DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND THE
YOUTH SERVICE: THE ROLE OF
YOUTH EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES

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ABSTRACT

This thesis reports research into youth exchange visits to 'Third World' countries in the context of development education. The study will be used to:

1) Look at changes in the attitudes of participants as regards 'Third World' countries and black people.
2) Evaluate their effectiveness relating to criticisms levelled at visits as a whole to 'Third World' countries.
3) Explore ways in which projects with an international focus can be improved to meet these criticisms.

Definitions and descriptions of development education and its related fields are given in the literature review.

The methods of evaluation are described and a rationale for adopting an adjustment of the illuminative evaluation approach is given. Interviews, questionnaires, participant observation and participants diaries are the main source of data.

The study was in two stages; the first focused on an outward visit of a youth group to India on which I was a leader and participant observer; the second on five groups, three visiting India, one Zimbabwe and the other Nigeria. The findings from the First Stage, which was piloted and analysed, provided the basis for the inquiries into the Second Stage. The initial focus on development education naturally broadens to include anti-racism and environmental education. The intrinsic nature of other relevant areas of education is highlighted and an holistic approach to development education is recommended.

The findings also point to the need for an ongoing supportive framework for participants both before and after the exchange visit. So too is the need to relate to wider community groups with similar concerns. Through these approaches criticisms levelled at exchange visits are met.
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CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

My literature search has focused on those areas which have direct bearing on development education in the context of schools, the Youth Service and Non-Government Organisations — schools and NGO's because these are obviously the central arenas where most has been written about development education; the Youth Service because this is the context from which the research is viewed.

Development education in isolation would prove inappropriate to the research because, as will be shown, it naturally connects with environmental and global matters. In this connection an examination has been undertaken of other aspects of the educational spectrum of which multiculturalism and racism are the most pertinent. Multicultural education has gained a lot of currency over recent years and has become the subject of some controversy. The negative impact of monoculturalism is considered as is institutional racism which is seen as pervading our society. Acknowledgement is made of the depth and scope of global interdependence which has mushroomed dramatically in the contemporary world. "Global interdependencies have become 'operationally immediate' for nearly all of us" (Bailey, S.K. International education: an agenda for interdependence, cited in Pike, G, Global Teacher, Global Learner: 4).

In considering these components, the experience of the International and Multicultural Education Programme (IMEP) is drawn upon where
multicultural education and development education are inextricably linked. It is recommended that curricular strategies should take due recognition of what James Dunlop refers to as multi-strand approaches (Multicultural Education and Development education: Convergence or Divergence? (IMEP Scotland) in Swann and the Global Dimension.

In order to bring to a focus the main research area some definitions of development education are cited in an attempt to clarify what is often considered a vague and awkward term. Despite this there is a growing acknowledgement of the significance of development education as the Global Impact survey (1986) of over 800 primary and secondary school teachers in 21 randomly selected local education authorities throughout the United Kingdom reveals:

- 75% of teachers think that 'developing an understanding that the world is an inter-related, interdependent system of lands and peoples' is very important or crucial in the promotion of a global perspective in education.
- 46% of teachers indicated that their school had policies or guidelines which feature environmental education.
- 69% of teachers think that environmental and development education are relevant to their subject areas.
- 67% of teachers think that the political aspects of development and environmental education are not too controversial to be dealt with in the classroom.
- 88% of primary and secondary school teachers think that the children they teach are not too young to develop a global awareness or empathy with people from other lands and cultures.
78% of primary and secondary school teachers think that development and environmental education are central to achieving an understanding of, and active participation in the world today. 65% of primary and secondary school teachers would welcome in-service training on ways of incorporating development and environmental issues into their teaching (in Greig's Earthrights - Education as if the Planet Really Mattered).

Approaches to development education in the context of the Youth Service is then explored with reference to the Thompson Reports' call for affirmative action to increase international understanding amongst the young. Overseas linking is also examined in a similar way with special focus on some youth exchange projects.

To begin, however, the parochial perspective of the Youth Service is looked at as well as some of the challenges that are being offered to counteract this.

MULTICULTURISM

In Education there are differences of opinion about how to approach issues such as development education or multicultural education. Some consider that it is important to begin at the place where young people are in their attitudes and opinions and to raise awareness from the relevance of their own experience. According to Roger Homan Global Perspectives and the Swann Report (in Swann and the Global Dimension), 'immediate interest' or 'relevance' has become a sacred cow in progressive education which makes dealing with multicultural and
developmental education troublesome (47). The contributors to the
Halsey Report of 1972, of whom Eric Midwinter was the most vociferous,
strongly recommended "the balance of the curriculum should change from
'academic' to 'social' and should be based on the realities of the
immediate environment" (Halsey 1972: 144).

Similar views are held by many in the Youth Service too as some
reactionary youth workers feel that they should resist the pressure to
undertake 'issue related' approaches as these are "irrelevant to their
members expressed needs." In the Youth Worker's Workshop Paper, (Feb.
1989 unpub) they say the club programme should provide learning
situations through "natural interactions" which has an element of "fun"
not usually apparent in a "structured" approach. They add that some
youth workers feel debilitated when pressured to introduce issues to the
programme which they consider to be only of little concern to the young
people they are working with.

According to Homan, Global Perspectives and the Swann Report, this
fashionable doctrine of relevance has prevailed in its narrowest form
and has taken its toll on initiatives in multicultural education.

He goes on to say that what distinguishes global prescriptions of
curriculum content from the flat-earthist perspectives of Halsey and
Midwinter is that their formulation is extrinsic, rather than intrinsic,
to the prior interests and motivations of the learner. Relevance, he
says, is conceived within a broad universe, and from the outside looking
in rather than the inside looking out. It is not a case of what the child wants to know but of what he ought to know (Homan: 49).

Another area of contention is the position of neutrality advocated by some youth workers. Neutrality is sometimes defined as not taking sides in a situation of social conflict. In a paper Neutrality and Education in a Pluralist Society (Educational Studies, Vol 14 No2, 1988), B.R. Singh argues against this idea of neutrality and advances the view that as a teaching device, neutrality is an unacceptable method in the teaching of multicultural, anti-racist education (:121). According to Singh we are essentially what our past culture has made us. Hence a pluralist society that is made up of various cultures would be a society that is characterised by rival and disparate moral concepts such as (concepts of) justice, and the sad thing is that the moral resources of our culture allow us no way of settling the issue between them rationally. Singh refers to McIntyre's (1981) comments "that if social harmony is to be maintained through certain institutions we need to negotiate our way through the impasse of conflict" (:136). However, Singh suggests we should not despair about the possibility of a culture clash nor about the plurality of values, for as Popper (1945) points out, there is a healthy awareness of the existence of other cultures which prevents our own from becoming a prison (ibid.).

Nigel Grant (Multicultural Education in Scotland and Elsewhere in Swann and the Global Dimension), says that the pressing need for multicultural Britain at the present time is for all groups to have the skills and knowledge to function in the majority community and in the international
community of which it is part, and to do so as themselves, not as copies of someone else. Grant further suggests that assimilation has not worked, and has compounded disadvantage as it involves learning and developing entirely on someone else's terms and considers it is an inappropriate objective in a plural community (Grant: 67).

Multiculturalists have sought to establish a new educational consensus. Rejecting assimilationist and ethnocentric philosophies of the 60's, many have agreed for a form of education that is pluralist in orientation and positively embraces a multiethnic perspective. James Lynch (The Multicultural Curriculum), argues that the newer commitment to multicultural education has to be increased against the over-riding commitment education in any society to secure social cohesion, otherwise society would fall apart. "Thus education has to prepare us to recognise that we are alike, as for example, members of one species, but different as well, in sex, social class, religion, culture, competence and expertise: infinite in adversity but united in our humanity" (12).

Lynch also suggests that English education has tended to give preferential treatment to the needs of the predominant groups in society to secure the economic and political systems (11). This suggests an emphasis on mono-cultural education.

An analysis of mono-cultural education and its inevitable lead into racism may serve to emphasise the nature of the problem implicit in what has been discussed so far, as well as indicate the enormity of the task to be confronted. Both have bearing on the area of research.
Bhikhu Parekh (The Concept of Multi-Cultural Education) highlights the mono-cultural orientation in schools and explores the impact of this on the child. His first point is that "...it is unlikely to awaken his curiosity about other societies and cultures either because he is not exposed to them at all or because they are presented in uncomplimentary terms, or both...."

His second is that mono-cultural education is unlikely to develop the faculty of imagination..... which does not develop in a vacuum. It is only when one is exposed to different societies and cultures that one's imagination is stimulated and the consciousness of alternatives becomes an inseparable part of one's ways of thinking. Mono-cultural education, he argues, blots out the awareness of alternatives and restricts imagination. It cannot avoid encouraging the illusion that the limits of one's world are the limits of the world itself, and that the conventional way of doing things is the only natural way.

He further argues that

"mono-cultural education stunts the growth of the critical faculty..... (A child) judges other cultures and societies by the norms and standards derived from its own, and predictably finds them odd and even worthless. And since he judges his society in terms of its own norms, he can never take a genuinely critical attitude to it..... Unable to criticise his society and unable to appreciate alternatives, he can hardly avoid admiring its 'glory' and the
'genius' and the greatness of his 'race', and remains vulnerable to the deadly vice of narcissism" (:23,24).

Given all this, the consequences of mono-cultural education are disturbing. If we are worried about these consequences then we must explore ways of releasing our education system from its mono-cultural prison and become receptive to other cultures.

RACISM

A central characteristic of this area is racism. Indeed Parekh points out that monoculturism provides a fertile ground for racism. Knowing very little about other societies and cultures any responses to them can only be superficial generalisations and stereotypes. When asked why other societies should have remained backward and one's own should be so advanced, the usual tendency is to give a racist explanation.

According to Parekh black children raised on a mono-cultural diet in an English school experience profound self-alienation. "His colour and his affection bind him to his people; the culture he is in the process of acquiring distances them from him." (:26). Contrarily Small The Education of the Black Child: The Myth of Multicultural Education, argues that certain developments of multicultural education directed at black children involving a variety of teaching material representing their own history and culture can be misleading. The question, she asks, is about the quality of both the material and teaching, the aims and objectives of using it and whether they are achievable. The research of her book suggests that, given the historical role of the
school system in Britain, it is not possible to provide black working class children with the means to build a positive self-concept - a requirement which defenders of multicultural education claim is achievable and necessary as a prelude to any attempt to teach basic skills (5 and 6).

There exists a body of literature reflecting a growing awareness of racism as a white problem and an issue for which white people had to take some responsibility. However Neil Ritchie and Mary Marken in Anti-Racist Youth Work 1984, indicate that the responses the Youth Service had made so far to the issue of race relations suggests that the tendency has been to see the problem not as an attitude of the white population but as the presence of a black one (2: 2).

Some aspects of overt racism are familiar to everybody. It is the more pervasive and less visible bit of the iceberg - the insidious and subtle nature of racism - which needs to be addressed. A few individuals who are prejudiced against and who discriminate against black people cannot realistically be blamed for the fact that, to pick only one example, while the number of people unemployed doubled between 1973 and 1980, it quadrupled for black workers. There must be some other explanation.

Ritchie and Marken quote Salmon Rushdie usefully in this context -

"If you want to understand British racism - and without understanding no improvement is possible - it is impossible even to begin to grasp the nature of the beast unless you accept its historical roots; unless you see that 400 years of conquest and
Racism has become a feature of the British way of life. The centuries of believing that white people and their values, beliefs and attitudes are superior to black people and theirs have led to a situation in which a philosophy of race superiority is one of the foundation stones of society. It is a feature of the deep rooted and all-encompassing stranglehold of institutional racism that is rarely acknowledged and seldom challenged. (Ibid. 2:2).

The debate whether racism is a black problem or a white problem is one which is receiving increasing attention, especially with the advent in recent years of anti-racist workshops as part of In-Service Training for those in the teaching or Youth Service professions (Gorringe, *Staff Development in Multicultural Britain*). There is also a view which sees racism as a two-way problem, which states that blacks are/can be equally racist against whites as whites are/can be against blacks. Mike Cole *A Critique of Multicultural Education in Britain*, totally rejects this view since racism (and sexism) implies power. It is white males who are in control of power and resources (9:128).

**DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION**

As has already been indicated the majority/minority issues, manifested
chiefly in racism, are part of a broader concern for the study of cultural differences and similarities both within Britain and elsewhere in the world. One of the most influential initiatives in the field of multicultural curriculum development was that which was fostered and adopted by Jeffcoate *Curriculum Planning in Multiracial Education*, aiming at what he calls the idea of a multiracial curriculum. The foci of this is respect for others and respect for self. Whilst multiracial education is often thought of as relating mainly to minority groups within the UK, it clearly has an international or global dimension. Lynch *Multicultural Education*, suggests "There is much that can be learned from the work of policy-makers, academics and teachers, viewed internationally, which would enrich the way in which pedagogies of multicultural education might be attempted." He lists as his first strategy for the development and the implementation of multicultural education as follows:

*Issues of global, developmental, and international education are an indispensable context for the launching of multicultural education (p. 36).*

Lynch, referring to the paper, *Education in Schools: A Consultative Document*, suggests that perhaps the first time the international dimension was given to the British development of multicultural education was the declaration by the Department of Education and Science in 1977 that:

*Ours is now a multiracial and multicultural country and one in which traditional and social patterns are breaking down. One central example of this is the disappearance of old stereotypes of the*
sexes, based on a traditional division of labour between men and women. Most girls now expect to have jobs as well as bring up a family....

and later....

the education appropriate to our imperial past cannot meet the requirements of a modern Britain.... Nor are young people sufficiently aware of international interdependence of modern countries. Many of our most pressing problems can only be solved internationally..., so our children need to be educated in international understanding as well (Ibid. :58).

Derek Heater (1980) World Studies: Education for International Understanding in Britain has identified factors relating to the development of interest in world studies. In the 1930s and 1950s people were activated by a fear of war and the passionate desire to avoid further outbreaks of it. The changing position of Britain in international affairs had implications for the education of its children. The pluralist society, which has come about in the post war period, has encouraged an interest in a more global interpretation of religious education and other subjects. Heater also looks at an increasing economic dependence of Britain upon other countries and a planetary environmental crisis manifested most clearly in the shortage and distribution of food (:18-20).

The Swann committee, Education for All, The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups, emphasised the universal or global dimension as being necessary in
prescribing a curriculum and that this should be formulated on society and not just community. Education, the report states, should be regarded as serving "not a neighbourhood but a country and, even more, a world of interdependent nations." The emphasis is upon preparation for adult life, rather than the exploration of childhood experience, and the objectives of a good education, the report states, are future-orientated. In stressing this orientation, Swann quotes the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association:

"Pupils from all backgrounds will one day be voting, decision-making citizens whose views will influence public policies which will affect people of all cultural backgrounds. All will contribute to the values of society. It is therefore important that all are made aware of the multicultural nature of British society today, and are encouraged in the attitudes of mutual knowledge, understanding and tolerance which alone can make such a multicultural society a fair and successful one." (paragraph 2.1).

Despite this positive stance on multiculturism, the aspirations of Swann falls short of the World Studies objectives offered by Robin Richardson, cited by Hicks and Towney, which states: "Students should be ready to find aspects of other cultures of value to themselves, for example to learn from them, and to be grateful for them." (34). The Swann Report receives much criticism from other strong advocates of multicultural education such as Watson The Swann Report and Cultural Pluralism: Some Comparative Perspectives on Policy and Practice because the authors failed to explore adequately some of the views the Report advocates.
There was no international evidence used in its research, which is one of its major weaknesses (:71).

A good example where the international or global dimension has been built into the school curriculum is the International and Multicultural Education Programme (IMEP) commissioned by the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (CCC), which operated in Scotland from 1982. This gave the following recommendations in its pilot programme:

Every pupil leaving school should have an understanding of the nature and workings of the world, a world which functions as a system of interconnected parts each vital to the wellbeing of the whole.

Schools should strive to develop skills essential for world citizenship. Pupils should emerge from our schools able to communicate, process information and ask pertinent questions. They should know how to continue to learn on their own and how, when older, to participate effectively in local, regional, national and international affairs. Pupils should be introduced to the process of change and its many manifestations and be able to speculate upon likely developments (social and scientific) influencing the lifestyle of citizens in the late 20th century.

Programmes in IME should imbue all pupils in Scotland with the knowledge and an understanding of the global interdependence of the world's peoples and communities, and the relevance of such relationships to their local and national situation.
For all pupils in Scotland, IME should lead to a recognition and an appreciation of ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural differences, and should aim to assist in the eradication of racism and all other forms of prejudice and discrimination (Dunlop: 39 and 40).

An interesting shorthand definition of development education is given by Craggs, Pennington and Stead as 'learning for change in world society' (Youth in Society February 1987). Over a decade-and-a-half ago Alvin Toffler in Future Shock, commented extensively on the nature of our fast changing world. More recently in The Third Wave, he updates some of his predictions.

Old ways of thinking, old formulations, dogmas and ideologies, no matter how cherished or how useful in the past, no longer fit the facts. The world that is fast emerging from the clash of new values and technologies, new geopolitical relationships, new lifestyles and modes of communication demands wholly new ideas and analogies, classifications and concepts. We cannot cram the embryonic world of tomorrow into yesterday's conventional cubbyholes.

It is difficult to comprehend the nature of those problems commonly associated with Toffler's "future shock" - environmental mismanagement on an unprecedented scale; the impact of sophisticated technology; the divergent economic growth between and within nations; the growing multicultural, multi-ethnic pattern of lifestyle in many countries including Britain, with the associated prejudice this can enkindle. It
is not only the pace of change but the scale which has altered too. The "Global Village" has become a reality (in Dunlop: 41).

According to James Dunlop there are those who recognise the symptoms of a world society in a state of turmoil and which has yet to come to terms with the processes of change. Many have campaigned persistently to have their concerns heard and some have recognised the answer to be in education. Pressure groups have expended much energy in doing so. Unfortunately, in some ways, rival groups do not always perceive the same problems or solutions. Dunlop describes these groups in the following manner.

Some regard the need to promote a new environmentalism as a priority matter; others demand that attention be given to human rights in an unfair world society. There is a growing and substantial support for overdue policies on anti-racism together with the need to celebrate the diversity of the human condition. More people believe that those injustices created by a grossly unfair and worsening distribution of wealth lies at the heart of the matter. Finally, there is another lobby which campaigns for world peace without which all other efforts are rendered worthless. All assume that theirs is a route that will lead in time to a better future. Perhaps all are correct (42).

In an address at the Peace Education Conference at Atlantic College, South Wales (1981), Robin Richardson retold and updated the fable of the blind people who went forth to determine the nature of the elephant. Only in the updated version of the fable, the blind people went forth to
define elephant education. He was able to articulate most effectively, the case for bringing together the various "educations" which were, in England at least, frequently in competition for scarce resources and a place in the formal school curriculum. Amongst the elements he included Development Education, Environmental Education, Human Rights Education, Multicultural Education and Peace Education.

The IMEP pilot scheme chose to adopt a multi-strand interpretation of international and multicultural education and so interwove development, the environment, human rights, multiculturism and peace in an organisational structure aimed at the 9-14 age range.

More recently Greig, Earthrights, identifies four 'educations', development education, humanrights education, environmental education and peace education (interestingly excluding multicultural education) and distinguishes between a narrow and a broad focus for each. She argues that they share relatively few and sometimes no mutual or overlapping concerns at their narrow focus. A purely local or biological approach to environmental education, for instance, has little or nothing in common with studying poverty in the 'Third World' (narrow focus development education) or with studying war and disarmament (narrow focus peace education). At their broad focus, however, there is an extremely marked degree of convergence between the four 'educations' to the point where it becomes difficult to perceive of them as different fields (p.29 and 30). I found this pedagogy useful in my main research as is seen later.
In a seminal article in the *New Era* in 1978, Mary Worrall commented upon examples of actual and potential conflict between the developmental education lobby (with its concern for Third World issues) and protagonists of multi-ethnic education in England and Wales. She wrote that:

> at a level of practical classroom innovation ... it sometimes seems as though these two pressure groups are riding horses going in opposite directions: the first emphasising the achievements of other cultures and ethnic groups, the second stressing the poverty and disadvantage of the Third World poor.

It could be argued that the latter emphasis is often far more powerful, since it is regularly reinforced by the media and corresponds with young people's perceptions. According to Mary Worrall this pathological view of the so-called 'Third World' "can damage the sense of identity and self-esteem of children from the British minority groups."

From this it can be seen that there is concern about the emphasis on the poverty of the 'Third World' (which Greig describes as the narrow focus). A curriculum has to be broader. According to Dunlop it would be incorrect if IME dealt solely with problems, and says, "The reality of the world is much more than the sum of its problems. To be confronted with other social, cultural or historical perspectives opens up the possibility of a deeper understanding of one's own life and society; it adds a sense of relativity and challenges obsolescent attitudes" (Dunlop: 45). The question is whether schools or the Youth Service are sensitive enough to detect the change processes which are
under way on a grand scale and to update their aims and practices to meet them.

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Within the UK many of the recent developments have come from within the field of development education, a term originally used by the national and international voluntary agencies but increasingly being used in education. In Earthrights, Greig shows that development education grew out of the mounting concern of charitable organisations, the churches and the United Nations over 'Third World' poverty. This led, particularly in the 1960's and early 1970's, to courses and course units which focused exclusively upon the plight of chosen 'Third World' countries. From these origins thinking has progressively become much more sophisticated and diversified so that the following perspectives and insights are now all strongly represented in the field:

to understand the level of development in a particular country, the impact of global economic and political systems are also to be studied;

development education is about understanding development processes within and between all countries, rich and poor;
what is appropriate development in one context is not necessarily appropriate in another;

those in the West have much to learn from non-Western perspectives on development;
the 'Third World' is not just a term to describe economically poor nations, but also encompasses areas and groups that have been marginalised by the workings of economic and political systems (e.g. women, the aged, the homeless, the unemployed, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, and poor, remote and uninfluential parts of wealthy countries (:23).

The influential Brandt Report, North-South (1980), with its emphasis upon the interdependent nature of the contemporary world, did much to help quicken the shift from a narrow to a broad focus conception of development education. The following statement drawn up at the National Association of Development Education Centres provides a succinct statement of that broad focus and pinpoints the importance of promoting knowledge, skills and attitudes which will enable individuals better to influence their world.

The objective of development education is to enable us to comprehend and participate in the development of ourselves, our community, our nation and the world.

Such 'comprehension' is gained from an educational process engendering understanding and empathy of the cultures, values and ways of life of other people (both of the local community and of other nations), and providing an overview of the power structures, interdependencies and processes which control development of our community, nation and world.

Such 'participation' is facilitated by an educational process which stimulates creativity, the asking of questions and the belief that everyone has a role to play in bringing about change.
Such 'development' implies change for the betterment of the individual, the society within which the individual exists and the world at large. Development education is not more concerned with the individual than with society; not less; they are two sides of the same coin.

NADEC, 1980 (in Greig : 24, 25 op. cit.)

The often used phrase 'Think globally, act locally' has its roots in the above. Development education, initially with a global focus, also has a national and even local dimension. It can also be said that multicultural education, initially with a national focus, also has a global dimension.

There are many definitions and ideas about the meaning of development education, ranging from teaching about Third World problems, to involving learners in a process which will enable them to become aware of their own attitudes and engender understanding and empathy towards other cultures.

The following two definitions were used in the context of an innovative development education and geography project, Daniels, 'People before Places?' (7) at secondary school level, produced by the Development Education Centre, Birmingham (1985).

The first a United Nations definition of 1975 states

Development education is concerned with issues of human rights, self-reliance, and social justice in both developed and developing countries. It is concerned with the causes of underdevelopment and
the promotion of understanding of what is involved in development, of how different countries go about thinking and undertaking development, and of the reasons for and ways of achieving a new international economic and social order (7).

The second definition quoted by Daniels is from Braun.

Development education is about developing the skills necessary for effective participation in the world;
Skills of recognising one's own values and the influence on these;
Skills of empathy with people in different situations and with different cultures;
Skills of acquiring information and of critical analysis of such information;
Skills of recognising the validity of different points of view;
Skills of forming one's own conclusions;
Skills of recognising the way one relates to the world;
Skills of recognising possibilities for future action;

Development education is, in addition, about developing attitudes which are consistent with living in an inter-dependent world. Clearly, this cannot be achieved by simply telling people what to think. It involves creating opportunities to develop skills which enable them to respond to and question situations as they arise.

(Braun, D. Development Education Centre, 1981)

Over the last decade or more a few bodies have concentrated on providing teacher conference resources and materials to develop the skills of
teachers to meet the requirements within some of these definitions. Multi-strand and multicultural approaches have already been referred to. Three specific documents are mentioned in some detail as these were amongst the first to offer teachers a constructive pedagogy. These are relevant to the research as important examples of ways to promote development education albeit in the formal settings of schools.

