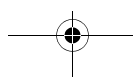
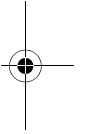
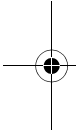
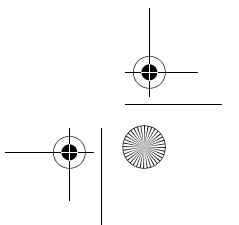
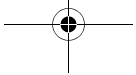
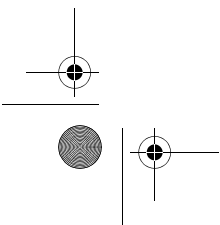
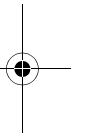
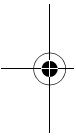
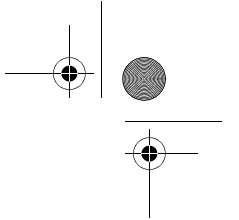
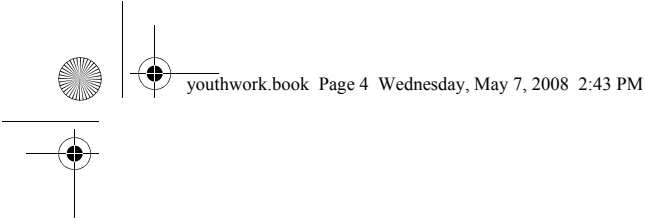
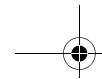


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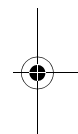
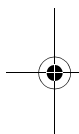






A century of youth work policy

Filip COUSSÉE



ACADEMIA PRESS



© Academia Press
Eekhout 2
9000 Gent
Tel. 09/233 80 88
info@academiapress.be

Fax 09/233 14 09
www.academiapress.be

J. Story-Scientia bvba Wetenschappelijke Boekhandel
Sint-Kwintensberg 87
B-9000 Gent
Tel. 09/225 57 57
info@story.be

Fax 09/233 14 09
www.story.be

Filip Coussée
A century of youth work policy

Gent, Academia Press, 2008, ### pp.

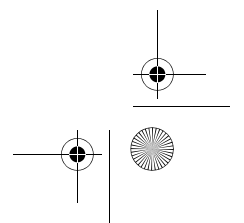
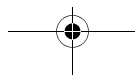
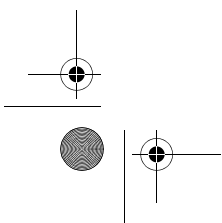
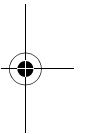
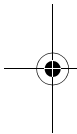
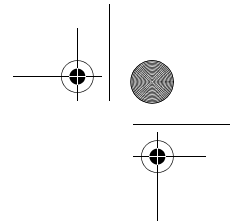
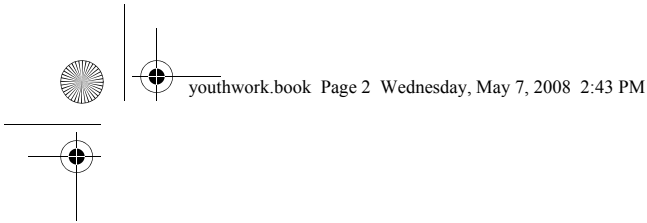
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Chapter 1. The youth work paradox

1.1. *The identity crisis of youth work*

Things are going well for Flemish youth work, as is underscored by the figures: Flanders can boast a high number of youth work initiatives and a large number of adolescents are actually involved in youth work. Flanders has 1 youth work initiative per 250 inhabitants (Vannieuwenhove 2005). Youth work is reported to appeal to a great many young people: from one-third to a half depending on the age and region. When sports clubs and cultural associations are factored in, we see that only 6% of Flemish people in the 14-25 age category have never participated (Vanhoutte 2007: 176). Youth work receives glowing reports from both academia and the press. Youth work is universally beneficial: it enables children and young people to learn the social skills they need to act as active and autonomous citizens in what is becoming an increasingly intricate society. Researchers agree that youth work members are more likely to have democratic citizenship attitudes than none-youth work members (Smits 2004). The same applies to academic achievements, self-esteem, social skills, conflicts with parents, ...

Youth work: between efficiency and identity

The key theme of the Flemish youth work policy is therefore 'accessibility'. All children and young people are entitled to take part in youth work, which seems beneficial to both individuals and society, hence the so-called non-organised youth becomes the focus of youth work policy. All young people should participate in youth work. Therefore youth workers have to operate more effectively and reach out to more young people. There is less focus on what youth work entails exactly, which is quite curious. In the light of youth work's positive results, it would seem only natural to investigate the processes applied towards this end. There is a suggestion however that what is primarily involved here is a selection-effect: it is not youth work that produces active, healthy, well achieving citizens, but active citizens that create youth work (Pelleriaux 2005, Fredricks & Eccles 2006, Quane & Rankin 2006). This avenue of enquiry inevitably raises the uncomfortable question of whether youth work has anything at all to contribute. What might be the 'raison d'être' of youth work? Indeed, what is youth work?

So youth work seems doomed to drift between a crisis of effectiveness and a

crisis of identity. These two different perspectives are alternately highlighted in the context of the youth work debate in Flanders. The fact that youth work is not accessible for all young people raises the question of whether this is a problem. Young people do indeed become adults without the influence of youth work, but this gives rise to another, more intimidating question: 'Why do we still need youth work?' Then the issue of youth work's identity is easily circumvented by referring to the anticipated outcome: youth work makes a positive contribution to the socialisation of young people. In the light of this reassuring answer the focus is once more on enhancing the accessibility of youth work, because it is precisely those young people who benefit the most from the opportunities who are not participating (Smits 2004). The effectiveness issue is less daunting than the identity question and more manageable. A methodical differentiation takes place which enables us to boost the scope of youth work. We develop projects and experiments and establish readily accessible open working methods so managing to reach out to more young people.

The interaction between both perspectives is the driving force behind the huge differentiation in youth work, but the central questions remain unresolved. As well as being faced with groups that are not reached (and become increasingly difficult to reach), we also see dividing lines being created between the various working methods.

Voluntary youth work and professional youth social work

The youth work debate is framed in fairly general terms even though youth work is not in the least a uniform activity. In the Flemish Region there are more than seven thousand youth work initiatives, with the best known ones being the uniformed youth organisations. In Flanders they are still referred to as 'youth movements'. They are regarded as traditional types of youth work, in fact they are the standard for what genuine youth work should be. Apart from scouts and guides there are Chiro, Catholic Student Action (KSA – Katholieke Studentenactie), the Young Christian Workers (KAJ – Katholieke Arbeidersjeugd), the Catholic Rural Youth (KLJ – Katholieke Landelijke Jeugd) and the Red Falcons (Rode Valken), to cite only a sample. Most of them are of Catholic origin, while a minority operate on the basis of Socialist, Flemish nationalist or neutral principles. Many of these organisations have relinquished their political or religious allegiances and dispensed with their uniforms, but they continue to be recognisable groups in the street setting and the youth work sector. All together there are 2,665 Flemish youth movement groups, but these do not account for all the youth work initiatives in Flanders.

The responsibility for defining youth work has been a local one since 1993, while the previous nation-wide definitions continue to serve as a frame of ref-

erence. In addition to the youth movement, we can list the following types of youth work:

- Playground associations
- Political youth associations
- Youth centres or clubs
- Youth amateur art associations
- Youth workshops
- Youth music workshops
- Children's farms
- Youth cinemas
- Student associations
- Youth work for disabled children and young people
- Initiatives for vulnerable/disadvantaged young people
- Initiatives for working youth
- Self-organising groups for young people from ethnic minorities

This subdivision is not so cut-and-dried because solely in terms of names, they refer not only to various methods or themes, but also to different target groups. In the case of youth movements, there are, on the face of it, few problems about defining the target group. They are 'broadly targeted': they are focused on all young people. This generally applies to all the other types of work apart from the last five in the list. Consequently, they are often listed together under the title of '**general youth work**'. The methods used are not the same, while some working methods may have a specific programme, but they are focused on a general target group: youth. They also claim to be focused on the general personality development of young people. Another common feature in this type of youth work is that they primarily rest on the responsibility of youth volunteers.

The last five in the list are focused on a specific target group. The student movement is often regarded as the first true example of a youth movement, but student associations are not often associated with youth work nowadays. The activities acknowledged as Initiatives for Working Youth are regarded as youth work, but the bulk of their activities covers development in (part-time) education and vocational training. The remaining three groups are disabled people, ethnic minorities and socially vulnerable young people. Youth work focused on these specific target groups is often designated '**specific youth work**'. A number of these initiatives chiefly develop their activities through self-organisation and the commitment of volunteers. Most activities enlist the aid of professional youth workers on the basis of an open, less structured methodology. They are also defined as **youth social work**. This title refers to the assumption that the social needs of this target group are greater than those of users of mainstream youth work services. The fact that youth social work is

primarily the responsibility of professionals is legitimised in the light of the huge gap between the social world of mainstream young people and policy-makers, on the one hand, and this group of young people, on the other. In Flanders voluntary (mainstream) youth work and professional youth (social) work are integrated in one policy on local level.

A happy family?

'Youth work praxis has many forms worldwide and it is necessary to accept this and not urge a single model. A definition of youth work as a family of practices gives legitimacy to this variety', so is argued by the American Michael Baizerman (1996). Youth work in Flanders is also a differentiated whole but we are struggling with a distorted relationship between voluntary mainstream youth work and professional youth social work. The commitment of the target groups within youth work is seconded with a certain type of hierarchy. The referral to mainstream youth work is often seen as a key concern for professional youth social work. In fact the inaccessibility of mainstream youth work is the justification for youth social work. This has serious implications for the identity and the effectiveness issues related to professionalized youth social workers. They have no youth work identity in their own right but enjoy the status of a 'temporary option' until the 'genuine work' is universally accessible. Their effectiveness is therefore often measured in the light of the extent to which they allow young people to move on to the mainstream provision or at the very least prevent young people drifting further away from the mainstream. In contrast to mainstream youth work, youth social work is saddled with paradoxical problems, common to organisations doomed to define their identity by making themselves redundant.

The youth work paradox

In their complexity, the quandary of accessibility, differentiation and professionalization lead to a peculiar youth work paradox. Mainstream youth work helps to facilitate the acquisition of various skills but is accessible only to those who already have these skills to some degree. The professional working methods for transcending this 'Matthew effect'¹ appear to fail to do so.

¹ The term Matthew effect was first coined by Merton describing how rewards and appreciation in the world of science disproportionately go to researchers who are already famous, even if their work is not any better than that of their less known colleagues (Merton 1965). The name refers to a passage in the Christian Bible's book of Matthew (25: 29): *For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.* This effect was applied to social policy by the Flemish researcher Herman Deleeck indicating that most advantages of social policy measures go to middle and higher classes even if they are targeted at the more disadvantaged people (Deleeck 1975).

International youth work research does not hold out a lot of hope. Halpern (1992) states that open, professional youth work does not progress any further than a 'struggle to survive'. The prevention of boredom (Furlong et. al. 1997) is hardly a high ambition. Other researchers even point to the counter-productive effects: open youth centres lead to drugs and acts of aggression and all this leads to nuisance for the neighbourhood (Dishion, McCord and Poulin 1999, Mahoney & Stattin 2000). An evaluation study in the UK (Feinstein et. al. 2006) prompted the British Children's Minister Margaret Hodge to say: *'it is better to stay at home and watch TV than to attend a youth club'*. Williamson (2006) and Driver (2007) refer to another evaluation survey (Merton et al. 2004), emphasizing that such statements are taken out of context and fail to reflect genuine research. In any event, they do not improve the position professional youth work finds itself in. The concerns about open, professional youth work contrast all the more sharply with the acclaim given to mainstream, voluntary youth work (Mc Donald 2000, Feinstein et al 2006). Professional youth workers are strongly urged to encourage young people to take up voluntary (youth) work. It has become something of a mantra in the European forum: *'Educators and youth workers are the key persons in generating interest and motivation among young people to do voluntary work'* (European Commission 2006: 6). The voluntary commitment of young people is also high on the agenda in the UK. The Russell Commission was tasked with developing a plan to recruit one million new volunteers, with the focus on *'young people who are historically less likely to volunteer'*. In the meantime the 'V' foundation has been launched (Brooks 2007).

Divisions in youth work accentuate dividing lines between young people

The UK debate differs in significant ways from the one underway in Flanders, where the Youth Minister spoke in 2000 about the 'definitive recognition of Flemish youth work'. However, in Flanders, too, this definitive recognition is mainly based on so-called 'traditional', mainstream youth work. Looking beyond our borders we see that the division between voluntary and professional youth work is fairly widespread: 'the cub-mistress versus the professional female youth worker', according to Van Ewijk (1991). The same division is seen in the United Kingdom and Germany. The method-based differentiation creates problems for developing the identity of youth work. The rich variety of working methods is leading to *'product imprecision'* in the Netherlands (Van Ewijk 1991). Thole (2000:285) from Germany describes youth work as being *'strukturell diffus'* and *'konzeptionell undurchsichtig'*, while Williamson (1995) of the United Kingdom stresses that the methodical versatility of youth work is also a weakness: *'If anything goes it is hard to identify the defining features of youth work.'* However, he states that the needs of children and young people

are expressed in a variety of ways, depending on their gender, ethnicity, class, region, ...

So methodical differentiation is in the interests of all these different young people in all these different situations, but at the same time, we nonetheless need to acknowledge that we apparently reinforce dividing lines. For youth work seems to extend the dividing lines, already apparent in neighbourhoods and school, to leisure time. The fact that young people therefore also remain in socially and culturally uniform environments when it comes to youth work puts a big question mark over the assertion that youth work makes a contribution to democratic citizenship. How difficult is it to be democratic among like-minded people?

1.2. *An international perspective*

In the light of the differences between young people we organise various types of youth work, thus running the risk of accentuating the differences between young people, so that young people become even more alienated from each other. Moreover, professional youth work does manage to get in touch with young people who are difficult to reach, but does not have a lot to show for all the effort. The youth work that works is not accessible, the accessible youth work does not work.

The need for a broader perspective

There are no ready-made solutions to this kind of paradoxical questions. We have to transcend the framework in which the paradox appears, so as to create new perspectives for ensuring the usefulness of youth work for young people. There are different methods to do that. A first method is to take a look at the neighbouring countries. For Flanders, the developments in the Netherlands, Germany and UK primarily serve as a frame of reference. We can pinpoint various strategies in these countries for addressing the youth work paradox. Some countries focus on 'catching' vulnerable young people with the purpose to move them on to a 'higher level' of youth work, which means: from professional youth work to voluntary youth work. Other countries home in on the improvement of the professional youth work on offer itself.

In any event, an exploration of the youth work paradox re-emphasises the youth work identity issue. 'What is good youth work?' A clear youth work identity has to offer a reference point so as to go beyond the scope of the 'universal-targeted' dilemma. Paradoxically enough, the aim of boosting the quality of youth work apparently affects youth work's peculiar strength: the focus

on informal learning (Macalister Brew 1946, Jeffs and Smith 2005). This happens in both strategies.

The strategy of moving on: from youth social work to youth movement

There are not many regions where youth work is exclusively a matter for young people themselves and this definitely applies to the Flemish youth movements. The image of the 'traditional' youth movement is a decisive factor in Flanders in shaping a youth work identity. Good youth work takes the form – at least implicitly – of groups of young people being supervised during their leisure time by other young people. Youth work is group work organised on a voluntary basis. This has been established in a decree as follows²: 'Youth work policy is understood as group-based social and cultural work with non-commercial aims for or by young people participating on a voluntary basis, in the context of their leisure time, under educational supervision and organised by municipal or provincial public administrations.' The Flemish youth work debate is coloured by the strategy of 'moving on': professional youth work is a halfway house and voluntary, mainstream provision (in this case the youth movement) is the final destination. This debate is also underway in other countries, albeit in a less cut-and-dried way. For example, youth work is seen in the UK as a springboard to the 'mainstream provision' (Young 2006) or a 'platform for moving into more structured volunteering and community service' (Williamson 2007). Consequently, professionalized youth work is assigned a derivative, provisional identity. It is easily accessible, less demanding youth work as a preparation for 'the real work'. However, few young people actually transfer to the real work.

The strategy of grading up: from youth social work to positive youth development

Unlike in Flanders, the UK debate is focused on the professionalized 'youth service'. The almost statutory status of the youth service gives rise to high expectations. A youth service is expected to provide compelling results. Since the 1990s, and especially since the former British Premier Tony Blair made 'education' a central plank of his social policy, the youth service's activities are expected to fit into the framework of the fight against early school leaving, truancy, crime, ... We see an increasing emphasis on short-term, target-based programmes organised by managers, carried out by professional (part-time) youth workers (Smith 2003). The informal is increasingly being formalised. Nevertheless, there is a strong oppositional movement and the tide seems to turn. The technical, methodical, outcome focused and over-individualized

² The Decree of 14 February 2003 establishing support and incentives for the municipal, inter-municipal and provincial youth and youth work policy.

approach is now gradually re-transformed in a more pedagogical approach. Whereas in British youth care academics, policymakers and practitioners explore the potential of the continental social pedagogical paradigm (Petrie et al. 2006), youth work does not reach out to the social pedagogical paradigm (or to a refreshment of its own social educational frame of reference), but seems willing to adopt now the North American Positive Youth Development approach, even if they do not refer explicit to that developmental paradigm. Propelled by the positive youth development paradigm (Silbereisen & Lerner 2007), a call is being made for a more positive and process-oriented approach along the lines of the 'free youth movement' (and the related third milieu approach). After all this kind of youth work has proven to work. For the sake of convenience we ignore that it has also proven to be inaccessible for the ones who are assumed to be in greatest need. Anyway, the obsession with measurable outcomes gives way now for a woolly language (boosting their development, improving their achievement, move forward in their lives, ...), which may seem positive, focusing on potential rather than on problems, but in the end this is not an approach that takes youth work or young people very serious. This paradigm, too, fails to enable youth work to get beyond its own paradox.

Implying solutions, reinforcing the paradox

Neither strategy contributes very much to the professional youth work's struggle to find its own identity. The strategy of 'moving young people on' makes professional youth work just as vulnerable as the young people for whom it operates. Moreover, professional youth workers are faced with an impossible task. The idea is to build relationships with young people where confidence and dialogue are of central importance. Once the young person feels at ease he or she's expected to be allowed to 'move on'. Consequently, the youth worker often loses those subjects that play a key supportive role in the group in which he or she works. Moreover, research has shown that if a youth worker succeeds in allowing people to move on, these young people who have been 'promoted' are the first ones to drop out again of the mainstream provision (Coussée 2006).

The strategy of 'grading up youth work' doesn't carry much weight either. It has led to the appearance of Best Value Performance Indicators (BVPIs) in the UK: skills and attitudes young people may acquire through their involvement in youth work (Flint 2005). The focus on these results leads to highly targeted and time-limited programmes. This type of youth work has proved useful to some extent but the problems are of the same type as those experienced with the first strategy: 'cherry-picking' and 'drop-out' (see Williamson 2006). Mainstream youth work does not become more accessible, which brings us de facto

to the situation that broad-based, chill-out youth work is a privilege for well-achieving, well-behaving, middle-class young people. This trend reflects what is happening in formal education. The 'No Child Left Behind Act' in the United States is a striking example of this (Giroux & Schmidt 2004). Furthermore, professional youth work, too, becomes less easily accessible. Some young people are not very attracted to these target-based programmes or they see through the aims of youth workers and do not regard them as catering for their needs. They feel they are being addressed as '*consumers, not creators*' (Smith 1982) and as a consequence often react as consumers (Davies 1999). Many youth workers apply a 'quota system' to safeguard the 'quality' of their activities, for accredited outcomes are easier to reach with individuals or small groups than with large ones. In the final analysis, it seems to be quite difficult for young people, youth workers and youth policymakers to recognise these types of youth work as youth work: they go beyond leisure time – which does not mean that it cannot be youth work anymore – but they are deployed in an awfully instrumental way for formal education and labour market purposes.

The ultimate outcome of both strategies is the same: a number of individual young people are trained to fit into the mainstream. They are promoted to 'positive developing', 'well-achieving' young people, but the gulf between the mainstream and those lagging behind only becomes greater. Hard to reach young people become increasingly difficult to reach. Moreover, the risk of individual self-blame increases proportionally. In the end both strategies reduce the opportunities of youth work by falling into the trap of formalizing the informal. In the context of the moving on strategy, quality youth work is equated with a specific methodical format: the mainstream provision, i.e. the youth movement. With the improvement strategy, effective youth work is determined in the light of the formal outcomes being sought.

No theoretical foundations?

As youth work does not have the necessary theoretical basis for dealing constructively with the youth work paradox, it is constantly faced with crisis situations, although the crisis does not admittedly take the same form everywhere. The Anglo-American literature focuses on the efficiency question of how the scope of youth work may be extended (Williamson 1997). Accessibility is also a top priority in the European policy arena: '*Tackling the problem of becoming accessible to non-organised or marginalised young people is now felt by all key players to be essential to increasing participation by young people* (European Commission 2006: 9). It should be stressed here how unorganised and marginalised are placed with a fairly obvious connection, in a similar way to the Anglo-American debate, which is characterised by a constant repetition of the same question: '*Assuming that there are undeniable benefits for youth to be derived*

from membership in voluntary associations for worthy purposes, the absence of such opportunities for many youths may constitute a serious social deprivation. The subject is intriguing not only from the viewpoint of the well-rounded development of young persons individually, but also from the angle of education for cooperative citizenship.' (Chambers 1938).

In the German literature we hear a different story (Giesecke 1984: 448): *'Immer schon war die grosse Mehrheit der Jugendlichen nicht an Angeboten der Jugendarbeit beteiligt bzw. daran interessiert, und ich sehe keinen Grund, dass sich daran etwas ändern sollte.'* The selective 'audience' of youth work appears to be much less of a problem. The attention shifts to the question of what is the point of youth work? In contrast to the efficiency crisis affecting Anglo-American youth work, the youth work crisis in Germany takes the form of an identity crisis. The Germans focus on the identity and meaning of youth work: *'Was ist Jugendarbeit?'* (Müller et. al. 1964, Lindner 2006), *'Wozu Jugendarbeit?'* (Böhnisch & Münchmeier 1987), *'Die Pädagogik der Kinder-und Jugendarbeit'* (Cloos et. al. 2007), ... The Anglo-American literature takes the assumed educational power of youth work as a frame of reference, focusing on the problem of the non-organised young people: *'Organized Youth in America'* (Chambers 1938), *'Some Young People'* (Jephcott 1954), *'Adolescence and Community'* (Eggleston 1976), *'Citizenship socialization in national voluntary youth organisations'* (Yogev & Shapira 1990), ...

Social policy versus social pedagogy?

The various forms the youth work crisis takes reflect the various youth work approaches. In the Anglo-American approach, youth work is primarily regarded as a contribution to the individual socialisation of young people. Socio-psychological and sociological perspectives dominate the youth work debate which is largely conducted against a policy-making background. Youth work is assigned the key task of additional socialisation of young people. Individual development plays a key role, with the assumption being that the outcome will be a welcome development for society as a whole. In the German literature youth work is regarded as a social pedagogical activity. Pursuant to this approach, youth work makes a contribution to the formation of society. Rather than remaining aloof from society, youth work policy acknowledges that youth work as an educational opportunity helps shape society and the status of young people in this context. The debate on the definition of the problems to which youth work is assigned – how does youth work help transform social problems into educational issues? – is therefore an intrinsic challenge.

The youth work debate in Flanders used to be inspired by the German social pedagogical paradigm, but with its current focus on the accessibility of (voluntary) youth work the attention seems to shift to the Anglo-American perspective. Voluntary youth work is the core provision for enabling young people to become active citizens taking responsibility for their own lives and gradually accepting their social responsibility. This approach tends to neglect the fact that vulnerable young people do not have significant opportunities to be active members of society. Ensuring group unity and order may better serve the interests of their communities than individualized output-oriented or short-term productivity (Guest 2008). On the contrary, a youth work policy that reduces the social pedagogical essence of youth work to its social policy functions, may well have disempowering effects.

At the same time this debate draws our attention to another outlook that can help us to stand back from the current debate and consider the youth work paradox from a broader perspective. Williamson (2006) points out that youth work has always been assigned a task in the light of the effective social integration of young people. Consequently, youth work has long been featured in policy imperatives concerning active citizenship, crime prevention and health promotion. Bernard Davies (1999) claims this role was never clear-cut. Often youth work even seemed to be 'dissolved' into a so-called integrated approach. This is what happens as youth work does not have a proper identity to fall back on. Therefore it is important to include our history in the debate about the identity of youth work. *'This is a service, I am tempted to conclude, without a history and therefore, if it is not very careful, without an identity.'* (Davies 1999: ix).

1.3. A historical perspective

There is not much of historical consciousness in youth work (Taylor 1987, Davies 1999), but people from various disciplines often come out with the 'history of youth work' to legitimise current policymaking. Depaepe (2004) speaks of 'presentism': history is built up starting from the present situation. As if the shape contemporary youth work has taken, were inescapable, following an internal logic. It is important to identify the underlying concepts of our debate, as these concepts structure the youth work debate. Even though they are often invisible and no longer open for discussion, they define what's possible and what seems impossible (Lorenz 2007).

Youth work, a modern project

Youth work was and is willingly or unwillingly helpful in the realisation of a specific social project. Youth work's roots lie in the bourgeois civilising process

flourishing in the transition from an agricultural society to an industrial one and the accompanying transformation from traditional systems of socialisation and integration to organized and institutionalised pedagogical systems. Education was a key instrument for both emancipation and for steering society in the right direction. During this transition from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft (Tönnies 1887) the separate status of the youth stage was reinforced and distinguished more clearly from adulthood. This process evoked the need for an additional socialisation milieu, apart from family and school. However these social transformations did not simultaneously affect all social strata. Young people from higher social classes experienced this separate youth period earlier than those from the lower social strata who did not engage in studies. Both students and working youth struggled for emancipation. Students wanted the youth period to enjoy a valid status, on an equal footing with adulthood rather than on the basis of the latter. The struggle for emancipation experienced by working young people was focused less on a youth period in its own right and more on needs specific to their social status: right to vote, conscription, the right to strike, ... This raises the question of how far youth work, as an emancipatory project of modernity, took account of these variations in the meaning of 'emancipation'.

Distinguished socialisation processes, different youth work models?

A consideration of the basic socio-pedagogical concepts of youth work involves the examination of the distinguished socialisation processes experienced by various categories of young people and the way youth workers respond to this. An approach to the history of youth work that presents the youth movement – a movement of young people engaged in studies – as 'traditional' youth work or as an 'archetype' fails to do justice to the diversity of young people. Historical research might help to throw some more light on the roots of the actual moving on and grading up strategies in youth work policy, as it is this a-historical approach of youth work that seems to inspire these strategies.

The history of youth work has to be seen against the background of ideas about the way society should develop and the status of education in this context. An international comparative perspective is also relevant in this case. The situation in Germany in the early years of the 20th century was completely different to the situation in the UK during the same period. Gillis (1973) points out that two outwardly very different youth organisations, such as German Wandervögel and the British scout movement, were both expressions of middle class aspirations in a society undergoing a transformation. The relationship between the emerging middle class and the bourgeoisie in both countries and the varying perceptions of adolescence was totally different. As British

middle class wanted to imitate the elite, scouting was a method that fitted in perfectly with the educational establishments available to the elite. In Germany the Wandervögel turned away from them. In so doing they were able to count on some support from middle class adults who thought the education establishments in Germany controlled by the elite were unable to cater for the needs of young people.

1.4. *An empirical perspective*

A third perspective that tends to get ignored in the youth work debate is the perspective of young people and youth workers themselves. The youth work debate is largely conducted without consulting the stakeholders. This explains why neither the Anglo-American approach nor the German one has developed a convincing theory with broad support (Giesecke 1984), at least no basic theory founded in practice (Jefferies & Smith 1987).

Youth workers do youth work

Youth workers apparently have difficulties with putting into words what their activities involve exactly (Ingram & Harris 2005). France and Wiles (1997) illustrate this in the light of the 'social education' concept. Youth workers undertake 'social education', but asking them what that may mean the answer is: '*social education is what youth workers do.*' Nor does Baizerman (1996) has any concrete clue of what youth workers do: '*Youth workers do youth work they say, and often this is a vague category because they tend to claim that their practice is ineffable, or artistic, a craft which can be seen but not described or analysed.*' Williamson (2002) therefore looks at youth work as '*an act of faith, not an act of science*', and Young (2006) talks about '*the art of youth work*'. These protective statements underscore the extent to which youth work is a fragile, vulnerable activity, but they do not provide the debate with any tangible food for thought. The lack of an empirical perspective prevents us from addressing the youth work paradox in any other way apart from an abstract or outcome-driven one. And this is precisely why youth work continues to be deployed as an '*Allzweckwaffe*' (an all-purpose weapon), as referred to by Nörber (2005): '*Wer für alles offen ist, ist nicht ganz dicht*'.

No youth work without young people

Protective attitudes can curtail opportunities for growth. Any theorising about youth work has to be consistent with the actual situation of children and young people. A method-driven approach which discounts the variety of educational contexts experienced by young people does not reflect the true situation. The few exceptions (see, for example, Reichwein & Freund 1991, Fauser

et al 2006, Spence et al 2006) confirm an alarming shortage of youth work research conducted from the perspective of young people and youth workers themselves. What is the meaning of youth work? How does youth work impinge upon the lives of young people? The perspective of young people and youth workers is to be given a more prominent place in the youth work debate, but it is important to reflect on the questions we ask. The call for an 'evidence-based policy' refers more to measurable outcomes than to the perspective of the stakeholders. Research should be focused not only on doing things more effectively, but also on making things possible by leaving the beaten paths.

