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Rosebery House, 9 Haymarket Terrace, Edinburgh

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# Scottish Child

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# **CONNECTIONS**

#### IN BRIEF

Hold the front page! A Scottish employer with a workforce of 3500, due to demographic and other social changes, is under threat. Part of the problem is that government action is undermining demand for their product.

No not some macho smokestack industry. And all but a handful of the workers are part-time and, need we say it, women. Their 'product'? **Pre-school play** for young children and their parents – hence perhaps why the concerns of the Scottish Preschool Play Association have not made many front pages.

The association's September conference in Galashiels tried to grapple with the predicted effects of the likely increased demand for women to return to work soon after childbirth as the 90s proceed. Combined with Government support for statutory pre-school services – nursery places are slowly increasing – SPPA's network of volunteer and part-time self-help play facilites could retract.

The feeling of the 250 strong Galashiels gathering was that full-time childcare wasn't in everyone's interest, not least young children's. Keynote speaker, Esther Read, editor of SPPA's house magazine, Roundabout, talked of "the myth of childcare as a women's right" - if childcare is only justified on an equal opportunities basis, she argued in a recent editorial, so that, like their menfolk, women can get to work long hours with total commitment for their employer, that's hardly in anybody's interest.

Guest speaker, Bronwen Cohen of SCAFA (Scottish Child & Family Alliance) challenged delegates to see declining numbers of children in playgroups as an opportunity to make them better. SPPA are not to be carried along in an employment led fashion for full-time daycare, and they launched a Campaign for Parental Involvement. Details from Publicity Officer, Pat Trenaman – 041 221 4148.

Play, as Alasdair Roberts writes in this issue, is essential. In fact, it's a deeply serious matter. Two 'Playing to Learn' workshops being run in Edinburgh and Glasgow on the 13th and 20th October respectively will highlight the learning potential in everyday games and activities.

Aimed at playgroup leaders, nursery educators, and anyone with an interest in pre-school child development, workshops will be led by author Dr. Roy McConkey. The accent will be on games which require little or no special equipment. Details from St Aidan's, Gattonside, TD6 9NN.



Oh! The two lively lassies above? They're Pauline (left) and Tracy who go to some of the activities at the **Pilton Youth Programme**. They made the pages of Edinburgh's Evening News when the programme's report **LISTEN HERE!** was published during the last week of the Edinburgh Festival.

The Pilton Youth Programme has a lot to celebrate. They work in conjunction with local schools, and provide good youth facilities in an area of high unemployment. West Pilton has a high rate of births to young mothers and the project continues support for those who are parents. Those who detect a similarity in the address of this project to Scottish Child's would not be surprised to learn that Scottish Child produced the report.

Over half the children of divorced or separated parents lose contact with the parent they're not with within two years of the **separation**. How to keep up contact when the parents may not even be on speaking terms, or strict legal requirements are made on the terms of any contact?

Last month Lothian Family Conciliation Service marked the 2nd anniversary of the successful setting up of their Access Centre, where children can spend time on neutral territory and in a pleasant relaxed environment with the parent who does not live with them.

There are some who would argue that such a centre makes what is already an unnatural situation even more unnatural. But the use of the centre speaks for itself. On Saturdays up to 20 families use the place. Family Conciliation is becoming established offering a range of services throughout Scotland. For information on the Lothian Service, and contacts in other areas, phone 031 226 4507.

Since Cleveland, the issue of **child sexual abuse** has received, not least on these pages, a deal of public attention. One aspect of the discussion has centred on ways of responding whether to regard sexual abuse of children as a "family problem" to be treated through therapy, or to treat it as a crime to be pursued through the courts.

CRIMES: NETWORK LOBBY has recently been formed to respond to what they consider to be the prevailing professional attitude towards abusive men. While accepting the need for convicted abusers to receive help through counselling, they believe this should be within the context of custodial sentences.

The group plan to lobby against proposals to decriminalise child sexual abuse; for effective sentences for abusers; and for improved facilities for victims. They produce a quarterly newsletter. Details can be had from

CRIMES: NETWORK LOB-BY, c/o Women's Support Project, Newlands Centre, 871 Springfield Road, Glasgow G31 4HZ Tel. 041 554 5669.

The current **Register of Services for Child Sexual Abuse** is now out and is available from the same address.

Produced jointly by the Women's Support Project and the RSSPCC, the updated register first produced in 1987 is of value to a wide variety of organisations, as well as to those who have been abused and want to find out who they might contact in their area.

The Register costs £2 including postage, and cheques should be made payable to "Sexual Abuse Liaison Group".

Following on from the item in last month's magazine about the efforts of David Hamilton of Airdrie to go on a **music therapy** training course in the absence of grants of any kind (see letters), some progress has been made.

As part of the fundraising effort, Janette Montague music therapist at Glasgow's Lennox Castle Hospital is arranging an couple of events of more than passing interest to those interested in the connection between music and the soul. A three day music therapy workshop and a one day conference on dates at the end of October (see ad in this issue) will be run in Glasgow's Kelvin conference centre.

"The days will be of interest to anyone interested in music and the personality," Janette Montague told **Scottish Child**. The three day workshop will give a fairly intensive practical experience to a limited number of participants, including improvisation exercises which through choice of instrument and sound "will help the participants to find out if they are who they think they are!"

All proceeds from these events go to David Hamilton's training fund.



#### **Birthday Time!**

#### **EDITORIAL**

This issue of Scottish Child marks the second full year of publishing since the magazine became an independent company. As the many wellwishers in this number bear out, it's been a rewarding and successful two years. But the reality in today's world is that independent publications like Scottish Child are expected to fail you're the local division of the Multi-Bucks Megacorp or you're nothing. How else can you fulfill your true function of delivering markets (readers) to advertisers?

The work of **Scottish Child** is much more complex and important. Every aspect of modern society is inheritable by the new generation. The child is really in all of us. The child represents both our most vulnerable part, and our sense of birth, of renewal, and of life's great possibilities. Much too vital to be left only to the usual specialist or consumer categories. Or to the individual indulgence of rosy reminiscence.

Scottish Child over the last two years has not shirked from the responsibilities of such ideas. The fact that we enjoy the popularity we do (reader survey April 1990 – 12,000 readers) means that in today's hostile political and financial climate, we must be onto something.

Not all that successful though, we have to add in haste. Scottish children learn quickly to contain their abilities in a modest tone. Marginal cultures share what the Australians call the "tall poppy" syndrome – if you stand out, you'll get cut down. As if the unusual threatens the whole tribe.

So it is important, and in fact true, to say that the magazine's existence is not exactly on easy-street. The four full-time staff, for instance, running the magazine and the parallel **Scottish Child publications**, share a rich variety of functions for little tangible reward so far.

But that's a dilemma that young Scots have faced for generations: whether to go and 'improve yourself' – follow the dollar – or stay and make a go of it. Magazines, perhaps more than any other medium, are products of their time and place. In the face of what sometimes seem like massive obstacles to bringing up, looking after and educating the young, support for making a go of it here speaks for the heightened sense of self-assertion around.

That's good for Scottish Child, for Scottish children, and for Scotland.

Derek Rodger

# **CONNECTIONS**

#### At Home

#### HOME VISITING

"The sheer physical effort of getting to services – getting young children on the bus, the organisation and the expense – can mean that some people who need the various services on offer just don't get the help they require." Frances Bowman of Scottish Home Visiting is talking about the need in such circumstances for essential services of various kinds to be taken into the home.

"Young single mothers," she told **Scottish Child**, "are another example. They may not feel that they fit in with existing ante or post natal services – everyone else seems so much older – so they just don't go. There are cultural factors with ethnic minority groups, and problems of isolation in rural districts. And sometimes it's just the psychological

barrier of getting out of the house."

Frances Bowman, the Co-ordinator of the Glasgow-based Scottish Home Visiting resource and training project which exists to support and develop homevisiting services, has watched the number of projects in Scotland grow from 20 to over 70 schemes, and growing, in the last four

There exists a whole patchwork of services which involve either professionals or volunteers going into people's homes. Teachers, outreach workers, psychologists, or occupational therapists are among those with usually more focussed roles – they are visiting the home for a specific purpose – whose encounters with the unexpected may provide most difficulty. Volunteers tend to have more open-ended, family support remits.

instance," "For explains Frances Bowman, "a home visit might ostensibly be about the child - some health or educational problem - and within minutes in the home the real source of the problem starts to become apparent. So the visitor to the home can find themselves involved in things like arbitrating in disputes or giving counselling, almost before they know it." In acknowledging the growth of home visiting across a whole range of services, and recognising both the training needs of those involved, Scottish Home Visiting are organising the first Home Visiting Convention in Glasgow on the 29th October. There is a need too, to build in home visiting as a key component in the planning of new services. The convention, to be held in the James Moir Hall, will bring together those from voluntary organisations, nurseries and family centres, social work, community work, and psychological and educational services, from across Scotland. It is hoped that as well as the cross section of people involved in home visiting that the Convention will attract policy planners.

The overall purpose of the day-long Convention is, according to Frances Bowman, to establish the home visiting movement in Scotland. Scottish Home Visiting is a Save the Children project and their President, the Princess Royal will give an opening address.

For further information and details contact Scottish Home Visiting, Block 1, Unit C1, Templeton Business Centre, Glasgow G40 1DA Tel 041 554 4465. Conference fee is £15 which includes lunch and coffee.

#### **Derek Rodger**

#### **EDUCATION**

Fifty years ago, taking his cue from the inspirational A.S. Neill who founded the world-renowned free school Summerhill, John Aitkenhead then a young teacher disenchanted with some of the more oppressive features of state education, resolved "to do in Scotland what Neill had to leave Scotland to do."

Education, according to John Aitkenhead, founder and head-teacher of Kilquhanity, the independent and progressive free school in Galloway, is involvement in the creative work that nourishes the human spirit. Writing in Kilquhanity's Jubilee – Reflections and Creations 1940–1990 a commercrative precis published in August of the first half century of the school, Aitkenhead takes time to declare first principles. "Education is from the Latin word educare, to nourish."

To set up a nourishing education with a system of staff and pupil self-goverment in the austere academicist and authoritarian Scottish education system of 1940, with an avowed principle never to use corporal punishment; to incorporate a day and boarding element; to run a full and wide curriculum in all aspects of the creative arts and science; to include a school farm with animals, and to do so with



#### Kilquhanity's Jubilee

the bare minimum of resources . . . Well!

"Quite simply," according to one voice among the many former staff and pupils' words that make up this book, "considered rationally, what John and Morag did in 1940 was impossible." yet it is this tenacity in clinging on and developing, surviving and growing – a true test of human spirit – that seems to typify Kilquhanity.

There is a strong sense too in these recollections that the free school has not been untouched by history. The effects were felt in the first decade. Whereas the school at first filled up to its compliment of fifty, as soon as the war ended in 1945, numbers dropped to about a dozen. Evacuation, as much as education, seemed to have motivated the first intake!

And as you might expect of the graduates of a style of learning high on self-discovery and democratic participation - the weekly Council Meeting is a key part of school management there is a distinct and refreshing absence of sycophantic remembrancing in the collection. One chapter deals with the Difficulties with Democracy. The spirit of the 1960s touched Kilguhanity as much as other institutions, and there is a recognition that democracy in a school has its limits. "There is a definite danger in a so-called free school," writes John Aitkenhead, "that equality of standing should be interpreted as identity of needs."

Such education for self-direction has, in the context of 1990s' moves to self-determination of peoples, as great a relevance as ever. Kilquhanity, for all the wrong and entirely fortuitous reasons, may be enjoying the advantages of all independent schools with the doctrinally correct Assisted Places

Scheme; it may be enjoying an increase in the proportion of locally incoming day pupils; it may earn the plaudits.

The school's existence though, as ever, is hardly secure. Staff are paid more in kind than, relative to teachers' salary scales, in substance. The issue of succession – John Aitkenhead reached his eightieth birthday this year – is a real one.

But the standing of independent practice which innovates says perhaps less about Kilquhanity than about the social and political context in which it works. Visits by Her Majesty's Inspectorate were frequent and assiduous. Yet how many College of Education student teacher placements, one wonders, have been made at the school? We tend to keep that which threatens change "experimental", and labelled with the double-edged "progressive". That way they don't really touch us. Yet if there is to be anything more than hot air within the notion of a self-determined Scotland, its an education in the practice of Kilquhanity that will need to prevail.

#### **Derek Rodger**

Copies of Kilquhanity's Jubilee (ISBN 0 9516068 0 8) are available from Lois Crallan, Waulkmill, New Galloway, Castle Douglas, DG7 3SB. Price £5.95 plus £1.00 p&p.



#### **Short of the Mark**

#### **CINEMA**

The Edinburgh International Film Festival is now one of the major film festivals in the world, and this year's certainly had a lot going on. The trouble was it was more about the Big Stars like Clint Eastwood - "you have 4 minutes 45 seconds to take photos, ladies and gentlemen" - riding into town than Scottish filmmakers showing their wares to the world. There's a fairly obvious reason for this - the Scottish film industry hardly exists. But this year was to be different. This year the opening gala was the biggest budget film ever made in Scotland. **The Big** Man, made in Scotland and destined for international 'success' (read profitability), had arrived.

The Big Man is a truly awful film. If it was only trying to be a gangster movie you could maybe forgive it, but no, this is a film with a 'message' – a 'potent metaphor for life in Thatcherera Scotland', no less. Based on William McIlvanney's book of the same name, it's the story of Danny Scoular, a miner sacked and imprisoned during the miners' strike, and how he gets involved in bare-knuckle fighting for a bunch of Glasgow gangsters.

There's a lot of that gritty realism we Scots are renowned for (who's going to care in LA that the big man has an Irish accent), and it doesn't matter how many truths about real lives and real struggles are discarded along the way. Community spirit in this film seems to be measured by how many school children turn

out to cheer on our hero as he goes off to his brutal fratricidal battle with some other bare-knuckle fighter—all because he's bored with ironing his kids' clothes, and can't stand his wife being the wage earner. Nothing is challenged in this film. Working men beat each other up, rich men walk all over them, and the women, in the end, tend the wounds. Brutality portrayed as heroism; subservience portrayed as 'community'—it's all been done before, too many times.