First the World Studies Project, which is an activity of the One World Trust, an educational charity based in London, has produced a very helpful teachers resource book *Learning for Change in World Society*. It looks at what could be taught and learnt in secondary schools about world society. In particular, about change in world society.

In answering *why study contemporary world society?*, the authors acknowledge that it is not naturally a part of any main academic subjects traditionally taught to the 12-16 age-range. They suggest three headings under which approaches to this kind of study could be grouped:

- for an informed public opinion
- for individual self-fulfilment
- for participation in social and political change

The task of education, they say, is to equip young people

"with knowledge and attitudes they will need as adult members of society"

"to fulfil themselves as unique individuals...involves respecting the right of others to fulfil themselves also..."

"to reflect critically on the social and political changes taking
place... to acquire the skills and concepts they will require as active agents of change in their own turn." (5).

To decide on *What to study?* the authors identify a topic web which aims to begin to map the content of a course of study in contemporary world society with the following four subdivisions:

**Problems** - four main world problems are referred to - poverty, pollution/depletion, conflict and oppression;

**Action** - action to tackle world society's problems and their causes is initiated not only at the top, by governments, but also at local levels, by individuals and small groups;

**Background** - when looking at the causes of world society's problems it seems important to study both political and economic structures on the one hand and the attitudes and awareness of individuals on the other;

**Values** - when considering values it seems important to look both at views about how society should be organised and at views about the personal needs and self-fulfilment of individuals (7).

Again the connections with other 'educations' are made when they link with 'values', personal values and 'the good society' eg., peace, justice, economic development and ecological balance (7).

The multi-racial or multi-cultural school is itself a vivid resource for learning about the wider world. It can also be argued that many of the problems of the wider world are replicated in miniature in each school, and in each classroom. It is suggested that students can learn a lot
about the origins and resolution of conflict, and about power and
powerlessness, by reflecting on their own immediate situation and
experience. There are also the methods suitable for out of school
occasions - for example games, simulations, exercises, surveys and
drama (19). It is worth noting that some of these methods are those
employed in connection with youth exchange programmes, including the
pilot.

The authors refer to the underlying principles of the appropriate
classroom methods and activities which are expressed in four broad
generalisations, as follows: self-knowledge - knowing about the world
helps to know more about oneself; making an impact - growing competence
to talk and think about the wider world is accompanied by a growing
competence to understand and affect one's own immediate situation;
connections - one's own immediate environment is seen as a window to the
wider world; action and reflection - the two components of learning -
action and reflection. Action may be in reality or simulation, and
local or in the world as a whole. Reflection is thinking back on what
one has learnt, and what to do differently next time (11). The
potential significance that such principles can have on youth exchange
programmes is established in this research.

The second useful resource is *Debate and Decision* by Richardson, Flood
and Fisher, which is basically a handbook for the planning of
conferences or courses for teachers and which equally be used with youth
workers. The conferences are concerned with general fields of
multicultural education, social education, development education, world
studies, political education, education for international studies. It is intended for staff conferences in individual schools; committees and working parties; courses in teachers centres; and residential conferences. Part of the book is also used in initial education of teachers and in sixth form general studies. It can be adapted for inservice courses for social workers, clergy, youth workers, community relations officers, adult education tutors and educational staff of voluntary organisations.

What is attractive about the third resource book *Ideas Into Action* by Fisher and Magee, is the way it helps translate ideas into action. It gives an emphasis on tolerance of other races, religions and ways of life; the interdependence of individuals, groups and nations. Its case studies help give a world perspective in an integrated curriculum. It sees the world in the classroom by making connections with different parts of the world through family origin and products in the classroom; drama from other cultures, sharing knowledge through songs and language.

Some projects referred to include; Worldwide Links, suggesting that direct correspondence gives students a chance to establish real contact with their counterparts from different cultures and environments; Afro-Caribbean event, a three-day celebration with music, dance, film, poetry and practical workshops; Day Conference for Sixth Formers, setting out a phased approach for conference organisation; Tanzanian Exchange, a work and study visit with a year's careful preparation.
There are a number of published reports on school development education projects. Many of these are aimed at the 8 to 13 age bracket, with some of these based on the Planning and Teaching World Studies curriculum projects active in some 30 LEA's which are running their own World Studies in-service courses for teachers.

The above philosophical, contents and methodological approaches to development education have been referred to here as it is believed they contain much which can be applied to the less formal setting of the Youth Service.

YOUTH SERVICE. COMMUNITY LINKING AND YOUTH EXCHANGES

Documentation in the Youth Service on curriculum development generally, and on development education in particular, is slim compared with schools. There are many ad hoc projects documented, some of these focussing on international exchanges. The most authoritative statement on the area of international understanding within the Youth Service is included in the Government sponsored Thompson Report.

This report, 'Experience and Participation: Report of the Review of the Youth Service in England', (1982), gives a clear call for more affirmative action to increase international understanding amongst the young. It makes connections between the lack of global awareness and the manifestation of racism. It refers to "The challenge of a multicultural society" which should counter racism and which "undeniably exists on a wide scale." It suggests that this attitude of antipathy towards fellow citizens is not universal and "is an evil with
potentially disastrous effects both on those who display it and those who suffer it" (6.36). The report calls on the Youth Service to "welcome cultural diversity and to cultivate the outgoing attitude which has been typical of the best traditions of the youth movement" (6.47).

This association between limited international understanding and negative attitudes to people of a different race is significant in the context of the research. From the pilot study racism is identified as a key category which was worthy of research attention in the arena of international youth exchanges.

Overseas linking is an important vehicle for development education and useful papers have been produced by UK One World Linking Association, The Second National Conference for Overseas Linking and Oxfam's 'What is Community Linking?'. This latter paper expresses caution in supporting the idea of linking, while the others are strong advocates. Some of the reasons for this dilemma is addressed in the main study. Community Linking as a whole appears to be on the increase and with youth exchanges being an obvious form of linking it is thought useful to examine such in the context of development education.

The growing interest in linking and twinning contacts with local communities in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America has, up to now, mainly derived from initiatives taken in 'the North'. It was to take into account the issues and priorities from the perspective of the South that a consultation with overseas partners on Community Linking held at Hawkwood College, Stroud in 1986 (Community Linking - What
Overseas Partners Say, (UKOWLA, 1988) took place at the invitation of the United Kingdom One World Linking Association. Very early in the proceedings there was a re-definition of terminology; 'the Third World', for example, was jettisoned and 'the South' and 'the North' were used throughout the discussions. (The refusal to accept the term 'Third World' was a point firmly made by some subjects on one of the research groups).

The difference between twinning and linking was spelt out. 'Twinning' was defined as an official, formal arrangement between two Local Authorities. 'Links' might or might not have official recognition, depending on the local custom and law, but essentially they were seen to be less formal and more autonomous than a twinning arrangement (4 and 5).

There are a variety of reasons why community links are established; these range from the explicit such as promoting friendship and understanding between the peoples of the North and the South - and bringing our communities together to learn acceptance and appreciation of each other. This can be at whatever level the partner groups determine. Some are prepared to look quite deeply at matters of mutual interest.

At present, it seems that a culture of ignorance circumscribes the perceptions and behaviour of most people in the North with regard to life and living in the South. Community Linking - What Overseas Partners Say, states that "this culture of ignorance, which is partly a
legacy of colonialism and partly the effect of education, is a paradox in a situation of information explosion given the 'miracles' of Information Technology. People in the North should want to know, and seek to know about the South, and should be encouraged to look behind and question information promoted by the media" (:24). There was much evidence of this 'culture of ignorance' within the youth exchange programmes researched.

As far as the role of linking is concerned this is summed up as follows:

Linking should help create awareness about the causes of the world's problems and establish a forum for the discussion of possible solutions. The discussion at world and regional assemblies can be replicated in an atmosphere of genuine friendship devoid of rancour, political or ideological considerations (:24).

People to people contacts should encourage study visits, cultural and professional exchanges, seminars, consultations, sports links, etc.

The Conference argued that development education is needed for all people in North and South to know about the global economic and political interdependence which affects their lives. "There is no point in two communities merely linking; the linking of two communities cannot solve the world's problems - there is a need for us to promote a wider education too" (:25).

In order to highlight some pertinent aspects relevant to the research it may be helpful to look at examples of youth exchanges. First it may be helpful to define the term 'international exchange'. One definition is:
"Youth exchanges are not organised just for their own sake. They are a pedological tool, a means to facilitate discovery, intercultural and solidarity learning." (Youth Exchange and the European Communities 1982).

Documentation on occasional projects include some joint initiatives between youth service organisations and aid agencies such as Oxfam and Christian Aid. An example is 'Enterprise 3rd World' by Robinson, which is an experimental youth work project sponsored by the Surrey/Oxfam Youth Trust 1978/79. The aims were to:

stimulate interest in developing countries among young people in Surrey, through the medium of products from the Third World craft industries;

provide an added dimension to youth work in Surrey by establishing local groups to market the craft products, any profits thereby being disposed of in accordance of the groups wishes .

This project encountered some difficulties about young people's participation which are of particular relevance to this research. These evolved around two things; the difficulty in getting the various youth workers to own the project; the inordinate amount of project leaders' time being spent in trying to motivate disinterested young people in the project.

Another occasional project is that reported by Barbara Bond, a youth service project run in collaboration with Leicester Education Authority and The Mayflower School, Ikenne, W. Nigeria.1974/75. Bond's work suggests that through this project an awareness of problems in Africa
would stimulate an increased sensitivity to problems in our own environment, and that this would encourage a greater degree of community involvement in Leicester.

In her study *Unequal Links – A Study of School Linking*, Sheena Vick sets out to investigate and evaluate school linking projects with countries in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean. A survey is undertaken of 28 school links funded by the Commonwealth Youth Exchange Council over a period of four years and an examination of two case studies.

**SOME CRITICISMS**

The findings indicate that while the stated aims and objectives of the majority of school links seek to promote notions of "interdependence", "international understanding" and "challenging racism", in practice they may well be working against such objectives. The study concludes that link projects may well be more likely to perpetuate the inequalities which they claim to be attempting to dismantle (:3). She challenges development education and multicultural projects based on the notion that celebrating of "cultural diversity" will educate away racial prejudices and discriminations. Her study revealed that links did not acknowledge the historical and political context in which they are operating. "Links between two communities... can never be divorced from the historical and political context..., which is seen by people in the UK as being increasingly remote history",...while for people in the Third World "it is not history but everyday life" (:14).
Sheena Vick further argues that the increased awareness of the importance of "world development" and the need for schools to educate their children for a "global community" did not arise out of a newly discovered altruism - but out of the political, institutional and economic relationship between the rich world and the poor world. The Brandt Report "North-South: A programme for survival", 1980, which fails to examine the causes of poverty and hunger in the Third World and to question why Western initiated strategies for development have consistently failed, inadvertently lends support to her argument. So does the 1977 Government Green Paper which states:

"We live in a complex, interdependent world and many of our problems in Britain require international solutions. The curriculum should therefore reflect our need to know more about and understand other countries." (DES 1977)

A pragmatic gesture to win support for the immediate interests of the government and a capitalist economy (20 and 21).

Further points made are that "Global Education" - fails to look at poverty in the rich countries and consequently fails to explore the links between oppressed peoples throughout the world, which in turn forces Global Education to focus on race and racial inequality at the expense of class and gender equalities - focuses on the oppressed rather than on the oppressor, thus obscuring the basic inequalities which exist in the world. Finally Global Education gives negative images of the Third World and of black people - which are further supported by the media and the publicity of the development agencies. Coulter, New Internationalist, also attacks destructive images of this kind (10).
It is likely that this situation will deteriorate with the Government's recent decision to give the go-ahead to Britain's top charities to use TV advertising for fund raising, *The Mail on Sunday*, 3 September 1989.

It is fair to say that many of Vick's concerns are shared by others working in the fields of development education and multiethnic education. In an attempt to counter criticisms of this kind Wilson *International Youth Exchange: An Exercise in Social Education* shows the "tremendous" effect participation in youth exchange programmes, how attitudes have changed, how previously held prejudices are dispelled and international barriers have been broken down. Her project aimed to convince "cynics" who see exchanges as too time consuming, elitist and expensive, of the unique learning experiences that they can offer young people (:1 and 2). Similar reasons are given by White in her study *Educational Visits to the Developing World*, who provides empirical evidence in order to respond to what she describes as "these subjective comments (which have) urged me to write my thesis and provide some answers" (:3). The findings of these and Vick's studies will be used contextually in the main study.

In a similar way I use documentation of other work addressing many of these comments and criticisms. These include contributions by Richardson, Flood and Fisher, Hicks, and Hicks and Towney which have been referred to. Another is a relatively recent handbook by Pike and Selby, *Global Teacher, Global Learner*, which offers challenging resources to facilitators of global education in the context of these concerns. There is also Ronald Higgin's *Plotting Peace* which points to
the significance the role of individuals and small groups can play in bringing about political change in a global context. There appears to have been some recent encouraging progress in learning for change in world society.

PEDAGOGIES

Another recent publication is Arnold's British Charities in Education, which presents a splendid overview of dilemmas facing development educators in respect of appropriate pedagogies and visions. This, together with Greig's Earthrights, is utilised in the conclusions and interpretations of my research.

The significant relevance of development education to British Charities is a matter which Arnold addresses. He presents a number of visions of development education which it will be helpful to explore. First, the "charity" vision of the 'Third World' which aimed to inspire compassion for the poor and suffering is now generally rejected by development educators. The harmful stereotype in which the 'Third World' is presented as ignorant and useless does not take into account what the indigenous people of those countries are doing for themselves. (Arnold :11, Vick, op.cit :10, et al).

Arnold points out that there is little agreement among development educators about an appropriate alternative to the charity vision. The Brandt Report (op.cit) calls for "interdependence" in which the motivating force is enlightened self-interest. This approach attempts to convince the "haves" in both rich and poor nations that it is in
their own interest to move to orderly development. The poor are viewed as active partners rather than just helpless recipients of aid. This trend towards cooperation and interdependence is criticised by some as it does not deal with the exploitation inherent in the present system and the conflictual nature of the relationship between rich and poor (Arnold, op. cit, et al).

Others see development in terms of liberation, in which empowerment is given to the poor so that they can affect structural changes, otherwise little productive development is possible. Under this view expressed by Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and the liberation theologians, solidarity is to be established with the oppressed, including for example, Nicaraguans, black South Africans, and women and minorities throughout the world. An increasing number would also suggest that this empowerment approach is essential for real development as it is equally applicable to rich as well as poor nations. Critics of this view suggest that, as Arnold explains, "it excessively politicizes the debate by introducing controversial and peripheral issues which sidetrack the search for acceptable development solutions by exaggerating the extent to which conflict exists" (:11).

Figure 1 shows where supporters of British Charities stand in relation to the three visions and three categories of pedagogy.
It is difficult to avoid political conflict when opening up a debate on global issues. Most would probably agree that development is a political issue regardless of the vision chosen. Obviously the nearer to the empowerment end of the continuum the greater will be the political sensitivity. How to present the message and at what level becomes problematic. Arnold develops the same model to illustrate the susceptible areas of where supporters of British Charities stand within this political field (see Fig. 2).
A new vision of the world is emerging; a world in which the whole is more than the sum of the parts, a world in which things exist only in relationship with other things, a world which values differences as well as sameness, a world in which the emotional and the spiritual are as real and as important as the rational, a world in which the ability to create is valued more than the ability to destroy, and a world in which we are not in control of nature but are rooted in it. This world view or paradigm resonates within our inner selves and awakens new possibilities (Greig, Earthrights:20).

The above quote calls for an holistic approach to education in which alternative views of the world are considered. This approach does not confine itself to tangible matters but has the capacity to address uncertain aspects of life. It looks to the future with hope rather than despair and it challenges us to prepare young people for informed and effective participation in world society.
David Pepper, Principal Lecturer in Geography at Oxford Polytechnic, has amongst his five aims for a radical curriculum in environmental education the need to criticize conventional wisdoms of our society, which has a world view substantially predicted on the assumption of capitalist ideology and to open students' minds to the existence, validity and viability of 'alternative' world views. Views which are based on, among others, holistic, spiritual and bioethical values (The Basis of a Radical Curriculum in Environmental Education: 67).

In his book A Guide for the Perplexed, Fritz Schumacher emphasises the need for philosophical maps to help in this alternative holistic journey and introduces the idea in the following way:

On a visit to Leningrad some years ago I consulted a map to find out where I was, but I could not make it out. I could see several enormous churches, yet there was no trace of them on the map. When finally an interpreter came to help me, he said: 'We don't show churches on our maps.' Contradicting him I pointed to one that was very clearly marked. 'This is a museum,' he said, 'not what we call a "living church". It is only the living churches we don't show.' It then occurred to Schumacher that this was not the first time he had been given a map that failed to show many of the things he could see right in front of his eyes. All through school and university he had been given maps of life and knowledge on which there was hardly a trace of many of the things that he most cared about and that seemed to him to be of the greatest possible importance for the conduct of his life. "I
remembered that for many years my perplexity was complete; and no interpreter came along and helped me. It remained complete until I ceased to suspect the sanity of my perceptions and began, instead, to suspect the soundness of the maps" (1).

Schumacher goes on to describe how maps of real knowledge, designed for real life, did not show anything except things that allegedly could be proved to exist. The first principle of the philosophical map-makers of the past three hundred years seemed to be 'If in doubt, leave it out', or put it into a museum. Schumacher suggests the reverse, 'If in doubt, show it prominently' and argues that after all, matters that are beyond doubt are, in a sense, dead; they do not constitute a challenge to the living (1).

There is evidence in the literature that consideration of global matters has encouraged greater concern for the spiritual relationship between ourselves and 'mother earth'. In this respect the East is being looked to more and more as an inspirational example. The following helpful account of this is given from a specific Christian viewpoint.

Dom Bede Griffiths, at one time a member of the Benedictine community, and who has spent the last 30 years in India where he lives as a sannyasi, says Christians are being challenged to re-think their religion in the light of Eastern thought, and to discover another dimension of Christianity.

We have to remind ourselves that two-thirds of humanity lives in Asia, and for over ninety per cent of these people Christianity is a
totally alien religion. They have their own religions and their distinctive cultures, which are often far older than those in Europe, and they have developed over the centuries their own systems and philosophy and spirituality, which have a depth of wisdom and insight which is unsurpassed (Christianity in the Light of the East: 3 and 4).

Griffiths acknowledges the challenge Eastern religion gives to Western concepts which are often reinforced by Christian doctrine.

The Western World has lost the sense of the sacred in respect of the whole of creation. Hinduism teaches that God is in all things: God the creator is in every particle and sub-particle of matter, in every human being by his very essence. In Christianity the Holy Trinity is in the whole creation, in every part of it. Oriental doctrine helps us realise an often forgotten aspect of our own Christian faith.

Griffiths goes so far as to suggest that in the Western World we have "desacralised" nature, and as a result of that we are experiencing today the progressive erosion of global ecosystems, where we realise that we may destroy the planet on which we are living. This is, according to Griffiths, due, in part at least, to this sense that the world of nature is separate from god. Taking this argument further we could say that the concept of the world as a machine obeying mathematical laws to be controlled by human beings, which we owe to Descartes and Newton, is modelled on the understanding of the creator God who controls the world
There is a likeable story supporting this notion told by Veronica Legg to illustrate the different approaches to God of Hinduism and Christianity. A local Catholic priest asked the Indian village children "Where is God?" All the Catholic children pointed up: God is in heaven. All the Hindu children pointed to their breasts: God is in the heart (A Letter from India, Resurgence : 19). The point being made is that although the doctrine of 'God within us' is very much a Christian one, it somehow takes second place to the idea of God residing above.

Another connotation is the difference we have in the concept of time: a matter which was detected by various subjects on most of the exchange visits researched. Here again Griffiths' thinking helps. In the oriental tradition time is always conceived to be cyclical. Everything moves in circles. The sun rises and sets, the moon waxes and wanes, Spring is followed by Summer, Autumn by Winter and then returns again. Human life is part of this cycle movement; human beings are born and die and are born again. But in the Christian vision time is not cyclic but linear. The universe has a beginning in time and moves through time to an end (: 9).

I have deliberately concluded this chapter with literature which, although not focused on development education, has considerable holistic merit.
CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH METHOD

The research has been in two stages. The first incorporated the Pilot Case Study which is described in its own separate chapter. A description of the methodology of both stages is given here.

First a brief review of the relevant literature is given in order to explain the reasons for the particular methods employed in the study. During this introduction there are occasional references made to the actual study in order to highlight the methods employed. The attempts over the last decade or more to move away from the dominant quantitative approach to research are described and this is followed by a description of three of these - holistic, responsive and illuminative - with the latter being described more fully because of its appropriateness to the study of the education innovation reported here; development education in the context of youth exchange programmes. Reference is then made to the method employed in a comparable study. The development of the research method and the research strategy is reported which is followed by an examination of the research instruments used in the study.

CHANGES IN RESEARCH METHODS

There have been a number of changes in educational research since the late seventies. Terhart refers to the tendency towards interpretative approaches as a method being transformed into a movement. According to Terhart there is much recognition that a quantitative approach to research, dominated by measurement, variables, and empirical fact has
had to make room for a broader view. In this respect qualitative research techniques such as participant observation and in depth interviewing are respected and regularly employed in the social sciences.

This change in emphasis has not been sudden, partly because of education's historical link with measurement and experimental design. But dependence on qualitative methods for studying various educational issues is growing.

It would be wrong to suggest that the shift to qualitative approaches make quantitative ones obsolete to interpretative research. As Pool points out, "...it should not be assumed that qualitative methods are insightful, and quantitative ones merely mechanical methods of checking hypotheses. The relationship (between quantitative and qualitative) is a circular one; each provides insights on which the other can feed". (Trends in Content Analysis Today: A Summary). There is an interdependent relationship between the two.

The trend towards qualitative or interpretative approaches elsewhere has encouraged an elaboration and refining of methodological instruments or tools, appropriate for this study.

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS

A description of the study groups is given in Chapter 3 (1st Stage) and Chapter 4 (2nd Stage). I give here the criteria for the selection of the subject groups reflecting the desired characteristics necessary to
meet the objectives of the research. This meant having an age range which was mainly between sixteen to twenty five years, participants who were indigenous to this country and therefore predominantly Caucasian and a fairly even gender representation. Exchange groups also reflected a mixture of urban and non-urban backgrounds. The visit was also the first to a 'Third World' country for nearly all the participants.

The exchange visits at both stages had similar objectives which were usually expressed as being cultural events designed to help participants understand better the partner country and it's people as well as to increase their personal confidences.

A COMBINED METHOD APPROACH

A description of a number of traditional approaches is now given which I have adopted. This is followed with a portrayal of 'Illumination as Evaluation' with a rationale for its relevance to my study.

Traditional Approaches

Some of Ralph Ruddock's descriptions of methods Evaluation: A Consideration of Principles and Methods, are helpful in understanding other different approaches.

First is the survey method that has been the main instrument in educational research and probably still is. Much literature has been written about it. It is the essential method of fact-finding and the main instrument of measurement. It is useful in establishing relations
between different processes in education and opening up further questions (Ruddock:46/47).

Second is participation, of which there are three applied forms. These are participative observation, participative research, and participative democracy. Common to all these is the principle that direct involvement brings knowledge and understanding that can never be obtained by external observation or indirect representation.

Participant observation is heavily dependent on the skills and the personality of the researcher. Ruddock claims that its findings cannot claim to be valid in the same sense as can those of some surveys, or as reliable as some experimental methods, because a different participant observer might come back with a quite different account of events. Nevertheless, it is generally claimed to be truer to the social realities under investigation than other methods. Its immediacy, flexibility and comprehensiveness far outreach the possibilities open to measurement and experiment (Ruddock:53/54).

Alternative Approaches
I describe here some alternative approaches which have bearing on the particular methods I employed. In the early 1970's there emerged what was described as the non-traditional approaches to evaluation which were labelled as the "new wave evaluation" (Stenhouse 1975), or "counter movement in evaluation" (House 1973). These approaches included MacDonald's holistic approach, Stake's responsive evaluation and Farlett's and Hamilton's illuminative evaluation.
MacDonald had "become increasingly sceptical of the notion of confining evaluation to the measurement of intention achievement" and he summarises the belief of the holistic approach as follows:

Education is a complex practical activity. Any effort to reduce that complexity to singularistic perspectives tends to distort reality and may mislead those who seek to understand the reality" (MacDonald 1971).

Another approach to evaluation which falls within this 'new wave' category and has relevance to my study is Stake's responsive evaluation. He gives his definition as follows: "An educational evaluation is a 'responsive evaluation' if it orients more directly to programme activities than to programme intents, if it responds to audience requirements for information, and if the different value-perspectives present are referred to in reporting the success of the programme". This is similar to illuminative evaluation which shifts evaluation from being "pre-ordinate" (Stake 1974) to being responsive, in that it does not emphasise definitions of objectives.

