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SOCIO-CULTURAL ANIMATION

In 1975 the Council of Europe Documentation Centre for Education in Europe published *Information Bulletin* 4/1975 devoted entirely to a selection of papers which had been issued in earlier years in connection with the Council of Europe's Project on Socio-cultural Animation and its meetings, symposia and studies. They formed a cross-section of work originated in 1970 and still in progress 1975. This Bulletin has proved useful to those concerned with animation in all member countries. It has now run out of print but the demand for it continues to be substantial. It has been decided not merely to re-print it but to up-date it by additions which give some account of events and trends of opinion since the original publication. One amendment may be noted immediately. It is now possible to dispense with any other translation of "animation socio-culturelle" than "socio-cultural animation", as this term is now sufficiently familiar to English ears. The former translation, "socio-cultural community development" is, however, retained where it was used in the original papers.

No alteration has been made to the texts of these papers except the last – "Some projects in member states". From all points of view it has seemed preferable to retain them as originally written, amending merely the introductory commentaries; to enlarge the former general introduction so as to put these texts into the perspective of the completed history of the Project on Socio-cultural Animation which terminated in 1977; and to conclude with a brief account of the present outlook for the work which is to follow it.

The Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe – the CCC – had, long before 1970 come to occupy itself with the concept of socio-cultural animation. It presented a challenge to traditional cultural development policies which were based on the proposition that culture consists of literature and the performance and exhibition arts, and their contemporary developments; and that while this culture has in the past been more accessible to the socio-economically privileged, it must now be "democratised" and made available to the mass of the

people. The early evangelists of socio-cultural animation claimed that such policies had had little effect and were a waste of resources for which the animateurs had a better use and a better claim. In this they did less than justice to some real achievements in the democratisation of culture and were, perhaps, too optimistic in their expectation of a widespread popular response to socio-cultural animation. They had, however, a strong argument with egalitarian and welfare-oriented governments in contesting the justice of promoting a minority culture as the sole object of cultural policy. Moreover sociologists had demonstrated that culture cannot be equated with a restricted range of artistic activities but is a continuous process creating the behavioural patterns, the attitudes, values and interdicts, and the common stock of intellectual and affective data that form the framework of life for any man or woman anywhere, at any time. In European cities and villages there is not one, but a number of co-existing cultures, each with its frame of reference and forms of creativity.

The makers of governmental cultural policy represented at the CCC, while not inclined to abdicate from concern with the heritage arts in favour of cultural autism, were led to enquire about culture in the wider sociological sense. Signs of creativity among other cultures were not easy to find. Indeed they seemed rather to be drowned in waves of an "American" consumer-culture diffused by the mass media. It was for such reasons that the CCC gave serious attention to movements on foot in several countries for the socio-cultural animation of the people – the promotion among them of creativity according to their own cultural conceptions, and the evolution of life-styles no longer dwarfed by the dominance of elite culture or enslaved by the masscult of commercial exploitation. In these movements a very wide range of activities was regarded as cultural – activities such as the creation of a neighbourhood creche or consumer group, the organisation of festivals and street games, and active involvement in public affairs. The CCC wished to know whether socio-cultural animation should be supported as a means of giving reality to that "right to culture" stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; as something which reflected a common European feeling that the valuable aspects of culture include more than admiration of great achievement, – include processes of discovery, creative imagination and experiment and commitment that are within the grasp of all. At the same time, members of the CCC were anxious to know what sort of relationship might emerge between animation and custodianship of the cultural patrimony.

For these reasons the CCC, with the co-operation of the Dutch government, arranged for a symposium to be held at Rotterdam in 1970

as an exploratory and air-clearing operation. The symposium itself provided a confused mass of prolegomena, often stated with turbulence and bitterness. A working-group composed of experts of international reputation collated this material, together with the erudite preparatory documentation, into a scholarly and objective report. In accordance with its recommendations the CCC set up a Project in Socio-cultural Animation, charging a director and a group of experts to examine the feasibility of policies for the promotion of "cultural democracy" by animation programmes; and to study the effectiveness and replicability of animation techniques. The phrase "cultural democracy", as contrasted with the "democratisation of culture", implied that culture is, in the words of the Rotterdam Report, "something in which to participate . . . and a condition of well-being". It implied too, an acceptance of the principle of cultural pluralism, but it should be noted that the CCC in setting up this project, did not envisage the replacement of its work for cultural development, but an enlargement and enrichment of it – not the abandonment of its concern for the heritage arts but the inclusion of other objectives in its cultural programmes.

The work of the project until 1972 may be summarised as:

– establishing a system for the collection, cataloguing and exchange of information about socio-cultural animation in Europe;

– the resolution of discords manifested at the Rotterdam Symposium, where a significant number of animateurs had over-reacted against the heritage arts. A small but vocal group had even gone so far as to claim that cultural democracy was inconsistent with the neo-capitalist societies of Europe, and to assert that socio-cultural animation must seek their transformation. At the same time they demanded governmental support from these societies. It was thus a necessary task to define animation in such a way that it could retain its dynamism and also gain the sympathy and support of governments.

The completion of both these tasks was a part of the CCC Symposium on "Methods of Managing Cultural Facilities" conducted by the Italian government in 1972. The definition established there is given in this Bulletin both in "General aspects of animation" and "Socio-cultural animation for a common type of housing area". The catalogue of information updated to 1977, is contained in "Some Projects in Member States.

The San Remo Symposium also established firmly that socio-cultural animation not only counts upon the goodwill and support of

governments, but looks to them to initiate animation policies. The report urged the CCC to "bring about a more active awareness on the part of governments, local and central, that socio-cultural animation is a distinct area of work of great and urgent political and socio-economic importance, for which governments should have an explicit policy supported by adequate resources."

During the Symposium a certain confusion became apparent, especially among Nordic delegates and among adult educators, and arising from a belief that the work of the CCC in its Project on Permanent Education already covered all that was proposed under the heading of Socio-cultural Animation. For this reason the paper *Socio-cultural Animation and Permanent Education* was prepared in consultation with representatives of the Projects on Permanent Education and Adult Education.

Between 1972 and 1974 the Animation Project had to come to terms with some major difficulties. Foremost among them was a vicious circle. Substantial experience of effective animation was needed to induce governments to support it generously; without such support such experience could not be obtained. A more direct way of convincing governments had to be tried. This was the reason why the paper *General Aspects of Animation – Guidelines for a policy* was written. It was to be submitted to the appropriate committee of the CCC for endorsement and transmission to the governmental representatives sitting on the parent body. For the same reason workers in the Animation Project decided to use the information which had been accumulated of actual examples of successful animation, fragmented across European countries, to assemble these partial details into a coherent mosaic to serve as a demonstration of how concrete programmes could be mounted. This was the background to the paper *Socio-cultural community development for a common type of housing area.*

Another difficulty was the tendency among responsible people to interpret socio-cultural animation merely as one more missionary movement to "democratise culture" and improve the quality of mass leisure. The more radical implications were, indeed, spelled out in "Guidelines", but this had to await committee endorsement before publication. For immediate purposes the paper *Implications of a policy of socio-cultural community development*, which certainly does not err on the side of timidity, was issued. This paper refers to the Colloquy at Arc-et-Senans, sponsored in part by the Council of Europe, which assembled some twenty of the world's leading experts to discuss long-

term forecasts for cultural development. It recommended "instituting more links between cultural institutions and social forces" as a means of overcoming a situation in which the dissemination of an established culture "is as foreign to most sections of the population as it is to immigrants"; and as a movement towards "a decentralised pluralistic cultural democracy in which the individual can play an active part". The report of the proceedings of this Colloquy were greatly encouraging to workers in the Animation Project.

The closing section of the document *Implications of a policy of socio-cultural community development* is entitled "Manpower for an Animation Policy", and this is an indication of the extent to which all the work of the project continued to be troubled by a number of unresolved problems concerning the supply, status, training and deontology of animateurs. The offer of the Belgian government to organise a CCC symposium on these themes was gratefully accepted. The papers in *Bulletin 4*/1975 which have not yet been mentioned here are all documents preparatory to, or emerging from, the Brussels Symposium of 1974. Where topics which involve many fundamental issues of principle and technique had to be considered, it was not to be expected that a single symposium could conclude with a single set of agreed conclusions. Thus the Brussels papers are reproduced in extenso as showing the shades of responsible opinion and, also, the elements of consensus.

To up-date *Bulletin 4*/1975 so that the papers can be seen in perspective from this present date, it is necessary to remind readers that they form only a part of the documentation of the Animation Project. A list of some other important papers from this source is given in an appendix to this volume. It is also necessary to point out that the texts reprinted represent, each of them, stages in the development of the opinion of the project group. They were stages when much had to be done to overcome apathy, inertia and even hostility. The need for vehement assertion has been modified by subsequent events, and it will be helpful if these are briefly recounted.

From the time of the Brussels Symposium the term socio-cultural animation became much more familiar in all member countries, and particularly to arts administrators and adult educators. The Animation Project increasingly had liaison with the Adult Education Project and with the European Towns Project, which hitherto had largely concentrated on the more severely measurable aspects of municipal cultural life. Stress was laid on the objectives common to all three and, in particular, upon the need to enable and induce people to take a part

in the decision-making which affects their educational, cultural and socio-cultural facilities. Joint studies on the de-centralisation of decision-making were undertaken and a colloquy was held at Nuremberg in which both arts administrators and experts in animation took part. In 1976 there was representation of the Animation Project at a Symposium at Siena on the training of adult educators.

After considerable revision the statement *Guidelines for a policy of socio-cultural animation* came before the relevant committee of the CCC in 1974. The committee did not endorse it en bloc but, after much deliberation, made an abstract of some of the chief recommendations, sending these on to the CCC in 1975, and attaching the original *Guidelines* as a background document worthy of consideration. Crowded agendas have meant that the CCC has not yet pronounced formally on the committee recommendations, but it is clear that the idea of a policy of socio-cultural animation has been noted with sympathy by most individual members. A more formal type of endorsement has come from the ad hoc Conference of Ministers with Responsibility for Cultural Affairs held at Oslo in June 1976. (See No. 32, summer 1977, of *Education and Culture*, review published by the Council of Europe). The resolutions of this Conference mark a complete departure from the assumptions underlying previous European Ministers' statements. The aim of cultural policy, they say, must be "cultural democracy" based on the "plurality of our societies", and they explicitly reject policies concerned only with the heritage arts which leave large sections of our societies untouched and ready victims for "commercially provided quasi-cultural entertainment". Cultural policy must be concerned with the quality of life, "the cultural dimension of social policy". It can "no longer limit itself to measures for the promotion and popularisation of the arts". The ministers expressly urged governments to avail themselves of the rich variety of techniques found to be effective by socio-cultural animateurs; and they urged the Council of Europe to continue and deepen its work in the field of socio-cultural animation.

About this time the CCC was engaged in a major reorganisation of the structures of its work. Financial considerations in an epoch of rising costs, and the internal dynamics of the secretariat, made for a further concentration of programmes. For reasons which have been mentioned, it seemed logical to combine the European Towns Project and the Animation Project in a new Project on the quality of life entitled "Cultural Development Policies in Towns". This began and the Animation Project terminated in 1977. The last major activities of the Animation Project were the Symposium at Reading on "Animation in

New Towns" and its final report, *Audit and Legacy*. There has now been time, within the new project, for reflection on the lines of thought represented in the papers of Bulletin 4/75 reproduced here, and some revision for the purpose of a new strategy of development. A short account of this is contained in the new section printed here – "The Outlook in 1977".

GENERAL ASPECTS OF ANIMATION

Guidelines for a policy

by J. A. SIMPSON,
Project Director, Exeter

This paper was completed in 1974. Its background and purpose have been outlined on earlier pages, together with some account of its reception by the CCC and the attitude to it of European Ministers with responsibility for Cultural Affairs. It is important to note that the paper states a policy for socio-cultural animation only, and presupposes that there will be other important elements in the cultural development policies of municipal and central governments.

Need for a CCC Statement of socio-cultural development policy

"Animation socio-culturelle" (which is translated as "socio-cultural community development") is a response to a grave and widespread problem of our times, common in all our countries, – a culture gap which, apart from its offence to our ideals of social justice, vitiates the work of economic, political and educational policies designed to bring to our societies a greater measure of true democracy, compassion and equality of opportunity.[1]

The initiatives being made in many countries are of widely differing kinds, ranging from the work of large socio-cultural centres, with their own permanent premises, to street-corner exhibitions; and from small protest groups to government-sponsored schemes of urban renewal. They all have the following features in common. They seek to provide that stimulus to the mental, physical and emotional life of people in a particular area which will move them to undertake a wider range of experience through which they will find a greater degree of

1. The origins of this problem and details about its nature and effects have already been stated in Doc. CCC/EES (72) 78. There, too, will be found the first list of the efforts being made in many countries to tackle this problem by various forms of socio-cultural community development. An updated list is at the end of this Bulletin.

self-realisation, self-expression, and awareness of belonging to a community – a community over which they exercise some control and to which they have a contribution to make. As this animation is primarily designed for people who, for one reason or another, are very seldom attracted to the kinds of educational and cultural programmes available to them, special techniques are employed for arousing and holding people's interest. The aim of this action is not to assert the superiority of any particular set of tastes and activities or any form of culture, but merely to widen the "repertoire" of experiences, roles and values which constitutes the personality of a human being.

Some concrete examples of socio-cultural community development work given at the end of this brochure show that they range from complex operations like the integrated socio-cultural and educational facilities at Yerres or Billingham, or the use of video by the people of Verviers, or the revivification of museums and galleries in Bologna, to simpler techniques like the Day Mother Project in Bonn or the Centreprise shop in Hackney, London.

In the last decade the existence of this problem has been widely recognised, although in view of its gravity the response to it must seem timid and minuscule. Indeed, it lies at the heart of that cultural crisis about which so much has been written, and which was the theme of the Colloquy on European Cultural Policies held at Arc-et-Senans in 1972. Speaking there the French Minister for Cultural Affairs announced a new "moral imperative" for Governments: to go beyond enactment of cultural rights to the people and to take all possible action to ensure they exercised them.

Even earlier, with this problem in mind, the Committee for Out-of-School Education and Cultural Development set up the project on socio-cultural facilities and animation to examine these initiatives, to catalogue and classify them, to identify their underlying aims and principles, and to give deeper study to any methods which seem effective and replicable, and to difficulties which beset the work. Difficulties there are in abundance, but all our experience so far in the project leads to the conclusion that the most serious of them all is something which afflicts the work in nearly all our countries. The progress of socio-cultural community development is held up everywhere for lack of a clear concept, accepted and formulated by governments as a policy for national development, comparable with, say, housing or education policies – a policy to which governmental practice and structures can be adapted. For lack of such a policy socio-cultural initiatives tend to be mounted in a tentative and obscure way, and they are fragmented between a number of different public

authorities to which they are often only of marginal concern. They are inadequate in volume and vigour and scope for the dimension and urgency of the needs. This conclusion was endorsed by the proceedings of the Symposium on socio-cultural animation held at San Remo in 1972 where more than a hundred delegates from member countries exchanged views on progress and problems. The report of this Symposium states certain "guide lines" indicating action which the CCC may take to help. The first of these reads: "to bring about a more active awareness on the part of local and central governments that socio-cultural animation is a distinct area of work of great and urgent political and socio-economic importance, for which governments should have an explicit policy supported by adequate resources and administered by a purposefully integrated structure of government departments".

It was clear from the proceedings of the San Remo conference that the difficulty does not lie in lack of sympathy among individual government representatives. Rather, it lies in the dead weight of the existing compartmentalisation of government policies and structures.

A stimulus has already been given effectively by the CCC in the field of permanent education. The elaboration of this policy and its presentation at Council of Europe level have been of great significance in the development of governmental conceptualisation, planning and practice in a number of our countries. Largely by this means the very term "permanent education" has become a part of official language and thinking. And in consequence there has been much un-freezing of the traditional compartmentalisation which has been a hindrance to educational progress, and an attempt to liquidation of narrowly academic, technical and elitist concepts of education. Similar results could be expected from a CCC lead in the socio-cultural field.

Indeed a lead of this kind is a necessary corollary of what has been achieved in the educational sphere, and, as will be shown below, permanent education needs to be complemented with a vigorous policy of socio-cultural community development if it is to be fully effective.

The relationship between two policies so closely allied needs some explanation. While pressing the urgent need for a distinct statement of a socio-cultural development policy – separate from permanent education – we note that this need is merely the outcome of forces which operate at present. It is not rooted in the theory of the two concepts; and it does not represent an ideal state of affairs. Ideally, we look forward to a global educational policy which gives full weight to the aims of socio-cultural community development and which is reflected

by structures and practice which include the realisation of these aims. As things stand at present, however, this is far from the case. Even where educational policies pay verbal tribute to the aims of "animation socio-culturelle", they are lost and neglected among the main pre-occupations of educational administration – the schools, universities and education for productivity. This is understandable enough. Enormous tasks of reform are in process in the existing structures of education, and they are surrounded by controversies and problems – questions of university entrance, of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools, of selection or comprehension at the secondary stage, of "second chance" education and industrial training, of qualification by credit unit, of pupil and student autogestion, of the individuation of learning by multi-media systems.

As things are at present, moreover, there are marked differences between the content of any actual educational and animation programmes. The work of the latter is increasingly geared to the needs of people who are outside the threshold of educational facilities as they exist. It is part of the specialist work of the animateur to overcome their attitudes of mistrust, contempt or hostility or sheer apathy. Again, all animation processes are undertaken on an entirely voluntary basis. To bring people to them there can be no question – as in the case of schools – of any compulsion, nor of the motivation operative in education for a better job, a qualification or more pay. Animation has to be its own motivation. By contrast, educational programmes imbued with the spirit of permanent education are chiefly concerned with the improvement of existing systems to bring about a genuine equality of opportunity whereby the individual may do justice to his innate abilities, go as far as he can in society, and make his maximum contribution to it. A system of "animation socio-culturelle" has yet to be created. This is the task which confronts it; and its emphasis is more on the qualitiy of life in a community of meaningful dialogue and equality of esteem, on personal fulfilment and non-competitive creativity and self expression. It is because of such differences that, for immediate purposes, there is need for a separate formulation of policy in respect of socio-cultural community development.

