretation of Christianity read 'that since Christ came to redeem the whole of human life all of our activities must express the religious purpose which is our true *raison d'être*... [W]e got a new vision of what the Association might be and do under the providence of God... to serve our day and generation' (Curwen (1950). YWCA in Great Britain. American YWCA Magazine quoted in Percival, 1951:181). This interpretation replaced its earlier ideals proclaimed when it opened its department for evangelism in 1878 and Moor's view that 'souls won for Christ and lives lived for God – these things are the very *raison d'être* of the Association – are fruit for eternity' (nd [c1910]:46).

Another example of the translation of youth work's foundational Christian language into new deistic forms comes from the University Settlement Movement. Samuel Barnett, one of the founders, was clear about its purpose:

[T]here is no other end worth reaching than the knowledge of God, which is eternal life, [and] that organisations are only machinery of which the driving power is human love, and of which

the object is the increase of the knowledge of God (Barnett and Barnett, 1915:vi).

Of the next generation was Jane Addams, who visited Toynbee Hall Settlement in the late 1880s and was said to consider herself a Deist rather than a Christian (Linn, 1935). She used the term *Christian humanitarianism* (Addams, 1911:124), where Christianity is revealed and embodied in social progress.

This is a change which can also be seen in the development of the Passmore Edwards Settlement in 1896 (which became the Mrs Humphrey Ward Settlement, after the name of its founder). While Ashley observed that all settlements engage actively in religious activities (1911), he called the Passmore Edwards Settlement 'a new form of an older institution' (1911:176), the first Christian Socialist Settlement being established in 1899 (Eagar, 1953). The Passmore Edwards Settlement deliberately avoided making any reference to God (Eagar, 1953) and is perhaps an example of the religious trajectory of the Settlement Movement into what Rose called 'a new secular religion' (2001:27). McLeod (1996) charted a similar development within Toynbee Hall where its philosophy moved from being Christian to that of agnosticism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Harris' language perhaps also speaks to this translation: 'by the late-Victorian period... Toynbee and other social reformers were making their confession not to God but to the working classes' (2004:62).

Another significant shift in the language of youth, which reflects the move from Christian into deism, is to be found in the literature of Scouting, and is what we might call second generation youth work movement. Scouting was born twenty years after both the Boys' Brigade and YMCA (Springhall *et al.*, 1983) and was heavily indebted to their influence (Springhall, 1977; Springhall *et al.*, 1983). It came into being at a time when the language used to describe uniformed organisations had moved beyond the exclusively Christian. Braithwaite said of the religious brigades: '[t]he Brigades all have the same common object – to bring up the boys to be God-fearing, self-respecting men' (1904:181). Thus, what was important was

harbouring a sense of justice, honour, self-respect and respect for others. While Scouting retained the latter commitment to justice, honour and respect, it re-articulated its understanding of God because what was important in Scouting was to have a religion, and this did not necessarily mean Christianity. 'Every Scout should have a religion' wrote Baden-Powell (1908:261), and he explained how all religions are valid routes to God. Warren (1987) wrote that while Baden-Powell believed that every Scout needed religion, this religion was far removed from Christianity; rather it was a form of mysticism which placed nature as a source of religious inspiration. Scouting also played a role in moving youth work towards a more secular interpretation, as along with changing the language it also realigned its focus. While translating youth work's foundational language into deism, it maintained strong ties to the church (Baden-Powell, 1908) and still sounded Christian. Both Springhall (1977) and Gillis (1974) said that while the focus of practice had changed to a form of social imperialism, Scouting's rhetoric remained religious.

It is accepted that Scouting shifted the purpose of youth work away from the religious and towards the secular, seeing its role as developing young people to serve the needs of the state or nation and empire (Foster, 1997; Springhall, 1971; Warren, 1986; Watt, 1999). In Rosenthal's assessment of the aims of Scouting in *The Character Factory* (1986), he reveals the nature of this shift. He wrote of the Boys' Brigade that '[t]he organization's goal was unambiguously stated from the start: "The Object of the Brigade shall be the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the promotion of habits of reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness"' (1986:231). Whereas Scouting, he said, had a different agenda: '[o]nce Scouting entered the lists to redeem boys' souls for the good of the Empire there was little any of the brigades could do to match it...' (1986:237).

This shift in focus is also evidence of translation of youth work's language beyond its former commitment to muscular Christianity (Freeman, 2010; Watson *et al.*, 2005).



Springhall (1987) wrote that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a commitment to patriotism was replacing religion as one of the virtues required of young people. He observed that 'Scouting's over-riding concern at an official level with imperial defence and racial survival supplanted earlier religious and moral justifications...' (1977:15). Kadish made a similar claim for the purpose of the Jewish Lads' Brigade: 'the youth movements were a training ground for the army and aimed to produce a fit and patriotic race of Englishmen at home, ready to carry out the Imperialist Mission abroad' (1995), and Macdonald (1989) made a similar observation regarding the evolution of boys' work. By 1930 the aims and principles of the National Association of Boys' Clubs were clearly focused on this:

"Fitness" to the [boys'] clubs means fitness for citizenship, for boys will soon be men and the future of the nation depends on the kind of men they will be. The fitness which is inculcated and provided for is all-round fitness of body, mind and spirit, presenting itself to the boy as an inspiration and a challenge, to the Club Leader as both an object and a means, and to the public as an incentive to provide more and better clubs in order to build up a finer race, a nation of fit men, fit to play its part in the Empire and the world (National Association of Boys' Clubs, 1930b:20).

Within the period it is likely that such a shift would have gone unnoticed. At the time when Baden-Powell wrote *Scouting for Boys* in 1908, there would have been little sense of this shift in focus since Scouting continued to be thought of as Christian (Kadish, 1995; Springhall, 1977). The same can be said of the shift in the balance within youth work from being religious to developing young people to serve the need of the state. This is because in an environment where the institutions of church and state functioned in such a unison, there would be little recognisable distinction between Christianity and empire (Ricoeur, 2007c). In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, God and empire could not be easily disassociated. Further, there was no dramatic shift in the theistic language of Scouting.

That said, Scouting also produced another response, perhaps a reaction to this new imperialist attitude, one that continued the theistic–deistic expansion of the language of youth work and can be found in the three off-shoots of Scouting, which share a common thread in being committed to the work of Seton. The first of these, The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, was accepting of the theory of evolution and developed its practice from G. Stanley Halls’ evolutionary theory of recapitulation (Springhall, 1977).

The second movement, the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift (Eagar, 1953), was founded by ex-Scout John Hargrave in 1920 (Elwell-Sutton, nd; Oxbury, 2004), with other founding members being Emmeline Pethnick-Lawrence (Oxbury, 2004) and a number of other eminent people (Pollen, 2015). While it was originally thought of as a sub-organisation of Scouting (Pollen, 2015) and shared a commitment to Hall’s idea of recapitulation, it evolved to be an organisation in its own right. It is also clear that Hargrave considered it to be a religious movement: ‘[i]t is definitely a religion because it puts into practice the world religion “Do unto others as you would be done by”’ (Hargrave, c1927 quoted in Pollen, 2015:145). However, recent research has concluded that its ideas and imagery were drawn from occult writing of this period (Pollen, 2015). Eagar observed of this new movement: ‘they elaborated the primitive element and developed precious mysticism’ (1953). Leslie Paul, who was a member of the Kibbo Kift in the early 1920s, said of it:

[T]he celebrants of this strange mass wore embroidered robes, and intoned a liturgy to the swinging of censers as they lighted the ceremonial fire – promis[ing] the birth of a new, pagan religion. We were certain that we were the new elite, and that by some mystical process we had been chosen to transform the world (1951:56).

One of the aims of the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift was to restore spiritual values to what they perceived as a material world (Pollen, 2015). According to Pollen, they

had 'a deep rooted interest in comparative religion' and a pantheistic belief in the spiritual immanence of all things' (2015:12).

Eventually a split occurred, and in 1925 the third off-shoot, the Woodcraft Folk (Paul, 1951), emerged as the first socialist and clearly defined non-religious youth movement (Eagar, 1953; Springhall, 1977). Around this time the other off-shoots from Scouting faded away (Eagar, 1953).

Subsequently, by the 1930s youth work, a once Christian endeavour with a Christian language, had undergone a number of minor translations and its original Christian language expanded to include Judaism and these forms of providential deism. This, together with a shift in emphasis in which patriotism was to be found alongside or even replacing religion within the aims and ideals of youth clubs, meant that when we see the term *religion* in the literature we have to interpret it as referring to other faiths beyond Christianity. For example, 'the ideal of fitness for which the boys' clubs stand is the fitness to pave the way for the Kingdom of Heaven on earth' (1943:9) was written by Henriques, a Jew, but is applicable to Christian clubs too. Indeed, Henriques also observed that:

All men do not hear alike, nor see alike nor feel alike. They will not necessarily love the same sort of religion. Faith and creeds must vary. Yet behind all these varieties, the essence of religious living remains everywhere the same (Henriques, 1943:142).

Within this new environment there continued to be a debate about the way religion was presented to young people within their clubs. For example, the National Association of Boys' Clubs advocated that:

It is far from advisable to force religion down a boy's throat. It is there already but often stifled by environment. Although the ultimate purpose of every club is a spiritual one, the method of attaining it should be gradual and adapted to circumstances (National Association of Boys' Clubs, 1930a:13).

Yet along with these developments there were those who continued to maintain a traditional Christian view. Nairne (1881–1968), for example, the first full-time general secretary of the Scottish Association of Boys' Clubs, which was founded in 1937, wrote his booklet challenging those 'who have a fear of what they call "forcing religion down boy's throats" (1926:2). His commitment to evangelism and young people was recognised in his obituary: '[he] devoted his life to spreading the gospel especially amongst young people' (Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1968a:13).

All these debates were occurring at a time when the Christian influence in youth work was in general also waning. Eagar (1953) and Morgan (1943) suggested that some youth workers, while maintaining a commitment to their foundational values, were disassociating them from their scriptural roots. From within this landscape we encounter a third minor translation of youth work's foundational language, which is tied with the earlier change in emphasis from salvation to patriotism. This third minor translation youth work's language underwent was Christianity-as-faith to Christianity-as-ethic.

#### 5.4.3 From Christianity-as-faith to Christianity-as-ethic language

An example of this shift from Christianity-as-faith to Christianity-as-ethic can be seen in the change which Bunt and Gargrave suggested is evident in the re-publication of Russell and Rigby's *Working Lads' Clubs* in 1932, which defined youth work in more ideological rather than religious terms (Bunt and Gargrave, 1980). It is also found in the way Hedges (1943) juxtaposed Christian youth and Hitler youth, suggesting that the only response to Hitler youth was the establishment of Christian youth. In the same year the Youth Advisory Council wrote:

We are concerned to see preserved, or born, a genuinely Christian civilisation. This we take to mean, not a civilisation all of whose members are necessarily professing Christians, but one in which the Christian belief in God and all that is consequent upon it for

human liberty and brotherhood, the Christ-like ideal of life, and the preservation of fundamental ideals of truth, goodness and beauty, set the tone for society (1943:11).

In the same decade Morgan observed that:

There are various reasons why this newer view [that adolescent boys and girls must be regarded primarily not as earners but as learners] has developed. In the main it has been the natural growth springs from a deepening sense of the importance of personality in a Christian democracy and is merely one aspect of the general feeling of social responsibility of the community for its members (1948:8).

It was this definition of Christianity-as-ethic that was taken up by the voluntary organisations at their Ashridge Conference in 1951:

[A]ll Youth Work should be based on the principle that national well-being requires that there should be preserved or born a genuinely Christian civilisation in which belief in God sets the tone for Society and that to this end opportunities should be made available to all youth groups for the development of religious faith (King George's Jubilee Trust, 1951:27).

They went on to maintain space for a more traditional monotheistic attitude to be used within clubs: 'opportunities should be made available for the introduction of young people to activities and interests which helped them develop a lively faith in God' (King George's Jubilee Trust, 1951:27).

Similarly, The Standing Joint Committee of Boys' and Girls' Clubs in Scotland suggested that 'the Leader should do all in his or her power to make religion a reality in the club. In every activity a high moral standard must be set' (1948:12). However, the language of the Scottish Education Department suggested that the

Youth Service was aiming at promulgating leisure time where participants focused on Christianity-as-ethic rather than Christianity-as-faith:

The highest spiritual, moral and cultural standards by devoting body, mind and spirit courageously and unselfishly to the service of their neighbours, their community and their country in the attainment of a nobler and more peaceful world (The Educational Institute of Scotland, 1943:3).

In the commentary on their research in *Citizens of Tomorrow*, the King George's Jubilee Trust revealed this new environment when it recognised that 'the road back to responsibility is the road back to Christian principles' (The Council of King George's Jubilee Trust, 1955:13). At the same time they acknowledged that 'some of our fellow countrymen profess other faiths. Moreover, there are men and women of good will who find themselves unable to subscribe to any specific creed', and they conclude that '[n]evertheless, we are convinced that the best hope for the future lies in an acceptance of the Christian ethic in the broadest sense' (1955:13).

The working party chaired by Wolfenden which examined the 'period after leaving school: influences of leisure time' (1955) confirmed this perspective:

We have considered the extent to which we should like to see all 'Youth' activities animated by a distinctly Christian outlook. There are many men and women whose leadership is based on their Christian beliefs and some organisations which require their leaders to be professing Christians. On the other hand, many men and women of good will freely and sincerely give their time and influence to helping young people without explicitly professing a Christian creed. And we have come to the conclusion that it would be wrong to seek to require of them any specific religious affirmation. Nevertheless, we record our conviction that this is fundamentally a Christian country, not only on the grounds that

we have an established religion but also because we believe that at bottom the great majority of our fellow-citizens accept, however inarticulately, a Christian basis for their lives and actions. We therefore believe that work with young people must be founded on the Christian ethic and the recognition of Christian standards of thought and behaviour... Our concern is that a religious background should be regarded as an indispensable part of the life of the nation and therefore of the lives of our young people. We recognise the value of the contribution made by the Jewish community, in this and in other fields, and the deep influence of the Jewish religion as an inspiration in this field to those who practice it (Wolfenden *et al.*, 1955:99).

It is this development of Christianity-as-ethic within youth work which explains Brew's more philosophical interpretation of religion: 'the essence of religion is that it should provide standards, a way of living, a way of choosing, and a purpose in life' (1957:276; 1968:217). In her attempt to keep religion relevant, she translates passages of the Bible from a language of faith to a language of ethic:

Though my actions are all that could be desired and my code of conduct is perfect, yet if I am not fully integrated my personality is not well adjusted and has no absolute worth (1957:276; 1968:216).

Yet, in spite of all these translations there continued to be a place for youth work's original language of Christianity-as-faith (see Edwards-Rees, 1943; Patey, 1957, 1961; nd [c1961]). When examining these translations, it becomes apparent that youth work not only included the study or presentation of religion within its diet of activities, nor was it only underpinned by a monotheistic religious attitude, but when authors wrote about it they did so using a theistic language.

## 5.5 Youth work's theistic vocabulary

Despite these minor translations undergone by youth work, it maintained a theistic vocabulary throughout; when those involved in it described its principles and aims they did so in theistic terms.

Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Russell and Rigby referred to young people becoming 'God-fearing citizens' and that they 'do not conceive of Almighty God disapproving of glad hearts' (1908:19 and 210). Henriques asserted that '[t]he value of the human soul is too precious for any old slip-shod method in any old barn or stable to be good enough for this great work (1933:3; 1943:3). Clearly, within Henriques' work the formation of character cannot be disassociated from a religious framework (1933; 1943; 1951a). Montagu wrote that 'God must become so real to us that we can live under His guidance, working for Him and with Him, and trusting that this kinship is forever. With this faith we can pass even the valley of death and still fear no evil' (1941:50). The *Purpose and Nature of the Youth Service*, also suggested that 'in programme planning it will be natural to make room for those occasions of religious inspiration which enrich experience and enlarge the vision of what life was meant to be' (Youth Advisory Council, 1945:14) and J. K. Whithead wrote that '[t]he Youth Club is a fellowship where lads and girls grow up together, and if it is permeated with the spirit and purpose of Christ we believe they cannot but be drawn to him' (Whithead writing in the foreword of Edwards-Rees, 1944:6). Edwards-Rees<sup>18</sup> wrote:

Firstly, this spirit-self, having a life beyond the physical, must draw directly from God and not from nature. Secondly, because the spirit is immortal its claim to the satisfaction of its needs is not incidental and secondary, but paramount; without this provision we cannot claim that our club is doing its job (1943:50).

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<sup>18</sup> Edwards-Rees' book on rural youth work contains similar theistic images (1944:97).



A similar theistic tone permeates the pages of the book *Clubs and Club Making* (Brew, 1946), and can be seen from the following phrases: ‘the needs of the spirit must... be of utmost importance’ (1946:17), ‘how can the desire for truth be awakened’ (1946:17), and ‘the passion for righteousness quickened’ (1946:17). Brew suggested that ‘a club does less than the best for its members if it fails to show that ultimate spiritual values are one, and if it does not evoke from them the desire to worship the highest when they see it’ (1946:17). The concluding lines of *Clubs and Club Making* contain the phrase ‘God’s noblest creation – man’ (Brew, 1946:102).

Brew’s more recent work *Youth and Youth Groups*, while acknowledging there is a level of lost-ness in our interpretation of God, concludes with the claim that ‘[i]t seems to me that the whole motive power of Youth Service is this devoted “betting your life” that there is a God. If our members see that we have no faith of this kind they will soon discover we have no reserves to draw on’ (1957:284; 1968:224). Similarly, Henriques maintains his theistic language in his 1950s work, that part of the role of the youth club is to ‘attune [young people’s] souls to be in harmony with the Infinite, so that, for the love of God, they may be inspired to righteousness, and so that, with the help of God, they may become strong in temptation and haters of all things evil’ (1951a:11). Further, in the early 1960s Hubery summed up the relationship between Christianity and youth work within the pre-Albemarle period:

Spiritual development, the avowed object of giving birth to a new Christian civilisation, the concern for Christian ethics to lie at the heart of community life – these are not phrases of Churchmen. They are the phrases of those who have framed and have sought to define the purpose of the Youth Service (Hubery, 1963:63).

It is now evident that a theistic vocabulary would appear to have been maintained for much of youth work’s existence up until the 1960s and the publication of

Albemarle (and to a lesser extent beyond this).<sup>19</sup> However, Albemarle was emblematic of a sea change: not only did it provide youth work with a new language of youth work, which I discussed in the previous chapter. It also provided the major translation of youth work's original theistic language into a secular one.

## 5.6 The major translation of youth work's religious language

### 5.6.1 Christianity and the Albemarle Report

The publication and implementation of the Albemarle Report signalled a changing social environment and was in part a response to it, one which provided youth work and the Youth Service with a new secular language and which empowered its usage through the establishment of training colleges. 'Albemarle's unspoken, but unmistakable, assumption [was] that the prevailing, largely taken-for-granted, link between youth work and religion needed to be supplemented by state-sponsored provision which was clearly secular' (Davies and Taylor, 2013:169). Although there continued to be evidence of the presence of Christianity within youth work in the Albemarle Report, this is predominantly found in the Appendix, the list of organisations and agencies which took part in its consultation. However, within the report itself, while recognising Christianity, or religious youth work, this is consigned to an older form of practice, and to specifically religious groupings. In the Principles and Practice section of Chapter 3: Justification and Aims of the Youth Service, faith-based youth work is given only a limited place within this new framework:

Denominational or specifically committed organisations must remain free to give expression to their spiritual ideals in their youth work. For the Youth Service as a whole, however, we think this way of embodying aims is mistaken. For many young people

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<sup>19</sup> More evidence for the dominance of this theistic language can be found in *Eighty Thousand Adolescents: A Study of Young People in the City of Birmingham* (1950).

today the discussion of 'spiritual values' or 'Christian values' chiefly arouses suspicion (Ministry of Education, 1960:38).

While this might simply reflect the reality of the Youth Service and youth work, it also realigns the relationship. For example, while Clark's (2014 [1949]) earlier presentation understood Christian and evangelical work to be a valid aim of organisations within the Youth Service, the Albemarle Committee's vision is of such practices being akin to a form of 'moral manipulation':

We have been told of those who will say directly the Youth Service should not be the disguised backdoor to religious beliefs or a form of 'moral exploitation'. We would repeat therefore that it is on the whole better for principles to be seen shining through works than for them to be signalled by some specific spiritual assertion (Ministry of Education, 1960:39).

For the authors of Albemarle, 'the Youth Service should not seem to offer something packaged – a "way of life", a "set of values", a "code", as though these were things which came ready-made, upon asking, without being tested in living experience' (Ministry of Education, 1960:38). In this new expression of youth work they said that '[t]here can be no simple transmitting of *a priori* values because to the expanding energies and enquiries of adolescence most values are not *a priori*. If they feel the need young people must have the liberty to question cherished ideas, attitudes, standards, and if necessary to reject them' (Ministry of Education, 1960:38). That is not to say, however, that they removed the salvationist aspects of youth work. What Albemarle did was to replace religious salvation with a form of civic salvation, where young people were now to be saved from 'general philistinism', and from the 'mass media' culture determined by press, radio, television, and film and into a minority 'culture of the cultivated' (Ministry of Education, 1960:59). Its authors said the organisations which make up the Youth Service:

[Have] a role to play here: they are sometimes gifted with a fine sense of history, of religion, and of social morality, and on the other side maintain a creed of physical wellbeing and mental alertness: but of the area of man's struggle of the spirit in art, poetry, music or drama they seem quite often unaware, so that their young members grow up ignorant that this too is a realm of human endeavour to which they should be committed (Ministry of Education, 1960:58).

The result of this was that a new secular language was added to these older monotheistic ones (Davies and Taylor, 2013), one which was empowered by the way academic and professional youth work developed post-Albemarle. To fully appreciate the rapid development of this new secular language, we have to appreciate the way professional youth work developed and in particular the influence of the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders. While Albemarle was the catalyst, the National College and the growth in institutions training professional youth workers was the driving force.

The National College for the Training of Youth Leaders was established in 1961 (Watkins, 1971). It was closed in 1970 and youth work training was taken up by other educational establishments: City of Leicester College, Goldsmith's College alongside the YMCA in association with North East London Polytechnic and the National Association of Boys' Clubs in association with Liverpool University. These, along with 53 other colleges of education, were all offering some form of Youth and Community Work Training (Eggleston, 1976).

During its time the National College produced more graduates than the other training establishments combined: 1,300 professional youth workers by 1965 (Davies, 2005b) and 2,000 by 1970 (Watkins, 1971). An estimated one third of all full-time youth workers in the UK had graduated from its courses (Hamilton-Smith and Brownell, 1973:25). As an institution it was considered to be 'the first amongst equals' (Jefferies, 1979:49), with the practitioners who trained being considered as the

elite of youth work (Bradford, 2011a). Ahmad and Kirby (1988) acknowledged the National College's importance in creating the ideal of the professional youth worker, and Smith (1988) noted that it was influential in the formation of the Youth Service Information Centre, which became the National Youth Bureau. Alongside this, a significant number of its graduates became youth work managers. This significantly shaped the way the Youth Service developed and influenced the content and structure of youth work training in the other establishments (Smith, 1976; 1988; Watkins, 1971). According to Bradford, for almost two decades after the publication of Albemarle, 'publications [by the staff of the National College] formed the youth work canon... [and its] practices soon became the orthodoxy in youth work training and, indeed, in youth work practice' (2011a:108). That being the case, the National College, directly or indirectly, exerted a considerable impact on academic and professional youth work, not least by its introducing a new language for professional and academic youth work:

The new National Training College which had no previous existing tradition upon which to establish itself, began to develop a particular style and philosophy of youth work which was often at variance with the values of the voluntary organisations (Rose, 2017 [1997]).

In Scotland the rate of change was slower. During the 1960s in Scotland, the *Scottish Youth Review*,<sup>20</sup> in contrast to its English counterpart *Youth Review*,<sup>21</sup> revealed an ongoing connection with Christian faith-based work, with a report by the Methodist Youth Department (Jauncey, 1966:19) which challenged the suggestions of Albemarle: 'The Church Youth Club, properly understood, is not what

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<sup>20</sup>The *Scottish Youth Review* was published by the Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations between 1962 and 1973.

<sup>21</sup> The English *Youth Review* was published from 1964–1972.

the Albemarle Report once called “a back door” to religious belief. It can be, and ought to be, the front door into the life of God’s family’ (Reaching the Teenager quoted in Jauncey, 1966:19). This was in addition to reports from the annual Scottish Christian Youth Assembly (Lunan, 1967; Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1968b), the Fourth British Conference of Christian Youth (Ashmall, 1968), and other Christian conferences (Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1971).

Within *Scottish Youth Review’s* book reviews there was also evidence of a relationship between Christianity and youth work; for example, there was a review of a book written by an industrial chaplain (Beasley, 1967a), along with one of the newly published ‘the Living Bible’ (Foulkes, 1968), a series of publications which used the Bible to discuss current social issues. Another Christian book, Cox’s *The Secular City* (1967) (Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1968a) was also reviewed, and we also encounter an interest in Christian work with young people in a report on Christian conferences, which proposed to ‘glean the guilt from the dross’ (Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1969:9). There is also evidence of there being a re-negotiation of the relationship between youth clubs and the church:

[Church] ministers should not visit clubs which aren’t affiliated to the church... [M]any church youth clubs are only interested in the young people who don’t really need youth clubs – the ‘good-living, church-going’ young people who don’t present society with any problems. What they should be interested in... are the street-corner kids who are just starting to slide into delinquency (Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1969:10).

Alongside this there was an article that discussed the relationship between the young person and the church (Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1967a), which set out that a balance should be found between relevance and losing the core message. The review also carries articles which

present Christian faith-based work in a positive light (Beasley, 1967b; Blacklaws, 1968; Scottish Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations, 1967b; 1972; Shanks, 1971). However, by the early 1970s was said that the Alexander Report removed the last vestiges of Christianity from Scottish community education (McCrossan, 1977).

#### 5.6.1.1 Youth work's new secular language

Watkins, from the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, signalled this new environment when he wrote:

The conviction that good youth work could be done by people of no specific ideological commitment, Christian or otherwise, was encouraged by the [Albemarle] Report's statement that 'it is on the whole better for principles to be seen shining through works rather than for them to be signalled by some specific spiritual assertion' (1971:9).

More recently Davies and Taylor echoed this:

In due course, [the authors of the Albemarle Report] eventually opened up new ideological spaces for youth work which came to be occupied by Black, feminist, gay, lesbian and other political identity groups of workers whose legacy remains strong (Davies and Taylor, 2013:170).

This development, for which Albemarle was the catalyst and the National College the driving force, began defining their form of liberal democratic secular youth work (which I described in section 1.4.2.1) as ideologically neutral and presented it as the language of youth work (Bardy *et al.*, 2015; B. Davies, 2004; Davies and Gibson, 1967; Ewen, 1972; Green, 2010; Harris, 2015; Jeffs, 1979; Leigh and Smart, 1985; Robertson, 2004; Sapin, 2013; de St Croix, 2010; Taylor, 1987; Wylie, 2003a).

Despite this, the relationship with Christianity remained, although it no longer had a monotheistic language.

#### 5.6.1.2 Christianity within the post-Albemarle landscape

It is evident that while Albemarle translated youth work's older Christianised and religious languages, what it really achieved was to add a new (or more accurately a set of new) secular languages to its pre-existing ones. For example, we find that Hawes and Brew continued to recognise the place of religion in youth work:

[M]any of the national voluntary bodies take an inter-denominational stand, almost all profess to Christian principles (or Jewish, as the case may be), and to propagating the ethical values of the faith (Hawes, 1966:37).

[Y]et one has only to mix with young people to know that there is certainly no subject, with the possible exception of pop music, television, films and the pools, which is more often discussed than religion, if by religion we mean the problem of leading a good life and the problem of finding a meaning and purpose in life (Brew, 1968:214).

Keeble (1965) also maintained a commitment towards spiritual development, being clear that youth work in the UK had a responsibility towards the spiritual development of young people and suggesting that this responsibility was 'integral to youth work' (1965:116). In his book, he committed a chapter to the subject, focusing on creating a convergence between humanism and religion's idea of 'spiritual'. At a minimum, he suggested, spiritual work was helping young people make 'moral judgements' and maintain their 'moral standards', advocating that the success in spiritual development is 'free, unpredictable, unmanipulated growth – even when it goes right away from all that they themselves hold dear' (1965:118). He suggested that in all youth work, the worker will eventually have to reveal their belief system to the young people, and that failing to do this when asked is



erroneous, presenting the young person with the idea that adults do not have world-views. However, in revealing their world-view, the worker should be clear that this is their own personal perspective.

Goetschius and Tash (1967) also sought to maintain a Christian emphasis in their work by suggesting it might be rebuilt on the theology of Bonhoeffer, Builtmann and Tillich, particularly as they are brought together in Robinson's book *Honest to God* (1963). They suggested that it articulated a new vision of Christianity which provided a relational understanding of the Christian faith, a perspective more in tune with the ideals of youth work, and which could enable practitioners to move away from previously held moralistic Christian values.<sup>22</sup>

However, it is also clear that within this new environment, the place of Christian and religious youth work had to be negotiated, and even at times defended:

If the Church is to participate in the Youth Service it can only do so honourably if it remains the Church. To pretend not to be the Church, committed to witness and evangelism, would be to betray the Church, to become open to an accusation of hypocrisy, and above all to establish a false basis for relationship...

Partnership with the state in education and Youth Service will only remain valid if the Church retains the freedom to interpret 'spiritual development' as it is understood in Christian terms (Hubery, 1963:75).