The approach to evaluation is descriptive and interpretative. As Stake says, "The educational evaluator's obligation is not to discover the essence of human learning, but to discover the diversity of viewpoints and explanations of what is going on in the school" (Stake 1969). It is in this respect that relevance is made to the methodology used in my research.
ILLUMINATIVE EVALUATION

In some ways both the holistic approach and responsive evaluation could be considered as facets of illuminative evaluation which are primarily concerned with "description and interpretation rather than measurement and prediction". It does not study the educational programme in isolation; that is, it is not concerned with the measurement of "educational products"; it does it in the context of the "learning milieu" (Parlett and Hamilton 1972). It is also client-centred: "It is applied research that concentrates on its 'clients' - used here in a very general way to include groups as diverse as innovators, project participants, advisers, local officials, related professional interest groups, governmental policy makers and other constituencies within or related to the educational system defines as 'target audiences' in particular studies" (Jamieson et al 1977).

The paper Illumination and Evaluation by Malcolm Parlett and David Hamilton was, according to Ruddock, the most cited reference in its field during the '70's. "Attempted measurement of "educational products" is abandoned for intensive study of the programme as a whole: its rationale and evolution, its operations, achievements and difficulties."

Ruddock explains that there are generally three stages to illuminative evaluation: first, observation, further enquiry, attempts to explain; second, a progressive focus on what appear to be key issues, often requiring extended interviews with participants; third, seeking general principles and placing findings within a broader explanatory context.
"The course of the study cannot be predicted in advance....'progressive focussing' permits unique and unpredicted phenomena to be given due weight. Connecting changes in the milieu with intellectual experiences of students is one of the chief concerns for illuminative evaluation" (Ruddock :55).

Limitations of Illuminative Evaluation

In the context of my research one limitation within the illuminative evaluation approach which needs to be explored is its 'objectivity' (see Hudson, Goodson and Parsons 1976). It is criticised because the approach recognises the possibility that different groups and individuals may define educational situations differently. Goodson for example, argues that to rely on data obtained by over-reliance on the investigation of participants' perceptions in short-span interactive situations is " to 'take the problem' (in Seeley's terms, 1966) as 'given' - the evaluator is in danger of locking himself into the 'taken for granted' world of participants and 'the project'."

I believe that any indulgent subjectivity in my study was overcome to a large extent by utilising data from two rounds of interviews, with the second of these six months after visit providing a cross-check against the possibility of subjects' earlier euphoria. The triangulation process of data from the questionnaires and observations also helped to further reduce this risk, as did the objectivity offered by the conceptual framework in Chapter 5 on Interpretation.
A COMPARABLE CASE STUDY

White (op cit) in her case study on the Wiltshire Kenya Link Project, has similar aims to that of this research and uses the theoretical approach of Berger and Luckmann (The Social Construction of Reality, London Penguin, 1966) to utilise the ethnographic account. Two methods were used, the ethnographic account augmented by data from individual diaries, and surveys measuring attitudes (:18). White quotes a description of the ethnographic account method and its application by M. De Le Compt and Judith P. Goetz in 'Ethnography in Education Evaluation', edited by D.M. Fetterman (p.38) 1984, which has relevance to this study:

Ethnographies are analytic descriptions or reconstructions of intact cultural scenes and groups..... The design of ethnographic studies mandates investigatory strategies conducive to cultural reconstruction. First these strategies elicit data that are phenomenological. They represent the World view of the participants being investigated. Second Ethnographic research strategies are empirical and naturalistic. They involve acquisition of first hand, sensory account of phenomena as they occur in real world settings. Third Ethnographic research is holistic. Ethnographers seek to construct descriptions of total phenomena within their various contexts and to generate from these descriptions major variables affecting human behaviour and belief toward the phenomena. Finally Ethnography is multi-modal: ethnographic researchers use a variety of research technologies (:18 and 19).
This approach enabled the perspective of the young people under study to be observed, it allows the acquisition of first hand accounts of the phenomena as they occur in real world settings. The ethnographer participates overtly or covertly in the experience. "One watches what happens, listens to what is said, asks questions, in fact collects whatever data are available to throw light on the issue with which she or he is concerned. The ethnographic account allows one to describe the experience in a flexible way. As events arise and develop, the ethnographic method is versatile enough to record it" (p. 19).

Before and after questionnaires were used by White to monitor any changes in participants' attitudes as regards developing countries and black people in general. In this connection comparison groups were used.

Although White's study was focused on one group's outward visit to a developing country, compared with the variety in this research, it seemed appropriate to employ an adaptation of the ethnographic account method. This was more the case for the 'first stage' when it was possible for the researcher to be a participant observer. The use by White of 'before' and 'after' questionnaires is also a method adopted to good effect in this research. The following is a description of the use of these methods.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RESEARCH METHOD

The first part of this chapter was concerned with reviewing the literature on the relevant research methods and it was shown that an
adaptation of the illuminative and the responsive approaches were used as the major theoretical framework. This part of the chapter deals with the methodology and investigative techniques of the approaches. Various evaluation techniques are described together with how and why they were used. Finally an explanation is given of how the information obtained with the investigative techniques was analysed.

An objective of my study was to explore, describe, analyse and portray the effect that an outward youth exchange programme visit to a 'Third World' country can have on participants' attitudes. In order to do this it was necessary to select, use and develop research tools suitable for the casual and less structured nature of this kind of learning situation.

I looked for an evaluation approach which "is not a standard methodological package, but a general research strategy", which is "both adaptable and eclectic" (Parlett and Hamilton 1972). The following sections describe the research strategy and its methods.

THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

As has already been mentioned, the methodological framework employed during the study was an adaptation of 'Evaluation Illumination' by Parlett and Hamilton (1972).

There are five phases of the evaluation; the first and last are concerned with initiating and reporting the study, while the other three are related to the actual fieldwork. The five phases are: (a) setting
up the evaluation study; (b) open-ended exploration; (c) focused enquiries with emerging issues; (d) interpretation of the information gathered; and (e) the reporting of the study to interested parties. I now describe only the first four of these, as hopefully this Thesis is sufficient manifestation of the last - the reporting of the study.

Setting up the Evaluation

Part of the first stage of the study was used to set up the evaluation. The outward visit of the Youth Exchange Programme to Calcutta, of which I was the leader, was considered appropriate as a case study to serve this first phase for the following reasons:

It offered a naturalistic approach which suites my skills and experience best.

The intimate and informal relationship between myself the group which is implicit in the visit lent itself to observation as a research tool.

It offered pointers for subsequent study including the refining of research instruments.

Attention was paid to the "evaluation contract" (Parlett and Dearden 1977). The reasons for the research, the methods to be used and the value of the subjects' participation, were clearly explained and discussed.

Open-Ended Exploration

As a participant observer on this exchange visit, I was able to familiarise myself with the situation under study. Much information was
gathered through observation and informal talks with participants before, during, and after the exchange visit. In this way a picture was built up of the situation which became more and more comprehensive as the exploration unfolded.

**Focused Enquiries**

The previous exploratory phase was maintained throughout the evaluation study, although perhaps to a lesser degree once a general view had been obtained, in order to be on the alert to issues which may not have come to surface earlier. The second stage was the time when I began to enquire further into those issues and problems which were most frequently raised and considered relatively more important. These focused enquiries developed when I had become knowledgeable on the subject and the problem areas became progressively clarified. At the focused stage the research techniques became more directive and systematic and informal talks and observations were supplemented with formal interviews with particular focused questions.

**Interpretation**

Having gathered, coded, categorised and analysed the data, an interpretation was made. This basically consisted of seeking general principles and patterns which explained the educational programme under study. The information gathered in the previous phases was ordered and organised and preliminary findings were clarified. I did not find it necessary to go back to the field in order to fill in certain gaps in the data or to check on possible alternative interpretations as can be the case with some studies.
Interpretation was at two levels. The first centred on the actual data and was incorporated in the analysis of this. The second was a conceptual framework of interpretation which involved the fusion of Arnold's analytical model of British Charities and a narrow and broad focus paradigm of the selected 'educations'. This adaptation provided stimulation for expanding philosophical and practical proposals for development education in the future.

DESCRIPTION OF EVALUATION TECHNIQUES

The following is concerned with the description of the investigative techniques used. These included: observation (mainly unstructured), interviews (mainly structured), questionnaires (to elucidate opinions and attitudes) and participants' diaries. All these were used during the first stage in an attempt to detect their strengths and weaknesses as well as their appropriateness and applicability at subsequent stages of the investigation. Two sets of interviews (with individuals and pairs) and 'before' and 'after' questionnaires were employed during the second stage.

In practice these research instruments were used for triangulation purposes in order to cross-check the data obtained. These are now described.

Participant Observation

As has already been mentioned participant observation took place during the first stage only. The initial intention was to focus my observation on three separate subjects representing different ages, gender and
educational background. These included a sixteen year old male secondary school student, a twenty year old female in employment and an eighteen year old male 'A' level student. At an early point in the proceedings this structured approach was abandoned as the practical situation did not provide sufficient regular encounters for it to be worthwhile. This was substituted with unstructured observation of the group generally and of individuals on an *ad hoc* basis. Details of the observation process are given in the first stage chapter.

Much of the information obtained through the observation was followed up with further observation and then pursued in student interviews. In this way it provided another kind of evidence, which helped to determine and eventually refine the interview questions necessary to advance the study.

Interviews

Another fundamental technique for evaluation is interviewing. This method allows a broad gathering of opinions, permitting people involved to talk about problems and issues as they see them. Interviews also make it possible to be "responsive" (Stake 1974), since newly stated issues can be followed up, sometimes during the same interview.

The relatively recent reawakening to the advantages of considering as data the verbal reports of subjects is probably best seen in the context of interview research. Of relevance are the examples of interviews in use described by Powney and Watts 'Interviewing in Educational Research'. They show how interviews can be with individuals or groups
and that their nature can vary, as can the format - depending on the situation.

In the 'second stage' study the interviews were often in pairs, which was seen as a development from the 'first stage' when interviews were carried out with individuals only. The pairing provided an added degree of interaction and stimulus, and was an arrangement I as the researcher felt confident in, having greater control of the areas of discussion which the refined focused questions gave. The effect on the analysis of the data that interviewing in pairs had, as compared with single individuals, is dealt with later in this chapter.

Interviews can be open-ended, structured and semi-structured. Open-ended are suitable for obtaining general views. Structured are used to seek factual information or for focussing on previously identified important issues. The type favoured in my research was the semi-structured which allowed the interviewee to talk freely as well as answering to specific questions.

An example extract of an interview is given in the first stage chapter (figure 4). The interview questions of the first stage are given in the same chapter and were used to seek out more factual information and for focussing on previously identified important issues. At the end of that same chapter a rationale is given for the modification of these questions in anticipation of stage two.
Questionnaires

The questionnaires were administered to all subjects. The main contributing factor of the questionnaires was as a supplement to the data obtained from other sources, i.e., observation, participants diaries and interviews. It was necessary to develop and refine the questionnaires relatively quickly owing to the timing of the pilot case study over which I had no control. Two questionnaires were finally chosen for use in the study; one which had been used by another researcher on a similar youth exchange visit, and the other specially designed for this study (see Appendices 1 and 2). With regards to the latter, attention was given to what were thought to be the range of issues and whether a closed or open-ended format was appropriate.

Owing to the comparatively small sample size it was not possible to undertake an intermediate triangulation exercise at the end of Stage 1. Utilising this data therefore was not possible until all the other formal research enquiries had been undertaken, i.e., following the second round of Stage 2 interviews when the 'after' questionnaires were finally completed and collected.

Participants' Diaries

Information in participants diaries is by its nature open-ended. Compared with the other forms of data collected it is the least affected by external influences. Subjects are able to determine the content of their diaries free to some extent from the researchers control. This served the exploration of issues well in the first stage, supplementing
and confirming findings useful to the subsequent development of the research. They provided a preponderance of valuable data.

**Processing the Data**

Having collected the information, finished typing the transcript of the final interview of the study, it was time to analyse the data. Developing coding categories was the first task to be undertaken. As I read through the data, certain words, phrases, patterns of behaviour, subjects' ways of thinking and events were repeated and stood out. Developing coding systems involved several steps: determining coding categories represented in topics and patterns identified through what subjects said. These were then sorted out mechanically, a crucial step in data analysis. Bogod (1982), suggests "Particular research questions and concerns generate certain categories. Certain theoretical approaches and academic disciplines suggest particular coding schemes" (p. 156).

To sort the material mechanically I numbered all the pages sequentially and enmeshed myself in reading through it a number of times. I then began to make preliminary coding categories by using words and phrases which subjects had used. These preliminary codes were assigned numbers. Transcripts and observation notes were then read again and their numbers made into units of data. These were usually paragraphs in the observation notes and interview transcripts. As the research progressed coding categories were modified developed or discarded until a satisfactory set was fixed.
It was imperative to limit codes if useful analysis was to take place. Each category was assigned a number as was each unit. This meant deciding when one unit of data ends and another begins. Some units overlapped and fitted into more than one category which meant that many coding units had more than one coding number against them. I used a combination of methods to sort the data which involved using A4 paper for categorising units and coloured highlight pens for coding these. I found that the analysis continued well into the writing stage.

When all the data had been collected a colleague, who had an understanding and appreciation of the research matter, agreed to help with the melee of dealing with the analysis and interpretation. This willing collaborator had been an assistant leader on the first stage exchange and had figured centrally in subsequent activities resulting from that experience. Being able to discuss with this colleague the essence of the study as well receiving his assistance with the mechanistic coding of the data, proved most beneficial. An arrangement of this kind can be recommended for two reasons; for its contribution to the quality of the analysis; and for the increased motivation it inspires in the researcher when standing on the uncertain threshold of data analysis.

DEVELOPMENT OF TOOLS OF ENQUIRY USED
A strategic approach to the research was obviously needed at an early stage which meant selecting which of the various research instruments were to be employed and the careful consideration of their application. The pilot case study had been used to good effect in helping to focus
down on the research area and to select and develop suitable tools of enquiry.

The role of participant observer was not possible during the second stage in the way it had been on the first stage. Nor was it considered expedient to ask the second stage participants to keep daily diaries. To solicit their help in the form of two separate interviews over a six month period together with the completion of 'before' and 'after' questionnaires was judged the optimum set of requests that could be realistically made under the circumstances.

**Development of the Interviews**

As the primary source of data during Stage 2 came from interviews, I now give an account their use.

During Stage 1 there were a number of group discussions which aided the researcher's role as a participant observer and provided useful data. As there was no function of participant observer in Stage 2 the study was at risk of being deprived of this contribution. As an attempt to compensate for this potential loss, subjects in the second stage were mainly interviewed in pairs. It was anticipated that the pairing would be catalytic in areas that would not be uncovered in a one-to-one interview. In addition it was thought this arrangement was appropriate in view of the circumstances surrounding the interview situation, with quite a number to be undertaken in the relatively short period of time invariably allotted for the purpose. It was also thought that this adaptation would be a valuable addition to the personal interviews. The
difference between the group discussions and the interviews was that in the case of the latter the researcher had greater control of the areas of discussion through the focused questions.

The introduction of interview pairing was successful in some ways as it did stimulate interactions between the interviewees and they appeared to gain in confidence as a result. The drawback was that owing to the pressure of time it was not always possible to foster this rapport to any great extent. The time allowed was about 35 to 40 minutes when interviewing in pairs and 20 to 25 minute for individuals.

Interview Questions
There were some changes to the questions posed for the Stage 2 interviews. In order to make clear its connection with ecological matters, there was a minor modification to the question used in the pilot about the 'environment'. Greater emphasis was given on eliciting the feelings of subjects with a question about what effect the visit had had on them. In the second round an additional final question was posed to ascertain the value of the interview as a means to reflective learning - as there had been some evidence of this on the Stage 1 interviews.

As was the case on the pilot, the aim was to encourage dialogue and by employing a discursive style in the descriptive analysis, enable subjects to do a great deal of speaking for themselves.
Interviewing Conditions

It may be useful to compare the interviewing conditions between the first and second stages. The following are comments about the viability or advantage of the conditions associated with both stages of the research.

On the first stage it was a situation of taking advantage of opportunities as they presented themselves. This meant interviewing subjects on buses and trains or catching a quiet period in some transit hotel. The reason for these circumstances was that interviews had to take place immediately following the two week intensive period of the exchange visit. This intensive period, when participants were staying in homesteads at Calcutta, included the structured educational aspect to the programme, which was the primary focus of the research. Interviews therefore were planned for the final seven days when the group were on tour visiting other parts of India. This arrangement appeared to be the most appropriate under the circumstances and, apart from the obvious disadvantages which are described in the section on the pilot, there were decided dividends in this.

One of these was that there was no time constraint as there was on Stage 2. This created less pressure on the interviewees and provided a situation for them to give deeper consideration in their answers to the research questions - although there was the risk of regurgitation at times.
This favourable situation also provided the interviewer with space to practice the art of eliciting information, through probes and so on, and to refine the interview questions for subsequent use in Stage 2.

The second stage interview situations usually represented what subjects might have considered as traditional and usually took place in a quiet room of an institution. This inadvertently created an atmosphere which, together with the time constraint and the set questions, helped to focus down on the particular and it was rare for anyone to meander.

Administrating the Questionnaires

Two of the 'before' and 'after' questionnaires from the pilot were re-introduced for the Stage 2 for the purpose of triangulation with the analysis from both sets of interviews including those in the first stage (see Appendices Nos. ? and ?).

Administrating the questionnaires was no simple matter. Apart from the logistic problems inevitably associated with both distribution and retrieval, respondents were not always over keen with having to complete them. Whenever it was practical to do so these were completed at the time of the interviews, but owing to difficulties of timing and so on, this was not generally possible. This complication meant that the intended triangulation of this data was delayed until relatively late in the analytical proceedings.

The supplementary data provided confirmation of much of the findings in the remainder of the study and as such the questionnaires proved to be a
valuable research instrument. In particular it highlighted the restricted nature of the youth exchange programmes in not challenging some of the attitudes of subjects on their ethnocentricity and covert racism - some of the areas which this research identifies as needing to be addressed if such exchange visits are to be really beneficial.

Collecting the Data

As has been seen there were five groups who agreed to participate in the second stage of the study. Group leaders were, on the whole, eager to facilitate where they could as they appeared to appreciate the potential value that such research work would offer the participants.

Collecting the data however was not without its frustrations. One joint exchange programme organised under the auspices of the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme involving two schools (a Boys and a Girls), presented difficulties with the Girls school subjects being withdrawn from the research study because of parents' objections to questions on racism.

The experience of collecting data from the other exchange groups was less harasing. The only one to present particular difficulties was that which visited Nigeria. This was a Methodist sponsored party which recruited participants from various parts of the country; from as far apart as Birmingham and Southampton. This resulted in logistical problems concerning meeting arrangements needed for introduction purposes and for interviews. Their orientation sessions had been completed shortly before they had been identified for the research. The only opportunity to meet was to join them at Heathrow Airport shortly
before their departure — not the most accommodating setting to achieve the objectives in hand, but this arrangement was the best that circumstances would permit. Despite the obvious limitations of these arrangements they were felt to be better than not being able to meet at all prior to their departure. It appeared to ease my subsequent access for interviews and at least ensured the completion of the first set of questionnaires. Soon after the groups return home interviews took place at Hull where they were had a debriefing weekend. Unfortunately plans for follow-up interviews intended six months later were aborted as there were no further gatherings owing to the dispersive geographical nature of the group. Nevertheless the data gained from this nationally organised church group was particularly rewarding.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I first set out to describe the different methodological approaches and starting from an historical perspective presented a rationale for using a combination of 'new research paradigms' which are holistic, responsive, descriptive and interpretative.

The reflective nature of my approach was derived mainly from the illuminative evaluation method which enabled the more dominant research instruments to be supplemented by survey-type questionnaires to sustain and qualify other tentative findings. It also facilitated the observation phase to be a vehicle for interpretative comments on both manifested and latent features, which was particularly productive during the first stage. This way it provided additional information which was not apparent or forthcoming from the formal interviews. Being a
participant observer on the first stage certainly augmented this process.

As the initial part of the study continued and as it focused on selected salient issues arising, the research area was able to progress onto Stage 2.

The major research tool employed in this study was the interview. Unusually for a study at this level, it has been possible to set out to interview twice every participant of the five selected study groups. Not being a straightforward study, open-ended and discursive forms of interview were used.

The choice and administration of the questionnaires took place at a relatively early point and continued through to the end. This over-early introduction meant that some questions would inevitably become superfluous by analysis time, owing to the progressive 'focussing down' nature of the research. Nevertheless the selected questions provided valuable data for the purpose of triangulation. There was evidence that a few recipients regarded some questions as intrusive and others as trivial. This could account for the non-respondents.

A methodological approach in a study of this nature is unlikely to be straightforward. I needed not only a technical and intellectual capability, but also to bring into play interpersonal skills. Tact, a sense of responsibility and confidentiality, were necessary throughout. Only in this way could I be successful in retaining the viability and
integrity of my research position and the trust of the participants in the programme. This required my being open about the aims of my study which I felt was necessary to explain, not only to groups at the point of introduction, but also at the beginning of each interview at both rounds.
CHAPTER 3: FIRST STAGE
(INCLUDING PILOT CASE STUDY)

PROPOSED FRAMEWORK

At an early point in the studies a framework was proposed which was somewhat over ambitious for the intended research. This not only covered the foci of the Pilot and main studies, it also ventured to include investigations into development education programmes in selected Local Education Authorities as well as some action research, or case study, with a non-equivalent control group.

Although, after consultation with others, these last two suggestions were quickly discarded as being too ambitious an undertaking, it may be helpful to explain the purpose of the intended enquiries with the LEA's as this puts into context the area of study finally identified.

The intention was to discover from the planners of such programmes the common and variable factors within a development education programme that results in 'good practice'. It was thought necessary to break this down to such questions as:

- Is there an LEA policy on development education?
- Are programmes part of a clearly defined curriculum or are they ad hoc?
- In what ways are development education programmes encouraged?
- How are such programmes developed?
- Are the objectives clearly defined and are they being met?
The plan was to direct the enquiries onto two different Local Authorities. The rationale being to examine development education in respect of local communities here at home as well as 'out there' in the 'Third World'. When this area was abandoned, focus was then transferred to the remaining selected areas, with the Pilot Case Study the being first aspect to promote.

It could be conjectured that a proposal with such a broad dimension is a symptom of the anxiety associated with a lack of confidence at this early juncture. In fact it was only by becoming more self assured through the experience of actually engaging with the research work that focussing in a realistic way became possible.
The initial wide proposal includes the LEA Research which was subsequently rejected (right column).
THE FIRST STAGE CASE STUDY

I first set out to use as a Pilot an already arranged educational youth visit to India. The considerable data which resulted from this has made it much more than a Pilot - in fact it became an important 'first stage' providing some clear indications of areas which are contextual to my focused research. The data analysis has shown the need for an holistic perspective if development education is to be properly understood, for instance, the revelation that when considering development education it is important to make connections with other 'educations' such as anti-racism and environmental.

RESEARCH METHOD

The Pilot Case study was undertaken in December 1987/January 1988 and involved a group of twelve young people on the outward visit to India as part of a youth exchange programme. I give below an analysis of interviews, observations and participants diaries. It is, however, necessary for me to describe some of the pertinent factors in order to show some logic to the direction my research has since taken.

The Pilot was used to focus down on the research area, to decide on information needed, and to select and develop tools of enquiry.

One purpose of the data collection has been to encourage dialogue through interviews with participants and the intention was to triangulate data from these and the other research tools with 'before' and 'after' questionnaires. These were to test if the visit had made any obvious difference to their attitudes. It transpired that the
sample data from the questionnaires was insufficient for analysis to validate the intended triangulation so this idea was abandoned. Instead this data has been included for analysis and interpretation together with the data from the questionnaires in the main study.

Participants were interviewed twice, the first time in India, after the intensive programme period in Calcutta, and the second time six months after their return home. At the end of this Chapter I give an initial account of my second round of interviews and the refined questions used.

As mentioned above, this early part of the research soon changed from being a 'pilot'. Owing to its comparative elaborate nature and the quality/quantity of data it produced, it soon progressed into a 'first stage' study. I shall refer to it as such from here on.

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS, OBSERVATIONS AND DIARIES

The timing of this first stage was not entirely by design, as my visit to India was already planned some two years previously, before I had become committed to undertake this research. It took place very early in my research programme - some three months after commencement. Despite the obvious problems that hurried preparation of creating research tools presented this proved expedient as considerable benefit resulted through being thrown in at the deep end. I became quickly enmeshed with much of the emotional and intellectual reality of the participants and began to understand what Tony Gibson meant when he said that you become 'articulate' through experience and practice (People Power: 76). As a result of this 'first stage' I was certainly in a more
confident position to make connections between the various components that go to make up the divergent nature of such a visit.

This Youth Exchange came about following advance visits; to England by the Director of the National Service Scheme; to India by myself as the local Area Youth Officer - to plan a programme suitable for our respective parties. The 'first stage' Case Study consisted of the three-and-a-half week formal visit to India, centred mainly in Calcutta. I give below some relevant characteristics of the subjects.