The film **The Big Man** reminded me of most was that hysterical Comic Strip one where Robbie Coltrane plays a Yorkshire miner taking a script about the miners' strike to a big film company, only to see it get chopped into Hollywood pap. The difference is that the Comic Strip film knew it was a comedy.

A much more interesting film from Scotland was also premiered at the festival, and won the Michael Powell award for best British picture of the year — Silent Scream. This is a film based on the true story of Larry Winters, who died in the Barlinnie Special Unit in 1977. It is an imaginative attempt to look into the world of a convicted murderer, to try and understand the human beings behind the tabloid press myths of the hard men doing life in Scottish jails.

Larry's story is told in flashback, and uses imagery from his own writings as he tries to understand how he came to where he is. It is a powerful film, not least because it attempts to see the world through Larry's own eyes as he tries to confront the pain and torment that has been his life. The poverty of Glasgow and a sudden move to the highlands; The 'ten years of mental torture' that was school; his gradual cutting off from all around him.

But the film stops short of real understanding, in much the same way as Larry is unable to come to terms with himself. In fact, the film could be said to collude with him in this. The film is brave enough to suggest that there are reasons why people turn to violent crime other than their innate 'badness' - still a pretty controversial proposal in 1990s Scotland – but stops short, as does Larry, of where those causes may really lie. Like so many other people convicted of serious crimes of violence, Larry comes to see external factors poverty, geographical dislocation, school - as the source of his anguish, while idealising and drawing a blank over his family, and in particular his mother. This idealisation of his mother inevitably obscures the roots of Larry's anguish, and can only leave us guessing at why Larry got that 'tingling, euphoric sensation' when he first attacks his brother. The parents must be spared, whatever the cost.

If you're seriously into grimness, then **The Reflecting Skin** is for you. This is the story of an Idaho childhood in the 50s, where 8 year old Seth lives in an isolated farmhouse with his ma and pa. We start off with an exploding animal, move through child murder, sexual bigotry, violent suicide, child torture and so on until . . . well it's difficult to see what it's all about. The

film's strongpoint is its portrayal of how adults use children as vessels to pour their unresolved pain into. But it ends with Seth becoming responsible for the death of a woman – we are presented with a cruel child who really does have something to be guilty about. As the credits roll the child runs off to a field to scream for about five minutes – and I felt like joining him.

It's certainly no bad thing that films dealing with the themes explored in The Reflecting Skin are being made. But I think we should expect more than a 'deeper' version of the decadent designer violence being churned out by the likes of David Lynch. It's too easy to portray the everyday abuse of children as a sort of house of horrors, weird and dreamlike, and nothing to do with that kid being assaulted by its parent in the local Spar. Getting away from the myth of the cruel, guilty child would be a

Cinema has such tremendous potential to communicate real truths about life that it's a shame when it falls short of the mark. Films like **The Big Man** are clearly just in it for the money. But **Silent Scream**, precisely because it seriously addresses important issues, cannot be said to be a complete success. Maybe next year . . .

#### Colin Chalmers

The Big Man is currently on general release. The Reflecting Skin opens in London on 9 November, with Scottish showings in November. Silent Scream opens in Glasgow and Edinburgh on 12 October.

#### **CONFERENCE**

Parents and Children
Needs, Rights and Expectations
26th October 1990

Main Speaker: Justice Tor Sverne
Justice of Supreme Court, Sweden
Bonar Hall, Perth Road, University of Dundee
9.30 am -4.30 pm, Conference fee: £15
Further details and applications to: Keith Milne,
Department of Social Work, University of Dundee
DD1 4HN Tel: 0382-23181 ext. 4903

#### Music Therapy Conference October 29th 1990

Workshop October 22nd/23rd/24th 1990
Kelvin Conference Centre, Glagow
Fees: Conference £30 Workshop £100
inclusive of lunch, coffee etc
Applications, payments and further
details from

Janette Montague, 241 B Greenrigg Road, Cumbernauld G67 2QD Tel: 0236 724240 All proceeds to David Hamilton Training Fund to which cheques should be made payable.



#### **HOME VISITING CONVENTION 1990**

#### **MONDAY 29 OCTOBER**

10.30 AM - 4.00 PM

JAMES MOIR HALL, GRANVILLE STREET, GLASGOW (BEHIND THE MITCHELL LIBRARY)

Opening Address: HRH The Princess Royal
President of the Save the Children Fund

The convention provides an opportunity for all those involved or interested in home visiting to come together. It will provide a meeting point for the wide range of home visiting schemes which exist: volunteers, educational visitors, home-centre links, psychological services, nursery workers, outreach workers and others. It will also be important for policy-makers and planners of services to families.

There will be a "market place" to demonstrate the variety that exists within the home visiting movement.

In the morning, there will be addresses by keynote speakers. This will be followed by Discussion Groups which will allow participants to explore areas of mutual support and general themes relating to their work.

Convention Fee: £15 (includes morning coffee/lunch/afternoon tea)
Applications forms from: Jean Paterson, Scottish Home Visiting, Block 1, Unit C1,
Templeton Business Centre, Glasgow G40 1DA.
Tel: 041 554 4465.

Closing date for registration: 15 October 1990

# THE SCOTTISH CHILD AND FAMILY ALLIANCE

wishes to congratulate The Scottish Child on its Second Anniversary

SCAFA would also like to notify readers of its following forthcoming events:

"Childcare in Employment and Training"

Thursday 25th October 1990 at COSLA, Rosebery House, Edinburgh

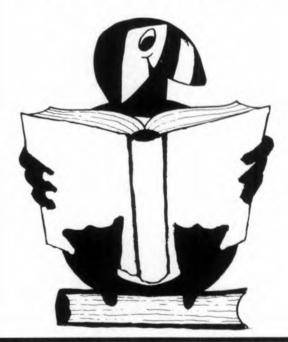
"Young Runaways: Exploring the Issues"

Friday 7th December 1990 Venue to be confirmed

Further information from SCAFA Offices

55 Albany Street, Edinburgh. EH1 3QY Tel: 031-557-2780 Fax: 031-556-5925

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James Thin Booksellers,
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Edinburgh EH1 1YS

#### The Scottish Child in Europe

#### **OUT-LINE**

Memories of my first summer in Scotland when the sun shone every day from April to October 1955 and my belly growing rounder with every month, as our third child was thriving towards an Autumn birth. We lived on Morton Mains Farm in a tiny cottage, the nearest bus stop at Fairmilehead, a long walk for tired mums. A wee girl comes towards me, her face full of pain and her gait precarious.

"Hello Fiona, you've got your shoes on the wrong feet!" I exclaimed full of commiseration. "But I have no other feet," she sighed. When I knelt down to swap the offending shoes, Fiona put her small hand on my shoulder and then, slowly, a big grin spread over her whole face, before she went skipping along.

It is this picture of woe I think of when contemplating Scottish education, and after 35 years of silent frustration, it's time for me to say "You've got your shoes on the wrong feet!"

I met hundreds of students during my 20 years as a German tutor at Moray House College. They were splendid young men and women – still separated in separate common rooms in those days – but most had memories of frustration about their childhood.

"I started school at five and all I learnt was reading, writing and a very little arithmetic," said a girl who had just got married and discovered she could neither cook nor sew. She had always been asked to read to the class during handwork lessons and cooking never came on the timetable.

"I only learnt to avoid mistakes. We never actually **spoke** German. All that mattered was passing exams," complained an ambitious young man from Fife.

"If it hadn't been for the belt I would not be here and I certainly don't know how to teach without it," was the comment of a big strong lad.

How is it, I often wondered, that we on the Continent start school at a later age, have plenty of time for practical subjects and manage to master two foreign languages? I began school at 6 and a half, had two lessons between 8am and 10am which included singing games, story telling, a break with fresh milk to drink, and a teacher who played the violin frequently. And I was free for the rest of the day.

We were 40 children from a village with a mix of farmers, tradesmen and rich commuters from Hamburg, all attending the same Dorfschule till the age of 10. There was no corporal punishment.

The shock of coming to a country where gnomes walk to school in uniforms, a satchel on their back, bare knees in Winter, a blazer the only protection against rain and snow, returning home when it is almost dark . . . how cruel!

But the shock was even greater when our eldest son enrolled at the age of six in South owed this success to the fact that we put him into the Steiner School where pupils begin reading only after age 6.

It is quite strange to watch parents and teachers getting frantic when a child cannot read before it is seven. Yet the Austrian Philosopher Rudolf Steiner maintained that damage is done to a child who works with letters or numbers before the change of teeth. All the strength and energy which should go into the building of the physical body is diverted, the lungs cannot expand sufficiently, circulation suffers and limbs stiffen.

Scottish education had a unique record in Europe. But when did the decline begin? What I meet now at every level of education is frustration, anger and resentment among teachers and



Morningside Primary School, and soon a letter arrived saying I had to see the Infant Mistress. She took me into a room where 47 children sat tightly packed, where the windows were too high to see anything but clouds. My son was ordered to come to the front and read from a pictureless book. He stuttered and failed. A triumphant cry—"You see, he cannot READ! He will never go to university."

"But he is only six," I replied, "and two years ago he didn't speak one word of English. I thought he has done rather well." When this boy entered Sussex University he was the only student with two Science and two Arts A levels, so he was able to study Mathematics, Physics and later English, History, Philosophy and German. He lecturers. Never before have schools suffered from so many reform crazes which chase one another at breakneck speed. Headteachers are bombarded with demands and the sheer mass of guidelines, directives and new examination rules is so heavy that they are in despair. The reservoir of goodwill among staff is almost exhausted.

In 1992 the gates to a united Europe will open and little time is left to prepare the population for the impact. Far more important than paper qualifications will be the vitality, inventiveness and adaptability of the workforce, and a knowledge of foreign languages.

When Rudolf Steiner was asked to found a school for the children of workers at the Waldorf Astoria factory in Stuttgart

70 years ago, he did not try to create a utopia, but rather to awaken artistic and creative faculties within teachers and pupils. He said "Education is an art, not a science", and he followed the motto of Geothe to whom he felt indebted all his life, "Der Weg ist das Ziel!" the path is the goal. At first though, people shook their heads: there would be no headmaster, the college of teachers would administer the school independently, every teacher had to prove he had worked outside education before training, boys and girls would sit in the same class, no streaming would separate bright from slow pupils and teachers' salaries would be paid according to need and not qualifications.

What mattered was not an arbitrary achievement like numbers of passes, rather a striving towards a responsible use of freedom. His main book Philosophy of Freedom has a powerful argument for any democracy which wants to evolve into the next millenium. Since the wall came down, his books have been taken up enthusiastically in East Germany, and some 3000 teachers from the East have already visited the Free Waldorf schools in recent months to take up training.

Each of the 450 Steiner schools in the world, including those in Scotland, is free to adapt to local circumstances but apart from the addition of things like computer studies, the syllabus remains very much the same as it was 70 years ago.

A bold step is needed to shake off the limitations imposed on Scotland and join with the French and Germans to shape the future. But first let us take off those shoes which are on the wrong feet and skip along as wee Fiona did on that sunny day 35 years ago. Children have no other feet and present day education simply does not fit.

See the current number of Child and Man on teeth, available from Helios Fountain, 7 Grassmarket, Edinburgh.

#### Sibylle Alexander

OUT-LINE is a regular feature where readers can contribute on any aspect of Scotland growing up. Send suggestions to the editor.

# Schools and Communities: Partners against Racism

Race has not been to the fore as an issue in Scottish education, but there are signs of change. Teacher **Chris Searle** has long experience of the mistakes of 'multiculturalism' in England. A real anti-racist education, he argues, stems from the interests of the community – not the interests of professionals.

t was 1982 and the era of multiculturalism was approaching its zenith in London schools. Much money and effort was being spent on resources and new posts within the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) to establish its apparatus and influence. I had been working in the Caribbean and now found myself a supply teaching job in an East London secondary school, serving boys of the Bengali community of the Brick Lane neighbourhood. There was much uncertainty and confusion in the school amongst the teachers, as to how to offer the Bengali boys an effective education. There was but one bilingual teacher, and no attempts were being made to exploit the power and resources of the boys' first language. Very little useful learning was happening and few of the boys were making any real progress with English, and many of them seemed bemused and perplexed at what was being offered to them in the classrooms. The school buildings were over a main road, just inside the boundary of a white neighbourhood with a long racist tradition, and the Bengali boys had to make their way through racist provocation and violence just to enter school.

It was nearing the period of the Eid celebrations, so someone had suggested that the school follow the course of a number of other schools in London which had embraced 'multicultural education', and organise an Eid party. Samosas and orange squash were provided, and the boys, both Bengali and English-speaking filed 10 Scottish Child Oct/Nov 1990

into the school hall and the Deputy Head invited them to partake of the food from paper plates.

Then a strange thing happened after they had helped themselves. Almost immediately and it seemed, without forethought, the Bengali boys started hurling the somosas and the paper plates in all directions as if they were frisbies – and then the white boys joined in with them. Teachers were ducking and weaving and the Deputy Head, as he came forward to remonstrate, caught a somosa full on the mouth.

This was not simply a problem of bad discipline, for these were, in the main, first year boys who had not been in the school long and were generally reticent and rarely disruptive. So what they did that afternoon seemed entirely uncharacteristic to all the teachers present, including myself, and I spent a long time reflecting on it. What was the source of their protest, these young students whose school was offering them samosas without literacy, multiculturalism without achievement, liberalism without learning, teachers who with a paper-thin knowledge, trespassed on their culture and ignorantly sought to give it back to them in empty cultural gestures?

To answer this question leads us to consider all the false assumptions that were imposed on teachers – who then imposed them on their students – by the 'multicultural decade' of the eighties.



or most of the 1970s progressive teachers were not concerned with 'multicultural education'. It was not an expression known or used in schools. Teachers concerned about racism and imperialism struggled to develop their curriculum work to include teaching about their own communities' struggles against racism and fascism. Such work was not widespread, but it was gathering momentum, and was often directly linked to teachers' concern and active opposition to fascist and racist activity on the streets of the inner-city neighbourhoods of London.