This position existed, Hubery claimed, because it was part of the Christian language of youth work and the Youth Service:

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<sup>22</sup> The adoption of less orthodox theological positions by Christian youth workers in their attempts to bring together Christianity and youth work is an area for further research. See for example Brierley (200) and Passmore, Passmore and Ballantyne (2013).

Spiritual development, the avowed object of giving birth to a new Christian civilisation, the concern for Christian ethics to lie at the heart of community life – these are not phrases of Churchmen. They are the phrases of those who have framed and have sought to define the purpose of the Youth Service (Hubery, 1963:63).

Joan Matthews (1966), who was a lecturer with youth work's National College (Hamilton-Smith and Brownell, 1973), shared Keeble's perspective that when a youth worker offered their world-view, they should be clear that what they were saying was their personal perspective and not the right answer or only way to see the world. In addition, she considered that 'the youth worker has an ethical responsibility not to proselytise or promote ideologies to which the young people have not committed themselves' (Matthews, 1966:18). She felt it was unethical to establish a youth work/young person relationship prior to making any agenda clear, and then to use that relationship as a conduit through which to exert influence in an attempt to convert the young person. She suggested that when Albemarle advocated that youth work is about supporting young people 'making the best of themselves', this would mean different things to different people; therefore, any youth work which adopted a group work approach offering a single, packaged answer to moral questions was being dishonest:

[T]o offer young people such a wide variety of aids to making the best of themselves and acting responsibly, may not make life simple for them, but to offer only one kind of aid would be deceitful in a modern free society, where there is no wide area of agreement about moral standards, and where a wide range of behaviour is tolerated (Matthews, 1966:20).

This perspective from Matthews continued to enable Christian organisations to present their work as youth work, but within clear ethical boundaries, and without a natural right to faith-expression.

A year later, Davies and Gibson presented a more stringent interpretation where youth workers have a professional duty not to be influenced by their personal perspective:

[T]he adult, whatever his own personal beliefs and values, is not in a position, in so far as he is a designated social educator, to allow his own attitude and response to a young person to be affected by his approval or disapproval of the young person's behaviour, beliefs or values (1967:166).

While this does not prevent the adult stating their views, it does exclude them from presenting them as 'the answer' or 'the right view' and it requires the youth worker to prioritise that 'the principle of self-determination overrides, except in exceptional circumstances' (1967:167). They went on to suggest that this position is the typical view within youth work:

Many youth workers and teachers today would agree, would define their purpose as allowing young people to develop individually and would argue that they therefore do not canvass their private beliefs in their work. Many even who believe that their own philosophy embraces essential truths (whether revealed or rationally deduced) which they are convinced young people would do well to acknowledge, still maintain that they do not use their educational roles for proselytizing (1967:177).

Here there is an expectation on the worker to separate their personal world-view from their professional practice.

Other writers such as Sewell (1966), whose work was said to have become 'the reference point for many workers and organisers when thinking about the work they were observing' (Infed's introduction to Sewell, 2003 [1966]), made no reference to religion or Christianity at all. While this was the developing situation in England, within Scotland the secular language was slower to be established.

Looking more widely within the UK setting, in the 1970s Milson also presented the church as having a valid place in youth work provision, suggesting the church had a 'distinguished record in youth work' (1970:123). However, he suggested that in an increasingly secular society it had perhaps reflected inadequately on its role. In his view, there were two perspectives which churches took: the church as a rescue centre 'gathering communities' (1970:123), or the church as an agent to support people in the humanising process. He reflected on the complexity of the relationship, and not just that different denominations were likely to respond differently, but observing that often there were different perspectives within the churches, and even contradictory perspectives within individual churches. However, regardless of his commitment to Christian involvement, he placed similar constraints on their work, warning against those who would be tempted to be 'indoctrinators' and 'recruiters' (1972:126). He also observed that most youth workers working in this period considered religious faith to be a fictitious world-view. In challenging this, he suggested 'every man has his myth' (1974:129) and that Christianity should not be so easily written off as 'an irrelevant survivor of a bygone age' (1974:129), but that Christian ideas of original sin and redemption present community work with a Christian narrative which 'accepts the fallibilities of human nature but without a loss of hope: it knows men are "evil" but insists they are not irredeemable' (Milson, 1974:134).

Following Albemarle, theistic language was no longer used to describe youth work, although, as the Milson quote above shows, religious ideas were still considered relevant by some. It is also evident that within this post-1960s period, Christianity's place within youth work had to be negotiated and its aims and transcendent aspects moderated accordingly. These, however, are only two aspects of change which the major translation induced. In a major translation, there also occurs the translation of 'epistemological ideals' (MacIntyre, 2007:19), in this case, the justified beliefs of youth work.

## 5.6.2 The translation of epistemological ideas

While the major translation of the language of youth work caused the relationship between it and Christianity to change, and it removed from use its older theistic language, the epistemological translation of its justified beliefs also underwent a form of secularisation. This can be seen in the translation of its practices and its values from its original Christian language into a secular one.

### 5.6.2.1 Youth work's translated practices

While any associations cannot be pressed too far, Jones and Rose (2001) claimed that the commitment to education in youth work can be linked back to early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when non-conformist clergy in Wales were providing educational opportunities for young people to improve their status in society.

Nicholls (2012) went further back and suggested youth work finds its antecedence in the democratic fight of the Levellers. He says that Christ was one of the four powerful influences on British youth work (the others being Marx, Freire and Gramsci). While he suggested that this was youth work's radical inheritance, the reality is that while it may have been a distant catalyst, the birth of youth work from within establishment evangelicalism (Clyne, 2016) meant that its educational emphasis focused on individual betterment rather than social reform (Bruce, 1995; Robertson, 2005). Nevertheless, Nicholls is right about the importance of the Christian influence, yet it is the redemptive Christ, not the radical Christ, that shaped it. Smith (2013) also showed that modern detached and outreach youth work is the secular translation of the evangelical district visitor, inspired by the work of Maude Stanley and Thomas Barnardo.

Another translation from youth work's pre-Albemarle environment into the present, which occurred without much disruption, was that of youth work's commitment to the concept of the dynamic leader. Davies and Durkin (1991) observed that from its foundation, being a good youth worker centred on an individual's personal qualities, and this continued through the 1950s when

‘providing young people with an “admired type” of adult leader [was] still dominant’ (Brew, 1955:85). Recently Seal and Frost (2014) acknowledged that what they call ‘the charismatic intuitive worker’ is still part of how practitioners interpret what it means to be a good youth worker.

Foucault’s translation of pastoral power from a Christian language into the secular one of health and well-being (see section 5.3.1.2) is evident within youth work, and post-Albemarle, youth work continued to be an endeavour focused on the social and pastoral care of young people (Davies, 1979; Maclure, 2005 [1965]), with Jeffs and Smith claiming that welfarist or issue-based youth work (1989; 1988) came from a pre-Albemarle religious source. Smith suggested that there was a ‘direct line’ from these welfarist endeavours back to the ‘child-savers of the nineteenth century’ (1988:56). As already observed, this model of practice was dominant in terms of practice and ideology (National Youth Bureau, 1978). Perhaps this is what enabled Murdock to protest that post-Albemarle youth work continued to act like ‘a secularised missionary project, spreading the enlightenment of middle-class values and behavioural styles among the culturally heathen’ (1976:20). Indeed, I mentioned above how Albemarle replaced religious salvation with a desire for cultural salvation.

Two other powerful motifs, drawn from youth work’s earliest days, also continue to be influential: voluntary participation (Ministry of Education, 1960:48) and being educational (Ministry of Education, 1960:103; Nicholls, 2012). ‘[V]oluntary participation is a – perhaps the – defining feature of youth work’ (Davies, 2005c:12). This commitment is also due to its particular Christian source; ‘[i]t is little exaggeration to say that the Methodists (and other dissenters of this period) invented a new social form: voluntary association’ (Bruce, 1995:8). This is a position with which Brown concurs:

The great invention of evangelicalism was the voluntary organisation. It turned the elite organisation of eighteenth-century charity into the backbone of urban-industrial society, providing

spiritual, educational, recreational, evangelising and moralising opportunities for the whole population (2001:45).<sup>23</sup>

Brown went on to suggest that by the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, this emphasis on voluntary association was adopted across all Protestant denominations and went on to become a foundational tenet of Christian work with young people.

These practices were translated across from the earlier religious environment of youth work and continued to be important within its new secular framework, something which meant that they no longer contained their earlier religious aims, or could be articulated by youth work's original theistic language. To requote Foucault, the 'language of "sin" and "transgression" has been translated and replaced by that of "social injury"' (Foucault, 2002b:53). We can also see a similar translation of the values of youth work.

#### 5.6.2.2 Youth work's translated values and ideals

Youth work has a widely accepted set of values (Banks, 2006; Jeffs and Smith, 2005; Wheal, 1999), which include: respect for persons, the promotion of well-being, truth, democracy, fairness and equality. The source of some of these can be found within the pre-Albemarle language of youth work; we can see that the values of justice and equality were central to the youth work narrative because of its foundational understanding of who God is and of each person's status before Him:

It is absolutely contrary to man's conception of justice to believe that a child of the rich is more precious to God than the son of the poor, and that he is more endowed on account of his wealth with more of a Divine Spirit. The soul of each is indistinguishable. Both are God's children... both are human, and yet both are Divine (1933:2; 1943:2).

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<sup>23</sup> See also Brown (1997).

The sociologist Bruce wrote that 'equality in the eyes of God laid the foundations for equality in the eyes of men and before the law. Equal obligations eventually became equal rights' (2002:11). Taylor also suggested that other ideas have survived translation into a secular language: the idea of there being a 'universal will to beneficence or justice' is a kind of 'secularized agapè' (Taylor, 1992:367). He further suggested there is a 'complex and bi-directional relationship between Christian and secularized moral sources' (Taylor, 1992:399).

Similarly, democracy, as we understand it, has its source in the birth of nonconformist religion (De Gruchy, 1995), which created the right of the individual to freedom of religion and freedom of thought, and provided a good education for those traditionally excluded from accessing that opportunity. Nonconformist anti-clericalism was, in effect, a form of democratisation from within the church, since inherent within the nonconformist expressions of faith were an idealism and commitment to social activism. Müller similarly wrote that 'modern democracy has its roots and the guarantee of its existence in an act of faith in a Higher Power, before which the human being is responsible for his or her relationships with one's neighbors' (Gutiérrez and Müller, 2015:25).

From its establishment, similar emphasis is placed on the role of education (see Neuman *et al.*, 1900; Russell and Rigby, 1908; Sweatman, 1985 [1863]):

The work undertaken has an educational purpose... [and] the focus of the work is directed towards young people...For over 150 years... [these] elements [together with voluntary participation] have fused to delineate youth work and distinguish it from other welfare activities. It has been distinctive only when all these ingredients are present. Remove one and it becomes obvious that what is being observed may possess a resemblance to, but is unquestionably not, youth work (Jeffs and Smith, 1999:48).



According to Wolffe (1994), education was at the forefront of the strategy to Christianise society in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with Thomas Arnold's *Education for Christian Manliness* also shaping youth work from its beginning (Eagar, 1953). It was the informal Christian education as practised in the Oxford and Bermondsey Boys' Club that inspired Henriques (Henriques, 1951b).

Yet for these early youth work theorists, and for society as a whole, this educational focus had at its heart a religious emphasis, elaborating on the 1944 Education Act: 'it shall be the duty of the local education authority for every area, so far as their powers extend, to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community' (Great Britain, 1944:4). The Crowther Report stated:

[T]he teenagers with whom we are concerned need, perhaps before all else, to find a faith to live by. They will not all find precisely the same faith and some will not find any. Education can and should play a part in their search. It can assure them there is something to search for and can show them where to look and what other men have found (Crowther, 1959:44).

Faith development, particularly Christian or Jewish faith development, was understood to be part of youth work's core responsibilities (see British Government, 1939; King George's Jubilee Trust, 1951; Youth Advisory Council, 1943). Even though the theistic focus of this faith has been removed from youth work's professional narrative, there is evidence of the continuing importance of the language of faith to secular youth work. Bunt and Gargrave suggested: 'In some ways the belief in the effectiveness of youth clubs is akin to the conviction of those whose religious experience is built upon the immovable bedrock of faith' (1980:6), and more recently, it was said that '[a]ll youth work, in common with all education, is an act of faith...' (Bright *et al.*, 2018:198). Batten, the creator of the non-directive and non-judgemental pedagogy, was described as a 'secular missionary' (Lovell, 2009:197) and those who attended his training courses described them as like

undergoing a 'religious experience' (Lovell, 2009:211). More recently, Jeffs and Smith suggested that 'youth groups and clubs are based, essentially, in hope and faith (2010a:5) and Jeffs suggested that 'youth work was an act of faith, based on a belief, articulated by Kant, that "the human being can only become human through education"' (2015:80). In 1983, Thomas wrote of community work:

It did occur to me that within the field of community work you also find many people who are essentially Christian and who find that community work is a very positive and practical expression of the values which they hold. This is not the same thing as saying, as it used to be said, in social work text books, that social work is based upon a Judeo-Christian set of values. Nor is it the same as saying, as Paulo Freire says, that the transaction between the development agent or teacher and the local person or learner the former dies so that the latter may live. And yet there is a kind of self-abnegation in the whole area of community work (when it is not practised by political activists who are treating it as a substitute for political action) which seems to me to require in the community worker either some positive faith which makes that achievement a reward in itself or else a parallel system to which he can belong and from which he can obtain other kinds of rewards (1983:17).

So while it is clear that the language of youth work underwent a major translation in the 1960s, it is also evident that many of its epistemological ideals which were formed by and through its Christian origins have survived and been translated into a secular expression of practice.

## 5.7 Summing up

This chapter has added to our knowledge of youth work by showing the way in which youth work developed from its foundational Christian language to include a new secular one. It exposed the reality that early youth work endeavours were evangelical in both 'character and control' (Bebbington, 2002:120). I explained how this Christian language underwent a number of minor translations, including into a Jewish language and several strands of providential deism and also a translation from Christianity-as-faith to Christianity-as-ethic. Despite these translations, pre-Albemarle youth work maintained a monotheistic language through which it constituted and described its practice. This pre-Albemarle language underwent a further major translation which provided youth work with a new set of secular languages which co-existed, and to a degree suppressed, these older religious expressions in a way that meant that youth work's older theistic language no longer had a place. In this new post-Albemarle environment, I have also shown how some of youth work's epistemological ideals owe much to its Christian foundations although they have been translated into youth work's secular language. It is these developments which go some way to explaining the different responses given by participants to my question.

## Chapter 6

# Participants' views of the relationship between Christianity and youth work

### 6.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter, I set out and examine the responses to my question 'if it is Christian, can it be youth work?' from participants. I have structured this chapter according to their responses. Firstly, it was evident that some participants considered that Christianity has a relationship with youth work because of its heritage. Secondly, it was considered that some current Christian work with young people was manipulative, and these I suggest might be considered in terms of youth ministry. Thirdly, within the cohort of participants, there were some who thought that certain practices acceptable to secular youth work might be prohibited by Christian faith-based work, and that on occasion Christian faith-based work might adopt different attitudes than secular youth work towards other issues.

While these might be summarised as distinctive attitudes towards practice, participant responses also revealed a number of different views on the relationship between Christianity and youth work at the deeper level of world-views. I have brought participant views under the headings: Youth work's Christian inheritance, Youth ministry and youth work, and Differing attitudes to youth work practices. This latter section is sub-sectioned into groups: Youth work and Christianity – conflicting world-views, Christian faith-based youth work – a distinctive form of youth work, Christian faith-based youth work – a shared form of youth work, and Christianity and youth work – an uncomfortable relationship.

### 6.2 Youth work's Christian inheritance

In general, participants recognised the role of Christianity and the churches within the history of youth work. Coburn and McLeod all spoke of the positive role of church-based youth clubs in their own youth (or in McCulloch's case his partner's youth). Others, like Forrester and Sweeney, also referred to the history of youth

work as being drawn from what was originally a Christian endeavour. Bell spoke of youth work starting within the church, but becoming '*the property of someone else*' (Bell), with Frew providing a more detailed image of this evolution:

*For me, to have to ask that question is slightly peculiar, as for me a lot of the identity and development and history of youth work comes from a Christian base. Yes, you can see other kinds of influences in the history of youth work, from the labour movement, trade union movement... [and] other different kinds of connections through the history. But, you know, faith has always been, and Christianity in particular, in the Western world, has always been a key premise of what youth work has been about [and] has emerged from the role of churches in providing that...*

*In some respects the term [youth work] has been owned and developed by others, by a more professionalised sector beyond the Christian base. But actually for me that is a big part of it, its heritage and history. And there are clearly still people doing it today (Frew).*

The responses of Bell and Frew also reveal the move from the Christian to the secular, something which I will examine in subsequent chapters. That said, it was also evident that not all Christian work with young people was considered to be youth work (Milburn), and while the term *youth ministry* wasn't often used, it was evident that there were some forms of practice which might be better understood in those terms.

### 6.3 Youth ministry and youth work

One model of practice considered to be outwith that generally accepted as youth work was said to be the youth fellowship (Forrester). MacLeod provided a more detailed account of this distinction:

*I think there is a huge amount of work that goes on in YF's [youth fellowships] in churches that are very Christian, very much working with young people, but not following the youth work ethics and values... It's about the role of the young person in the piece of work that is being done... Quite frequently, in terms of YF's, the young people are certainly not involved in the design of the programme, or the partnership and delivery of that programme, and that for me is the big thing that makes youth work different (MacLeod).*

This was a view also shared by Clark, Bell and Buchanan. Speaking from a Christian perspective, these participants appeared to confirm that there can be an ethical distinction between some models of Christian practice and youth work. When it came to its drive to present the Christian gospel, Clark spoke of Christian work which provided attractive activities as a *'hook to bring them in'* and of *'eternity being much more important than ethics'* (Clark). Clark also spoke in strong terms of some Christian practices:

*I think people, not bribe, kind of bribe people into. Any excuse to get the Gospel down people's neck. There is not a great ethical conscience about it. It's just we'll get them in, we'll give them something to hook them in and then we'll give them the Gospel. And there is not a whole lot of ethics about that (Clark).*

Clark also suggested that the overarching desire of some Christian work with young people to present young people with the Christian gospel resulted in it lacking *'ethical conscience'*, a practice that was more pejoratively called *'brainwashing'* by Furlong.

Bell observed: *'I just think that the way that [Christian youth workers] are taught, the courses that are available, churn out practitioners that are more theologically aware and more evangelically aware than they are aware of youth work theories and practice...'* (Bell) and he went on to suggest that within the Christian mindset,

there is a suspicion that *'if we become secular we lose our uniqueness'* (Bell), adding that this position *'demonstrate[d] a position of "paranoia'* (Bell). Something Bell considered to be a widespread issue: *'I see a lot of Christian youth work practice, from my perspective, straying into youth evangelism. For me, it is fairly dishonest, in a lot of ways...'* (Bell).

Crory, Marr and Milburn all saw proselytising Christian activities as being antithetical to youth work:

*My understanding of evangelical or evangelistic is the agenda, and that would severely challenge one of my two fundamentals of what youth work practice is all about. If my interpretation of evangelical is: I am going to, I've got to take this opportunity to share my faith with that young person and if I don't do it then, you know. The only way that that's doable is if you are totally upfront and honest with that young person (Crory).*

However, it was also clear that despite Bell making this distinction, other participants suggested that this was not a problem unique to Christian work and that other expressions of youth work might also be considered manipulative.

### 6.3.1 Manipulative youth work

Others asserted that manipulation was not an exclusive problem for Christian practice (Marr, Williams and McLeod): *'a lot of youth work, regardless of whether it has a faith link to it, Christianity or otherwise, can be manipulative'* (McLeod). McMeekin, Cutler and Romain all recognised secular youth work as having a manipulative aspect:

*There is a sense that youth work is about making young people more able to fit with society... I kinda find that uncomfortable, but it's there (Cutler).*

*I am a bit of a cynic I suppose when it comes to what I think secular youth work does or what it is being funded to do by people who have got the end of the puppet strings... It's the socialisation of young people to prevent problems (Romain).*

Swinney makes a similar point, identifying that youth work has become a tool to drive the government's economic agenda: *'a nice soft and fluffy way of doing something that's not so nice and soft and fluffy. Can you use CLD to dupe people into doing what you want them to do?'* (Swinney). Similarly, McMeekin saw all outcome-focused youth work in general as a poor model, one which was to be found in both secular and faith-based practice.

There was also a view expressed by participants that Christian youth workers would be uncomfortable with some forms of youth work practices.

#### 6.4 Differing attitudes to youth work practices

Amongst the participants, I continued to find variations in attitudes to practice; for example, Scott and Forrester suggested there might be differentiation between the way a Christian practitioner and one with a secular world-view might respond when dealing with sexual matters. Handing out condoms was thought by some to be problematic for Christian faith-based youth work, and Bell considered that many in 'Christian youth work' would struggle with the idea of harm reduction. Forrester also considered that some forms of sexual health youth work had the potential to conflict with a Christian youth worker's beliefs. One participant was also critical of a Christian faith-based youth project for being too lax, letting young people leave the premises to smoke marijuana and then return back inside; they viewed this as an approach which condoned drug-taking and one which was unlikely to be tolerated in local authority youth work.

This suggests that for some participants, while Christian faith-based work might be considered youth work, it was likely to have distinctive moral attitudes on certain issues. That Scott makes this observation from a secular perspective and Bell from a



Christian and that both would have a good knowledge of the youth work environment suggests there may be something more to it than personal speculation. One conclusion to such disagreements is to simply accept that Christianity and youth work are in conflict, being committed to two very different world-views.

#### 6.4.1 Youth work and Christianity – conflicting world-views

Moving on to another aspect of the interviewee responses, I encountered the idea that Christianity and youth work might be incompatible. This was a perspective held by Blakeman, the only participant who considered youth work to be incompatible with Christianity. Speaking from an evangelical position, he suggested that while there may be a commonality of methods, there is a distinction in values between youth work and Christian work with young people. He spoke of Christian work as having a distinctive value, which prevented it adopting some of what he thought to be the tenets of youth work: non-judgementalism and tolerance. He felt that there was a pressure on Christian youth workers to remain silent about their beliefs and that *'anything with an authoritative truth claim will have some stigma attached to it'* (Blakeman).

For him, a conversionist agenda was about prioritising what he considered to be God's primary desire – for young people to become Christian – placing the salvation agenda as his highest priority. He gave an example of being employed in a Christian organisation where there was a moratorium on speaking about conversion because of where the funding came from and what it was given for. Blakeman's consideration that youth work is antithetical to Christianity is further evidenced by responses from McCulloch, McArdle and Forrester. McCulloch, in a deliberately provocative response, suggested Christianity as an erroneous world-view which within youth work could inhibit choice:

*Any endeavour which starts with a set of unchallengeable beliefs is problematic, even dangerous. It closes down options and strives to*

*recruit people into something which no sane or rational person could possibly support (McCulloch).*

Similarly, McArdle, while positive regarding Christian faith-based work, shared some of McCulloch's misgivings. She considered that some strands of Christianity, which she tagged '*fundamentalism*' (McArdle) (recognising that this perhaps was not the best descriptive term), would be unlikely to be open enough to maintain an attitude of empowerment.

Two Christian youth workers also recounted this conflict: Bell described a discussion which took place within one of his workplaces, and Robertson reflected on her own practice. Bell provided a detailed example of this clash of viewpoints between Christianity and youth work in a workplace discussion which he recounted:

*I was working in [name of a town] and we had a young woman who was 13 years old disclose that she was having unprotected sexual intercourse with her boyfriend who was 15. I had a worker at the time, a female worker, at the time who [suspected] that. In fact [she] had been trained in a Christian college and didn't know how to respond, so came to me and said, 'We are Christians, we are a Christian youth work project; what should we do about this?' So we discussed it through. And she thought that the best way to do that would be to explain, from the Bible, what the Bible said about sex before marriage. And I was like, 'As a youth worker what do you think?'*

*'What do you mean?'*

*I said to her, 'is that your response as a Christian; what is your response as a youth worker?'*

*'Oh, we should take her down to family planning.'*

*And I said, 'And what do you think we should do?' She was confused, so I said, 'What we need to do, is we need to do both.' I said, 'Well we need to, what we need to do is what's in the best interests of that young woman.' I said, 'So if you were to get the Bible out and say this is what the Bible says about sex before marriage, about you know, about sex and all these kind of moral stuff, what do you think would happen to the young person?'*

*'Oh, she probably wouldn't come back.'*

*I says, 'Right. What happens if we take her down to the family planning clinic; what happens if we get her professional help and advice?' (pause) 'She's in a consensual relationship, she wants to have sex, we keep her safe, she doesn't get pregnant, she doesn't get an STI. What do you think will happen?'*

*'Oh, we'll maintain a relationship with her.'*

*'Yes and then what we do is, because we have trust, because what we've done is in the best interests of the young person.'* (Bell)

He explained his reasoning behind his position:

*My understanding as a Christian youth worker would be that would almost give us permission in a way. I maintain a relationship with that young woman to be able to get to a point where we could say, 'Let's look at your choices, let's think about what is in your best interests,' and if she then asks you, 'What do you think?' that's when you can say, 'Oh, well, I believe that this...'* (Bell)

Robertson expressed a similar dilemma as she reflected on her own practice:

*I think I've been very desensitised after five [or] six years of being here. Nothing shocks [me] anymore. All these situations come up; I*

*wonder sometimes if I've lost my Christian discernment of those issues rather than just come at them from a youth work perspective. (Robertson)*

Within the experiences of others, Buchanan recounted an example from her work experience of being banned from speaking about her faith, and Barber recalled a scenario where youth workers in mainstream work were dismissed because they were considered to have been proselytising young people to the Christian faith. This was a situation recognised by Jeffs and Smith in their chapter 'Resourcing Youth Work: Dirty Hands and Tainted Money' (2006). This evidence suggests that within the thinking of youth workers, there is a dichotomy between Christianity and youth work, which can conflict and where the secular aims can be prioritised over the Christian beliefs. Others, perhaps responding to such duality, spoke of Christian faith-based youth work as being a distinctive form of youth work.

#### 6.4.2 Christian faith-based youth work – a distinctive form of youth work

Following this theme, from within the cohort of participants, Coburn, Clark, Wray, Duffy and Romain all spoke of Christian work with young people as something different from youth work delivered by those with a secular world-view. For example, Coburn considered that youth work has a different value base and ideological source and *'therefore a Christian value base develops a particular kind of youth work'* (Coburn). Clark, for example, mentioned Christian work being involved in social justice, along with having a salvation perspective, and Wray spoke of Christian work with young people as being holistic:

*Again, I believe that Christian youth work is different from secular youth work in that that is always going to be on your mind. You're always going to have this idea of, 'Actually one of the best things that could happen for the young person is that they have an encounter with God'. The problem comes when you make that so much more important than everything else. And everything else*

*becomes just way down on the agenda. Then I think as a Christian youth worker, you've lost it (Wray).*

These perspectives are commensurate with those of Shepherd, who at the time of writing was the Chief Executive Officer of the Centre for Youth Ministry, now the Institute for Children Youth & Mission. He observed: 'Of course youth work theory is laden with discussion on the purpose of the practice – I am particularly keen on Kerry Young's positions – yet as a Christian youth worker, I have a distinctly different view of the world' (2013). This highlights a view that Christian faith-based youth work is in some way distinctive from its secular counterpart, something which Bardy *et al.* (2015) suggested is the dominant position of practitioners on both sides of this discussion, and for Christian youth workers this is more than an academic decision. Wray's response reveals the internal struggle he considers most Christian youth practitioners have with a form of practice which lacks salvific intent. He accepts, however, that it is a valid Christian perspective:

*I think the vast majority of Christians, if you speak to Christians in youth work, most of them would say, 'No, there needs to be some spiritual capital coming out of it; there needs to be some spiritual [outcome].' I don't know! Sometimes when you look at the Bible – this is very hard, this is where my thinking is at the minute. Sometimes when you read the Bible and you read what Jesus said, sometimes I think that you're just called to serve, when there is no [evangelistic aspect] (Wray).*

While these participants saw a tension between Christianity and youth work, for others there was less of a dilemma, with some recognising that Christianity and youth work share some values.

#### 6.4.3 Christian faith-based youth work – a shared form of youth work

From within the cohort of participants, there were those such as McMeekin who proposed that there was a closer relationship between Christianity and youth work:

*I believe that Christians can do youth work, that Christians can come from a CLD perspective but also have a personal faith and do youth work. But I also think that actually their own Christian faith and the theology that underpins the Christian faith can actually act as a platform and inform youth work as well, as well as CLD practice informing the theology and Christian practice as well. I think it's a symbiotic, reciprocal role. (McMeekin)*

To clarify his understanding of this relationship, McMeekin, along with Brooks, spoke of the youth work / young person relationship in terms of journeying with a young person. Instead of Christian practice having the end-goal of the young person coming to faith, Christian faith-based work accompanies the young person on a journey, the destination of which is open and unknown:

*Youth work certainly has got the context of serving the young person where they are, so wherever that young person is, and you are certainly joining them on their direction of travel. And in that journey you're obviously assisting them, working with them, thinking with them, and taking them on a journey. There is a context within youth ministry or youth mission that you have a destination in mind. So you would like to see a young person ending up somewhere. Now there is a positive argument that that is also youth work (Brooks).*

Milburn provided a similar analogy: *'it's about giving young persons the chance within a mixed atmosphere... to work out a way for themselves and a life to travel, but not necessarily specifying what their life has to be'* (Milburn), and Marr also spoke of youth work as a journey springing from different value bases, of which Christianity is one of many.

While sharing the idea of youth work as a journey, McMeekin's and Brooks' positions were distinctive in that McMeekin held the view that any youth work

focused on a specific outcome is a poor model of practice, whereas Brooks recognised the reality that many forms of youth work, such as violence-reduction initiatives, are outcome focused.