The subjects were twelve young adults (16 to 25 years old) recruited mainly from the Buckinghamshire County Council, Beaconsfield/Chiltern Education Area. I was the leader of the group.

The proportion of the sample who were in full-time education and the balance of older and younger members is shown in the following tabulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ages</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>College</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the twelve subjects, six where recruited from the local Youth Service, and of these four were known to the organisers, with the
remainder responding to a general invitation through schools and the local Press.

The stated objectives of this visit were to:
- provide an opportunity for young people to share and meet with another culture;
- gain experience of 'appropriate technology';
- give an international dimension to youth work;
- act as a catalyst for subsequent activities.

These were too broad for the purpose of my study so in order to make optimum use of this visit I focused down on questions to measure participants:
- sensitivity to traditional Indian values and customs
- increased understanding of India's self-sufficiency
- increased awareness of own prejudices
- understanding of the significance of appropriate technology
- understanding of the importance of caring for the environment
- ability to make connections between India's problems and our own
- self-reliance

The instruments employed for the first stage included my being a participant observer, interviewing subjects immediately following the intensive part of the programme based in Calcutta and the study of participants diaries. The questionnaires, as already mentioned, were administered at this stage but not used in its analysis.
In practice being a participant observer was more difficult than I had imagined. The biggest obstacle was to handle at the same time the exacting function of group leader. The over-tiredness resulting from a demanding programme which our hosts had prepared for us gave little opportunity to be as thorough with recordings as I would have liked. My intention to focus on three members of the group did not work out owing to the fact that during the intensive programme in Calcutta it was only intermittently that my path crossed with the three I chose. I soon abandoned attempts to focus this way and instead concentrated on the regular group discussions and ad hoc observations.

One significant focus of discussion concerned the difficulties participants had in understanding the 'Indian English' of their hosts and others, and their response to the suggestion that this was connected with their own deep rooted racism. Some group members were skilled at eliciting this kind of learning which meant that I was reasonably free in my role as participant observer. The agreement by participants to 'chair' the sessions also facilitated this role. My other observations were of the simulation exercises, occasional incidents, and many conversations in which I was involved or witnessed. Examples of these are referred to later. The group was aware of the nature of my research from the outset and I had no difficulty in making written recordings of pertinent points at each session. These were transferred on to a tape recording at the end of the day as were any other observations, and transcribed after my return home. Examples of my recorded observations are given later as part of my descriptive analysis.
Interviews

I undertook individual interviews with group members during the latter part of their stay in India. Interviews were recorded directly into a pocket size dictation machine.

There were a number of difficulties ranging from trying to find space and time in a busy schedule to fitting them in when people felt well enough to be confronted with an interview. Ill health and fatigue affected many during the visit including myself at times. I had planned to interview on some of the long train journeys (one was over 24 hours long) and although I did quite a few this way, it was not as easy as I had imagined. There were constant interruptions on trains by noisy hawkers, beggars and entertainers throughout the day and into the night. Despite all this 'local colour' interviews were constructive to me as the researcher and, as I was to learn later, positively illuminating to the subjects themselves. Other situations were on bumpy bus journeys and in various hotels when an odd quiet half-hour or so could be found. Despite these constraints interviewees responded favourably and with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Only one expressed any apprehension - an 18 year old quiet girl who, interestingly, was last to be interviewed.

I asked the same (or similar) semi open-ended questions of them all. These were:

- "What do you consider to have been beneficial or valuable?"
- "What did you find disturbing or difficult?"
- "What comments would you like to make about about being a member of the group and about the group generally?"
"Is there anything you would like to say about the visit as a whole?"

Some members were of course more elaborate in their comments than others and needed few prompts. Others needed a couple of supplementary questions to help them focus their responses in a constructive way. These additional questions usually dealt with areas of discovered learning, attitude challenge, or about the effect the group might have had on their learning.

**Questionnaires**

I have already explained the reason for the omission of analysis from the questionnaires at the first stage. Three different questionnaires were administered shortly before the subjects departed for India and again soon after their return home (Appendices 1 and 2). Two of these were deemed appropriate for use in the second stage of the research.

**Diaries**

Subjects were asked to keep a daily diary. They were given careful preparation about the nature and usefulness of this to my research and were handed notes for guidance (Appendix 3). Basically they were asked to write about their feelings and to avoid trivial detail about time and place. Although not all diaries were fully kept they each provided valuable data, some a preponderance of such. Most found the exercise rewarding despite experiencing difficulty in finding the time and convenience - which I refer to later.
SOME LIMITATIONS OF THE METHOD

The rationale for the first stage visit rests heavily on the notion that participants' attitudes will change positively as regards 'Third World' countries and Asian/black people in general. The method of using questionnaires and participants' diaries has some disadvantages which need to be mentioned.

The first concerns the case study population. The participants may be attracted to the Project because they are already predisposed to this way of thinking.

The second is the very act of monitoring attitudes has its problems. For example, do the answers reflect an attempt to please the researcher who is also the organiser to enable participation in the Project? Is there a suppression of true attitude because they know they shouldn't say it? How does the leader's personality influence how subjects respond? Does the role of youth worker cause a conflict? I do not intend to isolate these questions because it is a 'natural experiment' and it is not possible to control for everything.

With these apparent limitations, these two research instruments were employed.

CATEGORIES

From the preponderance of data collected the following initial categories were determined:

1) programme, 2) Indian culture, 3) families, 4) communication,
5) poverty, 6) tourist aspect, 7) food and ill health, 8) urban life, 9) rural life, 10) challenge, 11) learning point, 12) institutions, 13) self-help, 14) difficulties, 15) group, 16) comparison with home/UK, 17) subsequent action and 18) spirituality.

It was eventually possible to condense the data from these categories down to a manageable seven by a process of focussing down on key areas mentioned. These were:

family, communication, poverty, institutions, difficulties, self-help and the group.

The example of coded fieldnotes (Figure 4) indicates the method of coding I used.

There was considerable data about Indian culture, relevant aspects of which I have incorporated under the seven chosen headings.

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

There are four basic reasons for selecting extracts from my data - validity, typicality, relevance and clarity. I use extensive quotation - subjects do a great deal of speaking for themselves. The categories are theirs. By presenting a sample from my records I have tried to give a descriptive account organised round certain features which have value in its own right.

The Family

One very important facet of the visit was for the young people to stay
FIGURE 4

TRANSCRIPT OF INTERVIEW WITH A YOUNG MAN OF NINETEEN

WHAT DID YOU FIND BENEFICIAL OR VALUABLE?

3 The Indian people themselves. When we were with the families we
11 would discuss topics and we would get on naturally as normal people
4 do. To discover the close family network and to experience it has
2 changed my attitudes towards families as a whole. Before I was
3 much more an individualist. What I mean by individualist is that I
11 am more prepared to look towards my own needs rather than to look
16 towards the family as a whole. The family would give me help when I
13 need it. The family is something now which I understand a lot more
10 I think I need a lot more which I never realised before. They can
11 help you out a lot more and if you are an individualist by doing
11 your own thing and not taking notice of what other people say within
10 your own family then I think you are going to be left up the creek.
10 I think that is one really beneficial thing I have learnt from the
11 families.

Code Translations

2 = Indian culture 11 = learning point
3 = family 13 = self-help
4 = communication 16 = comparison with home/UK
10 = challenge
with families. This was achieved in the majority of cases but three young men were billeted together in a flat with two young Indian hosts who had acquired the flat specially for the purpose.

The family situation featured prominently in most of the interviews, diaries and group discussions. Nine highlighted the benefits of being with hosts which included all but one who were with families and one in the flat. Of the three not to do so, one was sharing his homestead with another group member and was having difficulties. The other two were at the 'bachelors' flat.

As staying with families was such an important and substantial part of the designed programme I feel it is necessary to try to determine in what way this particular experience was beneficial and what were the difficulties.

First it is necessary to point out that the allocation of participants to families was done entirely by the host organisers from a list sent to them with a few personal details of the individuals.

This prescribed arrangement had profound results because of the impact of the overwhelming kindness on the one hand and the challenge to participants to adjust their attitudes on the other. This paradox of experience was the topic of discussion after about seven days into the stay. Some were struggling to come to terms with their hosts' over protection. One girl explains in her diary:

My hosts seem to be very protective and want to treat us as part of
the family - which is a lovely situation first of all. We call each other brother and sister, that's what they want us to do. But after a while they seem to want to smother us and keep us in their homes and not let us go out to visit other places.

This girl shared the home with the boy who expressed most difficulty in the family situation. Another girl said in her interview that living with families made you appreciate what the real people are like compared with the hassle experienced in the tourist area of India. One young man recorded how fortunate he was to have a loving and caring family as his hosts. Rationalising this antipathy is probably best summed up by the feelings expressed at a group meeting - that it is an Indian culture we have come to savour. The Indians treat all their guests with admirable hospitality, so we, in the position of guests, should accept the different culture more positively - see it more as a rewarding challenge. This point was generally agreed with but some took longer than others to assimilate it.

Another advantage of staying with families was the occasion it gave to discussing topics, to discovering the nature of close family networks, arranged marriages, attitudes to morals, religion and spirituality generally. These discussions were also shared with hosts friends and relatives thereby involving quite a number of different people. Six of the group spoke positively about arranged marriages as a result of what they witnessed. One older group member had problems in this respect, as he did with the position of women in India generally. In the interview he acknowledged he had some very harsh judgements and intolerance of certain Indian customs which he confesses he makes "...without really
understanding too much of how women fit into an Indian culture." Making judgements by our western values was a recurring manifestation.

The usefulness of such exchanges of ideas was reflected in the comparisons the group made with their own culture. One 18 year old said that the family was something now which he understood and appreciated much more. A 23 year old said that living with a different race of people at close hand has given him a chance to put his own life and views into perspective. Some went further saying that the understanding gained will directly affect their future behaviour: "Knowing about the complexities of Indian society, races, cultures and problems associated, I can examine why they do things and adapt my behaviour and what I say accordingly. I feel I can get a bit closer to the Amiens in our culture now."

There seemed to be other signs that the majority were beginning to be philosophical about things they had difficulty in understanding. For instance their uncomfortable feelings about their hosts apparent uncaring attitudes to the poor, which evolved from initial judgement to a kind of acceptance. One diary entry states, "This could be part of their defence mechanism to cope" and "although it may seem hypocritical that they don't give to beggars, on the one hand they are trying hard to improve the rural economy."

A particular enigma identified by two participants was a seeming vicarious pleasure some of the hosts got from watching their guests enjoying themselves.
In his interview the youngest member of the group expressed some difficulty with family life. He felt overwhelmed in so many ways. He felt his host was trying to get as much out of him as he could, such as using him to get a job in England. Another difficulty he identified was that they would interpret how you felt from your facial expression. "They seemed to know exactly how you are feeling - so you had to put on a false face. Difficult to do when you are tired and especially when you are ill." He said that he didn't think his attitudes had changed because "...he liked some Indians in England and didn't like others". It is fair to point out that the home he shared had with another group member was probably the most extreme, physically and culturally, and presented both with problems.

The three who stayed in the flat, not being exposed to a full family life, seemed to have missed out as a result as in their interviews and diaries they make no mention of family related issues. They were able to discuss issues with their contemporary Indian hosts but these seemed less engaging than the others staying with families.

The challenge that living with families offers would seem to be undisputed. Even in the most adverse situation learning took place. The paradoxical circumstances stimulated the learning process by questioning some preconceived opinions. The opportunity to focus on topics at depth was another significant feature. The ability of the group to make connections with their own culture and traditions was impressive as was the determination of some to modify their opinions and behaviour as a consequence.
Communication

Communication appears to affect every aspect of Indian life. It was one of the main matters to cause contention for the group, as well as the most enjoyable. 'Indian English' was initially only part-understood but became easier as their ears became attuned - as one diary states:

Communication was hard at first but I generally got more relaxed and took time to listen.

At a group discussion on the eighth day in Calcutta there was evidence of discord between some members. It was felt by a few that the problem of communication tended to be exaggerated, maybe through our own arrogance in expecting Indians to understand every word we said and visa-verse. After all for many of them, English is their second or even third or fourth language. But it could not be denied that a communication gap did exist:

I found that on many occasions it was difficult to make them understand that I did not know what they were saying and visa-verse.

I would have to say over and over again "Yes, OK, I understand" or "Yes. I would like a drink."

A few thought that some of the frequent language difficulties were not due to a breakdown in verbal communication but, in part at least, to a lack of understanding of the Indian way of thinking. This was not an easy interpretation for one or two to accept as it hints at a cultural arrogance on our part.

It must be said that all the group were impressed with the prodigious friendliness of people to be found everywhere - nowhere more than when travelling on long train journeys. Every group member was affected by
this ability of Indian people to be friendly and for there to be no apparent barriers. "The whole social fabric seems to revolve around everybody speaking to everybody else."

Despite this favourable impression three of the group spoke about the problem of 'one way' communication. One commented in his interview:

They are not really interested in our response to their conversation or our point of view. Appreciating somebody else's viewpoint, listening respectfully to them and comparing life-styles doesn't always seem to be part of the Indian way.

Although communication presented some obstacles it did provide a number of challenges which stimulated group members to examine the possibility that the problem was more their own than that of the indigenous community. An acknowledged learning point for most of the group. It is interesting to note that with the benefit of experiencing both parts of the exchange, some of the participants were able to question that in a similar way, some of the so-called 'black problems' in our own country were really white problems. I deal with this in the main study.

Poverty
The group had an expectation that they would see a great deal of poverty, especially in Calcutta, because of what they had previously heard about India. It was tricky not to overemphasize the aspect of poverty during preparation but necessary to provide them with some understanding of what to expect. This became a contentious issue towards the end of the intensive period in Calcutta. At the early stages all commented on the beggars and what shocked them most were "The
ones with broken limbs or deformities who have sometimes been mutilated deliberately as babies." They expected Calcutta to be worse than Delhi and were surprised at the apparent lack of squalor to be seen on arrival at Howrah Railway Station.

There were two particular characteristics of their experience which made the group feel uneasy. First, how quickly they became indifferent to the suffering around them:

It's strange but I thought the poverty and deformed beggars would have an effect on me, but it doesn't.

Some situations were impossible not to find humorous, as a twenty five year old relates in his diary:

I was walking away from an entourage of begging kids when I heard a man's voice - "Hello Sahib" and I saw a bloke without any legs belting down the street on a skateboard, a big smile on his face. I thought, Hell, what is going on? It was like a scene from a druggy, weird cartoon. It made me laugh, but not mirthful laughter because you can't at something like that. All the naked beggar kids scrambling for scraps of food, an old bloke with no legs and me with 500 rupees and a silver earring in my pocket. It's tragic but it's also funny.

Their own responses were not only what disturbed the group. The responses of their hosts to the assailing deprivation also perturbed them. In an interview one girl said "Talking to my host, she didn't feel anything for the poor here who have to really struggle to survive.
That got to me because she was middle class, had a comfortable life but couldn’t care two hoots about the poverty surrounding her.” She was able to rationalise things however by adding that there are two or more sides. “There are a lot of different view points to consider in everything.”

The group were impressed with the programmed visit to Mother Teresa’s Home for the Dying and Destitute, which was evident from the diaries. “Walking into the grounds and leaving the immediate slums the caring atmosphere almost hit me.” Speaking with patients and staff proved to be informative and emotional. “I was interested to know that every religion is accepted. Another good thing is that a dying person is cared for until he or she dies, be it eight days or eight years.” One young man mentioned the great joy it was to be there as well as very sad. “It was a very challenging time and for myself very hard not to hold back a few tears.”

Not only were the group impressed with the work going on in this and other projects they visited they also felt positively about the slum dwellers. They remarked how they all seemed to have such vitality for life even if they are on the bread-line and about the caring atmosphere of the slums:

“Everyone there looked so happy ....I actually felt a sense of admiration and understanding for these people who were doing something for themselves, unlike the beggars who don’t.”

Understanding something about urban deprivation was relatively easy as the group spent much of the time in Calcutta. Here impoverishment was
clearly represented by the obvious squalor. They spent three days (including one overnight stay) visiting rural communities with the intention of seeing village life. No overt reference was made in interviews or diaries about rural poverty other than that there had been repeated bad harvests due to lack of rain. In conversations few made the connection between failing crops and poverty. One who did summed it up by recording "It is hard to believe the poverty and hardship the people are facing when village life is so peaceful." This inability to recognise the straitened circumstances in the villages could have something to do with our being conditioned through the Western media of famine stricken rural Africa with pot-bellied, skinny people qualifying as 'poor'.

Near the end of our stay in Calcutta a few of the hosts joined us at an evaluation meeting and one of them expressed his confusion over what our objectives in coming to India actually were. He had the impression, and he admitted he may have been wrong, that we had come to see the deprivation and the poverty in India (expressed in the slums of Calcutta) rather than to learn at first hand their culture and ways of life and to gain benefits by applying some of what we have learnt to our own lives. This impression, it was felt, had been given because we had laid too much emphasis on wanting to see the slums which might have blinded us to the overall objectives. It was suggested to our host that the reasoning behind our desire to see the slums was a necessary one as they are part of India and we ought therefore to see them. Not to do so would make it impossible to have an objective view of India. One group member stated that he found it very disturbing and difficult to cope
with the idea of us going to see examples of poverty and so on as he felt very voyeuristic and prying. "I was very conscious of coming from one of the richest countries in the world." From an organiser's point of view I was unsure how much emphasis should be given to this feature of India. In the end I left it up to our hosts to determine this having foreseen possible conflict in this respect. I think they got it about right. It was only the additional requests by a few group members to visit slums that triggered the criticism. It is interesting to note that the young hosts who made the criticism had never themselves been to a slum and that subsequent to their visit with our group they have continued their contact with the people they met in the slum through a special project they have initiated.

Institutions

Much of the challenge of learning identified by individual encounters and reinforced subsequently by group discussion was around individuals and families. Many of the group appeared to make good progress in coming to terms with these as already mentioned. The same cannot be said about their learning when applied to experiences at institutions, such as colleges, universities and projects with a strong philosophical of religious bias and when their objectives are not clearly seen. (This does not include projects in the slums and Mother Teresa's as the practical side of these can clearly be seen). The following extract from a group member's diary of a visit to Santinekton University some 60 Kms outside Calcutta, sets the scene of such a visit:

This alternative university was founded by the famous Nobel Prize Winner - Rabindranath Tagora, who was dissatisfied with the formal
style of education and wanted to have a much more participative and creative form of education. So instead of a restricted lecture to students behind wooden desks in a stuffy classroom, he introduced open air seminars, discussions and lectures beneath the leafy boughs of the local trees. ... He named his institute 'SANTINEKITON' which means 'home of peace'.

Because of the unusual nature of this institution it was difficult for most of the group to easily understand what it was all about. As with other earlier experiences things evolved and we eventually became more enlightened. This was a slow process which gave rise to some impatience and frustration on the part of some participants. I quote from my observation notes:

We were taken to a meeting hall where we were met by fifty or so students who sang welcome songs (in Bengali) and gave welcome speeches. We reciprocated by my giving an initial response and some of our group and their students sharing some ideas about drug education and abuse, making comparisons between Calcutta and the U.K. The topic was virtually plucked out of the air and chosen by them as a result of a casual conversation I and a student had had while walking towards the meeting hall. An unexpected guest joined us part way through the proceedings, the Judge of the Supreme Court of India. As is the Indian way he was invited to contribute some comments on the topic of discussion, which he did, obviously from the top of his head as he, like us, had no idea beforehand what the subject was. Some of the group afterwards expressed amazement at the proceedings, one adding a flippant comment about peoples ability to "waffle on about nothing at all".
The rest of the twenty four hours visit gave rise to similar difficulties. It is probably fair to point out that all the group were tired and some were suffering from stomach upsets. In retrospect the group appeared to value the visit as interviews and diary entries indicate this. However like so many experiences in India the Westerner has difficulty in immediately understanding and in giving a spontaneous response. A girl in her interview said:

I found that when we were together with the Indian students they were always very interested in everything and showed their emotions very well. I found it difficult to show that I was grateful or that I was enjoying myself as much as they were. They seemed to show it so much and we seemed much more laid back about it. I felt a bit embarrassed about this real strong difference between our expressions.

Indians welcome positive responses, therefore the passiveness of our group made it more than marginally awkward on a number of occasions.

The above is some of the evidence of the invidious situation the group sometimes found itself in. One member, who earlier on had expressed considerable sensitivity about the problems associated with verbal communication (previously referred to) and was instrumental in helping the group come to terms with it, manifested incredible irritation where institutions were concerned. In his interview he was able to recognise that he had been negative about a number of things going on about him in India. In fact dealing with formal situations did not come easy to the group as a whole.
Difficulties

India is not an easy country to visit, even as an ordinary tourist. If you are part of an organised arrangement, when extra demands are made, then you are likely to experience inconveniences at relationship and attitudinal levels as well as at a physical one. Some of the difficulties I have mentioned elsewhere, whether implicitly or explicitly. Here are others worth recording.

The fatigue resulting from a full programme and stomach upsets (unavoidable to most Westerners in India) affected every participant to some degree. Two had to opt out of the programme in Calcutta for a couple of days and two others missed an odd day because of illness. Most diaries referred to feeling tired and having to keep going. Even after the days programme had finished they had to travel by public transport across Calcutta in heavy traffic and then be 'entertained' by over attentive hosts. "They seem to smother you and they don't let you have any time to yourself. When I came to write my diary in the evenings they sat around waiting for me to go to bed." The Indian custom of rising very early did not help matters either. One group member reflected that he reacted negatively to long monologue conversations by one of the hosts. "Then back to my hosts for cold veg, a cup of tea and a lecture." This was extra wearisome when it was hard at times to understand what was being said.

Away from Calcutta, particularly in Agra and Jaipur, most found it difficult to trust the shopkeepers and were irritated by the continual hassle at the tourist spots from hawkers and rickshaw wallahs. A girl
commented in her interview:

In Agra and Jaipur the only Indian people we really talked to or came across were trying to sell us something and it is always a battle between them and us and you don't get an idea what the real people are like at all. Whilst living with families you actually appreciate what the real people are like.

In planning the visit it was deliberately arranged for participants to have homestead experience in Calcutta as early as possible in order to create positive attitudes of Indian people before exposure to the trying tourist triangle of Delhi, Agra and Jaipur. The reaction to the hassle at tourist spots strongly suggests that without the period with the families they would have had a much less favourable impression of the Indian people.

Other difficulties mentioned were the pollution in Calcutta and the crowds of people on public transport. Two girls mentioned their dislike of travelling in over-crowded buses because of "being crushed by men on all sides and some of them tried to take advantage of the fact." Obviously many of the physical problems impinged upon relationships, both with hosts and between the group members. I mention examples of these later in the section dealing with the group.

Group members as a whole were reluctant in their response to requests to perform some music or dance and couldn't seem to get their act together in this respect. This was another symptom of their not coping in formal situations. With hindsight more could have been done in preparing them
for this. It was particularly embarrassing as we were in West Bengal which has the reputation of being the cultural focus of India.

From the above selection of difficulties it is possible to see that the visit was no easy picnic. A very heavy programme (despite my request to include space for participants to do their own thing) resulted in much tiredness. When it was our turn to host visitors in England we too found it impossible to resist providing an overcrowded programme.

**Self-Help**

In this section I attempt to identify what aspects of India have had a favourable affect on the group, particularly in to the ways people are helping themselves. This in fact connects directly with one of the objectives of the visit.

The areas of appropriate technology and recycling were of particular interest as one diary records:

> We saw the good effect of the NSS programme and application of appropriate technology. I admired the work which the students were doing e.g., introducing their art skills and handicrafts to the local villagers so that they could market products (such as shawls, candlestick holders, chicken pens) and thereby earn some money to improve their life styles. Also we observed various methods of rice harvesting: Some threshed by hand and others by a mechanical thresher according to the prosperity of each harvester.

After seeing examples of recycling programmes one commented in her diary, "This is very vital for some people to survive here." Another
thought it "totally ingenious" and made a comparison between "...our consuming, wasteful society and the Indian economic, recycling society, which is of vital importance to them."

The community work being undertaken directly by the National Service Scheme students, our parent host body, made considerable impact on the group. These were engaged in trying to combat pollution, drugs, housing problems, help with slums and literacy. The size of the perplexities facing Calcutta and India generally had a numbing effect on a few. One reflected on an encounter with a man who was involved in social work in the slums of Calcutta.

Something in the way he spoke to me touched me. He was very plain and straightforward maybe with a hint of desperation. Going home in the car the reality of the poverty in Calcutta hit me and I felt utterly powerless and afraid to look at it.

Generally though the response was a mixture of stimulation and hope, as another dairy entry shows.

Our problems back home are more diluted than they are here, but are still to be resolved or controlled. They have definitely got me thinking!! We could learn a great deal from India, about recycling, economy of possessions, philosophy and think more about world affairs.