In the next section we will consider a history of the Flemish youth work debate and try to deconstruct actual certainties in youth work policy. We discuss some important periods in youth work history. As contextual elements are extremely important, each period is preceded by an introduction briefly discussing political, social, cultural and pedagogical evolutions. We will include the international dimension, certainly in the case of developments in Western European youth work. It is hoped that this will create an effective starting point for comparing developments in other parts of Europe or the world.

Chapter 2. That is youth work!

2.1. *New paths to social integration*

Socio-pedagogical activities such as youth work and social work assume a specific identity in the transition from an agricultural, traditional “estate” society to an industrial class society. Differing from region to region the birth of this new kind of mediating initiatives between individual and society may be traced back to the early years of the 18th century, but social pedagogy was definitively given a boost during the industrial revolution, when the traditional authorities (nobility and the clergy) were losing their influence. The enlightened attitude according to which society was no longer regarded as a natural situation but as an engineerable project permeated larger sections of the population. The bourgeoisie consolidated its social standing and prestige. The industrial revolution also raised a ‘social issue’. The problems of poverty, unemployment, health, crime, ... clearly called for attention. Given the weakened integrating force of traditional relationships and meaningful bonds (village, labour, church, family, school) the feeling grew that the socialisation task had to be amplified with new working methods operating in the area between individual and society (Mennicke 1937, Mollenhauer 1956, Gedrath 2003). As all pedagogical initiatives they were characterised by a tension between discipline and emancipation. The given support was not unconditional, but was concomitant with the dissemination of bourgeois culture and values. Lash (1977) speaks about ‘the forces of organized virtue’. De Rooy (1979) en Kruithof (1983) speak about the ‘civilisation strategy’. In the light of work focused on young people the term pedagogization is often used (Hermann 1986, Depaepe 1998). This concept highlights the interaction between the educators and those targeted by the pedagogical initiatives. Growth opportunities are inherent in pedagogization. Pedagogical support is extended but also involves the risk of increasing control and the curtailment of freedom.

The pedagogics of social policy

Benjamin Seeböhm Rowntree, a British sociologist, who investigated the plight of workers in Belgium at the turn of the century, drew the following conclusion about organised charity: *‘that this spirit is praiseworthy, none will deny; but that it may easily give to social effort a sacrificial rather than a reformative character is equally clear. It is the spirit underlying very much of the poor relief in Belgium, and that is why,*

especially in Flanders, relief has broken down the manly independence of the people. Such charity tends to perpetuate, if not eventually aggravate, the poverty which it seeks to remove' (Rowntree 1908 cited. in: Dendooven 1967: 35).

Belgium was already heavily industrialised by the middle of the 19th century. The idea gained strength that charity and repression were not enough to contain the social issue. Families and neighbourhoods were disrupted by the fast-advancing process of proletarianization. In 1846 one in three inhabitants had to rely on public assistance, which was confined to setting up municipal bakeries and soup kitchens. The situation improved during the next period of prosperity but this came to a sudden halt in 1873, when Europe as a whole was caught up in an economic turndown (Witte 1983, Corijn 2000).

As society became more and more intricate and the future less and less predictable, education (also toward adults) gets a prominent position in social policy. This is also a contemporary phenomenon, as youth work and social work are playing an increasingly important role in government policy (Lorenz 2004). Against the background of the questions raised about the social issue, both Catholics and Liberals assigned a key role to education and training. Well into the 19th century the issue of the 'common man' continued to have a moral rather than an economic basis (Kruithof 1990, Depaepe 1998). Problems to do with loitering, petty crime, vandalism, ... were blamed on the working class environment and the education of the working class, not so much on the circumstances surrounding this education. Consequently, social problems were thought to have a moral and cultural grounding and the aim was to erect a dam against the emerging Socialist movement. Prochaska (in Jeffs and Smith 1999a) summed it up concisely: *'Evangelicalism harnessed social conscience to liberal doctrine'*. Both parents and children were the targets of the educational strategies designed to limit the social problems.

Civilizing strategies and Mathew effects

Youth work and adult education are focused on civilizing ordinary people and getting them caught up in the bourgeois principles of civil progress and their heavy streak of individualism. The ruling classes did not straightaway envisage a more equal society, being more concerned with preventing social unrest. Many civilizing initiatives primarily reached only the higher echelons of the industrial working class. However, this is also case of active selection. Most initiatives, including the initial social security laws, were focused on disconnecting the top echelon of better workers from the group of potential paupers (Van Damme 1990, Arnold 1997). The massive wave of labourers³ who

³ However the early establishment of a railway network made that Belgium did not have a very massive migration.

left the countryside to reach the towns divided into an adjusted working class and a group of 'anti-social elements' surviving on marginal employment (tanning, roofing, old-clothes business and the scrap metal trade, ...) (De Regt 1984). The aim was to use social facilities to offer the higher stratum the perspective of a respectable life within middle class society. The Mathew effect was therefore incorporated into the civilizing offensive and as such in the first pedagogical initiatives involving young people during their leisure time.

Diverse associational life between control and emancipation

In the encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum* (1891) Leo XIII (1891) announced that the social issue had to be addressed through cooperation and reconciliation between the workers, middle classes and clergy. Taking its cue from the Socialists, the church created trade unions, mutual funds and co-operatives and existing (Sunday) schools were used as a basis for creating workers' movements and catholic youth groups. The development of associations and social work was regarded as an answer to the loss of the former ties as result of urbanisation and secularisation. The organisational life could help bind people to their own socio-political group and combat socialist and liberal views about society.

As a result of the specific status of organisational life in a society where traditional relationships were threatened, associations had controlling functions and in the same time offered emancipatory opportunities. Flemish nationalism had a stimulating effect, particularly among the lower middle classes who felt inhibited by the French-speaking elite. The organisational life not only facilitated Flemish emancipation, it also set the stage for workers' movements, and with the emergence of student movements, also for the emancipation of young people

Toynbee and Addams: the settlement movement

Inspired by examples from abroad, the Catholic, Liberal and Socialist camps created settlements for the edification and betterment of the working class. A well-known example was Toynbee Hall (1884) in London's East End. Arnold Toynbee was anxious to improve the material and moral well-being of the population. He sought to eradicate the divisions between the different classes so people could learn from each other. He built a centre in Whitechapel where students could organise recreational facilities and training for the local inhabitants (Oudenaarden 1995). The Toynbee initiative was fairly successful in organising the dissemination of culture and adult education. It turned out to be much harder to facilitate contacts between the social classes.

In 1889 the future Nobel Prize winner Jane Addams set up her Hull House in Chicago as a basis for developing her ideas about democracy, social change and education, in close consultation with philosophers such as George Mead and John Dewey. Focusing on children they believed the shortage of play areas in the city had a detrimental effect on youthful spirits (Addams 1909).

'Ons Huis' (Our House) was set up in Amsterdam's Jordaan district in 1892. Activities were also developed for children. On Saturday afternoons, women from the 'higher social classes' would keep disadvantaged children occupied with 'handicrafts, sawing, binding books in cardboard, drawing and generally playing around'. The initial 40 or so children soon increased to 150. The aim was to pass on useful knowledge, provide suitable recreational activities and promote the enjoyment of art (Oudenaarden 1995: 12).

The socialist camp opposed the 'overly intellectual' side of Ons Huis and, taking its cue from the American Playground Movement, focused on creating playgrounds in working class districts. They were run by members of the well-to-do middle classes in the aim of providing working class children with healthy playground facilities and combating rowdiness (Selten 1991). In our country we had the 'Volkskinderenbeweging' (movement for working class children) organising after-school child care for working class children.

To the extent that we can speak about youth work, the existing initiatives were incorporated into adult education. Indeed, the YMCA already made an appearance in Belgium during this period. It was set up in 1853 in Brussels (Cammaer 1982), and also known as the Christelijke Jonge Mannen Vereniging (CJMV). It was imported from England, where it originated with the bible classes organised by George Williams, a London shop assistant, for his colleagues (1844). The different classes were not really brought together in this case either. Together with Henri Dunant, Williams formed a world alliance in 1855. The YMCA took off in a big way in the United States and in the neighbouring countries to the north of us, but to a lesser degree. Jan Gunning, one of the first professors of pedagogy, was head of the Amsterdam division for a while (van der Linde 2003). His son was subsequently inspired by his father's writings (see Gunning 1919) to launch the 'third milieu approach': a separate youth environment during leisure time, under the sympathetic and supervisory eye of adults. In Flanders the YMCA tended to be more limited and charity-based. However, the YWCA (1919) subsequently became actively involved in setting up youth centres.

Sunday school, Don Bosco and the preventive methode

The first 'Sunday schools' and 'ragged schools' were created in England in the late 18th century in the backstreets of Gloucester by the philanthropist Robert

Raikes. The target group comprised children working in factories in the poorer urban areas. Sunday was their only day off work. The teaching instrument was the bible. Hanna More, the British playwright, philanthropist and pioneer of Sunday schools, was called a youth work pioneer owing to her emphasis on *'learning through animated conversation and lively discussion'*, which was a departure from the standard methods used at the time (Jefferies and Banks 1999).

Many Sunday schools and ragged schools in Flanders also organised day care facilities for working class children. These were referred to later on as the first type of youth work: the (mainly catholic) youth groups or 'Patronages'. The Flemish initiatives drew their inspiration not only from France and Germany, but also from Italy. In the rapidly developing city of Turin, in the kingdom of Sardinia, a young priest named Giovanni Bosco took over the Sunday catechisms in 1841. He was convinced that uncared-for boys *'are not bad in themselves'*, but become so from being idle and keeping bad company. The attendance figures rose from two to eighty in the space of three years. Don Bosco turned to the marchioness who was fairly suspicious about this collection of 'good-for-nothings'. Don Bosco was nonetheless convinced: *'With a facility provided by the city, I cherish the legitimate hope that I can reduce the number of good-for-nothings quite significantly, while also cutting down the number of individuals who end up in prison.'* (Don Bosco 1855: 39). Don Bosco described his system of education as *'the preventive method'*, a method that made the 'repressive method' unnecessary. With the preventive method education *'is always on hand to prevent wrongdoing or remedy it immediately'* (De Hovre 1935: 8). Acting on his 'pedagogical intuition', Don Bosco began seeking *'well-trained young people'* to work with him. *'They were a help in organising, making more initiatives possible and set a compelling pedagogical example for boys who were used to a completely different way of life.'* (Malfait 2000: 79). His 'Oratorio di S. Francesco di Sales' was visited by 400 to 600 boys in 1848.

Some of the important principles of contemporary youth work can be traced back to Don Bosco: starting from the social world of young people, supplementary training during leisure hours, creating a climate of relaxation and confidence, the involvement of young 'well-trained' leaders, ... all the 'ingredients' set to be inherently connected to youth work. Equally important is the social legitimatisation of the Oratory: the preventive method. The influential educationalist De Hovre (1935) does not beat about the bush. According to him, Don Bosco is one of *'the educational geniuses'*: *'Don Bosco saw very early on that industrialisation would lead to the collapse of family upbringing and that the social issue was fundamentally a question of education.'* Don Bosco was canonised in 1934.

The Catholic youth group: education, games, reception and religious instruction

The 'Patronages' covered most of the organised care for young people. Conceptually speaking, the activities of the French youth groups were the most influential in Flanders. The first 'Oeuvres de Jeunesse' was set up in the early 18th century. This Patronage was originally based on student circles who, in particular, would pay visits to the homes of poor people. The initiative was partly focused on not alienating these students from the church. The 'individual-focused activities gradually developed into 'association-based' activities. The method took shape with Abbé Allemand in Marseille in 1799 and similar initiatives in Bordeaux, Paris and Lyons. They were focused on the teaching, recreation and moral protection of young people: *'Here we play and pray.'* Allemand started off with four boys. In his work we can also see the basic patterns of what we now call youth work: *'young people have to be saved by young people'*, according to Allemand. The 'good turn' and the 'general education' concept also formed part of the pedagogical project. The boys were encouraged to make 'an act of humility' every day and their education is focused on developing the indivisible triangle: body, soul, spirit (Cholvy 2002). As was the case in our country the first scout troops in France developed from these catholic youth groups. The St. Vincent de Paul Society⁴, the Sisters of Don Bosco and the Salesian Society, specially created for youth welfare⁵, who disseminate the Patronage method throughout Europe. The pharmacist Floriment Dullaert created the St. Jacobs youth group in Ghent in 1850 (Baeten 1993). Games and recreation are the linkage between training and religious education. In exchange for the opportunities for games young people had to 'be open to improvement'.

Vocational training or moral upbringing?

Davies (1999: 9) explains the social purpose of the first youth work initiatives: *'They (the early youth work pioneers) claimed that their facilities were 'open' to all. Yet, as within most such commitments, their motives were at the very least mixed. Deeply interwoven with their compassion, for example, were anxieties about, in their terms, the social and moral unreliability of 'youth': that is, specifically, about young men's law-breaking and the failure of young women to live up to the feminine ideal then current. Unashamedly and unquestioningly, therefore, they targeted their efforts*

⁴ A lay organisation set up in Paris in 1833. The organisation was named after Vincent de Paul, a priest from the 17th century who was heavily involved in looking after the poor and parochial missions.

⁵ The Salesian Society, founded by Don Bosco and named after Franciscus van Sales, a contemporary and acquaintance of Vincent de Paul.

on the working-class boy and factory girl.' The focus was on the protection of working class children, whose moral upbringing could not be guaranteed and whose family upbringing was flawed. Methods that focused more on the education and vocational training of young people gained less acceptance in our country, in contrast to the situation in Germany. Johann Breuer launched the Katholische Gesellenvereine in 1846, which offered overnight accommodation for young travelling 'handwerksgezellen', so they could be kept away from the pub and provided with (religious) education. The chaplain Adolph Kolping, who himself had spent 10 years travelling around as a shoemaker, united the various associations into a federation and set up the so-called Kolping houses. Developed into meeting and training centres for workers, these houses soon proliferated in the various German federated states. The Netherlands had something akin to this in the form of the Sint-Jozefsgezellen (Peet 1987). In Flanders the bourgeoisie were more inclined to stick with the existing forms, as they offered them the opportunity to perpetuate their position. In the wake of Rerum Novarum however an attempt was made to combine the Catholic youth groups and the trade unions. At the Mechelen archbishopric's 'General Meeting of Catholic Activities' in 1891 'old-style Patronages' were met with disapproval. They seek 'to moralize or preserve a status quo'. There was a call for more social training and an operational link with the trade unions: 'Our workers' houses have a gate and this gate has to be the Patronage.' (Dendooven 1967: 32). A further quite significant aim admittedly continued to be to stem the tide of apostasy and socialism.

2.2. *Emancipation of young people*

The school environment increasingly revealed itself as the starting point for the pedagogization of the social world of children and young people. The historiography of youth work pays scant attention to after-school initiatives, maybe owing to the current idea of youth work as limited to leisure time. The Flemish and German student movements are an exception to this. They are quintessentially regarded as one of the roots of youth work. However, there have existed movements where the self-organisation of working youth is a central component. The youth work literature pays scant attention to this issue.

Self-government at school

The school environment offered fertile ground for facilitating the self-organisation of young people. The secondary education system underwent major changes during the 19th century, for the 'grammar' of our modern education was established. The changeover from heterogeneous groups and individual

study to year-long classes is an example of this. Characteristic is that all school education was now focused on pupils as being non-adults. As a moratorium, the secondary school period also had an impact on young people outside the school walls. In public schools, grammar schools and boarding schools students lived in an increasingly closed environment, cut off from adults. Within these extended youth periods a specific youth environment developed, subject to pedagogical responsibility, with a focus on sports, cultural and social contacts. In the British public schools a system developed where the adult 'Masters' delegated responsibility to their pupils for establishing activities. Education and instruction were combined with sports and games, with the final aim being to form the character of the pupils. Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) was the rector of the famous Rugby on Avon 'Latin school', one of the oldest public schools in England. He took the view that the public school's duty was to provide a comprehensive education so as to produce '*Christian gentlemen*'. Arnold achieved this aim through a combination of physical and mental activities. The older boys in the boarding school were assigned the task of supervising the young ones. Based on character building and group loyalty, his educational system became a template for all English public schools. Also the public school Baden-Powell attended (Gillis 1974).

The Wandervögel movement

The school was also the starting point in Germany but in a completely different way. The Wandervögel (which can be translated as 'rolling stone') movement is often seen as the prototype of the youth movement. It emerged around the turn of the century in the gymnasium (senior school) of Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin. It all began with Hermann Hoffmann, a student who went hiking with pupils from the gymnasium to enjoy nature and countryside. First for one day, then for several days or weeks. Karl Fischer, one of the companions, subsequently took over from Hoffmann as leader. There were more regular meetings and common characteristics were developed: hiking clothes, green, red and golden hats, ritual greetings, marching songs, ... The 'Wandervögel – Ausschuß führt Schülerfahrten' association was set up in 1901. Fischer's authoritarian leadership style led to a separation into another movement, with the one with Fischer at the helm being called Alt-Wandervögel. Hans Breuer launched the 'Wandervögel, Deutscher Bund für Jugendwandern' in 1907. The 'Jungwandervögel' split off from this. Not all movements adopted the same style (Laqueur 1962, Giesecke 1981).

The Wandervögel movement had an urban and civil character, with hiking being regarded as a form of protest. Not so much opposition to industrial capitalism, but opposition to the extremely disciplined German education system and the 'Vergesellschaftung' of Bismarck's Germany. Their clothes and songs

and often ascetic lifestyle enabled them to remain aloof from the life pattern marked out for them by their fathers (Giesecke 1970), thereby revealing sides of the movement that were opposed to industrial society: the withdrawal into a specific romantic youth culture, seeking refuge in nature, a preference for traditional things, a love for folklore, ... (Harmsen 1961). Its relevance for the emancipation of 'youth' should not be underestimated but the perception of the Wandervögel as an exponent of a rebellious younger generation needs to be refined. Böhnisch (1998) points out that the Wandervögel movement was just as much a refuge for middle class young people in search of themselves. Young people seeking friendship, a new relationship with the opposite sex, authentic relations with adults, ... Only a small percentage of young people belonged to the Wandervögel but the image of 'the youth' adopting a profile as a well-defined social group in society was firmly established (Hafeneger 1989).

The Wandervögel were not as independent as often thought. The famous Hohen Meissner speech was written by the pedagogue Gustav Wyneken. He also helped to mythologize the Wandervögel with the concept of 'Jugendkultur', thereby failing to take account of the supportive role of adults. Half of the 10 people present when the Wandervögel movement was founded in the Steglitz town hall were 'alte Herren' (already graduated) (Niemeyer 2003: 108). Later on people such as Schirrmann created a network of youth hostels for the Wandervögel. Opinions about the youth movement were divided from the start. Some observers found it worrying for pupils to want to have their own youth culture, while others, including pedagogues such as Wyneken and Bernfeld, thought it was unhealthy to integrate young people automatically into the dominant adult culture. As early as 1914 the Meißner formula was replaced by Natorp's 'Marburger formula'. 'Selbsterziehung' (self-education) was superseded by an approach based on the educational ideas of: '*die Erziehung sei so einzurichten, dass die Jugend tüchtig werde einzutreten in das, was sie vorfinde, aber auch tüchtig, Verbesserungen mit Kraft anzugehen*' (Niemeyer 2003: 114). This illustrates how the 'free' youth movement, too, sought the balance between emancipation and integration.

The Flemish college student movement: the 'first' youth movement?

In the College (Little Seminary) in Roeselare the student poet Albrecht Rodenbach was the driving force in 1875 behind a movement known as the Blauwvoeterie, named after the blue-footed gull whose flight announced a coming storm. Heavily influenced by romantic ideals, Rodenbach fought against the Frenchification and called for a moral and cultural reappraisal in Flanders. Similar movements sprang up in other Flemish seminaries. College associations used the medium of theatre to get their Flemish Catholic message across

to their fellow pupils and the rest of the population. From the very outset a distinction was made between school associations and holiday associations. In the holiday associations, students (mostly boarding students who went home during the holiday) met during the periods away from school.

These types of initiatives organised by the students themselves are often credited as being the first manifestations of the actual youth movement because, unlike Sunday schools, Catholic youth groups, congregations, ... they came into being on the basis of youthful ideals (Gevers and Vos 2004). Rodenbach himself refers to the inspiring impact of the German Burschenschaften (student organisations), and revolutionary-nationalist movement created amidst the fervour of the war of liberation against France. The Flemish student movement shares this movement's involvement in a social cause. Owing to the link with the Flemish (and Catholic) issue, the students did not confine themselves to their own 'youth land', in contrast to the Wandervögel (Kriekemans 1962). Whereas the Wandervögel opposed the dullness of petit bourgeois existence, the Flemish student movement campaigned for a specific ideal. Although the romanticised way in which this was undertaken could also lead them far away from their anticipated social integration. A flight to the past need not necessarily differ some much from seeking refuge in nature.

The first 'youth' movement?

The Catholic student movement grew to become a myth of youthful self-organisation and social dedication. It was nonetheless clear that adults played a key role. They helped give direction to the values involved in the student movement. The West Flemish students were actually guided and supported to some extent by Hugo Verriest, a priest and teacher in the Roeselare College and president of the local Davidsfonds. Verriest placed a great deal of emphasis on character building. He believed students were an elite class who had to serve others. Verriest evoked Flanders' glorious past to induce a romantic mindset in his students. In this way, the student movement was in tune with the re-emerging romantic school of thought idealising youth and criticising the dominant belief in progress and the opportunities of technological innovation.

Socialist Young Guards (SJW)

Working young people had less time to develop a distinctive youthful lifestyle. The German literature refers to 'wandernde Arbeiterjugendliche'. Unlike their middle class counterparts, a large percentage of whom did not really behave 'respectably', they were labelled as 'wilde Wanderflegel' and 'Halbstarken' (Ecarius und Fromme 2000).

The Flemish youth work histories disregard such working class movements, with the exception of the Socialist Young Guards (1886). The Socialist Young Guards were an association based on a combination of training and action under the leadership of young workers, albeit closely connected to the ideals and targets of adult workers. The association developed out of the Ghent draftee movement where Belgian Workers' Party members undertook anti-military activities. To start with their action was confined to opposing the Law of Blood⁶. The lives claimed owing to the army's commitment during the serious strikes of this period prompted the Socialist party to set up a special youth organisation that could 'put the army out of action from inside'. Towards the end of the century these groups were known throughout as the Socialist Young Guards, although no uniform structure was involved. Whereas the Catholic Flemish Student Movement was a more comprehensive cultural movement directed to the past and against 'modern society', these young people drew attention to themselves via concrete, social and anti-military objectives (Beyen 2001).

Summary: youth work avant-la-lettre, a diverse social and cultural field of activity

There were also liberal (1883), Catholic (1879) and, after the First World War, Flemish National Young Guards. They were sometimes deployed as 'shock troops', but did not undertake any separate political and economic struggles. People writing the history of youth work pay them scant attention. However, many sections, particularly after the First World War and particularly in Antwerp and West-Flanders, gradually developed a whole network of additional activities: football and cycling clubs, savings banks, communication associations, study circles, employment agencies, drama clubs, ...

There were still quite a number of other more protective initiatives for young people, including young people from the middle classes. There was no centralisation, everything depended on the charitable and dynamic priests, chaplains and lay people. Roeselare was a breeding ground for the student youth movement, but it was also the site of Young Guards, Patronages, Youth Circles, ... The latter were intended to rally people against the growing liberal influence. A wide range of cultural activities were developed (singing, literature, drama). This Youth Circle was a breeding ground for Catholic Flemish affinities in West-Flanders. Gevers and Vos (2004: 60) compare this association

⁶ Belgium was still familiar with the so-called 'Law of Blood' from the time of Napoleon. Whoever was selected had to become a soldier. Young people from well-off families could buy their freedom by paying other young people to take their place. The Law was abolished in 1909.

with 'Patronages', except what is involved here is not protective care for deprived working class youth but 'youth work for more developed groups'. All towns in Central West Flanders had these Catholic Youth Circles ('Kringen van Katholieke Jonkheid') which did not cater specifically for working class children and young people. The bulk of the membership hailed from middle class homes. They took over the leadership. They all sought the same goal: a confirmed Christian and well-organised society. *'Nowhere was the deliberate mixing of middle class sons from Catholic senior schools and children from the lower classes as extensive as in Roeselare. Not only Rodenbach, but many of his fellow students from the Klein Seminarie took part in this enterprise regarded as a successful symbiosis.'* (Vanlandschoot 2002: 209). This symbiosis – social mix in contemporary terms – was not self-evident. The youth work environment during the pre-Rodenbach period was methodologically differentiated, but a diverse 'clientage' was not self-evident. The pedagogization of youth was in keeping with the logic of the underlying social project, operating on a segregated basis from the start. Consequently, youth work was a confirmation of existing social patterns and a strengthening of the divisions found in the school environment: the Froebel schools – based on the principles that children could not learn about life but had to discover that themselves – were found less suitable for working class children. They were better off in the 'nursery schools' of the time (Van Ewijk 1989).

2.3. *The youth movement becomes a youth work method*

As a result of the second industrial revolution European countries found themselves competing fiercely with each other, leading to further major social challenges. The trade unions and the Socialist party became more influential. The gradual roll-out of political democracy enabled the powers-that-be to safeguard the liberal-capitalist organising principle (Witte 1997). A series of welfare laws were approved: occupational accidents, Sunday as a day of rest, pensions, working hours, ban on night work for women. The general right to vote (only for men) was introduced in 1919. The emancipation of farmers and workers made further progress. A whole host of social and cultural initiatives were developed: libraries, associations, drama, ... Initiatives that were tailored to one target group, while operating in parallel as an instrument to unite the target group within a specific ideological bloc.

Further institutionalisation of youth status: the juvenile laws

Towards the end of the 19th century, concern was expressed in various quarters about the behaviour of some working class adolescents. Stricter requirements about bringing up families were applied from a middle class perspec-

tive. The autonomy of the family was indeed a middle class ideal, the family was too important to leave to the parents (Kruithof 1983). Adler's psychoanalysis has contributed to the ever-more prevalent view that 'children's' disorders' may be blamed on a poor upbringing (Bakker 1992). There was a growing consensus that unacceptable behaviour was the fault of the lax attitude of parents or incompetence. Prevention grew to be a key concept. Against this background legislation was enacted everywhere in Western Europe around the turn of the century, helping to shape the educational developments providing an institutional setting for a separate status for young people, also legitimising sovereign intervention when the family upbringing left a lot to be desired. A ban on child labour (1908), a Law on child care and protection (1912) and a Law on compulsory education (1914) were introduced. The 'youth land' ideology, with separation, protection and delayed responsibility as the cornerstones, was extended to all young people.

'Child-centred pedagogics': standardising and prevention

School attendance rates were rising. Around the turn of the century, more and more criticism was levelled against Herbart's pedagogics with the focus on developing the intellectual faculties of the individual. There was a revival of educational ideas from the Renaissance and the Romantic era. The newer school movement (Decroly, Claparède, Ferrière, Montessori, ...) was in the ascendant. The romantic ideas of Fröbel were also given fresh impetus. Various 'new' educational currents of thought were all known under the title of reform pedagogy. Some thinkers were influenced by the earlier community-based philosophies, whilst others, such as Ellen Key (1904), focused more on developmental psychology concerns. Taking their cue from Dewey's pragmatism, some people tried to combine both perspectives. All the currents of thought had a common basis: the experiential world of the child, the interests and needs of the child (Kruithof 1990). A uniform anthropology was created that disregarded the differences between children (and the context of their upbringing). This period saw the inception of the myth of the autonomous child. Brinkgreve and De Regt (1990) call this development the psychologising of education. Against this background, 'child-centred' education was above all: catering for the needs, wants and requirements 'normally' present in a specific development phase.

Adolescence as a crucial phase of life

More prominence was also given to 'adolescence'. Granville Stanley Hall, an American psychologist and pedagogue, who had studied in various German universities, published a work called 'Adolescence' in 1904. His experience in

Germany helps explain why his theory draws inspiration from the Wander-vögel. This was the first theoretical work to treat this phase of life as a separate and valid period. All adolescents have common characteristics, and these have to be accommodated by youth policy, as this is the period when the basic elements of the future of the individual and community are established. This was a key argument in a period of ever-fiercer competition between various nations. In the Low Lands, Spranger's 'Psychologie des Jugendalters' (Psychology of Adolescence) gained a lot of attention and for the next 50 years continued to exert an influence on West European theories about young people (Dibbits 1987). These theories were developed using young people from the higher social classes as 'study object'. Spranger, too, confirmed that his research was on 'well-bred young people', while drawing inspiration from youths in the free youth movement and the secondary school system. It is doubtful whether the (ideal) typical image of students struggling with their awakening sexuality also applies to young people from the working class (Selten 1991). Working class boys are by definition burdened with an incomplete puberty. Puberty is a hazardous period where young people may lose themselves in debauchery and become disconnected from family and society. It is a time for a socio-pedagogical offensive.

Starting points for social pedagogy

Sozialpädagogik, too, was a reaction to the individual Herbartian principles of pedagogy. The literature refers to quite a few pioneers in the field of social pedagogy. The theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) highlighted the need to extend the idea of natural individual development to the idea of community education. He pointed to material circumstances hindering education and called for a broader democratic process through pedagogical channels (Mollenhauer 1983). Adolph Diesterweg (1790-1866) also stated in 1831 that the Enlightenment philosophy with the focus on individual education was pedagogically flawed. As a result of industrialisation, urbanisation and individualisation a new way of developing community structures was called for. His instructor Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) launched the well-known 'Erziehung durch Gemeinschaft zur Gemeinschaft' principle. The concept of social pedagogy was used for the first time by Karl Mager in 1844, but made a breakthrough thanks to the philosopher Natorp (1899). He announced the division into three educational environments: 'the family, the school and informal education'.