The racist murders of Gurdip Singh Chagger in Southall, Altab Ali in Spitalfields and later Michael Ferreira in Stoke Newington sparked classroom work in schools throughout London, and teachers began to grapple with the racism in the minds and fists of their students. This was accompanied by the gathering strength and collective rebelliousness of black students in London schools and the



community education initiatives of some black parents in setting up supplementary schools and waging successful campaigns around, for example, the disproportionate amount of Afro-Caribbean children to be placed in the so-called 'Educationally Sub-normal' (E.S.N.) schools and other institutional deformities in the state system.

Yet none of this genuinely important activity was labelled 'multicultural education' or even pigeon-holed as 'anti-racist education' by those involved in it. It was an organic and political response by teachers and parents to the conditions bearing down on black and white working class children in the inner-city, and arose as a necessary and conscious series of counter-strategies to them, in both classrooms and communities. In some neighbourhoods of London, local teachers became the backbone of anti-racist movements and committees, campaigning against the National Front and the British Movement. In East London the teacher-led Tower Hamlets Movement Against Racism and Fascism successfully campaigned and picketed against the racist landlord of the Railway Tavern in Mile End and eventually secured his transfer.

Teachers, many of them young black colleagues, new entrants into teaching,

#### 'without the community you can't survive, let alone prosper, in work against racism as a teacher'

gave support and solidarity to black families who were the victims of racist attacks, or campaigned within the communities against fascist leafleting or paper-selling. Such teachers saw the struggle against racism and fascism as integral to their community loyalty and integration.

I can remember one particular night in Limehouse, East London, when a small group of activists, mainly teachers, were surprised after a meeting in the back room of a local pub by a much larger group of National Front members who had come looking for us with their menacing pointed flagpoles. We sidled out of the pub and fled towards our school with the young fascists in pursuit, finally running into a local old people's home where we showed films and ran a club every Tuesday night with a group of our students. Because of our work and our involvement there, the staff and residents knew us and welcomed us, and this saved us from a serious beating.

Such incidents signalled to me then in a very concrete way that without the community you can't survive, let alone prosper, in work against racism as a teacher. They also told us that there were no heroics in these struggles that our black students and their families faced every day of their lives.



et as teachers we still fully had not learned those lessons during the seventies. We worked hard in our classrooms to teach about racism, imperialism and the struggles against them but too often we built this curriculum in virtual isolation from the communities particularly the black communities - just outside our schools. We tried to do it by ourselves, as if the knowledge, experience and radical curriculum we were generating inside our classrooms were enough. Outside the classrooms we put our energies into the almost exclusively white radical teacher forums with the interminably sectarian wrangles between competing formations. We pursued an almost syndicalist belief that teacher trade unionism - which at the time had very little organised concern at its centre to confront racism - was the sole vehicle that could bring us significant progress.

Some of us spent periods teaching and learning within the processes of liberation in Africa, Latin America, or the Caribbean.

We returned thinking we could somehow transpose to Britain, locked in its decadent advanced capitalism, the insights that we had gained through struggles where progressive movements were now holding state power and moving towards national democratic and socialist revolutions.

We learned soon that such a transposition was mere wish-fulfillment and fantasy. The solutions for Britain had to arise from the gut of the communities struggling here in the inner cities. Although we might be able to creatively apply what we had learned elsewhere, we could not graft on to East London, Handsworth or Toxteth what was working in Cuba, Mozambique or Nicaragua.

Many teachers threw energetically into the campaigning work of the Anti-Nazi league in the late seventies. For a few months its mass support made life very hard for the fascist groups. It thrived on the ephemeral life of the pop genre. It made a widespread impact with its marches, its music, its festivals and through the breadth of its transient popular support. But it had no depth within the working class and being a predominantly white organisation, put down no roots within the communities. black So it flared spectacularly - and died young.

One exemplary colleague whose entire life, as well as his death, expressed an active opposition to racism, was the East London school teacher, Blair Peach. Whether he was in his classroom or in the homes of his students, teaching, advising, giving his solidarity and friendship, campaigning against the ILEA for allowing its schools to

'multiculturalism was fundamentally 'a riposte to black militancy' '



be used for fascist meetings, or supporting Bengali self-defence groups against racists in Brick Lane, Peach saw no artificial barriers between school and community. He recognised the dialectical relationship between racism and the nature of the class society within which he and his students lived - that racism created a septic wound within the body of the working class that must be healed as a part of the process of its advance as a community in struggle. His death at the hands of the Metropolitan Police in Southall in April 1979, while supporting the community's resistance to a fascist demonstration and a police blockade of the neighbourhood marked the end of a particular phase of anti-racist activity of London teachers, when they led from the front and took both initiative and offensive in school and street.

s black young people rose up in the British inner cities during the summer of 1981, a different constituency of the education system – the ex-consumers themselves – became the protagonists. Teachers found that the initiative was now not theirs to take. The very same young people that we had taught or contained in our classrooms in the early seventies, now took to the streets in open revolt against the battery of institutional oppression and insult which threatened to

circumscribe their lives. An integral part of that oppression which the youth identified was the education system itself, of which we were a part. It was a rebellion against us too. Welcoming this resistance, yet often cursing ourselves after recognising our part in its causation, it created a complex web of emotions and confusions in the minds of teachers which sometimes paralysed us, trapped us in our own contradictions.

Badly shaken by the urban revolts, the institutions of the national and local state sought palliatives and solutions. In education they found 'multicultural education', or 'multiculturalism'. As Sivanandan has put it, multiculturalism was fundamentally 'a riposte to black militancy'. For teachers genuinely involved in campaigning and curriculum work against racism inside the education system, it was an imposition. And because it was an imposition, an import, and could be used as an overlay to the struggles of progressive or troublesome teachers and communities, it was enthusiastically embraced by many local education authorities who were worried by the high profile that anti-racist education was beginning to develop. It seemed to promise a form of 'non-confrontational' idealism, sometimes 'cultures' in the abstract, sometimes in the form of digestible and innocuous chunks like Eid parties, the Lord's Prayer in Jamaican patois or the occasional demonstration of sitar playing -and as such it was acceptable to the cautious liberal culture of (mainly Labour) inner-city education authorities.

'Multiculturalism' came suddenly at teachers as a mysterious and unscientific term. It was a neologism. Many couldn't understand why a term like this needed to be coined, apparently out of nowhere, when they were asking for something much more explicit, comprehensible and practical: the necessary resources and institutional support to make their classroom work against racism more effective and routinised.

And what were the black communities to make of it? For years they had been struggling to gain grants and resources to support their own community effort: their supplementary schools, their mothertongue language classes, their cultural and educational centres that all ran on voluntary labour and a huge community endeavour. Now here was 'multicultural education' being served up to them by, in the main, white professionals who professed to 'know' and 'understand' their culture. Just imperialist historians and anthropologists of old, in fact. They followed in the footsteps of the original colonists and plunderers, and wrote treatises on the ways of life and 'cultures' of the peoples they 'discovered'.

For multiculturalism also meant careerism and opportunities for white teachers, rather than resources for black communities – although some black teachers too found themselves in meteoric career development with the abundance of 'multicultural' posts. Some younger colleagues, prematurely tempted and promoted, became sucked into the spoiling, flattery and co-optation pressed upon them

by education authorities eager to prove that they were top of the Equal Opportunities league.

The multicultural apparatus hurriedly constructed by most urban education authorities, and was usually funded by the Home Office through the 'Section Eleven' of the 1966 Local Government Act. The ugly wording of this act hardly gave comfort to the communities appeared to increase allowed 'special vulnerability, as it arrangements' to be made 'in order to meet the needs of the Commonwealth immigrants whose customs and culture differ from the community'.

Thus multiculturalism carried a concept of education that substituted cultural relativism for a class analysis, stressed cultural difference rather than class unity, detached racism from class and culture from class. It created a communalism of both mind and community. In Sivanandan's words, it 'served to break up black unity into its constituent parts and turn them into cultural struggles'. The ever elastic multiculturalism soon showed itself to be an effective creator of ethnic 'compartments' and a catalyst for what Lenin had called 'eternal bickering' between the various minority 'cultures' and their 'leaders', who were now encouraged to bid and compete for the limited 'multicultural' resources offered by local education authorities.

Multiculturalism, like RAT (Racism Awareness Training), which was shortly to come in its train, had its origins in the USA. But whereas RAT emerged originally as a strategy to smooth over the disaffection and potential rebelliousness among black recruits to the US armed forces, 'benevolent multiculturalism' arose in the forties and fifties as a compensatory approach towards the pacification of black US within pupils schools. accommodating their 'different cultures' within the formal curriculum. This, it was argued, would raise motivation and stimulate greater achievement.

In 1977, following a visit undertaken to New York schools by a delegation of London education officers and teachers, the Inner London Education Authority produced its first 'multi-ethnic education policy'. This, it seems, was a direct reponse to both the parental protest against the chronic underachievement experienced by black students in London schools, and the vision of urban decay, violence, truancy and drug-addiction that the delegation experienced in New York. This policy document became the first in a long line of multicultural policies that emerged in local education authorities across England, many of them formed rapidly on the heels of the 1981 uprisings.

What is clear is that these 'multicultural' initiatives did not grow organically out of the struggles of progressive London teachers and black communities in the seventies. They were bureaucratically imported from American models of 'crisis rectification' – which, considering the further spiralling degree of crisis apparent in the US education system (25% of all students dropping out of secondary school

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Enquiries: 21A Chapel Street, Airdrie 0236 48217 and a further 25% failing to graduate by 1985), were hardly to be guarantees of success or improvement.

Along with the declarations of multiculturalism, local authorities began a much more strategic tapping of 'Section Eleven' in order to resource the projects that they had started to implement. As they were able to claim 75% of all salaries of teachers employed through these Home Office funds, it became a common method of securing extra funding. There were conditions, however, set out by the Home Office, which stated that teachers employed through 'Section Eleven' must satisfy criteria of 'additionality' and be used to impact on the children of Commonwealth (and Pakistani) origin only. This stipulation did have its advantages in that it meant that more resources could be specifically targeted towards black and bilingual children - meaning more bilingual English as a second language teachers, community liaison teachers, or teachers for specific Afro-Caribbean projects. But it also created an artificial barrier with some teachers employed to teach black children only, while others taught the usual cross-section, thus sparking confusion, division and marginalisation, the prime sources of that 'eternal bickering'.

y 1983, multiculturalism had grown from being a local authority strategy to seeming to become a national tripartisan approach to inner-city education, as the leaders of the three main British political parties signed a multicultural 'pledge' before the General Election of that year: 'We are committed to ensuring that our education system including school curricula - is developed to take full account of the multicultural nature of modern British society.' The Swann Committee of 1985 expanded this to recommend that multicultural education 'permeate' the curriculum of all British state schools, and signalled this by calling their report 'Education for All'. Thus multiculturalism, a strategy that had been proven as a failed approach to the 'problem of black underachievement' in the US, became an integral part of a national strategy in British inner-city schools. Some local education authorities preferred to give the approach a different-sounding title - in London it was called 'multi-ethnic education', and those with more radical leanings used 'anti- racist education'.

But more often than not there was very little difference. These programmes were instituted over the heads and struggles of black communities, often by white officers and sometimes by black careerists who arrogantly assured them that they knew what was good for their children. 'Section Eleven' posts, which in theory should have been targeted directly to support the learning of black children, were commonly abused and used to develop 'multicultural' programmes involving floating advisory curriculum developers, 'multicultural coordinators' and other escapees from the classroom, who roamed the system looking for opportunities to 'sell' multiculturalism and convince classroom teachers of its usefulness as a 'whole school' doctrine.

More often than not it did not work out. In September 1989 at Moseley in Birmingham, the predominantly Punjabi and Urdu-speaking parents at Springfield Junior and Infant School (90% of the parent body), organised a series of protests at the appointment of a Section Eleven funded English monolingual, Wendy Bartel, to a 'home liaison teacher' post, saying that a non-speaker of Punjabi and Urdu could not possibly do the job effectively. They were strongly condemned by teacher unions (who accused them of 'threatening the appointments system') and Birmingham Education Authority (with one of the largest 'multicultural' apparati in Britain) for their interference. Rupert Murdoch's Sun used the incident to rail against the 'racism' of the Asian parents, and the Guardian (12 September 1989), reported their protest in the following way:

Mr. Les Byron, chairman of the city's education committee said the council would not bow to Community pressure. 'Threats of any nature have no effect in British society.'

It was a glaring illustration of the contempt that 'multicultural' programmes have had for the black communities they claim to serve.

'Multiculturalism' has been marked by a continuing failure to bring black families into the participatory life of schools and establish an interdependent democratic relationship between schools and communities. Its emphasis has been largely as a 'curriculum' movement, but it was, in the main, curriculum without community. Much useful curriculum work was achieved, but the bulk of it progressed in a state of separation from the people in whose name it was being developed.

hen with the Thatcher assault on education and the loss of local authority control, 'multiculturalism' – despite its massive promotion by local education authorities in the early eighties, and the mid-decade boost it received from Lord Swann and his report – found itself being gradually eclipsed.

By 1988, Kenneth Baker - Margaret Thatcher's Secretary of State for Education - had brought into legislation a series of measures designed to completely transform the culture, organisation and curriculum of British schools. By removing power from local authorities and creating a 'free market' and 'consumer choice' of schools while also initiating a blanket 'National Curriculum' and systematic testing, the 'cultural diversity' and relativism which underpinned multiculturalism undermined, as was its compensatory function. Baker's acts envisioned one. unitary post-imperial culture across British schools, a notion of 'British glory' rooted in the 'Victorian values' of an ideology and assertive of imperial nostalgic centrality.

There was no place in this reconstructed culture for the distinctive experiences, struggles and perspectives of Britain's black people: their languages were discontinued from the new curriculum, their history written out of it, school assemblies were to

#### Multiculturalism in Scotland

As the recognition of racial violence grows in Scotland, the debate about the role of education in combating racism becomes more critical. Most Regional Education authorities have a policy relating to multicultural and anti-racist education; a few have agreed guidelines for implementation; all are discussing the strategies and approaches within individual institutions.

When Borders Region Education Department issued its policy document on the subject two years ago, there were forty black children in the Region's schools.

"There were two opposing points of view from teachers," according to Charles Fryars, Adviser for Primary Education. "One view was that an anti-racist policy was very much needed in our primary schools; the opposing view that it was pointless to stir up a hornet's nest."