Back home the group had been involved in fund raising for a bio-gas plant to be donated to a village in India and being familiar with the wider benefits of such an innovative devise had a basic awareness of the need for appropriate technology in India’s efforts to be self-
sufficient. It seems that the experiences they had of seeing examples of self-help projects and self-help generally reinforced this favourable impression of the country and helped to dispel for the group the negative stereotype image people in the West often have of development in the 'Third World'.

The Group

For such a demanding visit it was obviously crucial to select people who would make the most of the experience, and who could get on reasonably well with others with whom they would be living closely for a period of three and a half weeks. This is not easy to do when restricted to a selection procedure involving an application form, a couple of informal group meetings and an interview, before a decision needs to be made. Four of those chosen I already knew and had some confidence in and the rest were newcomers.

The feelings expressed by the group generally were that the size of the group was about right (except one who thought it was too large) and that people got on well together. There was obvious friction between two members which revealed itself on the train to Calcutta on the third day and despite efforts on the part of them both, it never did resolve itself. But overall the group was a happy one.

Learning together appeared to be a feature of the group's experience. An important vehicle for this was the group discussion held fairly regularly (but not as regularly as planned owing to the very full programme) in which people met away from their hosts to share their
Being a member of a group has been particularly valuable, having the opportunity to discuss at some length my own attitudes and actions resulting from those. For instance, if I reacted to a situation in a certain way which I thought appropriate, I have been able to discuss that with other people and to get their views whether they thought it appropriate.

In interviews with the others most said the group stimulated their thinking and all said it was supportive and helpful to them personally. One went as far as to say she thought she had learnt as much from being a member of the group as she had seeing the country. "It has been good to hear people's viewpoints. At home I am always with conservative minded people. Here I have heard the other side of things which I never hear about at home. I have learnt a lot from that." There are a number of examples of positive learning of this kind.

Perhaps the greatest learning has taken place through some turbulence forcing them to closely examine their attitudes, as one diary highlights:

They (the group) have made me examine my thoughts and I realise that I may be subconsciously racist, which is something which disturbs me. I have always said "No, I am not a racist!", but realise we all may be subconsciously racist when we come across a situation in which it may be a lot easier to be racist.

There was much focus on this kind of racial/cultural insensitivity and
one remarked that it is easier to notice it in other people than in oneself.

The formal group sessions proved very useful for the purpose of recollection and later discussion from which an attitude and resulting action can be put into some form of perspective. There were two formal aids introduced to assist the group in this. One was the personality card game used on the third day on the twenty four hour train journey to Calcutta to help the participants get to know each other better. The other was the 'Getting it Together', a simulation about cooperation and linked our discussion to rich world - poor world matters. Both were received well, although the busy schedule and tiredness of the group made the presentation of the cooperation simulation difficult and not at all possible to try a third simulation 'Paper Bag Game' I had in readiness.

The delegation to group members of as many tasks as seemed appropriate was an important aspect. The participants responded well to opportunity to book railway tickets (which took anything up to two hours or more of apparent bureaucratic confusion), confirming air tickets, booking sight seeing tours, hotels and so on. These proved valuable exercises as it is easy to be shielded from this side of things when on an organised visit. Obviously much of the arrangements had to be made prior to our arrival but there was still plenty to be undertaken by the group in this way. "This trip has given me a great amount of knowledge of travelling around, booking hotels, train tickets confirming flights home etc., I
feel I could now go home and come again confident about what to expect and tackle each situation with confidence."

Participants also took it in turns to 'chair' the formal group discussions. Not all the group managed to do so but those who did were helped with the preparation and it worked well. One girl wrote in her diary, "I have been asked to 'chair' a future meeting. It makes me feel good that although I am quite a bit younger than most of the group, they do not consider me incompetent or immature." Another recorded, "Oh my word, first meeting I have chaired ever! It went pretty well, slow at the start but slowly got better when everyone became involved."

The inevitable group cliques appeared after the first week and some thought this a little unhealthy. One participant felt that if you stick with a group too much then you don't learn as much about India. There were others who recognised the importance for them to have their own culture around them to act as a cushion from the "culture shock". One member had been to India before in a small group which he said was hard at times and he was glad to go home. In his interview he said how this time he had enjoyed it, mainly because of the larger group.

"We have got our own little bit of English culture to support us .... It's quite distressing when you are in a very strange city in an alien culture. You don't realise how much you value and need your own culture until you are without it.

This time a large enough group had been there to provide "the common things we know in England."
The group discussion sessions served many functions. As well as various kinds of support, they acted as a catalyst, helped confidences through delegated tasks and leadership, and were a favourable arena for learning through simulation. From a leaders point of view they were essential for communication, taking stock of where the group was at and for identifying any particular needs of individuals. Such sessions are a vital ingredient in any exchange programme.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE STUDY

The value of the Case Study was at different levels. There was the opportunity it presented to refine the research instruments, particularly in focussing the interview questions which were amended for the second round. There was considerable benefit to interviewees who found the process of being interviewed stimulating as it helped them articulate reactions and feelings which they discovered were just under the surface. This reinforced the value that interviews are as a research instrument.

Although it was not possible to triangulate the data from the questionnaires, these did assist the subjects to focus on the chosen area of enquiry. The Case Study also helped identify the unsuitability of one particular questionnaire for the main study.

The data collected from diaries and from my function as participant observer was considerable and must be considered a bonus in view of the fact that these would be absent from the main study. It would be over optimistic to expect subjects in the main study to feel able to
collaborate to the extent of keeping diaries in the same way as those in the 'first stage' who were participating in an exchange programme which I personally led. As it turned out it was troublesome enough to get the cooperation of some subjects to complete the questionnaires.

Through the data analysis of diaries, participant observation and interviews, it was possible to see connections between the subjects' own racial attitudes and their efforts to understand some aspects of the Indian way of life. It also underlined the need to view holistically the educational aspects of such an exchange programme. To understand development education, for instance, it is also necessary to take account of environmental, racial and other issues.

The method used to categorise and analyse the data proved expedient and is one which can usefully be repeated in the main study.

The preponderance of data obtained through participant observation, the interview transcripts and particularly from the diaries, has potential for triangulation with that from the main study.

QUESTIONS FOR THE SECOND STAGE
The questions of the second interviews were derived from the data of the first. The questions used were:

1. "Having been back from India six months, what do you think you have gained from the visit?"

2. "Were there any negative experiences which you found, or still find difficult to cope with?"
3. "Did the experience make you more aware of racism?"
4. "Do you think your awareness of the 'environment' has been heightened?
5. "Do you think the visit has changed you in any way?"
6. "Was there any experience which you consider reflects or reinforces ideas or attitudes you had before?"

The first two questions were semi open-ended and dealt with opposing aspects. Where necessary I supplemented questions, or prodded, if I thought they did not understand.

If, in answer to the third question, they did not mention their own racism, as was the case for some, I asked if they had been made more aware of this.

Question four dealt with an explicit objective of the visit which is to do with what I have termed 'environment'. This was to trace change in their understanding of India's self-sufficiency, the significance of small 'appropriate technology', the importance of ecology matters, and the ability to make connections between India's environmental problems and our own.

The penultimate question, number five, dealt with possible changes of behaviour. Some found this relatively easy but others focused their responses on how they 'felt' as a result of India. Nearer the end of my interviews I began to prod in the direction of feelings with any who had difficulty in answering - usually with fruitful results.
The sixth and final question about reinforcement had in some cases already been dealt with but needed to be asked in case there were other instances.

A characteristic of the second round of interviews was the manifestation of important reflective learning which had taken place during the interview process. This is something to look out for during the main study.

The data from the second round of interviews will be coupled with the analysis of the main study.
CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS - SECOND STAGE

INTRODUCTION

It may be of value to examine the educational context in which development education is currently understood before venturing into the data analysis of the second stage. This should help to further rationalise the focus of enquiry chosen and to underline the relevance of the categories chosen for the analysis.

Following some fifteen years of effort and activities, a number of observers suggest that development education has come of age in Europe (Development Education: The State of the Art, United Nations Non Government Liaison Service, Geneva, 1986 et al). Development issues have become part of the educational landscape, including a place on the GCSE syllabi. Discussions about the Third World appear with increasing frequency on radio and television, reflecting increased concern among the general public about international questions. An increasing number of competent and dedicated individuals are involved in development education activities in a wide variety of organisations, helping train teachers, organising or supporting various forms of local study groups and national campaigns. Creative and useful literature has been produced for both formal and non-formal education for all levels, including youth work.

Despite this activity, development education is still very much a marginal activity in Britain. It has not succeeded in reaching the public consciousness for whatever reason. Major sectors of the public, besieged
by problems at home, do not see why concern for the Third World should be high on their personal agendas.

The lack of clarity of purpose is another problem with present development education which leads to a variety of sometimes conflicting messages about what the Third World is like and what should be done about it. A wide variety of messages leads to confusion, and probably reinforces the marginal status of development education by enabling critics to dismiss it as soft or unprofessional.

It was with these problems of marginality and ambiguity in mind that the analysis and interpretation of the second stage data was approached. Reasonably in-depth interviews were conducted with over fifty individuals involved in a visit to a Third World country as part of a youth exchange programme - some twice. There were an additional three individuals interviewed who visited India for a longer period of time but were not part of a youth exchange programme. Development Education was not part of any of the expressed objectives of the visits researched, neither was the term 'development education' included in the research questions. Rather an holistic view of development education was taken which took account of the connections between environmental matters and racist attitudes. The approach was to consider the subjects' negative experiences and relating these cyclically with racism, ethnocentricity/eurocentricity and reinforcement of preconceptions. Group dependency is examined and changes brought about as a result of the visit are considered.
THE STUDY GROUP

There were five groups included in the main study - two school sponsored, two others connected with the Youth Service and a national church based project. These were all identified through the Commonwealth Youth Exchange Council, a British Council sponsored body, from whom most, if not all, had received a financial grant to assist with both aspects of the exchanges. Other exchange groups had been approached but owing to various circumstances, such as distance, the make-up of the group, or the unsuitable time of the outward visit, it was not possible to include these.

An additional component to the proposed framework was a set of interviews with three young adults who, although not part of a youth exchange programme, had had comparable experiences.

These together with subjects from the five youth exchange groups in the second phase (main study) meant there were 52 subjects researched in all. This included the second round of interviews with the first stage pilot case study group (only the first round of interviews were used for the pilot).

Below are tabulations giving relevant characteristics of the projects groups, each introduced with a short descriptive note.
Figure 5

Group 1. Second round interviews with first stage subjects. Twelve 16 to 25 year olds recruited mainly from the Youth Service in South Buckinghamshire. Country visited: India for 25 days.

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Group 2. Sixth formers at a County Boys Grammar School in the south east. Six 17 year olds taking part in a Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme exchange. Country visited: India for 21 days.

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Group 4. A joint County Youth Service and Schools initiative in the south east. Ten 16 to 25 year old new recruits to an ongoing exchange project. Country visited: Zimbabwe for 30 days.

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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Young Women</th>
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Group 5. A County Comprehensive School initiative. Twelve 14 to 16 year old new recruits to an ongoing exchange project. Country visited: India for 24 days.

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Group 6. Three individuals who were independent of an official exchange, but members of the pilot groups' sponsoring body. Country visited: India two together for six months, the other for two months.

<table>
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<th>Young Man</th>
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<td>16 19</td>
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Age and gender breakdown of all the groups researched:

Young Women: Age - 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 23 24 25 Number
5 5 3 1 4 1 1 1 2 2 25

Young Men: Age - 2 3 7 3 5 1 1 1 2 2 27
5 7 6 8 7 6 2 2 1 4 4 52

All except Group 6 had a period of homestead experience. Groups 2, 5 and 6 undertook some voluntary community service work and Group 1 had the exploration of appropriate technology as part of the objectives. Apart from these there was not much difference in the intentions of the exchanges which were primarily concerned with increasing the participants' understanding of the country visited through direct experience of its people and culture.

As already indicated there were three young adults interviewed in addition to those in the main study, although they did not take part in a youth exchange programme. All three were part of the Youth Council which sponsored the initial exchange and participated in much of the preparation for the visit. Interviews with these were undertaken in a contextual sense, using the same questions as in the second stage. Two were 19 year olds' who visited Calcutta for a six month period immediately following the return of the initial pilot case study group. They undertook voluntary work in an improvised medical clinic situated on a Calcutta pavement. The third, an 18 year old who went alone, terminated his intended twelve month stay after two-and-a-half-months, returning somewhat dissolusioned. He too spent some of his time in Calcutta. These interviews were thought useful in making valuable comparisons for the following reasons:
Calcutta was the main base both for them and the 'first stage' group, so there was some point of similarity between them.

preparation was similar for both groups

only the first stage group stayed with families thereby providing a useful comparison

the first stage group experienced an arranged programme with regular group discussions whereas the others did not

the comparative group members were there for a longer period of time

ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

As was the case in the first stage study I use extensive quotation and subjects do a great deal of speaking for themselves. I have again tried to give a descriptive account organised round selected features considered most pertinent to the refined research area.

Negative Experiences

Subjects were asked about their negative experiences of the visit. This semi-open ended question was to let the interviewees themselves determine the areas where they had had difficulties. From the responses it was thought possible to be able to ascertain whether these related to the subjects' preconceived notions, either reinforcing them or not. The question was also thought to have potential in assessing any ethnocentric and eurocentric views. Both these aspects are dealt with under their respective headings. The data elicited from this research question has value beyond these prescribed limitations and an attempted analysis of this is given here.
Of all the subjects who had taken part in a group visit, not one gave any real indication that the negative experience outweighed the positive. In fact a number found it hard to bring them to mind, "I didn't like the hawkers but (to my friends) I don't want to say negative things about India; it would spoil it" and "When I look back on India, I don't remember the negative side of it. I remember more the excitement of it all. Another said:

I don't think you can have negatives - it was an experience, everything in it was positive. Even if there were things that went wrong or things that we didn't enjoy so much, it was an experience and that's still a positive thing.

It is interesting that it was in the second round of interviews, some six months after their return, that they ventured these nonchalant statements, which could be a case of the truth in the maxim 'Distance lends enchantment to the view'. Thirty one per cent admitted that they had not thought of the negative aspects until the question.

About half gave negative reactions to the indigenous people of the countries visited. These ranged from irritation at the over attentiveness and smothering protection of their hosts - to concern about the detrimental way some communities treat the oppressed and marginalise them. One 20 year old thought that Asian people here were more solemn and unhappy and a 16 year old, that they are afraid because of prejudice. They made these comments to illustrate the contrasting friendly nature of the people in India as well as to indicate their difficulty with Asian people in this country. One Sixth Former said he was not taken with their "revolting habit of spitting everywhere". A 19 year old told of her
frustration with the slow pace of life in Nigeria, "They think slower: their way of life is not keeping time like we keep to our time...I found it hard to adapt".

A preconception was reinforced for a 25 year old who said that "Indians were always out to grab as much money off you as they can". This was said despite just having been a free guest with his hosts for two-and-a-half weeks. It seemed easier for him to comment on this blemished aspect manifested in the tourist spots (about which he was referring) than on the reality of his hosts' generous hospitality.

Corruption was another negative mentioned, with a couple of 16 year old boys telling of the 'beggar kings' who take a high percentage cut as part of a protection racket, and gave an animated description of the stories they had heard of how beggars "actually amputate a limb so that they can earn more money begging."

Negatives about poverty featured high numerically - more so in India than in Africa. There was more poverty and a greater number of beggars than many had expected. "...seeing all the people diseased. We went to one place and there were lepers around and it was horrible". For thirty seven per cent it was the beggars which represented the poverty of India. Village life on the surface would not reflect its deprivation in the same way as aspects of urban life. The marked difference between the rich and the poor was disturbing to eighteen per cent. "They sort of condemn their own people....the darker you are the poorer you are" was a comment about India from a Sixth Former. The futility of the situation was also remarked
upon. The 18 year old who went to India independently, although not part of the main research, made an astute observation which seems to sum up the situation quite conveniently:

I think actually going to India doesn't really help you understand the causes; it just provides the experience of witnessing the poverty. ....

None referred to the possible need for people in the West to give aid, which is surprising in view of the increased publicity in recent years by the Aid Charities and greater media coverage on the subject. There were those who challenged the notion of emergency aid, one to the point of suggesting that it would be kinder to let the floods of Bangladesh wipe the people out and to start again, as this would be "better for the economy". However, in a similar way to others he has recognised the value of appropriate development aid and prefers to give money to "Self-help schemes like water projects, small irrigation schemes and village workshops run on the principles of Gandhi (Gandhiji)". The evidence of corruption was the reason given by another for his change in opinion about the suitability of giving relief aid.

Despite the initial reluctance of a number to recognise negative aspects, once the thought processes were underway, quite a varied selection was identified.

Racism

As can be seen from the literature review, the study of racism is intrinsically intertwined with development education and therefore is seen as being of considerable significance in the context of this research. An
additional reason for its inclusion is that in the 'first stage' racism was identified as a key area worthy of a specific research interview question. The rationalisation for this is given in the analysis of the first stage.

It is necessary to point out that exploring the issue of racism was not an explicit objective of any of the exchange programmes included in the research. On the 'first stage' it had arisen through formal and informal discussions in a natural way from out of the experience. There was no reason to expect the same to have happened on the subsequent exchange programmes researched. The question about whether they considered that their awareness of racism had heightened was asked at both rounds of interviews. During the first round the question appeared to come as a surprise for thirty two per cent of the interviewees. Some had difficulty relating the question with their experience thus indicating that any attention which may have been given to the issue on the visit had not apparently affected them. Paradoxically, the issue of racism for others was probably the one which caused the greatest emotional response, as well as being the most challenging. The following is an attempted description of these two extremes.

About a quarter of the subjects said that the experience had not made them any more aware of racism, either their own or that of others. Many of these appeared not to have thought about the subject at all, thirty one per cent giving a straight 'no' in answer to the question, with eighteen per cent adding qualifying remarks such as "I am not racist at all, but am not keen on Americans", "Not more aware....not really talk about it" and "I am not aware of my own racism, but realise I should adapt".
It was in the category of racist language that the majority of subjects identified racism. Forty seven per cent indicated that they considered the term 'Pakies' and the telling of racist jokes as unacceptable. The impression given by most of these was that if they didn't indulge in this use of language then they did not consider themselves racist. A Sixth Former and school prefect told of his reaction when one boy called another 'Paki', "I just said to him straight 'Don't call him 'Paki' he's got a name like you and me". This was racism as he saw it.

It would be wrong to interpret such narrow responses as reflecting the subjects unconcern for the broader issue of racism. The purpose of the research question was to ascertain the subjects own awareness of change, so no attempt was made by the researcher to probe deeper into the reasons why they answered the way they did. It may be appropriate however to remark at this point on the apparent absence in some of the exchange programmes of such an obviously crucial focus. The importance of including the awareness of racist attitudes in all educational visit is argued later.

The significance of this area of enquiry was repeatedly apparent when other interviewees shared their stimulating revelations about their feeling on the subject. This revelation for fifty five per cent of them had the disquieting benefit of discovering their own racism for the first time. An 18 year old explains his feelings:

If I was racist before I went, I'm certainly not now. It (the visit to Zimbabwe) has definitely changed my views..... I pictured Africa before I went differently, they are a lot more aware than I thought they were going to be. Really they are no different to us; maybe with
a little less money.

He later spoke about his new found ability to challenge his father's racism:

My dad's a bit racist and before I didn't challenge him but now I do. I felt strongly about it but not strong enough to challenge him....Now I know what I am talking about.

Another 18 year old spoke similarly from his experience in Zimbabwe:

It was so easy not to have racist views - they are so friendly and open. When you come back to Britain it is quite a shock. I didn't realise how bad racism in Britain is; it's just set in....It's so easy in this country to be racist and not think anything about it because it comes so naturally. That's what's bad. When I got back I was trying to explain to my friend what it was like, how friendly they were (in Zimbabwe). There's no chance it could be like that here at the moment.

Despite the tinge of despair in the last two responses, I feel that these subjects had valued sufficiently from their increased awareness to be reasonably optimistic about their attitudes in the future. This would certainly be the case if an appropriate on-going framework exists for them.

Reference to the prodigious friendliness of the people featured strongly in all the countries represented in the exchange programmes researched. This favourable impression was the single reason most identified, which appeared to clearly challenge subjects racist preconceptions.

Sometimes it was the asking of this particular question which seemed to exhume responses from the interviewees' subconsciousness. An initial reply
indicating that his or her awareness had not been affected was then confounded by introspective discourse to the contrary. For example a 15 year old reveals:

I think I was sensitive before I went to India.

and then, as though stumbling on something new, she goes on:

It certainly hurts a lot when people start abusing - its not so much general racial comments but racial comments about India and ignorance about their culture which I feel they should know...it hurts me, I feel it much more when people make racist comments. It affects me, as before it just annoyed me.

When asked which research question she had thought about least, she replied:

I think the racist question. I wasn't aware I was being hurt by peoples' comments, or that I was being hurt in a different way before. I think I knew it but not consciously.

The following complete reply to the racist question by a 24 year old, exemplifies this unearthing of the subconscious:

It's something I am certainly still aware of. I remember clearly the thoughts I had when I was there. I don't think I have come across any situation where attitudes that I uncovered have been problematical which I have had to deal with. They haven't really cropped up in my life in any way I have been aware of. It rather worries me that I have been 'pure' of racism all that time, so maybe subconsciously I have been doing things which I have been totally unaware of. If that's the case, then, erm, that's a bad thing: having nobody else there to point these things out to you, which is required to open your own mind more, or to jog your memory. Perhaps with everyone around
you being aware of it, it tends to be more a sensitive area. Everybody notices things, either in themselves or in everybody else and helps to point them out. But when you are removed from that atmosphere, you tend to become a lot less sensitive to it.

He paused here for a moment, as though gathering his thoughts, and, as if a new discovery had just dawned, he continued:

An example of when I have been aware of my improved attitude towards racism was when someone handed round this sort of vague questionnaire at work - which had obviously been made up and typed out. It was a 'job description' for a West Indian person, and was supposedly funny, but I found it really, really offensive, whereas maybe previously to my trip to India I would have found some of it vaguely funny.

Something I found more difficult to deal with, with my now enlightened attitude, is when I am talking to other people about my visit and so on - and their own racial attitudes come straight out into the open. I find that difficult to deal with. I try to sort of, gently, not exactly put them in their place but, perhaps put the case a little more straight as it should be. Out of lots of people I have day to day dealings with, these sorts of attitudes seem very widespread. I am not talking about Indian things all the time, it's just that when I do, the response is fairly predictable - sort of one of interest and then a sort of framework of a racist attitude.

This quote illustrates the emergence of knowledge from the subliminal which evidently has its inspiration rooted in the experience of the visit. It also shows something of the subtle and insidious nature of racism which on the one hand is so indeterminate and on the other is such a stunning reality.
A further important point which this interview highlights, is the problem of what participants should do with their "new enlightened attitude". This interviewee, like about a quarter of the others, appeared to be striving for an appropriate outlet for the critical skills he was developing. It would seem that in order for racial awareness to increase, and for these to be translated into action, a supportive arena is needed such as that mentioned in the above full interview as being lacking. Without this conducive framework any seeds sown on an exchange visit are likely to remain dormant. Although it is outside the focus of this research, it is possible to report in a contextual sense, that 'first stage' participants who have continued to actively engage with the issue of racism, have displayed various aspects of increased understanding and sensitivity, and in a few cases, action.

Even such pungent illuminations as those expressed above were insufficient to establish in the minds of subjects that there was evidence of changes in attitudes having taken place. Following an impressive revelation about racism, a check was made whether there had been any conscious change in themselves, and a quarter of the interviewees could only admit to "slightly" or "maybe". This condition may be connected with a subject's lack of motivation in this area resulting in an inability to admit to the need to comprehend. One 19 year old hints towards this when she says:

One thing it isn't easy to admit is that you are slightly racist. I think a big part of overcoming racism would be for everyone to come out and say, "Yes, I am a bit".
The ability to admit their own racism was a key quality factor in the interviewees' responses to this question, as those able to do so conveyed a more discerning view of things. It sensitised twenty-nine per cent of the subjects to a degree of frustration at the unreasonable racial ignorance of others. One 20 year old tries to explain her feelings:

....I was not really listening. I don't suppose I was aware of what they were saying at the time. All the racist comments I heard before I went to India just went over my head; I wasn't affected by them. Now I stand up to it all and argue the difference. It's bad news as there is no reason that I have found for people to be racist. They don't seem to have a reason why they are. That's what upsets me more than anything else.

There were thirteen per cent who were confident in owning their racism. Even the person who made the above statement said she would be "extremely embarrassed" if somebody noticed her inadvertent racism. Others who had made insightful comments on the subject said they did not like to publicly admit their own racism. Ironically, when they did so in the interview situation, they appeared to benefit from the introspection that followed, but sadly not always from the realisation from it. Those more confident in this admission benefited from both the introspection and the realisation.