Social pedagogy was a concept that soon gave rise to various interpretations. A key component was the relationship between the individual and society. The form this relationship can take may vary quite considerably. The Low Countries decided to strike a happy medium. The concept championed by

Dewey and co is seen as completely wrong. *'They believe that there are no definitive values, but always adjustments'*, according to De Hovre (1935). He did not want to sacrifice the community to the individual (Rousseau, Nietzsche, Key, Tolstoy), nor did he wish to subject the individual to the community (Marx, Comte, Bergemann, Natorp). Natorp obviously did not appeal much to De Hovre (1935: 235): *'Natorp's main erroneous contribution to pedagogics is his Sozialpädagogik'* A call was made for a personality pedagogy, an approach that was promoted by leading pedagogues in the Netherlands (Gunning, Kohnstamm) and Flanders (De Hovre, Decoene), in line with Catholic personalism. The socio-pedagogical offensive deemed necessary led to a new civilizing offensive and in Flanders resulted in the Catholic Action, which also sought unity and uniformity in the youth work sector.

The Patronages 'achieve too few results'

The Patronages reached their crowning moment just before the First World War: 1,100 youth groups and over 150,000 children covered (Baeten 1993). Dendooven (1967) has two misgivings about this. First of all the major catchment area of the Patronages is counterbalanced by the finding that little was achieved within the youth groups. Or as one director of a Patronage noted: *'In how many places does the Patronage consist of nothing more than a play area and sometimes the management, in all its kindness does nothing but supervise the players for a couple of hours every Sunday.'* On the other hand, it was reported that the older working class youths stayed away, particularly those from the *'most socially and morally vulnerable sections of the population'*. Many patronages were attended by school children from the lower middle classes. *'There is a problem all the same – why not admit it! – affecting the activities of the Patronages, not only in Antwerp but elsewhere, we think. This is the small number of actual young workers, compared with the large number of school children and the increasing number of younger children'*, said the Patronage leader de Hasque in 1907 (Dendooven 1967: 35). De Hasque converted his Patronage into a scout troop six years later. His inspiration for this was broader-based: he was also familiar with the Boys Brigades, the Wandervögel and the Kolpinghauser (Esgain 1988). In common with many adult associations, other Patronages sought innovative methods. In line with reform pedagogy and adolescent psychology the *'selfgovernment method'* became increasingly popular. The leadership that was still required was often assigned to students.

Flemish Catholic Students Association: from social movement to pedagogical method

As a student at Leuven University, Rodenbach outlined the basic structure of the student movement. He died in 1880 at the age of 24, but set in motion a movement leading to the creation of the Flemish Catholic Students Movement (AKVS).

Stimulated by the later Minister Frans Van Cauwelaert, social action was pushed in to the background and the educational dimension was given more prominence in the movement. Education in the light of a young person's future role as a guiding adult in society became the central focus. Van Cauwelaert emphasised that Rodenbach's plan with his student movement was not 'to send our boys prematurely into political disputes'. 'The omnipotence of the boys lies in their temporary impotence, the fact because they are immature they are still capable of being reformed for the future. This was Rodenbach's starting point. What he expected from his student movement was 'self-education and the self-willed development of Flemish youth, according to the laws of the distinctive ancestral characteristics.' (Van Cauwelaert 1909/1932). The movement was becoming more and more like an organisation, one focused on the education of its own members with a view to the role that they would play in society later on. What was paramount was to promote abstinence from alcohol, piety and to seek higher cultural activities and study. The Flemish fight continued to be of key importance. This ensured that some constituents of direct action also continued to be on the agenda (Gevers and Vos 2004). AKVS continued to develop as an organisation, even in rural areas. However, the leadership of the movement was increasingly based on a group of Leuven students who felt more and more affinity with radical Flemish nationalism. On that point social action was given greater prominence, but at the same time it brought the student movement into conflict with the church hierarchy.

Socialist Young Guards: from social movement to pedagogical method

In the young workers movement the same thing happened. Collective social action as an *instrument* to achieve social change, was itself promoted as a *goal* (Harmsen 1961). In the Netherlands and Germany young workers movements were placed in the context of the 'youth land' ideology (Hazekamp 1980, Giesecke 1981). The autonomous youth movement placed too much emphasis on political education and action so the authorities deliberately withheld their support in Germany. The newly created Socialist Arbeiter-Jugend was increasingly adopting the Wandervögel system. In the wake of the International Socialist Youth Conference in Stuttgart (1907), led by Hendrik de Man, the individual pedagogical dimensions in the Socialist youth movement were also

given greater prominence in Flanders as well. Along the lines of Koos Vorink's AJC (Workers Youth Centre) in the Netherlands, there was a further separation of the political and pedagogical components in the post-war period. In 1920 the task of the Socialist Young Guards was redefined: '*it was urged to focus on the physical, intellectual and moral education of children and adolescents; the recreational dimension has to prevail.*' (Collignon 2001). This change of direction with the development of local recreation clubs, where the political dimension was considered only indirectly, was also related to the better material circumstances. Young workers no longer needed to be directly involved in the struggle for a better life and had more leisure time (Vermandere 2001: 230). They needed to be convinced about the Socialist cause, not for direct action, but to continue the struggle later on as adults.

*A 'new' pedagogical method with varying sources of inspiration:
Scouting*

A new type of youth movement began to spread in Belgium in 1910 in addition to the Flemish Catholic Students Movement and the Young Socialist Guards. Scouting is a youth work method that still plays a key role in the youth work discussion. Baden-Powell wrote 'Aids to scouting', a military manual, in 1899. The idea of scouting as an educational system began to take form only after the second Boer War, in which Baden-Powell played a prominent part. During that war Baden-Powell spent months defending the town of Mafeking against the dominance of the Boers. He deployed adolescents as messenger boys and sentries. He came to the conclusion that the scouting system was also suitable for boosting the physical and moral stamina of young people. After the War, he set up a South African state police force. The young members were issued with a uniform, divided into troops and their motto reflected the initials of their leader – 'Be Prepared'.

At the request of Sir William Smith, founder of the Boys Brigade (1883), he became the vice-president of what was then a fairly popular youth organisation. The Boys Brigade was based on a combination of drills, instruction and recreation. A Sunday school teacher and a former professional soldier, Smith wanted the organisation to fill the gap between the Sunday schools, which children attended until they were 12, and the YMCA, which people could join at 17. Baden-Powell claimed the organisation could be developed on the basis of scouting. His training schemes did not originally meet with much success. A few years later Baden-Powell managed to create a more varied programme and published a revised edition of his military training manual. He drew his inspiration from the English public school system. For the cub section that came later on (1914) he was inspired by his friend Rudyard Kipling and his

'Jungle Book'. Even Buffalo Bill served as a source of ideas. Baden-Powell also knew the Wandervögel and was familiar with the teaching system of John Dewey, but his main sources of inspiration were the North American youth organisations.

In addition to the fairly long-standing and popular boys' clubs (see Forbush 1902, Buck 1903) and YMCA branches, a number of new organisations were created in the United States in the early years of the 20th century. The 4-H movement was set up in 1902 to offer training to farmers and their children. The movements glorifying outdoor pursuits were the key source of inspiration for Baden-Powell. He was fascinated by the Woodcraft Indians (1902) founded by the prolific writer Ernest Thompson Seton. This movement was more 'romantic' than the existing Boys' Clubs and close to reform pedagogy and the outdoor movement. Baden-Powell received a copy of Seton's training manual (Seton 1906) after meeting the man when he was giving a lecture in England. Pervaded with the principles derived from Native American cultures, the Woodcraft movement emphasises the importance of self-determination, self-development, character building and camping. This was the origin of the Native American components in the scouting system (Deelen 1935). Mention should also be made of the Sons of Daniel Boone which Daniel Carter Beard launched in 1905. Named after the pioneer who made mincemeat out of the Shawnees and colonised Kentucky, this more formalistic movement was focused on adventure and wood craft. A similar organisation for girls was set up in 1910 with the name of the Campfire Girls. Beard and Seton established links with the scouts thus helping to expand the movement. Baden-Powell also adopted a more formalistic approach, soon clashing with Seton, who did not remain head of the Boy Scouts of America for very long (Prynn 1983). Counter-movements also sprang up in the UK. Vane founded the Peace Scouts, Westlake the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry and John – White Fox – Hargrave the Kindred of the Kibbo Kift. Hargrave was asked to leave the scouts owing to his fondness for naturalism, indianism and his criticism of militarism (Hocquemiller 2005). The Kibbo Kift took the form of a political movement: the 'Green Shirt movement for social credit'. Leslie – Angry Young Man – Paul, a subsequent member of the Albemarle Committee, led a movement to break away from the Kibbo Kift to form the Socialist Woodcraft Folk. They established ties with the international Falcon Movement. Some were more successful than others but none of these counter-movements developed into a working class alternative for scouting (Wilkinson 1969, Morris 1970).

'Ask the boy'

Baden-Powell acted in the light of a similar moral concern as our Flemish Patronage leaders. He also shared this concern about public morals and the physical and spiritual corruption of British youth with the leaders of the American Boys' Clubs, which expressed alarm at the rise in the number of boys' gangs appearing. As a result however of his various sources of inspiration, Baden-Powell focused more on 'new' pedagogical principles, such as self-government, self-determination and learning by doing. Pedagogical activities achieved better results with the cooperation of the young people themselves.

Developed in a different way from the Wandervögel scouting established the same dualism between youth and adulthood, a dualism that broadly coincided with a pure natural quality and the corruption found in the world (Beyen 2001). In the final analysis, this boiled down to a dualism between the pure 'Boy Scouts' and the degenerate 'street kids'. Those who most threatened social order and so were most in need of a bigger sense of allegiance to authority were the scouting movement's priority target. Hence to start with, scouting was not intended to be an elitist venture, but sought to enable working class youngsters to enjoy the same education as young people who attended public school. Albeit with the aim of achieving another outcome: *'If the public schools were made to produce gentleman prepared to lead, the scouts must produce young men ready to follow.'* (Rosenthal 1986).

Scouting: from pedagogical method to social movement?

Baden-Powell discovered a spiritual companion for his civilizing campaign in the publisher and philanthropist Sir Arthur Pearson. His system was now also in step with the YMCA. His book was an outstanding success and an experimental camp was set up in Brownsea in 1907. 1908 was the year in which 'Scouting for Boys' appeared, along with a second experimental camp. Rather than thinking about an own separate scouts association, when writing his book, he sought to help youth leaders with their 'outdoor life and character-building' activities. However, thanks to his reputation the system developed into a distinctive movement, which soon spread throughout the world in an unprecedented fashion. By 1909 scouting organisations could be found in Germany, Sweden, France, Norway, Hungary, Mexico, Chile, Argentina, Singapore and India (Reynolds 1942). The girl guides appeared on the scene in 1910 under the leadership first of Agnes Baden-Powell, Baden-Powell's sister, and then, a few years later, of Olave St. Clair Soames, his wife. Robert Baden-Powell was quite clear about the goals of the guides. The girls were appealed to as servants in two ways: to ensure the continuance of the race and create

happy families by being good companions for their spouses and children (Reynolds 1942).

In Belgium, scouting developed into the pre-eminent *youth work method*. Owing to its originally '*methodological character*' this did not involve much direct social action, unlike the Flemish Catholic Students Movement and Socialist Young Guards, thus making the system easier to disseminate. Scouting remained aloof from political, religious and cultural issues. Both the catholic Patronages and the Socialist Red Falcons deployed the scouting system, along with state bodies such as the Fascist Opera Nazionale Ballilla (Italy), Hitler Jugend (Germany) and the Communist Komsomol.

Scouting in Belgium

The first scout groups were set up in Brussels and Antwerp. Harold Parfitt, who was residing in Belgium at the time, had opened a clothes shop and played the organ in a Methodist church, whose pastor, a Mr Clarke, asked him to launch a scout troop. In 1909 he started a group comprising English children living in the city. John Singleton, an English teacher, created another group at the lycée d'Anvers (Louchez 2002). Both organisations were neutral. Joining forces with other groups, they organised themselves into the Boy Scouts Belgium (BSB). Scouting only really took root in Belgium when the movement was discovered by the Catholic confessional bloc. Abbé Jules Petit in Brussels was the first one to convert his Patronage into a '*troupe scoute*' (scout troop). In the Antwerp port district, the youth group leader Georges de Hasque also changed over to scouting. He was anxious to focus on the groups for which the founder had created his system: '*the lowest of the lowest*' (Coppeters 1954). Jules Petit and Jean Corbisier both founded the Belgian Catholic Scouts. The '*Catholic*' evoked resistance to the international movement. In 1914 they called themselves the Baden-Powell Belgian Boy Scouts (BPBBS). It was in 1916 that de Hasque decided to add the sea scouts (BPBBSS). De Hasque tried later on to organise an air Scouts movement but this scheme '*hardly got off the ground*'.

Guides organisations were started in the Marolles, under the leadership of Melchior Verpoorten, the BPBBS' head chaplain. Out of compassion for the poorly-housed families, parents who did not know how to bring up their children and children who could not enjoy fresh air, he and a number of ladies started a girls section. Notwithstanding the war, the ladies would bring their girls to meetings four times a week.

It is no coincidence that scouting gained a footing in Belgium via the Patronages: people were looking for new methods and there was no overarching organisation available, so each youth group had to plough its own furrow.

Owing to the fairly steep cost of a bike and uniform, scouting was nonetheless originally an urban and middle class activity to start with. There were only very few troops where members were being recruited from the lower sections of the population, which was a partly deliberate policy. Belgian Chief Scout Corbisier said in a letter to Minister Poulet: *'Belgian Catholic Scouts are recruited solely from the ranks of young people attending our secondary and senior schools. The action is to the bourgeoisie what the Catholic Patronage is to the proletariat'* (Lauwers 1989: 14). Therefore the Patronage scouting troops were originally asked not to wear khaki colours. They wore a green uniform.

The scout system was also adopted by the student movement and the Socialist youth groups. And so the method turned into a movement. Scouting helped to ensure that the term **'youth movement'** for Flanders acquired a second meaning: a specific method of youth work where the focus was on young people's own commitment, as a result of accepting joint responsibility during leisure time, alongside the adult universe but also preparing for this via community service and fostering loyalty that enables the positive approach of the existing society (Cammaer 1982). The pedagogization of the students and workers youth movement was completed as a result of the introduction of the scouting system and the upcoming firm control of the Catholic Action.

2.4. *Youth Movement incorporated by the Catholic Action*

The 1920s were dubbed 'les années folles' or the roaring twenties. Belgium was beginning to recover after the horror of the First World War. These years were also hallmarked by new art expressions (expressionism) and styles of music (chanson, jazz), dance (tango, Charleston), film and photography, comic strips (Tintin in the Soviet Union) and the continuing progress of the women's movement. There was a revival of economic liberalism, subject to individual social corrections, as the seeds of the corporatist welfare state. Shorter working hours and paid holidays were ushered in. This created a leisure time-related problem, which, in the case of young people, necessitated further (Catholic) action.

The youth movement as a weapon in a conservative revolution

For many associations and socio-cultural organisations, leisure time involved developing activities to compensate for the Taylorist rationalisation of labour. Elevating activities during leisure time had to compete though with new customs, media, dance and film. Pius XI went on the counterattack. Rather than confining himself to guarding against secularising trends, he sought to gain ground via mass organisation (Vos 1985). Pius XI launched the Catholic Action (1922-1939) with the theme 'omnia instaurare in Christo'. Youth and

adult organisations had to be developed into mass organisations in a bid to promote desecularisation and halt the red menace. The time was ripe for '*a conservative revolution*' (De Hovre 1935). This was a dual requirement in the case of young people. The war had sparked off a moral panic about wanton behaviour among young people. Knoppers (1931) outlined the threats: tobacco, an obsession with sports and sexual experience, material well-being, one-sided intellectual development, inappropriate reading material, the incompetence of pedagogues, ... However, he did not overlook the benefits: more interest in religion and a desire for organisation. And lastly, something that could be a threat and an opportunity: a keen desire for freedom and independence. This 'swot analysis' led straightaway to one synthesis: the youth movement. Knopper's analysis was consistent with what was considered in 1919 during a Dutch conference on the issue of '*de rijpere jeugd*' (the more mature adolescents). He relied in particular on Foerster's (1923) book '*Jugendseele, Jugendbewegung, Jugendziel*' and its message that society could undergo a process of renewal thanks to (the education of) youth. Prominence was given to community life. As a result of building on the specificity of youth pure cultural criticism may be transcended and the flight from society prevented so as to produce a productive synthesis. The psychology of puberty and social pedagogy justified a dual strategy vis à vis young workers.

Puberty, a crucial phase of life

The dominant trend in the educational debate continued to focus on the puberty phase as a necessary, albeit turbulent phase of development. As a result of an emphasis on a universally recognised theory about the 'development of young people', a distinction was made between primitive puberty and cultural puberty (Zinnecker 2001). Charlotte Bühler, an American developmental psychologist (of German origin as well) proposed in '*Das Seelenleben des Jugendalters*' (1922) a multi-phase life-cycle psychology with corresponding biological, psychological and sociological developmental ramifications. Education determined whether primitive puberty advanced to cultural puberty. Böhnisch (1997) points out that also in Bühler's work 'the archetype of the youth movement member' functioned as a model for this cultural puberty. So the experience of a positive puberty is necessary not only for the individual but also for the future of society. Prevention, detecting pathological behaviour in an early stage, became increasingly important. Although there was no clear answer to 'What is a normal child?', inappropriate behaviour was mainly discovered in the working class (Depaepe 1990). Hence young working-class people continued to be the target of a dual strategy.

Social pedagogy and the 'free youth movement'

Dutch and Flemish pedagogues did talk about education for community life (following what was called social education in England and the United States), but were initially fairly unreceptive to the concept of social pedagogy. In common with De Hovre, Gunning and Kohnstamm braced themselves against *'the new direction in pedagogy'*. Alarmed by the ideas of people such as Kerschensteiner⁷ on 'civil education', they sought to resist the already excessive state interference but nonetheless called for attention to be paid to the new social woes. Kohnstamm referred to issues such as careers guidance, the cinema, child labour, ... He did not make any definitive pronouncement about the name of the new problem area: *'If the word wasn't used already in at least two other senses I would prefer to sum this all up under the social pedagogic heading, because what is certainly and especially involved in this case are problems directly arising from adolescents coming into contact with the society of adults. But we should avoid this word so as to prevent misunderstandings. Towards, this end, it may be sufficient to use the term public pedagogy or, shortly, youth work or youth organisation could be used'* (Kohnstamm in Coumou 1998). And the Flemish pedagogues raised hell: *'a pernicious system has emerged in Germany, with the name of Sozialpädagogik. According to this concept a person is only a citizen of a state, no longer a person with his own soul that has to be developed first of all for himself; the State is all, the beginning and end of our struggle, the personal value of the individual in us fades into the background.'* (Decoene and Staelens 1923: 220).

With Kohlbrugge however a new period for social pedagogy was ushered in. Social pedagogy developed into a *subdiscipline of pedagogy with social work as the field of study*. In the post-war epoch, this evoked the need for a clear distinction to be made between cultural work and social work (Drees 1958). A division confirmed by Ten Have (1961) and one which has right up until today hampered us in transcending the youth work paradox. Kohlbrugge also called for a renewal of education where more emphasis was given to social education and self-government. However, the social pedagogical task that is insufficient dealt with at school had to be carried out by others in the short term. Towards this end, he turned his thoughts to the 'free youth movement'. *'As long as schools do not meet the aforementioned requirements, as long as a new generation of*

⁷ In line with Dewey Kerschensteiner calls for a school that is less exclusively focused on 'listening'. Kerschensteiner wrote in defence of civil education in the context of a competition organised by the 'Königlichen Akademie Geinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt'. The question was: 'How can we most efficient bring our boys to citizenship in the periode between leaving school and doing military service?' Kerschensteiner's answer gave a detailed description not only of 'characterbuilding', but also of the self-motivation of young people (Dudek 1997).

pedagogues and teachers have not appeared, it will first of all be the task of these clubs to teach young people to become social beings and to exercise themselves in the art of not living for themselves (Kohlbrugge 1928: 305).

The third milieu approach constructs 'unorganised youth'

Owing to the diminishing influence of the family and the concept that the school system is not entirely sufficient as pedagogical environment, Liberals, Catholics and Socialists agreed on the need to create an additional pedagogical environment. In the third pedagogical milieu, leisure time, more has to be done than just safeguarding against potential pernicious influences. An active approach had to be adopted to help to shape the young personality.

In Germany this third milieu approach was already established earlier. Subsequent to a Law enacted in 1911 youth organisations were tasked with organizing the leisure time of young people in a meaningful way. This did not include the young worker's movement. Solely the middle class youth movement was expected to be in a position to educate young people to become devout citizens who loved their fatherland (Giesecke 1981). This third milieu approach was adopted in the Low Lands in The Hague in 1919 pursuant to the Conference on the theme of older youth (13-18 years old). The Conference was based on a report by the Wijnbergen Commission concerning the age between the end of compulsory education and the age of majority. Piet Gunning spoke about the adolescent as '*a completely separate species of person*', underscoring the importance of a '*positive puberty*' in the light of a successful personality development, as well as the hazards related to young people mingling together. The environment outside home, work and school was called the third milieu and he emphasised that this milieu was '*the specific youth environment that we have to control and lead to the right path*' (De Rooy 1982, De Graaf 1989). The idealism, spontaneity and imagination of young people had to be fostered and channelled at the same time. This combination of education and recreation plus the focus on prevention is up till now characteristic for the third milieu approach underpinning youth work theories. This approach was and is justified in the light of the '*psychology of the pubescent*'. This required more attention to be paid to education, while explaining the desire among young people to break lose from the family (De Rooy 1982). Moreover: in the light of this model of puberty the behaviour of young people should not be explained as a protest against the contemporary social order, but as a *natural* development (Giesecke 1970).

Founded in 1920 the Central Youth Council wanted to make 'third sector youth work' to become an independent field of endeavour, refusing to select its tasks on the basis of those not covered by the family and school. This was

the beginning of a conflict that was set to surface several times, but upon one point everyone agreed: the major community-building power of the youth movement (Dibbits 1987). This agreement constructed unorganised youth a problem. In the aftermath of the Conference and on the basis of the Toynbee Association the Institute for Older Youth was set up in Rotterdam, from which 'de Arend' and 'de Zeemeeuw' club houses would later develop. The hunt on the unorganised youth is on.

Young workers movement: elite or mass?

How did these ideas about effective youth work now impinge upon the existing types of youth work? The change from social action to youth movement as a method continued among the Socialists. A number of leading figures in the Socialist Young Guards attended an international meeting in Bielefeld in 1921 (Vermandere 2001). They got inspired by the evolutions in Germany where in 1908 a ban was imposed on young people under 18 to get involved in political activities. This evoked a step towards a culturally inspired action within the Socialist youth movement. Inspiration was drawn from the Wandervögel and their opposition to the post-war 'culturelessness' and the embourgeoisement of the working class.

Within a comparatively short space of time the youth movement developed also in Flanders into the ideal leisure time model. In the 1920s there was increasing acceptance for the ideas of hiking, camping and assigning responsibility to young people.

The Flemish Socialist Young Guards was turned into the Arbeidersjeugd (Young Workers) in 1923. Not all Young Guards joined without a struggle. Many people found that – in common with the German youth movement model – the movement '*isolated itself too much in nature and young people did not learn to think for themselves*' (Vandenberghe 1968). This dispute was similar to the debate that ensued between the Flemish Catholic Students Movement (AKVS) and the new Catholic Student Action (KSA): '*social action or education*'. A number of groups that failed to support the more educational emphasis in Socialist youth work broke away and, just as in the Netherlands, created Communist youth organisations. A second debate soon emerged: the youth movement as an elitist framework (that had an impact on non-members of youth movements) or the youth movement as a mass movement. Vorrink opted for indirect betterment. This strategy could be described as the 'tea bag strategy': members of the youth movement spread their beneficent influence to the mass youth. This strategy could be found in most of the youth movements incorporated by the catholic action, but also in AKVS and was due to surface quite frequently in the youth work debate.

Diverse youth work initiatives changed over to the methodology of the youth movement. This brought about also a process of rejuvenation. Under the umbrella of Arbeiders Jeugd Verbond (Young Workers League – 1924) for instance the Pioniers (for the over-16s) and the Rode Valken came into being, the latter being a movement for children, where the scouting system was adopted, along the lines of Anton Tesarek's Kinderfreunde in Austria.

Flemish Catholic Students Movement: elite or mass?

AKVS, too, developed into a youth movement, as a method of youth work. As had experienced their socialist counterparts this was not a smooth changeover. AKVS had grown into a very popular movement. A gulf opened up between two camps: one was less focused on direct action and more on education and study, and another adopted a tougher line, identifying with the Flemish struggle. This trend was swept along the student movement in an anti-Belgian, Flemish nationalist maze. Both sides however were able to agree about one thing: scouting had to be kept at arms length. It was stated that: *'scouting could be used by some clever people, as was the case with sports earlier on, to distract our Flemish youth from the Flemish struggle'*. This was the criticism levelled at scouting during the AKVS conference in 1920. The student movement and scouting could not exist alongside each other. Scouting has too strong a grip on young people. The student movement could adopt a few methods but not forsake its nature, and – as announced in the journal *Vlaamse Vlagge* – *'definitely not for something originating in the country of practical mediocrities, where the religion is rational Protestantism and everyone is perfectly successful as long as he can pass for a gentleman.'* (Vos and Gevers 1976: 187). In Flanders, the scouting movements was still generally confined to singing, marching and trials, but it was growing in popularity. Paradoxically enough, to keep scouting out of the student movement, more and more methodical elements were borrowed from the youth movement. Some inspiration was also drawn from Germany, where the Wandervögel no longer existed. *'The flower of the German Youth Movement got slaughtered in the mud of Flanders'* (Tyldesley 2006: 25). However, the myth was still intact. The major Flemish youth movements were more or less inspired by the 'soaring achievements' of the Wandervögel but above all by the popularity of the youth movements that rose from the ashes of the Wandervögel.

The AKVS publication 'de Blauwvoet' featured an article from journal where Edmond Rubbens, who went on to become the Minister for Employment and Social Services, gave a detailed description of the German youth movement and the work of Foerster who referred to the youth movement in Germany as a movement with huge significance for the *'moral revival of the German people, a movement that could be the envy of people outside Germany'* (Rubbens 1924: 153).

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Victor Leemans, a future president of the European Parliament, also made a contribution to the promotion of the youth movement method. Its practical embodiment gave some thought to *scouting, but combined with German romanticism* and mysticism. Leemans, one of the driving forces after the Catholic Young Guards, visited Germany seeking deeper insights for the Flemish youth movement. On his travels staying in youth hostels he came in contact with Quickborn, Neudeutschland and the Katholische Jungmännerverband, youth movements (in the second, methodical sense) that were developed to some extent on the basis of the Wandervögel movement. Quickborn was founded in 1910 in Silesia by a number of teetotal students, with the support of three priests. Taels, who translated Guardini's 'Briefe over Selbstbildung' (1925), described Quickborn as a movement uniting the best forces of the Wandervögel movement. Those who gave their '*in fact negative flight a positive turn in a powerful struggle for sobriety and naturalness, unity and sincerity, freedom in restraint, a new life style.*' (1958: 8). The organisation focused on high-level school students who themselves took charge of the leadership. Under the wing of Romano Guardini, the movement spearheaded the revival of the Church during the 1920s. However, they did not come directly within the sphere of the bishops, a factor that also made the movement appealing for members of the Flemish Catholic Students Movement. When he was only 24, Leemans translated all the work of Guardini. Several AKVS divisions adopted the youth movement method the 1930s. The Blauwvoet spoke in a Wandervögel-inspired way about '*young students anxious to leave their stuffy meeting halls*', and '*their aspiration for a fresher, healthier, younger youthful life, free from convention and the old routine.*'

Most of the AKVS divisions were already thoroughly weakened. The church hierarchy became increasingly disconnected from the spirit of rebelliousness and radicalism being called for by the Leuven students. In 1925 Bishop Rutten broke the Limburg guilds away from the Leuven leadership and placed them under the supervision of the seminarians and chaplains. 4 September 1928 in Roeselare was the date and venue for Karel Dubois, a priest who taught at the Klein Seminarie and a former AKVS member, to launch a new youth movement: Catholic Student Action (KSA). The bishop thought the struggle for the cause of Flanders had gone far enough, so more action was required for Christ. The other dioceses also took the decision in 1928 that AKVS should make room for an initiative more consistent with the Catholic confessional bloc, so that a (comparatively) autonomous and culturally innovative youth movement was replaced by a movement, headed by adults, at the disposal of the church, party or ideology (De Vos e.a. 1979). Most Catholic Student Action groups were originally study circles where singing, lectures and drama were undertaken. Students gave readings for each other or invited speakers. The

leaders were generally clerics. The youth movement model did not make a breakthrough until the next decade. Bund Neudeutschland and Quickborn continued to offer inspiration but Catholics also emulated the developments they discovered among the Socialist youth groups whose organisational structure was based on the scout movement.

Cardijn, the first youth work pedagogue?

'Patronages' did not cater for young workers older than twelve. Cardijn, a priest from Laken, opposed the patronages, because most initiatives focused on moralising and protection. Moreover, the patronages were run by 'respectable gentlemen', so they tended to be somewhat conservative, paternalistic and petit bourgeois. This not did give any encouragement for young people to move on from the patronages to the workers' movement.

Cardijn is without a shadow of a doubt one of the leading youth work philosophers of his time. In common with many clerics of his generation he drew a lot of inspiration from Rerum Novarum. In keeping with Catholic personalism he did not focus too much on social change but on a harmonious form of cooperation between the various social classes. He sought to recapture the working class, as it had been deserted by the church. He aimed at adolescents because he saw how they turned their back on the church once they had left school. Cardijn stressed the demoralising effect of Taylorist working conditions, as they encouraged young workers to seek solace in the contemporary cinema and dance halls.