The latter sentiment was embraced by a teacher working in Central Region, writing in the TIMES SCOTTISH EDUCATION SUPPLEMENT (June 1990) in response to his employers' "Multicultural and Anti- Racist Education: Guidelines for all Establishments":

"Anti-racism must be at the centre of the curriculum so that in the event of a child meeting with another of a different race they will not demonstrate racist attitudes. This appears a highly debatable premise in which to base an enormous curricular change.

"It may also not have the consequences which Central expects of it. One of the things we as teachers recognise is the 'anti-culture' which many children demonstrate. After teaching them about any liberal or humane attitude they still go out and mug old women or vandalise homes, parks and gardens."

Perhaps Central Region was a safer place when teachers kept discussion of values out of the classroom. Whatever else this teacher's words reveal, they express clearly a deep sense of failure at what the education system can achieve.

But Scottish education authorities are committed, on paper at least, to tackling racism through education. Their aims are broadly similar. Central's document outlines the need to challenge and discourage prejudice, discrimination and racism; to provide equality of opportunity; to ensure the resources, curriculum and ethos in schools reflect multicultural principles, and to ensure staff training in the policy.

Most Regional policies were conceived in the wake of the Swann Report EDUCATION FOR ALL (1985) which found ample evidence of racial abuse, discrimination and other obstacles to education experienced by black students.

Predating Swann, a draft of Strathclyde's policy

Joyce Said Bakar is the Centre's co- ordinator and she claims strong links with the schools and the local community. Lothian's Multicultural Centre's last annual report highlights arguably the most significant event in anti- racist education in recent years.

The death of Ahmed Ullah at Burnage High School Manchester in 1986 by a fellow student, Darren Coulburn raises an interesting paradox. Burnage was noted for its progressive anti-racist policy, yet as the subsequent report of the Macdonald Inquiry MURDER IN THE PLAYGROUND noted, "the school had been the scene of greater racial conflict . . . than any other school we have heard of."

What the Macdonald Inquiry unearthed at Burnage High School, it later described as

**Scottish Child** surveys the multicultural initiatives in Scottish education authorities. **Sean Bradley** reports from round the Regions.

was first prepared in 1984. Consultation involved all education establishments, community groups and voluntary organisations. Four hundred responses were received to the draft document.

Hakim Din, Regional Staff Tutor in Multicultural Education in Strathclyde is pleased with the progress made so far – "Most schools are in the process of producing their own policies to serve their own needs, and setting up committees to implement them." A programme of in-service training has been established in the Region's six divisions, but it is too early to say what the staff take-up will be. Mr. Din recognises that for Strathclyde's policy to be successful, all staff must get involved in the process.

Lothian Region supports a Multicultural Education Centre in Leith Walk Primary School.

'symbolic' or 'moral' anti-racism where "racism is placed in some kind of moral vacuum and is totally divorced from the more complex reality of human relations in the classroom, playground or community. In this model of anti-racsim there is no room for issues of class, sex, age, or size."

"Moral anti-racism," it concluded, "has been an unmitigated disaster. It has reinforced the guilt of many well-meaning whites and paralysed them when any issue of race arises or has taught others to bury their racism without in any way changing their attitude and has created resentment and anger and stopped free discussion."

The moral stance at Burnage High School was aggravated by the undemocratic structures of the school and the particular management style of the headteacher and his assistants. Teachers students

have a 'Christian' character, and all testing (from the age of seven) was to be conducted in Standard English, no matter the first language of the child. As a late addendum to the National Curriculum, proposals relating to the 'core' and 'foundation' subjects, the National Curriculum Council conceded that 'multicultural education' should be a 'cross curricular dimension' which should inform the curriculum at large, while putting forward a plan for history that included no reference to imperialism and mentioned 'slavery' twice!

Yet Thatcher's supporters were able to argue that the new act gave the potential for 'Christians, Muslims or indeed any others, who wish to preserve the values of their own culture' to 'opt out' of local authority control, set up their own schools and really set culturalism free to express itself. Here with Baker's acts, was greater freedom for black parents to genuinely shape the education of their children!

A study of the failure of the compensatory strategy of 'multiculturalism' in American cities would have shown from the start that its application to the British urban reality would have been similarly unsuccessful. The 'Samosa and Steelband'

version adopted in many British cities was frequently more concerned with the superficialities and exotics of national cultures rather than the democratic power submerged within them, and often degraded these cultures – as demonstrated by the flying samosas that began this account. But as also expressed through this incident, black communities, including their children, resisted and rejected these insulting approaches. They were seeking education in nobody's ghetto.

Of course there were also large numbers of teachers who recognised this notion of 'multiculturalism' as a deformity - even more so when they heard Apartheid President P.W.Botha referring to his racist and bantustan system as proof of a 'multicultural society'. These teachers strove to reach out to their students' parents. Some education officers sought to build resources for black communities by ensuring that those communities were always involved and consulted, in much more than the usual tokenistic ways, seeking to develop unified structures which would obstruct rather than promote culturalism and internecine bickering for precious resources. Some schools developed their practice within democratic spirit which aimed to unite the

"... multiculturalism ... was acceptable to the cautious liberal culture of (mainly Labour) inner-city education authorities."

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and parents felt excluded from the process of antiracism – those excluded inevitably saw the black students as getting special treatment. Black students were thereby set up as potential targets for aggression.

There is every danger that the lethal combination of 'moral' anti-racism and undemocratic structures in education could manifest itself in the Scottish Regions. There is already evidence of resentment, if not anger on the part of some teachers who have been handed yet another policy to implement.

Gus John, Dirctor of Education for Hackney and a frequent visitor to Strathclyde to talk on race, contributing to a discussion on 'Anti-Racist Education in White Areas', draws a parallel between the ways that education touches the lives of blacks, working class people and women.

"Anti-racist education," he says, "has done nothing to stem the tide of excessive numbers of black school students suspended from schools or spending extraordinary lengths of time in sin-bins or standing in corridors. It has not influenced the rate of under-achievement of black students in the schooling system." But then, "Education and schooling in white areas ... has never concerned itself with the way working class people, and particularly women, are disadvantaged within, by and through education and schooling."

The challenge for educators in Scotland is to incorporate their anti-racist work with equal opportunity strategies that aim to tackle all sources of disadvantage. In a year which has seen the growth in the activity fascist groups in Scottish cities, those who work against racism and other forms of oppression are unlikely to be able to limit their activities to the classroom.

Regional authorities not mentioned in this report were contacted but could not provide a statement by the time of going to press. MURDER IN THE PLAYGROUND was published last year by Longsite Press, 76 Stroud Green Road, London N4 3EN.

professionals with the parents, realising that only when the full community of the school, both inside and outside its confines, are united and mobilised for education can genuine, all-round achievement begin to be forged.

odels of such exemplary practice were not to be found in the compensatory approach of multiculturalism. Culture has not been seen in terms of its democratic and powerful mass-participatory potential — more in terms of how injections of familiar habits, artefacts, clothing, music or food could stimulate and motivate children to get on with their lessons more contentedly.

Far from seeking educational models from within the decadent landscape of US urban education – territory in which the Thatcher government and its apologists are still urging British teachers to find solutions – vibrant and democratic ememplars can be found within the liberation processes of the black and struggling peoples in Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Taking account of the dangers of simplistic transposition of one model to a political, economic and cultural reality which is entirely different, there is still much to be learned and creatively applied from the

methods and structures used to involve parents and boost pupil achievement.

The literacy processes in Nicuragua and Ethiopia, for example both show how successfully school students, working also as teachers of their own families and communities, strengthen their own skills as well as teach them to their own adults through their literacy campaigns. As an outstanding case in point, Ethiopia has progressed from one of the lowest literacy levels in the world (7% in 1979) to 76% by 1989 in just one decade as a result of the mass mobilisation of school students in its literacy campaign. This process has been organised in a complex multilingual context, with sixteen different national languages as the vehicles of instruction and learning. As the pupils - the first in millions of families ever to go to school - bring their books home to continue their own and their parents' learning, a process of educational unity between schools, students, parents and whole communities is born.

During the years of the Grenada revolution (which allocated 37% of its national budget on education and health in 1982), the context was set for educational achievement across a small nation. This involved a huge emphasis on education as a mainstream and lifelong activity through workers' education classes in work time, the involvement of the mass of the people at largescale budget consultations, community councils, a successful literacy campaign involving thousands of school students, the development of mass organisations of youth, women, farmers and schoolchildren, and a high profile school-community liaison programme.

New early childhood readers were introduced - the Marryshow readers a democratic through process of consultation with teachers communities. reflecting the language, aspirations and democratic energy of the working people. As the teachers sharpened their skills through a national in-service programme which involved the whole teaching force, there was some startling progress in the sixteen-plus examinations. The results in Grenada rose from being among the worst in the Caribbean to the best by 1983, when Grenadian students outstripped even the larger, better resourced and more developed Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad. The results of school leaving examinations were eleven times better than hitherto, and university entrants rose from just twelve in 1979 to over three hundred by 1983.

These examples show what can be achieved in real educational terms when whole communities are mobilised for education and the democratic energies of parents, school students and teachers are set free – a process the British education system has never dared to create, preferring to leave it all to the 'professionalism' of the teachers, thus isolating their pedagogy from the communites that they serve.

Some of the thinking though, behind progress elsewhere, has been applied in Sheffield in a literacy campaign being organised within the Yemeni community. When Yemeni immigrant workers arrived in Sheffield they had found the worst paid and most laborious jobs in the steel industry when British workers moved on to less tiresome work in the 1950s and 60s. Now. inspired by literacy achievement in their country of origin since independence, their sons daughters and grandchildren are teaching these redundant and largely illiterate ex-steelworkers and their wives through a bilingual literacy campaign in Arabic and English. This is being organised through their own community infrastructures, with resources found and provided by the city council's education department, a local tertiary college and Sheffield City Polytechnic. development shows that a local authority, rather than leaving the professionals to do the work for them, if it chooses, can offer its resources directly to a self-educating, self-skilling community. In this way the democratic strength of the community is exercised, enhanced and developed - not ignored or crushed.

Thus the purpose and direction of teaching posts and other educational resources that have been struggled for and won by black communities, and which have entered the system as 'multicultural' initiatives, need to be refocused and reorganised back where they belong - that is with the communities under their democratic and unified control, in partnership with the local education authorities. An approach which taps into the creative energy of organised black communities does not compensate for learning failure. It builds on strength and community achievement. It is at the heart of democratic alternative multiculturalism on the one hand, and the cultural wasteland promised to black and working class children through the 'National Curriculum' on the other.

This same common culture of community achievement is also the vehicle of anti-racism and internationalism. Cleveland it struggles against a new state dispensation for racism which overides 'race relations' legislation and directly encourages white parents to withdraw their children from schools with a strong presence of black children. In Southall, Oldham, Bradford, Newham Edinburgh it organises against the new wave of racial terrorism. It takes value in the history, traditions, languages, art, poetry, music, sciences, technologies and struggles of all, always stressing the particular contributions of the working and arrivant peoples. It forges its struggles at the intersection of race and class.

It is that same nourishing culture, which as Cabral emphasised, is responsible "for forming and fertilising the seedling which will assure the continuity of history and progress" of those communities which generate it. This is not multiculturalism: a common culture of community achievement compensates for nothing, it has no deficit. It expresses humanity at its most human and with our most democratic longing. It is what will found the education of the future.

This essay is edited from a paper given by the author to the conference of the National Anti-racist Movement in Education held in Derby in April this year.

Growing up is hard to do. In Ayrshire, writes David Carver, it can seem harder still.

# Growing up in A

rowing up in rural poverty dulls the senses and young people tend to lose their sense of anger – to use it to make things better for themselves. Everything can seem weighted against young people who are trying to become adults. A year in the life of some of them can make depressing reading – if it was not for the fun and good times in between.

#### Winter

John is interviewed by an employment project, financed by the Training Agency, at the Youth Careers Office. He has a good reference from an adult training centre where he was good at working with severely handicapped people. He really wants a job caring for others socially. He is offered a place with a voluntary organisation, helping with their day care of the elderly. John returns home in jubilant mood to be met with a phone call. A mistake has been made. The job does not exist. Does John want to be a gardener for two days a week instead?

Another boy living in the same house and working in the day centre where John was to have worked, arrived home. He said that someone who knew John at the Centre said that he was a thief. That was why the job had been withdrawn. A complaint was made to the Careers Office. They said it was not their concern, try the Training Agency. A phone call there was met with indifference, but concern that "the public" had got their phone number. Not their concern, they said. They just finance employment projects. A letter was written to the employment project that had offered John the job. By the time they replied, John had left and gone to another town.

#### Spring

Getting nervous about the Poll Tax. Several of our private tenants in the houses that we run are liable. Who is the responsible person on the form?

Nobody seems to know. But the Registration Officer has decided that it is my district manager. Lots of official forms start coming down from his office. It is decided to run a sort of mini-training session to teach all our residents about the Poll Tax. Bribe them to come by laying on chocolate cakes and cans of juice. Everything gets digested except the Poll Tax.

Charlie follows instructions and advice on how to claim a rebate and pay the remaining element on a weekly basis. He applies for his rebate but has to wait several weeks for it to come through. He is advised to pay what is thought to be the balance of £1.20 per week immediately so that he doesn't build up a lot of arrears. He goes to the payment office with £1.20 and his Poll Tax registration number. They refuse his payment because his number is not compatible with their computer. He needs three more digits.

Charlie is sent across the road to the public telephone box (they will not allow him to use their office phone of make the call on his behalf) where he has to phone another office twenty miles away. This office refuses to give him the three digits he needs over the phone. They say that he has to write a letter requesting the information. Charlie cannot write.

A letter is written on his behalf. The Poll Tax office phone a week later, and over the phone, on Charlie's behalf, the three digits are given. Were they responding to official notepaper? Is this a case of "can't pay – won't let me pay"?

ommy is good at caring for people and he works in the day centre where John nearly got a job. He is a hard worker when there is work to do. He doesn't like staying in one place all the time. He bunks off work occasionally when he fancies a day off. So long as he phones in sick he will always get paid. That's what all the young people on YTS do. Why work five days per week for £29.00 when you could work four days for £24.00, or three days for £18.00? It's still better than pocket money and you can get a long weekend. Tommy has been at the day centre for several months. One day he boasts in private that he once shoplifted, a long time ago. His story reaches the supervisor who hauls him in for an interview. He is accused of dishonesty and told he has lost their trust. Tommy is told he is not to be promoted to a job helping in a van delivering meals. That's promotion?