Those who had made a visit to Africa, particularly Zimbabwe, focused more on Apartheid in South Africa as examples of racism, and tended to make comparisons in a more macro fashion than those who had visited India where the political dimension was less overt. In a way this wider emphasis seemed to detract them from looking at their own racism. Already having an
active interest in anti-apartheid affairs, one 19 year old commented on his
disappointment "....that some people who went have not learned a great
deal. They still made racist remarks. Some people have not learned as
much from the trip as they could have". The final sentence of this quote
sums up the analysis of this section quite succinctly.

The educational benefit of making anti-racism a focus on youth exchanges is
clear. It presents an appropriate challenge for participants to identify
and come to terms with-:

- their subconscious racism
- the subtle and insidious nature of racism
- the need to challenge racism
- the need to continue interest and involvement after the exchange.

Ethnocentricity and Eurocentricity

Race and culture in this part of the analysis have been combined as it did
not, in the context of the research, seem appropriate to separate the
ethnocentric and the eurocentric data. Racism in a broader context has
already been dealt with in this chapter, where the data is treated
differently than it is here.

There was substantial evidence betraying how subjects regarded their own
race and culture as the most important. More than half of these instances
were usually accompanied by a realisation, often given apologetically, that
they should not be thinking in this way. A 19 year old referred to some
things he considered "distasteful to our way of looking at things", but
recognised the need to be "tolerant, because it is the way they are".
The following statements, by a 20 year old, expresses his confusion in trying to come to terms with his feelings:

They just don't play the game by our rules which can be very disconcerting a lot of the time when you are out there.

and:

Assume that because the Raj was there for over two hundred years something would have rubbed off when they come over to this country.... Realise how little of the British way of life has been transplanted on the Indian way of life.

He then hastily qualified this by adding:

I am not saying that is bad. They should maintain their own identity. But we just look at history from a conceited view point - perhaps the way it is taught in the classroom.

These contradictory statements appear to convey the subjects' subconscious prejudices.

Indications of ethnocentricity were betrayed through the reaction to the disturbing behaviour of Indian people, as one 17 year old said - "They spit everywhere, it's just revolting". Another who was finding things difficult said he felt more patriotic when he was in India than was normally the case. It was manifested even by those who elsewhere in their interview revealed a comparatively astute awareness of their own racism. In the context of his struggle in coming to terms with his own racism, a 25 year old articulates its deep seated nature very effectively:

When I was young I thought Indian people were dirty. That feeling still stays with me now and I feel quite sensitive about that so I guess I must still feel that Indian people are dirty. Although I
don't think it, I feel it. Perhaps it shows how really difficult it is for white people not to be racist. However much I rationalise and think about the issue of race my basic feelings still remain the same. I can't remember ever rationally thinking Indian people were dirty since I was about 15 or 16, which is 9 or 10 years ago. Since then I have been growing and developing with my ideas, yet it seems I still feel that in a sense all the raising of awareness around the issue of racism for me has perhaps just glossed over my actual feelings. That gives me a lot to think about and I'm not sure about. It makes you think how deep these feelings are in white people.

This exceptional example of introspection has to be viewed in the knowledge that the subject was nearing the completion of a two year course of training in Community Work in which racist attitudes had been challenged.

Validating such experiences in this contextual way presents difficulties for the researcher in determining how much it is the experience of the exchange which results in this kind of honest introspection. This is not a matter which can easily be dealt with. It is worth noting that such introspection was manifested in the second set of interviews.

On a more positive side there was considerable evidence of the awakening of curiosity about the culture the subjects were directly exposed to. In response to the question of what they thought they had mainly gained, subjects nearly always referred to the overwhelming friendliness of people – much too often and sincerely for it to be dismissed as just empty or patronising phrases. "The most valuable thing was meeting a whole new set, and class, and race of different people and getting to know them very well
as friends rather than from a distance." was how one 19 year old described his experience. An 18 year old thought that his hosts in Zimbabwe might resent them and consider them "flash" because of their personal stereos, which their hosts had never seen, and was amazed that they were made to feel so welcome with no hint of envy. One of the few black people interviewed, a 20 year old, told of his experience in Nigeria:

I initially felt it very hard to believe that there was a strong cultural difference. They told me on one of those orientations before we left, that Nigeria has a very friendly people and I found that hard to believe - that a country four times the size of England could majoritively (sic) be a friendly people. I found that to be true. The majority of Nigerians culturally are very friendly people. That is something really incredible. I just found that very hard to believe but it was very strong.

It was not only the friendliness of the people which was impressive. There was a new found appreciation of the value and quality of the respective countries. A 15 year old girl said she looked at 'Third World' countries with more respect and as an equal as a result of the exchange. For an 18 year old the visit had shown her that the British culture isn't always right and that you have to think about other peoples views and cultures and added, "It makes you realise that not everybody has your wheels on their car".

A number of subjects referred to the positive influence which religion played in the lives of people in the country they visited. In African countries the religion mentioned was Christianity, although there were two
fleeting references to the influence of Islam. For the Methodist group, which had Christian hosts, subjects were very receptive to the lively activities of the Churches, both through worship and the peoples' lifestyles.

References by the Zimbabwe group which was recruited its participants from within the Methodist Church, reflected the subjects' concern for the cultural aspect, usually when it conflicted with Christian morals. The practice of polygamy by some was an example. There were only two or three instances of this kind of concern.

Those with an experience of India who made references to Hinduism, did so either in a complimentary way or by questioning its validity in today's urban society. A favourable comment was from a subject who, though having no religious beliefs of her own, could appreciate the benefits attributed to a religious society. One of those interviewed who was not part of an official exchange, thought that Hinduism is inappropriate in urban areas:

I feel Hinduism is appropriate for village life, where it was built up. Every person had their own job, their own place in the village. But now that it has been grafted on to city life, it doesn't really fit. Every person sticks very closely to what their job means them to do. They don't have an overview or the insight to look at things in context. They seem to be very narrow minded, doing just exactly what their job is supposed to entail and no more. This presents great barren areas where things don't get done. Things don't tie together very well, don't overlap; and the gaps in between create great difficulties - certainly a lack of discipline.
This is an example of a prevailing Western critical view evident in conversations outside the framework of this research (expressed by some Westernised Indians as well as white British people). The inability of subjects to use critical skills relating to religion, other than in a negative way, means there is an absence of seeing the potential benefit this aspect might have for us in the West. It could be argued that this stance is only a reflection of the low esteem given in the West to religion and wider concepts of spirituality, and that this is a definite area where some Eastern and African countries have something of value to offer to the West.

These favourable impressions were not just restricted to the countries they had visited. A high ninety five per cent mentioned their increased appreciation of other cultures which had been directly inspired by the experience of the exchange and sixty three per cent expressed the desire to travel again as a way of capitalising on this - one 19 year old passionately so:

I have to go out and meet other people, because we do live in a multiracial community which isn't just India and Pakistan. I have to go out and travel more and find out what they are really like, so that my horizons enlarge and that I understand why people do things; why they are what they are.....

During the six month period between his first and second interviews this young man had successfully completed a three month visit to Egypt and Israel, which he did as part of a year out before starting university. Some younger subjects still at school indicated a desire to utilise a year off in a similar way. The intentions of others ranged from a determination
to return to the country they had visited as soon as possible with a few of companions' from their group (a school group) - to those who are prepared to wait a few years until they are older. All who intimated such plans appeared genuinely determined - even those for whom the cost could be considered prohibitive.

The monocultural education to which pupils are exposed in this country has been clearly identified by the data as the predominant reason for the 'culture of ignorance' they appear to possess. The nature of this is deep rooted and stubborn and as such it is usually difficult to budge. This analysis demonstrates that an educational exchange can be an effective instrument in contributing to some positive movement in this respect.

Reinforcement of Preconceptions

Another research question focused on the subjects' preconceptions of the country of their visit and whether they consider these had been reinforced in any way. Again answers were diverse and touched on both the negative and positive, embracing global and personal aspects. A 17 year old's response was a mixture of both and includes what some might consider to be an interesting combination of insight and naivety:

Well the first thing that struck you when you first arrive is the smell of things - the open sewers, what have you. It is like a lot of the things you have read about, but only when you are there does it actually manifest itself.... Obviously there is the population problem with all the people living together. One of the problems is that birth control has been exported to them. The developed world thinks it is helping by exporting birth control, care and medicines
etc., but they haven't really because it has back-fired.... There are probably too many people on the humanistic side of things who say we must try to help the starving - but really you are meddling with nature unless you get an equilibrium with it. There is no point in more people living if the country's economic base is not supporting.

These ideas have been reinforced.

At least this subject was exercising his critical skills which enabled him to consider the broader perspective; even if the proposed solution was in the extreme.

Positive things included general impressions about the standard of living, some twenty one per cent expecting it to have been higher but with twenty nine per cent expressing surprise at how "developed they are". The overwhelming friendliness of the people was something no one had anticipated; "The welcome was totally unexpected". Thirty two per cent remarked how the people were no different to themselves; which could suggest that they had expected them to be so. One 18 year old referred to his hosts as:

Not as ignorant of the outside world as we thought. They were more sure of us than we were of them. When we talk of Africans we think they are ignorant and unintelligent, but they are not.

This favourable impression of the people was a thread which ran through all the interviews. One said he was told that people were "smelly and dirty" and actually found them to be very clean, "...in the shower for two hours".

These are samples of the preponderance of data which indicated that those with negative preconceptions were being suitably challenged. A 15 year old
girl said, "Everything I thought of India was completely wrong. I was shocked by so many things - so many things were different". One pinpointed where she felt much of the causes of the problem lay and said that "it was wrong that schools should drum into you that such places are disaster areas".

Responses were not consistent in this respect. One 21 year old thought that the whole adventure was not as "rough" as he had expected. A number were surprised by the degree of poverty - and others thought this was not as bad as they had anticipated.

In addition to these kind of paradoxical findings there were others which related to the attitudes of individual subjects towards the people. One 16 year old shared how on the one hand his attitudes to "Pakistanis" had improved, yet on the other difficulties still remained:

Particularly with the Indians (sic) over here, the way they go about things, the way they talk to you. They have always sort of niggled me, deep down. I even want, you know, even hit them sometimes - the way they speak to you. How cocky they really seem. Even now it's still the same really, deep down.

This young man lives in a community were ten per cent of the population is Asian, predominantly with roots in Pakistan. It is interesting to see the interchange in his description of Indians and Pakistanis. Despite his experience he had not learnt to discriminate between the two.
Another spoke of the way he appreciated the Indian philosophical approach to life, but on the other hand was frustrated because the Indians do not do things the way we do.

This is the question which is at the root of this study, whether such an experience reinforces prejudices or not. A complex one which will be addressed later in a wider, more holistic context. Let the comments of a 25 year old subject suffice for now. He had obviously thought deeply about his own contradictory feelings and was able to rationalise these remarkably well:

I guess for some people who don't make connections with wider things and other experiences, they just take the experience as it is. They don't analyse it at all. I guess it can easily reinforce their prejudices whatever they might be.

Considering the Environment

At the time of this research the environment and related ecological matters may not appear to be an obvious area to include for consideration on such 'Third World' youth exchange programmes. Apart from the initial (first stage) exchange programme, which had an explicit objective to learn about 'appropriate technology', the other programmes gave no emphasis to this aspect of the experience. The direct research question on whether the subjects considered that their awareness of the environment or any specific ecology matters had increased, was considered useful to help determine what impact there has been on incidental, or unspecified aspects, as a result of their exposure to them. Interestingly there were thirty nine percent who answered in the negative and seemed to do so because they were
unable to make any constructive learning connections. It would appear that, apart from on the initial exchange programme, there was very little discussion, if any, about the significance of the environment in 'developing countries' and the relevance of this to our own situation. Those who associated closely with the question seemed to do so from a subjective perspective betraying the peripheral status this issue had in the context of the exchanges.

There were pockets of enthusiastic answers about ecology matters reflecting all of the groups and countries visited. Only a minority of these were reinforcements of the subjects' previously held views, suggesting that this aspect of the experience was of significance for those who were receptive to it. This enthusiasm was more marked in the second round of interviews - which may have to do with the increased public attention given to eco matters during the intervening six month period.

Among the negatives eighteen per cent remarked that they were already aware and that the experience had, as one put it, "not made me any more aware ecologically; that was one thing that didn't strike me". Dealing with litter and "better sanitation and loo's" are what a few thought important. Ten per cent chose to consider the the environment at the level of the "breathtaking stars at night" and the "beautiful countryside" and not take their answers any further. Two were able to relate their experience to what they had done at school in geography lessons. Being more aware of T.V. programmes on the subject was a way others described their increased awareness.
From the enthusiastic came very well thought out replies, such as this from a 17 year old Sixth Former:

I think obviously ecology is very important but it seems, when I was there, that most of them are living by the day - to stay alive, rather than worrying about twenty years on.

We (in the West) have got so many more resources that we should be doing things about it, instead of messing about. Certainly things like the ozone layer and acid rain are so easy for us to do. Whereas in India the only way they could do it would be with a great nationwide objective. Our Government has got the money and the power to do it but they haven't got the inclination. It wouldn't win votes obviously. Tax cuts are more important.

Political connections were made by twenty six per cent and about half of these felt motivated to do something in this area. One 16 year old is considering joining Greenpeace and said he intends to vote 'Green'. A 21 year old says she is definitely more interested in "world affairs, wars, politics and religious rows" and wants to be more involved in things at home. A reinforcement to 'do more' was clearly evident in the case of a 24 year old who was on the initial visit with appropriate technology on its programme. He was at the time of the visit working for a conservation organisation and makes these comments six months after his return home:

It has certainly helped to expand my outlook on environmental matters. Previous to the visit my main preoccupation was with a local scene. I was just concerned about conservation matters in this country and maybe in Europe. The whole idea of deforestation and soil erosion hadn't really hit me, until I had seen it, sort of in the flesh.
He also comments on environmental issues at home:

One of the things I can think of straight away about my own awareness towards at home environmental issues is waste disposal here and its potential for energy generation. This comes directly from my seeing bio-gas plants and how they operate (in India).

Even on the initial exchange visit the objective to examine 'appropriate technology' was not fully realised owing to a breakdown in the programme arrangements. This meant that ecological encounters were more spontaneous and had to be made the most of by the group facilitators. Being "lowered gently" was the way a 16 year old described this exposure to incidental ecology matters. She felt this gentle approach was palatable and was the reason for her increased interest in the subject. This could be an argument in favour of this kind of learning that takes place through incidental occurrences. For this to be effective requires special facilitating skills from the group leaders to identify and kindle learning from such eventualities. These are skills employed by some in youth work and in less-structured teaching settings. Regretfully they are not as widely practised as some advocate.

So the question remains whether an environmental focus should be included in such exchange programmes or not. Apart from the recent public awakening to this area, the fact that it is intrinsically intertwined with development education, which this research purports, suggests that this should be the case beyond doubt.
Group Dependence

An acknowledged important facet of 'stage one' was the positive role the life of the group played in facilitating learning to take place. This was borne out again in the second stage with the group giving "help in understanding other people's feelings", as one 15 year old expressed it:

"...not so much because it was India, but being in India has made me relate to people better. I think I understand the way they are feeling. I think about it more now, rather than just thinking how I feel."

Another spoke about learning a lot about herself and "how you fit into the group and having to assert yourself". Increased personal confidence was mentioned by fifteen per cent as a way they had specifically benefited from the group experience.

In the first stage data there was some indication that those who gave the greatest emphasis to the importance of the group appeared to be experiencing some cultural difficulties. Similar evidence suggesting this was found in stage two. This was particularly so in the case of the youngest school exchange group with strong inferences being made about group over dependence. In this situation there was a very strong group identity established which continued for some time after the visit, which at the time of the second interviews showed little sign of abating. "We still phone each other; I get very lonely sitting at home and just have to ring someone - and I know other members of the group feel the same way - we still need to talk about India", is how one 15 year old girl explained it. Another 15 year old said that she thinks this is because "Some of India was really tough and we had to support each other, and we became very close".
This closeness appeared to have a detrimental effect on the subjects' relationships with others of their peers who had not shared in the Indian experience. In her second interview a 16 year old comments:

"I lost quite a few friends because I went to India. They thought I had changed a lot - some thought for the worse - some for the better. I lost a lot of friends that way because they didn't like the way I had changed. But with the group they knew me from the start and they know me now - I can trust them, I can talk about anything to them. It is a really important thing, friendship, and you don't want to break it now".

Most of this particular group shared this consequential loss of old friends and two referred to the relationship with their parents in this way too. Another 15 year old girl rationalizes the situation by saying that people could not possibly understand if they have never been:

"When I got back I expected my parents to understand how I felt - but they didn't. I accept that now but I didn't at first. I feel my parents resent me now because India is half of me and that is something they can't share."

Another said that "It sets you apart from your parents, I can't any longer be mummy and daddy's little girl, because I have had an experience far beyond anything that they have experienced".

Their inability to share in this way because of the lack of response from others meant considerable frustration, resulting in these young subjects retreating into the belief that they did not want to share their invigorating experiences:
"...I just loved it out there; I wanted so much to share my experiences with other people but I didn’t because it was impossible. When I first got back I would say it was great, it was amazing, mind blowing. I thought my photographs, once I got them developed, would help, but no they didn’t. You just share the surface of it really”. What happened was that she found solace in the group and appeared to neglect other friendships. Not all subjects of this particular exchange manifested such high group dependence although the majority did. A participant of another group, who by his numerous negative comments appeared to have encountered some difficulty, exclaimed that “It was being a member of the group that made it worthwhile”. This seems to reinforce that the life of the group was the salvation for some.

Other exchange groups certainly spoke positively about the benefit of the group but rationalised this differently. One 24 year old, in the context of his own racial awareness, spoke of having missed the group members help in pointing things out which would assist with his awareness. Challenging the role of women in the group was of considerable learning value for one 21 year old woman - as well as learning a lot from the group working as a team in Nigeria for six weeks. Five per cent thought that as a group they had probably been shielded from some of the harsh realities of the country they had visited owing to a very tight schedule and over protective hosts. It was clear that for the majority the advantages of the group experience far outweighed any disadvantages.

The hypothesis offered in the first stage, that those who gave the greatest emphasis to the importance of the group experienced some cultural
difficulties, has not been entirely confirmed by the data. There was considerable evidence of the invigorating nature of the experience for nearly all the thirteen members of the youngest school group. The moving accounts they gave of the profound effect the visit had had on them, could in some ways be construed as constructive learning. A counter argument could be that owing to their young age they would not be sufficiently mature, either emotionally or intellectually, to handle a disturbed equilibrium. It must be said that as a whole this was the most vociferous of all the groups, which seemed to betray how overwhelming the experience had been for them. The nature of the subsequent group dependence could be considered a manifestation of this.

Changes Brought About

The intention of one research question was to determine how the subjects had changed as a result of their visit to a 'Third World' country. The majority found it relatively easy to answer, while others needed some help with supplementary prompts such as "Has it changed what you do?", or "...how you feel?". There were a number who could not identify any changes but these were a minority. As positive responses usually dealt with either actions or feelings, it may be helpful to consider them separately in this way.

What action meant for the majority was a simple desire to share the benefits of the experience with others in some way - usually through discussion about some of the issues that had challenged them or which they had found interesting. Twenty six per cent said they were finding this difficult due to the disinterest shown by those with whom they wished to
engage. This was more marked in the second round of interviews, some six months after their return when, as one 16 year old girl put it, "You talk about India to all your friends who didn't go and they get bored after about ten minutes". As has been seen it was younger subjects still at school who expressed the most difficulty in this respect, which inevitably led to a degree of frustration for them, and in the case of one school exchange, an increased dependency on the project group.

An increase in confidence gained from the total experience was mentioned by thirty seven per cent and this often related to action; "I am now more confident to do things....put my mind to certain things and get on with them....go straight for it".

Actions often dealt with the subjects reaction to their new found, or increased sensitivity to racism - either their own or that of others. This usually entailed handling other peoples verbal racial abuse they have witnessed. For three it strengthened their determination to become committed to anti-apartheid activities. A 19 year who as part of his Zimbabwe exchange had to visit South Africa comments:

Whenever I come across (white) South Africans trying to argue that Apartheid is a better system than democracy, I can talk from experience and tell them that I have actually been there.

Half of the group who had visited Zimbabwe referred to South Africa in a comparatively negative way. Only one other, not in this group, mentioned the Anti-Apartheid Movement as a vehicle for change. A young man who had visited Nigeria saw the importance of "looking at somebody as an
individual, for what they stand for and not their physical appearance". This was echoed by another who discovered from his visit to India that "...he is not racist, it's just some individuals I don't like".

Change towards environmental issues was referred to by thirty one per cent but this was usually at an awareness level - "Although already interested in environmental issues...it has encouraged that a little". It was however, a relatively small number who could identify ways in which their behaviour had definitely changed in respect of environmental or ecology matters.

Perhaps the most potentially profound change concerned those who expressed a desire to undertake in the future some useful work in a 'developing country'. For some of those still at school this represented their intentions of being "relief workers to help the poor" but they didn't appear to have thought it through at any convincing level. One Sixth Former however was already thinking strongly about going into medicine:

"...going to a place like India some of the people over there are so thin, are so poor, they are starved, they have dysentery, all kinds of diseases, it really, well for me anyway, it really makes you want to help. The Indian experience really enhanced my wanting to go into medicine."

A few others had this previously held idea reinforced by the experience.

Incidentally, it was interesting to learn from two other young men who had spent six months in India engaged in voluntary relief work, that due to the corruption they had witnessed in India they had changed their minds about
supporting aid agencies which dealt only with relief. Two factors may be of significance here; one was that they were not part of a youth exchange programme (therefore less protected from the harsh realities), and the other that their adventure covered a much longer period of time (thereby possibly giving them a broader view of things). These are attributes which are outside the scope of this particular research but are mentioned to highlight possible dangers implicit in exchange programmes when altruistic aspirations of this kind are manifested.

All the above indicated, either by statement or inference, that their feelings had been strongly affected. It was their feelings, and not actions which eighteen per cent of the subjects identified as having changed. These were usually expressed quite strongly and were wide in range. One said, "I feel closer to Indian people in this country... have a greater appreciation of their problems", and another:

I think I am a much fuller person from my trip because I don't feel just English now. I feel India is a definite part of me"

Some needed help to identify their feelings. This appeared to be more to do with a lack in the art of expression than any lack of feelings. A 19 year old undergraduate struggles to explain her feelings as follows:

"There hasn't been anything really specific. I just have a feeling that I've got a bigger understanding of Asian people here. There is so much about the 'Paki shop' and that kind of thing. I can see through that now and - kind of understand what they are doing and why they have come here - and that kind of thing".

As in this instance, feelings usually led to greater understanding.
The wider understanding of human and cultural values was underpinned by the subjects' better understanding of themselves. "I think we have learned something new about ourselves. When we are in England we take a lot of things for granted but when we were in India we had to do a lot more things for ourselves.", is the way one 16 year old put it. Another said, "I've had a new experience... and I feel I have changed a lot and people have noticed it".

There were a further ten per cent who could not say that they had been changed - this despite having given a fairly lucid account of the dynamic nature of the experience. In some cases this again could have been due to an inability to articulate properly or to make the necessary connections between the discoveries they had made and their own lives. The latter seemed to be nearer the truth in some cases.

There were eight per cent who stated that they thought Asian people in India were different to Asian people here. One suggestion, expressed by a participant who has had the additional experience of living with Asian people in this country, was that both these experiences are essential.

"The two experiences are very important. To have visited India and have spent a lot of time with Asian people in Britain. The benefits are inseparable. One experience without the other you will be lacking something. If you had some bad experience with people in India - that could colour your view of Indian people. Meeting, living and socialising with Asian people in England you realise that there are lots of good and there are lots of bad as in any kind of people. And in the same way as only mixing with Asian people in England you will
get a certain understanding of British Asian culture but you won't have experienced the pure culture you will in India".

This is a clear statement of how much this subject values the whole of his experience with Asian people and indicates how important this additional experience can be. It could be construed from this that an exchange visit as an 'additive' to some other healthy multicultural experiences is likely to have the optimum positive effect.

ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRES

As explained in the Methodology chapter the intention is to use the questionnaires to triangulate the data from interviews (mainly) and observations.

In analysing the questionnaires it became apparent that the sample was too small to utilise the computation of the chi-square distribution. It was therefore necessary to refer directly to the row and column percentage counts in order to make comparisons between the 'before' and 'after' data provided by the two sets of questionnaires.

It was a relatively small opportunity sample with a total of 47 subjects participating, with a reasonably high response rate for both the 'before' and 'after' questionnaires (see appropriate section in chapter on Methodology). Two questionnaires were employed (Appendix 1 and 2), Questionnaire 1 which is of original design and Questionnaire 2 which was already tested in another research study relating to a youth exchange programme similar in nature to mine.
The coding method used on the first questionnaire required respondents to indicate whether they - a) strongly agree, b) agree, c) uncertain, d) disagree and e) strongly disagree. When processing the raw data, in nearly all cases I combined the 'strongly' indications with 'agree' or 'disagree' as appropriate. This was in order to simplify and facilitate the analysis process and its presentation in histogram form. For the second questionnaire they were required to answer with a tick in one of three boxes indicating 'yes', 'uncertain' or 'no'.