Cardijn adopted a positive approach to young workers and tried to convey to them some degree of 'pride in their class'. '*You are worth as much as the Laken princess*', was his message to the young workers. Education was of central importance to Cardijn owing to the heavy emphasis on being in step with the actual factual situation. '*Not only for their information but also because of their educational power: it boils down to a proper perception of reality, learning to interpret it and deducing the right attitude*' (Dendooven 1967: 259). This is the 'see-judge-activity' principle that subsequently took root in the Young Christian Workers.

As early as 1914 Cardijn set up a first 'Cercle des Apprentis' (Circle of Apprentices), from which ensued 'de Jonge Werkman' (the Young Workman). He drew his inspiration from the British trade unions and Kolping's 'Catholic association of manual workers'. He was also familiar with the Sillon in France, a popular movement around the turn of the century (Cohen 1988). This fairly authoritarian movement was lead by the charismatic founder Marc Sangnier, a layman inspired by Rerum Novarum. He tried to unite students and young workers in Catholic study and action groups. Everyone could make a contri-

bution to 'La Cause', middle classes, nobility, clergy, the common people, ... on the basis of their own knowledge, without any hierarchy. Prominence was given to social commitment. Character building was regarded as a positive outcome of this, 'un ricochet' (a side effect), but not as goal in itself. Sillon sections were often incorporated into 'patronages'. This assembly of students and young workers did sometimes lead to tensions, but it was primarily the conflict with the French Catholic Action that contributed to Sillon's short lifespan (1898-1910). Sangnier also set up la Ligue de la Jeune Republique and, following a meeting with Schirman, the first French youth hostel. Several Sillon priests nonetheless fastened upon the new system: scouting.

Cardijn's programme had little in common with scouting, as material and political emancipation were at the heart of the programme. It conveyed a highly demanding message to start with. Insurance against unemployment, strikes, illness, specific problems to do with careers guidance and apprenticeships, working hours, ... they were all considered. However, social action was mainly confined in practice to study and training. Cardijn: *'Allowing salaried youth to decline and degenerate means pre-emptively crossing out all the welcome influences of social, economic and political reforms; pre-emptively making any material improvements pointless and even harmful. It is truly a crime against the status of the workers and society as a whole. It is absurd to talk about the encouragement and emancipation of the working class if first of all and above all a start is not made on training and organising young workers'* (KAJ 1933: 21). In fact the Socialist youth movement and the Young Christian Workers were quite close in this respect. Politics and pedagogy were segregated. However, Cardijn was uncomfortable with the conservative forces in the Catholic party. Nor did the trade unions show any enthusiasm. This is partly why Cardijn became increasingly wrapped up in the process of transforming his 'social youth movement' into a 'pedagogical youth movement' (youth movement in the methodical sense). In 1924 'the conquest of young workers' was definitely undertaken and Bloquaux and Cardijn used the Young Trade Unionists communities as a basis for setting up the KAY (YCW/Young Christian Workers).

And 'the patronages'?

On the basis of a 1920 conference report, Baeten (1993) stressed that all 'Patronage' priests agreed that young people attend *'to get free from their mother's apron strings and to meet their own sort'*. However the competition for leisure time had grown. The Young Christian Workers recruited some of its members from the 'patronages', for which it was reproached for seeking members not from the unorganised mass but from other movements. *'They catch fishes at the fishmonger's instead of in the sea'* (Vos 1985). The higher levels of people involved in formal education meant the disappearance of another jus-

tification for the (religious) informal training tasks of the patronages, particularly because initiatives were being developed in the formal educational sector with similar roles to some extent.

A number of 'patronages' were transformed into scouts or KAJ sections. Other 'patronages' span off as specialist leisure time movements or associations (gymnastics, sports, drama, ...). Others developed holiday youth groups, where students and seminarians were in charge of holiday activities. Lots of playground organisations originated from this. The patronage method seemed destined to disappear, but soon switched over to the ... youth movement methodology.

2.5. *From differentiated to inaccessible youth work*

Firmly rooted in Hendrik De Man's cultural Socialism and the Rerum Novarum's Catholic personalism, the basic concepts of youth work have acquired a fairly fixed form: personality development as a result of a combination of education and leisure in the third milieu, under the leadership of young people themselves, but subject to adult supervision. There were differences in emphasis but these will be further 'screened out'. The 1930s were marked by the demise of a number of relics from the past: collective action in favour of social solidarity action took on a suspect character. The contribution of and guidance from adults was regarded as dangerous and aimed at an abuse of youthful idealism.

Crisis

Black Thursday on Wall Street (1929) led to a crisis, with a certain delay in the Low Lands. The global economy ground to a halt and the rate of unemployment soared, while wages fell by 30%. There was still no well developed social safety net available. The 'old political guard' started to lose its credibility and the deepening crisis fuelled the political and ideological processes aspiring for a 'New Order' (Cammaer 1983). There were various all-encompassing mass movements, each with its own solution for the social unease. They offered the desperate population a modern system for offering a system and meaning and purpose in life and a feeling of solidarity (Alaerts 2004). Hendrik De Man recommended a highly interventionist employment programme but it was mainly right-wing radical movements that were gaining impetus. Nonetheless, the political balance in Belgium was fairly stable. Confusing and unpredictable political fluctuations and social changes were catered for by a permanent, class-related representation. *'It also offered all social sections the guarantee that they would have a place in the sun'* (Reynebeau 1994: 24). In any event, the situation was more stable than in Germany, where the Weimar Republic was meeting with disaster,

Italy, where Mussolini had risen to power in 1922 and Spain, where the polarisation between left and right degenerated into a civil war. Higher wages, shorter working hours and paid holidays helped to provide relative stability in Belgium. The right preconditions were met for the Keynesian welfare state, a relationship based on a higher level of national income and full employment actively encouraged by government social policy.

Social pedagogy: community building in and via the third milieu

In addition to Kohlbrugge, another influential champion of the free youth movement as the key component of community education activities came onto the scene: Carl Mennicke, an expatriate German, who became the first full professor of social pedagogy in the Netherlands. He gave the momentum for social pedagogy to project itself as a pedagogy for older youth and a pedagogy focusing on the third milieu. Mennicke regarded the acquisition of social experiences as the central component of community education. For him the youth movement was the 'core of the core' (Mennicke 1937). However, both Mennicke and Kohlbrugge regarded social pedagogy as more broader-based than a 'third milieu pedagogy'. Community education had to combat the excesses of modern, industrial society. All institutions involved with this, by extension, all institutions focusing on the conditions needed for feeling completely at home in society, were engaged in social pedagogy. It was also clear that the general conditions determining social integration were not altered or scarcely altered (De Graaf 1989). This was during the 1930s, the years of crisis dominated by mass unemployment. The emphasis shifted to the implications of the social conditions and the question of how to approach young people themselves so as to cater for the harmful repercussions. Unemployment was not the problem, but its demoralising effects for young people. The social sciences exerted an influence on the direction in which this issue was heading. The subcultural differences between the public at large and workers were less important: instead of young workers, a reference was made to unskilled young people. Social problems were increasingly addressed on a more individualised basis. Social conditions were not disregarded but considered as obstacles to avoid and offset (De Graaf 1989). Encouragement continued to be given to the pedagogization of leisure time, which can be used to develop an educational environment that might help to avoid the obstacles. Whereas social pedagogy for Natorp was a concept reflecting pedagogy's mission in society, social pedagogy had now developed into a limited part of pedagogy. In Germany, Sozialpädagogik was included as a separate field of research in the influential 'Handbuch der Pädagogik' by Nohl and Pallat (1929-Buch 5). In this manual Gertrud Bäumer initiated the standard description of Sozialpädagogik: 'Alles was Erziehung aber nicht Schule und nicht Familie ist.' (Geck 1931,

Perquin 1965). Social pedagogy became once and for all 'third milieu pedagogy'.

'One size fits all' or specialisation according to social background?

Thus involvement in the youth movement gained further legitimacy through social pedagogy. Between 1924 and 1934 and against the background of Catholic Action youth organisations were created for each class. The development of class-related youth work was not self-evident, but Cardijn had exerted a great deal of influence. Jung wrote (1988: 300) about *'das belgische Modell der mouvements spécialisés das die Einheit des Jungmanschaftsverbandes gefährdete und zum breiten Diskussionen im gesamten katholischen Lager führte ... Treibende Kraft dieser Spezialisierung war die vom Geistlichen Joseph Cardeyn geführte Arbeiterjugend, die sich in Wallonien zur Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne (JOC) zusammengeschlossen hatte und sich vorm dort bald in flämischen Landesteil und zu Beginn der 1930er Jahre auch massgeblich in Frankreich und der französischsprachige Schweiz ausbreitete.'*

Illustrative in this respect is the meeting Cardijn and Baden-Powell had in London in 1911, before Cardijn started the Young Christian Workers. Baden-Powell proposed that Cardijn should become the chief-scout for Belgium. According to Cardijn, the chief scout could not understand that there is a distinction between youth in general and young workers. This is an extract from the conversation (Cardijn 1948: 137):

- *do you know that young workers have problems and needs that are entirely specific to them?*
- *I am familiar only with young people, not young workers, I wish to train active citizens.*
- *do you know how young workers have to live in a factory and how they are affected by the worker's milieu? How can we help them not only to remain good but even to exert a positive influence?*
- *I am not familiar with the worker's milieu.*

Baden-Powell regarded the core youth work component as separate from the social context of the young person in question, Cardijn took as the starting point the situation for young workers and the specific needs and requirements they claimed were also related to this situation. The more the scouting system took root elsewhere in the world, the more people believed this system worked, irrespective of the context of the young people for which it had to operate. *'If this can be done in a far-off land with a foreign people, it gives boundless view of what might be possible and ought to be effected by the same means in our own great slum centres in England'*, stated Baden-Powell in the foreword to a book about character building for young Indian boys (Tyndale-Biscoe 1920). The

scouting system was also praised in all quarters for benefits it had for young people with mental problems or so-called 'maladjusted' youth (Joubrel 1951).

Cleymans, chaplain of the Youth Union for Catholic Action (JVKA), also called for a youth movement focused on all young people. Cardijn aspired to have class-related youth organisations effectively tailored to the circumstances of the young people being targeted. Cardijn won the argument so that a series of class and gender-related youth organisations were gradually created. Apart from the movements for students (Catholic Student Action) and young workers (Young Christian Workers) movements appeared for farmer's youth (BJB) and merchant's youth (KBMJ). All of these movements, each with their female variant, were still firmly encapsulated in the parent organisation (farmers' union, workers' movement, ...). The purpose of the youth movement was not ultimately missionary work, but training for missionary work. There were also the auxiliary works for Catholic Action. They had to cater for children and prepare for the subsequent class group they would become members of. This were the 'patronages' and the Catholic scout groups. For scout groups were not organised parochially and the church authorities were also uncomfortable with the over-emphasis on character building, discipline and physical education. Although the church leaders soon admitted that there assessment had been flawed. After '*careful study*' and after some adjustment, the church acknowledged the system was a '*truly powerful means of education able to achieve effective results*'. Another important observation: the scouts appeared to be in a better position than the Catholic Action movements *to penetrate into non-religious environments* (Dubourg 1934).

Dux and the third milieu

The opposition of Flemish pedagogues to state pedagogy paved the way for the governance of the third milieu by the Catholic private initiative. There was methodical borrowing between the various initiatives where prominence was still given to the method of study circles, but more and more attention was being paid to the new 'youth movement methodology'. Youth workers and key Catholic officials found each other in the idealised images of a normal puberty and aimed to show young people how a good adult life is lived (De Graaf 1989). It was no coincidence that one considered to baptize a new publication for youth work of that time '*Adolescens*' (Roes 1979). The immediate input from clerics and adults in general was decreasing, but the emphasis on self-determination was not automatically picked up by the church. So the personality of the youth leader was of primary importance. For that reason the new publication was ultimately called '*Dux*', or leader. Dux was designed for 'priests involved in educating older youth'. The publication played a key role in propagating the third milieu approach, with the youth movement as com-

pensating or even correcting intervention in addition to the first two educational milieus.

Dux was also read by associations not belonging to the Catholic Action, such as the AKVS. A thoughtful article on the Italian Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) in the *Blauwvoet* is 'largely reproduced from Dux, the excellent Dutch periodical for Catholic youth education'. There we read: 'As for recreational activities: the associational life is primordial in what we call youth work. This is not developed enough in the ONB. Because here in Belgium the family neglected the child and the school confined itself to providing one-side intellectual knowledge a new environment had to be created outside these two and youth associations were created' (J.S. 1934: 129). So even at this point in time, historians apparently took the development of the 'youth movement' (as a method) as the starting point of youth work history.

Youth movement acquires monopoly as youth work method

The quarrel between the moribund AKVS and the Catholic Student Action underscores how the third milieu approach, with at its heart the 'youth movement' methodology, gained prevalence in the youth work universe. AKVS-members were actively tracked down and dismissed from colleges. AKVS was blamed for being too radical and not wanting to join the Catholic Action. AKVS spoke of double standards being applied: 'The recently created Youth Union for Catholic Action (JVKA) refuses to admit the AVKS because of its political activities, but the Young Christian Workers and the Farmers' Youth are welcomed with open arms even though they are affiliated to a political party: people do what they want with these boys', an AKVS-member wrote in the *Blauwvoet* 'They [Youth Union for Catholic Action] started operating several years ago, to what avail? The mass of followers, indifferent and thoughtless, has grown significantly ... We do not seek a mass but the best of our youth. We leave the huge mass to the others.' AKVS split into various groups. These political youth groups disappeared – as all politicised groups – from the youth work debate after the war.

In the meantime, Dubois in the Catholic Student Action sought to separate the Catholic and Flemish action from each other. Politics was negative, something more for the 'politicised AKVS' (Woestenborghs 1992: 58). It is clear that the romantic stories about the Flemish past and, above all, outdoor game, sports and camping activities were more captivating than Catholic Action stories. The search for a synthesis between tradition, Catholic Action and Flemish action also led the Catholic Student Action to the publications of the German youth movement. The magazine 'Mededeelingen' 1933-34 featured an article making a specific reference to the German youth movement. The author admired the German organisations' synthesis between Catholic instruction

and the youth movement activities of the Wandervögel (Heyrman and Van Wassenhove 1987). Associations would occasionally meet extramurally in the countryside. Elements of style were introduced such as a uniform and flag salutes. A rejuvenation process also got underway and boys associations (10-12 year olds) with less emphasis on theory appeared. In 1937, with the appearance of the Guldensporen (Battle of the Spurs) programme – based on the 1923 Bund Neudeutschland Hirschberg programme – all of these various items were consolidated into a real methodology. This signalled the start of the Catholic Student Action's romantic narrative of chivalry. Members of the Catholic Student Action in East Flanders call themselves now explicitly a 'youth movement': Young Flanders (Jong-Vlaanderen). Towards 1943 the youth movement methodology of Young Flanders had spread to Flanders as a whole, being referred to as the KSA-Jong Vlaanderen (Vos 1977).

Young Christian Workers also adopt the youth movement methodology

Under pressure from the unions and the church hierarchy, the Young Christian Workers abandoned its trade union and socio-political aspirations and the organisation is being established according to the youth movement model. Cardijn's search for a synthesis between the purely religious idea of Catholic Action and the more social-political aims of the workers' movement fitted in with the youth movement methodology and the concepts underpinning this new youth work method. Taking a cue from French psychologists, such as Mendousse (1909), Cardijn also saw cultural puberty as a guiding idea for his young workers: *'the most tragic part of the young workers' plight is undeniably the fact that they are left to go through the 'Storm and Stress' period all on their own. Even the parents, as a result of the negligence reigning on all sides, barely realise or do not realise at all the dangers their children are exposed to. These completely unsupervised individuals cannot rely on any help during the most risky years of their lives, completely caught up in their pubertal crisis'* (Young Christian Workers 1933: 41).

Although he adopted the youth movement methodology Cardijn's movement still was focused to a large extent on education and training. Many former members of the Young Christian Workers regarded the YCW as their 'university for life', in common with the 'Patronages', which were formerly presented as the humanities (Dendooven 1967). The movement offered them the education they had missed out on. They learned how to write essays, give lectures or hold meetings. Armed with these skills they were able to study and climb up the social ladder. Consequently, Cardijn made a significant contribution to the push for the emancipation of young workers, while catering for society's expectancy for this emancipation to be channelled in an acceptable, non-revolutionary way. Cardijn was so good at understanding this tension, in word and deed, that Leirman (1981) was quite justified in calling him the first Flemish

youth work pedagogue. The Young Christian Workers expanded rapidly, spreading over the entire world. Cardijn himself ultimately became a cardinal. He died in 1967.

The youth movements: from elitist organisations to mass movements?

These were the heydays of the Catholic youth movements. They wanted to increase their range and started to aim for the mass organisation of youth. The unemployment during the 1930s failed to put a break on the development of the youth movements. On the contrary, they became actively involved in the reception and training of unemployed young people. In the case of unemployed adults the focus was on material factors, whereas youth unemployment was primarily regarded as a socio-pedagogical issue. Work offered a release for the dynamism of youth and at the same time an opportunity to learn discipline and sociability. The shortage of jobs exposed defenceless young people to moral dangers. Youth unemployment services needed to keep young people off the streets, while offering them goals in life. The youth movement methodology was discovered to be admirably suited for this purpose. In Flanders it was mainly the Young Christian Workers that stood out in this respect. Between 1928 and 1933 the number of Young Christian Workers movement sections more than doubled. During this period of crisis, the Young Christian Workers members also used the Catholic press to make an appealing and innovative impact. The success of the major Rome and Lourdes pilgrimages helped to boost this impact. The Young Christian Workers actively committed themselves to caring for the unemployed. They created community workplaces where unemployed young people could spend a few hours a day learning about carpentry or electricity. This offered them an opportunity to reach out to the 'majority youth'. During this period, the Young Christian Workers developed a powerful persuasion system. Every Young Catholic Worker member was asked to supply information about young people who 'still needed to be conquered'. Each member was then urged to choose a boy or girl to make contact with so as to develop a lasting friendship. During the fierce ideological struggles of the 1930s, this inductive and active method became more of a propaganda value than an educational one (Alaerts 2004, Dupriez et al 2002).

The issue of the unorganised youth

The image of the young person in the youth movement continued to be the criterion against which all young people were assessed. The image of a bold, self-confident youth movement member contrasted sharply with the lax, spineless majority youth. This somewhat elitist perception of the youth move-

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ment member made access more difficult, but also increased the attention for the unorganised youth. Pedagogues spoke about adolescents in general and the higher social classes, too, had young people who were not involved in youth work, but the concern about none-organised youngsters was focused on those from the lower social classes, so the emphasis was primarily on young urban workers. The way in which they spent their leisure time (boisterous activities on the streets) attracted more attention than the swing or jazz evenings frequented by the middle or upper classes. The leisure activities of working class youngsters were labelled as 'non-pedagogical'. The actual significance of their leisure time continued to be disregarded owing to the dominance of the youth movement methodology in the youth work debate.

The youth movement required a monopoly position in Belgium but did not manage *'to reach nor elevate the grey, colourless mass'* (Van Wel 1987). Even during its heyday, the youth movement did not manage to reach out to more than 30 or 40% of all young people, hence the majority of youth was unorganised. The 'tea bag strategy' gained ground: it aimed at the indirect betterment of young workers as a result of training a young elite who would gradually extend its sphere of influence. Under this heading, Cardijn referred to the 'yeast in the dough', the Catholic Student Action to 'the leaven in the mass'.

Also other countries took the view that proletarian puberty displays a less desirable educational model. It was all the more worrying that young workers seemed not touched by visionary ideals of the youth movements. Local youth services focusing on 'unorganised youth' were set up in Germany and England as early as the 1920s. A two-track policy was developed in the Netherlands: a) the youth movement was at a premium and b) investments were made in majority youth work for unskilled youth, for whom there was no space in the youth movement, *'despite their need for some culture'* (Kruithof 1983). Even the settlements and village halls did not manage to reach out to these young people. Their 'development clubs' drew a lot of their inspiration from the youth movement methodology. In view of the fact that the existing facilities attracted at the very most a public composed of the 'better' workers, other agencies were focused primarily on the lower social classes (Nijenhuis 1987). As early as 1922 the Institute for Older Youth 'De Arend' was set up in Rotterdam, a club for 'spineless majority youth' as the director, Van Wijk, subsequently described his young boys. Another well-known club was 'de Mus-sen' run by 'master' Jacob de Bruin in The Hague. Club workers wanted to be more responsive to the social world of young workers and believe in an individualised approach and small clubs. They organised programmes with a view to promoting the social and cultural development of their members. For example, the activities included outings to different factories. Van Wijk soon had problems keeping out the under-14s and the club was also very frequently

'full up'. Girls, too, found it difficult to fit in but were provided with their own club in 1937, 'De Zeemeeuw'. Whether the young workers also went there to seek culture and development is another question. Van Wijk had few illusions on this score: *'Hundreds of bored and irritable souls arrived there every day hoping the club would offer a solution, but in a way that did not require them to make the slightest effort.'* (quoted in Oudenaarden 1995: 31).

Pressure of the youth movement methodology

Unlike in the youth movement, adolescents in a youth club were not treated as the new generation open to social renewal and actively participating in this context. These young people were supposed to need activities to compensate for a poor family upbringing and leaving school too early. Working class kids put up with this 'pedagogical crusade' because in the final analysis it gave them the opportunity to enjoy the company of their friends and other young people. These special services were originally regarded as a pathway to the 'idealistic youth organisations', but it soon became clear that this expectation was something of a pipe dream. An illusion that nonetheless lingered on for a long time and has now made a comeback in the **transfer strategy**. There was also a certain level of pressure for youth clubs to be steered in the direction of a more structured model. Van Wijk was turned down when he made a request to the Municipal Executive for financial support for renting the premises. One of the arguments the advisory committee gave was that the club would have a bigger scope *'if the boys were to work in fixed groups under regular supervision.'* (Oudenaarden 1995: 29). Thus the **improvement strategy** is anything really new neither. Both strategies appeared to fit in seamlessly with the two-track policy that had come into force.

The club method was less widespread in Flanders. The belief in the overall reach of youth movement lingered on longer here than in the Netherlands. The youth movement myth was still gaining in strength. *'No-one had ever suspected that within the space of one generation people could emerge from the deepest decline and work their way up to achieve significant success: this is the achievement of the youth movement's doing'* rejoiced Fruytier (1940). *'To remain healthy, the irrepressible efforts of youth have to be guided, and this is achieved in a natural fashion in the youth movement.'* The youth movement myth becomes an integral part of the theoretical principles of youth work.

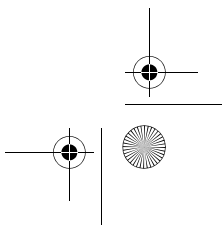
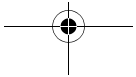
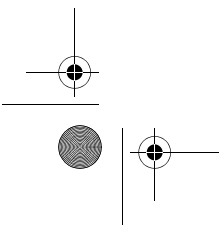
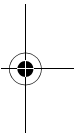
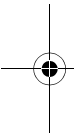
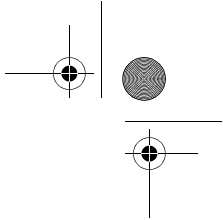
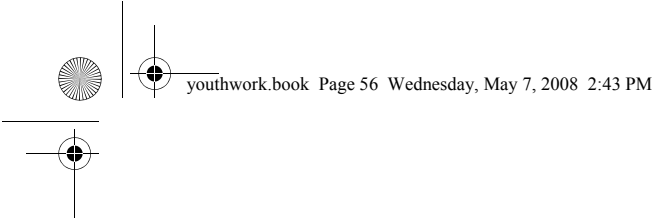
Socialist, liberal and Catholic youth activities were focused on the youth movement methodology. The emphasis on the youth movement disregarded other methods for working with young people. Within the context of movements originally focused on 'the second environment', such as Young Christian Workers and Catholic Student Action, the emphasis shifted to 'educa-

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tional leisure time'. It is no coincidence however that the Young Christian Workers was the only youth movement purposely devoted to the development of services: savings banks, careers guidance, school leavers programme, visits to sick people, family training, ... These aspects, which are connected to the specific target group of the Young Christian Workers, were paid scant attention in the youth work debate.

Young people who can be worked with and young people to be worked on

When the two-track policy was introduced, the history was not included, as the starting point was the actual supposed benefits of the youth movement. The youth movement myth obviously has an element of truth in it, otherwise it would never have grown into a myth, but this element of truth is a middle class narrative. De Graaf (1989) stresses that the youth movement '*for many young people from the middle class and the upper working class offers a special, separate milieu involving opportunities for indulging in a distinctive style, for acquiring an unparalleled perspective on the world*'. However, the youth movement did not appeal to young workers. Even the Young Christian Workers seem to appeal only to the top echelon of *young workers*. As a result of not participating in the standard offer of support this group was faced with a dilemma: they were said to go through an incomplete puberty and they did not participate in the educational opportunities that could help offset or adjust any shortcomings. In this way, the third milieu approach offered the theoretical underpinning for the division between organised and unorganised youth. This is the basis for a two-track policy (as developed in the Netherlands) built on a distinction between 'youth work that works with young people' and 'youth work that works on young people' (Jeffs 1997). This distinction was also finalised in Belgium government policy after the Second World War.



Chapter 3. What is youth work?

3.1. *A new civilisation strategy through the youth movement*

The first few years after the war were a time for restoration and renewal. Characterised by compartmentalisation the old social balances returned, while social policy continued to be fleshed out. Employment, purchasing power and social protection were the cornerstones of the Fordist welfare state. The quickening pace of industrialisation, coincided with higher wages and more consumer opportunities.

Shifting emphasis in the attention paid to youth?

The American liberators made their mark. American cigarettes, pinball machines, jukeboxes and chewing gum entered the Belgium market. Belgium's strategic location (and ownership of uranium mines in the Congo) prompted the Americans to lend their support and drew their attention to this European country. Against the background of the Marshall Plan luxury goods were being produced on a large scale within a short space of time (Veraghtert 1997). Swing was all the rage, the dancehall became a 'youth problem'. In common with what happened after the First World War society's concern about the behaviour of young people intensified. There was a fear of massification in the sense of deindividualisation and the loss of accountability, leading to society comprising disconnected individuals, without any ties to each other nor to the larger community. Europe came into the picture but *'those who sought to defend Europe tacitly took for granted that there would be a common European spirit. Yet, a whole lot of socio-pedagogical work is required to render it conscious and vibrant!'* (De Vries-Reilingh 1952).

This new social pedagogical 'embarrassment' was exacerbated by the unease about the alarming rowdiness of youth and moreover it seemed that it was precisely the maligned American mass culture which was set to have an impact on the leisure time behaviour of young people. The search for a modern system of pedagogy very quickly focused on 'mass youth', a concept imported from the United States. Masses of young people were seen to be hanging aimlessly around in the streets, unwilling to be set in traditional structures and mainly interested in their own pleasure. The consumer patterns of these unskilled young workers were the main target for the criticism levelled at these youngsters by the authorities, the press and the middle

classes and were the cause of what youth sociologists later called a 'moral panic'. Already exposed to moral dangers in the workplace the working youth were now said to be at risk during their leisure hours as well (Dibbits 1987). Once again social and political concerns were reflected in educational and moral terms. Once again the focus was on young workers. And once again not only the parents of tomorrow were the targets, the pedagogues also wanted to influence the parents of today through their offspring because these were the parents failing in their duty to guide their children towards a responsible, conscious adulthood.

From cultural elevation to dialogue

The Mc Nair Report was published in England in 1944. During the war young people in the UK were obliged to join a youth organisation. This report set the stage for the post-war situation, homing in on the pedagogical relationship. The youth worker was depicted 'as Guide, Philosopher and Friend': 'a well-informed philosophy of life' was therefore crucial to be an effective youth worker (Young 1999). In Belgium, too, the idea was becoming accepted that education had to imply dialogue and guidance instead of rules and coercion (Dieleman 1990). On the other hand, the prevailing dominating pedagogical theories continued to cling to the traditional value structures, focusing on young people with undeveloped higher values. A mature adulthood was the goal of all pedagogical activity. Young people had to be educated to become responsible adults independently shaping their lives. This is a heavy burden for all young people, but it would appear that the burden is twice as heavy on the shoulders of young workers who were supposed to experience a too short, truncated form of puberty. More than ever, the youth movement was seen as a necessary educational environment for these young people.

The research on 'the mass youth'

Concern about the social inclusion of young people was also at the root of the much-trumpeted 'mass youth research'. The Dutch Settlements Association (NBV) accused the government of not making enough funding available to reach out to mass youth. In the true spirit of Baden-Powell the NBV stressed that there is '*much wrong with our cultural defence which nonetheless has to be regarded as the backbone of our economic and military defence*' (Nijenhuis 1987: 186). There was no clear perception how the work should develop vis à vis mass youth. This prompted the Dutch Minister for Education, Arts and Sciences to take a decision in 1948 to ask seven academic institutions to carry out research into the mass youth phenomenon. The reports that were produced under this heading failed to throw much light on the nature of youth work, as

was underscored during talks between commissioners and researchers. When asked if clubs contributed to the crusade against massification, one researcher answered that *'the impact of youth work could not be measured'*, while another pointed out that the research was not focused on this (Nijenhuis 1987: 187).

As in 1919 the post-war government's focus on work was part of the concern about 'problem youth', which researchers contrasted with educated middle class youth. The puberty and adolescence perceptions of Bühler and Spranger continued to resonate. On the basis of the mass youth research a whole host of local authorities in the Netherlands commissioned research into the 'mindset' of their youth (Abma 1993). This was also undertaken in other countries as well. During the early 1950s the UK government commissioned research on *'the drifting youth of the welfare state'*, which concluded *'the below-average adolescent'* made only limited use of his free time. A review had to be made of the youth work *methodology* (Jephcott 1954).