Two weeks later Tommy chucks the placement in.

#### Summer

Neil has been with us for a year. A "model tenant" who has an amazing capacity to survive and talk his way into money, work, anything else that might come his way. He lost his job a few months back. He was working with heating engineers. YTS of course. They told him to climb up to a roof and he fell off the ladder. He broke both his arms and was in plaster for six weeks. He was advised to put in a claim against his employer's insurance. He went back to work when he was ready and he was told after two weeks that he was no longer required due to his poor performance. There isn't an industrial tribunal for YTS trainees, no employment rights. He got £3000 for his insurance claim. He bought a motorbike and got a job in Cornwall at an adventure holiday camp for children.



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# yrshire

**David Carver** 



Continuing our series **Childcare: urgent need for the 90s**, we take a look at some problems and possibilities in pre-five provision. Here **Moira Morrison** sees the division between 'education' and 'care' – perpetuated by local government structures – as an important obstacle to meeting the needs of children and their families. Over the page we continue our examination of locally managed community nurseries – we visit Aberdeen and Edinburgh to find out how two of them work in practice.

# BACK TO EDUCARING

In her recent book, Under 5s – Under Educated? Tricia David concludes that it may be necessary to coin a new word. She offers "educare" – to carry the new concept of education and care for the pre-school child.

New? Certainly in terms of the way services are at present provided. But everyone who knows about young children – what their needs are, how they learn and develop – understands that care and education, education and care cannot be separated. They are interdependent.

A glance at the Oxford English Dictionary shows how far the split has deviated from the common root of the Latin *educare*: to rear; to bring up children. Providing for young children means all aspects of a child's development are considered – physical, social, emotional, intellectual and spiritual.

In other words, quality care for the under-5s is providing that includes education; and quality education is providing that includes care. An integrated service of "educare" would offer parents that which various researchers report they seek – quality group provision which fits in with family/work life and which offers planned educational experiences which will promote 20 Scotlish Child Oct/Nov 1990

and stimulate a child's learning and development.

In the colleges, teacher training seeks to develop the understanding of the professional responsibility to set the conditions for learning. Making provision for the young child's physical, social, and emotional welfare (caring for the child?) is preparing the ground for the child being able to respond to and learn from whatever experiences are offered.

The quality of these learning experiences is, of course, of great significance, and much attention needs to be given to them. But for the nursery teacher to be able to ensure that the child "receives" quality learning experiences, she must understand that the roots of her work lie in creating secure frameworks of sound social relationships. Within these the young child will gain confidence and build up positive attitudes to learning. The teacher's sensitivity to the importance of relationships will be seen in the way she plans the programme to promote much adult-child, child-child, and parent-staff interaction. For the central awareness she must have is that it is not the activities or experiences of themselves that will "teach". They are the means, the tools of the teacher through which she will promote the development of a variety of competences and understandings.



hat is crucial are the opportunities for talk that are created. Talking with an interested and skilled adult who can help the child to "negotiate meanings" (Wells, 1985) is at the heart of the child's learning. Together they discuss and review what he has been doing or thinking, and what he has "taken" from the experience. Helping him to clarify understandings and to map out the next part of his programme promotes independence, self esteem, and constitutes active learning.

However, these high levels of child engagement and participation in learning will not come about unless other conditions are met. These are identified by Barbara Tizard (1986) as the closely related concepts of familiarity, responsiveness and attachment. Quality child care requires continuing regular involvement with the same adults and children – familiarity; the committed response of an adult who knows the child as an individual – responsiveness; and attachment is necessary too, the result of emotional bonding between the adult and the child, and between child and child.



"These characteristics not only make for greater security for the children," concludes Tizard, "but facilitate levels of activity and play which may not be possible in their absence . . . they facilitate learning."

Thus Tizard points up the nonsense of the divide between the "emotional" and the "intellectual" needs of a child, reflected in the divide of services to provide "care" or "education". A nursery teacher's training will have made her aware that the learning of the young child is embedded in the quality of the social relationships the child forms with the significant adults, and in the emotional climate they provide. It will also have required her to address the implications of this knowledge. She would therefore wish to build bridges for each child between home and nursery that would promote a winning of the child's trust and continuity of learning.

These aims will be advanced in a number of ways not least through the child experiencing the positive relationship building between parent and nursery, drawing the nursery staff into the domain of those adults who matter to the child, and who therefore are able to influence his learning.

It is true that many nursery teachers struggle to find ways to promote this kind of communication and collaboration with parents within a structure which may more readily reflect the traditional divide between home and school. There is a sense in which some nursery classes have been "colonised" by their host Primary School to the detriment of developing close working relationships with parents. Indeed there are those who consider that the practice of siting nursery classes within the body of a Primary School has been unhelpful to developing nursery education.

Certainly a teacher's professional knowledge of what constitutes good nursery practice is tested when she finds the nursery team of 2 with the situation of meeting 40 children and 40 parents (perhaps more) per day within a time frame for each group of two-and-a-half hours.

Gillian Pugh of the National Children's Bureau suggests that nursery education needs to be developed within a framework which recognises the needs of families for more flexible provision than is available through the two-and-a-half hour session. She suggests that this requires an integration of education and care, and a range of services which meet the needs of parents for company and support, and recognises the needs of parents with younger children.

Nursery teachers know enough about young children to recognise that helping the parents is helping the child. Reaching out to the parents' needs may be the only way to reach the child's. "Educare" may yet come to pass.

In the next issue, continuing our series Childcare: Urgent Need for the 90s we investigate how most children of working class mothers are looked after. Childminders do a vital yet undervalued job. What prospects for childminding in the 90s?



#### Wester Hailes Child Care Project

The large number of single parent families and the high percentage of families with children under 5 in Edinburgh's Wester Hailes means that any strategy to improve living conditions has to involve the provision of good quality child care. Without it, parents are simply not able to take up employment or training oportunities, and thus break free from dependency on benefits.

Wester Hailes is the capital's largest postwar peripheral housing area. Planned in the 1960s, this large council housing scheme still lacks many basic amenities.

With the help of a local community worker, several local parents came together as a group in 1986 because they were unable to find affordable, flexible and quality child care within the area.

In investigating the needs and the provision available to the parents of pre-school

children, they found various centres operating part-time provision – usually no more than two and a half hours per day. The Social Work Department Children's Centre operates on a full-time basis but only for those who can prove a need within that department's guidelines. The five local primary schools run part-time nurseries for children over age 3, and while childminders are available, cost tends to make them prohibitive, particularly for single parents on a low income.

So while available local services were of great assistance to parents, the scarcity of places and the part-time nature of much of the provision spoke for the need for a different form of child care facility. The Wester Hailes Child Care Project committee set up a pilot scheme which attracted Urban Aid funding in 1988 along the following outline.

- It should by a local community run facility;
- the facility should be open to any parent within Wester Hailes with priority given to single parents;

- the facility should be open five days a week, 52 weeks of the year from 8.00 am. to 6.00 pm.;
- and that childcare would be offered for children aged from 6 months to school age.

The Wester Hailes Child Care Project, now employing six child care staff, plus support staff, and occupying a building leased from Lothian Social Work Department, offers places for up to 25 children. The provision of play is varied and exciting. Most of the day centres around free play, which allows the children to develop at their own rate. It is most important that the child feels secure and happy during time at the project, as it is important to the parent to feel secure in the knowledge that their child is being cared for in a safe and happy environment.

The whole approach, of course, forms a challenge to the view that the best way to rear a child is at home with mother. Yet if the care is of good quality, there need be no conflict of interest between child and parent. Far more detrimental is a home environment where the parent is denied opportunities to take up training or employment, and is depressed isolated or lonely, or where child care is disjointed and of poor quality.

The Wester Hailes Child Care Project can at present only offer a limited number of places, cannot cater for after school care of older children, and can only offer a limited number of inter-related services to children and families. The project is a first positive step however. In re-evaluating existing child care provision, it is community oriented, parent-led, and can offer full-time flexible child care.

Wester Hailes Child Care Project are at 26a Hailesland Place, Edinburgh EH14 2SL Tel 031 453 1819

Audrey Millar & Steve Gowenlock

#### Powis Parent and Child Project

Powis is a post-war housing scheme in Aberdeen with about 1200 residents. Within the area there is a large number of single parents, under-5s and unemployed, which has meant the area has been designated "deprived".

In December 1983, the Powis Mums' Club was formed by a group of local mothers with young children who wanted to organise Christmas activities for children in the area. As the number of events and responsibilities taken on by the Club grew – family outings, summer trips, etc. – the members realised that what was needed in the area was something more than they could offer. There was obviously a great demand for some sort of provision for parents and under-5s and it was felt the best way forward was to look towards funding for workers and resources in order to help meet some of these needs.

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Many months of meetings, planning and negotiation followed which involved making the case for childcare to be valued as much by the prospective funding bodies (Grampian Region and the Urban Renewal Unit) as it was by the group. There was a great deal of dicussion over the high cost of childcare and whether this could be reduced. But the planning group held out for what it believed to be necessary and this eventually paid off. The costs were approved.

Throughout this planning stage, the group also held onto its commitment to the project being an "independent" organisation, which would have the power to employ its own workers and manage its own affairs.

The Powis Parent and Child Project, from its starting point of community initiative, operates childcare services which include 10 full-time nursery places (9.30am to 3.30pm Mon-Fri for over-3s living in Powis), and 10 two-hour creche sessions per week for up to 10 children. Both are open 49 weeks of the year. The cost is subsidised by the Project and the current charge for the Nursery is £2.50 per week, which reflects the importance of making childcare affordable to those on low incomes. The creche offers places for children whose parents are attending groups, three sessions a week for children over 18 months when parents can pursue their own interests outwith the Project.

A Women's Health Group meets regularly as part of the Project. This is now looking at the development of a Well Woman Centre within Powis. In response to campaiging by local women, a weekly ante-natal clinic run by the community midwife is held in the community flat. And the Project offers an educational component, which apart from the learning involved in developing constantly changing resources, includes adult basic education groups, and word processing courses. A driving scheme has been subsidised which has allowed many people the opportunity of learning to drive.

Part of the philosophy of the Project is to allow adults and children the opportunity to try out new experiences and to develop at their own pace. Among the successful innovative activities have been an exchange trip to Denmark for women and children to visit childcare and health projects, and a sailing trip.

As it approaches the end of Urban Aid funding in 1992, Powis Parent and Child Project continues to be concerned about the needs of children and parents, and is looking to ways of expanding the childcare provision. The Management Committee of nine local residents (employing five child care workers and three project workers) will seek to continue to thrive as an organisation which tries to reflect the needs and interests of those living in the community.

Powis Parent and Child Project are at 11 Powis Circle Aberdeen AB2 3YX Tel 0224 491406

#### **Pram Time**

I waken and hear talking Something inside is almost breaking.

Shadows are still dancing and walking. I'm all alarm and stink like a farm. But . . . I am, I am, I still am.

I assume it is the same old room. Yes. And then in my milky dwam I hear a distant voice utter the sound . . . pram.

I keep mum Listening to the run and trickle of an inner stream.

Warm home, warm home, warm home.

Then like a beating drum Or recurrent dream I abruptly give vent to a pent-up scream. But in a vacuum. Come, come, come, Someone. Come.

Full of drooling spittle, Knowing so little In this constant battle For what they call my bottle.

No wonder I bite on my thumb And dream of the womb.

Faces appear which slobber and coo. Most false, so few true.

Who are you, who are you, who are you?

Everything's new And I seem to swim, to swim, to swim.

I fear the light, I fear the dark. I wake at night And hear them talk.

Panic Sick.

Someone come, someone come, someone come.

Under attack, They call it home, home, home.

Dad . . . light . . . cat . . . tit . . . mum, My name . . . I am, I am, I still . . . am.

**Jack Withers** 



'trust is probably the key element in successful work with children'

# A HEADMASTER SPEAKS

dinburgh's Ainslie Park High School serves the communities of Granton, Wardieburn, Royston, East and West Pilton and Drylaw. The school has good links with the local community. Adults join classes in all the subjects offered. A whole host of other groups are also given room in the building, from Telford FE College which uses one wing as its annexe, to Youth Training schemes, creches, a Young Parents' Project and a Stress Centre.

Headteacher Colin Finlayson joined Ainslie Park in the summer of 1987. He found himself tackling a falling school roll and a feeling among the staff that 'the school was going nowhere'.

"When I came, the school roll had been 24 Scottish Child Oct/Nov 1990

falling for some years. Morale was very low – there had been a management vacuum in the months prior to my arrival. So, looking at the whole position, I took the positive decision: everything was 'up for grabs'. We had to go for change. In doing so we had to get that message out so that people knew they were dealing with a wholly new situation inside the school. I was also sure that we had to promote the school's positive work much more strongly than before.

"I felt that the school needed to look at its value system. I want a system in our school that puts the young person right at the centre. By that I mean I would like to develop in the children a trust that the staff do genuinely care about them.

"Education has to be an enjoyable

experience too. Far too often, our young people have a very low estimate of what education can do for them. Ainslie Park serves an area which has a lot of poverty and very poor employment prospects. Our children often start school with a low sense of self-esteem. So by the time they arrive at secondary school they have come to feel quite hopeless about themselves in relation to education. This is by no means a problem confined to the 'average' or 'low-achieving' pupil. We find that even among children we identify as above-averagely capable there are some who have come to see themselves as attending a school which 'will demand less of them than another school would'.

"I knew we had to change that perception. But you don't change it just by

#### COMMENT

Since last Autumn, SCOTTISH CHILD has occupied office space in Edinburgh's Ainslie Park High School. In June, we interviewed headteacher, Colin Finlayson.

Then in mid August, a week before the start of the new school year, the Edinburgh EVENING NEWS ran a short piece speculating on Lothian Region's plans for school closures entitled "SCHOOL FACES NEW THREAT". One of the schools in question was Ainsile Park High – in the face of the effects of the Parent's Charter and demographic changes, this is not its first threat of closure.