In order to cross-check the findings from the questionnaires I coded the data into categories reflecting attitudes towards development, race, the environment (including ecology) and participants' ethnocentricity, which are the same as those within the main research. It is probably important to bear in mind that questionnaires were administrated at a relatively early stage in the research and that most of the questions remained the same from the pilot stage onwards. These categories were relatively easy to determine and it is interesting to note that the primary areas of concern have not deviated over the research period.

The following is an account of the inferences drawn from the findings within these categories as it relates to the main research and, as already mentioned, some of the data is presented in histogram form focusing on points of particular interest.

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

The questions grouped under development education are given below showing how these were further sub-divided to reflect particular pedagogies chosen
to facilitate the analysis. These pedagogies are Information, Critical Skills and Mobilization. Questionnaire 1 provided responses on Information and Critical Skills (mainly); Questionnaire 2 on Mobilization with a little on Information and Critical Skills. Numbered questions refer to Questionnaire 1 and alphabetical letters to Questionnaire 2.

Information

1) I usually turn off the T.V. when 'Third World' programmes are shown.

4) Live Aid and similar efforts bore me.

e) Would you like to see more T.V. programmes about foreign countries and how people live?

Critical Skills

7) The British Government's Aid Programme to 'Third World' countries should be reduced.

10) Famine is caused chiefly by drought.

11) People from the 'Third World' have more to learn from people in the West.

16) It is better to put money into large 'Third World' projects than small ones because the results are more effective.

17) Families in poor countries have too many children.

23) 'Third World' countries are over populated because of ignorance about family planning.

v) Should Britain attend to its own problems (housing, employment) instead of sending aid to the poor countries?

Mobilization

m) In Britain the average person can expect to live to nearly 70; in
the hungry countries to about 35. Should something be done about this?
p) Should we live less comfortably and pay higher taxes so that the poorer and hungrier of the world can be helped?
q) Do you think that the only way to have peace on earth is for all nations to agree to destroy all their nuclear weapons?
t) Are you always hungry? Two out of every 3 people on earth are.

Do you think that the well fed countries are doing enough to help?

I set out to determine whether the difference between the 'before' and 'after' questionnaires reflected any change in the subjects' attitudes as a result of the visit. The outcome of this is now given under the respective pedagogies.

Information

By comparing the 'before' and 'after' questions indicated under information (questions 1, 4 and e) it could be seen that there was a definite desire for subjects to understand more about the world. There was an increase in the strongly agreed column in answer to wanting to learn more about the world through T.V. programmes - a swing of 15 percent (to 84.5 percent) and there were fewer who were 'uncertain' - 23.3 down to 5.3 percent. This bears out the findings in the main data analysis.

Critical Skills

This grouping was further sub-divided in order to examine separately those questions appertaining to subjects' attitudes to the reasons for poverty as well as about aid. I deal with the poverty aspect first.
The questions (10, 17 and 23) suggesting that possible reasons for poverty were due to people having too many children and to over-population generally, attracted responses which indicate that in this respect subjects attitudes were only slightly affected by the visit. There was some evidence of polarization concerning the question (10) relating to drought being the cause of poverty with 5.7 percent strongly agreeing after the visit (as compared with none before) but with an increase in those strongly disagreeing (7.1 to 14.3 percent). These findings suggest, as was found in the main study, that the underlying causes of poverty were not affectively addressed by the exchange projects researched.

Other attitudes only marginally affected concerned the questions (v and q respectfully) asking if Britain should attend to its own problems (housing, employment) instead of sending aid to poor countries and about nations destroying nuclear weapons in order to achieve peace in the world. The 'yes' indications for the first was down from 11.6 to 7.9 with a very high 44 'uncertain' being reduced to 37 percent. There was no change to the 30 percent 'yes' answers to the second question. It is difficult to read too much into this except perhaps that it lends support to the the indications in the main study that the experience offered in the exchange projects did not make any connection with these kind of issues.

In a similar way, subjects' responses to the question (16) relating to whether money should be directed into large instead of small ('appropriate') 'Third World' projects were approximately 11 'agree' and 55 percent 'disagree' and seemingly unchanged by the experience of the visit.
The responses to the question (7) asking if they considered British Aid should be reduced reflected a definite move towards favouring aid to 'Third World' countries. Before the visit 7.1 percent indicated it should be, as against none after the visit. Following the visit 91.4 favored Britain giving aid compared with 76.2 percent previously. Another question (t) asking whether wealthy countries are doing enough to help, this time about the hungry, resulted in an increase in those who think not (72.1 before to 78.9 percent after).
DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

Histogram representing questions that received relatively high 'uncertain' scores

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question (v)</th>
<th>CRITICAL SKILLS</th>
<th>MOBILIZATION</th>
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<td>Should Britain attend to its own problems (housing, unemployment) instead of sending aid to the poorer countries?</td>
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Key

P = Positive  N = Negative  U = Uncertain (Responses)

| 1 : : : : | = Before    | 1 \  \  \  \  \  \ | = After |

Vertical Axis: Percentage of responses
Horizontal Axis: Type of response
Figure 7

DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

CRITICAL SKILLS

Histogram comparing 'before' and 'after' responses reflecting polarisation of strongly agree/disagree views on one question.

Key

1 = Strongly Agree  
2 = Agree  
3 = Uncertain  
4 = Disagree  
5 = Strongly Disagree

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Question (10) Famine is caused chiefly by drought.

Vertical Axis: Percentage of responses  
Horizontal Axis: Type of response
Mobilization

In this third category I attempt to analyse the responses to those questions which suggest the need for explicit action.

Scores to the question (m) asking whether subjects consider something should be done about the wide difference in life expectancy between the rich and poor people of the world, shifted from 86 saying 'yes' to 97.4 percent. Only 2.6 percent were 'uncertain' as against 7 previously. When asked if we should live less comfortably and pay higher taxes so that the poorer and the hungrier of the world could be helped (p) there was only a slight change towards 'yes', from 30 to 37 percent. This question attracted the highest 'uncertain' score in this category, approximately 47 percent at both stages.

It would appear from this that although almost all participants felt something needed to be done about the plight of the people of the 'Third World' only marginally more than a third were prepared to help by agreeing to have their taxes increased to achieve this.
Histogram comparing 'before' and 'after' questions which explicitly relate to the need for action (mobilization).

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(m) In Britain the average person can expect to live to nearly 70; in the hungry countries to about 35. Should something be done about this?

(p) Should we live less comfortably and pay higher taxes so that the poorer and hungrier of the world can be helped?

(q) Do you think that the only way to have peace on earth is for all nations to agree to destroy all their nuclear weapons?

(t) Are you always hungry? Two out of 3 people on earth are. Do you think that the well fed countries are doing enough to help?

Key

P = Positive  N = Negative  U = Uncertain  (Responses)

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Vertical Axis: Percentage of responses
Horizontal Axis: Type of response
RACE
Below are the questions categorised under race. These have been further sub-divided into those areas which could be considered to directly affect the subjects and into those less so. It is acknowledged that this sub-division is not precise as two questions (5 and d) could fall into either sub-division. However separating in this way helps to facilitate my particular approach to the analysis.

Questions which could directly affect subjects

2) I feel uncomfortable in the presence of black people.
5) Black people in this country should all live in their own communities.
   a) Would you like children/students/young people from different countries in your school/college/youth organisation etc.?
   d) Do you think no more immigrants should be allowed in Britain?
   g) Would you like it if one of your family married a foreigner?

Questions with less affect on the subjects

1) Do you think that any healthy person no matter which country he/she comes from should be allowed to live in whichever country he/she wants?
   s) Would it be a good idea if all the different races of people were to intermarry until there was only one race in the world?
   u) Would you like to have in schools teachers from countries outside Britain?
As with the other categories I set out to determine whether the difference between the 'before' and 'after' questionnaires reflects any change in the subjects' attitudes as a result of the visit. This is now examined.

**Direct Affect Category**

With regards to the first sub-group it would appear from some responses that subjects' had reasonably positive attitudes towards black people before the visit took place. For example in the question (2) about whether subjects felt uncomfortable in the presence of black people there was a combined disagree/strongly disagree reckoning of 95.2 percent before, with a marginal increase to 97.2 after. Similarly there was no affect to their responses whether they consider black people should live in their own communities (5) which was a high 85.7 percent who disagreed both 'before' and 'after'. Subjects were also unaffected by the question (a) relating to whether they would like children/students/young people from different countries in their school/college etc., with a high 89 percent indicating 'yes'.

However there was some movement when asked if they would like it if one of their family married a foreigner (g), with the answer 'yes' increasing from 51.2 to 65.8 percent - but there was also a slight increase of those who answered 'no', from 4.7 to 7.9 percent.

With regards to the question (d) whether subjects thought that no more immigrants should be allowed into Britain, the 'yes' responses increased from 9.3 to 21.1 percent and 'no' decreased from 48.8 to 39.5 percent. This apparent negative change in attitude towards immigration was not an
issue referred to in the rest of the research so it is not possible to offer an explanation for its manifestation here. In a broader context it may be possible to rationalise why in any case over 50 percent should think this way, regardless of the experience offered from the visit. This could be associated with the very negative way in which immigration has been treated by the media, which in turn is bound to affect the way subjects think. This then could be another wider contextual aspect which the exchange projects did not manage to address.

Less Direct Affect Category

I now deal with those areas which have less direct affect on subjects and which it could be said made them feel more secure in their responses than to those in the other category. I also refer to some of the anomalies in the replies to different questions which appear to have some connection.

It is interesting that in contrast to the unaffected answers to the immigrant issue referred to above, responses to the question (L) 'Do you think that any healthy person no matter which country he/she may come from should be allowed to live in whichever country he/she wants?', resulted in 'yes' responses increasing from 53.5 to 65.8 and 'no' decreasing from 16.3 to 10.5 percent. It may be possible to speculate that this discrepancy between the responses has something to do with the negative "no more immigrants allowed in this country" in one question, as compared with the more positive "healthy person...be allowed to live in whichever country" in the other. The favourable responses made when positive images are given about people from other countries is also reflected in the question (u) asking if subjects would like to have in schools teachers from countries
outside Britain. There was an increase in those who said 'yes' from 76.7

to 86.8 percent.

It could be construed from these points that subjects are saying that

people may live in the country of their choice provided they are of a

favourable disposition, i.e., in good health and belong to a reputable

profession such as teaching. This could be interpreted as being
discriminatory by its elitism.

Another seemingly irrational finding concerns the question (s) about

whether it is a good idea if all the different races of people were to

intermarry and the one previously discussed (g) "Would you like it if one

of your family married a foreigner?". Although before the visit there was

a high 81.4 who answered 'no', to the former question (s) this was reduced
to 71 percent, suggesting that the visit had had some effect in this

respect. From the apparent disparity between this finding and that in the

other (g) more personal one (which potentially involves the subjects'

family), it may be possible to conjecture that some feel it is in order for

people to intermarry provided it does not involve ones' own family.
Figure 9

RACE

FIRST SUB-CATEGORY

Histogram comparing 'before' and 'after' responses to selected questions which have direct affect on subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>90</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>10</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>U</td>
<td>P</td>
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<td>Q (5)</td>
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</table>

(5) Shows no change to whether black people should live in their own communities.
(d) Shows an increase in the 'yes' responses, with a relatively high 'uncertain' unchanged, to whether no more immigrants should be allowed in Britain.
(g) Shows that less would like it if one of their family married a foreigner.

Key

P = Positive  N = Negative  U = Uncertain  (Responses)

| : : : | = Before  | \ \ \ \ \ \ \ = After

Vertical Axis: Percentage of responses
Horizontal Axis: Type of response
**Figure 10**

**RACE**

**SECOND SUB-CATEGORY**

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Key**

- P = Positive
- N = Negative
- U = Uncertain

**Vertical Axis:** Percentage of responses  
**Horizontal Axis:** Type of response

**Histogram comparing 'before' and 'after' responses to questions with less direct affect on subjects.**

1. Do you think that any healthy person no matter which country he/she comes from should be allowed to live in whichever country he/she wants?
2. Would it be a good idea if all the different races of people were to intermarry until there was only one race in the world?
3. Would you like to have in schools teachers from different countries outside Britain?

**Key**

- P = Positive  
- N = Negative  
- U = Uncertain

- L = Before  
- S = After  
- U = Question Prefix

**Diagram**

- Vertical Axis: Percentage of responses  
- Horizontal Axis: Type of response
ENVIRONMENTAL

The questionnaires provided little data on the environment. Only two questions bore any relation to ecology - too few to use constructively for a cross-check purpose. For the record the questions were:

(f) Do you think pollution harms people and animals?

(w) Does it worry you at all if you see old cars and piles of rubbish dumped in the countryside?

Subjects recorded a high 95 percent agreement to the questions which was not affected by the visit.

ETHNOCENTRICITY

There were more questions on ethnocentricity which attempted to elicit how subjects regard their own race as the most important. To facilitate the analysis I have selected questions which seek responses about subjects' perceptions of themselves and/or of their own country. The questions are as follows:

(11) People of the 'Third World' have more to learn from people from the West.

(13) People who live in this country should adopt our lifestyle.

(h) After meeting a person abroad do you find that you like the people of that country more?

(k) Should we learn only about our own country in history?

(x) If you could choose your own nationality would you choose to be the same as you are now?

All the responses in this category indicate that the visit has had a positive effect on subjects' opinions about people from other countries and
their cultures. For instance on the question about whether people of the 'Third World' learn more from people of the West, 'agree' responses decrease from 21 to 14 percent and 'disagree' increase from 38 to 69 percent. There was a similar impressive result to the question whether after meeting a person from abroad you like them more, with 'yes' responses increasing from 49 to 56 percent. To the question - Should we learn only about our own country in history?, 'yes' was reduced from 16 to 5 percent and 'no' increased from 84 to 92 percent. A less marked difference resulted from the question whether people in this country should adopt our lifestyles, with a decrease in those who 'agree' from 21 to 17 percent. Similarly there was only a marginal difference to the question about choosing your own nationality, with 'yes' decreasing from 53 to 50 percent.

These findings appear to confirm the analysis of the main research data that subjects have moved considerably in their opinions of and respect for people of other countries and cultures.

There were other questions which related to subjects' ethnocentricity but as they were primarily about India it has not been possible to legitimately utilise the data as not all exchange visits researched were to that country.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER DATA

As has been seen most of the questionnaires data supports similar findings in the other research data. The following is a summary of these similarities:
An increased desire by subjects to learn more about other countries was confirmed.

The underlying reasons for poverty in the 'Third World' were not effectively addressed by any of the exchange programmes. The exchange programmes did not make effective connections between 'Third World' injustices and those in this country, or between the need for more British Aid and expenditure on war and military weapons. Subjects not only maintained reasonably positive attitudes towards black people, they moved considerably in their favourable opinions and respect of people of other countries and cultures.

A final interesting by-product to be uncovered by the questionnaire data reveals that subjects manifested some discriminatory and elitist responses on the matter of immigration which was not discerned through the other data.

CONCLUSIONS OF ANALYSIS

The general outcome of the research is a mixture of optimism and hope on the one hand, and a sense of disquiet on the other. The following is an attempt to explain both aspects of this paradox with a view to understand better the problem of effectively dealing with global education within the framework of an educational youth exchange programme.

The enjoyment and satisfaction gained by virtually all the participants was much in evidence. The very impressive friendship and kindness displayed by their hosts and by the majority of the people of the respective countries,
was of such magnitude that the subjects' ethnocentricity and eurocentricity were positively challenged. This resulted in an increased appreciation of the value and quality of life of people in 'Third World' countries and a determined desire for subjects to find out more about other peoples and cultures.

Subjects also declared that they had changed as a result. These changes concerned their feelings and for some, their actions as well. There were certainly many examples of a growth in confidence which again was translated into action in some instances. The majority of action related to their personal responses to racist language and racist jokes made by their peers. There were others who channelled their activities through local action groups (usually youth service or church based) or national organisations such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

There was also a minority with strongly expressed desires to undertake useful work in a developing country. Although some were convincing in this respect there were others who may have looked at things with some romanticism, perhaps being a little pretentious in their intentions, as one reflected, "About a week after I got back from India I was a lot more idealistic; I was fervently idealistic - and some people thought I was a bit too taut. I realise in a way that I had gone a bit too much that way and you have to be practical now and again".

An even smaller minority specified an ecological aspect, although few others related at all to this part of the experience.
There was a greater number of instances about the change the visit had made on subjects' feelings, which some had difficulty articulating. Positive feelings in turn led to greater understanding of the things around them—and about themselves. It would seem that not all could make the essential connection between these experiences and their own lives. This was one of the concerns the study identifies.

Some of those who had the necessary critical skills to make these connections, found frustration in not being able to share their new found feelings and understandings with family and/or friends. This appeared to contribute to an over dependence on the group.

This kind of struggle to communicate with others appeared to have considerable detrimental effect on the subjects' own learning—both in respect of that already gained from the experience, and, on the future potential for developing further from that learning. Having no vent for new found critical skills can have a retarded effect on the individual. It is a matter of them not knowing what to do with their recently acquired 'enlightenment'. There is a danger that they become imprisoned in their own minds due to not being able to share with others.

The answers given to the research question concerning which new areas had been revealed through the interview, provided substantive data about the retarded nature of the learning. Here are a few:

"Not thought of gains/ racism/environment" (from various people).
"Provoked a lot of things just lying there...which would have taken a long time to surface".
"To actually speak about Nigeria is quite rare... it gets out what you feel."

"Since the last interview I haven't really talked about racism to people or friends.... It's in my mind, but at the back".

"It's (interview) helped me articulate what I have been thinking but not really talked about".

"I think the racist point of view. I'd been thinking about it but not talked about it".

"It's (Zimbabwe) always been there in my mind, but I've never spoken about it".

"I think the racist question, I wasn't aware of being hurt...."

It was usually in the second round of interviews that observations were of a more considered nature. In the first set of interviews the enthusiasm for the visit was still very much reverberating, "I was fervently idealistic", one recalls and another, "I think about it (the visit) more now, rather than just thinking how I feel". In the second round they were sufficiently detached to make meaningful critical observations. An example was their ability to rationalise the difficulties of sharing experiences with others.

Other advantages of the second round interviews were that subjects engaged better about environmental issues and racial awareness appeared to sharpen. It also gave a clearer indication of any group over-dependence.

There was well-founded evidence about other concerns, one of which was of preconceived ideas and opinions being compounded by the visit. This is
also dealt with elsewhere under ethnocentric/eurocentric and anti-racist facets of the analysis. The severity of the cultural shock made an impact which, in terms of the poverty, lingered on in the minds of quite a few, "I often think of the poor", reinforcing negative stereotypes of 'Third World' peoples and countries. A mixture of astute understanding and complete misunderstanding was also in evidence regarding possible solutions to the plight of the poor in the world. The underlying reasons for poverty were not effectively addressed by any of the exchange projects.

There was the interesting tendency for many to refer to their negative feelings towards the people or country, rather than to the positive knowledge they had gained about them, thereby inadvertently elucidating their prejudices; the African who is "slow", and, the Indian who is "trying to grab as much out of you as he can". Negatives of this kind were many and the visit by itself has not been sufficient to dislodge this thinking. "It makes you think how deep these feelings are in white people".

This kind of evidence is what some would argue as being the adverse affect that monocultural education is having in this country. The fact that a number of subjects were surprised about the research questions on racism and ecology suggests that such essential areas of educational concern should feature in most, if not all, international education programmes.
CHAPTER 5: INTERPRETATION

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A model for a conceptual framework has been devised to facilitate the interpretation of the research data. Before examining this it will help to consider the meaning of both 'development' and 'education', which, in the context of development education are open to dispute. The following is from a British Charities perspective.

Pedagogies of Development

As we have seen in the literature review, Arnold, British Charities and Education, suggests that some tend to define the accepted areas of concern for development education relatively narrowly, focussing largely on economic matters, while others see it very broadly, attempting, in the words of one observer, to "burst out of the narrow corset of problems of underdevelopment and (become) more and more concerned with disarmament, ecology, human rights, alternative lifestyles, and many other subjects in the Western countries as well as the Third World" (Pradervand Development Education, The 20th Century Survival Skill. Report for the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Berne, January 1982, in Arnold :10).

Some supporters of the broad agenda suggest that it not only gives fuller meaning of the term development, but also avoids the restrictive view of the narrow agenda which tends to highlight only what donors give (technical and economic aid) while ignoring what donors can receive (human and cultural values and spirituality) - the point made by one host in the first stage case study when he questioned the group's apparent preoccupation with
looking at the negative aspects of India, rather than attempting to learn from what was positive - and a fundamental principle to emerge from my research.

In the literature review Arnold gives an account of the exploration for appropriate alternatives to the generally rejected "charity" vision of development education. Brandt suggests "interdependence", and others "liberation" (encapsulating empowerment), as valid alternatives, but as we have seen, these also have their critics.

In addition to the question of vision, there is also the question of how development educators should present the message. In this connection Arnold offers a helpful model which describes three legitimate approaches. First, to provide general information about the subject (for example, it can describe how people live). The second is to provide critical skill, which is essential for analysis (for example, learning to identify the implicit assumption of an argument). The third assists to mobilize people to carry out a specific activity, such as contribute money, lobby Parliament, or change one's lifestyle. The choice would depend on the particular vision of development and upon the situation (see Fig. 1 in Chapter 1).

We see from the literature that development education, environmental education, human rights education and peace education are four recent initiatives that have addressed the above and their related questions: how there have been important developments aimed at clustering this proliferation of 'educations' under a more inclusive title such as 'world
studies' or 'global education'. It has also been recognised that each 'education' has its own distinctive features and starting points, but that their concerns are finally mutual and overlapping. Questions concerning development and environmental matters, for instance cannot be separated in a world context.

This brings us on to consider further the broad focus approach as against the narrow focus of which the charity vision within development is an example (see Fig. 12).

The following descriptions of Narrow and Broad Foci are based on the book *Earthrights: Education as if the Planet Mattered*, and are extended and modified in places to suit the thrust of this research. These three 'educations' have been purposely selected because they directly relate to my area of study.
### DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrow Focus</th>
<th>Broad Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Problems of 'Third World countries</td>
<td>1 World development/interdependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Implicit acceptance of Western view of development</td>
<td>2 Non-Western view given due emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Solutions lie through aid</td>
<td>3 Solution lie in reforming economic/political arrangements within and between societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Young peoples' involvement: charitable collections</td>
<td>4 Young peoples' involvement: developing skills etc. for participation in decision-making processes (for development)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrow Focus</th>
<th>Broad Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Local environment</td>
<td>1 Local/national/global/environmental interdependencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Traditional biological and geographical emphasis</td>
<td>2 Exploring relationships between human behaviour and global eco-systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Implicit acceptance of Western perspective on the environment</td>
<td>3 Serious exploration of non-Western perspectives on the environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Developing caring interest in environment and practising study/research skills (Enabling about the environment)</td>
<td>4 Developing concerned awareness and participatory skills (enabling for the environment)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrow Focus</th>
<th>Broad Focus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Seeing black people as the &quot;problem&quot;</td>
<td>1 Accept racism as a white problem which needs challenging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Seeing racism in terms of derogatory language</td>
<td>2 Recognise racism is subtly blended into our everyday language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Patronising responses to black people</td>
<td>3 Relate to black people on equal basis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Measure 'problem' in terms of violent acts of racialism</td>
<td>4 Challenge subtle and insidious nature of institutional racism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, these 'educations' share relatively few and sometimes no mutual or overlapping concerns at their narrow focus. A purely local or biological approach to environmental education, for instance, has little or nothing in common with studying poverty in the 'Third World' (narrow focus development education). At their broad focus, however, there is an
extremely marked degree of convergence between the 'educations' to the
point where it becomes difficult to conceive of them as discrete areas. At
the broad focus they are complementary, interdependent and mutually
illuminating. Another advantage of the broad focused position is that it
involves fostering attitudes and active participation in the political
process.

DEVELOPMENT OF CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

By adapting Arnold's pedagogy model referred to earlier, and utilising the
paradigm of narrow and broad foci, it is possible to classify the interview
data to indicate where the subjects stood in this respect (see Fig. 12).

It can be seen that subjects' remarks do not lie predominantly within the
narrow perception/understanding category as may have been anticipated —
although this is marginally so with environmental education.

Development Education

In the second stage interviews the number of recorded remarks associated
with development was 221, as compared with 81 on the environment and 181 on
racism. It is sufficiently clear to see that development, at whatever level
and however described, featured prominently in the data.

We see from Figure 12 that it is the broad focus of
perception/understanding and critical skills that have the highest
incidence. This could in part be due to the profusion of the experience
which evoked some emotional and critical responses. It could be construed
that this is a direct indication of the benefit such an experience gives to participants on educational exchange visits.