Another area where participants considered there to be a connection between Christianity and youth work was through a shared set of values. This included Buchanan, Crory, MacLeod, McArdle, Murphy, Robertson and Swinney. For example, Buchanan observed:

*There are so many links [between Christianity and youth work]. We are meant to be building people up, and we're meant to be encouraging people to question things and believe for themselves. I see that as taken from the young people's perspective, respecting them and giving them their voice. There'[re] so many links; from a personal point that's my role, as the worker, to make these links (Buchanan).*

Barber suggested that Christianity might even provide a moral voice within youth work:

*How are we progressing as a world order when these massive contradictions exist [such as internet companies selling for vast fortunes as people starve]? And I think the Christian message comes right into play there. It has to, because if we cannot get people financially, we can surely get them morally: 'this is a moral wrong'... People need to think far, and especially in youth work and CLD, I think we need to think about the morality of our existence and the contradictions in our existence, and I think maybe where I leave the Christian message a wee bit is that I think it needs to be far more 'in your face' and far more demanding. The new drift that I'm seeing is that people like ourselves should be teaching*

*defiance... the pioneer of defiance was Jesus Christ, for God's sake.  
People need to challenge, much, much, more (Barber).*

Holman provided another point, for Christian work within an environment of closure and shutdowns of youth projects:

*I now think the church is more important than ever, partly because we are going to carry on whatever happens. I think that inequality is going to get worse, unless something really dramatic happens... I think that the Christians are the people to say, 'Inequality is wrong because Jesus said so.' As Christians it's wrong. Whatever the economists argue, it's wrong (Holman).*

Two competing views have been presented so far, that Christianity is antithetical to youth work and that Christianity is complementary to youth work to some degree. However, Morrison's response takes another form, providing Christian faith-based youth work with a theistic language. The *Kingdom of God* is an expression used by liberation theologians (Boff, 1980; Gutiérrez and Müller, 2015) which presents the imminent engagement between God and the world. Although Morrison does not use this language, his use of Luke 4 is often use by them (Gutiérrez, 1991):

*The Luke 4 manifesto<sup>24</sup> is what it's all about. In terms of approach, in terms of purpose, direction, and in terms of vision for the young people, in terms of what they could achieve, about what life is for...*

*I think [the Luke 4 manifesto is] both personal, I think it's community, I think it's political. It's like, you feed the hungry, you give insight to those who are walking in darkness and blind. You*

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<sup>24</sup> '[T]he scroll of the prophet Isaiah was handed to him. Unrolling it, he found the place where it is written: "The Spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour.'" (Luke 4:17–19)



*comfort the brokenhearted, and you go into prison with those who feel trapped, and their condition leaves them trapped. And things like this. Those are some of the applications. But you also do the proclamatory thing, saying, 'This is right and this is wrong' (Morrison).*

Morrison, in his use of a theistic language, also opens youth work to the transcendent:

*Ultimately if there are desires of youth work – secular youth work – it will be within a secular... more limited world-view, limited in the sense of this life. That doesn't mean to say it's limited in quality necessarily. But if you only deal in this world, that is as far as you can go. And I think, for example, elements of hope and lifetime are more than this world (Morrison).*

Morrison's contribution, which provides Christian faith-based youth work with a Christian language, is in clear contrast with those who considered Christianity to be '*something no rational person could support*' (McCulloch) or Christian practices as '*brainwashing*' (Furlong). The views presented thus far reveal there to be a spectrum of views held by those interviewed. They show that while a relationship between Christianity and youth work was acknowledged by most, this was seen in the main as an uncomfortable relationship.

#### 6.4.5 Christianity and youth work – an uncomfortable relationship

Christian faith-based youth work was recognised as a distinctive genre of practice by some, reflecting Coburn's consideration that Christianity '*develops a particular kind of youth work*' (Coburn). Marr, Swinney and Holman understood it to provide one type of value base amongst many. From a Catholic perspective, Duffy spoke of there being an inter-connectedness between Christian work with young people and youth work; although she often spoke of her practice in terms of youth ministry, she suggested that it came under the youth work '*umbrella*' (Duffy). However, she also

gave a sense of this work operating with a distinctive frame of reference, one which is needing to find a language of its own. In a similar way Stevenson from the Boys' Brigade spoke of youth work with a '*Christian flavour*' (Stevenson) that was committed to maintaining itself as an expression of Christian youth work. Barber took this furthest by giving Christianity what might be called a 'prophetic voice' within youth work. Others, such as Buchanan, McMeekin and Robertson, suggested that there was a strong relationship due to a unity of some values and aims. Frew, Williams and Coburn provided detailed descriptions as to how these views might fit within the current environment of youth work:

*There is an element of new social movement about youth work, that's in its psyche. Some driven by a faith sight, or some driven by the equalities grouping, some driven by political campaigning... But if they're not in the vision and purpose or statements and are pushed to the side of that then actually what are you doing? You're doing a kind of education without teeth, without any depth to it (Frew).*

*Power is at the heart of it. Who is it who essentially decided what youth workers do and what it is that they focus on? And some of that's about the government agenda for citizenship, education. Some of it is about still a Christian emphasis, I think, on morality, without teasing out what that might mean. And, more recently, it could be around ecology and the green movement (Williams).*

*I think there's room for lots of different kinds of youth work. I don't think there is one privileged view of youth work... In my own thesis I'm theorising the negotiated nature of youth work as something which is important that enables us to develop youth work in ways and in places that are different, and a way that is different could be Christian youth work, slightly different from that mainstream...*

*educational youth work... it doesn't mean that it is not youth work*  
(Coburn).

Marr also suggested that youth work is a way of engaging with young people '*and that could be Christian, it could be secular, it could be Muslim, it could be Bahá'í...*' (Marr). He goes on to suggest that whilst all youth work has a value base, Christian faith-based youth workers operate from a different value base, and as long as that is clear to the young person, in a social practice committed to equality, other youth workers should not be judging or critiquing value bases, accepting some and categorising others as unacceptable.

Taking these descriptions together point us toward McGinley's assessment of youth work:

*I think youth work has many dimensions to it, in many settings and in some ways that's a richness and in other ways that's a problem. It's a problem because we find it difficult to identify, encapsulate in definitional terms, what youth work is. And it's a richness because it does allow a multifaceted range of practices to be associated with the term youth work* (McGinley).

Yet some participants recognised that this relationship is an uncomfortable one and that there are incompatible elements between a Christian and a secular world-view:

*If I'm working in a project that's non-Christian, that's... looking to reduce knife crime, then my destination for the young people I'm working with is for them not to carry a knife, and not to stab somebody. So I actually have a destination, but the tool I use is a youth work tool and that's usually acceptable... in non-Christian youth work. Whereas if somebody who classifies themselves as a Christian youth worker, or youth work with a mission context, if they were to say to the youth work sector, the youth work field: 'I am doing youth work, but I also have a destination for the young*

*person which is to embrace the teaching of the Christian church,'  
then for some reason that's unacceptable (Brooks).*

This distinction was also given by Wray, who suggested that in Christian youth work there would always be an underlying view that part of human flourishing is for the young person to become a Christian. This view is to some degree at odds with McArdle's suggestion that Christianity and youth work can only be related if we hold to an interpretation of Christianity which conforms to a secular equalities agenda. Similarly, McGinley and Sweeney separated Christianity's attitude to enhancing human flourishing from its salvific intent, seeing the former as sharing something with youth work, whereas the latter is less so. These perspectives suggest that for some participants aspects of Christianity clash with the ideals of youth work. Blakeman suggested that this is because secular humanism is, to use Taylor's expression, the '[u]nthought' (2007b:427) world-view of youth work, which provides it with an ideological narrative and which prejudices it against Christian faith-based youth work. This is a situation also suggested by Holman:

*There is nothing amiss, and nothing unusual in Christians organising youth work. There does seem to be, nowadays, a certain belief, or prejudice, that Christians use youth work to impose Christianity – perhaps 'impose' is too strong – influence young people by drawing them into Christian clubs (Holman).*

Therefore, while on the surface there is said to be space for Christianity within youth work, there is something in the relationship between Christianity and youth work which negates a smooth, straightforward fusion.

## 6.5 Reflections and analysis

While I have grouped responses thematically to aid interpretation, they must continue to be recognised as individuals' views. If we are to fully appreciate the relationship between Christianity and youth work, they must be viewed as being in

a dialogue – that all these views are held by youth workers means that while it may be possible to privilege one over another, none can be excluded.

Interpreting the data from these semi-structured interviews shows that regardless of the variety of definitions of youth work and of the views held, Christianity is considered to have a place within youth work. Even McCulloch, who views Christianity as an erroneous, if not destructive, world-view, acknowledged it as a valid '*starting point*' (McCulloch) for youth work and recognised the quality of work with young people which '*springs from this source*' (McCulloch). McCulloch was not alone in holding this position; for example, Batsleer (2008) believes that residential retreats are a beneficial aspect of youth work, but they are only so if they can be disentangled from their Christian source. Despite such attitudes, it is significant that all but one participant recognised that Christianity was still considered to have a relationship with youth work, yet the clarifications, observations and caveats that came with this assertion also suggest that this relationship is not straightforward.

Other aspects of Christianity's relationship with youth work were less contentious. That Christianity had a relationship with youth work because of its heritage was accepted by participants and is in line with my own research as set out in Chapter 4. Bell's reflection that it was something which started within the church but became '*the property of someone else*' and Frew's acknowledgement that '*in some respects the term has been owned and developed by others, by a more professionalised sector beyond the Christian base*' (Frew) reflects my own thinking detailed in Chapter 5.

Secondly, some participants suggested that current Christian work with young people was considered to be manipulative, although other forms of youth work were also seen as calculating, and this was not seen in itself a sufficient reason for excluding a practice from youth work.

Thirdly, some within the cohort of participants identified certain practices which might be acceptable to secular youth work but might be prohibited by Christian

faith-based work. Others, like McArdle, believe that for Christian faith-based youth work to be accepted as youth work it must be bound to certain secular liberal views.

In this interpretation of Christianity's relationship to youth work, Christian youth work practitioners are required to be silent about their beliefs, and secular values must be adhered to. In this environment Bell (a Christian youth worker) said he approached his work in the same way as a Christian accountant, teacher or doctor sees their work. These might be said to be professions in which Christianity provides an individual with an ethical base, rather than being more directive of practice; youth work then becomes a technical endeavour where a practitioner is bound to its 'professional values'. This view of the relationship between Christianity and youth work points towards McLeod's (2007) analysis, where professional values have replaced religious ones within these social practices and where Christianity is treated differently from other ideological positions. However, this idea that professional values could be held in conflict with personal values was thought to be impossible by Swinney and Blakeman. It was this that made it impossible for Blakeman to situate his practice inside youth work.

The second viewpoint was that Christian faith-based youth work provided a distinctive genre of youth work, a position which concurs with my earlier research amongst Christians who work with young people (Clyne, 2008; 2012). This might be said to fit with Brierley (2003a), who understood youth ministry to be a specialism within youth work, or Griffith's (2013) holistic presentation of relational youth ministry, or perhaps the wider description of sacralised youth work (Nash, 2011b).

The third group understood the relationship between youth work and Christianity with a sharing of values and aims. This is a perspective which echoes the views of youth workers interviewed by Thompson (2019) for her research and Passmore's position, quoted earlier: 'I fully endorse the fundamental principles of Youth Work: empowerment, participation, equality of opportunity and informal education' (2004:15). For Christian faith-based youth work to function in this environment, Milburn, McMeekin and Brooks embed their understanding of youth work within

the concept of an open-ended journey, the destination to be decided by the young person. There is a sense that this might be a form of non-judgementalism, although more research would be required to fully ascertain this.

Fourthly, Morrison added to this discussion by providing Christian faith-based youth work with a theistic language. In doing so, he follows Ellis's (1990; 2000), Clark's (1992) and McMeekin's (2014) articulation of Christian faith-based youth and community work underpinned by Kingdom of God theology.

When taken together, these different positions reflect the complex nature of the relationship between Christianity and youth work, and reveal a relationship which exists but is on occasions uncomfortable in that there are non-compatible aspects or critical attitudes held by some against Christian faith-based practice. Frew, Williams, Coburn and Marr all provided an understanding of Christianity's relationship with youth work as one valid ideological position amongst many, something which reflects McCulloch and Tett (2006) and Furlong (2013), who said that youth work is embedded in and informed by many different approaches, value positions and philosophies. That said, Brooks and Holman raised a further point, that Christian faith-based youth work with a commitment to the concept of salvation is often dismissed. This is also why, as Holman pointed out, it may be judged pejoratively by other practitioners.

## 6.6 Summing up

The evidence from my participants suggests that the relationship between Christianity and youth work is not straightforward. There is coherence between their views and those in existing literature in terms of attitudes towards Christianity's relationship to youth work. To examine and explain this current situation in more detail, in the following chapter I will use this data and the texts and literature of youth work to analyse and describe Christianity's relationship with youth work in the Age of Authenticity.

## Chapter 7

### Christianity and youth work in the Age of Authenticity

#### 7.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter, I describe Christianity's relationship to youth work within the Age of Authenticity. I first summarise what Taylor means by the use of this term and follow this by setting out some of its social imaginaries, beginning with the ethic of authenticity and the two loci around which it constructed: the autonomous, private human agent and their categoric horizons of worth.

I then go on to explain the fractured and the fused nature of these. Lastly, I explain one of the most powerful shapers of our imaginaries, what Taylor calls *closed world structures*.

Following this, I present a brief summary of the disagreement between Taylor and MacIntyre as to whether this Age of Authenticity is one in which a positive ethic might be created. This is important, since where we are located within this disagreement will inform our acceptance or otherwise of youth work's current situation. Personally it is important, as while I accept Taylor's presentation to be an accurate description of the Age, I am inclined to MacIntyre's assessment that it is one in which agreement on deep moral judgements become impossible.

In positioning Christianity's place within youth work within the Age of Authenticity, I begin by challenging the traditional narrative of academic and professional youth work by delineating two modes of practice, one built on soft relativism, the other on the ideals of authenticity. Focusing on the second mode, I provide evidence of youth workers who recognise the importance of having horizons of categoric worth.

I then go on to discuss three of the more visible, fractured horizons: liberationist, economic liberal and Christian horizons. This provides youth work with multiple horizons. Following on from this discussion, I show that these horizons are all affected by academic and professional youth work being a closed world structure.



To provide a detailed example of this, I set out the way in which the philosophies of youth work separated Freire's pedagogy from his Christian faith, an analysis which also confirms the predominance of soft relativism within the development of academic and professional youth work. The prevalence of closed world structure and soft relativism on these streams of youth work effect an influential role in the attempts made to fuse the horizons of Christianity and youth work.

My analysis suggests that there are two forms of fusions. The first of these I have described as the *weak approach*, which adopts the secular narrative or overlooks the possibility that expressions such as 'promoting human flourishing' (Thompson, 2019:168) might be interpreted differently by different people. The latter I have described as the *strong approach* as it adopts MacIntyre's idea on translation. That youth work formed around a specific horizon must first be understood and expressed according to its own language, before being discussed, debated and argued over with those who articulate youth work according to another set of languages. Finally, I conclude the chapter by summarising my findings.

## 7.2 The Age of Authenticity

We live, according to Taylor, in the Age of Authenticity (Taylor, 2007b:473-504), an expression he (Taylor, 2003a) adopted from Trilling's book *Sincerity and Authenticity* (1971). The Age of Authenticity followed the Age of Mobilisation (Taylor, 2007b:424) and began in the late 1950s and 1960s; it continues to shape Western society. While Taylor has given this new period a title, the cultural change of the 1960s which he describes is widely recognised (Brown, 2001; Bruce, 2002; Davie, 1996; Gilbert, 1980; Taylor, 2003c). This age has developed its own ethics, which Taylor called the 'ethics of authenticity' (2003a).

### 7.2.1 The ethics of authenticity

The Age of Authenticity has a particular ethic which is formed out of a number of powerful perspectives where 'discovering one's authentic identity and demanding to be recognised... was connected with the goals of equality and of the

rehabilitation of the body and sensuality' (Taylor, 2007b:205). Within this Age, choice is what Taylor calls a 'prime value' (2007b:478), where the right to freedom of choice is paramount and is presented in such a way as to imply that there are no barriers to *my right to choose*, the locus of which is one's personal identity. This right to choose is further embedded in what are considered the universalised ideals of 'freedom', 'respect' and 'non-discrimination' (Taylor, 2007b:479). These ideals are also energised and guided by our "'moral and spiritual" intuitions... [the most] powerful of which include the respect for life, integrity, and well-being, even flourishing, of others' (Taylor, 1992:4), intuitions so profound that Taylor (1992) said we view them as being a universal human instinct. This identity is uncovered experientially and is found and recognised and maintained through the person's sense of authenticity, when there is a level of serenity between sense of self-realisation, self-fulfilment drawn from the values and ideals which they hold dear (Taylor, 2003a). Taylor (2003a) identified the powerful motif of the Age of Authenticity as being true to oneself.

This ethic of authenticity is maintained by the concepts and language of rights and is embedded in the ideal of equality: 'these rights, this freedom, this mutual benefit is to be secured to all participants equally' (Taylor, 2007b:171), although Taylor acknowledged that there are different interpretations as to what equality means. They are also presented in a way that curtails, as well as advances, debate. However, because human life is dialogical, he suggested unconstrained individualism is not really possible (Taylor, 2003a), yet the ethic is a risk from two deviant modes: the nihilism of relativism and the isolation of ever fragmenting horizons (Taylor, 2003a).

### 7.2.2 Authentic human agency

We live at a time, according to Taylor, when there is 'a new self-understanding of our social existence, one which [gives] unprecedented primacy to the individual' (2007b:146). This results in authentic human agency being constituted, an 'inwardness' (Taylor, 1992:111). It is an individual pursuit which is achieved by

uncovering and acting on feelings and sensuality as much as reason (Taylor, 2007b). Within this environment, defining the sacred becomes an individual choice; it is a sense and insightful feeling (Taylor, 2007b).

#### 7.2.2.1 Soft relativism

In Taylor's interpretation of this age, he suggested there are two ways in which human agency is constructed. The first he termed *soft relativism* (2003a:17), which he considered to be hyper-individualistic, making no reference to other external influences or horizons. It is a perspective in which the defence of any moral position is off-limits (Taylor, 2003a). Taylor believed this form of authenticity lacks a horizon of worth, having no 'horizon of important questions' (2003a:40) – by which choices are morally evaluated. He considered it to be a weak, narcissistic mode of authenticity (Taylor, 2003a:40). It is constructed through what Taylor called *procedurals ethics* (Taylor, 1992:496), which is similar to what MacIntyre termed *prescriptivism* (MacIntyre, 1983:135), in which the moral horizon is constructed by the person's own perspective (MacIntyre, 1983). It further creates an environment in which one can no longer 'distinguish evaluative judgements from expressions of private wants and preferences' (MacIntyre, 1983:139).

#### 7.2.2.2 The ideal of authenticity

Taylor's second viewpoint is that human agency is constructed in the 'ideal of authenticity' (2003a:21), when we make evaluative judgements of worth against a background of what we consider to be worthy options. This stronger form of Taylor's authenticity occurs when the formation of the self occurs against a background – a horizon of worth – which is, in part, constituted in a relational dialogue with others (Taylor, 2003a). In fact, he suggested that it is impossible for any meaningful construction to happen without this (Taylor, 1985a). The place of this construction is primarily within the community in which we exist, a view Taylor shares with MacIntyre (1985:221). These are exceptionally varied and can amongst other horizons include inspirational people, art, nature and God (Taylor, 2016).

Our communities give us the language we use to articulate the things of ‘categoric worth’, and so the language we use makes things ‘manifest’, ‘it shapes our form of life’ (Taylor, 1985a:10). Within this environment, Taylor writes about two forms of evaluative decision-making: weak evaluation, when we make a pragmatic choice, such as ‘will I eat now or later?’; and, in contrast, strong evaluation which is attached to an interpretation of the good. For example, one resists being spiteful despite any temptation to be so, because one considers being spiteful as an unworthy response. We make these evaluative judgements because, according to Taylor, ‘[w]e all see our lives, and/or the space wherein we live our lives, as having a certain moral/spiritual shape’ (2007b:5). These are drawn from different categoric horizons of worth.

### 7.2.3 Categoric horizons of worth

Taylor’s *categoric horizons of worth* (Taylor, 1985a) are those against which we make qualitative distinctions regarding our choices and they shape the self-interpretation of our significance:

[T]hings take on importance against a background of intelligibility. Let us call this a horizon. It follows that one of the things we can’t do, if we are to define ourselves significantly, is suppress or deny the horizon against which things take on significance for us (Taylor, 2003a:37).

Taylor developed his idea of background or horizon – terms that are interchangeable with ‘frameworks’ (Taylor, 1992:78) – to present an image of a landscape in which people make value judgements against some interpretation of a moral backdrop. Taylor (1992) suggested that the relationship between our decisions and our horizons of worth is true for everyone; it is an intrinsic part of our humanity (Taylor, 1985a), and it is a relationship through which our self is constituted (Taylor, 1992). Living outwith any framework is impossible (Taylor, 1992), since our lives have a ‘moral/spiritual shape... [I]n some activity, or condition,

lies a fullness, a richness; that is... life is fuller, richer, deeper, more worth while, more admirable, more what it should be' (Taylor, 2007b:5). What is clear from Taylor's view is that without a horizon the agent cannot articulate themselves (Taylor, 1992), since it is within this relationship that the agent develops character (Taylor, 1992).

In this new environment, Taylor acknowledged that 'it is clear that [the] diverse understandings of human meanings, ethical ideals and aspirations to self-transformation are frequently opaque to each other' (2016:327). That is, they are not even seen by those who inhabit a different world-view. Taylor is also adamant that these different ethical ideals are not just minor variations; they are embedded in different social imaginaries which shape the realities of those who live within them and cannot simply be combined (Taylor, 2003a).

#### 7.2.4 Fractured horizons

Taylor described *fractured horizons* (1992:305) as occurring because 'the original unity of the theistic horizon has been shattered, and the sources can now be found on diverse frontiers, including our own powers and nature' (1992:495), along with political ideals (Taylor, 2003a) and the lifestyles of famous influential stars (Taylor, 2007b). Within political spheres there is also a tendency for 'cross-alignment' (2003a:95), where individuals identify with groups that have coalesced around a number of different horizons which are brought together to form an all-or-nothing grouping to which their members acquiesce. For example, Taylor (2003a) wrote that those on the political right (i.e. generally sceptical of the authenticity ethic) come together around a commitment to pro-life, bound together with what might be some extreme forms of market liberalism. In contrast are those on the left, of which Taylor wrote:

[W]e find supporters of an attentive, reverential stance to nature, who would go to the wall to defend the forest habitat,

demonstrating in favour of abortion on demand, on the grounds that a woman's body belongs exclusively to her (Taylor, 2003a:95).

Taylor recognised that it is those who come from a religious perspective who will feel this fragilisation the most: '[w]e all lie to some extent "cowering" under "the agnostic vetoes upon faith as something weak and shameful"' (Taylor, 2002:8).

### 7.2.5 Fused horizons

In an age of fractured horizons, we can also find areas of fusion between these horizons through the bringing together of distinctive translations (Taylor, 1992; 1995). For example, Taylor writes of moral intuitions 'which are uncommonly deep, powerful and universal' (1992:4). One reason for this fusion might be due to the fact that many of our unconsidered positions are unwittingly built on Christian theism:

[S]ecular humanism also has its roots in Judaeo-Christian faith; it arises from a mutation out of a form of that faith. The question can be put, whether this is more than a matter of historical origin, whether it doesn't also reflect a continuing dependence (1992:319).

Yet within the Age of Authenticity, such fusions that do occur are strongly influenced by the dominant view that we live in, what Taylor calls *closed world structures* (2007b:551); that is, a world which is confined within the temporal, and is not shaped by the inclusion of any transcendent reference points.

### 7.2.6 Closed world structures

One result of living within a closed world structure is that interpretations of human flourishing are confined to the temporal, being a place where: 'belief becomes harder and harder; the horizon of faith steadily recedes' (2007b:569). A desacralised cosmos results in the construction of a world-view which is closed to the transcendent; meaning is formed through 'closed world structures' or 'horizontal'

worlds (Taylor, 2007b:551). Taylor described these as an interpretation of ‘our “world”... which leaves no place for the “vertical” or “transcendent”, but which in one way or another closes these off, rendering them inaccessible or even unthinkable’ (2007b:556), something which ‘problematizes certain values – e.g., “transcendent” ones – more than others’ (2007b:560). Taylor suggested that these closed world structures lay claim to being neutral and that within this landscape there is a propensity for relativism and a drive to pursue individual happiness (2007b).

### 7.3 The disagreement between MacIntyre and Taylor

The disagreement between MacIntyre and Taylor is one noted by Laitinen (2016) and at a superficial level is seen in their contrasting sentiments: MacIntyre’s view of late modernity is wholly pessimistic (see also Horton and Mendus, 1994b), in contrast to Taylor’s optimistic outlook (see also Nussbaum, 1994). This is a distinction recognised by Taylor (2003b) when he referred to MacIntyre as a knocker of modernity, which is due to their disagreement over how Aristotle is interpreted and the place given to his virtues in the formation of modern ethics (MacIntyre, 1994b; Taylor, 1994a). MacIntyre holds the view that the “Aristotelian” meta-ethic’ (Taylor, 1994a:22) is the only right framework through which good human flourishing can be formed, and that all of the other meta-ethical frameworks are misguided and unrealistic, producing lesser views of humanness. Taylor, in contrast, believes that the Age of Authenticity offers new opportunities to create a new viable meta-ethic, what he considers a ‘revisionist’ (1994a:33) approach. This approach relates what he terms the *transcendent goods* (1994a:35), the most important of which he considers to be ‘disengaged, free, rational agency’ (1994a:36).

This highlights a clear disagreement between MacIntyre and Taylor, which might be said to be derived from their different views of late modernity and what might be termed the emotivism–expressivism (MacIntyre, 2016; Roojen, 2015; Taylor, 2003b) debate. In adopting this expression *emotivism*, MacIntyre presented his

understanding of the current period as one in which it is impossible to make evaluative judgements (MacIntyre, 1985; 1988; 2016). It creates a landscape where moral language is confined, ultimately, to personal preference (MacIntyre, 2016).

In contrast to MacIntyre, Taylor adopted the term *expressivism* (1995) to describe the current environment. According to Taylor, expressivism is a relatively new post-Enlightenment, post-Romantic experience for humanity, a new mode of self-understanding (1992), and it provides a new way of making moral judgements, valid in its own right, through his 'ideals of Authenticity' (2003a:21; 2003b). These are sourced in what he called our 'inner depth' (1992:390) where the 'strong goods of objects of the specifically human emotions and human relations' (1995:120) are unveiled. It is a sense of inwardness which appears to reflexive people to be both inescapable and inexhaustible. Certain moral attributes are embedded in this depth: universal benevolence; universal justice; freedom; dignity; and the free, self-determining subject. This is what Taylor calls 'the new moral consciousness' (1992:296) and which draws its morality from 'moral sources' (1992:399), theistic and secular, Christian and Platonic (Taylor, 2011). These form what Taylor called our horizons.

It is this relationship which provides human beings (agents) both the means and their understanding of what is moral, enabling them to make morally evaluative judgements. This disagreement has been an area of some debate between the two (Horton and Mendus, 1994a; MacIntyre, 1994a; Taylor, 1992; 1994b), yet despite this MacIntyre (1994b; 1994a) suggested that their differences are technical rather than substantive, by which he means that both he and Taylor are interested in uncovering the goods of life. Taylor used a physical analogy to describe their differences: 'MacIntyre and I lean opposite ways on this issues' (1994a:23). He went on to suggest that MacIntyre believes society 'is heading for atomism and break up' (Taylor, 1994a:22). However, Taylor's 'soft relativism' does in part acknowledge that MacIntyre's critique of late modernity is plausible.



For me their disagreement also provides a catalyst for reflection. This particular tension between MacIntyre and Taylor is significant as it is a tension which exists within my own thinking, and MacIntyre's position has influenced my interpretation of the data.

### 7.3.2 MacIntyre's influence on this chapter

MacIntyre has influenced my analysis of youth work presented in this chapter in four ways. Firstly, within this environment specific moral languages are often internationalised (i.e. they are disconnected from their source language and their moral language is generalised). Secondly, within the current environment secular languages hold a privileged position. Thirdly, often the older languages are lost and these broad general ethics and morals are assumed to be the product of the new generalising secular language. Finally, to be able to look for unity in youth work, each stream must first be articulated and understood according to its own language, and then advocates should come together and present their best case, to uncover and decide which language is the most true to youth work.

#### 7.3.2.1 Internationalised languages

MacIntyre suggested that within the current period there is a homogenised language which he termed the 'language of internationalised modernity' and 'rootless cosmopolitanism' (1988:388). These internationalised languages are formed of broad generalities that intentionally neutralise or gloss over the obdurate parts of the source languages they draw their ideas from (MacIntyre, 1988). They also contain as limited a number of presuppositions as is possible and neutralise the traditions and belief systems of the originating language. This hinders these internationalised languages from making any qualitative judgements as to what is good (MacIntyre, 1988). They rely on a commitment to the virtues of freedom of expression and tolerance which are combined with the vices of 'abstract moralism, an appeal to very general principles on very concrete issues' (1983:283).

These languages are constructed, MacIntyre suggested, in a number of ways: by segregating the language from its belief matrix, by decontextualising it from the historic context which shaped it, and by making an effort to hide any incompatible anomalies between competing languages.