As we have said, these differences are merely pragmatical and there is nothing final about them. And even in this imperfect relationship animation and education can be mutually interactive and supportive in several ways. Animation seeks to affect the totality of life in a community, from the town hall to the corner shop, from the pub to the factory floor. Naturally, then, it will envisage an effect upon the place of the school in the community, on the attitude of teachers and

parents and pupils to each other. Indeed, the specialised techniques of animation can have great utility for teachers, particularly those whose pupils are less motivated by career ambition and preparation for qualifications. The schools, in their turn, can do much to further the cause of socio-cultural development in an area, where the teachers are sympathetic and co-operative and where school premises such as studios and gymnasia are made available to the public at large. The mutual dependence of education and animation is recognised in certain cases – still rare at present – where integrated facilities are provided – such as those at Yerres or Grenoble-Villeneuve.

There is, finally, one particular area of considerable overlap between animation and education. Here only a clinical, "intentional" definition can allocate certain forms of instruction or information either to socio-cultural development or adult education, and the decision must be made in the light of circumstances. Usually, the conventional kind of progressive course, or the set-piece lecture followed by discussion, is held to be "adult education". Adventurous adult educationists, however, increasingly adopt techniques which will appeal to less sophisticated people; the reluctance of the working class to participate in adult education has long been a source of self-criticism for adult educationists. They then tend to do much the same sort of work as the socio-cultural animateur. The animateur introduces what is fundamentally education (in, say, such matters as hygiene, family relationships, creative hobbies or civic activity) in ways which are spectacularly attractive, which are free from the repellent associations of the school, including a teacher-pupil relationship, and which have many of the features of free adult sociability, play, entertainment or the action-meeting with a specific social purpose.

The need for a clearly defined policy of socio-cultural community developments is equally evident from the progress reports and transactions of other cultural development projects set up by the Out-of-School and Cultural Development Committee. For example, the consolidated report on the European Towns Project[2] suggests that where cultural development is treated as a part of educational programmes it will remain elitist in concept and limited in its appeal. This and other projects refer to difficulties arising from attitude barriers, and from a widespread "refus" which severely limits the diffusion of culture in any of its dimensions, restricting participation to the same already-interested section of the population. As a Swiss report puts it, all that new efforts achieve "c'est remplir les salles d'un centre pour vider celles des autres". There is more than one reference in these papers to

2. *Summary of programmes* by B. Duvanel, Doc. CCC/EES (72) 108.

the need for an overall governmental initiative which will create the socio-cultural framework for cultural development.

The foregoing points have been made at some length to explain the logical place, in the project on socio-cultural facilities and animation, of the draft Guidelines for a policy given below. A lead from the CCC will set an example for national policies.

Importance and urgency of promoting national policies of socio-cultural community development

The culture-gap which socio-cultural community development must bridge places millions of people, whether they are aware of it or not, in a disadvantaged situation. This is a state of affairs in conflict with those declarations of human rights to which all nations have pledged allegiance and which imply equality of opportunity for full participation in the life of our societies. There is a continuing obligation upon governments to reduce this gap.

As we have already said, the problem is not susceptible of solution by educational action alone. No matter how its facilities are refined and improved it will not reach those who shun it. The work of socio-cultural animation is necessary first. An illustration may be drawn from the United Kingdom where, with a highly democratised educational system, constantly improved since 1944, only 29 % of the students at universities in 1973 were drawn from the 64 % of families which are supported by manual workers. It may be added that OECD statistics credit British universities with the highest percentage of students drawn from working class homes in Western Europe. In France, according to A. Girard,[3] in spite of far-reaching egalitarian changes in the educational system since 1900, the direction of society remains 75 % in the hands of people who are the children, at very least, of minor civil servants. The democratic nature of education in the Länder of the Federal Republic is well known, yet W. Schmieding[4] can write "good theatre is the product of a cultural tradition which, because of our educational system, is shared only by a minority". In Holland, in the city of Apeldoorn, with a progressive and liberal municipality, 82 % of the users of the public library come from that minority of the population which has had more than the compulsory minimum of education. These random facts only exemplify a problem which is now a commonplace of the thinking of educationists. As Edgar Faure has said, "Il faut d'abord créer le besoin de la culture". Without this, improvements in educational systems will tend rather to widen than to close the gap.

3. Girard, A.: *La réussite sociale*, Presses universitaires de France, Paris, 1967.
4. Schmieding, W.: "Kulturbrief", in *Inter Nationes*, 1973.

Its continuance constitutes a menace to democratic institutions and procedure. There is little reality in democratic citizenship for those who are socio-culturally disadvantaged. Their democratic rights may be exercised only once every five years. They are cut off by their apathy or timidity or lack of know-how from taking any other part in the public dialogue and movement which mould the environment and community in which they live. Even where machinery for participation in industrial and social management is created, such people can avail themselves of it only minimally. At the same time, they are aware that their voice does not count, – that somehow it is always "they" who make the decisions. Thus the democratic framework, so dearly won, comes to be regarded by many as a farce. There is a spreading apathy about democratic politics, and a claptrap cynicism about politicians. And these attitudes can be seen too often expressing themselves in a belligerent, blind violence, not unconnected with the re-emergence in several countries of non-democratic political movements.

This dangerous frame of mind is not confined to a spectacularly deprived or intransigently malcontent fringe of our societies. Some hint of its prevalence can be derived from the findings of a "Sondage SOFRES" as reported in the *Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, 8 May 1973. According to this, 31 % of the respondents considered that a child of working-class parents has no more, or even less, chance of succeeding in the society of today than that of twenty years ago; 77 % believed that the difference between the way of life open to higher and lower income groups has remained the same or grown even greater over this period; 63 % thought that this difference is too great, and 45 % think it is of just as great or even greater signifiance than it was twenty years ago. The editorial comment of the newspaper puts it that while the egalitarian spirit has never ceased to animate the French, "il reste un bon bout de chemin, l'essentiel, sans doute, à parcourir".

Of similar gravity in its threat to the healthy development of our societies is the effect upon millions of people of accumulated under-satisfaction, the under-usage of life-potential, the inadequate enlargement and expression of personality. That this is the case has now become a commonplace of contemporary social psychology and social anthropology. In these sciences, indeed, personality is commonly defined as the sum of the roles which a human being can play; and one personality is distinguished from others by the repertoire of roles which the person has selected. Clearly, then, the wider the familiarity with and mastery of numerous roles, the greater the development of personality, and the greater the freedom for its expression. When people are restricted in their choice of roles – circumscribed within the

repetition of only a few – and even where this limitation is voluntary in the sense that it stems from ignorance, timidity or prejudice, rather than from any economic or societal pressure – then their personalities are stunted and their lives fall short of fulfilment in ways that become manifest in scarce understood discontent.

Closely linked with this are the generally accepted findings of the social sciences that group-life – participation in the life of an enduring face-to-face group other than the nuclear family – is a necessary ingredient in the formula for mental health, – a sort of social vitamin. It is in membership of such groups that opportunity occurs for trying out new roles and for developing them if they are successful. It is true that the family itself is a face-to-face group, but it is largely based upon the assumption that roles are fixed; and family relationships are so charged with emotion that attempts by a member to extend the range of role-playing, even in minor matters, are discouraged by hostility and ridicule as being disruptive. Those whose lives are confined to the small family unit sooner or later manifest symptoms of frustration and malaise.

It will readily be understood why the types of under-development of personality and social malnutrition outlined above are widespread and on the increase. They progress hand in hand with urbanisation and the housing and re-housing of the people in hygienic, low-density dwelling areas. The decrepit villages or run-down city centres and slums from which they come had, for all their lack of air and light and modern gadgetry, a community life "on the street" which could be rich in opportunity for the development of personality in group-life. Too often in the new housing areas this is conspicuously lacking. Indeed in the report on the Yerres Colloquy of 1970 (Foundation for Cultural Development) they are described as "cities without a soul", and it is pointed out that in such places a soul cannot be expected to emerge of itself, but must be contrived by a policy of socio-cultural animation.

This type of housing, with its built-in labour-saving features and standardised decor, allies with commercial provision to take the creativity out of housework and home maintenance, much as modern technology takes the creativity out of work in the factory. There is a steep decline in the call for creative craftsmanship in domestic daily life as in industry – steady diminution of the extent to which the product carries any personal imprint of the skill or strength or judgment of the worker. And the liberated time – the fruit of all this labour-saving – is not made available for the satisfactions of creativity and community. It is filled with the passive reception of vicarious experience on the telescreen or the aimless encapsulated nomadism of the family car.

Sociologists who have worked in the new towns and housing estates speak of a widespread sense of loneliness and frustration, of life passing by fruitlessly. As H. Lefèbvre has said "Today we do not know how we live. You can scarcely say, after you have passed through the hours, what you did – what it all amounted to. And what bitterness there is in this feeling!". At no point has the self been realised, or reflected in challenging human contacts – except in sexual relationships. The increasing concentration of interest on these and their elevation into the key value in life, the prestige and glamour attached to adolescence and the feverish efforts, supported by a profitable branch of industry, to prolong it ever later into life – all these may be interpreted as symptoms of a society where there is a serious deficiency of personal satisfaction. Where there is a well developed socio-cultural life accessible to all, sexual relationships, while retaining their mighty powers of motivation, take a less neurotic place among a wide range of other experiences which are less vulnerable to the passage of biological time.

Because television, whether provided by public or independent authorities, is dominated by the dynamics of commercial entertainment, it does not form, as it could do, the starting-point of creative experience. Instead, it dominates each household as a luminous vortex down which the content of family life is drained away. In no way are its effects more harmful than in the disappearance of active play, whether the family games of the past or the outdoor pursuits and sports which are now watched rather than practised. G. Magnane is not the only sociologist to draw attention to the basic play needs of people living in Western European societies – needs to which there is inadequate response. Only in play and sport can the average wage-earner be the maker of his own destiny; only as homo ludens has he a chance of having his sins washed white and being reborn as successful as the rich, the talented, the industrious; only in play can he find an outlet, in this terror-balanced age, for his aggression and violence which is socially acceptable. And it is in the skills of play, as well as in the arts and crafts, that mankind can find that enduring satisfaction which anthropologists call a "dromenon" – something which was once of the essence of work-satisfaction, but which has tended to disappear as the worker becomes more and more a mere human stop-gap in flow-production. A "dromenon" is a pattern of dynamic expression in which the performer shares in something which has objective value and which transcends himself; in which he finds release in a rhythm that is therapeutic; in which he makes a socially approved, creative reaction to the chaos and unpredictability of life by asserting shape, order and form.

Little needs to be said here about the arts – music, painting, drama, the plastic arts – and the creative crafts. The need for wide dissemination of their practice and appreciation is too well established. Nor is this a matter of mere desirability – something for the adornment of life, its frills and graces. It is a basic need for satisfactory living among ordinary people.

It is also noteworthy that to be unfamiliar with the traditional arts, with the cultural heritage and its continuing developments, and to be incapable of appreciating and responding to them, is to be cut off from mankind's storehouse of recorded value-judgments, not about aesthetic technicalities but about the very stuff of life as lived by everyone – judgments which can be made available to all regardless of intellectual attainment or educational background, for as R. Garaudy ("L'Alternative") has said "they are based on an immediate relationship of the senses with the world about us – not one that has been mediated through logic and the intellect". Unfortunately, much of this treasury is a closed book still too far to many working class people. In former days it was not thought necessary that they should have the key.

It is an unfortunate fact that opportunity and incentive for making the effort to obtain all these ingredients of a fulfilling life tend to diminish as one descends the socio-economic scale, and on the lower rungs the conditions are often actively discouraging. It is here that are to be found most acutely the sad side effects of what should be a positive advance for humanity – its increased longevity. Experienced geriatric and social case workers agree that "le troisième âge" accentuates the disadvantage of those who are socio-culturally underdeveloped. Loneliness, listlessness, aimlessness and boredom are prevalent among this age-group.

Although what has been said in the foregoing sections is a mere outline, it has been set forth in sufficient length to show the reality of the undersatisfactions which build up among people who do not make the most of their potential because they lack the know-how, or because their attitudes exclude many aspects of experience from their expectation and aspiration. It is, to speak on no higher plane, a matter of urgency for governments to appreciate the cash costs of this.

Without any headline exaggeration one can speak objectively of a disturbing growth everywhere in mental disorder and sickness. The legal prescription of tranquillising drugs far exceeds the volume of illegal drug-taking. Under this optic, socio-cultural community development could be seen as a form of preventive medicine in which it is folly not to invest. Freud once said that psychiatry converted neurotic misery

into ordinary human unhappiness. Socio-cultural community development can prevent ordinary unhappiness from degenerating into mental illness.

Our societies pay a heavy price for the associated evils of inflation and industrial dispute and dislocation. Increase in the quantity, and improvements in the quality, of technical and academic education do not eliminate these troubles. They are, of course, rooted deep in world-wide factors which must be overcome by political and economic action. Nevertheless, this action is postponed by a widespread under-development of personality which prevents people from comprehending it and participating in it. Meanwhile the troubles are accentuated by the socio-cultural fact that a majority of people find their chief form of expressive outlet in purchasing and consumption, in acquiring things which help them towards a sense of identity. The rage for more and more purchases makes for inflation without giving satisfaction. The wage disputes which emerge are embittered by the "culture gap" which obscures economic issues with the social polarisation of "us" and "them".

Longer-term, but of even greater gravity, are the mounting costs of repairing, so far as it may be repaired, the damage done to the human environment by processes of production and consumption on such a scale. There is no need to elaborate this point here. It is sufficient to refer to the report of the Arc-et-Senans Symposium which has been widely acclaimed and studied; and to say that socio-cultural community development has, as one of its central aims, the objective of alerting people to the vulnerable nature of the biosphere, and of enabling them to develop resources in themselves – powers of expression, creativity and communication – independent of commercial processes. It seeks to help people to find, also, things in their environment which can be enjoyed without consumption, without destruction or conversion, and without pollution.

Socio-cultural community development as an ethic; political and cultural implications

We have laid some stress on the lenitive, not to say therapeutic, contribution of socio-cultural community development, and at times have shown it rather as a palliative for negative elements in our society, as something to assuage unhappiness and eliminate human and material waste. If so, it is because misery and waste are matters calling for immediate action. It must, however, be strongly asserted that "animation socio-culturelle" is no mere mechanism of adaptation.

It rests on positive social ideals which it seeks to realise. The animateur, to quote P. Moulinier, is working not only "*in* society but *on* society" in the service of a clear social ethic. This is not some newfangled imperative, although it has been recently associated with fashionable words such as "commitment", "involvement", "appropriation" and "participation". It has a very long tradition which includes the values of Athenian democracy – Pericles in his famous funeral oration contrasted the good citizen with the quiet, passive, merely law-abiding citizen – and of non-sacerdotal Christianity. It is an ethic which has been persistent in European history, and when it has become obscured it has been reasserted by political philosophers or, in the world of events, by an upsurge of popular action. Among its chief tenets is the belief that people have not reached their full human stature unless they are active in exercising control over the communities of which they are members; and that without this, as passive recipients of social ills and benefits, they are belittled and frustrated, no matter how they are replete and diverted with bread and circuses. Allied to this is the fundamental belief that to wish for the well-being of others is a compelling human impulse, neglect or denial of which brings personal dissatisfaction and tension and is morally reprehensible. This creed commands acceptance from the overwhelming majority of people in Western Europe, and it is questioned only by a handful of bizarre moralists. Those who serve the cause of socio-cultural community development are encouraging people towards a fulfilling way of life which can only be found if these ethical principles are followed. Active and compassionate participation in community life is not merely a way of getting amenities, or getting rid of nuisances; it is a moral goal in itself.

"Active citizenship", "community participation" – call it how we will, can only be nourished into life where the conditions are favourable; that is, where the individual can see clearly that his action has a real influence on the decisions which affect the community in which he lives. When this influence is degraded to a ritual nod, when the real decisions are removed from his ken to the anterooms of functionaries or the back-rooms of technologists – when any questioning of the authoritative voice of politicians or administrators or scientific experts is frowned upon, discouraged and ignored – then talk of a participatory society is nonsense, and democracy becomes merely one more article in the bazaar of possible mechanisms for running an organisation. It is for this reason that socio-cultural community development envisages and seeks to promote the participatory society, and in so far as this is a political aim, socio-cultural community development cannot claim to be

non-political. It *is* non-political, however, in that it is associated with no political party or programme, either of the right or the left, and it is not through any of these that it works towards a truly democratic society. Nor does it envisage such a society in terms of any particular type of socio-economic legislation or structures, but in terms of new human relationships, a new climate of public opinion and an improved quality of life. It looks forward to an "open society" – in the sense in which K. Popper used the term – where there is a multiplicity of dialogue based upon equality of esteem for the opinions and values of the bus-driver and the surgeon, the bishop and the hippy and the industrialist and the working class housewife. It looks forward to a society where there is full acceptance of the right of the man in the street to question and challenge the decisions of authorities – political authorities, sociological and scientific and cultural experts – and where these authorities give such questioning serious consideration; and where the humblest of the "anonymous masses" can feel as assured of some voice in the decisions that affect his life as are, at present, those of known name, the great ones of industries and technology and trade unions and literature and the arts, from whose diaries and memoirs we learn how easily they alter history or "fix things" by a word here, a telephone call there, the formation of a junta – the confident communications of a fraternity which includes government and governed. Socio-cultural community developments wants this fraternity extended to include everyone. And of equal importance it looks forward to a society where there is acceptance of the right to withstand majority pressures – the right, as Camus has put it, to "faire face à l'histoire et ses succès", – the right to pursue minority interests.

Of course, all this represents an ideal, and it cannot be denied that there is much in contemporary society – perhaps in the psychological make-up of most people today – elements of competitiveness, exclusiveness and love of hierarchy – to say nothing of insensitivity and impatience – which will make progress in the realisation of this ideal, difficult and troublesome. As "animation socio-culturelle" brings more and more people to a sense of their worth and competence as equally-sharing members of a community, it will, no doubt, increase the number of cases which many will call "conflict". But real conflict only occurs where there is an unwillingness on one side to enter into sympathetic dialogue. Disorders and "demos" and confrontations occur today because of the lack of any widespread habit or acceptable pattern for constant communication between the public and its authorities. Socio-cultural community development seeks to bring back to life the roots of community life which have been buried too deep in our mass urban societies.