Figure 12

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTERPRETATION
DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pedagogy</th>
<th>Perception/Understanding</th>
<th>Critical Skills</th>
<th>Mobilization/Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers represent incidents of remarks in Stage 2 interviews

Remarks coded under critical skills were not always complimentary to the 'Third World' as these reflected subjects' ethnocentricity to some extent. Causes of problems were often interpreted as being that of the 'developing countries' and there was scant acknowledgement of the need for 'interdependence' between nations. There were a few who challenged the idea of Western aid as providing the solution. There were even fewer who inferred any criticism of the present economic/political arrangements within and between societies.

Mobilization/movement at the broad end was mainly the manifestation of intended voluntary or vocational service to a 'Third World' country, or to become actively involved in some 'human rights' organisation. A change in lifestyle was also coded in this way. Passive or inert references to such
things were classified as narrow - as was the inability to make constructive learning connections with conditions at home.

Reference to peoples prodigious friendship and an appreciation of the value and quality in the respective countries became a broad development education category. Similarly the stated desire to learn more from other peoples and countries was treated in this way. When negative preconceptions had obviously been challenged then these were treated as 'broad' as was the evidence of increased political awareness. Another included here was the desire to share the benefits of the experience with others, which usually resulted in a better understanding of themselves.

Environmental Education

Apart from a small number of commendable exceptions there was a comparatively low response to the question concerning ecology and the environment. Perceptions were often shown to be concern about litter locally (narrow focus) and it was only a minority who could make any global connections (broad focus). An appreciation of what the West can learn from the 'Third World' and an ability to comprehend matters in a political context were in the broad focus.
The timing of this research came just as the raising of the public consciousness of ecological crisis was beginning. It would be interesting to speculate whether the results would have been different if it had taken place just six months later. There appeared to be greater empathy with this particular question in the second round interviews, when public opinion in favour of all things 'green' was beginning to emerge.

**Anti-racist Education**

Although some subjects had difficulty in making meaningful connections with racism in the context of their visit, others became prolific in their comments - most at the narrow end.

It could reasonably be assumed that all were familiar with racism and that even the 'least aware' would have some notion of what it entails, however restricted that might be. The high scores under critical skills (both narrow and broad) reflects the degree of concern about this. Its elucidation was not always spontaneous as the research question often needed subsequent prodding before latent feelings were expressed. Most
relished the rare opportunity which the interview gave them in this respect, showing what little outlet exists elsewhere for this.

Examples of a narrow focus on racism included statements to the effect that the experience of the visit had not increased any understanding of racism or that subjects did not consider themselves racist. It is noted here that the purpose of this research question was to ascertain the subjects own awareness of change, so no attempt was made to probe deeper than this.

An awareness of their own racism and an ability to state this were considered broad categories. The raising in consciousness of racial issues was also classified in this way.

Figure 14
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTERPRETATION
ANT-RACIST EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pedagogy</th>
<th>Perception/Understanding</th>
<th>Critical Skills</th>
<th>Mobilization/Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrow</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broad</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers represent incidents of remarks in Stage 2 interviews

As revealed in the data there was a strong tendency to interpret racism in terms of derogatory language and/or overt violence directed at black people. It appeared that only those who had their own racism challenged, either previously or as a result of the actual visit, were able to appreciate the subtle and insidious nature of racism in white society.
This lends argument for educational exchange visits having this crucial subject of anti-racist learning clearly as one of its objectives.

Generally references made about feelings were usually coded as narrow and under critical skills. Actions, on the other hand, were considered broad and within the mobilization/movement category.

Diaries

A comparative data analysis was undertaken on the diaries of Stage 1 subjects the results of which are shown in histogram form below (Fig. 15).

An important factor to bear in mind is that by its nature diary data is not directly solicited. This does not deny the fact that subjects were requested to submit these for analytical purposes, but the contents were entirely of the diarists' choice.

The striking difference here is the high score of comments on race in the narrow focus category. It will be recalled that there were some discussions on racial matters during the pilot which could go some way to account for the preponderance of references in diaries. However, it does not explain the reason for the narrow focus emphasis shown. As was seen from the wider data analysis, paradoxical statements were often made in respect of racism - usually starting with the negative and finishing in a more rational, positive way. The trigger action of the interviews which managed to unearth subconscious racism, plays a part in this apparent discrepancy.
There was remarkably little in the 'broad' area of any of the 'educations' - and none against development education and environmental education.

As far as development education is concerned, this lack of 'broad' comments in diaries was surprising, as the interviews on the first stage revealed that some subjects had moved significantly in their understanding and appreciation of the circumstances in India and of its people. It is only when, as the research shows, the eliciting function of the interviews is taken into account, can this apparent ambiguity be understood. This, as has been seen, also applies to the other two 'educations', particularly in the case of racism.
Figure 15

HISTOGRAM SHOWING INCIDENTS OF NARROW AND BROAD REMARKS
IN DIARIES OF FIRST STAGE SUBJECTS

Key

1: Understanding (Information)
2: Critical Skills (Interpretation)
3: Mobilization

N = Narrow
B = Broad
OTHER CONCEPTS

So far in this chapter we have established from the supportive data that there is a need for an holistic approach to development education. We have seen from the literature the value of the broad focus in the context of the comparatively recent proliferation of educations - in the way it fosters attitudes and active participation in the political process.

It is disturbing therefore to find from the analysis the dearth of data concerning the subjects' political awareness. Only twenty per cent made any suggestion that the injustices in the 'under developed countries' could have anything to do with wider issues other than an arid climate and/or the inability of those countries to organise themselves. This suggests a need for a curriculum which will foster critical education to take place, not only on exchanges, but within education generally.

It is essential for students to have, as Pepper suggests, an understanding of modern industrial society to see where their world view comes from, if opening of minds to alternative world views should become more realisable. He suggests, however, that "this process of shaking entrenched beliefs concerning the certainty in the elements making up our own cultural ideological filter is not an easy one" (:71).

As seen from the data analysis some subjects commented on the positive influence which religion played in the lives of the people of the country they visited and that there were those who had visited India with favourable impressions as a result of their first encounter with Hinduism. There were also four others who questioned (one very forcibly) the
relevance of Hinduism in modern India, which seemed to reflect the low
esteem given by many in the West to religion or to the wider concept of
spiritual matters. It is this pervading attitude which according to some
needs challenging if the West is to learn from this prominent quality of
the East.

In this context spirituality must be viewed in a wider sense than religion
as it can affect lifestyles, including attitudes to time, and a wholesome
holistic view of life - examples of which some subjects in the study
managed to identify.

A development of this thinking helps us to see how it impinges upon the
Eastern idea of karma. The value of this concept was mentioned by one
subject who related it to his having a more philosophical approach to
solving problems. In this context he described his understanding of karma
as "The sum total of your actions at any one time. Your physical being and
your spiritual being; your holistic person". This is another example of a
participant speaking from a wider perceptual framework to which the
exchange visit became an 'additive'. A deeper appreciation and
understanding of these and other such qualities of Eastern thought could
have been of immense value to other participants if similar frameworks had
existed for them.

It can be seen from this that a whole new exciting dimension is opened if
organisers of exchange programmes can manage to grasp the significance of
this learning. Unfortunately we are a long way from achieving this. It
must not be assumed that organisers of exchange visits are immune to the
aversion many in the West have to religious and metaphysical considerations - suffering from a kind of 'theo-phobia'. Yet it still remains that because of this continued attitude the validity of exploring such areas is denied. A growing army of people representing various disciplines say that it is imperative that we boldly tackle metaphysical concepts - among them economist Fritz Schumacher Small Is Beautiful (:76), theologian Father Griffiths (op.cit), academic David Pepper (op.cit : 72) and author Salman Rushdie (Herbert Read Lecture, February 1990). It is for this reason that I have included reference to these matters in the literature review such as Schumacher’s description of 'philosophical maps' A Guide to the Perplexed, op. cit., which do not focus only on things that allegedly can be proved to exist.

Looked at in this way, the challenges of exploring values and meanings are what assists our development. Divergent by nature they contain the spark necessary for our fulfilment which convergent isolated experiences, often given to us in the name of objective science, fail to do. In this way approaches to development education such as youth exchange programmes, if properly conceived, have considerable potential to be instruments for 'philosophical map-making' of the kind Schumacher describes.

**Differences in the Concept of Reality**

It is clear from the research that learning for change in world society is essential if we are to have any hope for the future. The complex nature of this learning must not be underestimated. Today’s generation of young people are the first to be confronted with contemporary issues of such magnitude. On a global front the ruin of the environment, like war, debt,
and the exploitation of women are just some of the issues which make up the jigsaw of development. The questions whether Britain is a multicultural society, or not; what does it mean, and how do you live and behave in a multicultural environment?, still puzzle many. The question for us all is, how do we address the ethnocentricity and eurocentricity which is endemic in British society? If understanding of other cultures is to increase and appropriate changes brought about, then we must examine features which are at the roots of fundamental differences between 'First' and 'Third World' peoples; in the ways we look at and interpret life - reality. The following are examples of these phenomena.

There is a tendency in many 'Third World' countries to interpret 'honesty' and 'law and order' differently to the way it is in Britain where the value system helps in the definition of 'right and wrong'. In 'Third World' countries there are the 'unofficial' transactions between the public and the Authorities which is generally described in the West as corruption, a practise which would usually be frowned upon in Britain. Similarly, for many of the people in desperate straits for whom deviant behaviour is the norm, it could be considered that the resultant rewards accrued from such activities are compensatory. For people in a First World country this rationale is a difficult one to grasp.

Linked with this notion is the conclusion one first stage subject came to as a result of his experience in India when he discovered there to be many different levels of truth which is very different from our own polarised perception. To illustrate this difference there is a saying "Tell the truth like a Christian" which Hindus have. This is not meant to be
flattering or complimentary to Christians; it just observes the difference in the way Christians perceive truth to their own. When examined in their own contexts the subject found both perceptions valid.

There were other instances when some first stage subjects found cultural/social differences presenting them with difficulties. In his second interview one described his observations:

"Two very noticeable changes in aspects of my attitude and opinion have been in the way my patience and tolerance have increased by quite a large degree when very often I have found myself in situations where I would normally become very impatient, and perhaps angry. But I have realised that in most of these instances if I was to do that there would be no positive advantage, and it would probably make the situation worse. A conclusion I would draw from this thought is that it is wrong for me to place judgement on somebody else from a different race, particularly when I am in their country. My judgement would be based on years of being in a totally different situation and environment. For me to travel several thousand miles and expect things to be the same is obviously completely inappropriate."

Some three weeks after his second and final interview another subject explained to me how he had reacted to a comment he had heard somebody make about "The way the Asians in this country are able to squeeze every last penny out of the system". He explained how he felt able to rationalise this observation because of his experience of India. The Indians, he felt,
were so used to bureaucracy in their own country that it was relatively easy for them to positively exploit the system here. This was not something to be condemned but to be understood and appreciated. Had he not been to India and benefited from group discussions about the different customs and so on, he would not have been able to make such a rational response. I am not judging the validity of his observation, but referring to his critical skills in being able to rationalise in this way.

He cited the above anecdote as an example of the important reflective learning he is experiencing since the visit, and in particular response to a conversation he and I had had about the value of his last interview as a means to such reflective learning.

These are a number of examples of features which are at the root of fundamental differences in reality which makes it difficult for someone from a Western country to understand other cultures and probably visa-versa.

In discussion with people who have made a number of visits to India and who have identified and struggled with this enigma, it appears a philosophical approach is called for which they find quite sobering. This is the notion not to reject or dismiss things they don't understand just because they find them complex and/or bewildering. Interestingly they refer to the dividend such Indian experience has had on subsequent complex situations at home. These have often proved to be less threatening than formerly - being rationalised more easily in this philosophical way.
An example of this was given by one subject who reflected on his experience subsequent to his visit to India, of sharing a house with some Pakistani student friends and observing that when in his presence they spoke together in their mother tongue, as they did often, he no longer felt threatened or irritated - as he had previously been.

I conclude with a final example which was given by a twenty-eight year old (not on an exchange programme) who recalled the degree of inspiration his twelve month stay in India some ten years previously had been. "It gave me my real education. It was like being a child over again; walking down the streets not understanding fully what was going on, not judging but accepting it as a child might. I learnt so much about accepting things I don't understand, which has helped me ever since."
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

Having regard for the changing position of Britain in international affairs and its implications for the education of its children, the increasing economic dependence of Britain upon other countries and the planetary environmental crisis effecting the whole world, the primary mission call from the literature review is clearly for more world/global studies in schools and elsewhere in the education system. Ways are called for to help young people to participate effectively in local, regional and international affairs which will lead to a recognition and appreciation of the world’s peoples and communities and the relevance of such relationships to their local and national situation.

The objectives of good educators must be future orientated (Swann, Richardson and Toffler et al, op. cit.). If schools and the Youth Service are to challenge an ethnocentric (or eurocentric) curriculum then they must forsake the popular doctrine of 'relevance' which has had influence for too long. As Parekh says, ways must be found for releasing our education system from its mono-cultural prison and become receptive to other cultures (Parekh op. cit.).

Implicit in this is the obvious importance that the young people themselves must be ready to find aspects of other cultures of value to themselves, to learn from them and to appreciate them. By studying contemporary world society they can become informed, self fulfilled and be able to participate in social and political change. Such attitudes and skills are empowering
and vital if young people are to become subjects rather than objects in their own history. It is important therefore that global focused projects are understood in an historical and political context.

Youth exchanges could develop in a similar way to Community Links which, as the literature chapter makes plain, have a role in publicising the abuse of human rights such as the effect of apartheid, food shortages and unequal trading relationships.

The report 'Community Linking: What Overseas Partners Say' shows how community links highlight the 'First' World/'Third World' interdependence. The West has learnt from experience that there is no problem that can effect the 'Third World' without effecting the West. According to the Report the West relies a great deal on the 'Third World' for raw materials. These are under priced and exploited in a wasteful manner through the actions of multinationals and Western governments who take the profits back to the West. This imbalance causes major problems of pollution, debt, and so on.

Although we live in one world, one global village, we are very ignorant about each other. We need each other for survival and the continuity of the human race. The same Report comments, "At the moment, most people in the North perceive people in the South as starving, lazy, primitive, underdeveloped, pathetic, reproducing like rabbits and having too many wives. Worse still, they have made the people of the South think of people in the North as superior, efficient, wealthy, and most intelligent - perpetuating an inferiority-superiority complex originally created by
European colonialism, which has remained like a fog in the consciousness of the South (op. cit.: 24).

This study has shown how projects with an international dimension can help combat this 'culture of ignorance' which is prevalent in the West; that being aware of other cultures prevents our own from becoming a prison of prejudice.

From the analysis, for instance, it can be seen that a connection can be made between subjects' global awareness and their understanding of racism. It is significant that the first round research interview question on race came as a surprise to one third of the subjects and that as a result of the visit a quarter were not more aware of racism, either their own or that of others. Just under a third had not thought about racism at all. This underlines the absence in most of the exchange programmes of such an obviously crucial focus. The participants who revealed a wider perspective on issues, an eighth of the study group in fact, showed sufficient confidence to own their own racism and were capable of coming to terms with:

- their subconscious racism
- the subtle and insidious nature of racism
- the need to challenge racism
- the need to continue interest and involvement after the exchange visit.
We have seen how in this way the experience of a carefully planned youth exchange programme could be a key to unlock what is required to challenge white participants' endemic racism and apparent xenophobia.

It can be safely construed from the data that global education when handled holistically has the capacity to examine racial attitudes and other related fields as well.

CRITICISMS OF DEVELOPMENT EDUCATION

An examination of racism within this context can still be considered to fall short of what is required. The literature highlights what critics say about the danger that focus on development education may obscure other basic inequalities which exist in the world such as class and gender. Although neither were of direct focus in the study it was surprising that there was no mention of class and only very few references to gender issues.

There is the additional concern expressed by some that global education encourages focus on the oppressed rather than the oppressor thus veiling even more basic injustices in the world. According to these critics this kind of focus only serves to augment negative images of the 'Third World' and of its peoples. This study provides some evidence supporting these criticisms, as one subject commented, "Going to India doesn't really help you understand the causes; it just provides the experience of witnessing the poverty". It is understandable that some question the value of exchange visits when most do not have the kind of holistic approach as recommended in this study.
HOLISTIC APPROACHES

The essence of the finding of this research is to question the evaluation of development education projects in general and youth exchange visits in particular, which only consider compartmentalised or discrete areas, whether positive or negative (e.g., not addressing class and gender) which are restrictive in their focus. Concerns which are divergent and complex (part of the cut and thrust of development education) are usually interconnected with other equally important issues and therefore require a broad focus of attention. Evaluation in context with, and in relation to other relevant fields, is the only way such concerns can be usefully understood.

On the surface it does not look possible to evaluate such a broad, holistic approach and there is the temptation for us to opt for the more easily managed narrow approach. Some proponents of each field argue that theirs is the field. Others warn of the dangers of fragmentation and overload and of the likelihood of duplication. However those with an holistic perspective see the value of an approach which starts with a selected single field, but by a progressive focus has the versatility of examining this in relation with other connected fields.

The attraction of an holistic approach of this kind is that it adds a new dimension and mobility to programmes suffering because of their state of inertia.

What the data shows is that youth exchange programmes set in an holistic or broad context appear to have considerable potential for positive results.
Figure 16

Model 1 reflects the focus of this study with development education in the centre overlapping the other two educations at the broad end and making no connections the narrow end. Model 2 represents a developed holistic approach with other educations.
(see Table 16). This study has concentrated on just a few connected areas of concern which have emanated directly from its inquiries. It is possible to speculate that had the projects under study been broader in focus then class and gender, for instance, would have featured in them more than they were.

With this approach the project leaders would need to be pro-active in assisting the participants in making the kind of connections between issues necessary for this kind of learning to take place. It also requires the youth exchange programmes being proposed to have a wider and longer term framework than just the visit itself - as was the situation in all but one of those under study. In this way they have the potential to become concerned with even wider issues such as 'disarmament', ecology, human rights (including class and gender), alternative lifestyles and many other subjects in the Western countries as well as the 'developing countries'. We have seen directly from the data the potential benefit to the West of a wider concept of spirituality for instance.

The thinking of those at the broad focus is increasingly marked by a shift away from a compartmental view of reality to an acceptance of the interconnectedness of all things and to what Greig refers to as the 'permeability of boundaries'. He suggests that a common acknowledgement of the 'permeability of boundaries' explains why those at the broad focus: emphasise the importance of interdisciplinary approaches and call for the infusion of the whole curriculum with a global perspective; seek a more thoroughgoing integration of school and community through greater involvement of the community in school life and through an
expansion of community learning opportunities; 
regard education as a life long process involving every aspect of 
human activity rather than as part of life that ends with leaving 
school, college or university (Greig :36).

It is important that this holistic approach is viewed against a background of an ongoing supportive framework which is crucial if participants are to experience significant growth and development. When this is absent the seeds of awareness sown as a result of the visit are likely to remain dormant. Such a 'framework' will provide the appropriate outlet for newly acquired critical skills. It will need to avoid operating in isolation of other local developments, for as we have seen there is a risk of some participants becoming overly dependent on each other. This is more likely to be the case on those projects with a narrow focus.

In short it can be said from this that exchange programmes which act as an 'additive' to an on-going supportive framework, and are holistic in nature, are less likely to obscure basic inequalities which exist in the world.

OPERATING IN A WIDER COMMUNITY CONTEXT

A constant feature in most of the youth exchange projects under study was their evident isolation, which meant the negation of being positively influenced by other local groups and organisations which are working towards the same or similar ends. The one exception was able to draw on local expertise as part of a continuous programme. This is an example of the ongoing framework which this research has found necessary for substantial learning to take place.
This inter-agency connection makes greater sense when the project is working from an holistic base. The recent awakening of interest in ecology has resulted in an openness to co-operation of this kind.

SUGGESTION FOR FURTHER WORK

The study of selected youth exchange programmes has made it possible to identify some effects they have on participants' opinions and attitudes and to suggest ways they may be improved to answer some of the criticisms directed at them. What the study has not been able to do is give any actual examples of good practice of projects within the recommended holistic framework. There have been signs recently of positive movement in respect of anti-racism with more project leaders addressing this directly - some employing specialists as part of exchange visits' preparation and follow-up. There is less indication of movement of this kind in the other fields.

There are various reasons for these omissions. Some organisers of exchange visits try to avoid areas which may be considered 'political' and therefore sensitive to their sponsors. But the the most common reason is that many leaders, with the best intentions of offering a valuable experience for participants, do not recognise the need themselves. The situation does not improve with time because of the absence of an effective evaluation process.

It is in this area of evaluating projects that more work is required. Only in this way will organisers of exchange programmes be helped to identify the need for an holistic approach.
APPENDIX i  NAME........................................

 QUESTIONNAIRE 1

I am interested in your responses to these opinions. You will agree with some of them and disagree with others. Sometimes you will agree strongly and at other times will disagree strongly. Now and then you may be uncertain whether you agree or disagree. Read each opinion and put 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 at the end of each statement.

1. Strongly Agree. 2. Agree. 3. Uncertain. 4. Disagree. 5. Strongly Disagree

1. I usually turn off the T.V. when Third World programmes are shown.
2. I feel uncomfortable in the presence of black people.
3. I feel apprehensive about leading a discussion/presentation.
4. Live Aid and similar efforts bore me.
5. Black people in this country should live in their own communities.
6. I like being a member of a team/group.
7. The British Government's Aid Programme to Third World countries should be reduced.
8. Arranged marriages are a good thing.
9. People can rely on me in a group/team situation.
10. Famine is caused chiefly by drought.
11. People from the Third World have more to learn from people from the West.
12. I get more satisfaction by completing a task on my own than in a team/group.
13. People who live in this country should adopt our lifestyle.
14. Britain has more nuclear scientists than India.
15. Religion is too highly emphasised in India.
16. It is better to put money into large Third World projects instead of small ones because the results are more effective.
17. Families in poor countries have too many children.
18. I am a good listener.
19. Since Independence India has developed into a successful trading nation.
20. Sikhism is a violent religion.
21. Discussions on Third World issues stimulate me.
22. Religion in Britain has lost its importance.
23. Third World countries are overpopulated because of ignorance about family planning.
APPENDIX II

NAME ............................................

QUESTIONNAIRE 2

1. Cross out if not applicable
   Age
   Male or Female M/F
   Where do you live
town/country
   Nationality

2. Answer these questions in the boxes provided
   a) Would you like children/students/young people from different countries in your school/college/youth organisation etc.? yes ? no
   b) When you start work would you like to work abroad?
   c) Would you like to have a penfriend in an overseas country?
   d) Do you think no more immigrants should be allowed into Britain?
   e) Would you like to see more T.V. programmes about foreign countries and how people live?
   f) Do you think pollution harms people and animals?
   g) Would you like it if one of your family married a foreigner?
   h) After meeting a person abroad do you find that you like the people of that country more?
   i) Do you think that Britain is the best nation in the world?
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<td>j)</td>
<td>Should a world police force be the only group in the world to have arms?</td>
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<td>k)</td>
<td>Should we learn only about our own country in history?</td>
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<td>l)</td>
<td>Do you think that any healthy person no matter which country he comes from should be allowed to live in whichever country he wants?</td>
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<td>m)</td>
<td>In Britain the average person can expect to live to nearly 70; in the hungry countries to about 35. Should something be done about this?</td>
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<td>n)</td>
<td>Should all the nations of the world be governed by one central world government instead of having its own government?</td>
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<td>o)</td>
<td>Would you like to go on holiday or a school journey to a country in Europe?</td>
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<td>p)</td>
<td>Should we live less comfortably and pay higher taxes so that the poorer and hungrier of the world can be helped?</td>
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<td>q)</td>
<td>Do you think that the only way to have peace on earth is for all nations to agree to destroy all their nuclear weapons?</td>
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<td>r)</td>
<td>Do you find it interesting to read about foreign countries and their peoples?</td>
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<td>s)</td>
<td>Would it be a good idea if all the different races of people were to intermarry until there was only one race in the world?</td>
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<td>t)</td>
<td>Are you always hungry? Two out of three people on earth are. Do you think that the well fed countries are doing enough to help?</td>
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<td>u)</td>
<td>Would you like to have in schools teachers from countries outside Britain?</td>
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v) Should Britain attend to its own problems (housing, employment) instead of sending aid to the poorer countries?  

w) Does it worry you at all if you see old cars and piles of rubbish dumped in the countryside?

x) If you could choose your own nationality would you choose to be the same as you are now?

3. Fill in the correct box:

   The country I have visited is _______________________

   The country I intend to visit is _______________________

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME
YOUR DIARY

It will be helpful if you were to keep a daily diary and if you would let me have this at the end of the visit. It will, of course, be returned to you.

The following guidelines may be useful.

1. Write about your feelings, experiences and how you see things in India.

2. Note the differences between your expectations and your experiences.

3. Please write up your diary each day.

4. The diary is an important part of the Project and will be a help in writing reports. Contents will be treated confidentially.

Thank you for your help.
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