Hence when texts from traditions with their own strong, substantive criteria of truth and rationality, as well as with a strong historical dimension, are translated into such languages, they are presented in such a way that neutralizes the conceptions of truth and rationality and the historic context (MacIntyre, 1988:384).

In this environment, the individual is the 'fount' and 'locus of all value' (1983:283); it is the individual who is the ultimate judge of morality (MacIntyre, 1988). Ultimately lacking an ethical foundation leads to a mishmash of ideas which have created an 'unfortunate fictitious amalgam sometimes known as "the Judeo-Christian tradition" and sometimes "Western values"' (MacIntyre, 1988:286) and within this field resulted in a situation where many practitioners maintain a strong commitment to the abstract ideals of *youth work values* and to *youth work philosophy*. This silences any troubling discontinuities between conflicting viewpoints and creates a new language which is unrecognisable to the speakers of the original language, and the speakers of the new language remain oblivious of its sources. It also prevents those embedded in this new language from making any qualitative judgements as to what is good (MacIntyre, 1988).

#### 7.3.2.2 The prioritisation of the secular languages

MacIntyre (1983) observed that the internationalised language places the secular narrative, however unwittingly, at the pinnacle of a hierarchy of world-views, where it serves as a philosophical gatekeeper for all other languages. MacIntyre wrote:

[T]here is another constant element in liberalism, a way of envisioning the social world and man's place in it, which is often

assumed at so deep a level that it is not identified as a contingently alterable way of seeing the world, but instead naively envisioned as the way the world is (1983:283).

The result of this is that often the place or influence of the originating language becomes unrecognised.

#### 7.3.2.3 The loss of older languages

MacIntyre (1988) makes another observation pertinent to the environment of language translation. Once a language translation has occurred, often the originating language is lost or invisible to those who have been brought up in the new language. If the originating language is lost, or overlooked, then the new translation will become the final authority, a perspective with which Taylor (2007b) has some sympathy. Within youth work we might say that such older languages include Christianity, Judaism, and the different strands of providential deism.

#### 7.3.2.4 MacIntyre's way forward

In contrast to Taylor, MacIntyre suggested that if we are to truly communicate, we should acknowledge distinctive languages within a tradition or practice, recognising that our own perspective is narrated through a specific language. This allows for the translatable and non-translatable to be addressed. This dialogue across languages presents a further challenge: the difficulty of translating the underpinning beliefs of one language into another in a way that does not caricature either. This is a creative endeavour which:

[R]equires a work of the imagination whereby the individual is able to place him or herself imaginatively within the scheme of belief inhabited by those whose allegiance is to the rival tradition, so as to perceive and conceive the natural and social worlds as they perceive and conceive them (MacIntyre, 1988).

It is a process where through such discussion and debate, some form of conclusion is reached as to which has the greatest integrity, something which is achieved through appeals to the tradition of youth work.

That said, while I side with MacIntyre here, I recognise that achieving his aim may be out of reach (Stephenson, 1999). I also accept that Taylor provided the most accurate and helpful depiction of both the evolution of society and culture in the West, from Christian to secular, something MacIntyre also agreed with, writing on the dust cover of Taylor's *A Secular Age*: 'This book is a major and highly original contribution to the debates on secularization that have been going on for the past century. There is no book remotely like it. It will be essential reading' (2007b).

## 7.4 Youth work in the Age of Authenticity

In this section I challenge the traditional narrative of academic and professional youth work which has privileged liberal democratic and liberationist forms of youth work, seeing them as being united against market liberal, and Christian faith-based youth work. In contrast I suggest that liberal democratic youth work is distinctive from all other forms as it lacks a commitment to forming practice against categorical horizons of worth. From the responses of the interviewees and from within the literature on youth work, there is evidence of youth work formed around both soft relativism and the ideals of authenticity.

### 7.4.1 Youth work and soft relativism

Soft relativism is when human agency is formed without strong reference to a definitive background or horizon, and there are two forms of it within youth work. The first of these is embedded within its non-judgemental, non-directive narratives and we find examples of it from three participants:

*One of the difficulties we have in a modern-day youth work environment is that we run the risk of imposing values on young people that almost every adult in their life will be freely engaging*

*in. Let's also be clear that young people can have multiple sexual partners and still be happy, right, because there can still be a respectful component to that. Let's also be clear that young people can participate in alcohol and still be safe and still be happy. It's really, really important that we don't throw a blanket over all groups of young people because they do x, y, or z. I think the comparative situation I always encourage students or people to think about is: look at the adult population, look at the behaviours, the catalysts of the adult population, and tell me how you cannot look at that and... and not expect that young people are not going to go, 'Well, wait a minute, this is what happens next (Murphy).*

Bell makes a similar observation from a Christian perspective:

*For me it's not about condemning; it's not about condoning; it's not necessarily commentating. Again, it's getting the young person to ask those questions, and getting them to understand, and look at their own behaviour, and reflect on their own behaviour. And then at the end of the day if that young person then decides for themselves: 'No, I'm still happy with [dealing drugs],' then I think I, as a youth worker, I am OK with that (Bell).*

For Swinney, a positive ethical achievement would be:

*It's not my job to tell people what to do; what my job is about is to help people reflect and make informed decisions about what they want to do.*

*That the young person is able to look at an issue and to be able to see it from different perspectives, and to be able to make informed decisions – reflective and informed decisions – about what they are doing...*

*And they're not just reacting, and there is thoughtfulness about what they do. And even if their thoughtfulness is 'I don't want to this', or 'I don't want to take this particular route', there has been a thoughtfulness in doing that. And it's not just a knee-jerk reaction...*

*A successful outcome is actually about feeling happy with yourself, and what you are and who you are, whatever that happens to be... It is actually about feeling at one with who you are, in a way*  
(Swinney)

One further illustration of this perspective can be seen in McFarlane's suggestion that youth workers have a duty to protect young people's right to indulge in 'risk-taking behaviour' (2015). Within its academic and professional narrative, the soft relativism of youth work was developed purposefully around two powerful motifs of non-judgementalism and non-directive learning and produced its liberal democratic stream, which I summarised in section 1.4.2.1. These ideals continue to hold a virtuous position (Sercombe, 2010a), seen in the continuing emphasis on being non-judgemental as found in Wylie's (2003a) consideration that it is an approach youth workers now call *empowerment*.

According to Brookfield, this form of youth work creates an inability to examine the 'worthwhileness of individual pursuits' (2001:57) The soft relativism, as we have encountered it here, resonates with Taylor's view that it is a form of utilitarianism which prevents a commitment to intrinsic worth or worthy goals, where there is no qualitative discernment of the good (1995). The only good is happiness (Taylor, 1992), something which Taylor suggested, at best, can only lead to what he termed *expressive fulfilment* (1992:508), in which the only things which count are those which are true to one's own sense of being. In the Age of Authenticity, these views reflect an understanding of youth work which aligns it with Taylor's observation that the self becomes the dominant locus for the development of agency: 'The

moral ideal behind self-fulfilment is that of being true to one's self...' (Taylor, 2003a:15).

Taylor also said that soft relativism encourages an interpretation of the construction of agency where the only true relationships are voluntary and life enhancing. He suggests that in the worst cases this gives undue power to the 'helping professions' (Taylor, 1992:508). This embeds a manipulative power dynamic within the relationship between practitioner and client and is something which some (for example, Belton, 2010) suggested is true of some youth work. In another example, Sercombe spoke of relativism within youth work as being a position of 'exploitation and damage' (2010a:53). Another problem with adopting a position of assumed neutrality is that it potentially binds the development of agency to one or another form of generally accepted, unobserved cultural hegemonies (Taylor, 1995). Shaw pointedly noted that neutrality is not an option, as 'no politics' inevitably means '[the government of the time's] politics' (2003:229), something again said to be the reality for much of youth work (Davies, 2005 [1979]; Taylor, 1987).

Indeed, while it is often unrecognised within professional and academic youth work, this is a difference which distinguishes liberal democratic youth work from liberationist (which I described in section 1.4.2.2). They have distinctive attitudes towards categoric horizons of worth: the former conforms to Taylor's idea of 'soft relativism' (2003a:17); the latter conforms to his ideal of authenticity (2003a:21), and as such points towards Taylor's second method of human agency formation, the 'ideal of authenticity', a perspective we also encounter from the responses of participants.

This was, in different ways, important to participants' views of youth work. For some it was a core attribute (Coburn, Bell and Robertson), and for others it was an ideal to be aimed at (Cutler and Williams), or an expression from youth work's past (McGinley); others, however, considered it to be a myth (McArdle). However, there is an alternative to this approach. Sercombe claimed that within youth work, there

is an ethical dimension: 'we don't just want young people to grow up, but to grow up good' (2010a:23).

#### 7.4.2 Youth work and the ideals of authenticity

This is where authenticity is developed within an environment which recognises that human agency includes a 'social efficacy'. People are producers and citizens of given communities which shape their categoric horizons of worth (Taylor, 1985b). From the participants, Cutler provided a sense of conflict that practitioners may feel between a commitment to non-directive learning and holding to a specific moral horizon:

*We all have moral frameworks so nobody is non-judgemental. We're either positive, negative or ambivalent, but we have a reaction to everything, so even though we might say, 'I'm not going to tell you what to do or what to think', I'm certainly going to have a position on whether or not I think your behaviour is appropriate, inappropriate, damaging. So the non-judgemental thing is more about not saying it, potentially...*

*I think we can work, and we can say that we're being 'non-judgemental', but you can't. I don't think you can hide your belief, your own moral standpoint. It comes out in different ways and young people aren't stupid (Cutler).*

That said, most participants articulated youth work as occurring against a moral backdrop:

*I think [youth work] has a deep morality about it. It is about the individual good but it is about the common good as well. It is about sharing, sharing and improving skills, improving both rights, but also improving responsibilities. It is a balance there within what youth work tries to do in terms of helping people to become*



*whole people. That aspect – a knowledge of themselves and others in the world and to try and find out where they fit into that – is a big, big thing (Sweeney).*

McMeekin suggested that within youth work there is a desire to see young people adopt its values through a form of osmosis, a perspective also articulated by Frew:

*There are those values in the youth work world about social justice... that we would definitely imbue and expect young people to pick up on... without telling them you would want to help them think through their actions. Any education is not value-neutral, neither is youth work; there are particular big picture moral values that we probably want to help young people to find for themselves (Frew).*

Often non-judgementalism was an ideal espoused by participants in their interviews, which were infused with a moral language concerning, for example, justice or equality:

*I can genuinely now say that I don't feel any judgement, I don't feel any kind of sense of superiority, because I know from experience that there is always a story behind something... I know it's coming from a place of societal injustice. So that perspective helps with the judgement. (Robertson).*

*What I am fundamentally concerned about is that a young person knows who they are, has a sense of identity, has a sense of purpose, has an ability to contribute to society and the world, can impact positively on themselves and other people and not in a needy and destructive way, bringing something hopeful to the world (Robertson).*

*[I am concerned about] supporting people to become the best they can. So, I don't think we live in an equitable world. So there is lots of thing that I do about helping people to overcome barriers... it's an unfair world and it's actually about making it more fair and more just (Swinney).*

*For me, youth work is about equality, and justice, and young people flourishing and having a positive life, having a good life. Amartya Sen and people like Nussbaum... have talked about 'what is it that makes a good life, what is it that helps people to flourish and to thrive?' There is a framework that I have used called equality of condition (Coburn).*

Recognising this to be the case suggests that interviewees were delivering youth work bound to a variety of categoric horizons of worth.

#### 7.4.3 Youth work's categoric horizons of worth

McCulloch provided us with an example of how the virtues which all youth workers ought to possess can be drawn from different horizons.

*I think there are – kind of – virtues that youth workers need to embody – and it's another way of thinking about values. The virtues that youth workers need to embody are courage and honesty, brave, noble and wise. Youth workers should be fine human beings. I don't think it matters very much where that capacity to be a fine human being comes from (McCulloch).*

And participants provided a number of such horizons themselves: Kant (McCulloch); Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum (Coburn), the latter of whom is opposed to a theistic transcendent foundation (Taylor, 2007b); and Christianity (Holman). Along with these, Williams also suggested that '*ecology and the green movement*'

(Williams) might provide a modern horizon. Frew provided a good summary of youth work embedded within the ideal of authenticity:

*There is an element of new social movement about youth work; that's in its psyche. Some driven by a faith sight, or some driven by the equalities grouping, some driven by political campaigning...*  
(Frew).

These perspectives are also encountered in some youth work publications, where we encounter articulations of practice framed by a horizon of 'the good'. For example, Sercombe (2010a) observed that when a young person does something wrong, they need to be made aware that it is wrong. Young expressed the view that 'youth work is an exercise in moral philosophy' (2010:93) in which 'it is the *nature* of youth work to engage with young people in the process of moral philosophising through which they make sense of themselves and their lives' (K. Young, 2006:57). Sercombe said that youth work 'create[s] possibilities of transformation' (2010b:82) and Nicholls wrote that 'youth workers bring a moral purpose to their work that is full of values and ideas... [and a] passion to end exploitation... [for] better human relationships... They seek emancipation from unfair social conditions...' (2012:98,99).

What is evident, however, is that since the 1970s youth work has been associated (or has been criticised for being associated) with many different horizons of categoric worth. By the late 1980s, Taylor (1987) was recognising the existence of conservative, liberal, social-democratic and socialist youth work, and a reading of the literature will reveal an expansive number of ideological positions being claimed or excluded as being core to youth work. These included anarchist perspectives (Howard, 1974; de St Croix, 2016), capitalist (de St Croix, 2010; Taylor, 1987), conservative (Ratcliffe and Taylor, 1980), humanistic psychology (Smith, 1988), leftist communitarianism (Seal and Frost, 2014), liberal-pluralistic (Crowther and Tett, 2003), liberal-liberationist (Bradford, 2011b), libertarian (Corrigan, 1982), Marxist (Marsland, 1976; Milson, 1980), neoliberal (de St Croix, 2016; Taylor *et al.*,

2018), reformist-liberal (de St Croix, 2010), radical (anti-capitalist) (de St Croix, 2010), radical right (Davies, 1986), romantic humanism (Bradford and Cullen, 2014), secular-humanism (Ahmad and Kirby, 1988; Clayton and Stanton, 2008), social-democratic (Bradford, 2011b; Davies, 1986; Jeffs and Smith, 1990b) and socialist (Taylor, 1987). These occurred alongside the development of practices drawn from within what Marsland called a 'marxist analysis' of youth (1978:8), which focused on class, colour, gender, sex, and youth work which targeted young people with particular identities: feminist youth work (Batsleer, 2009; Yeung, 1984) and youth work with gay and lesbian young people (Joint Council for Gay Teenagers, 1979; Kent-Baguley, 1982).<sup>25</sup>

To these, we might add the pre-Albemarle horizons of youth work: Christian-as-faith, Jewish faith, different strands of providential deism and, by the late 1930s, Christian-as-ethic, along with some which were more everyday, including developing citizenship and promoting personal hygiene.

The existence of such distinct horizons within modern youth work is part of its ever developing social practice, one which adds rather than subtracts horizons. Increasingly within youth work these have coalesced around some particularly visible cross-aligned meta-horizons.

#### 7.4.4 The fractured horizons of youth work

The history of youth work has provided it with multiple cross-aligned horizons. Yet within recent time, there has been an attempt by academics and some professional youth workers to exclude some of these and confine ownership of the descriptor *youth work* to liberationist modes of practice (Davies and Taylor, 2019). This leads to a situation where these secular positions may be described as the unthought position of many academic and professional youth workers. Along with these there

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<sup>25</sup> Here I have used the original language of the authors.

are two other horizons within youth work which this unthought position has attempted to exclude: youth work which holds to a right-wing horizon (Davies, 2008; 2009a; de St Croix, 2016) and until recently Christian faith-based youth work (Davies, 2008).

#### 7.4.4.1 The liberationist horizon of youth work

Liberationist youth work (see section 1.4.2.2) was shaped by the changing academic environment of the period when Marxism began to influence the training of social workers, teachers and youth workers (McLeod, 2007; Taylor, 2009a). While one result of this was that some of the radical students opted to take up community education posts (Ahmad and Kirby, 1988), youth workers also became politicised and there was an increase in its radical literature (Batsleer, 2017b; Bunt and Gargrave, 1980; de St Croix, 2009; Taylor, 2009a). Liberationist youth work lacks its own theoretical literature stream and a strong historical account (Smith, 1997; de St Croix, 2009; 2010; Taylor, 2009c); however, some have written to in an attempt to validate this position: Smith (1988) and more recently Davies (2009a) and Taylor *et al.* (2018). It is a stream of youth work which is formed by a cross-alignment between a number of different horizons, which focused on inequalities: gender, race, sexuality, disability and, to a limited extent, class (Davies, 2001; Taylor, 2009c). It has been referred to as almost 'everything except the right' (de St Croix, 2010:68).

The liberationist horizon was enabled with the publication and implementation of the Albemarle Report (Davies, 1999b; Davies and Taylor, 2013), and while it is generally accepted as being a single youth work horizon, not much consideration has been given to the different ideological horizons in which they are embedded. There is also some evidence to suggest there has been some fracturing of the secular horizons within it (Spence, 2014; Taylor, 2009c).

While being the most vocal horizon and most evident within the literature of academic and professional youth work, judging the numbers involved is difficult. To some it appears to be a marginal endeavour when compared with market liberal youth work (Eggleston, 1976; Jeffs, 2002; de St Croix, 2010; Taylor, 1987; 2009c); to

others its influential is very significant (Davies, 2001; Marsland, 1978), driving forward the professional and academic expressions of youth work. In 2017 the In Defence of Youth Work website, which was established to defend this form of youth work, was getting over 20,000 visitors (Davies, 2018). Others have seen this largely a rhetorical attitude held by practitioners, which is not reflected within the realities of everyday practice (Barr, 1982; Edinburgh Youth Work Consortium and the University of Edinburgh, 2015; Gutfreund, 1977; Taylor, 1987).<sup>26</sup> As a dynamic form of practice, it came lost much of its energy in the 1980s (Davies and Taylor, 2019; Spence, 2014), and while its rhetoric is still evident within youth work (Bright *et al.*, 2018; de St Croix, 2016; Thompson, 2019) it is currently in a state of crisis – some would say dead (Du Feu, 2018). In contrast, market liberal youth work appears to be on the rise.

#### 7.4.4.2 The market liberal horizon of youth work

Market liberal (state-sponsored) youth work (see section 1.4.1) has recently become a more dominant strand of practice, although the relationship between youth work and the needs of a market-based economy has been part of its development for its earliest days (Evans, 1974; Webb and Webb, 1909; Youth Advisory Council, 1943). While the response of youth work was ameliorative, government funding has made this a concern of the youth work narrative up to and including Albemarle. By the mid 1960s, although apparently unobserved by the youth work academy, employability and youth work were being linked together. In the introduction to their book *Trends in the Services for Youth*, Leicester and Farndale wrote:

The title of this volume, ‘Trends in the Services of Youth’,  
embraces the Youth Service and the Youth Employment Service

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<sup>26</sup> Gutfreund (1977) noted that there was an attitude amongst many youth workers that was dismissive of any work they considered to be generated by the political right, an attitude that continues to exist (see, for example, de St Croix, 2016, Taylor *et al.*, 2018).

together with other allied services for young people. While the main emphasis is on the two basic services, neither exists in isolation from those other services...' (1967:2).

Along with this, through the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this developed through a number of government quasi-youth work endeavours: Manpower Services Commission, New Deal, Youth Enquiry Service (in Scotland) and The Connexions Service (in England). In the early 1980s, the government proposed that youth work would need to have a closer relationship with these (The Secretary of State for Education and Science, 1982) and proactively achieved this with the establishment of the Connexions Service and beyond. Over the period of this research the economic narrative has become the near-overarching one of most statutory and some voluntary youth work endeavours (Jeffs, nd [c2015]). This was recognised by a number of participants. Coburn, for example, gave a review of what she perceived to be the current situation:

*The ideology of the government of the day impacts on funding, and so funding for youth work is tied into ideology... because if there's no funding... I'm not saying it's impossible, because I've never allowed lack of funding to be a block. In fact, I think it's quite a good thing, because when we're struggling for funding, we're quite creative in finding them and that enhances the human spirit. But I also think that fewer and fewer people think of funding in that way. I hear, and I have heard for all of my working career, but I hear, particularly a lot now, is almost the assumption that if we don't get funding to do it, we can't do it (Coburn).*

At a more profound level, the development of competence-based training might also be considered to relate to an economic world-view insofar as this training is transactional, being about inputs and outcomes. It might also be argued that youth work training produces a commodity: a technically proficient community worker. There has also been a drive to define good practice according to a final product (HM

Inspectorate of Education (Scotland), 2002; 2006). Only recently has an attempt been made to apply a code of ethics to this form of youth work. From the cohort of participants, Morrison articulated the presence of this shaping influence:

*There is now a language of youth work, which I think is probably commercially, funders-led... Outputs and outcomes, a mechanical process. There is a perception by funders that you can have a person, and you can put them through a process and they will come out like that, better at the end. And you can then pay [youth workers] by results... It creates a language, whereas what you may be saying is there is a different sort of language, which comes on different ways of doing [youth work] (Morrison).*

Williams suggested the use of terms like *social capital* (Williams) has further tied youth work to an economic narrative. It was also suggested that youth workers themselves were living within this world-view:

*Now we're living in a world where colleagues, youth workers... have come through a world that's very materialistic. That status comes from... the labels you wear on the outside of your clothes... But when youth workers themselves are having bags at a thousand pounds, then there is a real dilemma. That's not the youth worker's fault; that's the world they live in (Coburn).*

This point appears to chime with Reimer's wider observation that the 'centrality of leisure and consumption in young people's lives are in line with the zeitgeist of materialism and hedonism which reputedly characterised the 1980s' (1995:120). These observations of both Reimer and Coburn point towards the profound level to which the economic is embedded in the language of youth and youth work. Taylor noted:

One important facet of this new consumer culture was the creation of a special youth market, with a flood of new goods,



from clothes to records, aimed at an age bracket that ranged over adolescents and young adults. The advertising deployed to sell these goods in symbiosis with the youth culture helped create a new kind of consciousness of youth as a stage in life, between childhood and an adulthood (2002:81).

In this landscape, according to Taylor, the self is understood to be a private economic agent (Taylor, 2007a:103) and personal agency exists within an economic social narrative (Taylor, 2007a:131). It is a space in which personal independence is interpreted in entrepreneurial terms (Taylor, 2007a:150) and economic language shapes our interpretation of social values (Taylor, 2007a). This was recognised by some from within the cohort of participants:

*I think we've been encouraged to see ourselves as winners and losers. And that's a societal move... I remember someone involved in the trade union movement in the 80s said 'the thing that Thatcher and Reagan was that they encouraged us all to be consumers' (Williams).*

*So we still buy into that, that sense of 'that's what achievement looks like', to be a good and productive, law-abiding citizen (Cutler).*

Since the 1990s, the Youth Service and youth work has been reshaped by the market liberal approach of successive governments, something which established a new relationship between national government, local authorities and Youth Services (McGimpsey, 2016; 2018; de St Croix, 2017b; Taylor *et al.*, 2018). The state took an increased interventionist and regulatory role (Bradbury *et al.*, 2013). McGimpsey (2017; 2018) suggested this promoted a transition in statutory youth work provision away from the existing concept of a Youth Service as defined by Albemarle, to that of the less structured idea of a 'youth sector' which was built on 'competitive commissioning and out-put targets' (McGimpsey, 2017). Sapin, for

example, wrote of there being three providers within the new sector: public, private and third-sector youth work, all working in 'cross-sector partnerships' (2013:24). These developments reached fruition after the financial crash of 2008, when in England the Conservative government circumvented the local authority and gave direct funding to its own new form of youth work, the National Citizen Service, through a not-for-profit trust (McGimpsey, 2018), and in Scotland youth work was increasingly entwined with the employability agenda (section 1.5).

According to McGimpsey (2017) and others (Bradbury *et al.*, 2013), the empowering of market liberal youth work began with the neoliberal agenda of the Labour government. This reshaping of Youth Services into a market-based youth sector is evident in three of their publications: *Transforming Youth Work: Resourcing Excellent Youth Services* (Department of Education and Skills, 2002), *Youth Matters* (Department of Education and Skills, 2005) and *Aiming High for Young People: A Ten Year Strategy for Positive Activities* (HM Treasury, 2007). McGimpsey's analysis of these reveals how these governments used a 'nudge approach' (Bradbury *et al.*, 2013:247) to reshape the service.

Through these publications the government distinguished universal youth work provision from targeted work and 'nudged' it towards the latter in incremental stages. While *Transforming Youth* and *Aiming High for Young People* validated both, they shifted focus onto targeted work and tied youth work provision to the outcomes set out in *Every Child Matters* (British Government, 2003). Further, the Labour government changed the relationship between youth work and the young person by prescribing to them the role of a consumer who could choose the type of youth provision they wanted. At the same time, through manipulating funding, the government limited the choices available to them (Bradbury *et al.*, 2013; Wood and Hine, 2009).

Another development which supported the evolution of the Youth Service into a youth sector was the blurring of the boundaries between 'voluntary and community sectors and private profit-making organisations' (de St Croix, 2016; Youdell and

McGimpsey, 2015:117) – the introduction of a market environment. From being a provider of youth work services, national and local governments became a seller of youth work provision. In this new model, the voluntary sector might be paid to supply statutory provision, and organisations often had to compete against each other for funding and resources through competitive tendering initiatives. It also enabled private companies and social enterprises to become providers of youth services, while at the same time causing some of the traditional Youth Service organisations which relied on state funding to realign their work to access these funding streams.

By expanding the types of organisations, agencies and businesses that could provide youth work services in a way that maintained the rhetoric of local involvement, the government favoured national providers with little regard for whether they were voluntary organisations, statutory providers, social enterprises or private companies (McGimpsey, 2017; 2018). This marketisation of provision changed the kind of aims and functions of youth work (de St Croix, 2017b; Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015). It also changed the form of relationship between the state, local authorities and youth work. It replaced the Youth Service, a mode of delivery in which academic, professional and voluntary voices all defined youth work, and replaced it with a new model of provision, the ‘youth sector’ (McGimpsey, 2018:235). With this new provision, the state provided the dominant description of youth work by leaving the provision to voluntary, third sector and business (Department for Education and Employment, 2011), while at the same time directing funding into early intervention projects working with children, specialist employability programmes and work with young offenders. The funding also prioritised short-term programmes and structured activities targeted at those young people deemed ‘at risk’, usually

identified as NEET (i.e. not in education, employment or training), something which itself created a new form of practice.<sup>27</sup>

Related to this, the gap left in provision by the closure of traditional youth work or the withdrawal of the presence of traditional youth work providers was often met by non-youth work services such as criminal justice initiatives, community policing and school inclusion programmes, along with short-term targeted interventions, all of which may be identified as youth services by other agencies (Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015).

This shift from a Youth Service to a youth sector also redefined the nature of the relationship between youth work providers and the state. A business or a company can buy its membership and withdraw by ending the financial arrangement (Puffett, 2012). Indeed, the expressions *youth work methods*, *youth work skills* and *approaches* (R. Davies, 2013; Strycharczyk *et al.*, 2011; Sweeney, 2008), descriptive terms all used by youth work agencies, were birthed during this transition and indirectly facilitated the ability of businesses to ‘buy’ their way into youth work, using these terms, while providing something distinctive.

De St Croix (2016; 2017b) suggested that there was a radical response to these changes by part-time and voluntary youth workers who strove to maintain older youth work working practices, working under the radar and within the constraints of funding placed upon them. Youdell and McGimpsey provided a different interpretation of this (2015), describing such approach as conservative rather than radical. These workers strove to maintain something of their former practice while acquiescing to the new funding, performance and accountability frameworks. What adds strength to Youdell’s and McGimpsey’s view over that of de St Croix is their assertion that establishing a social enterprise in response to these changes is in itself a neoliberal response. Here I am following Youdell’s, McGimpsey’s and others’

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<sup>27</sup> As I point out in section 1.5, these developments also occurred on Scotland.

(Bradbury *et al.*, 2013) analysis to explain the shift from Youth Service to youth sector, that occurred between the 1990s and 2008, and suggest that it is one of the stronger master-horizons within current youth work.

In market liberal youth work, *value* is defined in economic terms, limiting the cost of a young person to the state. Value for money is assessed through gathering data often on the nature of personal change in the attitudes, behaviour, emotional and psychological well-being of young people (McGimpsey, 2018; Youdell and McGimpsey, 2015).

Similarly, membership of the youth sector is bought and can be relinquished with the termination of a contract. This is something which creates a form of youth work, with a limited history, creating a form of youth work which has no institutional heritage on which to draw.

#### 7.4.4.3 The Christian horizon youth work

While the economic horizon has grown in influence within youth work, this is not the complete image. As I have shown in Chapters 4 and 5, youth work has, since its foundation, had a strong Christian horizon. Although this changed following the publication of Albemarle, there is evidence to show that it continued to have a negotiated place within youth work. Despite its place being overlooked by those writing its academic and theoretical literature, giving the impression that youth work is a secular endeavour, there is strong evidence of it continuing to be present within youth work.

Firstly, even while Davies was overlooking its place within his histories of the Youth Service and Smith was minimising its presence in his history, we encounter the work of Ellis (1990; 2000) and Clark (1992) who began to create a distinctive narrative based on liberation theology. Ellis (1990) further argued that informal education is the approach which Jesus adopted, and is in that sense inherently 'Christian'.

Ellis' piece is also significant as the model of practice he developed, blending formal and informal educational approaches into a coherent method, was adopted by Jeffs and Smith in *Informal Education: Conversation, Democracy and Learning* (2005: first published in 1996) and by others (Mahoney, 2001; Smith, 1994). It has been described as a 'seminal piece' (Smith's online introduction to Ellis, 2000).