Culturally also, socio-cultural community development rests on a positive value-judgment. This is not a judgment as between certain styles of life and others, or between certain forms of art and others. It is a simple reassertion of a general European faith in liberty as an ultimate good – a belief that freedom of choice is preferable to restriction of choice. Nevertheless, some critics, whose degree of sincerity is known only to themselves, have attempted to see in socio-cultural community development a value-judgment in favour of certain life-styles or art-forms and the invocation of the resources of the state in their diffusion by action which is, therefore, fundamentally dirigiste. Such critics – some of whom are avowed foes of Western democracy – can have a damaging effect. Social scientists have laid great stress on the need to accept cultural pluralism – "a plurality of values" – as a healthy feature of our societies. Governments, therefore would be reluctant to appear to impose cultural norms which are open to the charge that they derive from culture-patterns of a dominant elite. If this accusation of dirigisme were to hold good against socio-cultural animation it would be better to leave it in its present relatively obscure position as the fringe concern of various ministries and municipal departments, and to voluntary organisations. It is therefore essential to make the following points very clear:

– Dirigisme in any meaningful sense, is not at any time a feature of socio-cultural community development. Let us, however, be clear-headed about "dirigisme" and "pluralism". Opposition to animation as dirigiste can spring from a passionate concern for liberty and equality. It can, however, also mask an indolent laisser-aller; or, worse, a more or less cynical acceptance by the culturally advantaged that theirs is, in the nature of things, a minority position for which the majority of their fellow citizens are intrinsically unsuitable and to which, in any case, they have no aspirations. A phrase like "acceptance of cultural pluralism" can be used as a comfortable piece of social science with which to clothe the naked abandonment of large sections of the population to a quality of life which, in our hearts, we know to be less satisfying than our own – a scientific neologism for the older and cruder "It's all they want – all they're fit for". Even people of good will in moments of tiredness and discouragement are prone to this type of cultural apartheid, but with the vast majority it can never be a permanent frame of mind.

– The principle of "plurality of values" implies a healthy tolerance and esteem for a multiplicity of minority views – the "open society" referred to earlier. It can never be pushed to the point where it produces the total inhibition of all societal action. Almost all state or

municipal or community intervention has cross-cut somebody's system of values. From the outset to the present day the creation and improvement of systems of public education have overridden the values of those who believe in the absolutely unrestricted free-play of competitive individualism. None the less, governments have acted because too great a regard for minority values would plunge education back into an atmosphere of early nineteenth century amateurism and fragmentation. Interpreted in one possible sense, "plurality of values" could mean an oriental acceptance of the eternal yesterday – paralysis lest the balance of the universe be disturbed.

– But we return to the main point. Socio-cultural community development is not dirigiste. The value-judgment on which it rests is no more than a restatement of a proposition which is one of the corner-stones of our type of free society. It is a judgment in favour of an enlarged personality as contrasted with a limited personality; in favour of opportunity for the greater use of life-potential; in favour of freedom of choice of activity rather than restriction by tradition, ignorance or habit; in favour of the greater rather than the lesser enjoyment of all cultural styles in our society; of greater rather than lesser competence to participate in the control and development of the community. Who and how many are those who will stand up and declare that they have judged otherwise? And who will deny the justice of invoking state support in the service of this freedom? Few indeed! Beyond this value-judgment in favour of freedom socio-cultural community development does not go. It implies no imposition of any "establishment" culture or life-style. It envisages no compulsion, no career reward, no snobiste status-achievement, no badge of civic virtue for participation in particular cultural experience or community affairs – nothing except the rewards which are inherent in expressive, out-going activity. It calls for no dirigisme on the part of the state which goes beyond the provision and support of facilities and workers, and favourable publicity.

– It is a built-in feature of socio-cultural community development that it shall be a non-directive process, voluntarily untertaken, and dependent for its form and direction upon the co-direction of the participants. Techniques for this, even among the most timid or apathetic sections of the population, have been worked out in considerable detail, especially in France. Participation of this kind is an essential feature of animation socio-culturelle for two reasons. Firstly because it is a safeguard against a socio-cultural environment which, while it represents the opinion of experts, is out of touch with broad human needs. A somewhat frightening example of such a tendency can

be found in N. Sombart's *Stadtstrukturen von Morgen*[5] which states that the habitat of tomorrow must be of a soaring architecture which forces people away from a dwarfed, chthonic way of life onto an aeolian plane, for "the city must be the measure of man – not man the measure of the city". In the second place participation is an indispensable feature of socio-cultural animation because it is not only an ethical aim of the process, but also an essential method. One cannot animate people towards an active share in control over their own community by methods which familiarise them only with the provision made by leaders, wardens, tutors and cultural shepherds, no matter how benevolent.

– The positive, missionary aspects of socio-cultural community development, both on the socio-political side and on the cultural side, are bound to encounter criticism. It is no mere assemblage of techniques. It is a movement. As a movement, it springs from certain articles of faith, and it is, of course, open to assault by those who do not share this faith – which is the fundamental creed of all who seek to promote or practise "animation socio-culturelle". They believe that, across the plurality of cultures which coexist today in all our countries, – cultures of factory floors, of rural communitites, of middle-class suburbs and concert halls, of students' cafés and common rooms – certain values and truths hold good, such as that:

- freedom is better then restriction; the wider a man's range of choice between experiences, the greater his freedom;
- that active experience is better than passivity;
- that self-government is better than direction, regardless of any considerations such as contentment, efficiency or productivity;
- that social commitment and critical community and societal participation are better than entire preoccupation with private pursuits;
- that complacency and unawareness of socio-cultural need can be symptoms of personal and social deficiency just as apathetic somnolence can be a feature of malnutrition and pellagra;
- that whatever evokes the sincere reaction of mind and heart is better than that which lulls or diverts or distracts.

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5. Sombart, N.: *Stadtstrukturen von Morgen*, Schriftenreihe Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk, Nr. 24, Essen, 1969.

All this must be stated for the sake of complete frankness. The claims for socio-cultural community development were out-lined above objectively as based upon sociological factors and needs. It would be disingenuous not to add that they are also based upon strong personal conviction. While this may be open to challenge, no one, it must be granted, can accuse them of representing any mono-cultural elitism, any attempt to impose particular cultural forms on the people at large.

Guidelines for a policy in respect of socio-cultural community development

In view of the facts

– that in the national societies which compose the Council of Europe certain fundamental propositions are held as self-evident truths with which the actions of governments should be in accord; and that all the nations concerned have been signatories to charters setting forth these obligations;

– and that these propositions involve governments in the continuing duty to ensure that, within the framework of the constitution and the law, all citizens shall have the fullest possible measure of freedom to express and develop themselves, and without restriction, to avail themselves to the whole range of socio-cultural experience which society presents;

– and that when individuals or groups or sections of the population are found to be restricted in the exercise of these freedoms, then governments are in duty bound to seek to eliminate this disadvantage;

– and that in spite of the great progress made in the elimination of disadvantage through fiscal, welfare and educational policies, there is to be found in all our countries a substantial section of the population which is severely restricted in the range of socio-cultural experience from which it is free to select;

– and that this disadvantage is accentuated by self-restrictive habits of mind, of low-expectation attitudes and behaviour patterns which are a legacy of the past, not an emergent feature of existing socio-economic or educational systems;

– and that the processes which are normally regarded as constituting the educational system and coming under the public authorities for education, fully occupied as they usually are with ensuring equality of career opportunity and maximum productivity, are ineffective, of themselves, to remedy this disadvantage which counteracts their own contribution to social investment;

– and that this situation calls, as a matter of urgency, for governmental action because

- it is to a great extent responsible for growing disillusionment in the processes of democracy, and for an impatient rejection of the rule of law;
- it is one of the factors making for inflationary consumption and for embittered industrial relations which militate against a sound economy;
- it is one of the causes of widespread undersatisfaction and frustration which constitute a drain on social resources, particularly in the sphere of mental health;
- it is a potent factor in the escalating processes of a wasteful misuse of the environment and damage to the biosphere;

– and that democracy carries an ethical imperative to work towards a society in which every citizen knows that he has a voice which commands respect in decisions which affect his life and that of his community.

It is therefore urged

– That governments should take fuller cognizance of this whole area of disadvantage among their populations, and note that only an insufficient response to it can be made by the existing authorities which have it in their purview – education, health, housing, welfare etc. – because, at present, responsibility is fragmented among them and none of them is charged with it as a chief, central task having a high order of priority among other manifold responsibilities.

– That governments should formulate a definite and comprehensive policy of socio-cultural community development, to be of comparable importance in national planning with education, welfare and similar policies.

– That this policy should envisage the following objectives:

- diminution and ultimate elimination of socio-cultural disadvantage, and equalisation of opportunity in the socio-cultural sense;
- reduction and ultimate bridging of any socio-cultural gap between different sections of society;
- creation of conditions which evoke from the greatest possible number of people the fullest use of their potentialities and of the

resources to be found in themselves and in association with their fellow men and women.

– That while note be taken that the effects of such a policy cannot be quantified, it should be framed in such a way that some objective estimate of progress can from time to time be made from such indicators as:

- the number of those who take an active part in voluntary groups, such as tenants' associations, parent-teacher associations, protest groups, religious, welfare or political associations;
- the number of those who exercise their right to vote in elections of all kinds;
- the number who take part in amateur musical or dramatic activity; or in active sport; or in educational courses; or who use the public library.

– That administrative arrangements should be made to focus the work of a consortium of national and local government departments and non-governmental organisations for the implementation of this policy; and that adequate resources be made available.

– That a prior task should be to plan and arrange – both as to curriculum and organisation – for the training of professional animateurs (socio-cultural community development workers) and also for the additional training as animateurs of all those, whatever their profession, whose work is, or can be made, a means of socio-cultural animation.

– That an equally important task should be to work out an operational relationship between the work of animation agencies and that of the educational system so that the two can complement each other so as to be more effective.

– That of comparable priority is the task of finding technical and other methods whereby Radio and Television, with their immense, enduring influence upon the mass of people, can be so developed that as well as offering passive entertainment, they also evoke an active and critical and creative response for which organisational arrangements are made.

– That in the formulation as well as in the operation of policy it should be made clear that, apart from an assertion of fundamental belief in the enlargement of freedom, there is no imposition of any particular cultural values or life-styles or behaviour patterns. It should

be made clear that this policy envisages a true cultural democracy in which all legitimate styles of life and forms of activity have a respected place in so far as they are means of self-expression, self-realisation and social communication. Naturally, this includes those culture patterns which were formerly inaccessible for the most part to the majority of people but which are now being democratised.

– That similarly the formulation and operation of policy should stress that, while initiative will come in many cases from government or government-supported agencies, it is a fundamental part of socio-cultural community development that it shall involve the fullest possible participation in its planning and direction by the people and communities concerned; and that this participation is indispensable both as a method and a goal.

– That, further, it must be recognised that such participation is very difficult to secure among these very people whose socio-cultural disadvantage is greatest; and that it therefore needs to be fostered by special techniques which take account of the fact that participation may involve delays and troubles which, while they seem pointless to the planners, need to be patiently overcome by genuine dialogue.

– That there should be overt acceptance of the fact that the concept of socio-cultural community development envisages an alteration in personal relationships across society as a whole; that it looks forward to a more compassionate and egalitarian type of socio-cultural and socio-economic life brought about by widespread enhancement of awareness, critical faculties, competence, confidence in self-expression and self-respect; and that, as this will affect all aspects of life, including the industrial and political, socio-cultural animation will be a factor of social change, while remaining non-political in the sense of not being the outcome or the associate of any party-political action.

– That care must be taken to avoid the misconception that a policy of socio-cultural community development is something which concerns only a special sphere of activities, such as the arts, or culture in the traditional sense of the term; or that it is something only for certain sections of society such as the poor and needy or dwellers in slum-clearance areas. While the conspicuously disadvantaged stand foremost in claims upon attention, socio-cultural community development looks towards the enrichment of all spheres of community activity at all social levels.

– That in planning the operation of their policy governments should have regard to the continuing investigation and comparative studies and reports under CCC aegis into such matters as methods of assessment, suitable governmental structures, the training of animateurs, effective relationships between educational and socio-cultural programmes, mass media animation and techniques for securing productive participation.

Socio-cultural community development and permanent education

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At the time this paper was written some of the proponents of permanent education had expressed doubts about the necessity for a separate animation policy which seemed to envisage no more than the informal elements of continued education. Since then, as witnessed by the Siena Symposium of 1976, educationists have come to sympathise with the points of view outlined below.

There are three planes upon which the relationship between the two concepts of permanent education and socio-cultural community development calls for consideration:

- The plane of *educational and socio-cultural theory*, where we are concerned with the response which should be made by societal action to the needs of the individual and of society.
- The level of *policy-making* and the *"intentional definition"* which are essential to policy. (This includes policies in member countries and in the CCC itself).
- The *operational plane of relationships* between educational and socio-cultural structures and workers.

It will be convenient to summarise here and now the conclusions to which examination of this whole question in the Project "Socio-cultural Community Development" has led, and which will be elaborated in the remainder of this paper.

– There is a root unity in these two concepts, both emerging from the same social objective – the creation of a fully democratic society of equal opportunity in which all citizens are encouraged to make the most of their personal potential and of their social environment, sharing actively in its constant amelioration. This radical identity

stands out clearly from most statements of either concept, despite differences of emphasis between them. Conceptually they can be regarded as two aspects of the same set of ideas.

– Strategically, also, they are interdependent. Effective realisation of one implies the co-existence of the other.

– Nevertheless, at present it is neither practicable nor in the interest of either concept that it should be politically and administratively treated as an aspect of the other. This conclusion is forced on us by a consideration of existing governmental structures. Moreover, at present, also, there are marked differences of emphasis between the two concepts on the operational plane.

– These operational differences affect the scope, circumstances and priority of concern as between the work of those engaged at any level in Permanent Education and socio-cultural community development. They are, for the time being, so wide that they would make the integration of the two into one policy and one administration impracticable and undesirable.

– Even at present, however, there are substantial areas of overlap and coincidence between the two. This is leading to an increasing measure of conscious co-operation at operational level, and, in some cases, at the planning stage. These, we hope, are pointers to a longer-term future.

– In this future it is to be expected that those elements of the theory of Permanent Education which cover or imply the full theory of socio-cultural community development will be amplified and strengthened, and translated adequately into the formulation and application of permanent education policies; that the methodology and approach which have been elaborated by workers in the field of animation will be more widely adopted in educational establishments and systems; and that it will be possible to think in terms of a single unified policy – educational and socio-cultural.

Ideological unity of the two concepts

No one is likely to gainsay this. Both sets of ideas are grounded in the same basic propositions which are held as self-evident truths by member nations of the Council of Europe. They involve governments in the continuing duty to ensure that all citizens shall, within a framework of law, have the fullest possible freedom and encouragement to express and develop themselves, and to avail themselves at will of the full range of socio-economic and socio-cultural experience which

society presents; and to enlarge the common stock of such experience by their creativity, productivity and participation in the decisions which affect the development of society.

Explicit corrollaries of these obligations are the duty of governments:

– to eliminate any disadvantage which restricts the exercise of this freedom, creativity, productivity and participation by any individual or group or section of the population;

– to move towards an educational system which compensates for handicap;

– to promote a socio-cultural environment which, in all socio-economic sections of society, conduces to the enlargement rather than the restriction of personality, and to the widest possible use of life-potential unfettered by ignorance, habitual attitudes, low expectations or lack of means.

The level of policy

In current practice the two concepts are almost invariably given realisation through separate policies. This is the case even in those rare cases where one ministry subtends both. The more usual pattern is of a Ministry of Education responsible for the schools and for further and higher education, and, perhaps, some elements of socio-cultural development. The other elements of socio-cultural community development are shared between several ministries – Interior, Health, Culture, Housing etc. – working in conjunction with voluntary organisations.

This is a situation which is gravely disadvantageous to the cause of socio-cultural community development which, by contrast with education, lacks, in most cases, a clearly formulated policy covering all these fragmented elements. Its aims and claims are stated piecemeal and with insufficient weight and coherence. To focus the whole battery of socio-cultural agencies upon any given area it is necessary first to set up special machinery for co-operation between the various authorities involved.

For this reason the immediate objective for socio-cultural community development, as seen from within the project, is the clear formulation in each country of a policy of socio-cultural development, comparable in coherence and importance with the educational policy, complementary to it, but, for the time being, separate from it. Only when this has been established and administrative machinery set up to co-

ordinate the various agencies in its service can there be useful consideration of the amalgamation of this policy with education. If amalgamation were to take place at present, it would be to the detriment of socio-cultural community development. Experience shows that where it is already in some measure the responsibility of education ministries it forms only a peripheral part of their work, with less esteem than other parts and with a budget that is low in the queue for increases and in the forefront at times of retrenchment.

To say this is not to apportion blame but to come to terms with realities. Socio-cultural community development is a fairly recent addition to the duties of government, one which has not everywhere been fully accepted or clearly defined. By contrast the education statutes of our countries lay a clear duty upon ministers to ensure the provision of schools, technical colleges, universities etc.; and this educational provision has a century or more of growth behind it and the momentum of a formidable body of law and of physical structures representing thousands of millions of dollars of investment – to say nothing of the hundreds of thousands of members of the teaching professions. By comparison socio-cultural community development can scarcely be described as a system. Governmental expenditure upon it is very often permissive, not obligatory, and much of it consists in subsidy to voluntary effort. Many of the manifestations of socio-cultural animation are experimental and transitory, and permanent facilities are still comparatively few. It is not, then, surprising that for education ministries, as indeed, for public opinion, socio-cultural community development occupies a marginal position. This state of affairs is not likely to alter in the immediate future.

One can, however, foresee a time when the two policies can be amalgamated and seen, as M. Hicter said some years ago, as "les deux faces du même processus". Workers in the field of animation are increasingly aware of the enormous reinforcement which could be brought to their efforts by the active co-operation of educational institutions which can dispose the young to be interested and receptive and creative and participatory in a curriculum which is much wider than in the past. At the same time, those who are busy elaborating systems of permanent education have for some time been aware that the networks of facilities which they make are least effective where they are most needed – among those sections of the community where there is apathy towards them and rejection of them. Without the complementary work of socio-cultural community development, the structures of permanent education, no matter how elaborate, will continue to favour those who are to some degree advantaged by their family background.

There is, then, nothing fundamental or final in separating the two concepts for policy purposes.

The operational plane

The differences between the concepts at this level – that of actual programmes – reflect the contemporary apportionment of major preoccupation between them. It is a pragmatical not a philosophical distinction.

In the first place, the prime concern of permanent education is with the amelioration of the major structures of educational systems – pre-school, primary school, secondary school, vocational education establishments, universities, teacher-training, and the provision of facilities for "second chance" education for adults and industrial re-training. These are enormous fields for experiment and innovation to meet problems of great urgency – the curriculum of the primary school, selection and transfer to secondary, "streaming" or common curriculum, methods of access to universities, problems of assessment, of qualification by credit unit, of the individualisation of learning, of pupil autogestion, of teacher training and status. These alone would crowd out much consideration for those aspects of socio-cultural community development which are covered by permanent education.