The chase after the non-organised, elusive youth was mainly manifested methodologically. As youth work had developed into a method. In pedagogical terms the youth work debate remained on a very abstract level. In the wake of the Second World War people were still expressing high hopes about the 'third milieu'. However, the youth work methodology had to be fine-tuned and made more effective. In the Netherlands the professionalisation of youth work was set in, but nevertheless the youth clubs failed to live up to expectations (Nijenhuis 1987).

Youth work policy confirms the youth movement as the youth work standard

The concern for unorganised youth was less acute in Flanders, leading to less demand for research activities. Nor was much attention paid to methodological differentiation. The first youth centre was opened in 1952 in the context of the YWCA activities in Antwerp, but there was recognition and government support for 'open youth work'. It was the government's explicit intention to be engaged with youth work as it was concerned about the values of its young citizens. Rather than a Flemish romanticised interaction with the past, the policymakers were more concerned with a more modern historical consciousness, where the emphasis was on young people's actual involvement with institutions and social relationships (Beyen 2001). Youth is the 'nation in the making'. The administration decided to create a specific department within the Ministry of Education: the National Youth Department. There was still heavy resistance against 'state pedagogy', so the focus remained on 'the free youth movement'. The existing youth movements, mainly from the Catholic establishment, saw the guiding of young people as much as possible towards

the youth movement as a policy priority, rather than to develop a state youth organisation (Collard 1957). The National Youth Council was set up in December. The Council could issue advisory opinions but not impose anything on the existing youth organisations. The administration's involvement did not ultimately concern itself with the content of youth work. Consequently, from the very outset, Peeters (1989) stated that Flemish youth policy was 'neutral and apedagogical': no pedagogical standards were laid down as a precondition for recognition and the subsidiarity principle set the tone.

In 1946 financial support was granted solely to youth movements and youth hostels (Faché 1987). Playgrounds were also covered but did not qualify as youth work. The holiday camps and playgrounds (re) created immediately after the war to cater for urban adolescents were – along with the health insurance fund's preventative fresh-air cures – covered by the health sector. These initiatives were focused on temporarily offering a beneficiary educational environment for specific groups of young people (Van Roy 1967), but primarily regarded as a means of preventing ill health. The playground activities gradually developed into a form of holiday services, also involving pedagogical goals.

Unlike in the Netherlands, initiatives of 'youth social work' continued to be completely disregarded in the youth work debate. No word about the YWCA, no word about local club activities. The 'Qualification criteria for youth organisations' of the Youth Council referred to a number of clubs and youth services. These were listed under 'educational youth services': *'This involves more of a technical, social or civil education. Consequently, the youth service shall still like to refer to the youth movement for further harmonious education'* (Deshormes 1953).

The hope of the nation

In the period after the war youth movements put up with their privileged position in the embryonic youth work policy. They claimed to be a powerful force in the country's reconstruction, as underscored by the Catholic Student Action's motto for the 1945-46 period: *'We rebuild the country!'* In the meantime the Catholic Student Action set itself the task of refraining from working with a 'clique' of students, so as to *'reconvert the entire student community'* (Laridon 1978: 34). In this respect, the youth movement methodology of KSA Jong-Vlaanderen appeared to be the most suitable, better than the study circles that failed to reach out to the modern adolescents *'who wanted to get out and about'*. The opportunities the youth movement offered 'for seeing a bit of the world', for adventurous activities together with peers, trips to Rome and Lourdes, the many camps and weekend outings, ... appealed to many young people.

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The firm belief in the youth movement's 'wholesome activities' for individuals and society once again resulted in a call to increase the participation rates, with there also being a concern for rejuvenation *'In order to succeed in deploying youth work for the re-education of our people we have to recruit difficult and somewhat neglected adolescents on top of the easy and well-behaved ones. Neglected adolescents who are difficult to supervise should be admitted not at 14 or 18 years of age, but when they are eight.'* (Vanhaegendoren-Groffi and Vanhaegendoren 1946: 109).

The popularity of the youth movement was reflected in the soaring membership figures⁸, unlike what was happening in other countries. Flanders' youth work approach was propagated throughout the world. As Van der Bruggen and Picalausa (1946) wrote in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*: *'Through governmental measures and through their own initiative, the leaders of the youth movements are now taking a definitive responsibility towards the needs of youth in this changed world: physical health and fitness, moral and character education, vocational guidance and apprenticeship, education toward family responsibility, and an adequate civic education adapted to the technical and moral needs of democracy. The youth movements are firmly decided to help solve all these problems by the influencing of the public opinion and of the government, by a close co-operation with one another, by the extension of their action to the mass of youth, and by the complete and well-integrated education they aim to give to their members, alongside the family and the school, so as to enrich their personality and equip them to accomplish the great task of rebuilding their country and helping to make a better world.'*

High participation rates and high hopes, but also a high threshold

The rejuvenated leaders' groups put a brake on the youth movement's development as a mass movement. The typical youth movement style did not seem very appealing to some groups. Take the fairly militarist scouting system, for example. The *Wolfcub's Handbook* says: *'When ordered to be alert the cub stands straight up like a soldier, with heels together, arms down by his sides, chest well advanced, head up and eyes looking straight to the front – nowhere else. When the command is given 'at ease', you stand with feet apart and hands clasped behind you back and you may then look about you as much as you please.'* (Baden-Powell 1950: 13). This style was also copied by other movements, including springing to attention when your name is called out, inspection of uniforms and flag salutes. The hierarchical dimension is consolidated through all the different

⁸ In 1950 the YCW was by far the largest, with 27,000 members, compared with 16,709 scouts, Catholic Student Action had 15,850 members and Chiro 9,557. The Flemish nationalist youth movements had 10,000 members during the war but now had less than half of this figure.

badges that can be earned, so that the most competent and the most knowledgeable can very quickly move up a rung or two on the ladder.

During this time, Maurits Van Haegendoren (1945) wrote his three-volume standard book on scouting 'Het Verkennersleven' thereby investing the Flemish Association of Catholic Scouts (VVKS) with a strong Flemish Catholic identity. He drew attention to a '*distinctively Christian national romanticism*' rather than '*cowboy romanticism and redskinnery* and other types of excessive '*xenophilia*' (Van Haegendoren in Beyen 2001: 59). '*Resisting the neutral and outlandish and paying close attention to the rich Flemish folklore*' is also an expression of the concern to be able to fit in with unorganised youth. Scouting should not be out of touch, the working class youth must fit in. Van Haegendoren also argues in particular against study circles (such as Catholic Student Action and Young Christian Workers). '*In the scouts the search for character and personality development rules out the possibility off any class organisation*', according to his successor Coppieters (1954: 544). A clear statement, but more wishful thinking than reality. The scouts did not reach young workers.

The class-based youth organisations were equally struggling with their selective catchment area. Nonetheless, the membership figures continued to rise. The Young Christian Workers was in its heyday, also entering the international arena but we can hardly describe the Young Christian Workers as an 'easily accessible youth organisation'. Membership was particularly demanding in the case of boys. Within the space of four years, a Young Christian Workers member had to acquire eight skills for which he had to undergo an annual test. This involved popular youth movement disciplines, such as orientation walks, study of nature, local history and first aid, but the Young Christian Workers member also has to know what the structure of the Young Christian Workers involved, undergo certain physical trials, learn pioneering, and exercise practical religion (Alaerts 2004).

The Catholic Student Action, too, makes a distinction between first class skills and lower ones. Immediately after the war KSA-Jong Vlaanderen introduced the 'knighthood proof' ensuring that the youth movement was not only focused on games, but also on civic education. This combination was made possible thanks to the romanticism surrounding the knights of yore. This, too, involved a fairly rigidly organised system: '*The aspirant-knight has to write an essay, of at least five letter-size pages, on a Catholic Action subject, which he must study beforehand with his paper featuring a bibliography*' (Van der Meersch 1946: 59). There was also an oral interview about the person's knowledge of the student's movement starting from Rodenbach, the contents of two encyclical letters according to preference and the issue of specialisation and coordination in the Catholic Action. The knights were the 'cream' of the youth movement.

A distinction was also made in the 'higher' echelons between pageboys and shield bearers, according to the degree of perspective in the movement and its objectives.

The youth movement as an 'antidote'

This kind of hierarchical and educational system seem a bit strange to people familiar with the current youth movement. A more specific examination of the youth organisation's situation half a century ago teaches us why the youth movement claimed (and still claims) to focus on a general and harmonious personality development. Today *'it is not at all clear and unrealistic for this aim to be met in four to six hours of activities a week, out the total 112 hours available.'* (Van Steenvoort 1987), but in those days youth movements aimed to influence young people's daily lives. The good turn was a central component of the scouting methodology. The Catholic Student Action had a daily sacrifice too. Their daily sacrifice was expected to make the holy mass a better experience for them. *'A small sacrifice we can feel as such, one that counts, one that makes us feel the pinch. There are many daily sacrifices, such as not looking up when someone comes in during lessons, leaving the milk or sugar out of a cup of coffee for once, carefully finishing a job that we can quite easily leave aside without any major consequences, giving away delicacies, and giving alms.'* (Jongvlaamsche Werkgemeenschap 1943: 51).

Contacts were promoted with parents as well as schools so as to broaden the youth movement's impact and *'influence and inspire boys to some extent outside the few hours a week in the setting of the movement'* (Verstraete and Vanspringel 1955: 24). As a result of the extremely strong faith in the youth movement, emphasis was also placed on how its impact helped supplement, compensate or adjust the other educational milieus. *'Het verkennersleven in het Parochiaal milieu'* (1945) described this as follows:

'It is important to have contact with the family. The leader must use every opportunity to be of service to a boy or his family, in order to ensure that influence is such that the youth movement's upbringing is

1. *a genuinely necessary supplement to a generally unsatisfactory upbringing.*
2. *a substitute upbringing where there is no upbringing at home.*
3. *an antidote when the family milieu is particularly poor.*

Caution is nonetheless called for here. The parents are the first ones entitled to bring up their child. It is not because we, as educational workers in leisure time think we can do better that we should take over the tasks' (Demeyere cited in Boesman and Buysse 2002).

Embedding the organised – unorganised distinction

The nature of the youth work debate continued without any change. The pedagogy of youth work was suffused with typical images about puberty and harmonious development. Cardijn and Van Haegendoren both referred to the 'the Storm and Stress period'. Perfectly in line with Gunning (1919) the youth movement methodology was legitimised as the ideal environment for connecting with the psyche of the 'pubescent'. Answers to the problems of older adolescents dropping out were also sought under this heading. The scouts created a separate section for the 14-17 age group. Raiding, a more challenging system of scouting based on the activities of the French Raider Scouts, did not render scouting any less elitist, not so much because of the type of activities – shivering on a ship's bridge, compass hikes in complete darkness, signal lamps, field telephone and patrols, ... – but because of the associated philosophy. Raiding was a way-of-life, a firm reaction to the 'spineless', 'lifeless' mass youth (Lauwers 1989).

The youth movements had a somewhat 'inaccessible' profile, which was enhanced by the pedagogical approach. In the run-up to the war, the stout-hearted youth movement member had been set against the spineless majority youth, and now the idea of a chivalrous, reliable youth movement member was contrasted with the swinging, gutless dance hall youth. The organised versus unorganised distinction became embedded in the early youth work policy. Substantiated by researchers this image was conveyed through various channels: devotional pictures, books for young people, comic strips, film, ... There was a constant stream of praise for outdoor activities and healthy physical exercises in the youth movement, as compared with unorganised street activities, portrayed as unhealthy, dangerous and mind-numbing.

The last of the Mohicans: 'the patronages' turn into a youth movement

In the meantime we see how the methodological unification was completed: the 'patronages' also became a youth movement. Together with the 'patronages', working class children apparently disappeared completely from the youth work scene. At any rate the 'patronages' were as good as dead at that time. Jos Cleymans, national chaplain of the Youth Union for Catholic Action (JVKA), was committed to a reappraisal of the traditional 'Patronage' as a parochial youth association for all young people. Cleymans had also built up some experience with other youth movements (Young Christian Workers and Catholic Student Action) and his friend Aarts was familiar with the French and German Catholic youth organisations. All of this inspired them to renew the 'patronages' by focusing more on self-motivation and outdoor life together with active religious worship. The religious synthesis developed from 'something rational

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to be transferred' to 'an experiential whole to be experienced'. Cleymans launched his new youth movement in 1934: the Chiro Youth. The name Chiro refers to the militancy for the Kingdom of Christ⁹. The Chiro is in line with the emerging youth movement methodology: *'The time has gone when an adolescent allowed himself to be stuck on a bench or at a table, or allowed himself to be cooped up in the four walls of a room without recreational opportunities in the open air. The adolescence of today hankers for the open air and feels an inner desire for self-realisation.'* (Cleymans 1934: 3).

Other Catholic Action movements in Germany (Quickborn), Switzerland (Jungwacht), the Netherlands (Jonge Wacht), Italy (Aspiranti) and France (Coeurs Vaillants¹⁰) took the same course. These were also movements that developed out of the patronages to seek their own salvation in a methodology based on the youth movement so as to be able to continue with their educational activities. There was a great deal of focus on the collective experience and a family atmosphere in Chiro's 'new' pedagogical system. Scouting, too, was a source of inspiration. Chiro developed an entire system of requirements as well (but there was no sleeping in tents as this made supervision difficult). Chirojeugd however appeared to short-circuit the generally dominant concept that youth work was based on class differences. The Chiro population should be an accurate reflection of the parish population but primarily focused on the *'section of working class youth that still needed to be influenced'*. It remains open whether a large group of older members were left by the way-side during the transition from patronage to youth movement. Albert Frans Peeters, chaplain and Chiro pedagogue, spoke about *'Chiro as a counter-offensive against the moral corruption of young workers'* (De Bruyne and Vervaeke 1993). An approach that did not seem very appealing to working class youth. Nonetheless, Cardijn grew somewhat anxious, and partly out of concern for rivalry with the modernised patronages he continued within the context of the Young Christian Workers to flesh the study circle method out more with the youth movement system, as is clearly shown in his speeches just after the war (see Cardijn 1948). Where Chiro enlisted the aid of leadership from other youth organisations, Cardijn was averse to allowing leaders from other youth organisations into the Young Christian Workers. He concluded that solely young

⁹ The use of the sign of Christ 'Chiro' goes back further. The X (chi) and P (rho) are the first two letters of XPISTOS (Christ in Greek). It was also the symbol of the Catholic Student Action.

¹⁰ Coeurs Vaillants and the sister publication Ames Vaillantes grew out an attempt to revive the French Patronages. It started with a new publication that used highly popular comic strips, such as Tintin (Hergé's career kicked off in Le Boy Scout) to win over children. Coeurs Vaillants gradually developed into a youth movement. In common with what happened in Flanders, the movement clashed with the Worker's Youth, over the definition of the target group (Feroldi 1987). The movement is now called the ACE (Action Catholique des Enfants).

workers could oversee young people from the working class but it is not obvious whether that criterion survived for long in the gradual transition from study circle to youth movement.

Initial (re)differentiation: Mater Amabilis and Pater Fortis

The concern about the moral corruption of young workers resulted in new pedagogical initiatives being ushered in for extracurricular education after 1945. The most well-known and influential initiative was focused on girls, coinciding with the concern about the family's integration role during this period of major social transformations. The Flemish teacher Maria Schouwenaars started off in 1940 with marriage and motherhood training courses for girls aged 17 and over. This '*School for the Female vocation*' failed to make a breakthrough in Flanders but was a success in the Netherlands, where it was called Mater Amabilis, the mother most amiable, with Mary as a shining example. The search for a 'modern' pedagogical standard was also reflected during the development of this training. Rather than being focused exclusively on motherhood and the status of a wife, the perception of femininity was defined as the outcome of personality development. Of central importance in this respect was not so much the 'content of training courses' as the personal relationship between the leader and female student. The pedagogical relationship was more important than the transfer of knowledge. Schouwenaars (1953: 84) thought it was pointless to talk about 'mass youth': *The mass culture concept is an oversimplification of contemporary education; in mass culture contemporary education admits its impotence to reach down into the depths of people ... Should Catholic education nonetheless have the clear conviction that there is no other teaching system than appealing to a completely personal individual, even if he is found in the mass.* The leaders, women from the middle and higher classes, nonetheless realised that the cultural differences between themselves and the target group made this impossible. The schools turned out to be a success in the Netherlands, there were already 80 in 1953. This success was attributed not only to the sex education on offer but also the willingness of employers to allow their young female employees one paid afternoon off a week to attend the Mater Amabilis school. The vocational training component was also emphasised. Training schools were also set up for boys in the mould of the Mater Amabilis schools: Pater Fortis schools.

A gulf between 'genuine youth work' and 'youth social work'?

Photographs (see Schweizer e.a. 1993) show marvellous images of various youth work environments. One image features middle class boys and girls singing as they walk in the countryside, resisting modern developments.

Another shows young workers combining business with pleasure on excursions and in the library, so as to keep pace with these modern developments.

In the Netherlands the two-track policy was continued owing to preventive considerations: weak but still fairly respectable families had to be kept from becoming anti-social (Van Wel 1987). Yet the gulf between youth work and 'youth social work' was called into question to some extent: *'The history of youth work reveals that agencies for unorganised and at-risk youth were generally set up in addition to normal parochial activities so that as well as there being little interaction, there was a risk the disparity between both activities could widen drastically'* (Middelweerd 1952: 394). But the 'strategy of moving on' took over: *'In normal circumstances, ideas and help should be transferred from youth work to work in the asocial environment and vice versa. Hence the need for youth social workers to transfer the better individuals and boys who are trained to some extent to standard youth work so as to concentrate more intensively on those actually suffering from neglect and the most at-risk'* (Middelweerd 1952:402).

In this sense everything in the Netherlands carried on according to the pre-war pattern. Flanders still had no two-track policy. In this connection Willems stated that unlike the Netherlands, the distinction between 'youth social work' and 'traditional youth work' in Flanders had, disappeared. *'The concern for non-organised youth is chiefly the responsibility of existing youth movements that are best considered as types of appropriate youth care.'* (1952: 421). Willems was referring here to the aforementioned synthesis. He had noted that that the patronages had also changed over from 'youth care' to 'youth movement'. He drew no conclusions about whether the profile of the Chiro members was consistent with that of the 'patronage' visitors. To the extent that 'youth social work' initiatives used youth work methods, Kriekemans (1952) claimed they could be *'recognised as preparatory facilities: youth care leading in due course to genuine youth work.'*

'Baden-Powell and Cardijn' in the Christian Health Service, another transformation

The 'preventative fresh-air' cure system involved a none-youth movement initiative focused on unorganised youth. In the post-war period, these initiatives were less explicitly focused on TBC-patients. The Christian health service provided opportunities for preventative fresh air cures. One morning in November 1948 over 1,000 families received a letter to tell them they would be able to spend 10 days in Switzerland, free of charge. This experimental project high in the Swiss mountains made a special impact on the holidaymakers who were able to take part (Jongen 1997: 21). The Christian health service made fashionable Switzerland accessible for 'ordinary' people. 'Where the grown-

ups go, there is also place for the youngsters', said the former member of the Young Christian Workers Jules Deprins. He soon enjoyed the support of the former scout Jan Van Roy. *'Helping to ensure that children are not compelled to spend their holidays in unhealthy alleyways and districts is in itself an initiative of inestimable importance. But ensuring these children are withdrawn from the morally irresponsible influence of the streets for 10 days can be a blessing when we take our task seriously.'* (cited in Jongen 1997: 40).

Working class children would pay little heed to this civilizing strategy. They were able to enjoy the sight of the sea or the mountains. Responsibility for the supervisory duties was assigned to chiro or scouts leaders. They were initially referred to as 'monitors' but over time they gradually became 'genuine' youth organisation leaders. The youth movements looked somewhat askance at how the Van Roy camps were being organised and recruiting leaders from their movement. Seeking to allay suspicions, Van Roy called the holiday camp: *'a superb means of propaganda, not so much for the health service, but for the youth movement because owing to a stay in this type of camp the desire in a child is awakened, the healthy zest for life, which the child has come there to discover, to continue in the youth movement.'* Solely 20% of the participants were youth movement members. Chaplain Lindekruis confirmed that this was a way of *'winning disconnected children for a youth group.'* (Jongen 1997: 42). Young people will 'move on', arriving from the sea or Switzerland, if need be. However, the opposite was true and the general pattern was confirmed once again: the more the preventative fresh-air cure initiatives moved in the direction of the youth movement methodology, the less working class children could still be reached.

3.2. The youth work paradox and the teabag strategy

The economy was booming during the 1960s. From the late 1950s to the middle of the 1970s, unemployment stayed below 5%. Foreigners were brought in to do the work Flemish people no longer wanted to do. The process started with the Poles and South Europeans and later the main sources of foreign labour were to be found in Turkey and Morocco. 40% of these immigrants worked in the Walloon or Limburg mines (Van Steenberge and Delanote 1998). The huge economic growth was accompanied by sharp wage increases. The family budget was available to stretch to all kinds of consumer items. In addition to higher wages, people had more leisure time. The government adopted an increasingly active position. Social security focused less on maintaining incomes for employees in the event of ill health, involuntary unemployment, old age, ... and more solidarity-based objectives were taken on board. An extensive system of social facilities was developed, along with a fairly well distributed social security system. The opportunity to attend to less material matters was attributable more to well-being than to affluence.

Culturally pessimistic pedagogy and 'value-neutral' youth sociology

'Man makes himself'. Thanks to the influential writings of Jean-Paul Sartre, existentialism was on a roll in the 1950s. The focus was on self-realisation, admittedly in communication with the other. Fixed patterns of choice (the 'standard biography'), 'pillarized' (segregated) institutes, political parties and metaphysical frames of reference were gradually stripped of their absolute guiding value. As the first wave of dissolution affected pre-industrial community relations, now the ties and traditions of industrial society were eroded. Policymakers concerned themselves with the individualization that was advancing apace. Community ties, such as the family, neighbourhood, village, working environment and the church, offered less protection. Whereas this dissociation from the collective ties came across as a threat, on the one side, it clearly opened up opportunities for self-development, on the other. Unease about 'disconnected youth' continued to be expressed. *'They are no longer concerned about the religious instruction they receive in the classroom. They think of themselves, they are now earning money for themselves, are independent and outgrowing their family ties. However, they do not forge any new permanent ties with youth or trade union organisations, while there is no sign of a conscious citizenship'*, according to Couwenberg (1959). The specific lifestyles these young (working class) people developed, aroused concern about the social integration of youth. The nozems, Blousons Noirs, Halbstarken, Teppisti, Stiljagi, Raggare, Teddy Boys, ... Europe was becoming uneasy about this phenomenon (Racine et al 1966). The Teddy Boys were depicted as an elusive youth on whom *'school teachers, clergy, fathers, association officials and club leaders dealing with adolescents are unable to exert an influence'* (Vrijman 1955a).

Culturally pessimistic pedagogy was gradually pushed away however by adolescent psychology and youth sociology (Traas 1992). A number of sociologists advised against assessing youth behaviour in the light of standards from earlier times. Teddy Boy behaviour was part and parcel of cultural patterns that already existed in over-populated working class districts, but they assumed a new form as a result of rapid changes and developments in the leisure industry. Karl Bednarik of Austria (1953) was the first to make a scientific investigation of the Teddy Boy. He advised against making moral judgements. Helmut Schelsky's (1957) 'sceptical Generation' was responsible for achieving a breakthrough for this kind of 'objective' research. The German sociologist made a distinction between three types of generation: the romantic protest of the youth movement (1900-1925), the mass organisation in politicised youth organisations (1920-1945) and the current sceptical, consumer generation that refused to be organised. This youth sociology perspective extended the hitherto developmental psychology-oriented youth concept. At

the same time, youth research was confirmed as research into 'the youth'. The youth stage was homogenously defined as a transition from childhood to 'adulthood'.

The youth movement generation may have been a thing of the past but sociologists still saw a role assigned to the youth movement. Samuel Eisenstadt (1956), along with Talcott Parsons, the leading representative of structural functionalism in youth sociology, described how the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* inevitably implies that a person's upbringing is not just a family affair. Eisenstadt emphasised that group activities supplemented the contribution made by the family and school. From the same viewpoint, the Utrecht youth sociologist Van Hessen (1964) declared that the process of 'being young together' assumed tremendous pedagogical significance. Young people were recognised as being able to develop being amongst themselves. Therefore Van Hessen called for some 'pedagogical distance'. However, Eisenstadt pointed out that when the gap between the family and society was so wide that age groups could no longer serve as an interface they became centres of resistance against existing society (Matthijs 1993). It is *striking to see how the new sociological legitimisation of youth work was perfectly compatible with its 50-year-old development psychology foundations*.

From cultural elevation to dialogue

When it came to describing youth behaviour, the contemporary objective sociologist appeared to have won the argument, but as soon as it came to concrete interventions, strategies were brought into play to prevent certain developments among young people. And here the pedagogues came to the fore again in terms of prevention (Abma 1990). Keen as they were to emphasise the necessity for specifically trained youth workers who 'understood youthspeak' and could steer the 'being young together' feelings into pedagogically sound channels. '*Education is now the dominant issue: the rise or fall of the Occident depends on finding a solution to this*', declared De Meester (1957: 16), not without some sense of drama. This still turned out to be a convincing basis for the legitimacy of youth work. And youth work was still identified with the youth movement. Kriekemans (1959a: 249) stressed: '*in a time such as ours, the youth movement plays a key role in the upbringing of the emerging race. Thanks to it some people are freed from a degree of family egotism. Everybody learns how to get on with all kinds of people. Single, spoilt, aggressive and inhibited children derive particular benefits from this.*' The youth movement was good for everybody. Also adolescents from the higher social strata were being targeted now. They displayed the same tendency to clamour for the immediate satisfaction of their needs (Hesseling 1960). But the most concern was caused by young low-skilled workers and their relationship to money, leisure time and responsibility. They

were now being described as 'young people in need of culture'. Hesseling also confirmed the unease about the social distance between youth leaders and young low-skilled workers. Youth leaders were not sufficiently aware of this distance. A search was made for new ways for adults and young people to interact. The rapid social changes make it more difficult for adults to function as a role model for youth. They found themselves faced with the difficult task of learning to understand and come to terms with the changing times and offsetting the numbing impact of the entertainment industry. Bakker (1990) regarded the later 1950s as the razor's edge from which the transition from a traditional to a modern adolescent life and from a normative to an open system of pedagogy evolved. Described by De Swaan (1982) as a changeover from a command household to a negotiation household, the changing pedagogical relationship also penetrated into youth work. Leadership became guidance. Less emphasis was given to character building and the accent was placed on personal growth.

Methodological differentiation, conceptual certainties

The fact that the situation was generally not so grim with the 'wild youth' in Flanders is attributed to our youth organisations. Scientific research reflects the general appreciation for these organisations. Back in 1956 a 'Youth movement seminary' was launched in Leuven by the psychologist and pedagogue Albert Kriekemans, a former AKVS-member. The initiators were a number of students from the Institute for Psychology and Pedagogical Sciences. They asked for more attention to the entire 'third pedagogical milieu'. A central issue was the question of whether youth organisations fully met young people's expectations and needs (Cammaer e.a. 1967). The name of the Seminary was subsequently changed to the Youth Work Study Centre. In spite of the different title, the leading role played by the youth movement was simply confirmed by the scientific research. The same held true for youth policy. The National Youth Department received a major assignment in 1956: in addition to the support of the Youth Council and private youth organisations, the educational departments required the help of the NYD in organising extracurricular activities and homing in on the '*the educational leisure activities of non-organised youth*'. The Department was understaffed and operating on a very tight budget. The tasks were confined to management training, developing a lending service and issuing grants to associations. Back in 1963 there were over 100 youth associations spread across six fields of activity: national youth associations, youth centres, youth workshops, schools of music for young people, amateur art groups and training schools for holiday camp leaders. The chase after the unorganised youth was conducive to a great deal of a (new) diversity in youth work. *In spite of the methodological differentiation there was no*

change of direction in terms of 'youth work pedagogy'. The youth movement, a reflection of middle class cultural life, remained the standard and formed the basis for differentiation. This was apparent during a youth work conference held 40 years after the Pedagogical Conference of 1919. A report on the event (Volksopvoeding 8/1: 41-44) said: *'A further environment is required because the upbringing of so many young people can no longer be fully provided for in the context of the family, school or workplace. The major challenge of 'non-organised youth' was not tackled during this conference – which examined the other 'tricky issue' of: 'the ties between the public authorities and the free youth movement' – but it did crop up for discussion quite a bit.*

The youth movement methodology for the first time under pressure?

The youth movement was coming under attack abroad. In Germany it was argued that youth work could be undertaken only as an experiment, no longer as a permanent, established methodology. Young people used the youth organisations solely as a way of completing their personal lives and as a 'way forward'. Young workers had more opportunities than their parents for upward social mobility, which was hardly conducive to the belief in the workers' struggle (Kluth, Lohmar & Tartler 1955). Nonetheless, the German youth work debate was dominated by the recognition that the existing youth work provision continued to offer the most desirable context for leisure time activities. The image of the stout-hearted youth movement member versus the shallow-minded swing snob had not gone away. *'Es gibt eine Glorifizierung und zugleich schreckliche Simplifizierung des Jungseins in der Jugendarbeit, im Vergleich zu der ein Teenager-Schlager lediglich als absurde Verdeutlichung erscheint'* (Giesecke 1963: 64).

The youth movement also came in for heavy criticism in the Netherlands. Van der Louw (in Selten 1991: 244) stressed: *'Workers Youth Centre members no longer required folk dancing at the summer camp centre, but huddled together in cramped halls and in teenagers' rooms to enjoy wine and French cheese while listening to songs and debating existential questions'.* However, here, too, we see how the youth movement myth had planted itself in the minds of researchers and policymakers. Couwenberg (1959) thought that the youth movement was an absolute 'necessity', but the Dutch youth organisations never really recovered from the war and a thorough investigation was made of alternatives for offering guidance to adolescents during their leisure time and protecting them from leisure industry.