Secondly, despite the lack of articles examining Christianity, religion, spirituality or faith within the academic or theoretical literature of youth work, the presence and engagement of Christian practitioners committed to youth work can be found within the book review sections of *Youth and Policy*. While these are implicit (a review written by a Christian worker) rather than explicit (about a Christian topic), they show that Christian youth workers are engaged with this literature stream of academic and theoretical youth work.

These include Green (1995), at the time a National Youth Officer with the Church of England, who reviewed a book on setting up and managing a project. Ellis, an Anglican priest and manager of a youth project provided a review of McKeone's book *Wasting Time in School, Secondary School Chaplaincy, a Story and a Handbook*: 'I suppose this book with its strong Catholic setting might have limited appeal, but I believe it is well worth a place on any youth worker's library' (1995b:80). He also reviewed a book by Grundy (an Archdeacon in the Anglican Church), *Community Work: A Handbook for Volunteer Groups and Local Churches*, of which he wrote:

[T]his book has relevance to those not working in a church setting. The book comes from a church publisher and the word 'churches' appears in the title. This may restrict its circulation. It would be a great pity if this book did not find itself in the hands of a wider readership (Ellis, 1995a:100).

Indeed, there are a number of book reviews written by Christian practitioners and Christian literature (Langdon, 2004; Mayo, 2005; Rose, 1999). Mayo's review is of

Brierley's *Joined Up: An Introduction to Youth Work and Ministry* (2003a) is also of interest. Brierley presented an interpretation of youth ministry as a specialism within youth work, and while Mayo was positive about the book, his critique suggested that some articulations of Christian beliefs, such as 'incarnation and conversion', are presented in too straightforward and one-dimensional a manner, and at odds with more orthodox Christian views. Despite this observation (which is worthy of exploration by faith-based practitioners), the above evidences an engagement by Christian practitioners with youth work and within *Youth and Policy* journal.

More evidence for Christianity's resurgent presence within youth work can be found within its practitioner-focused magazine *Young People Now*. This practitioner-focused magazine provides further evidence of a continuing relationship between Christianity and youth work. For example, a Christian youth work lecturer appears in 'a day in the life of' (2003a), and similar to *Youth and Policy*, we encounter Christian practitioners engaging with these publications by providing book reviews. Burk, writing of the Church of England's *Faithful Cities*, said: 'there is also much [that makes it relevant for non-Christians] that would seem to share many of the values and principles adopted by the youth service and others working with young people' (2006:10).

There is a similarly positive review of a CD ROM produced by Frontier Youth Trust (a faith-based organisation) on mission and young people at risk. The review is headlined 'A Tool for Uniting Faith-based and Secular Work'. While the reviewer acknowledged that it is primarily for Christian faith-based practitioners, he also suggested that its material on 'Introduction to Community' and 'Teams and Groups' is relevant to all youth workers. The reviewer concluded that 'Frontier's track record of working with those on the margins of society suggests it is not an average organisation. It is among the leaders in this field' (R. Davies, 2004:17).

Another book review is entitled 'A Christian Approach to Tackling Gang Violence, A Review of *God and the Gangs*' (Beckford, 2004). The reviewer (from within youth

ministry) wrote that this book 'challeng[es]... those who are tempted to dismiss the attempts of Christians to engage in youth work as simplistic, naïve or unprofessional, the thinking at least equals other current youth work texts' (Nash, 2004).

This quote hints of a friction between Christian faith-based work and wider practice, giving a sense that youth ministry sees itself as being viewed as an inferior to youth work (Nash, 2005). Another review (Green and Heaney, 2005) hints that youth work does not always respect the faith perspectives of the young people with whom it engages.

More directly related to Christianity are the short pieces on spirituality. Green reviewed Moss' book *Religion and Spirituality* (2005), suggesting it 'challenges professionals, not least those working with young people, to engage with spirituality and religion' (Green, 2005:21). Moss (2005) suggested that all professional youth workers have a responsibility to engage with spirituality, as it is a constituent part of humanness, a theme taken up by White who reminded workers 'not [to] neglect [their] own spiritual journey' (2005c:21). There are also two pieces which suggested that spirituality may have begun to be included within some youth work practice (Nacif, 2005; *Young People Now*, 2005e). All of this suggests that spirituality was an issue being encountered by youth work.

We also encounter Christian engagement within *Young People Now* letters to the editor (Brown, 2004). Some of these challenge the idea of neutrality, suggesting youth workers are always propagating a faith perspective, even if that faith is atheism (Criddle, 2004; Relf, 2004a; 2004b). In the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we also find the government beginning to suggest that faith groups should have a significant role in helping young people (Ghose, 2004b; *Young People Now*, 2004c). This runs alongside the National Youth Agency's interest in understanding young people's faith and culture (National Youth Agency, 2004a; 2004b; 2005), and news items on the work of faith-based groups appearing in *Young People Now* (2004b; 2005c; 2006c).



There is also a thread of 'news' articles relating youth work to Christianity; for example, 'Church Action on Poverty' (Hughes, 1997). This comes along with shorter notes on Christian youth movements (Ghose, 2005a; Goddard, 2006b; *Young People Now*, 1997). There is one provocative piece (White, 2005a), but many more simply report on denominational youth work (Ghose, 2004a; 2005d; *Young People Now*, 1999b; 2004a; 2004d; 2005g).

*Young People Now* also ran some 'vox pop' style pieces, through which they gathered short responses from practitioners regarding the validity of faith-based youth work (*Young People Now*, 2004e; 2005a; 2005f; 2006a; 2006b), along with pieces on young people's spirituality (*Young People Now*, 2005d). While not all positive, what these reveal is that Christianity's relationship with youth work is, within the environment of practice, an area of ongoing discussion.

The increasing influence of Christian-based youth work might also be seen in the fact that *Young People Now* ran an article discussing the limited acknowledgement of faith-based work in *Youth Matters*, and sought out the opinion of faith-based workers (Ghose, 2005b). The Church of England made a response which explicitly called for 'the spiritual wellbeing of young people to be made an essential part of the *Youth Matters* strategy and implementation' (Sainsbury, 2006:23).

Alongside these articles, there is also more substantial evidence of a relation between Christianity and youth work. In one example, there is an article on a partnership between a local church and the local authority to run youth work (Langford and Barnard, 1997), where there are expressions such as, 'the fact that the churches' project emphasises the development of young people has certainly ensured plenty of common ground between the two organisations' (1997:35). Interestingly, the church also recognised that in working in partnership there were boundaries to its activities:

To further clarify the partnership, a service level agreement has been established to set out the commitment of both parties, and

clearly state the boundaries within which they operate. For example, the [local education authority] is obviously unable to support part-time employment in evangelistic work. Rather it is a matter of knowing the limits of the partnership, and working within these to maximise the benefits to the young people with whom both parties work (1997:35).

A similar style article was published in 2003, where Christian practitioners explained that 'we've made it a rule not to talk about our beliefs' (H. Gregory, 2003:15). Another in 2006 carried the strap-line 'modern Christian youth work is no longer just about Bible studies... [C]hurch projects have changed their focus to engage more young people in spirituality' (Gregory, 2006a). The article went on to mention Christian programmes which provide 'personal development programmes' and community volunteering. Here we encounter phrases such as 'indeed, most groups insist they don't preach to young people' and 'other groups even keep God completely out of the picture at times' (Gregory, 2006a:15). One worker was cited as saying, 'Christianity wasn't on the agenda: our work is about serving people in a number of different ways' (Gregory, 2006a:15).

These three articles suggest that for youth work from a Christian base to be recognised, it has to be formed in a particular way. It must be, for example, non-proselytising, yet there is still the potential for distinctions. Gregory quotes one worker, Simon Hill:

Hill believes there's still a significant difference between Christian and non-Christian work that is apparent in [Christian faith-based youth work's] approach. 'Unlike secular groups, there's a spiritual dimension to our work and our opinions are sometimes different – we look at relationships from a Biblical perspective and don't believe in sex outside marriage...' (Gregory, 2006a).

This may raise some questions from mainstream youth workers such as those asked in an older article 'Religious Intent' (Crutwell and Patel, 1997):

Is your predominant association with religious organisations and young people one of indoctrination and activity? Do you feel that religion has very little to do with youth work? Or that religious organisations and issues of spirituality are outdated and irrelevant for the majority of young people? Whatever your views, with the moral environment set to dominate much policy and practice related to youth work and young people, it may be time to think again (1997:23).

This article also highlighted the complexity of religious work with young people:

The two main discussion points centred around the various approaches and that, with the addition of the worship location, the list could probably apply to any secular based youth work. Certainly the purpose of reaching young people was seen as much wider than crude notions of recruitment and conversion...

One of the key results to emerge was the similarity of provision [Christian faith-based youth work had] with the secular youth service. The core principles and values that underpin the work may be different but the surface picture is one of striking similarity.

The range of services identified presents a challenge to any notion that the provision of religious organisations was narrowly confined to traditional religious forms of worship or education. Issues of identity, heritage and culture were seen as core principles behind provision (1997:24).

The research also suggested that many of the religious organisations which provided training sought mainstream recognition through having their courses validated by the Joint Negotiating Committee (JNC) for youth and community workers (in England and Wales). Along with this, there was a stream of adverts for churches and Christian organisations looking to employ youth workers. However, regardless of the sentiments above, there is a continuing sense of mistrust between Christian faith-based and mainstream youth work (Bardy *et al.*, 2015; *Young People Now*, 2003c) which, when taken together, presents the image of a continuous, if distrustful, relationship between those in faith-based organisations and those in mainstream youth work.

In addition to this, Brierley critiqued an article on voluntary youth work (Corben and Fabes, 2000) in which he raised concerns that despite (in England and Wales) churches employing more youth workers than the local authority, the fact they received no mention was a significant oversight which failed to acknowledge the reality on the ground (2000). Similarly, Mallon (2001), then National Youth Officer for the Church of Scotland, suggested that *Young People Now* still fails to recognise the volume of Christian faith-based youth work. He balanced this against another possibility, that a lot of faith-based youth work does not advertise what it does because it sees its work as so natural that it does not feel it has anything of value to say. He also highlights a variety of differing agendas in Christian faith-based youth work, through conversionist to simply a desire to maintain church numbers, along with more holistic practice. He concluded by reflecting on a conference where Christian and mainstream practitioners came together: '[practitioners] were genuinely surprised at what they had in common as well as what made them different' (2001:23).

These pieces might be seen as the beginning of a minor trend. Over the next few years the relationship between Christian faith-based youth work and mainstream practice begins to raise discussion. According to a 2003 editorial in *Young People Now*:

There has long been a tension between the two schools of youth work represented by statutory local authority provision and church-based activity that extends further than the traditional divide between statutory and voluntary youth work.

Both sides have tended to a stereotypical view of their opposite number that doesn't engender respect for what the other is doing or trying to achieve (Barrett, 2003:11).

An attempt to bridge this divide was made by Brierley (2003b), which I discuss later.

Within this critical dialogue between Christian faith-based and mainstream youth work, Hayter presented an image of the landscape, observations which I have bullet pointed below:

- Youth workers employed by Christian organisations are now far more likely to be professionally qualified than they were ten years ago, with the same JNC endorsement as their public sector counterparts.
- The church, along with other faiths, is as much part of the fabric of our society as the publicly funded agencies that undertake and support work with young people.
- The new breed of church youth workers say their primary goal is not to convert. For them, it is as much about getting the church to be seen as socially active and relevant to the communities in which they exist.
- It would be naïve to think Christian youth workers are in it for the same things as secular youth workers. For Christians, the ultimate reward of engaging with young people through youth work is to see a few of them coming to faith. This should be no problem for public sector partners where churches are content for this to be a by-product of their work with young people. If getting religion can help a troubled young person, then who are the rest of us to complain?

- Where missionary activity is the primary goal, public sector supporters would be right to draw back.
- When it comes to taking part in publicly funded projects, churches will have to be careful to distinguish between youth work as social action – the doing of good works, if you will – and preaching.
- As church youth organisations, along with those from other faiths, draw close to the public sector, some difficult issues will have to be faced. Clear protocols will need to be established if both sides are not to end up feeling used (2003:11).

Within this environment, *Young People Now* was also writing about youth work of other faiths; for example, Hindu (Ghose, 2003a), Jewish (Silk, 2003) and Muslim youth groups (Ghose, 2003b; Gregory, 2006b; Rogers, 2005b; Stothart, 2005), all of which suggests that within the arena of practice other religions' faith-based youth work also maintains a presence, and that Christianity provides one amongst a number of categoric horizons for faith-based youth work.

Bright *et al.* made the point that '[a]ll youth work... is an act of faith... full, in equal measure of possibility, uncertainty, hope and adventure. Whether that faith is in something political, social, educational, philosophical, human or "religious", youth work in its myriad forms, draws in diverse ways on these "faiths"' (2018:198). Drawing on this point, we can suggest that all of these are in their own ways redemptive horizons. Liberationist youth work seeks to redeem young people from the evils of neoliberalism, within which they can find and maintain their own unique authenticity. Market-based youth work seeks to save young people from unemployment and delinquency, becoming happy, productive citizens. Christian faith-based youth work may in a fact share some of these horizons, but will also be underpinned by a commitment to a transcendent redemption and a salvation story which extends beyond this life. The challenge is that faith-based youth work has to articulate its status within a practice where the other horizons are formed within a social imaginary of closed world structures.

## 7.5 Youth work and its closed world structures

The evidence is that academic and professional youth workers now articulate youth work within a closed world structure. Firstly, as I show in Chapter 5 (Section 5.6), from the 1960s onwards, the earlier theistic language of youth work has been marginalised by a secular one. Secondly, by the 1970s and afterwards, its professional and academic arenas presented definitions and descriptions of youth work which minimised or excluded these Christian and faith narratives. The lack of presence of professional texts and articles which explore Christianity, religion or spirituality all point towards this. While it is important to recognise that uncovering the ideological positions of voluntary organisations within youth work is quite difficult, when I set out the 17 different ideological perspectives said to underpin youth work after the 1970s none of them were Christian or religious (section 7.4.3).

From the cohort of participants, there is further confirmation that youth work operates within closed world structures. The most obvious of these is McCulloch's deliberately provocative, slightly tongue-in-cheek reference to Christianity as a belief '*which no sane or rational person could possibly support*' (McCulloch). Others, like McGinley and Swinney, separated the social practice of Christian faith-based youth work from its salvation intentions, acknowledging the former to be valid but not the latter; and McArdle suggested it could only be youth work if it conformed to the current equalities agenda. As noted earlier, both Blakeman and Buchanan spoke of being told not to speak of their faith in the work place, and even those, like Barber, who strongly validated Christianity's place in youth work, confined it to the temporal. Some Christian participants used the expression *journey* in a way that also appears to emphasise this attitude. McMeekin and Brooks spoke of Christian faith-based youth work being about a journey rather than an end destination, and Bell and Robertson spoke of it in terms of being a competing narrative. As Brooks observed: '*what we have is a secular understanding of faith, and that context if it is worked out within a youth work setting... could actually have some rough edges to work with*' (Brooks).

Further evidence of the influence of closed world structures on youth work can be deduced from youth work's literature. As professional and academic youth work developed its own theoretical literature, across the 1960s and 1970s references or articles regarding Christianity, religion or spirituality were increasingly absent from the literature.

For example, neither the edited book *Trends in the Services for Youth* (Leicester and Farndale, 1967) nor *The Human Factor* (Batten and Batten, 1970) discuss in any significant way religion, Christianity or spirituality. In the former book, churches are recognised as being part of the voluntary organisations: in the section 'Voluntary Organisations and Associated Trends' churches are one of the 'three partners' (1967:1) of the Youth Service and Christian faith-based groups, with the other two being the state and local education authorities. Despite this, however, there are no chapters on religion, faith or spirituality, although there are on sex, morals and psychiatry. In the latter book, which was specifically written to assist youth workers in addressing the challenges and dilemmas which they were said to encounter at the time of writing, church-run youth work was only mentioned as part of how to deal with young people's behaviour in the youth club; there is no advice or discussion of problems that might be encountered when dealing with religious, faith or spiritual issues.

By the late 1960s, the place of Christian faith-based youth work was called into question (Henderson, 1968), and later in 1970s and 1980s academia Christianity was becoming unworthy of consideration, with Christians being called upon to justify their position in a way other ideological perspectives were not required to do (McLeod, 2007). Milson, writing in the mid 1970s, observed that 'one is constantly encountering community workers who want to insist that they are "value-free" and "non-judgemental"' (1974:99), and while he acknowledged the importance of this view and of the dangers of 'value-projection' (1974:111), he suggested these terms are often little understood. In addition, he considered that the overwhelming perspective amongst community workers is that the Christian faith is fictitious



(1974:121). Challenging this, he suggested 'every man has his myth' (1974:129) and that Christianity should not be so easily written off as 'an irrelevant survivor of a bygone age' (1974:129).

In the following decades, neither Jeffs' work (1979), nor the influential trilogy of youth work textbooks works he and Smith edited (1987; 1988c; 1990c), nor their later works (Jeffs and Smith, 1990a; Jeffs and Smith, 1996) discussed in any detail the place of Christianity, religion, faith or spirituality within youth work. Smith, however, recognised that 'local educators may work with... churches to develop and extend their activities' (1994:7). Similarly, the textbooks of Bernard Davies (1986; 1967) and others also overlook the church or religious groups. In Booton's and Dearling's book *The 1980s and Beyond*, Silverlock (1980) discussed the place of community participation in the development and delivery of youth work, making no mention of the church as a community asset, yet the local pub and football team are said to have a significant role to play.

Others use language which presents a negative image of Christianity's relationship with youth work (Bunt and Gargrave, 1980). Popple wrote:

Historically youth work has its roots in liberal philanthropy with large dollops of Christianity and nationalism mixed into a recipe of rescue, and fear of the great unwashed. Since the 1960s however, youth work has strived to justify its existence with a stated interest in person-centred work. Social education is the vehicle for this concern and youth workers have been expected to shape their practice upon a foundation of psychology and group work (1988:133).

A further disparaging tone is adopted by Pitts when he refers to 'low-church police chiefs' as being culpable in constructing negative images of young people (1982), and by Jeffs, who relates the 'Thatcherite agenda' to a form of 'crude Christianity' (1982:22). Davies also presents Thatcherism in a religious language, writing of a

'Thatcherite vision of salvation' (1991:2), and Roberts' review of a Church of England report on the life of the rural church, *Faith in the Countryside*, suggests he views the Church of England as a propagator of the establishment:

The report presents a very clear position statement in terms of what is going on and why... I remain disappointed that there seems so little questioning of fundamentals but maybe the combination of rural life and the Church of England makes that inevitable (1991a:49).

More recently youth work textbooks such as *What is Youth Work?* (2010) continued to overlook Christianity, while privileging the post-Albemarle narrative of 'liberal humanism' (Batsleer, 2010:161). The reason for this might be found in Batsleer's (2008) earlier book in which she committed a chapter to a detailed exploration of the development of 'spirit', emphasising the important role of the outdoors and opportunities for solitude. She said that while traditionally such opportunities were used to develop character and toughen up the young person, they can now be used in a new way. However, in the process of setting out the importance for youth work to provide opportunities for solitude, she is dismissive of any religious or spiritual connotations they may have had:

In the context of traditions of youth and community work as activism, 'retreat' can sound disempowering. It suggests a withdrawal from the struggles of life and from the struggle with injustice. It might also suggest an over-preoccupation with the self or with religion as a comforting but ultimately false diversion from reality, an 'opium of the people', offering 'pie in the sky' as an alternative to struggle for justice, which is abandoned under the mumbo-jumbo of new age mysticism (2008:133).

This observation reflects McLeod's (2007) assessment of the academic environment at the time and what some faith-based practitioners (Green, 2010; Harris, 2015)

also noted, that despite the increase in Christian youth work, the dominant perspective of many youth workers is still one of dismissal (see also Nash, quoted in Bardy *et al.*, 2015). Related to this, within the professional arena, professional values replaced earlier commitments to religious values (McLeod, 2007), and the role of the state added pressure on Christian faith-based practices and ‘increased demand for institutions and practitioners to be religiously neutral’ (McLeod, 2007:115). This created an environment where Christian youth workers were often viewed with suspicion, and their beliefs dismissed (Bardy *et al.*, 2015; Green, 2008; 2010; Harris, 2015; Jolly, 2015; Milson, 1974; Pugh, 1999a), a continuing theme within the modern youth work narrative:

A common position is to view youth work as having an ideologically neutral value base and to see a faith value base as being at best additional to this and at worst contrary to youth work values (Green, 2010:131).

Harris makes a similar point: ‘at times within the professional [youth work] debate it appears that whereas... secular values are viewed as entirely appropriate, those that emerge from a faith-based or spiritual world-view are not’ (2015:93).

The fact that youth work is embedded within a closed world structure presents a challenge for Christian faith-based youth work, as Christian faith-based youth work has to function in a landscape in which ‘belief is unthinkable’ (Taylor, 2007b:557,560). This is a situation that Taylor terms ‘radical horizontality’ (2007b:209), where ‘the horizon of faith steadily recedes’ (2007b:569). For MacIntyre, in communities where the secular view dominates, this results in what he terms an ‘unreflective and a complacent unbelief’ (MacIntyre, 2007:140); that is, the community becomes a place that excludes the questioning of ‘dominant cultural norms’ (MacIntyre, 2007:182). In such an environment, questions regarding the transcendent are considered particularly contrary (MacIntyre, 2007). Smith (2009) suggested that any viewpoint which challenges the accepted norms is quickly articulated as socially unacceptable.

The influence of closed world structures and the way that academic, theoretical and professional youth work fused different horizons together can be seen in the way that it developed its philosophies.

### 7.5.1 The *philosophies* of youth work

Within the academic and professional environment of youth work, the expression *youth work's philosophies* is often used by those training youth workers as a shorthand way to collectively describe the different pedagogies it draws on without actually distinguishing the different world-views of their authors. Within these streams of youth work, the fusion of horizons reflects the privileging of the secular and the liberal humanist position within youth work and the dominance of closed world structures. This is evident in the way in which the views of Carl Rogers and Paulo Freire were amalgamated and Freire's faith marginalised.

The approach that those in the academy took to forming these philosophies overlooked their different world-views in such a way that reveals the dominance of soft relativism. Here I present a summary of their theoretical ideas, highlighting their similarities and differences. I follow this by setting out the way Freire has been treated within the literature of youth work, showing that despite his own claim, his pedagogy has been disassociated from his faith, a scenario which provides further evidence of the language of youth work being what MacIntyre called an 'internationalised language' (1988:379). To provide a context, I begin by giving a brief account regarding the formation of the theoretical framework of youth work and the theoreticians whose work was said to be the most significant.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the rapid professionalisation and in turn the academicism of youth work, along with its amalgamation with community work, led to the construction of a theoretical framework. Particularly significant in the formation of this theoretical framework were the writings of Carl Rodgers and Paulo Freire, followed shortly after by the ideas of David A. Kolb and Malcolm Knowles (McConnell, 1982; 1997; Taylor, 1987; Wylie, 1997), and still later, and to a lesser

extent, the work of Argyris and Schön in the 1980s (O'Donovan, 2010; Patel, 2015; Smith, 2011; 2013). This makes youth work's theoretical framework a relatively new development, although not all these theoreticians carried the same influence; for example, Knowles' (1996) work is said to be less influential within youth work as his theory of 'andragogy' is more accepted within adult education work (Smith, 2002), and O'Donovan (2010) makes a similar observation regarding the impact of Schön.

In contrast, Rogers (Smith, 2014) and Freire (Kirkwood and Kirkwood, 1990; Smith, 2002) are said to hold an influential position, alongside the later work of Kolb (Smith, 2010), which introduced the concept of 'experiential learning' (1984) into youth work, and in doing so, coalesced the pedagogies of Rogers and Freire (and others) into a single theory. The manner in which Kolb intertwined their ideas is seen in more detail in the second edition of his work (2015), and in it he highlights the significant overlap in Rogers' and Freire's underpinning values, such as their commitment to empowerment, self-actualisation, and the foundational nature of trust within the learning relationship as important points to recognise. Therefore, Kolb's work is in part responsible for the manner in which youth work pedagogies which share surface-level similarities were uncritically entangled. The amalgamations of these writings were then given an added sense of significance within youth work, as the ideas they promulgated were collectively referred to as 'youth work's philosophies'. Yet, while Rogers and Freire share a commitment to the virtues mentioned above, they are drawn from different world-views, something which results in them being understood in different ways.

We can see evidence of this when we read how they present these virtues in relation to a wider social context. For example, Rogers (1951) advocated that a good facilitator<sup>28</sup> has to support a learner's right to behave in an anti-social manner for no other reason than it is a self-fulfilling, life-enhancing experience. He extends

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<sup>28</sup> Within this debate the expression *facilitator* is considered to be a Rogerian term; Freire favoured the expressions *educator* and even on occasion *teacher*.

this to include the need for the facilitator to accept a person's choice to end one's life. In contrast, Freire is committed to what he calls 'the universal human ethic' (2001:25) and the concept of praxis, a virtuous pedagogy committed to enabling people to become more human and to move towards constructing an ethically better world (Smith, 2002). Freire believes one of the roles of the educator is to support learners in seeing and challenging socially constructed myths (Freire, 1985; 2005), and his work is infused with political, ethical and religious ideals (Kirkwood and Kirkwood, 1990). These differences are not unimportant within youth work, where the ideal of being non-judgemental has become a core 'virtue' of good practice. Below, I have set out an overview of the thinking of Rogers and Freire and have frequently used quotes to show their different perspectives.

#### 7.5.1.1 Carl Rogers

Rogers' 'person centred approach' (Rogers, 1990a; 1990e; 1992) was developed around four core understandings: 'unconditional positive regard', 'realness in the facilitator of learning', 'prizing, acceptance, trust' and 'empathetic understanding' (Rogers, 1990d).

These core principles were underpinned by Rogers' attitude towards the learner, in whom he placed a 'profound trust', seeing the potential of the individual as the catalyst in their own learning (Rogers, 1990d). For Rogers, central to his learning environment is a commitment to the relationship between educator and learner; there has to be a genuine relationship. He also believes that within this learning environment, both 'teacher' and 'students' become learners (Rogers, 1990d). We might say that Rogers' view focused on the awakening of the student(s) to learning.

In this we can see that there is no one philosophy which Rogers would favour over any other (Rogers, 1990g). His work is inherently individualistic (Rogers, 1990b) and emphasises that values are internally constructed and move towards a human commonality (Rogers, 1990h).

This presents us with a clear image of Rogers' interpretation of the 'good life' as an individual process of self-awakening and self-fulfilment. A learner moves towards the 'good life' when they, to adopt Rogers' words, take the decision to move 'away from the pole of defensiveness toward the pole of openness to experience' (2004:188). His view is that this is better for all people everywhere, adding a sense that his approach is universally applicable to all people (Rogers, 2004).

This 'good life' is primarily about 'increasing [the] tendency to live fully in each moment' (2004:188), where 'doing what "feels right" proves to be a competent and trustworthy guide to behaviour which is truly satisfying' (2004:189). Rogers describes positive educational development in psychological terms, with the student becoming 'psychologically free', using 'all his organic equipment to sense, as accurately as possible, the existential situation within and without' (2004:191). When an individual begins to journey along this route, Rogers said the person will be naturally creative (2004:193). The individualism of Rogers' perspective is suggested in the following quote:

It will be evident that another implication of the view I have been presenting is that the basic nature of the human being, when functioning freely, is constructive and trustworthy... When we are able to free the individual from defensiveness, so that he is open to the wide range of his own needs, as well as the wide range of environmental and social demands, his reactions may be trusted to be positive, forward-moving, constructive. We do not need to ask who will socialize him, for one of his own deepest needs is for affiliation and communication with others. As he becomes more fully himself, he will become more realistically socialized (2004:194).

To describe this 'good life', Rogers used adjectives such as 'enriching, exciting, rewarding, challenging, and meaningful'. He went on to suggest that:

This process of the good life is not, I am convinced, a life for the faint-hearted. It involves the stretching and growing of becoming more and more of one's potentialities. It involves the courage to be. It means launching oneself fully into the stream of life. Yet the deeply exciting thing about human beings is that when the individual is inwardly free, he chooses as the good life this process of becoming (Rogers, 2004:196).

Clearly Rogers believes that the 'good life' is one 'where there is psychological freedom to move in *any* direction' (Rogers, 1990f:411), since the 'real world' is a complete construction of the individual (Rogers, 1990c). It does not have a moral horizon towards which it journeys:

Is the therapist willing to give the client full freedom as to outcomes. Is he genuinely willing for the client to choose goals that are social or anti-social, moral or immoral if not, it seems doubtful that therapy will be a profound experience for the client. Even more difficult, is he willing for the client to choose regression rather than growth or maturity, to choose neuroticism rather than mental health. To choose to reject help rather than accept it, to choose death rather than life. To me it appears that only as the therapist is completely willing that *any* outcome, *any* direction, may be chosen – only then does he realise the vital strength of the capacity and potentiality of the individual for constructive action (1951:48).

This approach, emphasising psychological flourishing, does have some similarity with that of Freire, since both authors understand the learner to be their own agent of change; however, there is also a significant distinction. For Rogers, being fulfilled is entirely an internal individual construction (1951), in contrast to Freire, who believes that constructing human agency occurs as a social endeavour in a moral environment.



### 7.5.1.2 Paulo Freire

Similar to Rogers, Freire (1975) believes that the struggle for freedom is inextricably linked to becoming fully human. To achieve this, the educator requires an absolute trust in the creativity of the student (1975:49), who then must recognise the responsibility they have for the new environment created by the learning experience (1975:45). Freire, like Rogers, understood that learner and student are both equally educator and learner in this process (1975:53; 1999:84).