Looked at from the other side, the development of the major educational structures is of course of importance to socio-cultural community development, and it is among its objectives that people should show their concern and exercise control over such matters. They are, however, not intrinsically a part of socio-cultural programmes. These tend to be concerned, not with the improvement of existing systems, but with experimental attempts to animate groups and communities of people with a view to establishing a methodology which can be systematised, and for which structures can be created. (It is true, of course, that the improvement of the work of a certain number of existing centres is a matter of concern.) The scale and duration of the operations involved, and the political issues raised by them, are much slighter than those dealt with in educational programmes. Whereas permanent education programmes are occupied with the development of systems of teacher training and re-training, it still lies before the makers of socio-cultural development programmes to define the profession of animateur and identify its status and deontology and training methods.

There is, too, a marked difference in the type of problem and task included in each programme in so far as these derive from differing circumstances and differing motivation in the "target population".

In the first place, the work of socio-cultural community development comes increasingly to be concerned with populations which are beyond the reach of the attraction of established facilities for education or cultural development. The creation, say, of an open university will not stir them from disinterest or a rejection which is sometimes mistrustful, sometimes contemptuous. Special techniques of animation are needed before they will cross this threshold.

Secondly, all the processes of socio-cultural animation are undertaken on a completely voluntary basis. The animateur cannot count upon ready-made groups, compulsorily formed as in the case of schools; nor can he count upon people's desire for a qualification or a better job or more pay, – ambitions which, in the case of education, sometimes induce people to accept processes which are not necessarily attractive. Animation has either to be strikingly and initially attractive in itself, or associated with some facility, such as a clinic or a creche, which has the appeal of utility, or with some community purpose which arouses immediate interest. Socio-cultural community development is primarily concerned with equality of opportunity for personal fulfilment and meaningful dialogue in community life, for non-competitive creativity and expression; it is more concerned with the quality of social and cultural group-life, – with the "morale" of society.

Overlap and co-operation

As we have indicated earlier in this paper there are a number of points at which, on the operational plane, workers in permanent education and in socio-cultural community development are concerned with the same or similar experiences. In addition there are a number of notable examples where good results are obtained through the conscious co-operation of educational structures and animation agencies. These are sufficient to suggest the great accession of strength to both sets of facilities which could come from joint planning and collaboration.

In the first place, it cannot be asserted too strongly that it is not possible to conceive of the animation of an area or a community as a series of processes which take place only at set times and in particular places. It is a process which is intended to affect the whole range of community life from the civic hall to the corner shop, and, of course, including the schools and colleges. "Animation may be defined as that

stimulus to the mental, physical and emotional life of people in an area which moves them to undertake a range of experience through which they find a greater degree of self-realisation, self-expression and awareness of belonging to a community over which they can exercise an influence" (*Multi-purpose schools in Europe,* Foundation for Cultural Development, 1973).

Much in the methodology of animation is relevant to the work of teachers with their pupils – and in the better developed pre-schools and primary schools, and in some of the secondary schools it is, in fact, to be found in use. Animation has specially valuable lessons for teachers of pupils who are less academically inclined and little motivated by the ambition for qualifications. In return, as we have already mentioned, there is a very great reinforcement of the work of animateurs in an area where the teachers in the schools take a wide view of their pupils' needs and do much to sensitise them to the possibilities of a fulfilling use of personal time and to prepare them for taking a share in the management of their own situation. The same holds good where teachers seek to involve parents in the affairs of the school including its organisation and curriculum. Indeed, one of the growing-points which has been identified in the course of the project on socio-cultural community development is the universal interest shown by parents, even in areas deemed to be "sub-cultural", in the school life and prospects of their children. Areas where schools of this kind are at work are of equal interest to those engaged either in permanent education or socio-cultural community development.

These possibilities, and also the need to exercise a contemporaneous influence upon parents and children in order to break a "cycle of deprivation" have induced certain authorities in various countries to create "integrated facilities" – complexes which include a school or schools together with facilities and staff for the general animation of the area. In the most developed examples there is overall general planning extending even to the layout of the buildings and housing, and an integration of the work of the staff of all kinds. Here again, there is an overlap of interest between the two concepts. Integrated facilities of the type at the new town of Grenoble Echirolles, regardless of their many merits of an intrinsic nature, make a special appeal to governments as being economical and making the maximum use of flexible facilities e.g. studios, workshops and playing-fields and gymnasia. It is, at this point, worthwhile to note some reservations about making integrated facilities the sole channel of development for socio-cultural animation, as they illustrate some of the operational difficulties which, in time, may tend to diminish.

– Firstly, integration of this type calls for such a radical reorientation of the work of teachers (who, after all, still retain the duty of providing a career-geared, progressive education) that the strain on them proves too great and they tend to seek work elsewhere.

– Secondly, where there is a clash of interest between animation and education in claims to the use of the buildings etc. or the time of the staff, there is a strong tendency for education to prevail.

– Again, it is not yet clear whether that section of the people who are most in need of animatión will willingly become involved in institutions associated with the schools where they experienced boredom and failure.

– Lastly, some of the most effective of existing animateurs have a personal background and qualifications which would unsuit them for the comparatively institutionalised set-up which unavoidably characterises education.

Nevertheless, integrated facilities, while they may not be the sole and universal panacea, are a powerful expression of the fertile union of two great social forces.

We have referred already to the area of overlap where animation consists essentially in adult education, although in a form so designed as to be attractive to people who would not attend conventional courses, with a time and place which suit them, and "teaching methods" which are scarcely distinguishable from spontaneous and informal conversation or from commercial display, or games. Although only brief reference is made to it here, this is a large and important area of coincidence if not always of collaboration.

Lastly, we must list cases where a governmental or voluntary agency has set out to improve the quality of life in a specific area by the planned deployment of a multiplicity of interdependent influences – specially enriched schools, community and socio-cultural centres, peripatetic animateurs and social workers, and, often, economic developments. Here the aim is to overcome the inheritance of multiple deprivation by a full recognition that educational progress of a conventional kind is nullified by the whole ambience of the area; and that the only way forward is an attitude-change and widening of horizon in the community as a whole, young and old, based upon a school life that is rich in creative experience and is sympathetic to the growth of

personal responsibility. Examples of this have been studied by the permanent education project in Lorraine and Bari, and a study is being made in the socio-cultural project of the urban renewal experiment in Liverpool.

Conclusions

Summarising what has been stated at the outset:

- Teleologically, the concepts are integral parts of each other.

- Ideally, a single policy would give realisation to both.

- This would result in an integrated service of educational and socio-cultural workers, specialised and with freedom for individual initiative, but co-ordinated towards the general improvement of the quality of life.

- At present, for historical reasons, this is not possible without detriment to the progress of socio-cultural community development. This needs separate consideration until it is sufficiently established to form part of an amalgamated programme on equal terms.

- Meanwhile every effort must be made at all points to maintain and extend the area of collaboration between the two.

Implications of a policy of socio-cultural community development

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This hard-hitting paper represents a stage in the development of the movement for socio-cultural animation á stage at which progress in many countries seemed to be held up by incredulity, apathy or frank hostility to any innovations which might disturb traditional cultural policies.

Among animateurs it was at that time possible to hear the view expressed that the aims of animation could not be achieved unless socio-economic structures were altered and that animation should become political.

The following paper indicates a way forward within the existing structures of our free societies which, however, need to be humanised and made more effective. While the changed attitude of governments to animation (see reference earlier to the Ministerial Conference at Oslo) has removed a good deal of its force, the paper is of great significance and may have a value for many local governments.

Introduction

The study which follows is our contribution to the CCC's cultural development programme, but it does not purport to cover exhaustively a field where experimentation is already in full swing. With still only very fragmentary evidence to work on, we can do no more than outline the hypotheses that have to be verified. Of all the activities covered by national or regional policies, socio-cultural community development is still a somewhat marginal sector, in which political decisions are

generally subordinate to the requirements of other objectives. For instance, the work of a local "animateur" will often be regarded benevolently by the political authority as long as it appears to reinvigorate the manifestations through which that authority traditionally asserted its cultural identity. The same activity will be severely condemned by the same authority as soon as it has the effect of making the population participate in local politics with greater vitality than before, or in ways that undermine the stable relations between majority and opposition.

The authority's policy will thus be decided not on the basis of criteria specific to cultural animation or cultural action in general, but by the need to preserve the existing patterns of power politics.

This being so, the way in which funds are allocated to this sector is generally indicative of an attitude to "luxury" expenditure, as though the recipients were people who, although deserving, pursued non-essential activities.

It is therefore too early to make a formal analysis of the implications, correctly evaluated of a socio-cultural community development policy at governmental level. However, it is not too early to advance certain hypotheses: these will be partly subjective, but will nevertheless express a foreseeable reality compatible with the very logic of "animation" and the evidence at present available. This is the task we have set ourselves, because we are convinced that in such a new field, hypotheses must be formulated so that they can then be confirmed or refuted. The important thing in our view is that it should be possible for the decisions and value judgements of policy-makers in this sphere to be formed with reference to clearly stated problems.

This lack of hypotheses to refer to seems to us to be the chief cause of irresolute policy-making. Once a hypothesis is accepted, and then either borne out or destroyed by the facts, a political attitude will follow.

Consequently, this study is deliberately presented in an attitude of subjective commitment. Doubt will be directed only at our own judgment which, we are determined to reconsider in the light of new information. Our sole concern is that at the present stage, this study can point the way to new decisions, new assessments and truer definitions both of our objectives and of the instruments we wish to use in achieving them.

An appeal for democratic cultural development

Animation as a factor in Cultural Development

Anyone attempting to discuss the implications of socio-cultural community development as a guiding principle of policy must first define that policy, not by extrapolation from present trends but in terms of a long-term development plan.

We therefore propose to start by recalling and analysing the crisis that European civilisation is currently undergoing: a crisis readily detectable through the convergent signs of the past ten years. That the crisis is a real one is shown by the fact that the values and objectives for which past generations have worked and which have guided the policy decisions of governments – especially since the second world war – seem increasingly not only to be incapable of meeting popular demand, but actually to generate needs and demands that they cannot possibly satisfy. It is as though the majority of objectives perceived by all preceding generations as milestones to progress were now proving to be those very restrictions and obstructions that have to be overthrown if the aspirations generated by that progress are to be satisfied.

The important thing about the present crisis, as we see it, is that it is interpreted both by young people and by specialists in long-term forecasting as a *cultural problem*. A fact clearly highlighted by the Arc-et-Senans Colloquy on "Long-term forecasts for cultural development" (1972) was that "the reason why there is controversy over growth in the industrial countries is not that such growth is economically unviable but that culturally it is unbearable".

It was an argument taken a stage forward by the members of the working party which met in Strasbourg in May 1973 to draw up the CCC's cultural development programme for the years ahead: medium-term objectives are instrumental objectives which are themselves dependent on a small number of major goals: to define a new type of growth, to develop the means of controlling our surroundings, to place the mass-communication media at the service of culture, to organise a pluralistic society in which minority groups are acknowledged as vigorous elements, and to promote a European expression of culture founded on the discovery of a renewed cultural identity.

At this level, socio-cultural community development constitutes one of the instrumental objectives that should be pursued. It has no significance outside the broader framework of the above goals.

A satisfactory definition

Like the definition of the concept of culture itself, the definition of socio-cultural animation is the subject of endless debate. The fact that that literal English translation has no equivalent in Anglo-Saxon experience is not without significance. The activities and attitudes corresponding to those referred to in French as "animation socio-culturelle" we cover under the general heading of "socio-cultural community development".

But in fact, these two terms represent two aspects of a single reality, and any up-to-date definition would have to take both aspects into account. It is important to note that anyone may be described as an agent of socio-cultural community development who tries to give mobility, vitality and dynamism to the latent forces of groups, persons or communities, and to *restore* those forces to the community from which they came for the purpose of "community development".

It would therefore seem that the agents of socio-cultural community development are concerned both with the lethargy of persons and communities who do not mobilise their human potential (or consider themselves unauthorised to do so) and with the need to prevent those forces, when mobilised, from being diverted from their proper field of application, namely the community and its development.

Thus, if no universally satisfactory definition can at present be found to cover all action under this heading it can safely be said that all such action is concerned to offer each individual the means and the incentive to become the active agent of his own development and of the qualitative development of the community to which he belongs.

From this point of view, as the San Remo Symposium on "Methods of managing socio-cultural facilities in pilot experiments" (1972) found, the development of academic education does not seem to have appreciably narrowed the gap between those in a position to influence our society and those apparently condemned to adjust to the situation imposed on them or be rejected as misfits and deviants.

It would even seem that the movement in favour of socio-cultural community development originates primarily in a determination to bridge this gap by dint of approaches and attitudes which, because they assume no pre-established attachment to a general erudite culture make for greater equality between individuals.

Very rapidly, however, those actively responsible for this experiment cease to be satisfied with narrowing the gap. In whatever

field their action is deployed, in the end they condemn general erudite culture because it is a handicap to all including those who control it.

The socio-cultural animateur soon turns his attention to the well-read and the "cultured", in order to make them aware of the psycho-sociological conditioning that results from the way they have adopted predominant culture. He does so because he perceives that they too will fail to become active agents of their own development and that of the community unless they succeed in "freeing themselves from the alienation" implicit in a certain form of culture.

Even though this aspect shows through less clearly in activities intended for the general public, this is probably because the sponsors of socio-cultural community development are chiefly conscious of the situation of the under-privileged in our societies. It is, nevertheless, an aspect that exists and makes itself felt particularly in sessions, seminars and other occasions in the "animateur's" training.

This shows the extent to which socio-cultural community development is an integral part of an overall scheme directed at the real opportunities offered to the whole population to assume responsibility for its own growth. It is only because the existence of the less privileged masses imposes certain priorities that most animation campaigns are carried on in the less cultured environments, in the traditional sense of the word.

The definition of socio-cultural community development therefore remains imprecise because neither the actual activities nor the situation in which they are conducted typify the movement in any way. It would be better described as a scheme of integration, for associating individual development with community development. But even this scheme cannot be formulated by reference to any benefits acquired, even by the most privileged. It finds expression at a point over and beyond all present-day formulations. In relation to present situations or realities, all one can say is that, in many cases, it represents dissent.

This, we think, is one reason, and not the least, for the low esteem in which socio-cultural community development is held in the eyes of political authorities. They cannot happily welcome those who, more often than not, do nothing but criticise the defects of the actions for which they are responsible or formulate apparently utopian schemes.

The fundamental implication: Acceptance of cultural democracy

The difficulty that governments have in defining a coherent attitude to socio-cultural community development is also explained by the fundamental principles which it involves.

The conclusions of the San Remo Symposium are very clear on this point: "Socio-cultural animation presupposes a cultural policy based on a desire for 'cultural democracy'. It assumes acceptance of that aim at all levels and the will to bring the spheres in which decisions are taken ever closer to the persons and groups, the quality and meaning of whose lives are concerned."

We consider that, in the concise form in which it is expressed, this conclusion offers the key to the analysis of all the implications of a policy of socio-cultural community development.

The reference to cultural democracy, contrasting to some extent with the notion of "democratisation of culture", is not merely a play on words but a fundamentally different conception.

For a number of years, and especially since scientific and technological developments first began to satisfy the requirements for material survival of most people in the industrialised countries, public authorities have been aware of the importance of extending cultural benefits to a broader section of the population. The policies they thus pursued were based on a patronising conception of culture. Culture was regarded as a commodity which the mass of the people did not enjoy sufficiently. Consequently, democratisation of culture meant distributing the commodity more widely, whose contents were still determined by a social elite, which was also responsible for preserving and augmenting the cultural heritage.

Initiatives such as the development of public libraries and the creation of further education centres and people's universities, all offer admirable evidence of the determination with which the best minds of the generation immediately preceding ours set about democratising culture. The development of education itself springs from equally generous intentions.

But while so much energy was spent on "raising the level of culture of the mass of the people", the actual content of that culture, the definition of the commodity to be made available to the underprivileged, was never in doubt. The culture they spread was firmly and securely established.

Reference to cultural democracy today implies *an entirely different approach*. It is nothing less than a rejection of the patronising notion of culture, and consequently of the policy of broader distribution, and its replacement by another conception whereby culture is defined with reference to the population itself.

When experts say that socio-cultural community development implies the acceptance of cultural democracy, they are telling the political authorities in no uncertain terms that culture is synonymous with movement, and that each individual must not only be entitled to acquire culture, but also have full control over how that culture is defined.

The transition from the democratisation of culture to cultural democracy involves a change of outlook as radical as that required, in the economic sphere, for converting a limited company where the workers share in the profits into a worker-managed co-operative.

There is therefore no reason why the aim should not be formulated in a manner as firm as that adopted by the participants at the San Remo Symposium. For "animation" makes an essential contribution to that wholesale change in which the "quality and meaning" of life are concerned.

If one is to analyse the implications for governments of the adoption of a policy of socio-cultural community development, the first step is, in our view, to establish that any action conducted to that end will at some time or other oblige the powers-that-be to make it quite plain whether or not they accept a far broader form of democracy than that which brought them to office. The adoption of a policy of socio-cultural community development is meaningless without the conviction that democracy must always be promoted, not merely through the conservation of what is acquired, but also by a constant search for further means of expression and more intensive participation.

Animation and specific activities

Returning now to socio-cultural community development as such, it is important to establish what it comprises from this standpoint.

The distinguishing feature of socio-cultural community development lies not so much in the type of activities as in the way they are performed. The number of different animation media is indeed staggering: museums, social services, radio and television broadcasts, town planning, theatre, environmental protection, youth clubs, libraries, etc. No activity appears to be excluded *per se*. Furthermore, when animation is practised in connection with an activity, it seems inevitably to overreach the objective frontiers and the target audience, however well defined these appeared to be at the outset.

In our view, this fact has a second vital implication for everyone wishing to pursue a policy of socio-cultural community development:

such a policy is not basically a feature of an activity as such, but of the manner in which that activity is pursued. Animation is a state of mind rather than a specific action, a matter of form rather than of content.

Any activity may or may not be animation oriented, and the same concern to "animate" may be apparent in a variety of activities.

Although socio-cultural community development is primarily a mode of action in all areas where the quality of life is developed within a community, it is expressed today through a certain number of pilot experiments.

These experiments, despite their diversity, seem to be associated with certain particular activities. This is not, we think, because those activities are any more animation oriented than any others, but because of two other circumstantial factors.