The abstract youth work debate: youth movement, idealism without a concrete object

The 1950s and 1960s were still a golden age for the youth movement in Flanders. *'The pattern of camping, hiking, playing games in playgrounds or in the woods, standing around the romantic light of a camp fire and developing a specific romantic sense of the group took its final shape, concomitant with the theoretical underpinning of an own methodology and the development of training of leaders, differentiating the activities on offer according to age, composing and improving publications, the uniform, external action.'* (Gevers and Vos 2004: 67). Mass spectacles, pilgrimages to Lourdes, ... were common features of the 1950s. The number of people joining youth movements was at its highest during this period. Cammaer (1962) reported that 43% of boys in the 16-17 age group and 39% of girls were in the youth movement. He also confirmed how the youth movement was covering all aspects of a harmonious life: social, religious, cultural, recreational, ... Other organisations were seen as having a more concrete albeit limited goal and a less intense form of action. Interestingly enough, the research showed that the youth movement recruited from all walks of life, mainly thanks to the Young Christian Workers, which was still appealing to a large section of the of the working class.

Nevertheless, a 'more responsive' relationship was sought. The Youth Union for Catholic Action felt that Catholic youth work was making less of an impact. *'We can no longer establish any ideals, but we can help them to find them'*, so said De Meester (1957), adding: *'Many youth organisations are becoming paralysed owing to priests and are much too obedient. The youth movement has to be spontaneous. Adolescents attach value only to things they have taken over themselves. The youth movement should not be integrated in a standard pedagogical offer, it is a fundamental attitude: idealism without a concrete object'*. So, the youth movement continued to keep a safe distance from any political or broader social action.

Youth movement and youth culture: unaltered relationships

Nonetheless, people still looked to the youth movement – *'which does all the same train society's future leaders'* – *'to break out of its narrow confines and include non-organised youth within its sphere of influence'* (Collard 1957). There were still few or no doubts that the youth movement would stray beyond its confines. Thought was given to extending its target group, rather than to go beyond the boundaries of the third milieu. For example, action by the Young Christian Workers, focused on apprentices, and action by the VKAJ (the YCW's female counterpart), for female domestic staff, overstepped these boundaries, but this attracted scant attention in the youth work debate, where the emphasis was

more on the youth movement's fairly abstract, almost magical pedagogical power.

The youth organisations decided to revamp their internal styles and procedures. The Catholic Action had peaked and the Flemish-romantic basic attitude, which was oriented towards stubborn self-preservation, was being exchanged more and more for openness to the present and a wider world. The romantic presentation of the activities referred more to far-off lands than a distant past. Cultural pessimism based on *'the ideal Flanders appearing from the mists of time'* had to make room for social and progressive themes. The World Exhibition in Brussels in 1958, decolonisation, the rapid growth of communication technologies, the influence of American culture, ... all of these factors fuelled the conviction that the resistance to modernity and democracy *'could be nothing else but a quixotic idea'* (Beyen 2001). Kriekemans (1959b: 200) took another view. He thought 'cultural activity' was being neglected: *'there was a time when young students would give lectures, organise exhibitions, spend a whole long holiday preparing a theatrical performance. The student association's activities revolved around culture, which was mainly undertaken during holidays. During the school year, while working in the classroom, boys and girls would live for the ideals that brought them together during the holidays'*. Academics also breathed new life into the youth movement myth at regular intervals.

In spite of Kriekemans' concern we can see how the methodological revival was often nothing more than drawing inspiration from 'old' methodologies. Some scout troops devised programmes for the oldest age groups where the emphasis was not so much on their future role as leaders as on their personal development. As an example, a round table was held every month, to which people were invited to speak about various subjects, such as jazz, teddy boys, the United States, Poland, film and modern art (Bonte 1985). This was a new development for scouts but actually a harking back to the former study circles of students' and workers' movements.

The Young Christian Workers was less hopeful about its members' attitude towards the new temptations. The workers youth organisation adopted the most quixotic attitude. It complained about the 'moral corruption', calling for an age limit for people admitted to cafés or dance halls, stricter film censorship, a stringent application of the current legislation on common decency and tougher advertising regulations. The National Youth Council was firmly opposed to public grants for open youth work, a 'new' rival to fear. However, by 1960 the Young Christian Workers' activities also included recreational opportunities. The YCW secretariat launched a scheme in 1962 to sell selected singles at a discount. This did not mean approval for a frivolous youth culture. On the contrary, as a result of personally becoming involved in reviewing

records, organising sports and planning holidays, the Young Christian Workers was anxious to instil in young people a discerning attitude toward 'misleading' advertising and excessive consumption (Alaerts 2004). A superb illustration of the ambivalent relationship between the youth movement (as an educational system) and youth culture. Film and comic strips were also included on a large scale in the educational activities of the various ideological blocs. Within these new strategies a high value was attributed to the involvement of young people.

Teabag strategy: youth movement on an expansion drive

The youth movement hankered after an appropriate relationship to youth and contrasted its psychological, moral and social development benefits with the mind-numbing impact of commercial mass culture. An argument that was not very appealing however to the so-called mass youth. Halfway through the 1950s any hope of reaching all young people through the youth organisation was gradually abandoned. Looking back, Karel Peeters (1977: 76), head of the National Youth Service and former national secretary of the Catholic Student Action, said: *'The youth organisations accepted that their approach was too demanding and too heavy a burden for many young people in terms of human capabilities and personal commitment. Hence new working methods were required that paid more heed to the resilience of young people, catering more directly and more flexibly to the needs and situations in youth scenes'*. Unlike in the Netherlands, the youth movement was not pushed away by an advancing youth care sector, but tried itself to extend its activities to cover all young people. Haazen (1962), promotional officer for Chiro, wrote about this in Dux: *'The youth organisations have increased their own worries by worrying about the non-organised youth. The youth organisations are keen on themselves acting as a launching pad for the action targeted on the non-organised youth.'* Consequently, the youth movement was expressly regarded as a nucleus, as a basis for the 'renewal' of open youth work to be continued. Chiro harked back to its origins. It was crucial not to become an elite movement and to reach out to the entire body of parochial youth. The youth movement might not become a mass movement but the youth movement member would continue to be a model for each young person. This is why the youth movement had to be at the heart of all methodological (re)differentiation. Experience with 'patronages' (Dendooven 1967) and Dutch club work (Petersilka 1956) showed that open youth work first of all did not invariably manage to reach the priority target groups and, second, generally did not extend beyond 'closed playgrounds'.

During a convention in 1954 the signal was given to extend the scope of the activities. Games afternoons were organised with a more laid-back character for children while non-commercial film clubs were created for adolescents.

The 'patronage' approach was revived in the newly created Association for Parochial Youth Care: communion associations, film clubs, holiday youth groups, exchange marts, Lenten fund-raising activities, Advent activities,... Chiro launched its 'Youth Communities' in 1958, involving open youth work initiatives organised in cooperation with other youth movements. Their scope often reached no further than former members of the youth movements. There was a bit of a stir in the youth movement but it made little difference to the catchment area. It was at this time that Albert Peeters, national Chiro chaplain, invoked the image of the youth organisation elite spreading its beneficial influence among 'the mass'. During a convention in 1961 he declared that Chiro should not be a closed sardine tin but be more like a **teabag** that adds flavour and colour to the environment.

Open youth work: renewed conflict with the youth work paradox

The move to open youth work continued, also via the youth movements. The mild moral panic about adolescents succeeded in giving the new youth work forms a boost. Accordingly, the Law of 1960 on the moral protection of youth stated that the under-18s were prohibited from entering dance halls without their parents. The potential for open youth work was found in the cities in particular. Open youth work forms were experimented with so as to steer the meeting and dancing requirements of adolescents towards pedagogically sound channels. Open in this case meant 'youth work not related to membership and less to ideology'. By 1960 32 accredited youth centres were qualifying for government grants. The youth movements in the major cities saw this evolution as a 'crisis in the third milieu'. According to them, the new youth centres did not originate with existing youth work but were created to cater for political initiatives in the cities. Nevertheless, all types of open youth work were making rapid progress.

Open youth work too, presented itself as the moral guardian of youth and therefore was in keeping with the former patronages not only in methodological terms: the aim then was to protect young people against the soul-destroying influence of the factory and a poor family upbringing, whereas the focus now was on keeping young people away from the commercial dance and recreational facilities. Open youth work offered a solution to the dilemma of low-skilled young people, but did not stray from the accepted definition of the problem. '*The youth centre offers adolescents healthy and diverse recreational opportunities under the supervision of experienced educators, sometimes assisted by a core of better trained young people in an environment and facilities calculated to facilitate the pedagogical experience*' (Cammaer e.a. 1966:57). The young people themselves seemed not to bother. Open youth work offered one of the few opportunities for dancing and one of the few chances of enjoying informal contacts

with the opposite sex. As a result of the explicit preventive approach adopted to legitimise open youth work the scrapping in 1976 of the Law on the moral protection of youth paradoxically nullified the key reasons for the existence of many open youth centres.

The belief in the youth work opportunities in the case of '*less resourceful*' young people was still strong in Flanders. In practice, an earlier assessment had resurfaced: the double objective of reaching out to these less resourceful adolescents and trying to attain educational goals with them was hard to achieve. A call for pedagogical distance did not offer much of a reference point for overcoming the youth work paradox.

Youth work paradox also emerges overseas

British youth work researchers were not wildly enthusiastic about open youth work. Pearl Jephcott, who went on to become one of the authors of the Albe-marle rapport, recognised that a mixed bag of young people had a mixed bag of needs. Not all young people could or wanted to fit in with a group, others hated '*being bossed around*'. This is why she called for '*a more embracing approach*'. She regretted that this type of youth work did not meet with much success, however. Some youth workers '*only paid lip service to the task of trying to rise above the second rate tastes of their clients. Many were extraordinary blind to the tremendous opportunities that awaited them as regards the below-average youngster.*' In this case the task of solving the youth work paradox was laid at the door of the youth workers. It may have been acknowledged that many assumptions about young people were based on '*armchair speculation*', but policy and research was chiefly shaped by the activities of the uniformed youth organisations (in Flanders still called youth movements) and the ideal type of the youth movement member. As Pearl Jephcott concludes: '*The most convincing reply to the charge that the youth organization is a redundant institution was that given by the boys and girls who were themselves members. Those adolescents who belonged to a society were definitely easier to come to terms with than the non-members. They were not only willing but able to talk, and they generally had something worth saying. And were not those youngsters who were active members a shade more reliable, a shade more open-handed than the rest?*' (Jephcott 1954: 151). Nothing new under the sun.

In the meantime the strategy of moving on was being revived in Germany. In the post-war epoch open youth work in Germany was influenced by the American occupying forces. As part of their '*re-education program*', the Americans wanted to set up a GYA (German Youth Activities) centre in every large municipality. These were intended to prevent the radicalisation of young people while helping to instil democratic citizenship attitudes. Whether they

succeeded or not is another issue, but the GYA did at any rate reach many young people from the lower social classes, whereas the youth organisations mainly appealed to middle class youngsters. Strains emerged between champions of the GYA Heime and the existing youth organisations, which were re-establishing the tradition they developed during the Weimar-period. The youth organisations complained that the professionalized GYA Heime were creating unfair competition: they had a lot to offer (Coca-Cola, jazz and square dancing) and did not impose any formal requirements. The GYA were taken over by German agencies in the late 1940s. Most of the voluntary youth workers keeping the youth centres open subsequently focused on middle class pedagogical standards and the traditional activities from German youth organisations. The Heime became primarily '*Zubringerorganisationen*': they were committed to channelling young people into youth organisations (Damm 1985).

Dutch open youth work also had to contend with the youth work paradox. Statements about the potential achievements of youth work seemed to be more like wishful thinking than a reflection of the true state of affairs. '*We have to act as a counterweight to the day-to-day social education of adolescents in club houses, work place, family and informal groups*', according to Kraaykamp and Hager (1958: 152). The status of club activities was improving but the clubs, too, mainly appealed to the 'top layer' of young workers (Petersilka 1956).

It is quite an eye-opening experience to consider the abstract statements of pedagogues alongside the observations and concern expressed by one journalist: '*The clubs are really not childish. The club leaders are jovial sergeant majors, who are advised to have thick skins. Because they are perfectly aware that: we have to meet the youngsters on their own terms, no wishy-washy stuff, otherwise they won't come. You don't have to imagine that you will see a bible sitting around or a pious tear-off calendar hanging on the wall in protestant Christian clubs. Nothing of the sort. What you will see is the items you expect to find in a local bar: a billiard table, a table with klüberjass cards, sometimes a counter serving Coca-Cola and bottles of beer ... The church does not want to go to hell so sends its saints to purgatory to convert those who are burning on the spot. And this is the way it is with the club and association centres set up in our major cities for street kids. However, the teddy boys keep away. Nor do I get the feeling that church or non-denominational youth leaders worry much about the teddy boy. They are kept busy enough with the youths who come to their clubs to play ping pong, shuffleboard, billiards or engage in handicrafts in a safe environment. What sort of boys are these? They are excellent chaps from respectable Socialist, Communist or religious families. They are positively-minded' boys who have faith in society because of the influence of their families or it is in their nature to believe this. They want to achieve something in society: become efficient employees in a bank or at a lathe, a first-rate welder in the docks; a good carpenter, a good fitter – and everybody definitely wants to be a good family man with a fine wife and lovely chil-*

dren. They are good and constructive boys who understand their place in society, realising that the street can offer them nothing at all, they can succeed only if they work and study hard. They are the Hope of the Nation, and they keep the youth leaders very busy: organising party evenings, coping with young people's problems, having man-to-man chats, organising camping exhibitions. But who concerns themselves with the Despair of the Nation, the teddy boys lurking on street corners? Nobody.' (Vrijman 1955b).

3.3. *From youth work as a means to youth work as a goal*

The GNP rose by 5% between 1961 and 1970, while purchasing power grew exponentially. The telephone, television set and the car were common items. In the late 1960s, the silent revolution (Inglehart 1977) resulted in a mass protest movement, with questions being raised about the bureaucratic, technological and democratic dimensions of society. The workers' movement in Flanders is more and more being influenced by new strata of intellectuals who spurned bourgeois values. A (re)new(ed) student movement also came into being.

Youth in action: back to the origins of youth work?

In common with our neighbouring countries there was a great deal of unrest in the student community. The student protests revolving around 'Leuven Vlaams' developed into a general unrest about new left issues. The newly created Students Trade Union Movement (SVB) urged people to get involved in workers' issues. The striking miners in Zwartberg (1966) and the strike at the Ford plant (1968), both in Genk, were the first social movements where workers and students stood shoulder to shoulder (Craeybeckx 1983). The SVB became radicalised and developed into the Marxist-Leninist League. They finished up precisely on the opposite end of the political spectrum from their youth movement predecessors with whom they were occasionally compared. On the basis of Habermas and Marcuse, Giesecke (1981) also compared the student movement with the youth organisations at the turn of the century. As before, young people were pitting themselves against a technological culture, against an individualist and rationalist society, while being committed to personal and social change. We saw the reappearance of movements anxious to withdraw from society (hippy movement, revival), or dedicated to social action (peace movement, squatter's movement). These movements did not have the formal structure of an association, as typified by a youth movement (in the second meaning). Once more the protest movement enjoying the support of highly qualified young people (provos) was looked upon more favourably in society at large than expressions of protest from the less qualified

(teddy boys). The youth protest movement operated outside the youth movement, although most of them were former members of the Catholic Student Action and other youth movements.

From dialogue as a means to dialogue as a goal

As a result of the institutionalisation and pedagogization of the adolescent's social world, the lives of adults and young people were strictly segregated from each other. Young people learned different things from their parents and got their bearings in society partly through other channels. This served to exacerbate the ambivalent relationship towards youth, a) as a threat to social order and b) as a guarantee of renewal. An ambivalent relationship which unaltered appeared to have the greatest impact on low-skilled young people (Van der Lans 1980). The seemingly unlimited opportunities for development and choice during this period appeared to promote a more open and positive view of young people. Adulthood as a clear-cut preparatory norm was becoming blurred. Education was no longer a question of fitting into a huge framework but developing a cultural identity: the ability to provide meaning to change and the conflicts involved. This served as the frame of reference for the Albemarle rapport in England (1960): *'The Youth Service should not seek to offer something packaged – a way of life, a set of values, a code of conduct – as though these were things who came ready-made, upon the asking, without being tested in living experience ... If they feel the need young people must have the liberty to question cherished ideas, attitudes and standards and if necessary to reject them.'* (Young 1999: 81). Headed by Lady Albemarle, the Committee started work under inauspicious circumstances. It coincided with the unease about the soaring crime rates and the moral decay among young people (Rock around the Clock!).

Society's pedagogical responsibility

Rather than disappearing, the pedagogical anxieties concentrated more on social circumstances. The emphasis shifted from the social integration of individuals to organising society so as to allow everyone an opportunity for social and cultural development. Mollenhauer (1965) declared that a pedagogy that regarded the school and the family as the core pedagogical components overlooked the current situation where there were many more influences. Rather than just providing assistance, youth workers should concern themselves with a critical analysis of the social background to pedagogical issues. These were the precursors of the emancipatory social pedagogy that made a breakthrough in the 1970s. Some observers regretted Mollenhauer making social pedagogy the basic discipline of social work. The actual pedagogical dimension was

overlooked owing to social and political objectives, while the goal of education was unchangeable, not to be distracted by special social conditions or situations (Coumou and Van Stegeren 1987:43).

The perception of cultural puberty was still there, but the obvious interference of adults in the experimentation phase of young people was kept at arms length. Erik Erikson was the driving force behind the renewal of the fundamental developmental psychology principles of the third milieu approach. Young people need some time to enjoy a provisional status where they can orient themselves and seek their place in society. Adolescents may use this period for experimenting without running (and causing) too many risks. Youth policy had to set the stage for adolescents to derive maximum advantage from this experimental period. The focus on the youth's own culture is a guiding principle in this respect.

Fully-fledged youth policy, circumventing pedagogical key questions

An examination was made in Flanders of the government's youth policy. For the first time, the idea of a youth plan was being considered, along with a Youth Minister and a decentralised youth policy. Whereas Albemarle urged the UK-government to play a proactive role and promote more open youth work, the subsidiarity principle continued to serve as a frame of reference in our part of the world, while the debate was dominated by a row between the various ideological blocs about the layout of the youth work field.

The frame of reference for youth policy in the Netherlands was called into question too: *'The issue of developing a new form of youth work and a firmly-based youth policy does not chiefly arise for the purpose of preventing undesirable behaviour but to create a life of a higher quality.'* (Stalpers 1966). The two-track policy also came under attack: *'Until recently, youth work was organised according to the traditional youth work approach for normal adolescents and the special youth work approach for socially vulnerable adolescents. This is something of an anachronism. Club activities are widely applicable and should no longer be defined as work for disadvantaged young workers, but work where professionals are involved who routinely provide opportunities for meeting people, socialising and being introduced to new interests'* (Stalpers 1966). This welcome u-turn constituted the frame of reference for the Commission for the Statutory Regulation of Youth work (COWER). Owing to the increased level of differentiation in youth work, the rise in the number of professional youth workers, the youth movement's decline and the wider recognition of the government's role as joint educator, a more carefully-thought out youth work policy was called for (Van der Zande and Gerritsen 1987). The COWER report (1966) drew a lot of inspiration from Albemarle, highlighting the trend for youth centre activities to be steered in

the direction of youth service activities. Under this heading youth work is regarded as a service for adolescents where this is required: at home, in the classroom, in the playground, the office, ...'. (Davies 1970). The British youth work pioneer Macalister Brew wrote in 1957 *'that the Service should offer help to self-programming groups of young people who do not participate in any officially recognized youth organisation.'* (1957: 106).

In the wake of a-political youth work, a-pedagogical youth work arrives on the scene

Officials in our part of the world also recognised the relevance of a youth culture service, retaining the pedagogical objectives. The two guiding principles were: the roll-out of youth service centres (1 per 20,000 inhabitants) and the integration of youth work (as an entity, within the overall welfare policy). Nonetheless, the service approach did not invest youth work with any new pedagogical content (Raming 1966). One reason for remaining aloof from Flemish youth work: *'In calls for a policy of being receptive to youth the tendency seems to be to circumvent the question of 'pedagogue, where do you stand yourself?'* (Kriekemans and Cammaer 1966).

Opposition was also encountered in the Netherlands. Meester de Bruin ('de Mussen') reacted somewhat bitterly in 1969 (Nijenhuis 1987: 300): *'Every initiative that emerges from 'the' population is suddenly placed on a victory stand. Without everyone's involvement it apparently has absolutely no chance any more. Club activities are almost judgmentally put on the same footing as regulation and paternalism.'* Te Poel (1990) subsequently called the only half implemented concept of 'youth service' a sign of impotence. The difficult combination of service and education was no longer interpreted and was blindly pursued. *'The expectations and conditions youth workers set are inconsistent with the aspirations of young people. We have avoided this in the Netherlands by concealing our expectations and conditions'*, declared De Haas (1970: 16), referring to the differences between Cower and Albemarle. Nevertheless, the British were even less pleased. Davies (1970) talked about continuing to tinker with existing forms and being confined to misleading attempts to breathe new life into something that has survived itself.

Youth work facilities were proliferating. The pedagogization of the social world of adolescents was continuing apace but the 'pedagogical quality' of the networks for children and young people was being increasingly overlooked (Du Bois-Reymond and Meijers 1987). The new *pedagogical* relationship to young people offered no obvious legitimacy for youth work. The more *socio-logical interpretation* of the youth period as one where young people developed their own culture (and where a conflict between generations may arise) was

an interpretation legitimising an attitude of pedagogical detachment. The *developmental psychology* interpretation of the youth period as a psycho-social moratorium did not provide much of a reference point. The positive impact that 'being young together' has on their development also justified an aloof attitude in this case. On the other hand, intervention was legitimised as soon as it was thought this being young together could not provide enough of a 'constructive influence'. As well as professionalization sovereign intervention was also regarded as more acceptable to the extent that the situation of the target group was deemed to be 'special'. Youth work avoided the question of how it must relate to these concepts of the youth period and subsequent policy.

Was ist Jugendarbeit?

The sharpest criticism was reported in Germany. The book 'Was ist Jugendarbeit?' by Müller, Kentler, Mollenhauer and Giesecke (1964) was based on the observation that youth work could not rely on a justified pedagogical theory and so does not have its own justified place in the overall pedagogical environment. These authors, too, argued that young people's claim for autonomy is of central importance to youth work, but youth work has lapsed into 'Praktizismus', an idealisation of practice where there is still not enough thought being given to the meaning of its existence. Freedom, bonds, community, ... are all fine words but are first and foremost clichés concealing bad practice. A practice that at the most contributed to an education focused on adapting young people to society (Giesecke 1963). Kentler (Müller et al 1964: 38) had no qualms about calling youth work a '*Mittelklasseninstitution*', whereas it should be an agency adopting a critical attitude toward the existing society that is out of step with its belief in equal rights, openness and democratisation. The authors stated that the 'dependency' between young people and youth work has been reversed. Young people no longer needed youth work to give substance to their leisure time. On the other hand, other problems for young people, such as youth unemployment, were at issue, but youth work with its limited capabilities was unable to provide an answer to this (Damm 1989: 210).

And yet, no crisis of confidence about the youth movement

Despite the huge turmoil, participation in the youth movement continued to be the norm in Flanders concerning to politicians and academics. Apart from the youth movement there were more and more youth facilities available: playgrounds, youth centres, youth hostels ... The pedagogical value of these facilities was therefore also acknowledged, at least to a 'limited extent'. A call was made for support to be given to these other methods, but according to a

certain 'order of priority'. Above all, a call was made – once again – for the upgrading of such a powerful organisation as the youth movement. Their training is '*not technical or partial or solely focused on recreation so is richer, more fundamental and more comprehensive.*' (Henckens 1963). The government policy was consistent with this. National Youth Department adviser (and former Catholic Student Action official) Raymond Totté (1961) said: '*The youth movement continues to be regarded as ideal for bringing up children and adolescents in third milieu. Specific types of youth centre activities find acceptance. Membership of the youth movement remains the ultimate goal, so that the club is seen only as a potential solution for a youth who is not noble enough for the youth movement and if possible should be persuaded, early on or later, to join a youth movement or should be guided in all respects by its educational impact.*' Scientific research also concurs with this view. Kriekemans (1962: 139): '*Flemish youth is extensively organised and is guided in such a way that our youth is more 'well-behaved' and less wanton than Dutch youth.*'

The youth movements themselves continued to adjust to the changing times: modern uniforms, less rigid hierarchy, mixed activities, ... More and younger children were joining the youth movement, but it was becoming increasingly difficult to attract and retain the over-14s. Owing to the meritocratic approach it was mainly the class-related youth movements that lost so much of their appeal. The belief in social mobility and the power of education brought the ideal of the classless society and the 'bildungsoptimistischer Lebensentwurf' (Böhnisch & Münchmeier 1987) closer. The Young Christian Workers – with its typical 'class pride' had hard times. Their potential members stayed at school longer, the improved labour legislation alleviated the moral and material needs and above all there was wide consumer choice, greater mobility and an increase in the number of alternative ways of spending one's leisure time. The Farmers Youth Union (BJB) changed its name to the Rural Catholic Youth (KLJ) in 1965 but fared hardly any better than the Young Christian Workers in retaining its membership. The class-based youth associations lost more than half of their members. Chiro and the scouts were the biggest youth organisations now.

The incorporation of open youth work into the standard youth work concept

The youth centre was not simply a source of entertainment for a disinterested mass. The focus was not on recreation but on training and education. '*Anyone keen on ending up with showy membership figures after six months should not start this kind of activity.*' It is interesting to see how many youth centres explicitly drew their inspiration from youth movement programmes. Youth centre work

as a concept was therefore seamlessly integrated into the youth work concept that was designed a half century before: *'it should not be possessive vis à vis the teenage population but render a service so the informal event can continue to be pedagogically valid'*. (Yperman 1969). Methodological renewal drawing its inspiration from tried and tested formulas.

The youth movement was still regarded as the nucleus of the youth centre with grant aid for professionals being cautiously decided upon. That did not go down well with the Catholic confessional bloc. It was quickly pointed out that the professionalised activities were not any more efficient. Van Roey (1963) stressed that the Young Christian Workers received 13 Francs per member and a youth centre 500 Francs. The youth movement also had a bigger reach with the funding. It was acknowledged that working with 'difficult adolescents' required qualified and salaried staff. There were even officials in the Catholic camp who pointed out that *'club activities are not a threat for the youth movement, but on the contrary, the youth movement will screen out young people who do not belong there'*. Consequently the youth movement would be able to carry out its task more effectively (Faché 1982: 194). Or how purifying a methodology leads to the ruling out of maladjusted youth.

The potential diversity in leisure time was acknowledged but the civilizing perspective basically remained the perspective from which the youth work debate took shape. The youth centre, too, had its status raised to a powerful pedagogical instrument, which seems to imply a) the ruling out of challenging young people and b) that the debate, as with the youth movement, could be undertaken in highly abstract terms, neglecting this exclusion: *'Owing to its organisation, accommodated via the programming, the youth centre may be considered as a suitable environment and cater for maladjusted individuals and send them back into society with renewed courage, after offering them new capabilities and new opportunities for adaptation'* (Cammaer e.a. 1967: 26).

3.4. *From youth work to youth welfare policy*

Hitherto, the welfare state had largely been implemented in a proactive way, in the light of the basic aim of achieving greater social equality. Albeit reluctantly and hesitantly, youth policy was participating within this democratisation framework, taking redistribution as its basic principle. At the same time, the economic crisis had put a brake on the financial grant mechanisms of the Keynesian state (Mizen 2005), while the time-honoured social-political of employment and security were back at the top of the agenda.

Social pedagogy between 'Offensive Wende' and youth in crisis

Another conclusion about young people's induction into society started to gain ground. A perception not based on adapting to existing society but on the liberation from the rigid ties of the status quo and the restrictions these place on the opportunities for social and cultural development. Published in 1973 under the editorship of Giesecke 'Offensive Sozialpädagogik' hit out at a pedagogy focused on enabling young people to integrate into society as smoothly as possible and operating as a social fire brigade when this is unsuccessful. The relationship between the individual and society was reconfirmed as the central issue at stake. A call was made for a more active form of support for the aspirations of young people themselves, but it was stressed that the rational dimension of emancipation has to be assessed against the touchstone of solidarity. Against the background of this abstract and wide-ranging socialisation debate attention was sought for the 'diverse ways of becoming an adult'. There was greater awareness of the socio-cultural definition of 'youth', as well as for the variety of target groups covered by 'youth' (Cammaer 1971). An examination was made of the way socialisation agencies interacted with these target groups and the various positions that were confirmed or otherwise. The selective effects of formal education, the welfare system and the courts were explicitly called into question.

Broader youth policy?

Social pedagogy finally stepped again beyond the boundaries of the third milieu approach. Family, school and the workplace were reconsidered as key focuses of attention. All of this failed to offer youth workers very much of a reference point. They harboured no desire to act as a fire brigade, but their practice is tightly connected to the third milieu. How where they supposed to concern themselves with emancipation in a field of activity confined to socio-cultural activities in leisure time? The pedagogical uncertainty of youth workers was increased. What is more, the legitimacy itself of youth work as an intervention in the third milieu was threatened. The legitimacy of youth work was also partly undermined by explicitly calling into question the distinction between organised and unorganised. Whereas Peeters (1974) spoke about the '*amorphous mass of unclubbables*' (as being the whereabouts of the greatest needs), and Leirman and Verbeke (1977) suggested that '*unorganised were more susceptible to social integration than non-organised youth*', Faché (1977) thought the distinction was pointless. Unorganised youth was organised in sports associations and unreachable youth nonetheless appeared to be reached by lots of activities. Solely 27% of young people were involved in an accredited youth association, but 70% nonetheless took part in the broader associational life.