However, Freire's perspective differs from Rogers' individualism, in as much as he believes that human flourishing occurs in relationship with others in the lived world:

It is as conscious beings that men are not only in the world but with the world, together with other men. Only men, as 'open' beings, are able to achieve the complex operation of simultaneously transforming the world by their action and grasping and expressing the world's reality in their creative language (1985:68).

For Freire, 'the thinking subject cannot think alone' (1975:135); to use Taylor's interpretation of Freire's perspective, 'you cannot be fully human without dialogue' (1993:62). Alongside this, Freire's understanding of education is that it is bound up with an understanding of freedom (individual and corporate) that is both physical, spiritual and creative. He wrote:

[People] must realise that they are fighting not merely for freedom from hunger, but, to quote Fromm's *The Heart Of Man*, for... freedom to create and to construct, to wonder and to venture. Such freedom requires that the individual be active and responsible, not a slave or well-fed cog in the machine (1975:43).

For Freire, humanness is achieved through being in relationship with other humans in a particular environment which is both lived in and shaped by the people

themselves, where humans are called to 'dynamize, to master, and to humanize reality. They add to it something of their own making, by giving temporal meaning to geographic space, by creating culture' (Freire, 2011 [1974]:4).

In contrast to Rogers, Freire (2011 [1974]) believes that unconstrained individuality can lead to the de-humanisation of others. He believes flourishing occurs within and through re-shaping specific social settings. Freire's writing reveals a moral trajectory; unlike Rogers, for whom the 'good life' consisted of an individual's psychological awakening, Freire sees 'humanisation as the people's vocation' (1997:25), with a commitment to a creating a fair and just society (Freire, 2001), a vision infused by the idea of the educator being a catalyst who supports humanity to construct a particular kind of world with an idealised moral horizon. He wrote of '*Dreams and Utopia...* [having] the power to unmask dominant lies' (Freire, 1999:7). Goulet's introduction to *Education for Critical Consciousness* (Goulet in Freire, 2011 [1974]) clearly established that Freire's pedagogy is grounded in a view of a morally good world, and his language suggests a commitment to the reality of values. He used terminology such as 'bringing out the truth' (Freire, 1999:7), 'hopelessness as a concrete entity' (Freire, 1999:8), and 'I maintain... hope, as an ontological need, demands anchoring in practice. As an ontological need, hope needs practice in order to become historical concreteness' (Freire, 1999:9). However, he does not advocate what he referred to as 'sectarianism [founded] on universal, exclusive truths' (Freire, 1999:50), he sees the aim of the educator being to facilitate *Conscientização*, which 'represents the *development* of the awakening of critical awareness' (2011 [1974]:15) with the specific purpose of the 'transformation of reality' (Freire, 1997:75). This is 'education as the practice of freedom' (Freire, 1997:62) where, for example, it 'unveils opportunities for hope' (Freire, 1999:9), is always democratic (Freire, 1999:79), and operates in dialogue with different, even opposing, ideas (Freire, 1999:79). It is primarily interested in supporting individuals and communities to flourish. In this regard, it can be suggested that Freire (2011 [1974]) is more in tune with the thinking of Taylor. For Taylor (2003a), agency

requires a background through which it is constructed, something with which MacIntyre agrees:

My freedom as an agent depends upon my ability to frame intentions which are capable of being implemented. This capability is dependent on the reliability of my beliefs about the world and about myself... The concept of intention cannot be understood in isolation from the role of belief and knowledge in our behaviour (1983:208).

We encounter another area of contrast between Freire and Rogers around the idea of educative neutrality. Freire recognises it is impossible for the educator to be neutral:

All educational practice implies a theoretical stance on the educator's part. This stance in turn implies – sometimes more, sometimes less explicitly – an interpretation of man and the world. It could not be otherwise (1985:43).

Indeed, he wrote of the 'impermissible nature' of 'purely technological training' (1999:133), believing that no educational approach is neutral, either politically or socially (Freire, 1999); for him education is always political and directive (Freire, 1999). Freire is also distinct from Rogers as his educational approach is committed to a relationship between responsibility and experience, rather than being solely a psychologically acquired discipline (Freire, 2011 [1974]).

Perhaps the most significant distinction between Rogers and Freire within this research is that Freire's pedagogy is drawn from his Christianity. Steinberg wrote of him:

Another part of Freire's humility dealt with his spirituality. A liberation theologian, Paulo was dedicated to his interpretation of Catholicism and his belief that one could blend both spiritual and

social commitment into a way of life. His spirituality reached into the realms of love and his discussions of radical love and commitment permeate his words (2005:177).

If we are in any doubt of the centrality of Freire's Christian faith, Giroux made a similar observation:

[Freire] situates his faith and sense of hope in the God of history and of the oppressed, whose teachings make it impossible, in Freire's words, to 'reconcile Christian love with the exploitation of human beings' (Giroux in Freire, 1985:xvii).

And, finally, we find that Freire himself was explicit regarding the motivating nature of his Christian faith. In his writings, both *The Politics of Education* (Freire, 1985) and *Pedagogy of the Heart* (Freire, 2000) are infused with a Christian narrative; in the latter he reflected:

All arguments in favor of the legitimacy of my struggle for a more people-oriented society have their deepest roots in my faith. It sustains me, motivates me, challenges me, and it has never allowed me to say, 'Stop, settle down; things are as they are because they cannot be any other way' (Freire, 2000:104).

Yet, despite such significant differences between these theorists, within youth work and community education they have often been viewed as complementary (see Fenwick and Tennant, 2004).

It is clear that drawing together the ideas of Rogers and Freire (not to mention Kolb and Knowles), in a manner which strives to use them to create an overarching philosophy, is only possible if we have the most superficial acceptance of their

contradictory world-views.<sup>29</sup> Alternatively, it must strive to disassociate at least one of them from its founding ideology and world-view.

In the section below I reflect on how youth work and community education texts reveal the manner in which Freire's ideas have been treated.

### 7.5.1.3 Freire within the narrative of youth work

Establishing Freire's influence within a UK context is not straightforward. Allman wrote of the 'piecemeal, fragmented and distorted manner in which Freire's ideas have either been incorporated or rejected' (Allman, 1987:214), suggesting that his ideas were not universally accepted (Smith, 1994; Taylor, 2004). Also Fleming *et al.* (1984) are critical of much that is described as Freireian in the UK.

One initial anomaly identified is that it is hard to find any mention in the literature of youth work of Freire's pedagogy being an outworking of his Christian faith. This might be due to the fact that, to adopt Allman's words, 'his concept of Christianity is not exactly a conventional one' (1987:215). Yet for Freire, his Christian faith was foundational; he told people that 'as a young man he went to work with the urban and rural poor because of his Christianity' (Freire quoted in Allman, 1987:215), and McLaren also said that he was 'deeply religious' (2005:xxxvii). In Scotland, those who were particularly committed to Freire's pedagogy also accepted its Christian perspective, while at the same time translating it into more liberal terms (see Kirkwood and Kirkwood, 1990).

The discomfort that Freire's Christian perspective created within the youth work is clear (Allman, 1987). Smith, for example, wrote 'I am not happy with [Freire's] appeal to transcendentalism – the idea that there is some "real" or "authentic" view of reality' (1994:159). He also distanced his idea of local education from that of Freire's, being critical of him by suggesting that Freire's approach remained tied to a

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<sup>29</sup> Audi (2000) suggested this approach was a valid way forward within a pluralistic society.

formal educative ideal where the educator remains a teacher, citing an occasion when Freire argued against Scottish community workers using the term ‘facilitators’ (Kirkwood cited in Smith, 1994:31).

Smith actually sided with Rogers who considered that ‘teaching is a relatively unimportant and vastly over valued activity’ (Rogers cited in Smith, 1994:31). Reading from Kirkwood’s (1991) piece, along with research by the National Youth Bureau (1978), we find that Smith’s position was not uncommon in that period. Smith (1988) and more recently Bradford (2011a) both recognised that from the 1960s, Rogerian theories were embedded into the pedagogy of youth work’s highly influential National College. Smith (1988) suggested that while the National College saw itself as having no philosophical perspective, in reality it was embedded in humanistic psychology. This was a perspective reiterated more recently by Bradford (2015) who, along with Clayton and Stanton (2008), suggested that it continues to be the dominant, nearly all-prevailing perspective in youth work.

It is important to note that not everyone shared Smith’s view of Freire. Kirkwood (a community educator) challenged youth workers’ commitment to Rogers ideas:

My view is in rejecting authoritarianism, some progressive educators have thrown away their authority. In reacting against the over-structured nature of much traditional education, they have abandoned the task of organising the learning situation. And in stressing the importance of experience in learning, they tend to ignore the fact that some experiences, both in life and in learning situations, are maleducative, that is they stunt growth rather than facilitate it (1991:44).

This view echoes Taylor’s reservation regarding the danger of the soft relativist position being manipulative.

What we also see from Smith’s argument is that, however unintentionally, he dislocates Freire’s pedagogy from the world-view which gave it birth. This is in

contrast with Allman's (1987) assessment, that it is impossible to disassociate Freire's practice from his world-view. Smith is perhaps able to do this by following Kolb's reductionist approach and because his interpretation of youth work is embedded in the humanism of Rogers. Another writer, Jarvis (1995), suggested that Freire's morality is likely to be rejected by those who see education as a neutral endeavour. The reality is that Freire's work is often reduced to a methodology (Aronowitz, 2001; Freire and Macedo, 1998). The way in which youth work's philosophies were constructed reveals the power and influence of closed world structures. It also shows its commitment to liberal humanism and the way in which academic theoretical and professional practitioners fused different horizons to create an internationalised language of youth work. From amongst the interviewees and other youth work and youth ministry literature, we can find an awareness of the fusion and attempts to bring about the fusion of horizons of Christianity and youth work.

## 7.6 The fusion of youth work's horizons

Among the participants, there was a view that there was a fusion of horizons between Christianity and youth work within the arena of practice (section 6.4.3). A number of attempts have been made to articulate this by academics and theoreticians within the academic environment of youth work (Bardy *et al.*, 2015), as well as within the literature streams of youth ministry (Brierley, 2003a; Nash, 2011a; Thomson, 2007) and Christian faith-based youth work (Bright and Bailey, 2015; Clark, 1992; Clyne, 2012; Ellis, 1990; Thompson, 2019), along with a wider discussion on the place of religion and faith (Bright *et al.*, 2018; Nurden, 2010). While it is true that they would all benefit from more detail, and some are simply one- or two-line reflections. They do reveal the attitudes of the writers and here I have accepted them at face value. These pieces suggest two different approaches to fusing youth work to a Christian horizon: the weak fusion of horizons and the strong fusion of horizons. The first of these might be said to conform to MacIntyre's

internationalised language in as far as it presents an image of Christian faith-based youth work bound to its secular language.

### 7.6.1 The weak fusion of horizons of youth work

Nash (2011a), whose work appears to relate to youth ministry with the market liberal horizon of youth work, provided the briefest account of this relationship. She created a connection between the Jewish/Christian concept of *Shalom* and states that this conforms to the outcomes provided by the UK government's *Every Child Matters* (British Government, 2003): be healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution, achieve economic well-being.

Thompson (2017; 2019) was much clearer and wrote with an agenda to embed Christian faith-based youth work into the liberationist stream of practice. In contrast to Nash, Thompson considered Christian faith-based youth work to be distinct from youth ministry, being non-confessional, non-proselytising and non-evangelical. Christian faith-based youth work is of a practice focused on 'engaging with a civil society, promoting human flourishing and pursuing the common good' (Thompson, 2019:168). Her view (Thompson, 2017) is that when Christian faith-based youth workers run open youth clubs, within these clubs they set aside their Christian agenda.

Thompson (2019) used the evidence provided by 15 participants to suggest that there is a unity between Christian faith-based and secular youth workers through a commitment to their shared values. She stated these as 'belief in young people; contributing to their well-being; having fun; providing safe spaces; offering support; respecting young people and each other; working together and building community' (2019:175). While these values were not explored in detail they were said to unite Christian faith-based and secular youth workers in opposition to neoliberal practices, within an alliance she described as a 'progressive partnership' (2019:180).

Nash's and Thompson's attempts to unite the horizons conforms to MacIntyre's internationalised language, which relies on the ill-defined concept of *youth work*



*values*, where these terms exist as rootless expressions and which result in any lack of evaluative capacity. Also, such approaches are at risk of becoming expressions of Christianity which is devoid of its transcendent aspects (Taylor, 2011). This creates a language which Thomson (2007) claims is too limiting for Christian faith-based youth work.

### 7.6.2 The strong fusion of the horizons of youth work

The homogenising method of constructing the language of youth work has been challenged. Sercombe (2010a) suggested that youth workers need to be aware of and understand their philosophical and world-views and then engage in a dialogue:

[A] process where I deeply listen to you and your way of seeing the world, and try as openly and honestly as I can to communicate my own... If we can find common ground (and more often the case than not), then perhaps we can try to work towards a position that is consistent and reflects the values we share and to which we are committed (2010a:43).

Within this approach, one method of bringing together the horizons of Christianity and youth work is to recognise and defend their use within the domain of Christian practice. An example of this is provided by Bright *et al.* (2018) who suggested that Christian and other religions' faith-based youth work are using these approaches correctly, even if the way they are interpreted is exclusive to Christianity or to that particular faith. To validate this approach, they used Shepherd's (2010) work to justify an exclusive form of inclusion around the need for safe, identity-forming spaces (an idea shared with youth work which focuses on gender identity).

Using their research with nine participants, Bright *et al.* (2018) showed how religious youth work maintains a commitment to informal education orientated towards a horizon of faith. Most of their participants were interested in socialising young people into their respective faiths and, where inclusion was focused on, inclusion within the religious community. Bright *et al.* called this model of inclusion

a *with-in inclusion*, which sought to challenge any forms of exclusion of young people from within their own religious communities. They acknowledged that there was less evidence of what they called *inclusion from with-out*, the inclusion of those with different world-views. Although some endeavours did exist, attempts to include young people of other faiths or 'no faith' was less evident. One example they provided of a Christian participant's attitude to sexuality was unlikely to be considered inclusive by secular practitioners.

While requiring more detail, the brevity of their remarks makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions; they do, however, appear to suggest that terms such as *equality* and *inclusion* can only be adequately defined against a particular horizon. A practice might be considered equitable and inclusive within a faith community, yet from some secular standpoints that same faith community can be considered to perpetrate inequality and exclusivity. Equally, a Christian faith-based youth work has no need to adopt secular definitions of either equality or inclusion in order to be considered valid youth work.

In some aspects, this research echoes my own (Clyne, 2012), which drew of feedback from 110 responses to a questionnaire and nine more detailed, guided conversations, and showed that once it was accepted that the worker and the young person had a shared Christian horizon, it was clear that some of the approaches adopted were commensurate with those of youth work.

As Christian faith-based youth work must be able to define its practices according to its own horizons, another way in which Christian faith-based youth work can fuse the horizons of Christianity and youth work is, first, to articulate these within its own language, and then to engage in debate with other youth workers with other views, something attempted by Brierley (2003b).

Brierley (2003a) suggested that youth ministry is a subset, a specialism, of youth work which he calls *youthwork and ministry*. His main aim is to provide youthwork and ministry with a theistic interpretation of the language of youth work. He

adopted the definitions of youth work provided by the government in 1991 and suggested that Christian work with young people ought to be committed to: voluntary engagement, because this is a reflection of how God engages with humanity; informal education, because this model of ministry was adopted by Christ; empowerment, as it is an attitude of Christ, who disempowered himself so that others might have power and equality of opportunity, because this is evident within his character and work. To these, he added a particularly Christian one, incarnation, which he described as 'enter[ing] the world of young people with sensitivity and vulnerability' (2003a:144). These are shared across youth work and, therefore, create a bridge between the two. These values are linked to distinctive Christian practices: fellowship, in which he includes fellowship with God; worship as a Christian lifestyle; and mission, serving others and spreading the Christian message. In essence, Brierley suggested that while values are shared, they are different, particularly Christian practices and outcomes within youth ministry.

In an article for *Young People Now*, Brierley was clear about the attitudes of liberal democratic, liberationist youth workers to Christian faith-based practitioners, and vice versa:

For the past 20 years, 'pistols at dawn' was the relationship between two different frameworks: youth work, representing the secular world; and youth ministry, representing the sacred (2003b:15).

Yet his desire to unite these horizons is clear:

Youth work and youth ministry both contain helpful elements, but separately neither can be considered sufficient. When they are reconciled to each other, I believe the combined effect provides a holistic and joined-up approach to working with young people...

The Church needs the training and professionalism of local authorities. But dare I suggest that local authorities need the

human resources and long-term commitment of the Church  
(2003b:15)?

More recently, Nurden (2010) recommended Brierley's model and noted that Christian youth work is failing young people if it does not provide a distinctive language through which spirituality might also be articulated.

The most detailed reflection around this is provided by Thomson (2007), who was critical of Brierley's work as he said it overlooks the fact that while Jesus used informal approaches it doesn't recognise that he had a particular agenda in his teaching. He suggested that the horizon of youth work is bound to Christian theology, from which it draws its language, one which includes the Christian interpretation of ethics such as peace, justice, truth-telling and love of enemies. It must also be embedded in a Christian interpretation of the 'good society' (2007:230) and, like Bright *et al.*, must also have its own Christian interpretation of youth work's values: voluntary participation, informal education and equality.

One way to achieve this was provided by Bright and Bailey (2015), who suggested that an appropriate language for Christian faith-based youth work might be drawn from liberation theology and new interpretations of the Trinitarian nature of God. This reflects an under-developed idea within youth and community work and has been suggested by Ellis (1990), Clark (1992) and McMeekin (2014) who sought to provide Christian faith-based youth work with the language of the Kingdom of God. From amongst the participants, Morrison adopted a similar approach when he proposed that the Luke 4 manifesto (see page 199) provided Christian faith-based youth work with a Christian language which maintained its transcendent aspect, and shows his view that the Christian understanding of hope transcends this world.

While many of these pieces exhibit what De Feu, following Bright, called 'theological thinness' (2018), they do point towards an area for further exploration and a means of adopting MacIntyre's approach to resolving the impasse of competing horizons.

That said, youth work with a secular horizon is never going to be able to fully accept the Christian one. As I noted earlier, Davies' and Wylie's (2008) view is that Christianity only has a place in youth work if it accepts a secular position. From amongst participants we encounter a similar attitude with McArdle who considered that some strands of Christianity, which she tagged *fundamentalism* (McArdle), would not be accepted as youth work, and where McGinley and Sweeney separated Christianity's attitude to enhancing human flourishing from its salvific intent. Similarly, the Christian transcendent horizon may struggle with the secular, something Blakeman suggested when he proposed that amongst youth workers, *'anything with an authoritative truth claim will have some stigma attached to it'* (Blakeman). Similarly, Wray recognised that most Christian youth workers would struggle with practices which did not, in his words, see *'some spiritual capital coming out of it; there needs to be some spiritual outcomes'* (Wray). Bell's story (pages 193–4) also suggested that some approaches are likely to be seen as antithetical to the Christian position. This is perhaps why in the drive to create a shared horizon between Christianity and youth work there appears to have been little interest amongst practitioners (Bardy *et al.*, 2015).

A further challenge is that horizons join together in what Taylor called 'cross-alignment' (2003a:95), and in doing so they can develop their own exclusive horizons, which negates the ability to select one aspect while refuting another. Within this environment, to use Taylor's example, there is unlikely to be a way of creating a connection between those committed to the 'rights of the foetus and the rights of the mother' (2003a:116), differing views which might be irresolvable within youth work (Clyne, 2014). A similar impasse might occur between those who maintain an orthodox Christianity perspective in the area of sexual ethics and gender identity in an environment where freedom of choice is dominant (Bright and Bailey, 2015; Taylor, 2011).

Another barrier to drawing together these horizons might be a commitment to religious conversion in Christian faith-based youth work, seen as essential by some

(Du Feu, 2018; Thomson, 2007), or it is also thought to be an excluding form of judgementalism by others (Bright and Bailey, 2015).

## 7.7 Summing up

In this chapter, I began by summarising what Taylor meant by the Age of Authenticity and follow this by setting out some of its social imaginaries. I began with the ethic of authenticity and then the two loci around which it is constructed: the autonomous, private human agent and their categoric horizons of worth. I then explained the fractured and then the fused nature of these and lastly explained one of the most powerful shapers of our imaginaries – closed world structures.

I also set out my understanding of youth work and its relationship with Christianity within the Age of Authenticity. I showed that there are two modes of youth work functioning within the Age of Authenticity: one built on soft relativism, the other on the ideals of authenticity. From this latter group, I discussed youth work as it is found located against three of its more visible horizons: liberationist, economic liberal and Christian faith-based. Along with these, I showed that there exist many other horizons to which it might be bound, some mundane, others ideological. This marked Christianity and Christian practitioners in a particular way and affected any attempt to create a fusion of the horizons of Christianity and youth work.

From this we might conclude that despite all their differences, these are all embedded in what Taylor calls a ‘deep semantic’, the universality of human dignity (Taylor, 2003a) which Taylor described as ‘uncommonly deep, powerful and universal’ (Taylor, 1992:4). Secondly, we can suggest that for some within youth work, disunity comes from disagreements as to the source of the good, rather than the good itself (Taylor, 1992). An example of this is seen in McCulloch’s consideration: *‘I don't think it matters very much where that capacity to be a fine human being comes from’* (McCulloch).

At this point, in areas of disagreement, if we follow Taylor we reach an impasse – how do we decide whose version of equality and inclusion is right? It becomes

impossible to prioritise one over another, and the result within youth work, as Davies R. (2013) rightly recognised, is that different factions shout at each other without any hope of resolution.

In this environment, MacIntyre provided a set of tools with which to potentially resolve, or at least to validate, Christianity's relationship with youth work within this modern situation. However, his approach appears to be unattainable within the current environment. Yet his suggestion that we can validate our position by recalling our history, languages and traditions is not unimportant. In the current arena where definitions of youth work are contested, this is perhaps all that can be achieved.

I have gone some way towards this in Chapters 4 and 5 which reveal Christianity's place in the history and evolution of youth work, giving it a right to claim the expression *youth work* (although not exclusively) for its own usage. To this history we might apply what Morrison called the '*Luke 4 manifesto*' (Morrison) and others have called it the theology of the Kingdom of God, one which utilises Freire's faith-based pedagogy. This task is yet to be done, but it may enable Christian faith-based youth work to maintain a place in an arena of fractured horizons.

In next chapter, the conclusion, I draw together my findings and explain what my research adds to our knowledge of youth work and suggest future areas of study it opens up.

# Chapter 8

## Conclusion

### 8.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I provide a summary of my thesis, discuss its findings and set out the implications and conclusions I have drawn. I follow that by suggesting some areas of interest to which this research provides a gateway.

### 8.2 Thesis summary

This thesis adds to our knowledge of youth work by using: the texts and literature written by youth workers to inform youth work; the voices of practitioners and youth work academics; and secondary sources provided by historians and social researchers to present an account of the *événementielle* and the *conjunctures* of Christianity's relationship with youth work, along with an interpretation of that relationship in the Age of Authenticity. This was achieved by analysing the data gathered by means of Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc. To reach this point I had first to provide an account, a personal interpretation of youth work, which will not be accepted by everyone. The inclusion of state-sponsored youth work is particularly controversial. Equally, the relationship between youth work in Scotland and England is an area not subject to much reflection.

This research was a purposeful response to a situation where Christianity's relationship with youth work was marginalised and minimised within the most formative histories of youth work and was near absent from within its academic and theoretical literature. This signalled that Christianity's relationship with youth work was potentially an under-acknowledged and under-researched area of youth work. While more recently this situation has begun changing, an analysis of these texts reveals that this is limited in three ways. Firstly, Christian involvement in youth work was presented as a relic of its past, part of the diet of older youth work activities. Secondly, Christianity was recognised as a foundational force within the birth of youth work. Thirdly, Christian faith-based youth work was appreciated to be an



architect of the development and future practices. Despite the value of these histories, they fail to reveal the full *événementielle* of Christianity's relationship with youth work, and leave the *conjonctures* of that relationship unexamined. In response to this situation I asked the question 'if it is Christian, can it be youth work?' which I answered by responding to three secondary questions:

- What is the extent of evidence for Christianity's presence within the foundation and development of youth work?
- How did youth work expand from being a Christian endeavour to become a secular practice and what influence did this have on contemporary youth work?
- What place does Christian faith-based youth work have within youth work today?

In Chapter 4 I answered the first of these questions and presented an *événementielle* of Christianity's place with youth work from its inception in the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1960s. Throughout the changes which occurred, Christian groups within youth work remained a constant presence, being involved enough to ensure that Christian faith-related aspects of practice were recognised. When the Youth Service was established, these groups formed its mainstay, ensuring that the place of faith-development as a valid aspect of youth work was maintained.

It showed that Christian faith-based youth work had a constant presence and influence on youth work across this period. This analysis redressed the imbalance within the existing literature of academic and professional youth work, which overlooks, minimises or marginalises Christianity's place and influence in youth work's past. This reading of the past of youth work enabled me to go on to explain its *conjonctures*.

In Chapter 5 I answered the second question and explained the *conjonctures* of the relationship between Christianity and youth work from its earliest days up until the 1970s, providing an account of how youth work expanded from being a Christian

endeavour to become a secular practice through a series of minor and major translations of youth work's languages. Youth work originally had a Christian language which, by the early 1900s, had been translated by the different world-views into Judaism and different strands of providential deism, and took a shift from Christianity-as-faith to Christianity-as-ethic. Within this environment, the language which constituted youth work was theistic. For example, its commitment to equality was driven by recognition that the poor and the rich were equally valued by God.

The theistic language of youth work underwent a major translation in the 1960s, an event which provided youth work with a new set of secular languages; these co-existed, and to a degree suppressed the older theistic language. This was particularly the case within academic and professional youth work, where this theistic language no longer had a place and where Christian workers and Christian faith-based youth work had to justify their place within this new field. Despite this, within the new post-Albemarle environment youth work's epistemological ideals continue to be important and in their own way also reflect youth work's Christian foundations.

In Chapters 6 and 7 I answered the third of my questions, and in Chapter 6 I set out the data gathered from participants which highlighted different attitudes towards Christianity's relationship with youth work in the current period. Although it was recognised that Christianity had a relationship with youth work because of its inheritance, there were different attitudes as to how it related today. The responses by some suggested that Christianity and youth work were different world-views; others suggested it produced a distinctive form of youth work; others a shared form of youth work. One participant provided it with a theistic language. All of these suggested that within its modern environment the relationship between Christianity and youth work was an uncomfortable one.

Finally, in Chapter 7 I drew on the literature and texts of youth work along with the data provided by participants to describe the relationship between Christianity and

youth work within the Age of Authenticity, between 1960 and 2010. Through these I showed that there were two modes of youth work functioning within the age: one liberal democratic, built on soft relativism, and the other built on the ideals of authenticity. From this latter group I discussed youth work being now located against a multiplicity of categoric horizons of worth. Within the modern period, however, there occurred a cross-alignment, the result of which created three fractured master-horizons within youth work: liberationist, economic liberal and Christian faith-based. The relationship between them is not just fractured, but fractious. The relationship between Christian faith-based youth work and other streams of youth work is also influenced by closed world structures, something which has the potential to exclude the transcendent aspects of a practice.

To reveal the profundity of the influence of soft relativism and closed world structures on youth work, I described how its academic strand developed its philosophies and, in particular, how Freire's pedagogy was isolated from his faith and made to be subservient to the ideas of Rogers.

I also discussed the different attempts to coalesce the horizons of Christianity and youth work. While none of these are particularly detailed to be able to make a strong case, they do reveal the desire for Christian faith-based practitioners to understand their relationship with youth work, and to justify their place within it. Broadly these conform to two different approaches. The first is bound to youth work having an internationalised language (MacIntyre, 1988:379), meaning that a unification of horizons can only occur if we avoid too detailed an interpretation of terms like *equality*. However, in an environment where there is a 'cross-alignment' of horizons and where identity politics becomes increasingly vociferous, the ability to fuse any different horizons together becomes more challenging.

The latter approach is more in line with MacIntyre's thesis, that Christian faith-based youth work must confirm the meaning of the terms it uses according to its own values and language. This is an approach provided by Morrison when he drew on the 'Luke 4 manifesto' to articulate some of the Christian faith-based

transcendent values, and one which is similar to those who sought to provide Christian faith-based youth work with a language from the theology of the Kingdom of God.

### 8.3 Discussions and implications

The *événementielle* and *conjonctures* which I have provided expose the influence and presence of Christianity's relationship with youth work. From its foundation to the present, in different ways youth work has been the embodiment of a Christian language. Initially this was exclusively Christian but was quickly translated into Judaism and different forms of providential deism, and through its translation from Christianity-as-faith to Christianity-as-ethic. Despite this the Christian influence remained strong. For example, the first time the expression *youth work* was used in a publication within the UK, it was to describe specifically Christian activities. The majority of organisations which formed the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Juvenile Organisations in 1936 and the Youth Service in 1939 were Christian, and the others continued to have a religious adherence.

In the decade following the establishment of the Youth Service, Clarke's (2014 [1949]) research showed that Christian work with young people continued to be recognised. Two of the five streams of provision were specifically Christian, *Missionary and Evangelistic* and *Self-dedication*. Similarly, in the 1960s, with the publication and implementation of Albemarle, there were still 294,578 members of Anglican clubs, most of whom were said to be aged 14 to 17, and with girls being in the slight majority. Similarly, 3,574 Methodist youth clubs in England had 108,017 members (McLeod, 2007:104).