– Those responsible for the fields of activity in question found themselves particularly short of resources offering them a guarantee of power and effectiveness. The field left free for private experimental initiative was wider, and free initiative was all the more welcome in order to compensate for the lack of resources of the responsible authority.

– There was a special need to adjust to the individual and collective motivations of those who took part in the activities where the concern for animation first made itself felt, one reason being that their attention could not be retained by playing up to the traditional "profit motive". One might even go so far as to say that the less an activity was capable of being presented in terms of individual material profit, the more socio-cultural animation was evoked to secure the participation of the people for whom it was intended.

Important as those two factors are in the history of the development of the socio-cultural community development we do not consider that they alone explain this new mode of action. They were merely the catalysts which allowed it to occur.

As for public authorities, the combination of these two features – the all-embracing nature of "animation-mindedness" and the fact that it makes its appearance within different activities – is significant.

The implications are twofold:

- A policy of socio-cultural community development must first be embodied in a series of measures permitting animation to be

carried on in those areas of social action which are most favourable to its development.

Sponsors of socio-cultural community development in fact find that, if they wish to make this alternative seem credible, they have to embody its underlying assumptions in "pilot experiments". Such experiments stand the greatest chance of success in areas where they are not, automatically, hampered by popular fears of disorder and unprofitability.

- But the second implication of our analysis is no less vital: no policy of socio-cultural community development is significant unless it tends to spill over from the most permissive sectors chosen at the outset. Animation is no more than a bluff unless it results in comprehensive structural changes. Sponsors of socio-cultural community development must therefore select limited actions for pilot experiments, but ones which have repercussions on other more fundamental sectors.

A cultural animation policy therefore implies an accurate selection of the most suitable areas for its development. They must be both permissive, and also testing grounds which trigger off repercussions.

It is, we believe, at this level that action which might otherwise have been simply benevolent fatuity or conciliatory face-saving hypocrisy, begins to find expression in political terms.

A distinction must be drawn between *selfless action* by scattered elements, whose sensitivity to the values of cultural democracy lead them to practise animation in day-to-day life, and a *policy* of socio-cultural "animation" which aims to join those elements together into a coherent force capable of altering the balance of contradiction within our "blocked society".

We now think it important to analyse what appears to be the special relationships between socio-cultural community development and two of its traditional areas of action.

Socio-cultural community development and leisure

The problem of cultural action has always been confused with that of leisure. There are two reasons for this: it is only during leisure hours that one has the time to attend outstanding artistic events; and the great vogue for adult education that started during the thirties could be satisfied only outside working hours.

That being so, it was found that the way to achieve the declared objective of *democratisation of culture* was by fighting for more free time in relation to the number of working hours. "Culture" could not be contemplated while the mind was preoccupied with working in order to live. This explains why, in the thirties, people began to demand a reduction in working hours and free access to culture for all, and not just for a privileged social class.

Universal access to culture could not become a reality unless the first demand were met.

The two myths, that of culture for all, and that of leisure to enjoy it, are as inseparable as the two sides of a coin.

The theatre cannot be "brought to the people" if the people are too tired to do anything except flop into bed to recover the strength needed for the next day's work. The democratisation of concert-going requires the audience to be receptive to beauty and not to spoil the atmosphere by snoring.

In more dignified terms, if each individual is to be given the chance of achieving personal fulfilment, he must be able to do so at a time when he is not eating, washing or sleeping.

And so, to the attack: culture will not yield until the battle for leisure is won.

As a result of the undeniable successes of the hard social struggles of the thirties and the post-war years, the amount of free time enjoyed by each individual has gradually increased. His working week has been reduced from 48 hours to 40 hours, and he is entitled to 4 weeks' paid leave instead of only ten days. This means that leisure time has ceased to be a utopian goal and has become a tangible social reality. Man has reconquered his time (or rather, a small part of it). This new phenomenon is now no longer an expectation but a very interesting subject of observation. Towards the end of the fifties, scholarly studies on leisure began to abound. Of these, one of the best known is the book by J. Dumazedier, *Vers une civilisation du loisir?* (Editions du Seuil, 1962). Very often, when referring to this book, people leave out the final question mark, on which the significance of the title depends. It is one of the leading works in this field.

It soon came to be realised that the newly-won leisure could be used in a wide variety of ways. Watching television, playing football, resting, making miniature rockets, visiting museums, canoeing, etc: the possibilities were numerous and the areas wide. Nor were they

necessarily cultural, as it had been hoped. If people use their free time to bet on the horses or to get drunk, no research worker or cultural enthusiast will consider that any heartening humanitarian progress has been made.

It was therefore not long before the question arose of *hierarchies in the use of leisure*. Activities of human interest began to be classified: distinctions were drawn between active and passive recreation, between entertaining and instructive recreation, and between manual and intellectual hobbies. The typology of leisure is not least among the subjects of published studies on this theme. Taking a holiday with the Club Méditerranée comes lower on the list than reading a good book. The holiday clubs have, incidentally, learned their lesson very well: they have found that one of the most reliable ways to attract clients is to offer them the chance to lie in a hammock under palm trees listening to "hi-fi" classical music. This is a praiseworthy attempt to combine health-giving recreation (sex, sand and sun) with mind-improving recreation (the 9th symphony in stereophonic sound).

The equation "leisure = culture = liberation of man" is contested. Vigorously.

Leisure does not liberate, it causes still greater alientation. The consumer society has to find a market for its products, and leisure offers it an outstanding opportunity for this. Having the time to listen to music means purchasing a recordplayer. Playing tennis means buying racquets, balls and suitable gear. For how many people does the Saturday outing not consist in wandering around supermarkets and gazing at the "free" spectacle of their many-coloured counters? One saves time in order to have time for shopping. Far be it from us to suggest that the best thing to do in such a case is to work ceaselessly and so avoid temptation! Better health and a longer expectation of life are, we think, no mean achievements. But it must be understood that the same exploitation that goes on at work is also a feature of "free" time, which is becoming more and more impersonal, organised and regimented.

Those who work less do not "cultivate" themselves more; they do not, that is to say, further their own personal development.

After the initial euphoria and futuristic speculation (the three-hour day and the two-day week, combined with six months' holiday a year), it was inevitable that people should ask what exactly was to be done with this new territory they had conquered.

Those who read books before, read more. Playgoers visit the theatre more often. People who educated themselves before, continue to do so more assiduously.

People who dulled their wits playing with slot machines become more firmly hooked and lose more money than ever. Indiscriminate television viewers become still paler in the face in the rays of the small screen. Those who used to watch cars go by have longer to contemplate their traffic jams. Leisure as such changes nothing in the processes of our lives. What went on before continues, only on a larger scale. The logic of the social system is not questioned: the producers consume more of what they do not need, thanks to higher productivity.

The great expectation of cultural democratisation, namely "culture for all and not only for the middle classes" and "once the time and money barriers are removed, all will be well" broke down with the discovery that the workers did not possess, but were possessed by, leisure and culture. As to *their own* leisure and their own *culture,* these they must still invent for themselves.

The amount of free time does not, in fact, increase: it may even diminish. The euphoria that accompanies the onset of leisure begins to evaporate. The realisation sets in that it is not enough to reduce the time set aside for professional work in order to increase the amount of free time. Leisure time (i.e. time not spent working) also includes the time necessary for recovering one's energy and completing all the administrative and commercial procedures of modern life.

Furthermore, we live in a world where everything changes and where knowledge quickly becomes obsolete. Further training is therefore essential to anyone wishing to keep abreast of his work, and that takes time.

Everyone hopes for social advancement: here again, training is necessary – but only after working hours.

The trade unions are aware of this problem, and have begun to demand that the time taken up by vocational training be included in working hours; the costs, however, would in any case have to be borne by the community. Permanent education is a fashionable term. It remains to be seen what kind of structure will be devised for this; that is, whether every individual will be given instruction from the cradle to the grave, shown which way he must go and urged on from behind.

The answer can be only a political one.

The fact must be faced that, in nearly every case, leisure is not so much a consciously encountered reality as a baffling myth. Any attempt

to discuss leisure in isolation from the other problems of life in society can only end in misconceptions. It would be like studying the problems of cultural action without concerning oneself with the question of academic education. The superstructures are flexibly interconnected. If there are secondary contradictions between them, it would be wrong to consider them decisive.

To talk of leisure without mentioning work is like discussing gravity on the assumption that the earth is flat and motionless. Does anyone seriously imagine that the contents of a library set up by the welfare section of a works committee will not depend on the in-service relationships set up by the production system?

Nearly all types of cultural action practised so far have been aimed at the individual at leisure, freed from the demands of his work. This individual was helped to breathe, to express himself and to regain his autonomy and identity. Cultural "animation" thus became a kind of oasis where the thirsty traveller could take refreshment and rest, before resuming his exhausting voyage in the dismal desert of alienating labour. Leisure-time cultural "animation" has resembled a safety-valve or an oxygen mask in a rarefied atmosphere. But freedom, autonomy and responsibility are dangerously habit forming; the first experience leaves one craving for more and more. Can individuals and groups be trained to practise free speech during their leisure, and still be expected to keep quiet at work? Should groups and individuals be encouraged to choose what they want when off duty, when their work requires them to be docile producers?

Implications

The above warnings are indispensable. No one responsible for formulating a cultural policy can afford to take words at their face value.

There are two major implications here:

– Free time must be made freer still

A policy of socio-cultural community development comprises all measures designed to ensure that the time not devoted to work becomes free time in the true sense, that is to say time which people can put to good use, in particular by the manner in which they manage their jobs and housework, create outdoor and indoor premises in which individuals can meet and converse, or convert overpowering, intimidating administrative bodies into quick, efficient, co-operative services.

– The organisation of free time requires some urgent decisions

This is not the same as instituting an earlier retirement age, extending weekends, shortening the working day, lengthening the annual holiday period or establishing the principle of the sabbatical year.

Such decisions cannot acceptably be taken if reference is made primarily to economic criteria. There is a way of distributing free time so as to ensure that, more than any other, it is the time of passive consumption and irresponsibility. On the other hand, there is a policy of socio-cultural community development by which free time is managed in such a way as to offer increased opportunities for personal fulfilment in daily life and in the community (family, social, political, etc).

Thus the creation of a protected area of life, all the more permissive for being kept carefully distinct from professional and social life, is not the purpose of the relationship set up between socio-cultural community development and leisure-time. Free time is seen as the special preserve of animation only to the extent that, by drawing upon attitudes, personal requirements and values different from those that govern work relationships, animation introduces a new dynamic of relations into social life as a whole. The management of recreation areas by the people who use them, the supervision of the cultural industries or tourism and their subordination to the aims of humanising leisure, and the methods or responsible self-training in the field of out-of-school education: all these are also aspects of socio-cultural education: all these are also aspects of socio-cultural community development policy, and deserve to be discussed at length from this angle.

Our sole purpose here is to emphasise the connection that inevitably exists between a recreation policy and social policy of labour. The refusal to consider the man at work as a mere producer, and the man at leisure as a mere consumer, is a demonstration of the same attitude.

Animation in the arts and traditional culture

Until recent years, the arts was a precise term: it covered all the interpretations and images that the dominant class cultivated of itself and for itself. It covered what people were pleased to call Letters and Fine Arts. These artistic events were – and still are – intended for small audiences. The "happy few" continually find themselves face to face in exclusive circles. Such events were perpetrated in large, sumptuous

temples where the middle-class public sampled painting, films, plays and music like so many assertions, comic or tragic, realistic or abstract, of its own social, and consequently intellectual and cultural, supremacy.

What role can the artist play in such a setting? His sponsors (public authorities or patrons), prefer to see the artist as a creative individual. The myth of the artist as a lonely outcast has always suited the reactionary forces in our societies: it enables them to behave charitably and with condescending indulgence towards creative talent. Their very violence, isolated at all times, makes for an easy takeover in the art market.

As a sideline, some by-products known as "popular culture" are exhibited from time to time, usually so as to demonstrate their poverty and lack of taste which consign them to a marginal existence. They are held in arenas, back rooms, or drawing-cum-dining-cum-television rooms, where the clumsy, simplistic features reign supreme and prove that "these people are beyond redemption".

So many cultural "animateurs", having lost sight of the contradiction, now find themselves caught up in a tumult they never believed possible. Freedom is not something that can be confined to a reservation.

Today, the cultural "animateur" must extend his action to cover every aspect of the life of the individual he meets and speaks to. He must weigh up each act and each word in the light of an overall objective and of a vision of progress, unless he chooses to become the one who changes everything so that ultimately nothing changes.

One of the victories of social democratisation was access to the masterpieces of high culture.

Advancement, to the worker, meant a chance to come closer to the mode of living imposed by the ruling class.

The worker promoted to the position of foreman or executive made an effort to admire a cultural heritage he did not understand, because he had not helped to forge it. Little by little, he became integrated or disintegrated, in the class that was foreign to him. His cultural advancement was entirely mapped out in a linear progression. For him, there could be no question of using, without embarrassment, the wealth of what he had seen, felt, experienced, discovered and comprehended in his universe. In propagating the myth of individual success, the middle class continues to impose its models and to reinvigorate its

elite. The filters are sufficiently thick to prevent any reversal in the balance of forces. Access to culture follows the same pattern as access to education: only a minute percentage of children of working people, farmers, small tradesmen and employees are entitled to it. One belongs or one does not. No alternative is possible. When the art schools found that their audience had reached its ceiling, they looked for new markets. In the same way, car sales were considerably "democratised" (that is to say, extended) over the years: production depended on it.

When the traditional well-off public became saturated, it came to be realised that there existed something called the *general public*. In fact, the conquest of the general public was chiefly that of the lower middle classes. It was tempting purely and simply to export existing achievements to those classes (just as our Western religions were exported when Africa was colonised); the objective, at best, was that they should cease to be reserved for a small number of privileged beings; generally, however, the reason was that the lower middle classes comprise a reserve audience which it would be ridiculous not to exploit (in every sense of the word).

Animation in the arts was at that time confused with entertainment sales promotion. The cultural animateur resembled the door-to-door salesman touting his wares with a great deal of handshaking and sympathetic listening: a pleasant character, to whom people readily open their doors (that, surely, is what is generally expected of an animateur), but whose aim is to sell his products. His real task is, however, to enable the public to formulate its own choices for itself.

An important milestone was passed when artists set out to meet the public for the purpose of dialogue. This was the great surge towards the *popular audience* before whom they wished to display the most elaborate contemporaneous works in the hope of raising the standard of culture and fostering an appreciation of artistic creation. Here, the overriding aim was to transform the privilege of a certain class into public property. Two aspects of this movement were the experimental decentralisation of the theatre, and the rapprochement of left-wing party intellectuals, chiefly after the 1940–45 war.

The role of the animateur in the arts is, then, to bring the creation nearer to the public, or rather, the public nearer to the creation. The more intimidating aspects are concealed, prices lowered, explanations given and access made easy.

Creative artists anxious to find an audience joined forces with adult education activists to perform the same tasks of cultural "animation". They were to be found in schools, factories, etc.

In every case, the aim was to attract people to the places dedicated to the arts; one cannot build a cathedral, even a simple one, without erecting a monument. Not surprisingly, the feverish search for the popular audience filled the theatres with students, teachers and civil servants. Workers and peasants remained cut off from the cultural dialogue. Patrice Chéreau, now Roger Planchon's co-director of the Théâtre National Populaire in Lyons, drew the following conclusions from his failure in the Paris suburbs:

> "The theatre gave double priority to artistic creation (described as committed and critical) and cultural (educational) animation. It set out to put an end to those old-fashioned ideas that were so slow to die, and gradually discovered, to its astonishment, that it lacked coherent political objectives. Soon, there was nothing left for it but to die. Which it did...
>
> The point is that we intellectuals are rather like Molière's Don Juan: We have worked out a progressive code of morals, but are still on the side of the masters...
>
> Pursuing the theory of cultural 'animation' as a form of day-to-day militantism (or 'politicisation'), we then imagined that all our problems would be solved, and I mean *our* problems, not those of the public, that is to say of society." [1]

After 1968, in reaction to what might have been felt as failure or deadlock, there arose a school of thought which maintained that any artistic expression of culture was debilitating and alienating, and therefore to be rejected. J. Dubuffet, for example, exclaimed: "Culture is tending to take the place which used to belong to religion... It has now taken over the role of 'opium of the people'. The phrase 'When I hear the world culture, I reach for my revolver' is now commonplace, and the feeling it expresses is certainly one of exasperation."

By way of a reaction, artists in search of an ever-elusive public abandon the mirage of the popular public and talk negatively of what they call the non-public. The contrast has become so stereotyped that it only adds to the ambiguity. A fierce battle rages between the active supporters of *animation* and the advocates of *distribution* and *creation*. In fact, the fight strongly resembles shadow-boxing: each opponent is

1. Chéreau, P.: in *Partisans*, published by Maspero. April–May 1969, No. 47, pp. 66–7.

required to deploy intense activity, but his blows, however accurate and energetic, fall on nothing, except perhaps the mirror which reflects the fidgeting image of the combattants. Like most false notions, the dichotomy can be simply illustrated:

"Animation" (good)	*Distribution-creation* (bad)
Active participation	Cultural consumption
Culture in the making	The cultural heritage
Contact with the *whole* population	Public consisting of an elite
Culture inseparable from politics in the profoundest sense	Culture as opposed to politics
Non-directivity	Manipulation
Self-expression for all	Creation by professional specialists only
Progressive	Conservative
Liberation	Alienation
Free expression	Passivity
Open communication	Talking down
Down among the people	In temples of culture
Open to all	Reserved for initiates
Group fulfilment	Triumph of individualism
Creativity	Artistic creation

This simplified diagram illustrates the routine argumentation. Well-meaning "animateurs" have thought to resolve the problem of alienation by attacking its most obvious symptoms. This is a losing battle, and one which, we fear, serves chiefly to conceal the lack of any precise, concrete analysis of what these concepts cover.

Clearly, inviting the Bread and Puppet Theatre to play for a month in a community, for the purpose of organising creative workshops for all and writing scenarios with the inhabitants, can be called distribution; but none of the pejorative comments which that sector of cultural activity attracts are relevant to it. So what? Will the problem be solved if we decide purely and simply to place this activity in the "Animation" column instead? Is it just a question of classification?

And what of the cultural animateur who goes among the workers on the shop floor and suggests how they can best improve their home environment (one's home is one's castle), but carefully refrain from listening to what they have to say about their working conditions, on the grounds that the animation he practises is not economic but *cultural?* Will he parade the proud insignia of animation as proof of the usefulness of what he is doing (or not doing)?