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Half of all adolescents were involved in an association where adults were also participating. Therefore Faché put a serious question mark over another feature of youth work: he wondered if a 'separate' youth work was actually still required. Young people were after all already separated from adults in school. Owing to the Mathew effect youth work did not operate enough in the light of a redistributive policy. In contrast to what had happened up to then Faché did not pin his hopes on a more equal form of involvement in youth work but he placed the ball in the youth work court. Youth work had to promote more social equality. If the bid to increase accessibility failed this had to be achieved by other actions. He fleshed out the (youth) service centres idea as an alternative. Associations built up a number of opportunities and opened up opportunities for young people. Service centres should offer sufficient support to young people who were not participating in an accredited youth work opportunity. This support had not to be confined to the third milieu, as this approach tended to institutionalise and segregate youth work from other parts of the social and cultural services. There was some similar soul-searching in England, as underscored by the Fairbairn-Milson report (1969): *'It is no part of our aim to achieve a comfortable integration of the youth and adult populations, nor to attempt to socialise the young so that they are reconciled with the status-quo, and capitulate to its values. The aim should be to establish a dialogue between the young and the rest of society; a dialectical and not necessarily amicable process'*. The criticism of this report was paralleled by that of Cower in Netherlands, but there is little guidance for youth work here. 'Community work' may adopt all kinds of approaches and this is also what happens in practice.

From a proactive youth work policy to a reactive youth welfare policy?

The case for a redistributive and emancipatory system of youth work was undermined by the economic crisis. The focus on the social status and position of disadvantaged adolescents turned into what has been described as a targeted policy. Eggleston (1976: 201) concluded his study of 'the Youth Service in Britain' with the observation that it were mainly the adult youth workers who were anxious to change society. *'Our evidence suggests that the majority of members are well aware of the nature of contemporary society and are well disposed to accept it as it is. Most are content to find a meaningful place within it that is consistent with a satisfying self-image; to be able to make decisions in the present society rather than refashion it.'* In the Netherlands, too, and somewhat later in Flanders, the call for an emancipatory social pedagogy clashed with an appeal for rationalization: pedagogical practices had to be target-based, welfare-oriented actions (Dibbits 1987). Eggleston (1976: 202) outlined the shape of a youth policy: *'The concept of the Youth Service as being able to provide most things for most young people is possibly something of an anachronism. It may be that we no longer*

need to try to serve the needs of, say, many of the young people who are successful and well catered for in schools ... Instead it may be that the major focus of activity needs to be for those who need the service most, identifying, like the schools, Youth service priority areas that pinpoint effort shall be concentrated'. Thatcher made her appearance. Not social change, but the prevention of 'social dropping out' was the new theme, and has continued to be so up until the present day.

The youth movement: radicalisation followed by de-ideologization

The youth movement emancipated itself from 'adult interference' and developed a broader societal profile. The definite choice for a social-progressive movement invested it with a new identity during the previous decade, but the youth movement was now chiefly in search of itself. In the case of the Catholic Student Action the conflict between the action movement and the youth movement sparked off a crisis. The Catholic Student Action leadership called for the rejection of the youth movement model with its confinement to the third milieu. There was also a call for activities with the younger group to be phased out for the benefit of '*the movement we intended*'. The old dispute about '*social action or education*' was back but the rejuvenation process had gone too far to turn back the clock. The Young Christian Workers still had too little to lose (members) and adopted a structural approach in a radical way. Driven by Marxism and liberation theology, the Young Christian Workers presented itself as contemporaneous educational organisation anxious to join in the fight against capitalism. Its approach to reality was no longer personalistic but urged a change to the system of ownership, giving a voice to the downtrodden class and a social revolution (Alaerts 2004). The VKAJ and part of the Young Christian Workers broke away. According to them, the Young Christian Workers had taken a direction that was too critical of society, placing too little emphasis on general education and individual needs. There was also a split in the international arena. Pope John Paul II rushed to recognise solely the apolitical wing. The bitter conflicts between the two schools of thought in the youth movement sector also appeared in Germany, where there was a split in the Bund Deutscher Pfadfinder between Baden-Powell traditionalists and the more politicized Bündischen focused on workers.

Towards the late 1970s the strains within the youth movements still existed but the tide was turning in a more de-ideological direction. Vos (2001: 173) reports that a new generation of youth movement members appeared in the second half of the 1970s for whom the ideological approach of society at large had no appeal. The outcome was a further emphasis on the traditional youth movement activities more focused on group gatherings than social action, with camping and outdoor activities, bands... Even formations, uniforms and the showing of flags resurfaced, although these things were rejected by pro-

gressive youth movement members as militaristic trappings in the late 1960s. Outdoor activities and group activities played a leading role again. The youth movements were emancipated from adults, from the middle class ideology of progress and from pedagogical supervision and now appeared to be withdrawing into themselves. This meant that youth movement activities scarcely continued to concern themselves with the recommendation for a broader youth policy. It was obvious that '*young people are not keen on marching for adult ideals*' (Leirman 1981).

Is there still room for the working class child of yesteryear?

This question was raised in the newly created organisation 'Youth and Health'. Propelled by the new Decree on national youth work the Preventative fresh-air cures department of the Christian health service travelled further along the path of the youth movement methodology. A bit later than what we saw with the other working methods that transformed themselves into youth movements, this also coincided with the conclusion drawn that the original target group appeared to be disappearing. The question was suddenly asked if there '*was still room for the working class child of yesteryear?*' (Jongen 1997). Reasons were sought for why working class children stayed away. The greater expense involved was suggested but the youth itself was pointed to as the chief cause. '*Young people were going through a serious crisis and were not easily tempted by the established organisations*' (Jongen 1997).

Youth in crisis between politicization and depedagogization

The 'working class kids' were to be found in open youth work. 1965 to 1973 was a period of exponential growth for open youth work: from 53 to 248 youth centres (Kindt 2002). The number of professionals involved in youth centre work doubled within the space of five years. The professionalization still gave rise to queries being raised. At government level there was a division between a 'service for youth work' and a 'service for youth welfare/social work'. The separate circuits were confirmed, while it was also clear that activities with particular target groups did not actually constitute genuine youth work. Consequently, professional youth workers were disconnected from youth work and encapsulated in a separate circuit, being primarily appealed to for their role as 'social fire brigade'. Therefore not many instruments for converting their emancipatory ideal into an action-based context were provided. Systemic analyses about the status of young people could not be reflected in an opportunity for activities. Well-meaning youth workers did not have enough understanding about the specific nature of young workers' experiences of life so that politicizing activities did not match with the life world of the

'oppressed working class youth'. Many workers therefore highlighted the receptive role of the youth centre in the hope that initiatives would originate with the young people themselves. Uncertainty restricted a whole host of youth workers in practice to what they thought to understand as 'service': youth work where young people may create their own culture without the interference of adults. Under this heading the youth worker was more of a guard overseeing the boundaries than an pedagogue (Hazekamp 1980). Stone (1987) regarded this as a return to the origins of youth work: a time when the youth worker was someone supervising children playing in isolation. This is actually a return to the patronages. Such an interpretation of 'adapting to the needs of youth', is, however, hardly challenging and emancipatory. In this way, youth work in fact hindered personal freedom (Te Poel 1997), for possibilities to develop were not explored, nor supported.

3.5. *An integrated two-track policy'*

Society was becoming increasingly ruled by market economy principles. This was a period of cost-cutting, so that those most dependent on social support were the hardest hit. The two-thirds-one-third society was becoming apparent. Two-thirds of society was driven by a market model, the remaining one-third created a deviancy and public order headache for the state. This exclusion was ideologically justified by invoking individual responsibility (Corijn 2000). The 'third milieu' was in step. The changeover from adult education to socio-cultural work fitted in comfortably with the growing individual emancipation approach. Individual development was emphasised and reflected more and more in terms of 'employability'. The community-building role was handed over to another 'sector': the community development sector. Youth policy also accommodated a more individualised approach. The emancipatory narrative about freedom of choice, equality, self-development, ... failed to take account of the major differences among young people according to their social status. These differences were now back in the limelight, but as individual shortcomings. Mention was made of a lack of education, creativity, social skills, ... And not a shortage of facilities, accommodation, appreciation and freedom of choice (Van Ewijk 1994). The attention was shifted from 'equal opportunities' to 'making use of the existing opportunities' (Fuchs-Heinritz e.a. 1990).

Depedagogization = Emancipation?

The influential research undertaken by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham gave support to the call for less pedagogy in youth work. The CCCS researchers rejected the idea of the one, classless youth cul-

ture that had ruled the roost during the golden sixties (Hall and Jefferson 1976). Consequently, the divide between youth work and the social world of young people was interpreted as a cultural difference. Dieleman (1983) was enchanted by the 'open-mindedness' of the CCCS research. According to him it compared favourably with the '*policy influences and pedagogical obsessions the Dutch welfare approach generally exhibits*'. The pedagogical aims of youth work aspiring to middle class values and standards aroused the suspicions of young workers. A halt was called to the already extensive pedagogization process. Willis (1983) called for a 'policy of pleasure'. He claimed youth work services could learn a lot from the environment experienced in commercial leisure activities centres. Te Poel (1987a) recognised that the CCCS research offered an insight into how young people felt about their statuses and also how they themselves organised them but the analysis offered few action-based perspectives for youth workers. They resulted more in the continuation of the change from 'enabling' to 'providing' (Lacey 1987). Meeting each other was cultivated as meaningful in itself. Van Ewijk (1985) thought of it as a quite religious approach: '*The idea that reaching a group in itself is rewarding*'. Repedagogization did not seem to be on the agenda for the time being. However, 'the pedagogy of youth work' was very closely linked to the emancipatory force of youth work. Regarding young people as fully fledged without a fundamental consideration of the social deficiencies means, – particularly for so-called vulnerable youth – a further obstacle on the path to adulthood (Van Uytfanghe 1988 e.a.). This was apparently throwing the emancipatory child out with the paternalistic bath water. '*The working-class heroes are left to their own device*' (Te Poel 1987b). Moreover, the pedagogical relationship is a factor with which youth work can differentiate itself from the 'leisure industry', whose competition causes it so much heartache.

'The End of Childhood' or 'das Ende der Erziehung'?

Neil Postman's (1982) announcement about the 'the end of childhood' made it all very difficult for pedagogues to reflect upon an emancipatory system of education. Giesecke (1985) took another view. In 'das Ende der Erziehung' rather than calling for the abolition of children, he recommended steering education in another direction. Taking his cue from Mollenhauer he stressed that educators could no longer completely control education. The socializing (f)actors are many and varied. Young people have to find their bearings there and in such a way as to ensure their self development. This is the pedagogical task of youth work. Youth work must not be steered towards a pedagogical provision, but lend support to young people as they orient themselves towards society.

This is not the direction in which British youth work seemed to be heading. The UK saw the publication of the third national youth report in 20 years: the Thompson Report – Experience and Participation. This placed heavy emphasis on individual development via participation in the social provision. This was given tangible shape via the 5 A's (Thompson e.a. 1982): association, activities, advice, action (in the community) and access (to vocational and life skills). Youth work was reassessed so as to be able to provide the individual skills young people need to fend for themselves in a society in crisis. But the youth work paradox resurfaced: *'Some of those young people who most need social education are still not being reached by it.'* (Thompson e.a. 1982: 25).

The German call for a root-and-branch debate about the identity of youth work (wozu Jugendarbeit?) was spurned by an Anglo-American recommendation more in keeping with the spirit of the crisis scenario. The emphasis tilted towards the accessibility of youth work and, by the same token, the opportunity for broader social integration, which is after all the most efficient strategy for preventing social dropping out.

Mainstream youth work withdraws into the third milieu

The Flemish youth movement began querying the pedagogical relationship, or lack of it, particularly in the case of Chiro – as a result of it being up and running for 50 years. The call in the 1970s for a democratic leadership style was said to be focused in particular on what a leader should not do. *'There were few guidelines about what to do and the leader had the impression that he should beware of his own input, while refraining from setting limits for young people. Children could not expect to receive any messages from such bland leaders.'* Leaders should be invited to make their contributions but above all be outspoken and challenging, while offering opportunities for identification (Verslyppe 1985). Another debate that was resurrected concerned the need for situational activities. Owing to own priorities, democratisation, a less coercive character, a substantial degree of openness to exploration and involvement, ... a great deal of variety had sprung up at local level. *'And so the question has to be raised, what can Chiro still be said to be and what not?'* (Baeten e.a. 1984: 108).

This unsettling question indirectly led to a withdrawal into the familiar third milieu and paying less attention to youth work's societal focus. All of this was going on amidst the serious repercussions that the cost-cutting crisis years in the 1980s had for young people's status. Leirman (1981) stressed that youth movements showed scant interest in the major social issues during these years: education, the arms race, economic crisis and soaring youth unemployment. The focus shifted from social awareness and action to games and being young together as a means of education. The question of repedagogization

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and socialization failed to make an impact, which may partly be due to the fact that many youth movements tended to be child movements. A very common explanation was the trend among young people to shorter commitments, but ones that were of a more concrete nature. Young people preferred to organise in looser, informal networks. All kinds of discount card schemes tried to cater for this trend, offering a customised provision of leisure time activities or sought to make the existing cultural opportunities more accessible but in the final analysis they were operating in the same territory as the youth movements.

Specific youth work becomes even more specific

Initiatives originally developed in the context of youth work with disadvantaged young people had it hard to find a place in the return to a strong emphasis on the ideology of youth work as a youth subcultural, emancipatory space within the 'safe' boundaries of the third milieu. Professionalized initiatives, not supported by young people, whose attention was increasingly drawn to prevention – owing to reasons to do with financial grants – did not fit in this ideology. This was also a reason for the so-called mainstream youth work to snub the government and its 'problem pedagogics'. Those in mainstream youth work were not keen on being contaminated by a 'prevention policy', but in the process also turned their back on their colleagues involved in professionalized youth (social) work. Professional youth workers of course could not turn their back to policy without letting down their target group. Consequently a great deal of professional youth workers headed explicitly for an integration in the welfare sector. Flemish youth work was heading in the direction of a definitive institutionalisation of the divide between mainstream youth work as cultural work and professionalised youth work as social work.

'Youth Community work': bridge between 'culture' and 'welfare'?

'Youth Community work' appeared to be countering these trends toward the middle of the 1980s. Youth work should be focused on the characteristics of situations rather than those of individuals. Care, education, recreation and emancipation had to be equivalent components of youth work. As a result of concentrating on the social life world of a group, education, employment, the welfare system, accommodation, ... also came into the picture (Van Ewijk 1989). There was also a call in Flanders for the 'creation of youth development work' in disadvantaged districts (Stuurgroep Jaar van het Child 1979: 18). *'Youth community development should focus on children and young people to help them to come to terms with social reality, gain an understanding of society and develop solutions for the child and adolescent issue in disadvantaged districts. The*

field of activity is a wide one and assumes the scope for both an individual and structural approach.' The spheres of activity that came under scrutiny were: school, physical and mental space, sports and games, social skills, creative development, motor control, social environment, traffic, ... Youth Community Work was invested with a theoretical underpinning. It was mainly at the University of Amsterdam that this approach was fleshed out (Hazekamp 1985, Veenbaas e.a. 1986). A reference was made to a new emancipatory school but this was getting into deep water in the light of the huge level of differentiation and lack of clarity in practice. On the rebound, apparently, it was decided in favour of an ambitious two-track policy focused on activities with special target groups (Hazekamp 1985). Categorical local youth services were absorbed by local welfare services. Local youth work got a rough deal. The assumption was that 'normal young people' were preferably catered for by the 'natural educational arrangements': family, schools and 'traditional', mainstream associations. Groups that could not be reached by youth work were redefined as target groups for the welfare services. They became an increasing cause for concern owing to their nuisance value. So-called 'youth work with groups on the fringes' adopted a more robust approach to tackling the needs of young people. The term may have been inspired by Marcuse's ideas on groups on the fringes of society but it did not succeed in creating a revolution.

Institutionalisation of the 'gap between social and cultural work'

There was a parallel policy-related evolution. On government level initiatives that could be equated with social work were transferred. Initiatives on 'alternative youth assistance' that were initiated by youth workers, were incorporated into the welfare system and the separate service for 'youth social work' was transferred to the department of Social Welfare.

The call for an integrated youth welfare policy could not offer a good enough reference point, in any event less than the 'third milieu approach' which came fairly quick back on the scene. In the light of 20 years in the Catholic Youth Council, Van Peel – former chief scout and as a member of parliament in the 1990s one of the initiators of the decree on local youth work policy – expressly called for a youth movement with a **pedagogical and therefore apolitical character** (Van Peel 1987). It is also this recurring division between pedagogy and politics that makes it so particularly difficult to resolve the youth work paradox.

This was illustrated too in 1986 when the Catholic Youth Council complained about there being too much focus on youth welfare (youth unemployment, peace, politics) and not enough on the needs of 'genuine youth work'. Concepts as emancipation and participation have become fused with the (legiti-

mate) call by middle class youth for independence and a positive approach. Youth work must not have anything to do with negative approaches with a connotation to care or justice. However the removal of these so called negative approaches from youth policy also meant that the debate did not cover any longer (potential) emancipatory reference points for young people from the lower social classes. Therefore *the Youth Council could achieve nothing else than more freedom for the average youth but more restrictions for vulnerable youths*. Yet youth councils claimed to speak on the behalf of vulnerable young people (Williamson 2007). Consequently, youth work policy could blithely cling on to its origins: neutral support for voluntary organisation, active intervention in the case of groups whose social integration appears to be under threat.

3.6. *Definitive recognition of Flemish youth work*

The early 1990s were another key period. The social problems were piling up. Neo-liberal policies had shown their limitations and were replenished with a new commitment to combating social exclusion and promoting universal social integration. In the 1990s 'activation' was the key policy theme in all Western welfare states. Activation had to focus on integration rather than compensation for exclusion (Rosanvallon 1995). This provided quite a lot of scope for ambiguous strategies. This revealed itself again in particular in the case of (vulnerable) youth.

Individualisation and ambivalent youth status

The youth period was extended, generalised and individualised. Young people had more opportunities for making choices, living their own lives. This development was described as the transition from a standard biography to a choice biography (Fuchs 1983). The youth period was also regarded as a phase full of ambivalences and status inconsistencies. Hornstein (1988: 75) outlined three key themes. a) Young people were socially and culturally independent early on but owing to a longer period of education remained economically dependent on adults longer. b) Young people were asked to take charge of their own biography but at the same time recognised that their choices were beholden to structural limitations. c) The youth period was increasingly becoming an autonomous phase of life, on the other hand the youth period was seen as a preparation for the final stage of adulthood.

The youth period may be generalised but these ambivalences were not reflected in the same way for all groups of young people. Current research also stressed the continuing existence of dividing lines, such as gender, ethnicity and academic attainment. Beck (1986) drew attention to his individualisation thesis: social equality continued to exist, but the social mechanisms pro-

ducing this equality were changing. In the case of new integration and control mechanisms he referred to a more dominant labour market logic, a welfare state that was more directive and media-driven standardisation. The increasing focus on individual responsibility – risks were no longer regarded as a ‘group fate’ but as individual failings (Lenz 1990) – deprived us of an understanding of the mechanisms conducive to inequality. Youth researchers referred to ‘modernity losers’ (Du Bois-Reymond e.a. 1995). A stigmatising term seeming to emphasise the concern for individual responsibility, requiring more individual equipping of young people lacking the knowledge and capabilities for making the ‘right’ choices. The belief grew that young people had to be ‘activated’ (if need be with some degree of coercion or pressure) to make the right choices. This was an evolution that once again brought the issue of the status of pedagogy into sharp relief. Young people dealt in their own proactive way with the structural limitations they encountered and tried to get their bearings in a way that was meaningful for them (Miles e.a. 2002). To what extent were the activation measures in the (youth) policy also in keeping with the active interpretation of young people themselves? And how much scope did youth workers have to give support to this interpretation of young people? Less and less in the UK, apparently.

A flying start in life!

‘America’s youth in crisis!’ This is the ominous title of one of the champions of ‘positive youth development’ (Lerner 1994). The social concern about youth was directly proportional to the increasing focus on youth work. In the US various innovations were developed under the heading of ‘positive youth development’. Looking back at the history of youth work, these are no more than variations on the same civilisation strategy. There was concern about a specific aspect of youth and once again the well-achieving, well-behaving adolescent in the youth movement was set as an example. President Bush declared in 2001 that ‘the values of Scouting... are the values of America’ (Putney 2002). The UK followed suit: A flying start in life, breaking the cycle of underachievement, raising aspirations, extending opportunities, taking into account the views of young people, ... Fine-sounding but fairly hollow words, embodying the new UK youth policy at the end of the previous century, revealing a great deal of willingness but little social pedagogical understanding. Jeffs and Smith (2002) emphasised that group formation was one of the underlying principles of youth work. This issue was increasingly neglected in favour of an individual-oriented approach. Their criticism of youth policy in the UK zoomed in on the Connexions strategy. They singled out three trends threatening the key features of youth work: more ‘state surveillance’, intensive individual guidance and ‘joined-up thinking’. The government’s youth policy was

no longer focused on redistribution and personal well-being and development but on deviations from the standards laid down. *There was an incredible lack of pedagogical empathy, imaginative power and creativity.* The 'brilliant ideas' UK youth policy (Driver 2007) produced did not transcend the 'social engineering level'.

Flanders had to contend less with these kind of brilliant ideas, with the exception of the wonderful idea of compelling young people involved in crime to join the youth movement. There was great deal of receptiveness to pedagogical ideas. The challenge for education was not guidance towards an ideal-typical adulthood but keeping open identity development so as not to let it be prematurely constrained in a 'template' (Heyting 1999). Our Youth Minister spoke about the 'definitive recognition' of Flemish youth work. However, the division between 'voluntary mainstream youth work' and 'professional youth social work' remained, with the professional youth work highly susceptible to the aforementioned outcome-driven approaches and managerialism. This gap is difficult to heal if concepts such as 'youth' are not freed from their suggestion of uniformity: *'children – all children – are viewed as oppressed and various social divisions are regarded less important than what unites them as children ... while childhood is socially constructed, it is constructed within concrete contexts and structural relations which are located within particular historical processes. ... we fail to see any oppression affecting the lives of the Royal children of Britain, and we fail to see what they have in common with those who live in inner-city slums* (Lavalette and Cunningham 2002: 27). There was no improvement in sight, quite the reverse.

The come-back of adolescence and leisure time as crucial concepts

In a market-driven society leisure time became more and more 'learning and development time'. Edutainment became a new hype in the youth period conceptualised as a 'cultural moratorium' (Zinnecker 1995). The greater popularity of youth work was partly due to this focus on educational enrichment. Sociology and developmental psychology remain fundamental to youth work theory. In the sociological 'transition concept' the developmental psychological perception of the period of adolescence as 'Sturm und Drang' continued to resonate. Adolescence was re-emphasised as a risky period where a whole host of choices had to be made and the pace of development speeded up (Säfvenbohm and Samdahl 2000). Young people were expected to develop their own life plans in a conscious and responsible fashion. 'Informal learning' was back as a very popular concept and a strong pedagogical instrument. Media, art, culture, ... should enable young people to orient themselves on a wider basis and take more conscious control of their lives. *'Significant learning experiences are not dependant on any official learning context. They can be made in everyday life, they can be made in informal learning contexts in community projects,*

in the Third Sector as a whole, in arts and cultural contexts. Acting in those arenas is in itself learning as can be shown in its productive, its interactive and its symbolic dimensions. These learning experiences, despite their crucial importance on a biographic level, until now had very low social recognition' (Walther & Stauber 1999: 15). Youth work was given a higher profile owing to the call for 'informal learning' and the accumulation of the requisite social and cultural capital to ensure an effective completion of all the transitions. Prevention remained unaltered the key concept. *'Ausgehend von dieser sozialisationstheoretischen Bedeutung kann die Jugendverbandsarbeit als eine effektive und wirksame Präventiv-einrichtung des Kinder- und Jugendschutzes bezeichnet werden, denn sie erweitert die Erlebnis- und Erfahrungsmöglichkeiten, fördert den Aufbau sozialer und kommunikativer Fähigkeiten, unterstützt den Erwerb kultureller Kompetenzen und vermittelt entwicklungspsychologische Hilfen'* (Faulde 2003: 443).

Positive prevention: civilization strategy in disguise

In these circumstances, the definitive recognition of youth work was primarily focused on prevention and employability thus signalling a reconfirmation of the youth work paradox and the double problematization of always the same group. As well as helping to prevent a lot of disasters, youth work was seen, moreover, a rewarding leisure time option leading to a competitive labour market position in due course. Beside, it obviously did not require a great deal of policy efforts. Informal learning occurs automatically and the third sector is to a large extent carried by volunteers. The only annoying thing was that it did not work for 'some young people', apparently. The emphasis on informal and lifelong learning thus tended to exacerbate social exclusion rather than alleviate it. Furlong and Cartmel (1997) diagnosed from this that *the recommendation for lifelong learning did not result in a redistribution of opportunities but tended to legitimise inequality*. So, vulnerable had to be stimulated to participate in youth work, because youth work could do so much good to them and thus to society.

This renewed civilization crusade was proposed as a critical and positive approach for youth work and social vulnerability. In the light of ethical motives, a call was made to drop the 'negative risk factor approach' in favour of one focused on protective factors (De Winter 1995). Involvement in youth work activities was identified as an example of one such protective factor. 'Positive development' was making rapid progress in the United States: *'By the early 1990s professionals in the youth field – both practitioners and policy makers – were beginning to come to grips with the fact that the dominant program strategy of the prior three decades – namely highly targeted, special programs of limited duration – were for the most part not having lasting effects for the youth who participated and were not lasting beyond their specialized funding. Impact evaluations of several major youth initiatives had discouraging results, indicating that most of these efforts pro-*

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vided no counterweight for the increasingly negative environments in which many youth were growing up' (Watson 2002: 3). In the UK the managerialistic, outcome-driven approach was therefore criticized as hardly unfeasible, but as an alternative 'positive youth development' appeared to fall back on the civilization roots of youth work. Youth work participation was elevated unchanged to the status of a 'pedagogical' standard. The unaltered assumption was that involvement in leisure time activities connected children to society, while providing a context for experiencing self-expression and identity development (Säfvenbom and Samdahl 2000). However, it was found not to apply to all organised leisure time activities. One example is the differences between less structured hobby clubs and youth work (Smits 2004). History repeats itself. Once again, it was mainly the associations to which highly qualified young people were attracted, that were recognized to achieve the required 'effects' in terms of prevention and civic education.

These kinds of research findings also appeared in the international literature. Mahoney and Stattin (2000: 125) investigated the link between participation in more open, less structured types of youth work and anti-social behaviour, concluding that youth centres (in this case the Swedish Fritidsgårdar or Youth Recreations Centres) had counter-productive effects. *'It is tempting to suggest such centres be abandoned. However, there is no empirical basis for this suggestion. Closing the YRCs may diffuse antisocial youth into the community and potentially spread and increase delinquency and related problems.'* Dishion et al (1999) also concluded that open, unstructured provisions did more bad than good. An a-historical and decontextualized perception – open youth work initiatives 'do not work' but structured activities 'work well' – created a circle that was difficult to break: youth work differentiates so as to be able to reach young people who do not participate in structured activities, but their anti-social behaviour does not seem to improve, on the contrary. Consequently, the assumption is that anti-social behaviour can be tackled only by having their leisure activities integrated into a more structured setting. However, they do not feel drawn to this...

Hence the debate continued to be restricted to the existing provision. The youth work debate failed to take account of the question of whether the observation of 'positive effects' could be connected with direct links between the pedagogical provision and effects on youth development. It is doubtful however whether the same effects would occur if the non-participants would participate in youth work. The third milieu was developed in and via the existing provision and it appeared particularly difficult to go beyond this context in the youth work debate.

At last a local youth work policy

Youth (work) policy was decentralised in 1995. At that time the recommendation for an integrated, decentralised youth policy dated back three decades but the decentralisation process got underway only in the early 1990s, when the times were completely different. This was the age when the local authorities were in thrall to 'New Public Management'. The local level appeared the more effective one for tackling the question of why not enough young people were involved in youth work. The youth work legitimacy crisis was therefore redefined as a crisis in the legitimisation of public policy rather than a question of reconciling the aspirations of young people and the social delivery envisaged.

With the Decree on local youth work policy youth work was once again clearly demarcated from sports, culture, education and welfare, so that the position of 'youth social work' was all the more uncomfortable. Communicative and participatory planning was seen as very important, but the contribution made by mainstream youth work was dominant in this conception of participatory local youth work planning. It is difficult to evaluate the underlying principles and merits of 'youth social work' on the basis of 'mainstream' youth work ideology. All manner of funding sources (often under the 'prevention' label) tempted professional youth social work to abandon its socio-educational frame of reference, which it was not really clear about anyway, in favour of more outcome-driven and individual criteria. Jeffs and Smith (1999b) also stressed the tensions created by such an approach: *'Denigrating young people and over-playing the supposed threat they pose to order and social stability has in the past and, undoubtedly in the future, will pay dividends in terms of funding (although not necessarily to a substantive degree). However, this has to be set against the extent to which such funding strategies add to the difficulties already faced by particular groups (through stigmatization for example). It also ties funding to moral panics (and so effectively excludes the many) and its janus-faced nature heighten tensions in practice for the educator.'*

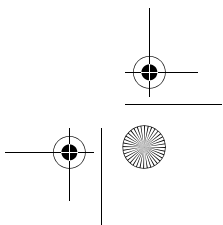
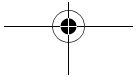
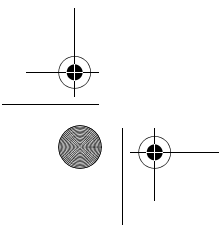
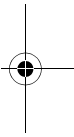
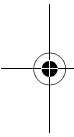
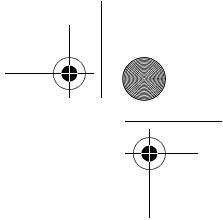
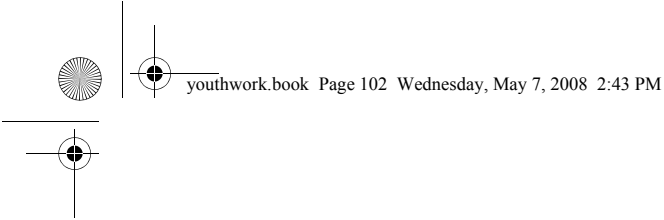
An emphasis on product-related, efficient working was a somewhat awkward way of appealing to target groups that were difficult to reach. Besides, there would always be a group resurfacing that would be impossible 'to work with'. Something special had to be undertaken for these groups, so as to be able to work efficiently with those young people with whom something could be achieved (Horsmans 1992). Consequently, the method-driven efforts required to attain young people who are 'hard to reach' led to a further differentiation of the methods and categorization of target groups. No broader-based debate was developed about the underlying principles of the cross-sector initiatives.