We might have run the interview without reference to this development. The general 'child-oriented' principles which it describes are no less valid just because this school which is trying to put them into practice is suddenly under threat.

But the matter is not so simply dealt with. The staff, pupils and their parents first learnt of the possibility of closure when they opened the evening paper. How, we might speculate, does an article like that look to a community which faces the constant wearying grind of joblessness and hardship, to

children who struggle for self-esteem, or to staff who work long hours to make the school what it is on behalf of a local authority employer?

No doubt it was not the choice of the education authority that the public learnt the news in this way. No doubt Lothian Region would argue that the values expressed by Colin Finlayson are theirs as well. Such principles, they might say, are not the property of one particular school but should be transposable to any school in the region.

But can any school maintain the standards of communication and openness advocated by Colin Finlayson when the superstructure itself seems to operate in so completely opposite a fashion?

Like generals in a battle, the senior administrators argue statistics and demographic patterns in an effort to match resources to need. They do not consult with the objects of their manoeuvrings – the pupils and parents – while the 'consultation' papers are being composed. As so often in public affairs, the feeling dimension – the way people actually respond to things – is to be kept safely at bay.

The effect of this splitting of the feeling dimension from the strategic planning is to saddle the users of the service – in this case the staff, children and parents – with all the suppressed passion, opposition and depression which should be shouldered in part at least by the bureaucratic and political decision-makers themselves.

The fact is that in education, as in other people-serving bureaucracies, the 'act first, consult later' strategy exacts a huge penalty on the very organisations it purports to serve. The question facing Lothian Region is therefore not so much WHETHER they have to close or amalgamate some schools, but HOW they will manage the change that may be necessary. One measure of success which we would invite them to use before it is too late will be whether the communities most affected feel themselves to have played any formative part in what touches them more closely than anyone else.

Rosemary Milne

issuing circulars or revising the curriculum, however important those things may be. The most crucial skill the staff of any school have to learn is being able to LISTEN to children, as well as to talk to them. You learn to listen by wanting to hear what the other person has to say—that's the change in attitude that is required. And of course there are other obvious ways in which you make sure you hear more—like being around in the corridors and open spaces more when the pupils are moving about. Being AVAILABLE to children.

"The next question I asked myself was how can we also change attitudes in young people so that they don't feel convinced that they'll never get very far? I decided that although we could do a lot for ourselves, we were also going to need some help from elsewhere and particularly from those institutions which our children tend to feel are 'not for them' – higher education. That has led to a link-up with Napier College which has proved highly successful.

"Looking at the school's own part in raising the children's self-esteem, we decided to build up the teamwork, problem-solving dimension of learning. Ferranti is a local employer. They agreed to provide an apprentice to accompany each team on our problem-solving residential work, to give the children help of a technical nature and to introduce them to working with an adult other than a teacher.

"Schools should show the results of children's efforts. We try to display the evidence of what's been going on in classrooms around the school and in the past two years there has been an encouraging increase in the number of after-school clubs run for the pupils. We've been making a good showing on the football field for the first time for some years!

"But you do get a lot of knock-backs when you try to bring in change on this scale. It's inevitable that children do not respond with anything like the speed you might like, to your plans to do things differently. We continue to have discipline problems with some pupils and with some year groups. You can put new responsibilities onto children and you may well get nice surprises. But the chances are that for some considerable time, the children will continue with their difficult, non-responsive behaviour. I know how hard it is for staff to hold on under these kinds of circumstance. It means that yet again, you seem to be asking them to re-evaluate their approach, rather than the child's.

"But I think we have to acknowledge that a lot of the children we teach actually do not know how to behave in a whole number of situations. Once you look at the problem from that angle, you can see that it's not so much a 'discipline' problem as a 'learning' problem. So the answer lies not in the mechanisms of punishment but in those of education – learning greater self-control, better social skills and so on. That's what we've set up – using a range of different behavioural techniques.

"The other side of the coin is that if we expect young people to behave more politely to us, we have to do the same for them. I don't expect the staff to shout at their pupils.

"We tend to think of staff values in relation to the children they teach. But of course there's a whole aspect to staff values which is internal to the staff system itself. Openness to the young people only works if it's based on a corresponding openness within the staff group. I know it's a common criticism of headteachers too, that they draft their fancy blueprints and plans but not much changes at the 'front line'—I mean for the children and the teachers. So somehow I have to make sure that there isn't a massive gap between the rhetoric and the reality.

"I'm a great believer in an active senior management team. Our senior group began the new year with the question 'how can we help the school to become a better working place for pupils?' You may be surprised to hear that what we came up with by way of immediate response was a self-appraisal process for the management group itself! That's less illogical than it appears at first sight though, because of course what you're doing in such an exercise is building up trust. We've already identified that trust is probably the key element in successful work with children.

"Having done this we have to look at how to replicate this kind of self-assessment in the different school departments. It has to be a two-way process – on the same basis as before. You can't have one rule for the children and another, contradictory, for the staff. So constructive criticism in the staff-group is not a 'top-down' process but one of give and take – at least that's the aim!

"If I've not talked much so far about the classroom and subjects and exams, it's not because I don't think they're important. I think they are vital but you can teach until you're blue in the face - if you're teaching children who don't enjoy working, don't enjoy learning, you have small hope of really reaching them. "It's all part of the overall theme that you feel better about yourself if you do better, work harder. Everyone can make something of themselves, not just a lucky few. That's what we want to get across. But if we are going to make it sound convincing we have to overcome our own resistances, as well as the resistance of a culture of non-achievement.

"I'd say we've already begun to show clearly what we can do. We've worked hard to bring in the community. We've tapped into the youth support networks for our more unsettled pupils. We've shown we want to work to keep children where they should be for their schooling – in the local area, among their own friends. The number of new pupils joining Senior 1 each year is rising steadily. We aim to keep it that way, for the best of reason – that ours is a school where children want to be."

## **REVIEWS**



#### BANISHED KNOWLEDGE Facing Childhood Injuries Alice Miller

Virago £13.99

#### **Colin Chalmers**

"I don't suppose anyone is really happy, not really". "I know I get wasted and drunk to stop things coming out, but that's alright because I don't really think much of myself anyway". "See underneath it all, I don't really feel alive". Familar? Often when people express such feelings it is considered that they have a 'problem' they will 'get over' and that they are not 'being themselves'. So often it is when adults express just such feelings that they are most being themselves. And no one hears the cry, again.

#### **Real Freedom**

It is a truth, an obvious truth often denied, that our early childhood experiences will have a determining effect on our future emotional life. Alice Miller is a defender of this truth. Her work has charted a personal progression from the convoluted theories of psychoanalysis to a real understanding of the implications of this basic truth. This book is Alice Miller's finest, most forthright work to date. It is a book of rare wisdom, written with the clarity and simplicity that wisdom, as opposed to mere cleverness, possesses.

Banished Knowledge is concerned with childhood emotional injury and its effects in later life. A child comes into the world totally helpless, completely dependent on adults for meeting his needs. If those needs are not met, not recognised, or treated as an imposition, then the child will suffer awful distress; and if the child is prevented from expressing that distress or ignored, if there is no one to turn to, then he must repress his

feelings of rage to save the parent. The cost for the infant is "an interference with his ability to feel, to be aware and to remember(p2)". The torment must be banished from the mind, but is stored in the body. And when the child becomes itself a parent, he will ignore, beat, patronise, and at some level seek to destroy his own child 'for its own good'. All this happens everyday, condoned as normal child-rearing.

In this book Alice Miller discusses the reaction her work provokes. She tells of the many readers who write to her, some of them after years in psychoanalysis, who for the first time recognise themselves in what she is writing. And she tells of the trained professionals who dismiss her as a 'parent-blamer' or 'simplistic'. All of this is to be expected. For Alice Miller defends the innocence of the child in a society that is blind to the abuse it does to its children.

It is perhaps uncontentious to say that



He wanted to explain things, but no-one cared,

So he drew.

Sometimes he would just draw and it wasn't anything

He wanted to carve it in stone or write it in the sky.

He would lie out on the grass and look up at the sky, it would only be the sky and the things inside him which needed saying.

And it was after that that he drew the picture.

It was a beautiful picture. He kept it under his pillow and would let no-one see it.

And he would look at it every night and think about it.

And when it was dark and his eyes were closed he could see it still.

And it was all of him and he loved it.

When he started school he brought it with him

Not to show anyone, but just to have it with him like a friend.

It was funny about school.

He sat in a square brown desk like all the other square brown desks and he thought it would be red. And his room was a square brown room, like all these other rooms.

And it was tight and close. And stiff.

He hated to hold the pencil of chalk, with his arms stiff and his feet flat on the floor, stiff, with the teacher.

Watching and watching.

The teacher came and spoke to him.

She told him to wear a tie like all the other boys.

He said he didn't like them and she said it didn't matter.

After that they drew. And he drew all yellow and it was the way he felt about morning.

And it was beautiful.

The teacher came and smiled at him. 'What's this?' she said.

'Why don't you draw something like Ken's drawing?

Isn't it beautiful?'

After that his mother bought him a tie and he always drew aeroplanes and rocket ships like everyone else.

And he threw the old picture away.

And when he lay out alone looking at the sky it was big and blue and all of everything that he wasn't anymore.

Anymore.

He was square and brown inside and his hands were stiff.

And he was like everyone else. all the things inside him that needed saying didn't need it anymore.

It has stopped pushing. It was crushed stiff.

Like everything else.

This poem was written by a 14 year old boy who shortly afterwards committed suicide.

children should not be abused in the most acute ways—we all love kids, and no one can understand what possibly drives those monsters who abuse them. Just like it's uncontentious to say that no one in the world should starve, in fact. But when we get to drawing practical conclusions from the facts we know, then we get controversial. And Alice Miller gets very controversial indeed.

Writing of her own mother, and the painful childhood she had, Alice Miller asks, "Can we blame a woman who didn't know any better? Today I would say that we not only can but we must do so in order to bring to light what happens to children hour to hour, and also to enable the unhappy mothers to become aware of what was inflicted on them in their childhood. For the fear of blaming our parents reinforces the status quo: the ignorance and the transference of child-inimical attitudes persists. This dangerous vicious circle must be broken. (p23)"

Therapy of any sort, for parent or child, will only achieve real results if the patient is able to feel the unexpressed pain he has stored up from childhood. It must be able help the patient express the rage and anger he was unable to express as a child, overcoming the fear of blaming the parent for what happened, a fear deeply rooted in the child – and in society.

This is a task which psychoanalysis, of which Alice Miller was once an adherent, was not up to. Freud's discovery of the significance of childhood sexual abuse on some of his early patients was a great breakthrough – but Freud renounced the reality of his findings, preferring the more comforting (for adults) idea that they had imagined it all. He then spent his life creating concepts to justify this projection of adult fantasies onto children – the oedipus complex, penis envy, childhood sexuality and so on. The psychoanalytic tradition is based on the denial of a truth

that Freud himself chose not to face – the existence of widespread abuse, sexual and otherwise, of children.

The effect that Freud and psychoanalytic thinking has had, and still has, on the way children are treated is enormous, and quite frightening. The Freudian and psychoanalytic tradition – a tradition, remember, that sees the child as wanting to be raped by its parent – is influencial at some level in hospitals, schools and other institutions involved with children throughout society.

Alice Miller discusses her own search for a therapy that would allow her to confront her childhood pain, overcome the guilt that keeps such memories repressed – in a way Freud and others could not – and face the truth. She sees primal therapy, in particular the work of the Swiss therapist Stettbacher, as offering a way of experiencing that primal pain stored up unconciously in the body since childhood. It is the painful task of facing up to the consequences of childhood injuries, both personally and as a society, that can take us on the road to real freedom. She writes,

"To many people it seems easier to take medication, to smoke, drink alcohol, preach, educate or treat others, and prepare wars than to expose themselves to their own painful truth. For me it was not easier. Thanks to my painting I found myself on the path to my history, and nothing would induce me to turn back. That much was clear to me(p148)".

This book's main importance is not really to do with therapeutic issues – it is much wider and, essentially, *political*.

Alice Miller bases her work on verifiable facts about childhood, and its connection with adult life. Our society seems capable, sometimes almost psychotically, of acknowledging the importance of early childhood as formative years and at the same time justifies treating children in ways that, done to adults who can actually defend themselves, would be criminal offences. Like the child who points to the emperor with no clothes, Alice Miller points this out and says – no more excuses. The oppression must end.

What is so heartening about **Banished Knowledge** is the optimism Alice Miller has for our collective future now that we have the choice of facing up to the injuries done to us in childhood. Her demystification and grounding of psychotherapy does not offer us a new 'theory' or 'school of thought' – 'just' the truth she has discovered by letting the child within her speak. And that is quite enough. As Alice Miller put it in a 1985 radio talk,

"I want to make society aware of the problem because the society is sick. Our society is sick as long as it denies the connections between the childhood experience and the later behaviour of the adult. Yes, it is so simple. Many things are much more simple than we think".

# happy birthday!

#### HAPPY BIRTHDAY

from all of us in the

Western Isles Children's Panel

SCOTTISH Institute of 21 ELMBANK STREET, GLASGOW G2 4PE Tel: 041-204 3365

HUMAN

56 ALBANY STREET, EDINBURGH

RELATIONS

Tel: 031-556 0924

SYLLABUS AVAILABLE

Congratulations, two years old! Family Service Unit, Pilton, Edinburgh.

Best Wishes from Susan Ireland, Edinburgh.

May your influence multiply. Best wishes. **W. Wolfe**, Edinburgh.

Happy Birthday Scottish Child. **Chris Harvie**, London.

Birthday wishes from:

Malcolm Schaffer, Edinburgh. Eric Thomson, Gullane. Stewart Asquith, Edinburgh. Max Paterson, Edinburgh.

Colin Kirkwood, Edinburgh. Pauline Tierney, Edinburgh. John Gray, Aberlady.

Wellington School, Penicuik.

HAPPY BIRTHDAY SCOTTISH CHILD WE LIKE YOUR PHOTOS!

British Association for Early Childhood Education, Craigroyston Community School, Edinburgh

> Happy Birthday, Scottish Child

SACRO STRATHCLYDE, offering support to prisoners' families

contact: Sacro Strathclyde, 220 Renfrew Street, Glasgow G3 6TX 041-332 1763 2 years old - keep on toddling! Nick Child, Lanarkshire.