Some dedicated animateurs, in their haste to get rid of the bathwater left by the reactionary defenders of the middle-class cultural heritage, are preparing to throw out the baby as well: a lively, growing baby called *creation.*

The question that should be asked is not: distribution/creation or animation? It is: what kind of creation? What kind of distribution? What kind of animation?

When we talk of creation, we mean the creation which reflects our world and suggests new patterns of living, attacks our cherished institutions and offers complete freedom to our imagination.

The creation we are speaking of is the kind that is not content to use revolutionary themes so as to sell itself to traditional institutions which will take it over and feed on it. "And yet, intellectual workers still entertain the illusion that the workings of big business affect only the exploitation of their work, and that this phenomenon, to which they attach secondary importance, far from influencing their work, would actually allow their work to exert an influence. This lack of clairvoyance on the part of composers, writers and critics has tremendous consequences which are all too little heeded. Their conviction that they possess what in fact possesses them, leads them to defend a machine over which they have no control; an instrument which has ceased to be, as they still believe it to be, at the service of those who create, but has instead turned against them and hence against their own creation (in so far as the latter show specific, new trends that either do not conform to those of the machine or actually oppose them). The creative artist is now no more than a supplier . . .". [2] But his work sets up new production circuits by means of which the reader will write and the spectator create.

"An author who has nothing to teach writers has nothing to teach anyone. The deciding factor is therefore the production's suitability as a model capable firstly of guiding other producers towards production,

2. Brecht, B.: *Anmerkungen zur Oper Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahoganny,* Edition Suhrkamp, Berlin, 1963.

and secondly, of making a new instrument available to them. And the quality of that instrument will be judged by the number of consumers it induces to become producers; in short, by its ability to turn readers and spectators into collaborators."[3]

This implies that the position of every creator within the community to which he belongs is that of producer. The creator is a workman who fashions his work. In that capacity, he will be able to talk to other workers who share his concern for "good workmanship", wherever it is still possible to do so. As P. Madral says: "It is also by having their activity recognised as a productive social function that they (the artists) will give it all its dignity and prevent it from becoming the 'luxury' or 'uplifting' work which the reactionary forces in our country would like it to continue to be".[4]

For one must not be afraid to say that art is "productive", not in the economic sense of the term, surely, but productive of values, images, ideas and symbols. Through artistic activity, the individual helps himself to make his way as a man, that is to say widen his social and emotional dimension, explore the hitherto untapped resources of his intelligence and sensitivity, and so become his own master.

By placing a video tape recorder at the disposal of a district, one can produce some extraordinary results: if a talented film-maker offers his services to the people, to help them compile their own programmes, their own news bulletins and their own stories, are we not then wholly involved in artistic creation of the kind that is alive and stirs the very seat of our emotions?

As to distribution, its aim should be to offer the most elaborate product to the appreciation of connoisseurs. Connoisseurs, because they will have learnt what artistic *work* really is; because they will have learnt to become creative themselves in their chosen spheres. In this way, distribution becomes an instrument of exchange and communication, and stimulates the creative imagination.

And animation, this dialogue whereby individuals and groups can express themselves freely, find their place in their society and act like conscientious citizens to transform it: animation must be the catalyst.

There can be no excuse for placing creation, distribution and animation in separate compartments, except for reasons of methodological simplicity. All these activities are aspects of the same

3. Benjamin, W.: *Versuche über Brecht*, Edition Suhrkamp, Berlin, 1967.

4. Madral, P.: *Théâtre hors les murs*, Editions du Seuil, 1969, p. 229.

conception of man, and the same determination to change society. The only problem is to decide what the conception is to be and what form the determination is to take. The rest is a matter of means. Means are not secondary: they represent the sole concrete manifestation of the hopes that are expressed.

Unlike Plato, we take the view that the poet must always occupy an eminent position in society.

The problem is not whether to accept or reject artistic creation, but how to give every individual the opportunity to create in accordance with his abilities and wishes.

The cultural heritage, which some revere and others wish to burn, must be used properly. The only positive attitude towards it consists in teaching everyone the code whereby its meaning can be deciphered, so that critical assimilation may be followed by vigorous utilisation. There is a choice to be made, and for this it is necessary for everyone to be able to work out his own criteria.

Artistic creation will in future be able to go forward in continuity, in opposition to, or regardless of all that has been inherited. Even the inventory of art treasures is far from complete: all too often, it includes only items compatible with the ephemeral canons of fashion and good taste. Masterpieces of human genius are still buried under the dust of oblivion which covers everything that disturbs the mind or deviates from accepted standards.

To be compatible with free will, a cultural policy must be guided by the following principles:

- The necessary infrastructure must be provided that all those who so desire may have the means of expressing themselves in whatever fields they choose (television, painting, music, writing).

- Cultural and creative centres must encourage creation on a wider scale. Expression is the beginning of mastery.

- The concept of amateurism must be reinstated. Instead of regarding amateur creation as a pale copy of the professional product, personal modes of expression must be found whereby dilettantism and naïveté can become new sources of imagination.

- Professional artists must find the way to survive without resorting to prostitution.

At present, anyone totally dedicated to his creative work is subject to the laws of supply and demand.

A society in constant need of the products of an artist's imagination must enable him to work without begging:

– Museums must make a point of giving support to contemporary creation and allow artists to convert them into real centres of animation – which is one of their fully recognised functions.

– Professional artists generally must help to administer the establishments where their products are exhibited (theatres, cinemas, museums, etc). It is here that the first experiments in self-management can be conducted. There must be direct contact between producer and consumer.

– The artist is paid only when he sells his product. All the time he spends revealing to the public the secrets of his hard work must be paid for by the community. In social terms, the return on this investment will be enormous.

– Meeting places must be provided where amateurs and professionals can compare their work. A metallurgist who forges an effigy of St. Eloi has much in common with an abstract painter; they will soon come to an understanding by discussing the difficulties encountered in the process of creation.

The myth of the lonely, misunderstood genius must give way to a wholesome conception of the artist: a producer whose products are necessary to our society's development. No more, but no less. In this way, dignity will be restored to the worker and to the artist.

Functional aspects of an animation policy

The general implications we have just outlined do not remove the need for a more specific study of the implications of socio-cultural community development in the various spheres where it is practised. For animation is no overall attitude that cannot be broken down into separate aspects. If we define those aspects and examine them more closely to find how they affect the organisation of society, some kind of socio-cultural community development strategy is bound to emerge.

Information: a precondition

One of the first stages in animation usually consists in a form of action known as sensitisation. This term – or at least its French

equivalent "sensibilisation" – is a widely used piece of animation jargon and refers to any action designed to make a given section of the population aware, in general terms, of a matter of concern to it. It is not unimportant to note that the allusion is to a far broader process than that of conventional information. The latter generally consists in passing on a number of data that have been selected and formulated according to the criteria of informant and what he thinks the public "should know".

This approach has the effect of systematising information, and at the same time of attributing fixed roles to the parties concerned. A distinction will be drawn between the purveyors and receivers of information, while certain major institutions (press, educational establishments, government departments, etc.) will be acknowledged as official informants.

Quite a different perception of things underlies the development of awareness, through sensitisation. Instead of delivering a doctrinal message fashioned by a purveyor of information, one appeals to the public's actual experience.

The process requires the "purveyor-receiver" interplay to be abandoned and replaced by the joint discovery of reality, through the questions no less than through the answers. It is also essential in this voyage of discovery to go beyond purely intellectual perception of phenomena and summon the various faculties, in particular the emotions, through which the reality is apprehended. In this way, the manner in which the message is expressed becomes, as M. McLuhan emphasised in connection with the mass-media, a component of the message itself. And a given manner of communicating a fact is itself a confirmation of that fact.

Socio-cultural community development policy therefore implies that governments take a fresh look at the problems of information. There is no longer any need to single out "serious" information – that is, information that corresponds in form and content to the dominant criteria – for privileged treatment; it is more important to bring about and assist the encounter between the enquiry and the prospective answer, at the level where it occurs and with the most suitable modes of expression. Such a prospect will fundamentally alter the status of the "one who knows": instead of telling the enquirer what to think, he will be required to take part in a joint search, in which the query is itself the raw material of a two-way dialectic. For it is in the query that awareness becomes evident rather than in the "final" answer that closes the debate.

Those authorities that wish to promote socio-cultural community development must take account of the new information networks, founded on active enquiry and exchange of real experience. The longer the authorities continue to find the absence of questions reassuring and try to ensure that people "do not ask questions", the longer the situation obstructive to socio-cultural community development will prevail. To say that only "intelligent" questions (i.e. questions soliciting ready-made answers) deserve consideration, is to repudiate in practice the principle of participation that in theory one applauds.

The direct practical implications of this outlook are radical. The two we shall mention represent two apparently distant extremes of the phenomenon of information:

- marginal structures: the public authorities must take a particular interest in the large numbers of information centres now springing up (for young people, immigrants, women, farmers, etc.) not because the information conveyed has to comply with the dominant criteria, but because it is in such places that expression is given to the raw material of information, in the form of questions based on practical experience;
- official structures: education will never become really compatible with a policy of socio-cultural community development until priority is given to what the student wants to know and not to what the teacher wants to say.

Commitment to the cause

While awareness is a precondition for any socio-cultural community development, self-confidence is just as necessary, as without it the members of the community cannot take part in the process of cultural development. Largely because of the organisational complexity and the general conditioning to obedience which is a feature of our system of authority, people still have the feeling that they are powerless to influence events. The consumer society, by manipulating opinion through advertising, helps more than ever to maintain, if not develop, this feeling of impotence among the mass of the people. Because of cultural handicaps, differences in educational standards and the form of speech adopted in political decision-making circles, the belief that major decisions have to be taken by "initiates" continues to be widely held. The very foundations of our cultural and educational systems ensure that every one of us fosters the dualistic conception according to which the leader takes the decisions and the rest obey.

Given this shower of inducements to passive deference, no evolution towards cultural democracy can be envisaged except through the methodical promotion of all the structures within which contemporary men and women regain their belief in their own responsibility and in their vocation to do something other than act according to ready-made plans.

Action groups have a decisive function here: these are organisations which invite citizens, young and old, to discuss matters responsibly and commit themselves to an ideological or political purpose. Whether they be trade unions, youth groups or religious or political movements, their importance to socio-cultural community development policy lies mainly in their unique ability to induce self-confidence and temerity, two qualities indispensable for counter-balancing the apathy-inducing pressures. But in so far as those movements help to make the public less submissive and so alter the balance of forces, their resources will be negligible in comparison with the sums invested in the major sectors that promote consumption, apathy and order.

To that extent, for the sake of what we would call the health of democracy, the public authorities must themselves provide these movements with guaranteed opportunities for development.

Consequently, any socio-cultural community development policy will require governments to afford regular and effective aid to a whole range of movements committed to social ideals, allow that commitment to flourish and let it have a hearing.

When we say regular aid, we do not simply mean occasional assistance to activities meeting preordained criteria, for it is only by guaranteeing the general vitality of these movements that the public authority can secure their constructive commitment reflecting their independence of thought, choice and action.

When it comes to granting aid, the priority consideration should in no case be the merits of the subsidised organisations, assessed in terms of the services they are expected to provide for the benefit of the established social order.

If, owing to lack of funds, a criterion of priority must be found, the first consideration must be the *repercussions* on the whole community of the members' commitment in respect of options that *go beyond* the framework of the established order.

Participation is not to be defined as participation in the "established order" but as participation in the making of history, in which the establishment is only one phase, stage or moment.

All forms of public assistance to movements of a social nature are obstructive to a policy of socio-cultural community development if they require the activities of those movements to measure up to well-tried models. Assistance of that kind is merely mediocre (and underestimated) payment for auxiliary services which the authority considers necessary but too costly to perform itself, and therefore discharges on to private bodies.

One may therefore consider that the amount and conditions of public aid to voluntary organisations are a real yardstick of the genuineness of a socio-cultural community development policy.

The subsidy must be considered as an instrument of policy and not as public patronage stepping in wherever private patronage falters. The subsidy is an allocation of resources which have become the property of the community through taxation. Its justification must be the general principle of viability, the motive for any investment, even and especially if variability cannot in this case be measured financially.

The recognition of voluntary organisations and the payment of subsidies to them therefore imply a continuing evaluation of repercussions and their effectiveness within social groups or communities of settlers.

Such an assessment cannot, however, be made arbitrarily by the established authority. Obviously, the latter cannot be an impartial judge of its effectiveness, as its judgement will be clouded by the dominant values on which its authority is based. If that effectiveness takes the form of a reappraisal of those values, the authority cannot be expected to view it favourably or to consider that the organisation justifies further subsidising from the community's resources.

The development of a system of financial aid to voluntary movements is therefore the most difficult challenge to any socio-cultural community development policy. Furthermore, the aim is to guarantee the permanence of free movements. Such an aim has always implied the formulation of general criteria placing all applicants on an equal footing.

At the same time, however, the subsidy intended as an instrument of socio-cultural community development policy implies a constant reappraisal of the objectives and resources deployed in a "con-

tractual" assessment in which the authority granting the subsidy and the voluntary movement are equal partners.

In analysing the viability of the action, neither of the two partners is on the outside: their judgement constitutes two views of a situation of which they are part.

Thus the challenge is to find a system whereby all the movements can be guaranteed an equal footing and where each can individually be evaluated, in a dialogue with all.

Groups and communities

In order to formulate a cultural amimation policy, it is essential to know who it is designed for and what its institutional framework is.

Whether the policy is aimed at an individual, a group or a community, is not a matter of minor importance: the type of relationships, the means used, and even the objectives, will vary accordingly.

The individual

The individual was the original object of concern of cultural animation. A good analogy is the casework practised by social workers as they tackle one case after another.

Animation began by being directed at individuals, regardless of their background or their attachment to any particular social or cultural group.

The "animateur" sat opposite X or Y, and a person-to-person dialogue took place "far from the madding crowd". X and Y were isolated spectators who had purchased admission tickets on their own; each was alone in front of the "animateur" and the relationship between the latter and him was that of teacher to trainee; they were alone in learning modes of expression (photography, enamelling, painting, etc). The advantage of this type of relationship is that the greatest possible attention is paid to the progress of X or Y and that the personal effort of each is better sustained by differentiated methods.

Training methods are tending increasingly to enable each individual to work out a personal curriculum, compatible with his pace, abilities and motivations.

The limitations of the individual approach to socio-cultural community development are apparent at two levels:

– the resources invested in animation do not allow for extreme fragmentation; there is a question of effectiveness here that has to be considered;

– when working with isolated individuals one runs the risk of cutting them off from many of their attachments, or from their roots. X is not equal to Y. Each belongs to a group, whether it be in his professional life or in his home environment. To ignore these attachments is to lose sight of an essential component of the personality. There is no such being as the eternal man, immune to all change: there are only beings who undergo influences, who change, who become, who fashion and are fashioned by the age in which they live. Animation must take account of the fact that an individual achieves fulfilment only by virtue of exchanges with other individuals; if he fails to weave the fabric of communication that makes such exchanges possible, the individual will retire within himself and become paralysed.

The small group

By a small group we mean any collection of less than thirty persons. It includes families, sporting teams, clubs of one sort or another etc.

In this case, relations with the persons concerned or with outside events is not the same as it is when each individual is considered separately: the group constitutes an entity with its own make up. Each group possesses its language, its values and its attachments. Anyone wishing to enter a group which already possesses a certain fund of experience has to submit to a series of initiation ordeals: an entrance examination to an educational establishment, an interview with prospective in-laws before marriage, assistance to others before joining a team etc.

Small groups are considered, quite rightly, as priority fields of cultural animation. Examples that spring to mind are creative workshops, debating clubs and forums. A gathering of people, large or small is an occasion for discussion and mutual enrichment.

In sociological terms, groups can be classified as follows:

- natural groups that one joins involuntarily (the family circle, tenants of an appartment block, etc.);
- voluntary groups (political parties, cultural circles, etc.);
- functional groups (school classes, company workshops, etc.).

The attitude and function of the animateur will vary according to the type of group he has to deal with. It would be quite wrong to suppose that social distinctions vanish with the formation of open groups such as sporting teams or cultural circles. Segregation is practised at those levels also: one need only examine the membership of the various groups to realise that the position in society of the individuals that compose it remains a deciding factor. This is true of the family, the cultural association and the school class (a university class is normally socially homogeneous; only the primary school class is "abnormal" in that it mixes people from different social backgrounds. This "error" is soon put right by selection).

A particularly striking example of a mistake that can be made by an animateur if he is an advocate of the small group as such, lies in the ambiguity of the much-used and much-abused training group. The training group is supposed to be a group centred on its own life, and each member is supposed to be equal to all the others and to represent the "here and now" detached from outside contingencies. In fact, each member concentrates on the discovery of his autonomous ego and uses the others to that end. Paradoxically, the relationship often results in pronounced egotism. It has been found that only groups consisting of individuals with a similar code and similar attachments are capable to sitting together and enabling each member to "find himself through the discovery of others".

Many attempts to foster free expression in such frameworks have the effect of alienating thought still further, the mind being lulled to rest – if not to sleep – by the catharsis it has undergone.

By working with small homogeneous groups, the animateur can find and bring about genuine contact over and beyond confinement in a bilateral relationship. Conversely, the opportunities for manipulation are greater than ever in that a small group can become totally dependent on one charismatic or authoritarian personality. While authoritarianism is rejected outright as a method of animation, we cannot say for certain that the rejection is quite so categorical in the case of the charisma.

One final remark: terms such as "group dynamics", "non-directivity" and "training group" are often confused with the best of intentions.

Discernment is required in these matters.

Cultural animation is not a form of psychotherapy nor is it one of the social worker's methods. Cultural animation must find its own

specific methods in its particular field. If it is inspired by research in other sectors of human activity, so much the better: but we must beware of the crossbreedings that can result from brutal transplants.

The community

Where the community is concerned, interpersonal relationships do not have the same vital role. The object is to discover what kind of cement will ensure the cohesion of large human gatherings: business sectors, groups of schools, districts, political parties, religious believers, etc. The uniting element may be of a professional, social, political or philosophical nature. We all belong to several of these large groups, which means that we will be concerned with the problems that arise (in our case, those of a cultural nature) at various levels which cannot always be superimposed with precision.

Literature abounds with heroes torn between their duty to the community to which they belong politically, and the obligations imposed by their membership of a particular philosophical group.