My analysis also reveals that up until the 1960s, youth work was constituted through its theistic language which was itself constituted by a number of different religious languages. In the 1960s, this theistic language underwent a major translation to become a secular one and, over the following decades those committed to it supplanted its older language to such an extent that within

academic and theoretical expressions of youth work it disappeared from view. For a period of over twenty years, through the decades of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, Christianity's place was all but ignored by those providing youth work with its academic texts and theoretical underpinning (sections 2.3, 2.4 and 7.5), as evidenced by Christianity's lack of recognition within the literature of youth work and by the treatment of Freire's pedagogy in the construction of youth work's philosophies (section 7.).

Despite this youth work's older theistic language did not actually disappear. While marginalised and overlooked within youth work's academic and professional narratives, its presence is evidenced by the continued engagement of Christian practitioners with its literature (section 7.4.4.3).

Furthermore, my research also provides a viable explanation as to how ideals and values such as voluntary participation, democracy and equality came to be important to youth work. In doing so, it encourages reflection as generally these have simply been accepted as the givens of youth work and are rarely examined. The development and strength of the liberal democratic language of youth work resulted in the loss of knowledge of youth work's older theistic language and of the religious and deistic languages which formed it. This has led to a situation where many youth workers now incorrectly assume that its practices belong to its secular incarnation. Some even go as far as to seek to exclude Christian provision from youth work. One visible result of this is that as youth work became increasingly politicised, some secular humanist, left-leaning academics and practitioners began to claim near exclusive rights to youth work and erroneously label Freire as a Marxist (Seal and Frost, 2014; de St Croix, 2016) rather than a Christian.

This thesis addresses this oversight and reconnects the values of youth work: respect of persons, promotion of well-being, truth, democracy, and fairness and equality, and its practices: a commitment to education and voluntary participation, the importance of a pastoral approach, the development of detached work, and that its ideals of equality, democracy to their Christian source.

By accounting for the development of the values and practices of youth work, this thesis indirectly challenges such claims. It reveals them to be secular translations from youth work's Christian and theistic past. It also challenges those who might seek to acquire Freire's Christian faith-based pedagogy for their Marxist aims. To be clear, I am not suggesting that secular or Marxist youth workers have no right to these. I am claiming that Christian faith-based youth workers and organisations have a claim on them which cannot be disputed.

My analysis goes on to provide evidence for and an explanation of the place of Christian faith-based youth work within the environment of modern youth work. Situated alongside the cross-aligned horizons of liberationist and market-based youth work, Christianity provides a distinctive stream of practice. Within this environment it has to contend with academic and professional youth work's conformity with closed world structures and the fractured and fractious nature of these existing horizons.

Over the period of my research, it is increasingly evident that Taylor's (2003a) fear is becoming realised – that within the Age of Authenticity there might be no end of the fracturing of horizons. In such a setting, I realise that attempts to unify aspects of distinctive horizons might be futile, and the evidence from the literature is that, while underdeveloped, these attempts have gained little traction. This suggests that practitioners at least are content to deliver youth work within the parameters of their existing world-views. This means that definitions of terms such as equality will differ according to the horizon against which it is given meaning. These different meanings are likely to maintain fractures rather than unite them. In this environment, any likelihood of fusing horizons will be minimal. However, in an environment where ownership of the expression *youth work* is increasingly politicised and argued over, being able to articulate youth work according to one's own horizon is likely to become of increasing importance. In this context, MacIntyre's idea is significant: that those committed to the different horizons of

youth work must first understand their own practice according to their own language and then bring their best case forward.

My thesis begins this process and provides those involved with Christian faith-based youth work with an account of its past and locates it present, suggesting that it has a strong claim on the youth work narrative. In revealing that youth work has a theistic as well as a secular language, a platform is provided from which Christian faith-based youth work can authoritatively negotiate its space. My thesis provides a platform for those who might build a narrative for Christian faith-based youth work by returning to its older theistic language and by relating that to both the pedagogy of Freire, the Luke 4 manifesto and the theology of the Kingdom of God. In doing so it also indirectly challenges the arguments of those who seek to exclude Christian faith-based work with young people from the youth work narrative.

This is also important because, as Jeffs points out (nd [c2015]), it is this which has made Christian faith-based youth work one of the few alternatives to the market liberalist youth work of the state. In contrast with secular provision, it is better placed to withstand the desires of the state to monopolise youth work because, as stated by Jeffs, 'it operates according to a set of shared internal beliefs – educational and spiritual. Beliefs that mean it has ambitions both for itself and those it seeks to serve' (Jeffs, nd [c2015]:14). It also survives because, in contrast with liberal humanist and liberationist forms of youth work, it has been less reliant on professional youth workers. Christian faith-based youth work together with other, original forms of youth work, such as Scouting and Guiding, are the residual endeavours of a mass movement, one built and still dominated by committed volunteers.

Beyond this, my thesis also raises some important questions for youth work in general. Firstly, was the way in which Christianity's place within youth work has been treated within some of its existing academic and professional literature simply an oversight or was it deliberately overlooked and marginalised to create an inaccurate image of practice? Can the expression *youth work* be owned exclusively

by secular humanist, left-leaning academics and practitioners? And can Christian faith-based youth work be viewed as antithetical to youth work?

This thesis also challenges some of the prevailing interpretations of modern youth work. For example, applying Taylor's concepts of soft relativism and the ideals of authenticity highlights that liberal democratic youth work is distinct from other forms of youth work as it purposefully disassociates youth work from specific categoric horizons of worth. Following Taylor's view, this has the potential to enable unhealthy, manipulative relationships between young people and youth workers. While this has been an accusation made of Christian faith-based practice, it raises the question as to whether we ought to view liberal democratic youth work as a corrupt mode of practice. This raises an interesting question. While Jeff suggested the 'void at the heart of secular and statutory funded youth work' (nd [c2015]:14), was due to accepting state and commercial funding to deliver their agendas. This is only part-right. My view, which developed throughout this study, is that the *void at the heart of secular and statutory youth work* is also the result of Albemarle, the influence National College; the birth of liberal democratic youth work propagated by Davies and Gibson (1967). Together these resulted in disassembled of academic and professional youth work from its Christian source and theistic language and replaced them with an internationalised language of non-judgementalism non-directive approaches. The result of this led, over time, to youth work becoming nothing more than '[a]way of working or a concept' (Jeffs, 2018:30).

While making such observations encourages reflection, and evidence to empower Christianity's place within youth work, the implications of this research are not so clear.

This research is itself historically situated at the confluence of a number of developments within youth work, all of which will have influenced it. It was carried out during a period of increasing uncertainty. The arena of academic and professional youth work would appear to be in a period of crisis, one from which, as



more institutions close and fewer people train as youth workers, it might not recover.

Market liberal expressions of youth work appear to be growing, along with the increasing number of practitioners who now work in multi-agency teams. Market-based youth work has also reshaped the Youth Service into a youth sector, meaning that youth work provision is now something which can be purchased and sold.

In this environment, the initial intention of this thesis was to inform youth workers, academics, and practitioners of the influence and status of Christianity in youth work: its foundation, development and continuing existence. At the time of writing, this aim might be aspirational rather than achievable – there might be nothing left to inform. That said, this doesn't take away from adding to our knowledge of youth work. As Christian faith-based youth work is seen to be one of the few forms of practice to deliver an alternative to market liberal youth work, providing those involved with its delivery an understanding of its heritage and status might have increased its importance. It might also provide pointers towards its own inconsistencies, something which may also have played a role in the current situation.

Finally, although late in the day, it provides a narrative of Christianity's relationship with youth work which will enhance the ability of Christian practitioners and Christian faith-based organisations to maintain ownership of the term *youth work*. Further, it may also aid those in the future who, like McLeod (2007) and Bradbury, McGimpsey and Santori (2013), wish to use the developments in youth work as a barometer of social change; however, at this point its potential influence is hard to ascertain.

That said, along with providing evidence of Christianity's place within youth work, my research also suggests areas worthy of future research.

## 8.4 Areas for future research

This thesis also provides a gateway into other areas of research related to the development of youth work: gender, male dominance of the literature, and moral fears. Industrialisation, urbanisation and economic cycles have all have had a formative and continuing influence on youth work (Eagar, 1953; Jeffs, 2000; Musgrove, 1964; Rosenthal, 1986; Spence, 2006; Springhall *et al.*, 1983; Stanton and Wenham, 2013). Yet the ways in which these have shaped and influenced the development of youth work over its lifespan are still to be fully researched.

Gender had a significant influence on the development of youth work in a number of ways. Distinctive social fears regarding the apparent growth in the number of malevolent young people (nearly always boys) corrupting society, and of girls being corrupted, were also part of the early youth work environment (Stanton and Wenham, 2013). Spence (2006) noted that this dual understanding of the different risks posed by each gender has been woven into youth work's cultural narrative from the Victorian era down through the work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1970s and 1980s. Spence (2014) and Batsleer (2017b) suggested that this has led, albeit unrecognised, to a practice narrative which has, from the foundation of youth work up to and including the present, prioritised boys' work over that with girls.

A related issue is the male dominance of youth work theory and literature. While youth work has included female writers and theorists (Batsleer, 2008; Dove, 1996; Edwards-Rees, 1943; 1944; Jephcott, 1948; 1949; 1954; Brew, 1943; 1946; 1968; nd [c1946]; Matthews, 1966; Montagu, 1904; 1941; Sewell, 1966; Spence, 2014; Stanley, 1985 [1890]; K. Young, 2006), the influential literature stream of youth work has been, with the exception of perhaps Montagu's and Brew's writing, a male preserve. Reference is more often made to the works of people such as Pelham (1889), Neuman (1900), Russell and Rigby (1908; 1932), Henriques (1933; 1943; and 1951a), Davies and Gibson (1967), Batten and Batten (1967), Milson (1970; 1969), Jeffs (1979), Smith (1988) and Jeffs and Smith (1987; 1988c; 1990c; 2005; 2010c).

The histories of youth work have also tended to be dominated by a male emphasis (Batsleer, 2014; Dawes, 1975; Eagar, 1953; Rosenthal, 1986; Springhall, 1977; Springhall *et al.*, 1983). Related to this is the fact that sociological research around youth and youth work has also in the past been gender specific (Bynner *et al.*, 1997; Hendrick, 1990; Spence, 2006).

There has been growing recognition of the importance of women within youth work (Booton, 1985; Cranwell, 2001; Smith, 2001c; Spence, 2003b) and an increase in historical research into youth work with women (Batsleer, 2003; Dove, 1996; Fabes and Skinner, 2001; Harrison, 1973; Oldfield, 2001; Ross, 2003; Spence, 2003b; 2014; Stamper, 2003; Turnbull, 2000; 2001; 2002). However, these studies have not become significant in shaping youth work (Batsleer, 2003; Davies, 2001; Fabes and Skinner, 2001; Spence, 2006). Indeed, over 70 years ago Eagar suggested that '[t]he history of the Girls' Club since Miss Stanley's data should be written by a woman who can see it in relation to the story of women's emancipation and their assertion of their rightful place in society' (1953:350). There are important pieces of work: Spence (2006), for example, explores the way feminist youth workers in the 1970s and 1980s uncovered and engaged with their history and the empowering effect this had on her and others' practice; and, more recently, Batsleer (2014; 2017a; 2017b; 2018) wrote extensively of modern youth work with girls from a feminist perspective.

Adopting an approach which looks at the language and evolution of youth work in the language of both male and female writers might prove a productive exercise. Utilising my methodology might uncover a rich vein of resources which show how the language of feminist youth work evolved from the earliest work of Maud Stanley into the more political work of Emmeline Pethnick-Lawrence and the entertainment model of practice developed in the 1940s and 1950s (Turnbull, 2001).

Again, examining how the languages of youth work evolved as the UK developed from an industrial to post-industrial society through economic cycles of abundance

and recession might prove beneficial. It is evident that youth work was born at least in part as a particular response to economic hardship, expanding to become part of the national response to the economic depression of the 1920s (Dawes, 1975). Later, Albemarle was a response to the ending of national service and fears over young men swelling the jobs market. More recently, the folk history of youth work also looked back with some nostalgia to the depression of the 1970s and 1980s, when it was considered to have been a vibrant and radical support for young people, something which provided it with a new political language (Taylor, 2009c).

The fortunes of youth work often appear to have fluctuated in conjunction with wider changes in: employment, unemployment, economic uncertainty and population growth, issues which youth work was seen as having a role in addressing. However, in the recession of 2009/2010, governmental response in England was to withdraw funding and establish a model of its own. In Scotland, the government chose to keep the title but to shift its provision into targeted interventions supporting social work or employment.

While some parts of my thesis point towards this (sections 1.4.1 and 7.4.4.2), it would clearly be helpful to understand how these governmental languages of youth work evolved over time from the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present, and how these influenced the development of youth work and how (or if) they were shaped by youth work. Equally, some less pejorative analysis of the struggle between academic and professional youth work and state-sponsored provision might prove fruitful; understanding the role each has played in the fragmentation of the horizon of youth work might prove instructive and move the debate beyond the current blame game.

In addition, the shifting attitude towards entertainment technologies within youth work appears to be pertinent. For example, youth work has a strong heritage of being in opposition to some modes of entertainment. From the outset, those shaping youth work's narrative were critical of some modes of entertainment such as the 'Penny Gaff' and later, by the 1930s, the cinema:

It thus becomes apparent that why churchmen and youth leaders were opposed to cinemas in general and to Sunday cinema in particular. Both groups were profoundly worried that cinemas were undermining their work with young people, luring them away from the church and away from youth movements. Their fears were certainly justified (Fowler, 1995:127).

However as Brown pointed out in the 1920s and 1930s, churches themselves developed 'ever more "secular" congregational activities', observing that 'churches became entertainment centres, and suites of church halls appeared', suggesting that in these decades churches 'were starting to suffer serious "goal displacement" where the religious objective of their activities was being overtaken by "secular" enticements' (Brown, 1994:68). A similar development appeared to occur within youth work (Turnbull, 2001), where dancing and music seemed to become a significant part of the youth club, as Brew wrote:

Let us start from where the young are. They like dancing – very well, let us give them the best dancing instruction we can find and afford; they like modern music – very well, give them the best. There are hundreds of good tunes, so start their musical education via the dance band or group (1957:78).

By the 1970s entertainment would appear to have been a significant and valid activity in the youth club (see, for example Batten and Batten, 1970). Because many of those who write about youth work generally view this mode of youth work negatively, we have yet to have an adequate interpretation as to the importance of this form of youth work.

There are other obvious influences, such as the school-leaving age, changing employment laws, the numbers of young people going into further and higher education, the growth of mass home entertainment and the interconnectedness of gaming, along with the fact that the age at which young people go through puberty

has dropped and attitudes to sex and sexuality have changed. All these things have affected youth work, so researching and understanding all these *conjunctions* would undoubtedly add to our knowledge, and strengthen youth work in a way that would enable practitioners to distinguish between its sacred (perhaps mythical) narrative and its real heritage. These however, as Spence noted, are all secondary to our understanding of Christianity's influence on youth work: 'the centrality of religion in [early youth work] can hardly be overestimated. Nor can it be separated from the class and gender dimensions of practice' (2006:255). My research, therefore, not only adds to our knowledge of youth work; it establishes a foundation for the research of others.

A more contemporary piece that research might build on is MacIntyre's assertion that psychoanalysis and Marxism are secular translations of Christianity and use his ideas of language and translation. Researchers might examine the implications of the translation of youth work's secular language into liberal democratic, liberationist and market liberalism languages which now compete with each other to become the dominant secular language of youth work. Equally, the internal nature of these cross-sectional languages, and their internal fracturing, might prove to be productive for our understanding of current youth work. For example, Taylor (2009c) noted that in the 1980s and 1990s identity agendas quickly displaced and sidelined class politics within youth work. He went on to suggest these ideological priorities were entwined with anti-racist and anti-sexist practices to shape a form of youth work which removed references to class-based injustice.

In a similar way, Spence (2014) examined the birth of feminist youth work in the 1970s and 1980s with the development of female only spaces. She also noted that while these feminist approaches challenged the status quo, white feminist youth workers were also guilty of marginalising black and coloured youth work. She concluded that:

While the adoption of Freire's theoretical insights allowed for cross-sectional agreement about informal educational methods, it

did not allow for the consequences of separate organisation around the range of identities associated with oppression. The identity-based approach was inherently fissiparous, and the cracks and fractures were to prove lethal to the movement for working with girls and young women in a climate of reaction (2014:211).

She concluded that feminist youth work could not move beyond 'dualisms of male–female/white–black/heterosexual–lesbian/able-bodied–disabled, which were then set against each other, creating fault lines that fragmented when new voices such as those of black women emerged to challenge the dominance of white women' (2014:212).

While the demise of class-based and feminist youth work is blamed on the growing influence of the state (Davies and Taylor, 2019; Spence, 2014), what is also evident is that using Taylor's concept of fracturing and fusing horizons might provide a means of uncovering the effect of these internal fissures on the state of modern professional and academic youth work. The ideas that class-focused youth work was fractured by youth work built around ideologies of identity, and feminist work was in turn fractured by colour and gender, both point toward a translation and re-translation of youth work's secular liberationist horizon, something which remains uncharted, but when combined with my research suggests that we must begin to speak of youth works (plural) rather than youth work.

## 8.5 Conclusions

This thesis used the analytical method of Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutical arc along with the social philosophy of Charles Taylor and Alasdair MacIntyre's work on language and translation to examine the question 'if it is Christian, can it be youth work?' through data gathered from semi-structured interviews and youth work's texts and literature. It contributes to our knowledge of youth work by providing an explanation of Christianity's relationship with youth work and how youth work expanded from being a Christian endeavour in the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century to

become a predominantly secular practice following the 1960s. It provides an *événementielle*, a narrative of Christianity's relationship with youth work, and explains its *conjonctures*, the unseen evolution of that relationship over time.

My thesis adds to our knowledge of youth work by redressing the imbalance within its existing texts and providing a detailed account of its past which recognises the place of Christianity. In doing so, it accounts for youth work's continuing commitment to its educational principles: the importance of having a pastoral approach; the development of some forms of practice such as detached work; and how it came to possess the ideals of voluntary participation, equality and democracy. Those who inhabit the youth work tradition occupy a social practice which was first articulated in a Christian language. This Christian language provided youth work with a set of concepts which, while now secularised, continue to be precious to it.

To close, I suggest that my explanation of Christianity's relationship with youth work is better able to account its continuing commitment to the ideals mentioned above, that those revisionists who seek to provide youth work with some other, as yet unfound, tradition. Christianity's formative presence, constitutive nature and continuing existence within youth work is stronger, more evident than theirs – a statement which is both a claim and a challenge!



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# Appendices

Appendix 1: Generic email invitation

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet

Appendix 3: Participants' details

Appendix 4 Semi-structured interview questions

Appendix 5: University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee Ratification

Appendix 6: Consent agreement

Appendix 7: Chronology of the founders and shapers of youth work

## Appendix 1: Generic email invitation

My name is Allan Clyne, I am a PhD student at the University of Strathclyde. I am writing to ask if you know of any one would consider supporting my studies by agreeing to participate in my research. My research question is “If it is Christian can it be youth work?” As it implies, I am interested in the connections and disconnections, foundations and tensions between Christian world views and youth work practice. This research has a particular focus on Scotland so I am looking for someone who might be able to respond to this question from the Churches perspective and who would also be knowledgeable of current practice within Scotland. I would value their input into this discussion. There is no requirement for individuals participating to hold what might be termed ‘a personal Christian faith’; I am looking to engage with as wide a range of people as possible, to gather the views from a cross-section of the youth work community and input from someone from within a church would give valued insights from which my research will benefit.

Involvement in this research will require a limited time commitment Initially I should like to meet with the participant for a one-to-one semi-structured interview to discuss their response to my question ‘If it is Christian, can it be youth work? This conversation should take around one hour of their time. Following on from this, they are also invited to take part in a semi-structured focus group. This discussion will draw on some of the points raised in the conversations. This discussion will take a commitment of two hours and will be held at a time and place where, as far as is possible all participants will be able to attend. If, however they consider that they may be unavailable for the focus group this would not exclude them from taking part and I hope they will still be willing to be interviewed.

I would be happy to answer any questions you might have. Please contact me by phone on 0774 374 0815

Or email [allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk](mailto:allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk)

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours Sincerely

Allan Clyne

## Appendix 2: Participant information sheet

**School of Applied Social Sciences:  
Community Education**

**Title of the study: If it is Christian can  
it be youth work?**



### **Introduction**

*My name is Allan Clyne, I am a PhD student at the University of Strathclyde. For my thesis I am carrying out a piece of research into the relationship between Christianity and youth work. In particular, I am exploring youth work as a discipline which is essentially related to ethics and moral philosophy.*

*As someone involved either in the training and education of youth workers or who is recognised as having a strong interest or professional connection with youth work and who can bring a good level of professional understanding to this discussion, I am writing to ask if you would be willing to support my research by being part of this conversation. If you would be willing to take part or would like further information please contact me at [allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk](mailto:allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk). For your information I have detailed below a brief outline of my research and what involvement in this research will entail.*

*There is no requirement for individuals participating in my research to hold what might be termed 'a personal Christian faith'; to gather the views from a cross-section of the youth work community, I am looking to engage with as wide a range of people as possible.*

### **What is the purpose of this investigation?**

*Recognising that youth work speaks of itself as having a philosophy, along with a distinctive practice, my research aims to explore the relationship between Christianity and youth work, at this philosophical level. However youth work is also an activist endeavour and it is therefore important that the voices of youth work specialists are heard and a wide spectrum of views are included.*

*At a theoretical level youth work is often seen as being 'light' on academic underpinnings. While education establishments may emphasise 'Community Education philosophies', the relation between these and the distinctive nature of youth work, can appear to be lost in translation between study and*

*practice. This research aims to go some way in addressing this by encouraging participants to reflect on youth work's ethical and moral philosophy along with practice.*

*On a practical level, with recent attention being given to the idea of collaborative working understanding the relationship between Christianity and secular youth work may assist in developing mutual understanding between practitioners.*

### **Do you have to take part?**

*Participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any stage. Any existing input will still be included unless you request otherwise. Any decision to withdraw will not prejudice that information.*

*As I am looking for input from significant professionals within the field of youth work, you will be able to choose whether you are willing to be identified by your name and role or would prefer a level of anonymity and be identified by your role alone. Regardless of which of these two options you select you will also have the opportunity to anonymise specific comments or observations you make.*

*Your participation and input will be as an individual and you will not be interpreted as speaking on behalf of any specific organisation unless you wish to make a clear statement as to your organisation's views on any particular topic or issue.*

*You will receive a digital recording of the interview and focus group and you will be able to comment on, correct, clarify and anonymise any of the information they have given at this time. You will also have the opportunity to read and comment on my final draft prior to publication.*

### **What will you do if you take part?**

*Involvement in this research it will require a time commitment from you. I have adopted a two-stage approach involving both a one-to-one interview and a focus group. I would like to invite you to take part in both the interview and focus group. If, however you consider that you may be unavailable for the focus group this would not exclude you from taking part and I hope you will still be willing to be interviewed.*

*Initially I should like to meet with you for a one-to-one semi-structured interview to explore your views of youth work and discuss my question 'If it is Christian, can it be youth work? We will also touch on youth work as an ethical / moral philosophical discipline.*

*Our conversation should take around one hour of your time.*

*Following on from this, I then intend to hold a semi-structured focus group. At this discussion we will draw on some of the points raised in the conversations. This discussion will take a commitment of two hours and will be held at a time and place where, as far as is possible all participants will be able to attend. This discussion time will be negotiated with all participants.*

**Why have you been invited to take part?**

*You have been invited to take part in this research as you have a significant role within the Scottish youth work landscape. You have been involved in training youth workers or writing and publishing on the subject of youth work or working with national or influential youth work organisations at the highest level. You will also be recognised by fellow practitioners as someone who 'has something to say' regarding the nature and practice of youth work.*

**What are the potential risks to you in taking part?**

*The published PhD is held in the university library and may also be published on line. Articles drawn from this research may also be published more widely.*

*If you are willing to be identified by your name and role you should consider the wider implications this may have for you, your work environment or professional practice.*

*If you should choose to be identified by your role alone every endeavour will be made to ensure your anonymity, however you should consider that there is still a possibility that you may be identified.*

*As I have pointed out above, you will have to opportunity to anonymise specific comments or information you deem sensitive. You will also have an opportunity to review the final draft prior to publication.*

What happens to the information in the project?

*All conversations and discussions will be recorded on a digital recorder and transferred onto a secure laptop.*

*All digital recordings will be destroyed two years after the completion of my PhD.*

*You will be sent a digital recording of your conversation and the discussion and you will be able to comment on, correct, clarify and anonymise any of the information they have given at this time. If you have any other questions or observation you are also free to raise them. You will also be given a final draft of my thesis prior to publication to enable you to confirm that all the information you have provided has been treated fairly.*

*The information gathered in the process of completing my PhD may be used in further publication of material resulting from this research.*

**The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.**



**Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.**

What happens next?

If you are interested in being involved or would like more details please get in touch by replying to this emailing to [allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk](mailto:allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk)

Once an initial contact had been made I will be in touch and we can arrange a time at your convenience for our initial interview.

As part of the University procedures I will also require you and to complete sign a consent form.

If you feel that this is not for you I thank you for taking the time to read this request. If you are aware of anyone who you feel might be interested in being involved please feel free to pass this invite on.

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the ethics committee of the School of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Strathclyde.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Laura Steckley  
Convener, Ethics Committee for the School of Applied Social Sciences  
University of Strathclyde  
76 Southbrae Drive  
Glasgow  
G13 1PP  
Telephone: 0141 950 3122  
Email: [Laura.L.Steckley@strath.ac.uk](mailto:Laura.L.Steckley@strath.ac.uk)

Researcher Contact Details:

*Allan Clyne*  
*allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk*  
*Mobile 07743740815*

Supervisor's Details:

Howard Sercombe  
Community Education Division  
University of Strathclyde  
76 Southbrae Drive, Jordanhill  
Glasgow G131PP

howard.sercombe@strath.ac.uk  
Phone 0141 950 3035  
Fax 0141 950 3374  
Mobile 079 697 25338

### Appendix 3: Participants' details

<b>Participant Name</b>	<b>Position held at time of interview</b>
Barber, Terry	Senior Lecturer in Community Education , University of Dundee
Bell, Crawford	Senior Youth Worker, YMCA Scotland
Blakeman, Matty	Recent Graduate in Youth and Community Work, George Williams
Brooks, Graeme	Scottish Manager , Youth For Christ
Buchanan, Helen	Recent graduate in Community Education, University of Strathclyde
Clark, Ross	Recent Graduate in Community Education, University of Strathclyde
Coburn, Annette	Lecturer in Community Education, University of Strathclyde
Crory, Peter	Chief Executive, YMCA Scotland
Cutler, Stewart	Children's and Youth Development Officer, United Reformed Church
Duffy, Elizabeth	Young Adult Development Officer, Catholic Diocese of Motherwell
Forrester, Kirsty	Community Learning and Development Worker, Mearns Community Centre, Laurencekirk
Frew, Tim	Acting Workforce Development Manager , Youthlink Scotland
McMeekin, Graeme	Vice-Principal and Programme Director; Youth and Community Work with Applied Theology, International Christian College, Glasgow
McGinley, Brian	Lecturer in Community Education, University of Strathclyde
Marr, Ian	Development Manager Christian Mission, YMCA Scotland

McArdle, Karen	Director of Research and Knowledge Exchange, University of Aberdeen
McCulloch, Ken	Senior Lecturer in Community Education, Moray House, University of Edinburgh
Forrester, Kirsty	Community Learning and Development Worker, Mearns Community Centre, Laurencekirk
Furlong, Andy	Professor of, Social Inclusion and Education, University of Glasgow
Holman, Bob	Author and Community Worker, Founder of Family Action Rogerfield & Easterhouse, Glasgow
McLeod, Margaret	Policy and Information Manager , Youthlink Scotland
McLeod, Rory	Director Community Learning and Development Standards Council for Scotland
Milburn, Ted	Professor Emeritus Community Education, University of Strathclyde
Morrison, Richard	Director, Reality Adventure Works, Lenzie
Murphy, Maggie	Lecturer, John Wheatley College, Glasgow
Robertson, Charis	Acting Director, Hot Chocolate Trust, Dundee
Romain, Rachel	Youth Pastoral Centre, Our Lady of Consolation, Glasgow
Scott, Verity	Youth Work, Central Team Leader , Dundee City Council
Sweeny, Jim	Chief Executive , Youthlink Scotland
Swinney, Ann	Adult Literacies Worker with a focus on young people, Perth and Kinross Council, and Lecturer on the Bachelor of Arts in Professional Development, University of Dundee.
Williams, Gary	Regional Learning and Divisional Officer, Methodist Church (Scotland)
Wray, Phil	Director of National Ministries, Scripture Union, Scotland

## Appendix 4: Semi-structured interview questions

1. You have seen my question —if it is Christian can it be youth work? What would your initial response be if asked this question? (further explore some of the responses given)
2. What in your experience has influenced your response? (Explore for practical examples which have helped shape, confirm or challenge the views expressed?)
  - a. How would you describe your own location with respect to both Christianity and youth work and the relationship between them?
    - i. For example
      - Practitioner with a Christian perspective
      - Academic with a secular world view
      - Representative of a Christian youth work agency
      - A Christian operating in a secular environment.
      - It's complicated
      - Other
3. How has this shaped your position on the question?
4. What conflicts and/or convergences do you see between Christianity and youth work?
  - a. (explore for practical examples)
5. Can you give a brief outline of your perspective of the philosophical / theological underpinning of youth work?