It was precisely this lack of justified theorising that was so conducive to the instrumentalisation of youth work (Dewe and Otto 1996).

Repedagogization!

Professional youth workers called increasingly for a new theory, new operating methods and a new legitimisation for youth work. Youth workers were bubbling over with questions: the high expectations of young people who always want to be within, the question of how to reach young people, with what activities, what you should do with them when you managed to reach them, the conclusion that high expectations cannot be met and result in frustration, ... Van der Zande (1990a,b) called for the pedagogical component to be restored in social pedagogy. Less focus on efficiency and effectiveness, on individual guidance, on scope and transferral, ... more on the pedagogical relationship. A special issue of *Deutsche Jugend* homed in on the 'repedagogization of youth work' (Schumann 1993, Hafeneger 1993, Ferchoff 1993). The youth worker should be more than a young person among young people, but also be more than a border guard or police officer. It now appeared as if youth workers had nothing more to offer than their organisational skills. However, young people came to experience something they could not experience elsewhere. Youth workers were not sufficiently aware that the great attraction of the work was in the role that they themselves play. They were professionals, the pivot around which the work revolved. The pedagogical relationship is principally an asymmetrical one. Youth workers have more or different experiences of life than young people, more or different knowledge, generally other standards and particularly more decision-making powers. These are the differences that should be transformed into an issue of a critical dialogue with young people, one not focused on shaping young people into idealised images of authentic adulthood or social consciousness. For then there is in essence no dialogue at all. Young people have to be enabled to investigate their own identity. Youth workers have to bring young people face to face with their own limitations and moral principles (Van de Zande 1990a,b).

However, it is not clear what this repedagogization should involve exactly in practice. The focus seems to shift once again from the pedagogical relationship to the pedagogical method. The youth movement model actually comes in fashion again, in open youth work as well. The emphasis in the approach to young people finally seems to have tilted from inequality in terms of social status to inequality in terms of social participation. It is not only the pedagogical component that has to be re-established in social pedagogy it is above all the social component that needs to be restored.



Chapter 4. Conclusion: Why youth work?

4.1. *From social and cultural work to youth work*

Time and time again, we have seen how a society faced with one change after another draws fresh attention to initiatives at the crossing point between the individual and society. Unwelcome side-effects have to be catered for or avoided thanks to expert action driven by social policy. The origins of Western youth work can be traced back to the 19th century socio-pedagogical initiatives for managing the changing relationship between the individual and society. A 'youth problem' was built up in the light of various backgrounds. There were initiatives from various channels focused on a variety of target groups and with different aims in view. All of them were squeezed between two considerations, the task on the one side of including individuals and groups in the existing social order and the moral duty on the other to free them from the obstacles preventing their self-development. The social pedagogical task shows itself time and time again to be inherently conflicting.

Between integration and emancipation, but also reinforcing dividing lines

This intrinsic conflict is the hallmark of all socio-pedagogical initiatives, irrespective of the target group, but the tension is reflected in different ways, as is obvious from an examination of the origins of social pedagogy. Smooth social integration meant something different for Rodenbach and co than for young workers. The latter too may have their development thwarted by Frenchification, but poor working conditions would have been more oppressive. The question is what factors were emphasised in social politics. It seems that the formation of a progressive front was still bogged down with overpowering clerical-anti-clerical divisions, the compartmentalisation based on this and the policy of subsidised freedom (Basiliades 2001). The Flemish-Walloon division and the young-old division also often thwarted the formation of a progressive front between the have's and the have not's, something that is also painfully clear in Belgium at present.

The foundation of the youth work concept was established on the basis of the young-old division. Apart from initiatives involving care and control, the emancipation movements of young people were a significant source of inspiration. However, it is obvious that the focus was less on the social struggles of

young workers than on cultural reform efforts where students played a key role. *Emancipation became linked to youth status, not social class.* 'Youth' research was originally heavily influenced by the perception of the young student, of a young person in the youth movement. The youth work paradox was driven by the recurring discovery of the youth problem. This brought maladjusted youth into the picture, but the leisure time model of the adjusted youth was always trotted out as a solution. Consequently, the youth work concept became firmly entrenched in the individualistic-meritocratic discourses, which indeed offered middle class young people emancipatory levers. In common with social work, youth work was becoming increasingly methodized, pushing the pedagogical reflection to an abstract, decontextualized level. This methodization was firmly established with Baden-Powell. *Youth work became a pedagogical method instead of a social movement.* From that time on, youth work was discussed in methodological terms, while the basic socio-pedagogical principles remained out of the picture. Some of the key moments will be listed in this conclusion so as to help us broaden the current debate again and make it possible to manage the youth work paradox in a constructive way.

The socio-pedagogical turn

In the late 19th century Flanders was characterised by a diversified social and cultural field of activity. The industrial revolution spawned a social question but also catalysed the drive for cultural renewal. The liberal, Socialist and Catholic ideological blocs developed initiatives to do with poor relief, formal education and adult education so as to be able to address the social and cultural issues. Various socio-pedagogical initiatives were developed at the interface between the individual and society, lending support to the changing relationship between individual aspirations and social expectations. There were patronages, youth circles, playgrounds, student associations, study circles, preventative fresh-air cures, all kinds of after-school initiatives, ... The Socialist Party's increasing importance coincided with associational life's greater relevance as a battlefield where the youth has to be won. The ties with the ideological blocs and adults associations were therefore quite close. The Socialist Young Guards and the Socialist Party, Cardijn's Young Worker and the Christian Workers' Movement, catholic student movements and the cultural associations of adults, the preventative youth holidays and the Health Services, patronages and the parish, ... There was not much theoretic underpinning and no correlation between initiatives working with young people. Most initiatives, particularly when focused on younger age groups, primarily played a care and reception role (patronages, YMCA, Sunday school, ...). Other initiatives lent support to young people's social commitment and involved them in the social and cultural struggles of adults. In other words, the existing social

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and cultural work involving young people was not validated solely on the basis of a psycho-pedagogical youth concept. So it might be fair to describe it as *community development* rather than as *youth work*.

Preventative method and psychological turn

The idea gaining ground that social problems could be reduced 'deep down' to pedagogical issues was commensurate with the increasing pedagogization of the adolescent's social life world, a pedagogization that was validated more and more on a theoretical scientific basis. Propelled by reform pedagogy and developmental psychology a psycho-pedagogical youth concept developed that has been the legitimisation for youth work until the present day. The moratorium phase 'youth' became also a reality for older adolescents and working-class children. The child labour ban and the roll-out of compulsory education constituted an appropriate finishing touch for this pedagogization.

The focus on young people's immediate contribution to the development of society tilted towards a preparation for their subsequent role as an adult. The pedagogization process was increasingly concomitant with psychologization. Young people are different from adults, have other needs and requirements, so a separate approach is justified. Hall, Spranger, Bühler, Mendousse, ... conceptualised adolescence as a tense but crucial phase of life where young people learn a great deal as a result of experimenting amongst each other. The concept of a 'good youth period' was fuelled to a great extent by the Wander-vögel myth. The legacy of the youth movement generation was borne in mind, but solely insofar as this applied to cultural renewal not to social conflict. The pedagogizing shift from direct, social action to training and preparation for a future role as a responsible adult was partly inspired by the youth movement myth and therefore, paradoxically enough, coincided with a greater emphasis on self-government.

This concept of youth development gained a foothold in the wake of the First World War. Youth work was increasingly regarded as an additional educational leisure time activity required to lend support to the harmonious development of young people. During a conference staged on the theme of 'older adolescents', youth work was fleshed out in the light of these basic principles. The third milieu was described as '*the specific youth environment we control and lead to the right path*'. The youth work concept was freed of any political and overly militant components. The student movement and Cardijn's Young Christian Workers were reconceptualised and disciplined as a youth movement, not a social movement. Emancipation was confined to the borders of 'youth land'.

Methodological turn and the ruling out of the working class kids

The scouting method fitted in wonderfully well with this conceptualisation of youth work as additional education in leisure time. The methodology was conceptualised as the perfect learning school for young people to acquire democratic skills and attitudes. The idea of young people's self-government was more ambitious in the Flemish scouts than in its country of origin, where scouting continued to be a fairly formalistic business (Mennicke 1937). The Flemish viewpoint was a reflection of developments in Germany, where the Wandervögel myth continued to be particularly inspiring in the process for developing the 'new youth movement'. Young people themselves were responsible for shaping youth work. The youth experts were nonetheless not very keen on a 'wild youth movement', setting their sights on an organised, guided movement. Hence the youth movement was constructed as a positive, dynamic, critical force in society: a force actively working to improve innovation but remaining within acceptable limits.

The scouting system developed into a 'youth movement' in this second sense, more pedagogical provision, rather than social movement. The other types of youth work increasingly drew their inspiration from youth movement romanticism. The outdoor life, healthy physical exercise, the group life, ... became widely accepted. That is how one 'single concept' of youth work was developed in the light of a 'single concept of childhood'. A decontextualised and apolitical concept (Lewin 1947) where social struggle and redistribution made way for cultural renewal and character building. Prompted by the Catholic Action the continuing youth work debate no longer revolved around the fundamental socio-pedagogical principles of youth work, but around maximising the effectiveness of the pedagogical method. Propelled by Cardijn, differentiation and contextualisation continued to be highlighted but the core methodological component of youth work was definitively established, and the differentiation was reduced to a mere methodological question. Adults were subtracted from the youth work debate and other methods and perspectives that had to do with formal education, culture, health, employment ... faded from the picture. They were never explored really in the youth work debate, because from the beginning this was restricted to 'a youth movement' debate, a debate about the best method of doing youth work. Genuine youth work was reduced to the middle class youth movement and so the third milieu was assigned a specific purpose that was developed independently from the real circumstances young workers had to contend with. Still it operated for them as the ideal model for experiencing meaningful leisure time.

All forms of youth work appeared more and more to copy the youth movement style and methods. Socialist Young Guards became Red Falcons, Card-

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ijn's Young Worker became the KAJ (Young Catholic Workers), AKVS was replaced by KSA (Catholic Student Action), Patronages were transformed into Chiro, ... And strangely enough: Baden-Powell focused on the 'lowest of the low', Cardijn on young workers, the Socialist Young Guard likewise, patronages on the working class child, preventative fresh-air cures on working class kids, ... *but all sides appeared to rule out their original target group the more they assumed the outlines of a youth movement.*

Teabag pedagogy and the emancipatory turn

The youth movement was constructed as the epitome of youth work. The components subtracted from the debate appeared to deprive young working people of their emancipatory instruments. As the auxiliary works did not allow enough members to transfer to genuine work, the youth movement did not succeed in becoming a mass movement. The continuing democratization of education and leisure activities also affected youth movement's status as a mass movement.

Still youth movement members were regarded as an elitist vanguard, spreading their beneficial influence amongst the masses. This teabag pedagogy persisted until the 1970s, in government policy as well. This kind of elitist concept clashed with concepts being spread more widely owing to the democratization movement. Other types of youth work were given their due. The dependency between youth and youth work was reversed and the emphasis shifted to 'needs-related' youth work. Patronizing was altogether wrong and via a (re)differentiation of youth work a new focus grew on other life domains. Youth work seemed to find back its own roots as a social movement, a contribution to community development, but in the end continued to be restricted to methodical innovations focused on leading 'unorganised' young people towards standard youth work. *The basic concept of youth work since 1919, a societal project and citizenship ideal coloured by functionalistic and developmental ideas, remained unchanged but continued to be invisible and therefore undiscussed.*

What happened was that a good deal of emancipatory potential was thrown out with the paternalistic bath water. And once again this applied in particular to low-skilled young people. The figure of the youth worker also faded from the youth work debate. Young people would decide themselves what was good for them. This depedagogization was concomitant with an updating of the civilizing origins of youth work but dressed up in a youth sociological cloth this time around.

The youth sociological turn

Towards the end of the 20th century the 'free youth movement' was once more highly rated. This was perfectly in line with the reframing of socio-economic policy focusing on the child and parents as investing in itself and in society (Harrikari 2004). These youth sociological developments obviously built upon the old individualizing, developmental psychology foundations. Completely a-historical, the 'free youth movement' – in its current variant – was proposed as the highest good. Formal education became increasingly important as a social distribution mechanism. The 'bildungsoptimistischer Lebensentwurf' regarded youth work as a supplement to learning in school and eminently suitable for building up social and cultural capital. Youth work was regarded as important. And once again this was true particularly for low-skilled young people, for in the knowledge society it is fairly predictable that they will be the social 'drop-outs'. Hence the youth work paradox was acutely felt and 'new old queries' were raised about non-participants. This re-established a double problematization of 'socially vulnerable young people': their youth is there in an incomplete form and they do not take part in the educational opportunities that could have a compensatory or corrective impact in this context. The strategy of moving on was revived. Rather than social inequality and a distorted social policy, the problem was to do with unequal participation in the educational provisions. Consequently, youth social work was assigned the task of picking young people up from the street to move them on to genuine, voluntary, traditional youth work. However, the so called genuine youth work was hard put to persuade guests to stay. If they did succeed they then had problems continuing to undertake 'genuine' youth work with them. At present the strategy of moving on is propagated on a wide scale in the case of youth work with ethnic minorities in the larger cities. If it does ostensibly 'work', the model will at the most shift the ethnic-cultural divisions to the socio-economic ones. The civilizing strategy works only for a 'top layer' of ethnic minority adolescents, but it in its – unwanted – effects it legitimises the demise of the supportive, emancipatory provision (yet again) for those who need it the most. Pressure to steer young people towards the services that are good for them has always seemed to be the only way out of the youth work paradox: *'Bernard Davies wrote in the 1980s that we had to win the consent of young people, not endeavour to coerce their compliance. But times have changed and we have a moral and professional responsibility to try to keep young people 'in good shape' during their teenage years, if they are to have any chance of entering young adulthood with a capacity for effective' life management'. A learning context far wider than just schooling is increasingly part of that process. And simply putting the offer on the table is no longer sufficient. We have to find mechanisms for both enabling and ensuring that young*

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people take part. Relying solely on voluntary engagement may no longer be enough.' (Williamson 2007: 33).

This is nothing new either. 100 years ago Kerschensteiner received 600 Marks for his essay on 'civil education'. Hugo Blitz, the then leader of the evangelical youth association, also submitted a paper. He proposed to make membership of a youth association compulsory (Dudek 1997). Such a proposal – it was actually pushed through in the UK in the early years of the Second World War – illustrates the mythical potency of youth work as a pedagogical instrument. It also underscores the mythical force of education for solving social woes. The area of tension where pedagogization operates revealed itself most clearly. It is here where the task of pedagogical research is located: keeping the social debate open.

4.2. *From accessibility to usefulness?*

We have seen how the ambitious efforts of youth work and policymaking throughout history have been sufficient to make youth work more accessible, in the sense of the increase of participation rates. Many barriers and thresholds were investigated and dealt with in practice. The financial barrier was the most tangible one, but many cultural barriers were also overcome (relating to the home culture, arranging transport, being careful with door-to-door activities, a more proactive approach, taking care of an 'image', getting rid of the uniform, ...). However the higher accessibility did not mean that youth work became more universally useful. The youth work paradox appeared to be revealed in other ways. The participation rates in itself were not the problem, but:

- The higher the number of young people reached, the more difficult it is to approach the not-reached.
- The higher the number of young people reached, the less is reached with young people.
- The higher the number of young people reached, the more chance that youth work establishes separated circuits and in doing so reinforces dividing lines.

Anglo-American formalism versus German romanticism?

The meaning of youth work appears to be individually and collectively bogged down in a perpetuating and confirmatory role. The accessibility approach does not offer us enough instruments to get beyond the youth work paradox. Making youth work **more accessible** does not seem to be such a problem, but is youth work accordingly also **more useful** for (all) young people? Attempts have been made in both the German and Anglo-American tra-

ditions to resolve this paradox. The theorising about 'bedürfnisorientierter Praxis' (Damm 1980) or 'sozialraumlichen Jugendpädagogik' (Böhnisch & Münchmeier 1990) are examples of this but do not appear to have any connection with the youth work experience (Deinet 2001) which is bogged down in 'Praktizismus' (Giesecke 1964, 1998). The theorising about informal education (Jeffs & Smith 2005) is the reflection of an Anglo-American broadening movement, but in this case we invariably come across the problem that the fundamental premises of informal education are at risk of becoming formalised or being lost to the 'service approach' as soon as this involves a group that is difficult to reach in pedagogical terms. This formalisation ties in with the cultural and historical-rooted boundaries of Anglo-American youth work where the focus has long been on formal opportunities to exercise democratic skills. In the final analysis, their cultural-historical definition also causes the German tradition to cut off its own nose to spite its face. Broadening movements seem to miss the connection with actual experiences in practice and are smoothly integrated into the romantic but basically civilizing ground concept of youth work. As a result of which each innovation gets bogged down in the youth work paradox. Breaking through the cultural and historical-rooted methodological youth work definition is the only way to open opportunities for understanding the fundamental social pedagogical premises of youth work.

The 'social pedagogical essence' of youth work and the youth work paradox

The accessibility approach is based on the mainstream definition of the problem that 'non-participation leads to flawed civic education'. Research indeed has shown that youth work contributes to democratic citizenship. This still leaves the question of under what circumstances a youth work activity supports the process of achieving such an objective. May democratic citizenship be underpinned within the existing social divisions? Should we look to youth work to make a contribution in all circumstances to a more democratic form of citizenship, also among young people who perceive the existing social divisions as being unfair? Should we expect all young people to make a constructive appraisal of themselves and their environment, if the only support they have proceeds from civilizing assumptions? The history of youth work has shown that sticking to such a linear, decontextualised link between the youth work provision and educational attainments tends to be counterproductive. As a result of this kind of methodical thinking, divisions are confirmed rather than overcome, resulting in a validation of the distinction between youth work and so-called youth social work, with the latter being more vulnerable in terms of its legitimacy. This also ends up confirming the cultural and structural marginalisation of groups of young people.

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The social pedagogical essence of youth work applies to its usefulness for young people. How does youth work connect to young people's own aspirations, strategies and life world? This connection takes shape in the relationship between youth work, young people and society. Methodizing this pedagogical essence – independently of the debate on the meaning of youth work in view of the social context and the way young people perceive this – cannot render the youth work paradox manageable. Youth work is not a provision towards which young people have to be steered, but an action in the socialisation of young people. This socialisation process and the way young people perceive it has to be taken as starting point, rather than the accessibility of youth work or the anticipated results from youth work participation. The question is whether youth workers have the room to make this connection?

Usefulness of youth work from young people's perspective

The youth movement nowadays still is a means for many young people to write their 'coming of age' story, where lots of youngsters are able to experiment within safe limits. The youth movement also offers benefits such as easier access to certain facilities. Professional youth (social) work, too, has the potential to have such an 'essential' meaning for its members. Youth social workers aspire to achieve this and succeed in many respects. They are restrained however by the strategy of moving on and quota debates, assuming that the essence of youth work lies hidden in a specific (middle class) model of youth work. The obsessive emphasis on 'incomes and outcomes' means being deprived of any understanding of the social pedagogical premises of what youth work offers/may offer to young people: opportunities for feeling at home and at the same time doing things they cannot do at home, opportunities to meet friends, make new friends, learn skills, engage in authentic conversations, ... These are the things – plus the style of leadership – that make youth work a fun experience. Moreover they also ensure that youth work has a certain degree of attractiveness for young people, even though other leisure time opportunities are increasing exponentially. Broadening the experiential world of young people is a classic task of the social pedagogue and it is also what young people find appealing about youth work. However, as the mainstream provision serves as starting point, in practice broadening the experiential world often means that young people (and youth workers) have to adapt to the societal expectations imposed on them. Pedagogical provisions have to 'control' the socialisation process and have to prevent deviations from the standard development. This comes into focus as a barrier undermining the usefulness of youth work. We tend to overlook the learning process and coping mechanisms young people develop themselves. We tend to construct the actual 'needs' of young people in the light of what we have on offer and thus

consolidate a selective and segregated provision. Therefore our attempts to fit in with the social life world of 'at-risk groups' should be regarded less as a methodical question and have to be understood from a socio-pedagogical point of view. To paraphrase Wenger's (1998) question: how does youth work intervene in young people's leisure time and how far is the intervention enabling or frustrating them in their process of developing meaningful activities?

Professional youth workers appear to be caught in the self-reliance pedagogy of youth work (Banks 1999). A youth work policy focused on boosting young people's individual self-reliance puts professional youth workers involved with groups of young people most remote from this ideal in an uncomfortable situation. They are brought face to face with almost unfeasible goals, are apparently compelled to transfer 'good' elements, while excluding 'difficult' elements and above all they also have to be able to keep their heads above water and allow their organisation to survive. Neglecting and undervaluing the pedagogical mission of youth workers seems to imply that the only ones that move on in youth work are the youth workers themselves.

Useful youth work and the myth of the autonomous child

The usefulness of youth work at individual level is derived from the development opportunities available to young people. The practice and theorising of youth work can no longer be suspended at this individual level if the aim is to transcend the youth work paradox.

It is the decontextualisation, featured in the youth work concept, that leads to the selective catchment area of youth work, thereby erecting barriers. The youth work efforts unquestionably determine if and how these barriers are cleared. The youth worker is familiar or otherwise with the educational contexts of children and adolescents and so he or she is the one to understand the 'needs' of children and young people. The youth worker is responsible for ensuring that the process does not merely end with the offer of broadening experiences as a contribution to a young person's individual development leading to individual autonomy. The broadening of the life world of young people is a relational process that is always 'on'. The youth worker helps young people to come to terms with new experiences, place the experiences in one's own life. The youth worker is also the one who gets in touch with parents and ensures youth work pedagogy is open to debate. In this way, the youth worker is a key figure for constructing and/or safeguarding contextualised youth work.

However the development of a youth work approach where youth work is increasingly regarded as a 'locus of technical practice' (Dahlberg & Moss 2005) means that the 'methodology' is more important than the figure of the youth

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worker. Young people do feel this. Säfvenbom and Samdahl (2000) talk about how young people regard their supervisors as professionals 'who support them without accepting them'. Youth workers themselves are aware of this trend towards technicalization. As early as 1976 Davies stressed how important youth workers found the personal relationship with young people, but sought to develop it in a fairly technical fashion so that it does after all form part of the youth worker's 'professionality'. *'Good personal relationships with young people are as necessary as they ever were, if by this is meant bonds between adults and young people which are based on mutual trust and respect and a good deal of straightforward caring. I now believe that these can withstand – indeed, that they often require – a much more vigorous and challenging input from the adult than I (and others, I think) have often contributed in the past. That is, I now feel much more confident than previously about trying to sense when it is appropriate for me to "be myself" in this relationships – to present quite directly my own values, feeling, spontaneous reactions and the rest – rather than acting as if "acceptance" and "non-judgemental attitudes" demanded some simple repression of my inner responses, my personal attributes, my private life and so on'* (Davies 1976: 19). Are youth workers too occupied with youth work and too little with young people?

The social dimension of pedagogical acting is sidelined by technification, as a result of the search for the single, correct procedures (Giesecke 1990: 18). In order to step beyond the individual level it is not enough to pay attention to the pedagogical relationship. Equally important is the attitude the youth worker adopts toward an individual and his or her educational situation or the attitudes the youth workers adopt towards a group and towards processes occurring in this group. And, lastly, the attitude towards the position the group assumes vis à vis the existing social relations and a social policy granting priority to strategies that do not improve the redistribution mechanisms available, often quite the opposite. Are we justified in continuing to claim that the ultimate aim of youth work is a successful adulthood? And what do we understand this to mean? Is a person autonomous if that individual is covered by the following definition used in the North American Positive Youth Development paradigm: *'a gainfully employed individual, not reliant on public funds'* (Roth 2004)?

A social pedagogy for youth work?

Youth work can only be useful when contextualised. At the same time a homogeneous 'client group' is not socially enriching. Moreover non-participants are faced with a higher barrier. In the light of a social pedagogical perspective, we have to take this conclusion seriously: youth work confirms the dividing lines between young people. Youth work is applied to the separate circuits in leisure time, but these divisions cannot be overcome by abolishing one of the two

circuits. If anything inter-linkages will have to be sought between the various types of youth work, so we are not limited to the cultural and historical-based youth work definition, but the socio-pedagogical perception also makes a contribution to and from other methods, so that items subtracted from youth work – the contribution by adults, social action, the links with the neighbourhood/school environment – may be fully reintegrated but not in a methodical, decontextualised, a-pedagogical and a-political way. The school and workplace are key youth work spheres but youth work does not involve preventing unsuccessful students from dropping out. It is to do with thematising what education means, may mean and should mean from the perspective of young people.

The cultural and historical-rooted youth work concept has to be broadened so as to transcend the youth work paradox. It is methodologically differentiated but with an asymmetrical theoretical basis.

Conclusion

History of youth work shows us different constructions of youth work. We could set them out on two axes. One axe makes a difference between youth work as a pedagogical method or youth work as a social pedagogical activity. The other axe distinguishes a kind of youth work set apart from society, building good future citizens and a perspective on youth work as an act of community building, with (young) citizens. This analytical framework makes it possible to distinguish four types of youth work:

- Scouting as an educational method: building future citizens through group activities in leisure time
- Scouting as a youth movement (in the 2nd sense): being young together as a meaningful activity in itself, self-government is important. Youth work has positive effects, but only because it does not have to.
- Positive youth development: cross connections are made with other organisations in other fields, participation is important, adults are brought back in, but youth work is a means to an end and seems not really 'useful'
- Youth work as social movement (or youth movement in the 1st sense): youth work as an act of community development together with young people departing from a common analysis of their situation.

	METHOD	SOCIAL PEDAGOGY
OUTSIDE	Scouting method	Scouting movement
INSIDE	Positive youth development	Youth social movement

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The combination of youth movement in the 1st en youth movement in the 2nd sense seems to open up constructive perspectives. Anyway, to go beyond the youth work paradox we need to leave behind a youth work concept that is methodically differentiated but a-political and a-pedagogical. The lessons from Flanders could be very inspiring for youth policies in other countries. Reading the 'Ten Year Strategy' (HM Treasury, 2007) that should underpin England's youth policy in the next ten years does not put us in an optimistic mood. What we see is a methodical youth work concept, based on the promotion of 'positive youth activities' and the belief that participation will contribute to individual emancipation. This is a strategy that seems to revive the ghost of Stanley Hall, Talcott Parsons, Robert Baden-Powell and Horatio Alger in one and the same document. It is an approach that recognizes 'the youth divide' (Jones, 2002) but in the same time excludes 'vulnerable youth work' and – as history shows us – in doing so paradoxically will reinforce the exclusion of vulnerable young people.

The need for youth workers to be trained is acknowledged but this is justified on developmental psychological assumptions rather than a social pedagogical basis: *'Central to this training will be the incorporation of emerging research and evidence that adolescence is a distinct developmental stage.'* (HM Treasury 2007: 80). The added benefits that scientific research can provide in terms of the 'needs of the adolescent' or the 'quality of extra-curricular activities' are obvious, but fundamental socio-pedagogical research is required to transcend the youth work paradox. This also implies youth workers and young people themselves being involved in the research. In common with social work (Lorenz 1994), youth work as a modern project is inextricably linked to the social problems it proposes to solve (Bradt & Bouverne-De Bie 2007). Hence youth workers should not run away from social problems, nor accept social integration on an individual basis as a solution for collective social problems. Youth workers cannot choose not to be instrumental, but they should be an active partner in the broader educational debate instead of restricting themselves to a service role.

A social-pedagogical perspective has the potential to bridge the gap between youth movements and professional youth work, but also to challenge prevailing counterproductive youth work theories focusing on individual development. In that light, the historical legacy of youth work and the proliferation of voluntary youth organisations in Flanders offer a unique opportunity to discover the potential of politicized and inclusive youth work. Creating cross-connections between professional youth work and youth movements opens up alternative perspectives for youth, youth workers, policy makers and researchers. This radical change of perspective will take time and efforts from youth workers in the circuits of professional youth work and youth movement

so to reconnect to society. Professional youth workers could support the youth movement in breaking out of their self-obtained, but restricting youth land. The youth movements from their side could support professional youth work in resisting their subordination to the burgeoning paradigm of 'positive youth development' and the reframing of youth work in conformity with the requirements of the educational system and the labour market, an evolution that has disempowering effects on both youth workers and young people.

If we pause to consider historical research, we are compelled to call for the pedagogical component to be restored to social pedagogy but we are even more emphatic about the need for the social component to be restored to pedagogy. Only from a socio-pedagogical perspective can youth work hope to evolve into a community development activity so it is more than just an additional contribution to individual development within the prevailing social order.

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