A cultural policy at this level must take account of the major trends of thought inherent in the various communities, with the obvious risk of having recourse every time to measures that represent the lowest common denominator. All too often, *pluralism* is viewed from this narrow standpoint, whereas it should represent the possibility for each individual to express his ideas freely and to defend them even if they are not those of the majority; pluralism means confrontation and dialogue, and not the temporary stagnation of a particular balance of forces. Those responsible for cultural animation must, when dealing with questions that have to be solved at community level, engage in dialogue with the representatives of the various subgroups that make up the community in question.

The system of *delegation of authority* by the rank and file to its representatives (normally elected but sometimes imposed) is the essential feature that cultural animation will always encounter. Dialogue with everybody becomes impossible and the animateur must therefore establish contact with the rank and file through its representatives. Nobody can guarantee that the statements made by the representatives will accurately reflect the opinion of their electors as it might have emerged from a debate: there is no guarantee that the representatives will report back to the rank and file the conclusions of their "summit" talks. The problem that arises here is that of bureaucratisation and the possible divorce between the population and those who represent its interests. We are aware that the solution is

crucial to the progress of our "blocked society" as the French sociologist M. Crozier has called it. If the elected representatives seem to be conscious of their dignity and jealous of the least of their powers, the cultural animateur may well be tempted to bypass them; this reaction can only produce insoluble conflicts which in the end will do nothing to change the existing stratification.

It is therefore of the utmost importance for the public authorities to take appropriate measures to *strengthen the internal democracy of our various communities* and to ensure that each individual can express his views freely. The problem is not so much to find "proper" spokesmen (i.e. those with control over their men) as to find representatives capable of interpreting accurately the social and cultural conscience of the existing major groups.

For example, it is quite possible for the authorities to ensure that cultural facilities are built only after consultation with the future users, by demanding that evidence of that consultation be produced; this is surely in the best interests of the population as well as of the political leaders who prefer a contented electorate.

At the same time as strengthening the internal democracy of the major groups, the authorities will encourage the emergence of structured associations and groups thereby creating the most favourable framework for free speech. By promoting commitment, one helps to set up the best possible network of communication. Nothing is more dangerous than the concept of the average man-in-the-street, the man-of-the-silent-majority, into whose mouth any words can be put because he never makes his views known except in opinion polls. While public acquiescence may be considered to have some short-term advantages in giving the authorities a free hand, in the medium term communication will break down and the gap between the authorities' decisions and the state of mind of the community will widen.

The role of cultural "animation" will be twofold: to encourage commitment, responsible action and the creation of institutions reflecting a joint commitment to a community of individuals; and to make constantly renewed efforts to foster democracy so that the structures do not become paralysed and turn into instruments of manipulation. This is central to the task of the "general animateur" which we have just summarised. One realises just how many contradictions and ambiguities are bound to arise in this connection. It is no use ignoring the facts: it is better to explain the difficulties so that a conscious effort can be made to overcome them.

The problems raised above are bound to recur at municipal and regional level

At municipal level

At municipal level a number of communities are assembled in a precise administrative and political entity. It is here that the power of decision lies closest to the people. However, although a rural municipality still resembles a small or medium-sized group in many respects (person-to-person communication: everyone knows everyone else), an urban municipality has all the problems of a community (anonymity, with individuals herded together in structured groups at various levels of social life), even to the extent of becoming a megalopolis torn between its past, with its obsolete means of communication, and the present, which tears apart this fabric of usages woven over the years, lacking any new models to point the way forward.

A policy of cultural animation in a village can count on a strong feeling of group solidarity on the part of all the inhabitants. Communication between individuals will be greatly simplified. On the other hand, care must be taken to ensure that this solidarity does not transform the village into a fortress deaf to the development of the outside world, or into a community that lives on its past and the customs that originally welded it together. The cultural animateur will find himself face to face with a social cohesion of enormous potential, provided it can be made forward-looking and not hostile to change. (By change, we mean a possibility of understanding the world better and acting upon it; we do not refer to the mutations imposed by a system of intensive production, the danger of which we are beginning to become acutely aware.)

In an urban environment, on the other hand, the task of the animateur will be to bring about a state of cohesion and community-mindedness that has either ceased to exist or is not yet present. Resistance to change is considerably less strong, but this, paradoxically enough, may mean that the population will accept anything without a murmur. We can see this state of awareness growing gradually in our large towns. The cultural "animateur" must be careful to keep it alive by various means, some of which can, in our opinion, claim priority:

– People must be approached in the districts in which they live: a district imposes similar ways of life and creates solidarity and shared interests. The feeling of belonging to a community must be reinforced

when it first appears; this can be done by encouraging people to have a say in the management of the cultural facilities at their disposal, through the creation of area councils or even of one council for each appartment block. All the ways in which inhabitants can take a direct part in the development of their housing, their district and hence their town, must be clearly mapped out. The problem of town planning is essentially a cultural one, especially as it has social and economic implications which more often than not determine the aesthetic consequences of decisions taken in this field.[5]

– Schools, being generally integrated in areas where people live, must cease to be the exclusive preserve of educational "professionals", whether students or teachers, and become meeting-places open to all the inhabitants. The school must cease to be a machine for dispensing knowledge piecemeal and become a centre where knowledge emerges from contact with life. Looking at the matter from a purely economic standpoint, it is inconceivable that educational establishments should stand empty once the students have finished their classes. The holiday period alone could be put to good use, and the premises kept open without inconvenience to anyone. Or has it been settled once and for all that the only efficient school is a school where everyone is bored to death?

– With the development of audio-visual techniques, anyone can produce his own video broadcast with a little practice. From being a medium of mass communication, television can become an outstanding instrument of communication between groups and individuals. An excellent way to foster active cultural democracy is to televise municipal council meetings, tell the inhabitants what is going on in their town, and let them have their say.[6]

At regional level

The regional framework is beginning to assume critical importance in our political life.

After the struggles for national independence that went on in Europe for centuries, leading in most cases by the beginning of the twentieth century to the establishment of centralised authority, we are now witnessing the renaissance of regional entities. Each region is asserting its own cultural identity and seeking the means of asserting it freely in all its forms. The Occitanian, Breton and Basque movements in

5. Cf. Lefèbvre, H.: *La révolution urbaine*, NRF, Collection Idées, 1970.

6. In connection with the last two items, it is worth taking a look at the "Villeneuve de Grenoble" experiment now in progress in France.

France, the Welsh and Scottish movements in the United Kingdom, and separation of Flanders and Walloon in Belgium, and the demarcation of Southern Italy as an underdeveloped region, all reveal the strength of regional feeling.

In their search for political and economic autonomy, the advocates of regionalism are above all demanding recognition of their cultural identity forged by a tradition which the three foregoing centuries have tried to wipe out.

Any policy of cultural animation must concern itself with these phenomena, not in order to repudiate or belittle them, but in order to extract all the precious substance underneath.

It is perhaps at this level that cultural animation will be most bound up with political affairs in general. More than ever, the links between culture and politics come to the surface.

– Lastly, the nation assembles all these stratifications in a single element. Clearly, national feeling is tending today to develop slowly towards an awareness of the existence of a European community. Does that mean that one should work for the gradual disappearance of the national community? That would be to state the problem falsely. The enlargement of a grouping must in no case whatever signify a loss of identity for a smaller community. Only through the coexistence of freely asserted – and shared – cultural differences on the one hand, and common characteristics on the other, can a genuine, liberating and non-alienating community feeling arise. This is so whether one is considering the individual's relationship with the group, the group's relationship with the community, the community's relationship with the town, or the region, the region's relationship with the nation and the nation's relationship with the continent.

Conclusions: decentralisation is the answer

The type of cultural policy to be formulated will be largely determined by the existence and structuring of groups of various sizes. What is certain is that at all these levels there must be a cultural policy, and that means that priorities will have to be selected. For each of the levels we have examined there will be a structuring of persons and of groups, that is to say *methodical institutionalisation* where culture is concerned. The political authorities must constantly ensure that these institutions are at the service of the individuals that use them, and not the other way round. It may be that some institutions will enjoy only an ephemeral existence as a result, and disappear once their task is

completed. We know of all too many cases where an institution is left after a time with its own survival as its main objective, however little justification there may be for it. It then becomes a powerful obstacle to progress. Cultural animation must use the institution as a transitory means and never as an end.

We believe that the true sense of decentralisation should be seen in this perspective. Decentralisation is primarily a political attitude which gives prominence to the components of a whole.

Centralisation is an attitude which recognises subgroups only within the common denominator expressed by a "central" structure which encompasses them. Decentralisation, on the other hand, requires the central structure to guarantee free expression to the subgroups that make it up. The practice of decentralisation is therefore essential to any socio-cultural community development policy to the extent that it implies a reappraisal of every structure or institution and a constant check on that policy's capacity to reflect the human experience it embodies. In this sense, genuine socio-cultural community development implies decentralisation of the *decision-making process* and not a wider distribution of executive functions.

Decentralising the decision-making process means giving back the power to assert the identity of a community to the groups or persons making up that community.

There can be no socio-cultural community development policy without decentralisation; conversely, there can be no decentralisation without socio-cultural community development. These two statements may seem to amount to a vicious circle, but in fact they reflect a spiral progression, in which each factor encourages the development of the other and contributes in turn to its own reinforcement.

Manpower for an animation policy

No study of the implications of socio-cultural community development policy would be complete if it did not give careful consideration to the people called upon to implement that policy.

Now that some of the major requirements of a socio-cultural community development policy have been identified, we can go on to consider the framework within which the agents of cultural development are called upon to act, and the relationships that must exist between them.

Today no title is in greater demand than that of cultural animateur. Whether one is an youth club leader, a librarian, a museum curator, a teacher, a ministry inspector, a social worker or even a television producer, it is fashionable to describe oneself as an animateur. But the success of this description lies in its very ambiguity. So great is that ambiguity that two contradictory propositions can be formulated. According to one, all agents of permanent education and cultural development are animateurs. According to the other, the function of animateur does not exist; there are only functions exercised in an "animating" manner by persons recruited for other purposes.

It seems fairly certain that all those who take any part in socio-cultural "animation" must be regarded as "animateurs". To object to such a proposition is tantamount to repudiating the whole idea of socio-cultural community development. However, when it comes to defining the role of professional agents of cultural development, one cannot be satisfied with such sweeping statements. It is essential to narrow down the reality covered by these concepts if one wishes the public authorities to concentrate on creating the conditions whereby the effectiveness of the animateurs' work can be guaranteed. The confusion that persists as a result of the widespread use of the term animateur can cause serious difficulties over the selection, recruitment, training and working conditions of cultural development agents.

The present-day typologies of animation and animateur are inadequate, in our view, in so far as they usually rest on questionable premisses. They are established after the event so as to bring a semblance of coherence to the mass of people employed, who were recruited without prior reference to the established chart.

The definition of the professional functions which can or do contribute to cultural development in a policy of socio-cultural community development would seem to require reference to three aspects, defined *arbitrarily* as follows:

- *The persons:* these are, in our present analysis, all the individuals, grouped or otherwise, whose cultural development is the agent's direct objective.
- *The programme:* this, still in the context of this analysis, consists of all the means which the agent deploys in accordance with fairly precise instructions given by an authority which has itself defined a process for contributing to the cultural development of persons or groups.

- *Research:* this, still within the limitations of our analysis, consists of all the processes of observation of reality whereby the needs, aspirations, results and any other data are assessed for the purpose of determining or adjusting contributions to cultural development.

The profile of each of the present and future functions whose purpose is to contribute to socio-cultural community development, would seem to be defined according to the degree of dependence on one or other of the degree of dependence on one or other of these three aspects. Although we speak of degrees of dependence with regard to one aspect, we still start by stating that no contribution to socio-cultural community development can be made without constant reference to all three indissociable aspects.

All this has one important implication from the outset for any policy concerning cultural agents: the methods of training, selection, recruitment and employment must always ensure that these three dimensions of their activity are taken into consideration. Nevertheless, one or other of these aspects will always take priority according to the categories of tasks. The profile of each function will therefore determine the code of ethics and the need for status and training which will no longer be directly adapted to it.

The agents of cultural development can be considered in three major categories:

– The term "cultural administrators" will be used for agents whose mandate consists chiefly in ensuring the operation of a service (a "programme") defined by the authority employing him as his contribution to the cultural development of a group of persons. The agent's attachment to the authority is here given priority in so far as the persons for whom the cultural development is intended are not free to prevail on that agent to modify his task or service in any fundamental manner. Any such modification would depend on a procedure applied by the authority on whom the agent depends. Agents in this category will include librarians in public libraries, museum curators, most teachers and the directors of most cultural institutions.

This does not mean that these agents are not responsible for the cultural development of the persons concerned; but for their action to coincide with the needs of a population, the *mediation* of an authority is required.

– The term "research workers" will be used to describe agents whose main function is to analyse a situation so as to provide a basis for

decisions or value-judgements. Their role is apparently connected less directly with cultural development. But this disregards all recent developments in research, especially in the fields of "investigation-participation". It also overlooks the fact that the analysis of situations is itself a phase of socio-cultural "animation" to the extent that it is restored to the group concerned.

– The term "cultural animateur", in the strict sense, should be reserved for those agents whose priority task is to sustain the dynamism of a particular group of persons by adjusting his activity to that group's hopes and objectives, whether overt or not yet directly formulated. The value of their activity and the means they deploy will then be assessed primarily according to whether they meet the needs of the group, not in terms of "solutions" but in terms of helping the group to find its own answers to its own needs.

These are some of the functions assumed by animateurs working within non-directive training groups, in community development centres, in creative workshops and rural community centres.

While we reserve the title of "cultural animateur" to this third category alone, we should not lose sight of the fact that all categories should contribute to a socio-cultural community development policy because, as we have pointed out throughout this study, animation is hypocritical if it does not try gradually to infiltrate all the structures placed at the service of a cultural democracy.

But it will also be possible, using the analysis by which we were able to distinguish these categories, to discover the most urgent measures to be taken with regard to the agents of cultural development. The most urgent, in our opinion, is the recognition of the fact that such a policy can be carried through only by the concerted action of teams guaranteeing the continuation of these three forms of action. We know that no one person can pursue every one of them with the same degree of urgency. The failures we experience today, at least where the agents of cultural development are concerned, would seem to be due to their isolation: they are forced to define their own functions according to the three aspects and are required to pursue several priorities in succession or simultaneously, however contradictory they may be.

Two requirements are therefore decisive: first there must be a job description for each post, setting out clearly the tasks and priorities of the socio-cultural "community development" agents.

Secondly, the agents present throughout the network of socio-cultural action must be given priorities compatible with each of the three aspects outlined above, and must practise *concerted action*.

Up to now, the functions of cultural administrators have been given considerable recognition and status. The legal frameworks corresponding to these functions have evolved out of a long tradition of labour contracts and civil service statutes.

The same is not true in the case of research workers or animateurs the legal framework for whose services is often inadequate.

Thus the animateur in the strict sense, whose work contract binds him to a private or public authority, is often if not always torn between his professional ethics and his status as "employee" of limited autonomy.

Similarly, the research worker usually finds his work embodied in the traditional rules of contract whereby a partner – usually the government – requires him to submit a final report within a fixed number of months, after which he may or may not be given a further contract, also of limited scope. He is lucky if he does not have to confine publication of his work to the authority which financed it, thus going against a fundamental principle whereby research is restored to the group concerned.

The setting-up of a socio-cultural community development policy therefore implies the immediate formulation of an adequate legal framework to guarantee the freedom of action of research workers and animateurs in the strict sense.

Furthermore, the in-service relationships between animateurs, research workers and cultural administrators must be examined with a view to achieving full-time concerted action within multi-disciplinary teams of persons of equal status. This implies that the de facto authority usually conferred on cultural administrators over the other two categories must be abolished.

It is indeed a feature of cultural policy that only cultural administrators are fully recognised and enjoy, at best, financial security, status and a guaranteed future. Animateurs are subordinate and their services usually supervised by the cultural administrators according to criteria of management and not of animation. Research workers are called upon only occasionally as "experts" to answer questions likewise formulated in the vocabulary of the cultural administrators and in accordance with their system of thought. Their

action is all too often isolated instead of being a permanent *accompaniment* to a programme of animation.

As long as animateurs, research workers and cultural administrators are not permanently on an equal footing, each one participating in a socio-cultural community development team within which his autonomy and individuality are recognised, there can be no coherent policy of socio-cultural community development.

This is still a long way off. However, experience is already revealing the effectiveness of such co-operation when it is allowed to develop over a certain period.

There is one final implication, which we will mention by way of a provisional conclusion. If all the agents of cultural development work in a team with colleagues whose priority functions are distinct, all must possess a qualification consistent with the overall policy of socio-cultural community development. If the cultural administrator regards the animateur as an amiable freak who knows nothing about management and the research worker as an academic theorist with no knowledge of life, and if the cultural administrator is ridiculed as a producer of red tape, then co-operation will never get off the ground.

The training of agents of a socio-cultural community development policy therefore implies discovery and continuing reappraisal, not only in the fields with which they are mainly concerned, but also in the problems arising in connection with the other aspects of animation. Provided this can be done, it will be possible to hope that changes in the functions successively carried out by each one during his career will be genuinely beneficial to the policy pursued and contribute to his personal fulfilment. This, in our view, would not be a paltry result by any means.

Socio-cultural community development for a common type of housing area

by J. A. SIMPSON,
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This study attempts to make a "model" for the socio-cultural development of a common type of area. If it proves useful it should be followed by others which will be relevant to different situations, – for example, rural areas, the populations of whole cities, new towns at the planning stage, or urban areas where there is deprivation and disadvantage. It can be said that two Belgian case studies of actual towns, Louvain la Neuve and Liège-Droixhe, tend to confirm the hypotheses of Icksville.

The Icksville experimental project

Introduction

Icksville does not exist, yet it can be found everywhere, like the mediaeval image of God as *sphaera cuius circumferentia nullibi, centrum ubique*. It is more convenient to speak of "Icksville" than of "area X" – the working-class area which is the set theme of this study, "where there is socio-cultural poverty but average material wealth and housing conditions". And the "experimental project" is our way of describing a hypothetical bringing together of techniques which we believe would be effective for the socio-cultural animation of that area. I can, however, say, hand on heart, that each of these techniques, individually, has in very fact been employed in one or other of the member countries of the Council of Europe. And, as well, I can give an assurance that the characteristics of Icksville, as described, are based upon research into real areas. If they have a British flavour it is because we have had easier access to British statistics, but *mutatis mutandis*, Icksville could equally well be a suburb of Turin or Malmö or Stuttgart or Lille. It is *not* one of those areas of multiple deprivation which exist in

most of our countries. Such places are comparatively few in number, and a combination of housing, health welfare, employment and racial integrations schemes can usually solve the more obvious of their problems, including those which involve permanent care for the physically handicapped, mentally feeble and emotionally unstable. Areas of this kind are not typical of the "target populations" for socio-cultural animation. In some cases they present less difficulty. They arouse public concern; they predispose residents to awareness of the needs of the area, and progress in meeting immediate needs can be clearly observed. Socio-cultural community development, as we conceive it has relevance to a much wider spectrum of society, and across most of it the chief difficulty is unawareness of need and lack of public concern. The animateur comes usually, not as a saviour but as a missionary of discontent, constantly criticised for not "leaving well alone". This, more often than the area of conspicuous disadvantage, is the situation which confronts "animation socio-culturelle".