6. What do you consider to be the principle purpose(s) of youth work?
  - a. (explore how this might be reflected in current policy and practice)
7. In your opinion what do you think youth work perceives as being a successful outcome when supporting young people to create their ethical frame work?
  - a. And what is it that leads you to hold this view? How is this reflected in the practice you advocate?
8. Why do you think youth work is committed to specific models of practice (voluntary participation)?
  - a. What does this suggest is the view that youth workers have of young people?
9. What does youth work's commitment to its professional values (respect for persons, well-being, democracy, truth, fairness and equality) say about its view of young people?
10. How is youth work commitment to equality and justice reflected in its practice?
11. Have you ever had any involvement in Christian work with young people (either as a worker, young person or child) what are your memories of this

## Appendix 5: University of Strathclyde Ethics Committee Ratification

### APPLICATION FORM FOR UNIVERSITY ETHICS COMMITTEE AND DEPARTMENTAL ETHICS COMMITTEES



#### Purpose

This form applies to all investigations (other than generic applications) on human subjects undertaken by staff or students of the University that fall within the scope of the University's Code of Practice on Investigations involving Human Beings. Such investigations may fall within the remit of the University Ethics Committee (see Code of Practice Section B1) or the Departmental Ethics Committees (see Code of Practice Section B2). However, this form should NOT be used for generic applications (there is a separate form for this) or any investigation involving clinical trials or the National Health Service (including staff, patients, facilities, data, tissue, blood or organ samples from the NHS). Applications for investigations involving the NHS must be made under the governance arrangements for National Health Service Research Ethics Committees (see Code of Practice Section B9) and where ethical approval is required from the NHS the form to be used is that issued by IRAS.

#### Language

The form should be completed in language that is understandable by a lay person. Please explain any abbreviations or acronyms used in the application. Guidance on completing this application form is attached in order to assist applicants and further information is available in the [Code of Practice](#).

#### Attachments


Information sheets for volunteers and consent forms to be used in the investigation must be submitted with the application form for consideration by the Committee. Templates for the information sheets and consent forms can be found on the Ethics [web page](#). The application will be judged entirely on the information provided in this form and any

accompanying documentation – full grant proposals to funding bodies should NOT be attached. Applications which are not signed and/or do not include the required additional information (e.g. information sheet and consent form) will not be considered by the Ethics Committee and will be referred back to the Chief Investigator.

### Completion

The form is designed for completion in Word, and should in any case be typed rather than handwritten. The grey-shaded text boxes on the form will expand to allow you to enter as much information as you require. Please do not alter any of the text outside the shades areas. If you have any difficulty filling out the form in Word, please contact [ethics@strath.ac.uk](mailto:ethics@strath.ac.uk).



Please click on the  for guidance on how to complete each section of the form.

PLEASE COMPLETE THE FORM IN BOLD TYPE FACE

**Checklist of enclosed Documents**

Document	Enclosed	N/A
Participant information sheet(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Consent form(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sample questionnaire(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sample interview format(s)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sample advertisement(s)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Any other documents (please specify below)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**1. Chief Investigator**  
(Ordinance 16 member of staff only)



Name: Howard Sercombe  
 Status: Professor of Community Education  
 Professor   
 Reader   
 Senior Lecturer   
 Lecturer   
 Department: **Community Education**  
 Contact Details: Telephone: 0141 950 3255  
 E-mail: howard.sercombe@strath.ac.uk

**2. Other Strathclyde Investigator(s)**



Name(s): Allan Robertson Clyne  
 Status (e.g. lecturer, post-/undergraduate): Post Graduate PhD Student  
 Department(s): Community Education  
 If student(s), name of supervisor: Howard Sercombe  
 Contact Details: Telephone: 077437440815  
 E-mail: allanclyne@strath.ac.uk  
 Details for all investigators involved in the study:

**3. Non-Strathclyde collaborating investigator(s)**



Name(s):  
Status:  
Department/Institution:  
If student(s), name of supervisor:  
Contact Details: Telephone:  
E-mail:  
Please provide details for all investigators involved in the study:

**4. Overseas Supervisor(s)**



Name(s):  
Status:  
Department/Institution:  
Contact Details: Telephone:  
E-mail:  
I can confirm that the local supervisor has obtained a copy of the Code of Practice: Yes  No   
Please provide details for all supervisors involved in the study

**5. Title of the Investigation:**

If it is Christian, can it be youth work?

**6. Where will the investigation be conducted:**



In locations across Scotland, to be agreed to be appropriate in conversation with the individual participants and researcher.

**7. Duration of the Investigation**  
(years/months):



(Expected) start date: 01 / April / 2012

(Expected) completion date: 01 / Aug / 2015

**8. Sponsor**  
(please refer to Section C and Annex 3 of the Code of Practice):



University of Strathclyde

**9. Funding Body**  
(if applicable)



N/A

Status of proposal – if seeking funding (please click appropriate box):

**In preparation**  **Submitted**  **Accepted**

Date of Submission of proposal: / /

Date of start of funding: / /

**10. Objectives of investigation**  
(including the academic rationale and justification for the investigation)



This research will explore the relationship between Christianity and modern youth work, analysing resonances and dissonances between these two areas of belief.

Recent attention to collaborative working makes it of some importance that there is an understanding of the relationship between Christian and secular youth work. This may assist in developing a mutual understanding between practitioners which in turn may encourage partnership working. This might better enable it to articulate opportunities for collaborative partnerships between state, voluntary and Christian youth work where it can refocus on the young person as its primary client.

11.  
Nature of the  
participants:



Are any of the categories mentioned in Section B1(b) (participant considerations) applicable in this investigation?

Yes

No

If 'yes' please  
detail:

Number: 12 - 15      Age (range): 20 -  
80

The research will use purposive sampling techniques.

Participants will have been recently involved in youth work or training youth workers; they will self-identify themselves as youth workers and have a good level of professional understanding within a Scottish context. They should be able to articulate their views regarding youth work practice, theory and philosophy.

Recognising this I will contact individuals from across the academic establishment within Scotland who fit the description above and who are involved in training new generations of youth workers. I will also contact others who are involved in the delivery and/or management of youth work within agencies and organisations across Scotland which profess to be committed to youth work.

Individuals will be invited to participate independently of their faith perspective. A breadth of perspectives is in itself likely to be helpful to this discussion. From this cohort I intend to recruit a group of between twelve and fifteen individuals who would be willing to take part in the interviews and focus group.

These participants will be invited to participate because of who they are; that is to say the position they hold within the youth work community suggests that they have something to say. For example, an individual heading up a national organisation that speaks of itself in terms of being a youth work agency; or individuals who are seen to be influential within youth work training or policy making might be said to 'expert' practitioners along with college and university lecturers who identify themselves as youth work specialists or as having an interest in youth work.

**Investigations governed by the Code of Practice that involve any of the types of projects listed in B1(b) must be submitted to the University Ethics Committee for prior approval.**

**12.  
What  
consents will  
be sought  
and how?**



Participants will be invited to participate by email. The email will include an outline of my research, what is expected of them should they choose to become involved and a contact email should they have any questions, as per the attached information form.

A consent form will be confirmed with the participants prior to their involvement. This will include:-

- Information on the use of their input within this research and of the potential for wider publication
- Confirmation that participants are aware of the two options regarding their anonymity
  - To be identified by name and role or
  - By their role only
- Confirmation of the potential limits of maintaining the complete anonymity of those who choose by role only.
- Recognition and permission for interviews and group discussions to be recorded and transcribed;
- Participants will have an opportunity to read and comment on transcript prior to submission. They will also have the opportunity to anonymise any details they think may compromise them in their professional role.
- Information on the procedures if they wish to withdraw from the research.

13.  
Methodology:



Are any of the categories mentioned in the Code of Practice Section B1(a) (project considerations) applicable in this investigation?

Yes  No

If 'yes' please detail:

In this research I am going to adopt a two-stage approach, underpinned by a strong literature review. The two-stage approach will utilize semi-structured interviews followed by a semi-structured focus group. The focus group will be made up of the same participants who took part in my initial interviews.

On a practical level an experienced practitioner is likely to have awareness beyond their own practice both of the views and opinions of others and projects and practices across Scotland which highlight continuity or discontinuity in the relationship between Christianity and youth work. Engaging with 'expert' professionals creates the prospect of drawing on individual practitioners own thinking and their knowledge of practice from across Scotland. The focus group provides an opportunity for those reflections to be tested and enhanced through dialogue.

This approach will enable the voice of practitioners to be heard and the relation of Christianity to youth work to be uncovered. However that will only be the case if the research, the methodology used and the engagement with both the participants and the wider subject matter is undergirded by an attitude of empathy and ethical integrity.

**Investigations governed by the Code of Practice that involve any of the types of projects listed in B1(a) must be submitted to the University Ethics Committee for prior approval.**

Has this methodology been subject to independent scrutiny?

Yes  No

Please provide the name and contact details of the independent reviewer

**Where an independent reviewer is not used, then the UEC/ DEC reserves the right to scrutinise the methodology.**

**14. Data collection, storage and security:**



Participants will also have the opportunity to read and comment on the transcript of their conversation and the final draft of this thesis prior to publication. This will provide the opportunity to raise any issues or points about the way their data has been used and interpreted.

Participants will be made aware that the information they provide may also be used in further publications which have developed around my PhD thesis.

Conversations and discussions will be recorded on a digital recorder, downloaded onto a secure laptop and appropriate sections of discussions will be transcribed.

The digital recordings will be held for two years after the completion of my PhD.

Will anyone other than the named investigators have access to the data?  
If 'yes' please explain.

Yes, as a dyslexic student I receive assistance in transcribing, however, due to the openness of my research there are unlikely to be confidentiality issues. However those involved in transcription will be aware that they are not to share any information with other individuals.

**15. Potential risks or hazards:**



Participants may be uncomfortable with information they revealed in the 'heat' of a discussion or may come to realise they have given inaccurate information or details. This will be addressed by sending each participants a digital recording of their interview and of the focus group (if they participated). At this point they will have the opportunity to comment on, correct, clarify and anonymise any of the

information they have given.

There is a potential that names of third parties, such as other individuals and projects may be raised by participants as examples of good or bad practice. These projects or individuals may not have the right to reply. If the information given is deemed to be harsh or judgmental their names will be anonymised and descriptions of their practice generalised. Permission will be sought to use the names of third party organisations cited as good practice.

**16.  
Ethical  
issues:**



All the participants will be made aware of the levels of anonymity offered. And the potential limitations of both and that the information they provide may go on to be used in wider publications. Participants will be given an opportunity to review their input prior to final publication and disagreements will, as far as possible be resolved.

**17.  
Any payment  
to be made:**



N/A

**18.  
What  
debriefing, if  
any, will be  
given to  
participants?**



Participants will be invited to join a discussion as to the findings of this research once the thesis is complete, and invited to comment and discuss any issues raised.

**19.  
How will the  
outcomes of  
the study be  
disseminated?**

I will seek to have the findings of this research published in peer reviewed journals.



Will you seek to publish the results?

20. Nominated person (and contact details) to whom participants' concerns/questions should be directed before, during or after the investigation.



Prof Howard Sercombe  
Allan Clyne

21. Previous experience of the investigator(s) with the procedures involved.



PGDip in Community Education at Dundee University where I carried out a Collaborative Enquiry with my peers as to the values which underpinned their practice.  
MSc at Dundee University where I carried out extensive research into Christian faith based work with young people in Scotland. This research used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, including questionnaires and semi-structured telephone conversations.

22.  
Chief Investigator and Head of Department Declaration



I have read the University's Code of Practice on Investigations involving Human Beings and have completed this application accordingly.

Signature of Chief Investigator

Please also type name here

I confirm I have read and approved this application.

Signature of Head of Department

Please also type name here

Andrew Kendrick

Date:

9 / 03 / 2012

**N.B. Unsigned applications will not be accepted**

23.  
Only for University sponsored projects under the remit of the DEC, with no external funding and no NHS involvement.

**Head of Department statement on Sponsorship**

This application requires the University to sponsor the investigation. This is done by the Head of Department for all DEC applications with exception of those that are externally funded and those which are connected to the NHS (those exceptions should be submitted to R&KES). I am aware of the implications of University sponsorship of the investigation and have assessed this investigation with respect to sponsorship and management risk. As this particular investigation is within the remit of the DEC and has no external funding and no NHS involvement, I agree on behalf of the University that the University is the appropriate sponsor of the investigation and there are no management risks posed by the investigation.

If not applicable, click here

Signature of Head of Department



## Semi Structured Interviews Questions.



1. You have seen my question —if it is Christian can it be youth work? What would your initial response be if asked this question? (explore some of the responses given)
2. What in your experience has influenced your response? (Explore for practical examples which have helped shape, confirm or challenge the views expressed?)
3. How would you describe your own location with respect to both Christianity and youth work and the relationship between them?
  - For example
  - Practitioner with a Christian perspective
  - Academic with a secular world view
  - Representative of a Christian youth work agency
  - A Christian operating in a secular environment.
  - It's complicated
  - Other
4. How has this shaped your position on the question?
5. What conflicts and/or convergences do you see between Christianity and youth work? (explore for practical examples)
6. Can you give a brief outline of your perspective of the philosophical / theological underpinning of youth work?
7. What do you consider to be the principle purpose(s) of youth work? (explore how this might be reflected in current policy and practice)
8. In your opinion what do you think youth work perceives as being a successful outcome when supporting young people to create their ethical frame work?
9. And what is it that leads you to hold this view?
10. Why do you think youth work is committed to voluntary participation?
  - a. What does this suggest is the view that youth workers have of young people?
11. What does youth work's commitment to democracy say about its view of young people?
12. How is youth work's commitment to equality and justice reflected in its practice?

## Participant Information Sheet

**School of Applied Social Sciences:  
Community Education**



**University of  
Strathclyde  
Humanities &  
Social Sciences**

**Title of the study: If it is Christian can  
it be youth work?**

### **Introduction**

*My name is Allan Clyne, I am a PhD student at the University of Strathclyde. For my thesis I am carrying out a piece of research into the relationship between Christianity and youth work. In particular, I am exploring youth work as a discipline which is essentially related to ethics and moral philosophy.*

*As someone involved either in the training and education of youth workers or who is recognised as having a strong interest or professional connection with youth work and who can bring a good level of professional understanding to this discussion, I am writing to ask if you would be willing to support my research by being part of this conversation. If you would be willing to take part or would like further information please contact me at [allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk](mailto:allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk). For your information I have detailed below a brief outline of my research and what involvement in this research will entail.*

*There is no requirement for individuals participating in my research to hold what might be termed 'a personal Christian faith'; to gather the views from a cross-section of the youth work community, I am looking to engage with as wide a range of people as possible.*

### **What is the purpose of this investigation?**

*Recognising that youth work speaks of itself as having a philosophy, along with a distinctive practice, my research aims to explore the relationship between Christianity and youth work, at this philosophical level. However youth work is also an activist endeavour and it is therefore important that the voices of youth work specialists are heard and a wide spectrum of views are included.*

*At a theoretical level youth work is often seen as being 'light' on academic underpinnings. While education establishments may emphasise 'Community Education philosophies', the relation between these and the distinctive nature of youth work, can appear to be lost in translation between study and practice. This research aims to go some way in addressing this by*

*encouraging participants to reflect on youth work's ethical and moral philosophy along with practice.*

*On a practical level, with recent attention being given to the idea of collaborative working understanding the relationship between Christianity and secular youth work may assist in developing mutual understanding between practitioners.*

### **Do you have to take part?**

*Participation in this research is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any stage. Any existing input will still be included unless you request otherwise. Any decision to withdraw will not prejudice that information.*

*As I am looking for input from significant professionals within the field of youth work, you will be able to choose whether you are willing to be identified by your name and role or would prefer a level of anonymity and be identified by your role alone. Regardless of which of these two options you select you will also have the opportunity to anonymise specific comments or observations you make.*

*Your participation and input will be as an individual and you will not be interpreted as speaking on behalf of any specific organisation unless you wish to make a clear statement as to your organisation's views on any particular topic or issue.*

*You will receive a digital recording of the interview and focus group and you will be able to comment on, correct, clarify and anonymise any of the information they have given at this time. You will also have the opportunity to read and comment on my final draft prior to publication.*

### **What will you do if you take part?**

*Involvement in this research it will require a time commitment from you. I have adopted a two-stage approach involving both a one-to-one interview and a focus group. I would like to invite you to take part in both the interview and focus group. If, however you consider that you may be unavailable for the focus group this would not exclude you from taking part and I hope you will still be willing to be interviewed.*

*Initially I should like to meet with you for a one-to-one semi-structured interview to explore your views of youth work and discuss my question 'If it is Christian, can it be youth work? We will also touch on youth work as an ethical / moral philosophical discipline.*

*Our conversation should take around one hour of your time.*

*Following on from this, I then intend to hold a semi-structured focus group. At this discussion we will draw on some of the points raised in the conversations. This discussion will take a commitment of two hours and will be held at a time and place where, as far as is possible all participants will be able to attend. This discussion time will be negotiated with all participants.*

**Why have you been invited to take part?**

*You have been invited to take part in this research as you have a significant role within the Scottish youth work landscape. You have been involved in training youth workers or writing and publishing on the subject of youth work or working with national or influential youth work organisations at the highest level. You will also be recognised by fellow practitioners as someone who 'has something to say' regarding the nature and practice of youth work.*

**What are the potential risks to you in taking part?**

*The published PhD is held in the university library and may also be published on line. Articles drawn from this research may also be published more widely.*

*If you are willing to be identified by your name and role you should consider the wider implications this may have for you, your work environment or professional practice.*

*If you should choose to be identified by your role alone every endeavour will be made to ensure your anonymity, however you should consider that there is still a possibility that you may be identified.*

*As I have pointed out above, you will have to opportunity to anonymise specific comments or information you deem sensitive. You will also have an opportunity to review the final draft prior to publication.*

What happens to the information in the project?

*All conversations and discussions will be recorded on a digital recorder and transferred onto a secure laptop.*

*All digital recordings will be destroyed two years after the completion of my PhD.*

*You will be sent a digital recording of your conversation and the discussion and you will be able to comment on, correct, clarify and anonymise any of the information they have given at this time. If you have any other questions or observation you are also free to raise them. You will also be given a final draft of my thesis prior to publication to enable you to confirm that all the information you have provided has been treated fairly.*

*The information gathered in the process of completing my PhD may be used in further publication of material resulting from this research.*

**The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.**

**Thank you for reading this information – please ask any questions if you are unsure about what is written here.**

What happens next?

If you are interested in being involved or would like more details please get in touch by replying to this emailing to [allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk](mailto:allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk)

Once an initial contact had been made I will be in touch and we can arrange a time at your convenience for our initial interview.

As part of the University procedures I will also require you and to complete sign a consent form.

If you feel that this is not for you I thank you for taking the time to read this request. If you are aware of anyone who you feel might be interested in being involved please feel free to pass this invite on.

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the ethics committee of the School of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Strathclyde.

If you have any questions/concerns, during or after the investigation, or wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Laura Steckley  
Convener, Ethics Committee for the School of Applied Social Sciences  
University of Strathclyde  
76 Southbrae Drive  
Glasgow  
G13 1PP  
Telephone: 0141 950 3122  
Email: [Laura.L.Steckley@strath.ac.uk](mailto:Laura.L.Steckley@strath.ac.uk)

Researcher Contact Details:



*Allan Clyne*  
*allan.clyne@strath.ac.uk*  
*Mobile 07743740815*

Supervisor's Details:

Howard Sercombe  
Community Education Division  
University of Strathclyde  
76 Southbrae Drive, Jordanhill  
Glasgow G131PP

Howard.sercombe@strath.ac.uk  
Phone 0141 950 3035  
Fax 0141 950 3374  
Mobile 079 697 25

## Consent Form – Interviews



**School of Applied Social Sciences:  
Community Education**

**Title of study:  
If it is Christian can it be youth work?**

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study at any time.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will be held securely.
- I understand that I have been given the choice to be identified either by my role only or by both by name and role and I have selected to be to be identified by
  - **Name and Role / Role only** (Please delete as appropriate)
  
- I am aware that I can have certain specific statements anonymised if I am concerned about potential repercussions
- I Understand that information I give will be published in this this PhD thesis and wider articles may be drawn from it.
- I consent to being a participant in the project

370

*The University of Strathclyde is a charitable body, registered in Scotland,  
number SC015263*



## Consent Form – Focus Group



School of Applied Social  
Sciences:  
Community Education

Title of study:  
If it is Christian can it be youth work?

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will be held securely.
- I understand that I have been given the choice to be identified either by my role only or by both by name and role and I have selected to be identified by
  - **Name and Role / Role only** (Please delete as appropriate)
- I am aware that I can have certain specific statements anonymised if I am concerned about potential repercussions
- I Understand that information I give will be published in this this PhD thesis and wider articles may be drawn from it.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
- I consent to being audio recorded as part of this project



## Appendix 6: Consent agreement



**School of Applied Social Sciences:  
Community Education**

**Title of study:**

**If it is Christian can it be youth work?**

- I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project and the researcher has answered any queries to my satisfaction.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.
- I understand that I can withdraw my data from the study at any time.
- I understand that any information recorded in the investigation will be held securely.
- I understand that I have been given the choice to be identified either by my role only or by both by name and role and I have selected to be to be identified by
  - **Name and Role / Role only** (Please delete as appropriate)
  
- I am aware that I can have certain specific statements anonymised if I am concerned about potential repercussions
- I Understand that information I give will be published in this this PhD thesis and wider articles may be drawn from it.
- I consent to being a participant in the project
  
- I consent to being audio recorded as part of this project

I  (PRINT NAME)	Hereby agree to take part in the above project
Signature of Participant:	Date

## Appendix 7: Chronology of the founders and shapers of youth work

- Henry Solly (1813–1903), (Eagar considers him as an influence, Percival as a founder of youth work, he certainly encouraged Sweatman’s work) was a Unitarian Minister (Ruston, 2004) who established and wrote about working-men’s institutes and clubs (Solly, 1867), the idea and influence of which was to introduce the idea of youths’ institutes and youth clubs (Eagar, 1953; Percival, 1951). His view on the Trinity (Solly, 1861) was more in line with mainstream Christian thought than Unitarianism (Young, 1992).
- Mary Jane Kinnaird (1816–1888), an evangelical (Garnett, 2004), established a club for girls in 1861 (Eagar, 1953) and expressed her evangelicalism through social action. She went on to co-found the Y.W.C.A the first autonomous youth organisations for girls (Percival, 1951).
- Emma Robarts (c1818–1877) was a committed evangelical who established a prayer union in 1855 with 23 friends. She initially called it the Young Women’s Christian Association (Moor, nd [c1910]; World YWCA: Women Leading Change, nd), and later The United Association for the Christian and Domestic Improvement of Young Women which developed to incorporate the work of Jane Kinnaird and became the Y.W.C.A in 1877 (Percival, 1951).
- George Williams (1821–1905), established the YMCA which held its first meeting on the 6<sup>th</sup> June 1884 (Springhall, 2004b). In 1836 Williams underwent a religious conversion which ‘filled him with a desire to win others for Jesus Christ’ (Doggett, 1922:32).
- John Brown Paton (1830–1911) started the Boy’s Life Brigade in 1899, in opposition to the militarism of the Boys’ Brigade (Springhall, 1977).
- Maude Stanley (1833–1915) established her first club for working girls in 1880 (Bonham, 2004). On her work in the area of Seven Dials in London she wrote of visiting houses, inviting those she visited to services at mission weeks, of which she said: ‘The object of these Missions is, to leave none in ignorance of Christian teaching, to give to all the opportunity of hearing the Word preached’ (1878:161).
- Arthur Sweatman (1834-1909), in his inaugural address on becoming Bishop of Toronto in 1879, Sweatman proclaimed his theological position as being ‘the Protestant Evangelical views of our Reformed Church’ (Hayes, 2003).
- Mary Elizabeth Townsend (1841–1918) was the founder of The Village Girls’ Club which became The Girls’ Friendly Society in 1875. While it was non-sectarian, it was structured and derived from within Anglicanism (Harris, 2004).

It had the stated purpose of uniting girls “in a fellowship of prayer service and purity” (Percival 1951:84) with the aim of upholding “the Christian standard of Purity” (Percival 1951:89).

- Samuel Barnett (1844–1913) was the warden of the Toynbee Hall Settlement from 1884-1906. Prior to that, in the early 1870s he established clubs and classes in the parish of St Jude’s (Koven, 2008).
- Walter Mallock Gee (1845?–1916) established the Church Lad’s Brigade in 1891 as a response to the refusal of William Smith to allow a separate Anglican Boys’ Brigade (Morris, 2015; Phillips, 2015; Springhall, 1977).
- John Barnardo (1845–1905) started teaching in an Ernest Street Ragged School in 1886 and opened his first home in 1870 (Wagner, 2004). ‘Dr. Barnardo and his workers openly avow that the aim which underlies all their religious work is that “each and every child shall be taught in faith and hope to know and love the Saviour Christ Himself”’ (Batt, 1904:72).
- Quintin Hogg (1845–1903) (Woods and Stearn, 2010) was described as ‘evangelical but not parochial’ (Eagar, 1953:248). His grandson wrote of him ‘Hogg was ‘inspired and driven on from first to last by his Christian faith’ ( Hogg in Wood, 1932:15) and, while the expression of his faith might be said to be eclectic rather than orthodox, in a letter to ‘His boys’ he wrote ‘Your supreme need to-day is a personal Christ, a personal revelation of God’ (Hogg quoted in Hogg, 1906:302).
- Albert Edward Goldsmid (1846–1904), a Zionist and Anglophile, was the founder of the Jewish Lads’ Brigade (Springhall, 1977).
- Arthur Kinnaird (1847–1923), along with Hogg, established Homes for Working Boys. He was a founder of the Boys’ Brigade and was on the Council of the YMCA. His commitment to these youth organisations was to ‘evangelise boys’ (Fishwick, 2004).
- Thomas Pelham (1847-1916) wrote the first handbook for Boys’ Clubs; *The Handbook to Youths’ Institutes and Working Boys’ Clubs* (1889). For Pelham, the purpose of the club Bible class was to ‘bring home to boys, however rough, the vital truth that Christ Died for their redemption’ (Eagar, 1953:242).
- Henrietta Barnett (1851–1936) was the co-founder of the Toynbee Hall Settlement. Prior to this she worked with Octavia Hill and alongside her husband Samuel in the parish of St Jude’s (Koven, 2004).
- William Smith (1854–1914) established the Boy’s Brigade in 4 October 1883 (Springhall, 2004a). In 1874 Smith underwent a deepening of his religious Christian faith when he went to hear the American evangelist D. L. Moody. Conversely he also had significant doubts about ethics of exposing young people



to such emotionally intense environments (Gibbon, 1953; Springhall *et al.*, 1983).

- Ernest Westlake (1856–1922) was the founder of the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry in 1916, which was modelled on Ernest Thompson Seton’s Woodcraft Indians of America (Springhall, 1977).
- Robert Baden-Powell (1857–1941) established the Boy Scouts in 1907 (Warren, 2004).
- Ernest M. S. Pilkington (1858–1925) published *An Eton Playing Field* in 1896 (Booton, 1985b). His narration of the Selwyn Club reflects an emphasis on activities rather than education (Eagar, 1953). A model of practice Booton (1985a) is critical of as it lacked the educational ideals of youth work.
- William Hartley Carnegie (1860–1936) (Westminster Abby, nd) established The Street Boys’ Union in Birmingham which in 1907 was to become the Street Children’s Union.
- Jane Addams (1860–1935) was a questioner of formal Christianity. For a number of years she travelled in Europe and spent time at Toynbee Hall Settlement (Brown, 2000).
- Charles E. B. Russell (1866-1917) ‘wrote what was the standard text on ‘lads work’ (Smith, 2001a), *Working Lads’ Clubs* (Russell and Rigby, 1908). Kuenstler said of Russell that his work was an exhibit of his ‘deeply religious humanity’ (Kuenstler, 1960:2).
- Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence (1867–1954), who wrote *The Working Girls’ Club* (1898), whose evangelicalism of early years faded and her beliefs moved through Christian socialism (Harrison, 2004) which, in turn was replaced by a form of Deism (Inkpin, 1996), she began to follow Theosophy (Pollen, 2015).
- Alexander Devine (1869–1930), laid claim to founding the first boys’ club in the country and was characterised by Eagar as a flamboyant, ill-informed, a liability who ‘was conscious and too proud of his power over boys, reckless of its dangers and careless of the obligations it carried (Eagar, 1953:273).
- Lily Montagu (1873–1963) established the West Central Jewish Girls’ Club in 1893 (Alderman, 2004).
- Norman Chamberlin (1884–1917) had lived for a time at Toynbee Hall before moving to Birmingham where he organised and ran clubs for boys who were deemed too rough for Carnegie’s Street Boys’ Union in the early years of twentieth century (Eagar, 1953).
- Basil Henriques (1890–1961) opened his first club, the Oxford and St George’s in the East Jewish Boys Club, in March 1914. Prior to this he, inspired by Alexander Paterson, went to stay at the Oxford and Bermondsey Mission (McCabe, 2004).

- John Hargrave (1894—1982) (Oxbury, 2004) was the founder of the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift, which Eagar described as having a form of mysticism that went with ‘jerkins long-haired politics—Jibbahs and gibberish would be the rude way of putting it (1953:331).

To these we might add other significant voices, who maintained and developed youth work and were born in the twentieth century.

- Josephine McAllister Brew (1904-1957). Smith argues that her work *In the Service of Youth* (Brew, 1943) was the first ‘statement of “modern” youth work’ (2001b:208).
- Leslie Paul (1905–1985) (Smith, 2004), who split from the Kibbo Kift to form Woodcraft Folk in 1925 which might be considered the first socialist youth organisation in the UK (Springhall, 1977), and one of the committee who wrote the Albemarle Report.