Many Happy Birthdays, Christine Wilson, Edinburgh

Dear Editors, all strength to your elbows!

Lois Aitkenhead and John Crallan, New Galloway

Across the border, this subscriber thinks that children up north are lucky indeed to have Scottish Child. Happy Birthday.

Tony Waterston, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Wishing Scottish Child many more years of informed and valuable comment. **Alison Prince**, Isle of Arran

Congratulations on your second birthday.

Council for Music in Hospitals

10 Forth Street Edinburgh EH1 3LD

Here's £10 of unpaid poll tax. **Bob Littlefox**, Tollcross.

Wishing you a long life and many happy returns. **Catriona Tocher**, Stirling.

Happy second birthday. Moira Scott, Edinburgh.

Two years old, a time of transitions. Congratulations. **R. Forrest**, Edinburgh.

Happy Birthday, Scottish Child. **Alison Falconer**, Edinburgh.

Buy your own Scottish Child! Congratulations. **Denis Mooney**, Glasgow.

Scottish Child's in Bristol too. Happy Birthday. Caroline Naysmith, Bristol.

Have a long and healthy childhood. **Joyce Wilson**, an ex-nanny.

Happy birthday.

Kildermorie Stepping Stones, Glasgow.

A great advocate for the child.

Kay Carmichael, Ardentinny.

Lusty-voiced at 2 - wi' a good Scots tongue! Non-establishment voices need to support each other. Ian Dunn, Convener, **Lesbian and Gay Community Centre Appeal.** 

Cum ort a "phaisd Albanach" **Mary Denovan**, Wester Ross.

The Scottish Association of Family Conciliation Services
WISHES SCOTTISH CHILD
CONTINUED SUCCESS.

Family conciliation helps parents whose relationships are over to settle the arrangements for their children.

Further information from 031-220 1610

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from

Childcare Now

campaigning for childcare provision in Scotland

contact: Joan Pennycook, c/o 36 Park Terrace, Stirling FK8 2JR

Best Wishes

Cormorant Films
33 Castle Street,
Edinburgh
031-220 6335

Continue to provide a useful resource, **Shetland Island Psychological Centre** Lerwick, Shetland.

Scottish Poetry Library cares for Scottish Children

Best wishes to Scottish Child.

**Katherine Kemp**, Reporter to the Children's Panel, Orkney, 10th September 1990

Happy Birthday, Scottish Child.

Charlotte McEachran, Edinburgh.

Best wishes from St. Joseph's School Tranent.

Happy Birthday Scottish Child, **Chris Warwick**, London.

Happy Birthday and continued success at keeping children in the centre of our attention.

lan and Fiona Johnston, Stirling.

ITRC congratulates Scottish Child on reaching your 2nd birthday and sends best wishes for continued success

19 Elmbank Street, Glasgow G2 4PB 041-204 0417/8



British Agencies for Adoption and Fostering

wishes Scottish Child every success in the future

40 Shandwick Place, Edinburgh Tel: 031-225 9285

# PLAYING THEM FALSE A study of children's games toys and puzzles Bob Dixon

Trentham Books £11.95

#### **Alasdair Roberts**

I am reading this book in an Aberdeen park. My favourite corner for a picnic lunch is ideal for hide and seek and games of vivid imagination – grass both long and short, trees, paths and a rocky outcrop dramatic enough to suggest the Himalayas. Here, within a mile or two of several schools and in the middle of the summer holidays, there is no one out to play.

Meanwhile at home my son, Kieran, eleven going on fifteen, sits indoors glued to the TV screen. Unlike his older brothers and sisters at the same age, however, he is not gripped by **Ghostbusters** or idly watching **Nelghbours** – he is playing a computer game. And Kieran is really hooked on computer games. Who Dares Wins 2, says the blurb, is a different type of "shoot 'em up". This game's got "grenades and cannons . . . if you're a shoot 'em up fan, this will stand out in your collection."

Of course, it's the parent who buys (bottom of the range at £2.99) while pondering the relative aggression quotients of "shoot 'em up" and "beat 'em up". Kieran says the games make him feel good and that you can do things that you couldn't do in real life.

It was Peter and Iona Opie who introduced me to the idea that traditional children's games, while not usually competitive, require to be viable in terms of rules and maintain the interest of a varied group of players. The new technology has brought viable games indoors, under the quality control of Sinclair User: "Graphics 53%, Sound 63%, Playability (controls, joystick or keyboard) 66%, Lastability 58% Overall 63%" is the verdict of Judge Dredd, one of the very questionable family of law and order heroes which links in with another branch of the mass media - "In the comic the current Judge Dredd is an old and embittered warrior who has begun to question the totalitarianism of the system he works to uphold (sounds interesting must check it out!) but in this game we're back to the good old days where he shot first and filled in the charge sheets afterwards."

#### Playing them False?

The very title of Dixon's book tells you that he is negative on the toy industry and all its works, from My Little Pony through to Dungeons and Dragons (with computer games somewhere in the middle). In this he is following on from his earlier Catching Them Young (two 1973 volumes on stereotypes in children's fiction) itself an elaboration on the point made first by George Orwell half a century ago – that adults are unaware of the messages being conveyed to the young by items on sale in the children's department of the commercial world.

In Orwell's example it was comics that indoctrinated the young in conservative and imperialist values. But comics, books, toys, computer games — it's all the same argument. Ten years ago I was inclined to be sceptical, believing there was enough vigour in children's own play culture to



withstand the assault of big business. After all every new medium of mass entertainment has been accused of causing juvenile delinquency, apathy, or both.

Yet here I sit in a silent Aberdeen park reading about "the cultural ideological implications of building bricks," their edges and planes make a subtle anti-curve statement. Dixon advances this as a possibility, based on someone else's observations about native Americans and circles. If we are looking at hitherto unrecognised influences then building bricks are relevant. Friedrich Froebel created a nineteenth century industry in educational toys based on the contrasted sphere and cube – reconciled through

Hegelian dialectic in the cylinder. I myself have been attracted by the idea that the planes and right angles of the tenement encouraged ball bouncing and other street games.

What strikes me about the sexism and violence themes which run through this book is, first, that male/female roles seem to be receiving dramatic emphasis through toys, to a degree experienced by no previous generation – this at a time when no adult male, even in Scotland, would feel wholly comfortable saying that a woman's place is in the home. Second, that boys (left with no games of street and playground but football, poor things, unlike the girls) are growing up in a toy culture of war, while defence budgets crumble, relieving the armed services of their vain search for recruits.

So if Victorian children's games reflected an adult society bound by ranks and roles, how can children's play expressed through toys and games remain thus far out of contact with adult reality as we move towards the twenty first century?

Playing Them False documents the complex financial transactions, involving mergers and multinationals, behind the friendly face at the counter of your local toy shop. Dixon's cultural interpretations are impressive. Under the unexpectedly fresh heading of "Handyman and Breadwinner" (war toys and sex object dolls having become such cliche targets) he draws attention to the implications of cars as further incitements to aggression; to the commercial on behalf of private enterprise which is implicit in the glamorisation of "trucking" as compared to the time-honoured model railway representing boring old publicly owned BR.

There are curious ommissions like Subbuteo, which has gone latent in our house since the World Cup, but which provides as good a parable on children's moral development as Piaget's marbles used to do in the days when marbles were in every schoolboy's pocket – there's another article in that, editor! But this is a very intelligent and comprehensive book.

Later in the park four boys on bikes are rough-riding down the Himalyas to reality – quite definitely out to play. The world will go on a while yet. My grandchildren (if I should be so lucky) will be playful – and therefore human – indoors with dubious toys and in front of screens, outdoors in summer holidays at least. But Bob Dixon is right. Let's keep on eye on what's going on down there.



#### **Not Standing on Feelings**

In the stormy seas of the growing child's emotional life, how do we define emotional abuse? Reporters to the Children's Panel need to establish grounds which may have to stand in court. Stephen Hunter attempts to lay a framework.

"Having inquired exhaustively into whether a child has been battered," writes Jean Moore in her book None So Blind, "we are so relieved that the answer is 'no', we cannot bear all the anxiety again to take on . . . the strong evidence of emotional abuse.

"Emotional abuse," write Gabrino and Gilliam in their Understanding Abusive Families, "is extremely difficult to define . . . but it is a the heart of the social problem we call the maltreatment of children and youth.'

It is perhaps scarcely surprising, if hardly excusable, in all the recent higher public awareness of and academic concern with child abuse, to find little reference to emotional abuse. A glar-

ing omission occured, for example, in the draft Scottish Office document on Effective Intervention - Child Abuse, Guidance and Co-operation in Scotland (HMSO, 1989).

Effective lobbying, including a response by the Association of Reporters to the Children's Panel, whose members have to make decisions in this grey area which will stand legal scrutiny, led to the inclusion of a full definition of emotional abuse.

Paragraph 27 of these guidance papers now defines emotional abuse as:

"the severe adverse effect on the behaviour and emotional development of a child caused by persistent or severe emotional illtreatment or rejection" and also "the severe impairment of social and emotional development, it is the (eventual) consequences of repeated and persistent withholding of affection, criticism, verbal abuse; scapegoating for all the family's problems, rejection, or threat of rejection, to the child's distress; lack of contact and interaction with the child in play, lack of communication, wilful destruction of a child's confidence in his/her own competence, berating the child in front of others. This may result in over-anxiety in the child; avoidance of contacts outside the home; low self-esteem; limited capacity for enjoyment; serious aggression; impulsive behaviour; retardation of physical development through depriva-

The author of these guidelines is to be congratulated on the broad interpretation of emotional abuse, but there are considerable difficulties remaining for Children's Reporters actually establishing emotional abuse grounds for referral in the Sheriff Courts.

A very helpful framework of children's needs has been provided by Mia Kellmer Pringle in The Needs of Children. Her work is a model of clear thinking and sound common sense. Pringle takes the view that human needs do not follow any mechanical sequence, but that "all human needs are inter-related and inter-dependent in a subtle, complex and continuous way" adopts a four-fold classification of needs.

#### The need for love and security

Children require, according to Pringle, a stable, continuous, dependable and loving relationship with their parents (or permanent parent substitute) who themselves enjoy a rewarding relationship with another.

Pringle stresses that "love" means that the child should be valued unconditionally, and for his or her own sake. "Approval and acceptance are essential for the development of self-approval and self-worth. The child learns to become less selfcentred as he models himself on the parents." The child's need for security is met through stable relationships, mean that the growing child is used to continuity and security from daily routines and secure

relations. Professor Fred Stone, writing in Scottish Child (June 1989) reinforces Pringle's view when he assesses the basic needs of young children in terms of a sense of belonging - belonging to something larger than themselves, such as a family.

#### The need for new experience

New experiences are essential. As the child accomplishes new tasks and manages to gain independence, he controls his environment. "The small child has a strong urge to explore, and everything that goes on around him becomes an absorbing new experience.'

The exultant cry "I can do it myself!" heralds the start of an independence of mind. Play is of course the usual medium through which the child learns . . . "by providing a means of learning about and resolving complex and often conflicting emo-

#### The need for praise and recognition

In order to positively reinforce the child's progress and development, it is vital that the child receives praise and recognition appropriate to his or her abilities. In other words, "An optimal level of expectation needs to be geared to each individual's capabilities at a given point in time and stage of growth, and at a level when success is possible but not without effort". It is also important to recognise mistakes and failures "as an integral part of learning".

#### The need for responsibility

Pringle emphasises the child's need "to gain personal independence" not only in matters of everyday care, but increasingly in the choice of friends, hobbies, career and eventually marriage

Growing children need to cope with new responsibilities and freedom within a framework of guidance on limits, that is "knowing the rules together with the reasons and whether these are in their interests or in the interests of others". It is necessary for the child to be aware of the difference between disapproval of his/her behaviour as opposed to disapproval of him of herself. An emotionally damaged child confuses disapproval with rejection and is unable accept rules of conduct as fair.

Secondary education has a crucial role to play in the developing sense of responsibility – "research has shown that schools which emphasise cooperation rather than competition, which neither stream nor use corporal punishment, have a lower incidence of bullying, violence and delinquency without any lowering of academic standards".

If these particular needs are not met, then consequences can be devastating. "Prisons, mental hospitals, etc," according to Kelmer Pringle, "contain a high proportion of individuals who in childhood lacked consistent, continuous and concerned care, and were still unloved and rejected."

Indeed, Brian Minty (The Howard Journal, Vol 27, No 3, 1988) found that a significant proportion of adult offenders had experienced parental rejection or lack of adequate parental care, affection and stimulation.

Failure to meet basic needs can lead to restricted personal and intellectual development. A child limited in new experiences is unlikely to play and develop creatively. Such a child will have restricted language and cultural capacities. Similarly, if he or she has not been encourged or given the opportunity to accept responsibility, the child will not grow towards independence, but rather become limited, unadventurous and dependent on others.

Keeping a broad understanding of children's needs and the damaging effects of failing to meet them is helpful when we consider a more specific formulation of emotional abuse in children.

A particularly precise and rigorous formulation of child emotional abuse was presented by Dr. Hugh Morton, Consultant Child Psychiatrist, Ninewells Hospital, Dundee to a 1981 conference organised by Borders Region.

Dr. Morton defines emotional abuse as "deliberate behaviour that seriously undermines the development of a child's competence and can only be applied to a child when age, sex, innate ability level and so forth are taken into account". He thus identifies three main groups of emotionally abused children.

Severely neglected children – The child who is very behind in his or her development, who "lives in the solitude of a family prison" (Goldstein). In extreme cases, the severely neglected child is familiar to us because of the failure to thrive. The child is below normal height and weight, is often uninterested in his surroundings and denied of any but the simplest self-centred activities. As Morton puts it, "neglected children are neither happy nor sad; they exist and no more".

Rapid improvement has been observed when the child's environment changes, although their capacity to form one-to-one attachments is often permanently impaired.

The exploited child – This form of emotional abuse is less obvious and tends to focus on the parents unmet needs; that is, the parent 'exploits' the child in order to fulfil unmet needs in themselves.

A classic example of this abused child is to often appear a caricature of adulthood, such as a precocious or sexually aware child (which may of course be an indication of sexual abuse itself).

The rejected child – Dr Morton was aware of an increase in the number of children attending his clinic who were consciously rejected by their parents, and the child in such circumstances becomes aggressive, stubborn and negativistic. In larger families or social units, an individual child may be singled out for rejection by scapegoating in order to preserve the 'fragile stability' of the group.

While Hugh Morton attempts to present a syndrome of emotional damage, and this may aid classification, it does seem from most of the literature that emotional abuse is not easily categorised, but is "at the heart of child abuse".

"We need to pay more attention, Dr. Morton concludes, anticipating perhaps the rapid development of family therapy in the mental health professions in the 1980s, "to the detail of parent, child and family relationships." Family therapy is about improving the quality of the interaction between members of a given family. A very readable book, which consists entirely of a dialogue between the authors, is Families and How to

Survive Them by Robin Skynner and John Cleese.

But to return to the world of the Reporter to the Children's Panel and the anxiety about establishing grounds for referral to a hearing, Alan Finlayson's paper given to the same Borders conference in 1981 is particularly telling. While establishing non-accidental grounds can be complicated, he argues, by the different evidential requirements of individual Sheriffs, it is generally true that "Sheriffs tend to hold grounds to be established by competent evidence."

But what is competent evidence in relation to emotional abuse? Who is competent to give evidence? It may be particularly difficult, if not imposssible, according to Finlayson, to establish "wilful emotional abuse" so that most cases are likely to proceed on the 32(2)(c) basis that lack of parental care is likely to cause unnecessary suffering or seriously impair the child's health or development. But expert evidence would clearly have to demonstrate serious impairment.

Finlayson's words of caution are still important, but it must be said that the developments made in child and adolescent psychiatry and indeed child psychology have provided Reporters with a relevant source of expert opinion. With the enactment of the Civil Evidence (Scotland) Act 1988 there is no requirement of corroborated evidence, and hearsay evidence is admissible. Subsequent practice in Strathclyde has demonstrated the ability of the Reporter to establish emotional abuse grounds per se.

There will always be some reluctance if not scepticism by learned Sheriffs who have an innate distrust of emotions and 'opinions'. Evidence in this area is likely to be cumulative. Detailed school or health visitors' records of the child's failure to develop adequately and 'competently' will be necessary as a factual basis for finding emotional abuse grounds established.

It is encouraging to read Sheriff A Stewart's 1982 paper to Reporters Prove What and How, in which he states he has no difficulty in defining 'care' very broadly so as to include 'emotional care', and similarly in defining 'unnecessary suffering'.

This could be "physical, mental or emotional".

An interesting study carried out in one Scottish Region supports the view that Reporters' initial decisions on emotional abuse referrals were usually established in the Sheriff Court. The study concerned 170 children referred under Section 32(2)(c) of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 in terms of lack of parental care during 1980–1989.

Two practising child clinical psychologists independently studied case papers containing details of referral and social circumstances. Four categories of cases emerged from the analysis:

Parent mentally ill or unstable – following formal diagnosis or psychiatric disorder.

Unsatisfactory parent-child relationship – when the child was "habitually and pathologically rejected, ambivalent or over- protected."

Unsatisfactory childrearing methods – when the child is anadequately stimulated.

Unsatisfactory parental and family lifestyles – the child regularly experiences disruption, violence, or alcohol-related transient adult and peer relationships, frequent moves of home or region, lack of stability or routine, poverty and criminal activity.

As regards the outcome in these cases, 45 (or 35%) were denied and referred to a Sheriff who subsequently found the grounds to be established in 40 (89%) of the cases.

Reflecting on the implications of child emotional abuse represents a challenge to the traditional categories of children at risk. We ignore at our peril the emotional repercussions of all other forms of child abuse. Those of us in the Hearing System need to think laterally when we are looking for signs of emotional abuse. Being aware of all children's needs - and Mia Kellmer Pringle's work is an outstanding contribution - should help in the problems of evidence.

I am grateful to Alan Miller, Area Children's Reporter, Glasgow North for discussing the format of this paper, prepared for the Association of Reporters to the Children's Panel.

### **LETTERS**



#### Iron Fists

Dear Editor,

I identify strongly with the anonymous letter you published (August) on authoritarianism in public life and congratulate the writer on putting his/her case so well. I feel very encouraged too that you received so many other calls and letters on this subject.

The fact that so many have to contact you anonymously does not surprise me. Being anonymous in the bureaucracy is one method of surviving.

Yet why the prevailing aggressive management styles? I can only speak from my own and colleagues' experience of Strathclyde Social Work Department, but I do hear moans from employees in similar large bureaucracies – the church, education, NHS, and business organisations.

Aggression is often a sign of weakness. Do the politicians deliberately choose the weaker types for the top posts so that they can be manipulated politically? In truth, privately most elected councillors are regarded as a necessary evil by many officials who will keep them at a distance by blinding them with

statistics and telling them what they want to hear. And God help any worker who has the temerity to mention to an elected member that all is not what it seems!

What if a member of staff questions what is happening in any part of these 'democratic' organisations – by refusing to be involved in bad practice; standing up for the rights of a client; or objecting to the way members of staff are being treated?

Whatever deficiency or concern you are addressing, the bureaucracy turns to accuse you of being the cause of it. By addressing a problem openly, you stand accused of spreading dissent. You are the problem. I wrote to my Director on the subject of "management by fear" practised in our department and that is precisely the reaction I got.

And If you are a woman under such a very male-dominated management, you are dismissed as 'a difficult woman'.

The job of caring is stressful. Among my colleagues there are many fine people wanting to do the caring properly, but are prevented from doing so by lack of support from above. Bullying from disinterested managers places additional and unnecessary stress on staff. I cannot forget a 15 year old boy, who had been subject to some shockingly bad practice by a member of management while I was away, saying to me "Why don't they allow your social worker to be your friend anymore?" Placing staff under stress has its inevitable costs for the people they are supposed to be helping.

There are many fine people known to me in management positions who keep a low profile for all kinds of reasons - promotion prospects, mortgages, or just plain lack of courage of their own convictions. I would ask them to come out of the closet too. Their help can be so valuable. For all the reputation we Scots have for producing characters with independent minds, I have yet to meet one in the bureaucracy where they are most needed. Being professional now seems to equate with being more calculating and distancing ourselves from those we are trying to help. But what is the point of it all? Why compound an already stressful level of job demands by

treating each other in this way?

Readers of this magazine may profess to having an interest in the future of our Scottish child. If we do not tackle the abuse of power which is inherent in the system as it stands now, the Scottish child has a very bleak future.

I am not a member of any political party. I am very tired of the national government of whatever leaning being seen as the reason for ALL the ills in the caring professions. Of course they must bear the responsibility for some, but a huge difference could be made by more honesty and by treating our colleagues with more concern. Because I feel there is an increasing impatience with political "shinanigans" which seem to encourage dishonesty, I took heart from Scottish Child's self-determination event at Govan

Anyone out there agree with me? If you do, take the plunge and join me in print, and give others the encouragement they need.

Fiona M Johnston Stirling 16/8/90

#### Among the Contributors in this issue . . .

#### **Music Therapy**

Dear Editor,

Regarding your **Music Mission** (August) on David Hamilton's efforts to finance himself to do music therapy training, I thought your piece was fantastic. The Glasgow Evening Times followed it up, and also East End Radio. The good news is that Grampian Music Therapy Promotion Group have come forward with a grant of £2000 which will cover the fees. So although David will still have his rent and keep to find, he's on his way.

In order to raise some more funds, I am running two events at the end of October in Glasgow in aspects of music therapy. Those interested should get in touch.

Best wishes.

Janette Montague 241b Greenrig Road Cumbernauld Tel 0236 724240

#### Access to Health Services

Dear Editor,

While pleased at the interest shown in our work 'Access and Arrogance' (**Scottish Child** August 1990), we are disappointed that the article missed a number of the more important aspects.

In particular, the article suggests the Glasgow Women's Reproductive Health Service is the product of one person struggling alone against hostility from many quarters! In fact, as was emphasised in the interview, but sadly not reflected in the article, this service resulted from a joint initiative between health workers and social workers and indeed the post, created to provide health care input, is unique in being an appointment jointly between two university departments, the Department of Obstetrics and Gynaecology and the Department of Social Administration and Social Work, reflecting the collaborative nature of this project.

Furthermore, the service was developed with support from a wide range of sources; these included medical services, social work services, politicians of various political parties representing both local and national government, churches of various denominations, voluntary agencies and users of the service and their families and friends. While development of the service was a joint initiative between the two agencies, the service is delivered by a multidisciplinary team. It is only because so many have contributed to or supported the development of this service, that it has achieved its primary objective - the provision of a comprehensive service providing health and social care which women not only find easy to use but perceive as meeting their needs.

Mary Hepburn Senior Lecturer Department of Obstetrics & Gynaecology University of Glasgow

Martin Kettle Senior Social Worker Possilpark

# Childcare – Who Knows Best?

Dear Editor,

While wholeheartedly endorsing an increase in the provision for pre-fives, and seeing community nurseries as an excellent answer to the prevailing problems of working and studying parents, I wish to remind you of Scotland's 7000+ Registered Childminders who already provide a community service to upwards of 20,000 parents and chil-

dren. The service offers a flexibility to both parents and working registered childminders.

My major concern is for the under-2s who in a nursery setting may be offered less than the best. Childminding offers a secure one- to-one relationship, often lasting until schooldays and after. Childminding can ensure that babies wakening hours are constantly being stimulated by an ever changing environment.

Childminders offer a valuable support to parents through their decision to continue working. Childminders do not deserve to be a forgotten workforce. Local and Regional authorities should be more supportive of the resource that already exists and is growing daily.

Anne McNellan Development Officer Scottish Childminding Association

#### Poll Tax

Dear Editor,

Having heard that the Community Charge in Strathclyde will be raised to take into account those people who have not paid their dues, I will need to economise.

Accordingly I am informing you of my decision to cancel my subscription to Scottish Child and am advising my bank to remove the standing order.

I am sure you will be aware of why you have been chosen as opposed to my other periodical subscriptions.

Other people always have to pay for someone else's principles.

Eleanor M. Scott Avr

Editor: And I thought it was just elected members of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition who are blaming the poor for causing so much hardship to poll tax payers and beleagered local authorities! I'm still not paying.

Sibylle Alexander nee Kaufmann was born in Hamburg in 1925. She and her Scots husband had all of their five children educated at the Edinburgh Rudolf Steiner School.

Sean Bradley is a member of the Scottish Child editorial group.

David Carver works in a leaving care project for teenagers in Ayrshire.

**Colin Chalmers** has worked for 4 years with homeless teenagers in Edinburgh and is now a writer and member of the **Scottish Child** editorial group.

Fiona Faulds is a project worker with Powis Parent and Child Project.

Stephen Hunter is Area Children's Reporter to the Children's Panel in the Argyll & Bute division of Strathclyde Region.

Audrey Millar & Steve Gowenlock are full-time trained staff employed by the Wester Hailes Child Care Project.

Moira Morrison is a lecturer at Northern College of Education in Aberdeen.

Sheila Ramsay works in a child care team in Strathclyde Social Work Department.

Alasdair Roberts is a lecturer in education at Northern College and is the author of Out to Play (Aberdeen University Press).

Chris Searle is a teacher and writer, now a headteacher of a comprehensive school in Sheffield. His books include Classrooms of Resistance (1976), The Forsaken Lover: White Words and Black People (1972), The World in a Classroom (1977), and Words Unchained: Language and Revolution in Grenada (1984).

On the occasion of their second birthday we congratulate the **Scottish Child** 

on their contribution to promoting the interests of Scottish children

Wishing you every success

Lothian Regional Council Department of Social Work



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#### Girning in the Pub

hen was the last time you felt you had the chance to really influence the way society is developing? For most of us, the answer is probably the last time we put our 'x' on a ballot paper. And some would dispute how much influence that

Were you consulted in any meaningful way about the NHS reforms? The changes in the curriculum and education system? Taxation? Planning decisions? Participation, it has to be said, is not a concept which is close to the public heart. The government or the council can get on with it, while we save our complaints and insights for our mates in the pub.

Maybe we are not brought up to believe that we can really shape things. This whole train of thought was sparked off by some recent involvement I've had with young people's meetings in children's homes. Most local authority children's homes have some kind of regular residents' meeting where the children and young people living in the establishment can be involved in discussions and decisions about their daily lives. The meetings vary in their effectiveness and often the adult view prevails, whether or not it is the best one. But at least there is belief that the youngsters should be consulted, and in some cases staff significant representation on school boards? Truth is, in most cases pupils don't even have a say in the minutae of their daily

Youth workers make some steps in the direction of democracy, but often this takes the form of having a couple of token

Yet a look at some of the Youth Councils where real participation of young people is taken seriously shows the creative and positive benefits that can result.

What we can't get away from is that real participation, as opposed to tokenism, means sharing power. Not surrendering it, but genuinely sharing it. And here the adult horror fantasies begin - young people would be irresponsible (i.e. they might challenge us), their ideas would be impractical (i.e. it might take some effort to change on our part), and anyway they're not really interested (have they really been asked?).

ow if us adults had been given the opportunity for real participation in those areas affecting our lives when we were young, then maybe we wouldn't spend so much time complaining in the pub. Maybe we might even be looking for ways of re-distributing power, and maybe that's what we're scared of.

Sheila Ramsay

make tremendous efforts to encourage a significant level of participation.

This does not, however, spread into the broader area of policymaking. There has been no organised and co-ordinated attempt to get young people's views about what kind of service (in this case in Social Work) they need in the first place. Education too, as far as participation by young people is concerned, is a desert. Did anyone ask students what kind of curriculum they feel is relevant? Do they have any

representatives on a committee which often results in youngsters feeling powerless within an adult dominated environment.

If we were serious about wanting young people to have an influence, then we would have to look at the processes of consultation and decision-making and acknowledge that young people (and many of the not so young too) don't always feel the least bit comfortable with the structure and function of bureaucratic committees.

In the next issue... December 90/January 91 EUROPÆISKE FÆLLESKAB CÓMUNIDAD EUROPEA

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our backyard - the 'dinnae say dinnae' syndrome - the struggle for Gaelic.

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# Whose hand rocks the cradle?

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