We follow the definition of "animation" given by Thery and Garrigou Lagrange in 1966. It is everything which facilitates access to a more active and creative life for individuals and groups, and which increases capacities for communication and adjustment and ability to participate in community and societal life. Or, to quote from a report of 1973 by the European Foundation for Cultural Development, "Animation may be defined as that stimulus to the mental, physical and emotional life of people in an area which moves them to undertake a range of experiences through which they find a greater degree of self-realisation, self-expression and awareness of belonging to a community over the development of which they can exercise an influence. In urban societies today this stimulus seldom arises spontaneously from the circumstances of daily life, but has to be contrived as something additional to the environment".

Icksville

It is a dormitory area 6½ km from the centre of an industrial city which has a population of some 400 000,– half a million if surrounding urbanisation is also reckoned. Icksville itself has a population of over 9 000. It is connected with the city centre by a bus service which is less than satisfactory after 20.30 h. It is separated from the city centre by, first, a belt of light industry and, then, older, run-down housing areas. In other directions it is marked off by major roads beyond which lie further industrial sites, similar dormitory areas, market gardens and expensive private housing.

Originally Icksville too was the scene of some privately-owned building, but twenty years ago the civic authorities acquired most of the land for municipal housing. The original private house-owners have moved away, and their now "less desirable" properties have been acquired by less prosperous non-manual workers who tend to stay only until they can afford "something better", and who, meanwhile, form an enclave which is uneasily preoccupied with its social status. They represent only 3 % of the population of Icksville.

The remaining 97 % dwell in municipal accomodation – a mixture of small houses and high blocks of flats. They are mostly inhabited by the families of manual or service workers – production-lines, transport and distribution predominating. A high proportion of the married women are in full-time employment or earn money as part-time cleaners, shop-assistants or waitresses etc. 80 % of households have a television set; more than 10 % have a car. The ethos and folkways of this municipally housed population are frankly and complacently working-class. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that there is much consciousness of class in the political sense, or much feeling of proletarian solidarity. There is a widespread apathy towards municipal politics, and only superficial interest in national politics. Only 36 % of households take a national newspaper; 64 % take a local evening paper. Outside the extended family there is little sociability or group-life. Acquaintanceships are limited to the immediate vicinity, and even in these there is a certain reserve and competitiveness, chiefly around the possession of status-symbol goods – wall-to-wall carpet, colour television and package-deal holidays, and similar prestige commodities sanctified by commercial advertisement.

There are two separate rows of shops in Icksville. One contains a post office and a small supermarket. The other shops in both rows purvey various forms of alimentation, pharmacy, tobacco, sweets and newspapers, hardware, and ready cooked foods with chips.

The single comprehensive secondary school and the primary schools have halls and rooms which can be hired for meetings. So, too, can the hall of the only church and a room for wedding parties in the one public house. The municipal education authority provides courses for adults and youth facilities in the secondary school every evening from Monday to Friday. About 20 % of the young people under 16 make some use of the youth club; little over 2 % of the adults attend the evening educational classes. Apart from children at play, some congregation of parents around the primary schools morning and evening, the exodus and refluence of workers each day, and some activity around the chip

shops at night, there is little life on the streets. Teenagers rapidly acquire the mobility of wheels and find their leisure pursuits out of the area.

The use made of all these facilities by the populace of Icksville is highly selective and confined largely to commercially provided entertainment and the social clubs. Shopping, of course, other than for immediate necessities, is done in the centre, and "going round the big shops" is a common Saturday afternoon pursuit. A small number attend city churches, but only 6 % of the population of Icksville ever go to any church. Almost no use is made of theatres and concerts – certainly by less than a tiny fraction of the 2 % of Western European populations which attend the professional performing arts, and there is little use of museums, galleries, educational facilities or cultural, political or benevolent associations. It would be tempting to adopt the point of view of the Swedish urbanist Lars Agren that "work is the centre of people's lives, and their place of work is their real centre". In fact, the moment the factory whistles sound, the workers from Icksville dart home to it on their buses and motorbikes like arrows from a bow. It is there that they spend the major part of their free time.

Of course, included in the socio-cultural environment of Icksville we must reckon the centre of the city on which it depends and where so many of its inhabitants work. This city is an important terminal for rail, sea and air transport and an industrial centre in which the engineering and food industries predominate. It has a university and a college of technology, a municipal orchestra, a commercial and a repertory theatre, two museums, an art gallery and an excellent central public library. The authorities have done much to realise the principles of permanent education. There are two fine adult education centres, open day and evening, in the central area, and extra mural facilities exist at both the university and technological college. There is a municipally supported Arts Centre for creative work in the visual arts. Around the city centre there are five cinemas with twelve screens. There is a municipal sports stadium, and the ground of the city football team serves also for speedway. A commercially run complex provides bowling, swim pool, ice rink and restaurant. In the city centre there are the headquarters of a wide variety of voluntary associations for cultural, political and benevolent purposes. There are also a number of clubs for social drinking and entertainment by hired dancers, comics etc., and also the city branches of associations for ritual sociability such as masonic lodges, old comrades etc.

To judge from comparable areas where time-budgets have been constructed, the largest single pursuit among Icksville adults is television which occupies about 30 % of the time of both men and women. Next, for men, comes home and motor vehicle improvement and maintenance, largely with do-it-yourself kits, and gardening; for women, home embellishment, also on a DIY basis, together with needlecraft and dress. Among men, sport, some active but mostly spectator, takes a substantial proportion of their time. By comparison all the other items – apart from mere relaxation and personal relationship – are small. Among them, excursions out of the area, including commercial entertainment and City shopping form about 8 % of leisure time for both sexes. Reading is rated at 6 % by men and 9 % by women. Individual interests and hobbies take up 6 % and 4 % of men's and women's leisure. Though their incidence is sparse these hobbies etc. cover a wide range of individual pursuits, from angling to doll dressing, stamp collecting, dog training and wine making. There is common reference to interests which have been abandoned. Among women there is a certain amount of entertaining and visiting organised by commercial firms for the sale of goods by mail order.

Apart from many school children in their spare time, this is not a population with time on its hands, consciously bored. There is some truth in the contention of observers like Grayson and Betteridge (Scunthorpe Papers WEA) that "there is a whole world of working class culture beyond the gaze of middle-class researchers". Nevertheless, a large proportion of time-usage is dependent upon pre-packaged commercial material, including television programmes, and a substantial number of residents express dissatisfaction with it which seems to indicate under-fulfilment. In any case, the experimental project is based upon a set of values from which we shall not be scared by the appellation "middle-class". In Icksville social commitment and group-life outside the family are rare. The parents' associations of the schools are ill attended; only a handful of adults shows interest in the youth club; benevolent action is scarcely existent; cases which call for compassion are held to be the business of the public health or welfare authorities. It should be added that the incidence of mental sickness is not above the national average.

Because of our terms of reference we have given few details of the 3 % of privately housed residents. With this exception we have done our best to make Icksville a real place and, at the same time a representative place from the European point of view. We have made

use of governmental and municipal surveys, not all of them British, and of the surveys of independent researchers. This "actuality" of the area has considerably restricted our selection of suitable techniques.

The task

By what warrant and with what criteria do we speak of "cultural poverty" in Icksville? Of course we can simply echo experts like J. Verpraet and say that "our big new housing estates call out for festivals and forums and bistros". We can quote visitors to this very area who describe it as a "flat spot – a dead dormitory". We could follow a Nottingham University schedule of 1973 and point to lack of focal points for community life, lack of educational incentive and facilities, lack of recreative facilities, and so on. But in all this we should be dependent upon subjective and *ex parte* assertions and criteria.

The paper "Guidelines for a policy" which is reproduced in this Bulletin is testament which we believe to be fundamental to all animation. It is our warrant for the proposals which follows.

We believe that critics, even if they regard us as misguided, must acquit us of any "mono-cultural elitism", of any equation of culture with the arts and graces of a favoured class, of any attempt to thrust such a culture down the throats of the people at large.

It is by those standards, then, that there is cultural poverty in Icksville. The task before us is to overcome it. In the long term, we look towards the emergence of a genuine cultural democracy in which the people make the most of resources in themselves and their environment; in which they fully use their creative, expressive and critical faculties; in which they have a sense of community, are politically conscious and competent, vigilantly share in the management of community affairs, and are actively compassionate in their concern for others. In Icksville we are a very long way from this. We give high priority to reducing diffidence and suspicion in social intercourse and communication; to the multiplication of group-life, participation in cultural manifestations, and the use of cultural facilities; to raising low expectations and broadening narrow repertoires; to reducing the amount of time spent in multicellular anonymity largely devoted to television; to replacing ersatz satisfactions, and dependence upon purchase as a means of expression, by creativity and meaningful dialogue; to reducing the apathetic sense of impotence vis-à-vis governmental decisions which affect life in the community and society.

Much inconclusive discussion has gone on about indicators of progress in such a task. We know of two which, with some reservations, may be applied. Firstly, there is the numerical involvement of the population in activities which tend in the desired directions; and, secondly, the number of manifestations of group and community life, and of area activities generally. An increase in these numbers would indicate progress.

This, then, is the task as we envisage it. We presuppose the genuine goodwill of the public authorities. Certain critics of socio-cultural animation belittle it as a naive attempt to move towards an egalitarian and fraternal way of life in a society which is organised hierarchically and competitively. Cultural development, they say, can only begin when the major contours of this neo-capitalist, consumer society have been altered. We do not share this view. We do not regard long-term political aims as absolving us from the responsibility to help our fellow men in the here and now. Nor, in practice, do we find implacable hostility on the part of governments. They are composed of people, and very few people are totally without altruism; very few act always with entire consistency. Governments and members of governments do, in fact, and at times, promote animation processes. The task as we define it is feasible in the immediate future. Its progress will certainly not hinder the transformation of society. The French sociologist E. Morin insists on what can be achieved by the joint action of industrial firms, government, voluntary organisations and emergent groups, and believes that "if everyone becomes aware of her own value, it will be easier to create an equal society".

Making the framework for the project

Local and central governments have, then, adopted the project, as one of a small number of pilot experiments, and they will make financial resources available. We presuppose, also, that whatever legal and legislative procedures are required have been accomplished. Inevitably, in democratic countries, this process will have attracted some notice in the press, but at this stage no major publicity for the experiment will be sought. Much unobtrusive work has to be done in the arrangement of governmental machinery for focussing all the relevant agencies upon the target area. It is well known that one of the greatest obstacles to effective animation is the fragmentation and compartmentalisation of competence and finance between a number of central and local government departments, each working with various non-governmental organisations. The resulting confusion and overlap are not only wasteful; they hinder planning and slow down action. There are several

models for governmental and administrative co-ordination of effort on a particular area. In respect of the Villeneuve community at Grenoble a single civic official combines entire responsibility for all aspects of local government affecting a population of 5 to 10 000. He works with a consortium of national ministries constituted for this purpose. A comparable arrangement can be found in the larger areas selected for the British Urban Renewal Project. In effect, these too, bring about the full ad hoc co-operation of a group of ministries – interior, housing, environment, labour, education, etc. – with a specially designated office of local government. Alternative models leave greater initiative to non-governmental organisations, as at Annecy where the municipality fostered the emergence of an association of alle the cultural agencies and provided it with an operational budget.

For Icksville a special local government office will be constituted for the project, and it will co-operate and be supported by an appropriate central government agency. It will have competence and finance to appoint staff, establish committees, and incur expenditure for construction and programmes. Its first task will be to appoint a development officer, a person experienced in animation and work with local government. This officer will have overall charge of animation in Icksville and will work closely with the chief officer of the local government office. He or she must command a budget for the task of animation and be free, within the limits of normal accountability, to use it at his discretion, including freedom to put part of it at the disposal of such committees as emerge in the area and to pay residents as part-time workers.

The local government office will make contact with a number of national and local voluntary agencies and independent bodies. It is important that they should be activated at this stage so that they can give special attention to Icksville in their forthcoming programmes and developments. These agencies will include youth organisations, associations for popular education, women's movements, organisations like the Red Cross, and associations for the development of music, drama and the arts, and for the development of community awareness and action. They will also include non-governmental bodies connected with nationalised industries and services – electricity and gas councils, marketing boards – and others concerned with "prevention" – road safety, preservation of the environment, consumer council, savings association. These too will be asked to give some priority to Icksville in their programmes. At the initial stage of the project anything which will enrich the events and activities of the area is

to be welcomed. Naturally, the co-operation of the authorities for radio and television and of the press will be sought.

Contacts and plans will be made with the central city facilities – theatres, orchestra, museums etc. and, in this connection, with the municipal transport authority. The project is to be launched as a social experiment – and this has importance from the point of view of its acceptability, – and the participation of the university and its sociology department will be secured. All this liaison with city facilities, university and other associations and bodies will next be crystallised by the formation of a Steering Committee for the Icksville Project. It will be advisory to the local government office whose chief officer will be its Chairman. The development officer will be an *ex officio* member and it will have a representative of the central government agency. For the rest it will consist of the more important interests mentioned above. Five places will be left vacant for representative residents of Icksville.

Concurrently, the development officer will make a survey of the area in search of sites and premises – sites for construction and events, premises for hire as they stand, or with adaptation, for use as places for small-group meetings, exhibitions and demonstrations, or for the temporary accommodation of project staff.

For the first year of the project, at least, there will be only one full-time assistant to the development officer. There will also be one additional senior member of staff added to the secondary school and a shop manager. For the rest, workers in the project will be part-time, either paid or entirely voluntary. It has been found essential, and recent experience in Bari confirms this, to pay emergent animateurs from the area without any question of formal qualification. There is some controversy over the optimum background of animateurs. The Belgian expert A. Martynow-Remiche considers that a working-man from the area is more trusted and esteemed. By contrast, A. Meister holds that an animateur is handicapped by belonging to the same social stratum as the target population, which distrusts pretensions to "leadership" from its own members. In Icksville both types will be used. At first, however, part-time workers will be drawn mainly from university and technical college students, in some cases as a recognised part of their studies, and students from art, music and drama establishments. Others will come from the growing pool of graduates who have not secured employment which relates to their previous studies. It will be part of the development officer's work to recruit, brief and train these helpers. So far as emergent helpers from the area is concerned, we expect a contribution from large industrial firms in releasing

employees on paid leave, – following examples in the Federal Republic of Germany, as in Berlin, where paid leave for civic purposes is regarded as a vital element in the change from representative to participatory democracy.

The preliminary period is expected to last about nine months, and during it the development officer will have secured a temporary office in Icksville and most of the construction and adaptation which is envisaged will be completed. It will be necessary to secure rented premises for the attendance two days a week in Icksville of responsible officials of the governmental authorities for housing, education and labour. It is essential that the officials who man these sub-offices shall be briefed to take suggestions and criticisms seriously, sympathetically and constructively.

At the end of the preliminary period will come the time for full-scale publicity, in particular in Icksville itself. This will need skilful handling. Terms like "cultural" or "educational" or "development" will be avoided for several reasons, – not least because no section of the population willingly accepts the idea that it is in need of these kinds of improvement. Instead, the emphasis will be upon the idea of enriched leisure and the participation of the area itself in securing this. The opportunity to influence the content of radio and television will be specially stressed. So, too, will the experimental nature of the project and its utility to academic and governmental investigation. Press, radio and TV will play a part in this publicity, but its major item will be a handbill to each domicile giving succinct details of the project and calling a public meeting of all residents at a set date in the assembly hall of the secondary school.

Even the most optimistic anticipations will estimate attendance at this meeting as well within the maximum accommodation of this hall. The purpose of the meeting is not animatory but legalistic. Its business will be:

– to constitute a residents' assembly open to all residents, and to fix a date for its next meeting;

– to set up a residents' committee of five elected by the assembly and responsible to it;

– these five to be ex officio the co-opted members of the project Steering Committee;

– the residents' committee to be an advisory body to the development officer;

– and, also, to have power to arrange its own meetings, co-opt other members, and set up sub-committees and individual correspondents in neighbourhoods and streets for ad hoc purposes;

– and to have finance for its work at the discretion of the development officer.

The residents' committee will be immediately involved in action, along with the full-time and part-time animateurs, in the arrangement, conduct and digestion of a survey of the area to be carried out by domiciliary visits and based upon a questionnaire. Its purpose will be to collect information on:

– elements of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with television programmes;

– actual leisure pursuits;

– potential leisure pursuits if facilities were available;

– resource persons who have a skill or interest which they could share with others;

– needs and grievances related to residence in Icksville;

– the identification of any ready-made groups, cliques and "chains", and of natural "opinion leaders".

Primacy is given in this to the television element because this is a major common factor in people's lives today; because it is usually evocative of expression even from the less articulate; and because the public has been familiarised with such enquiries by the media authorities. Moreover, as shown in the North Devon project, this item leads on to others by natural sequence. The whole survey operation will itself be an animation process, a form of the "enquête-participation" so ably presented by M. Boterf. With this, then, we pass from the framework to actual tactics.

We are aware that this type of framework may be stigmatised as an initiative from outside the area, imposed from above, inserting the machinery of bourgeois democracy into a working-class way of life. It can certainly be contrasted with accounts of spontaneous movements by autochthonous action groups. Experience of these has shown, however, only minuscule and ephemeral effects. Moreover, they could not be expected in Icksville without the work of militants from outside the area bringing an ideological weaponry alien to its way of life. In any case, we are committed to an immediate and broad-front operation for which only governments can make the resources available.

The animation processes

Summing up the more immediate tasks, they are to:

- widen the horizons and raise the expectations and self-valuation of the people, and enlarge their range of experience-choice;
- multiply occasions for group-life, expression and creativity; and to combat tendencies making for isolation, passivity and under-usage of resources;
- enrich the public life of the area;
- foster community consciousness, informed social and political awareness, and the readiness and ability to participate in public decision-making.

For convenience, what follows will be set forth under categories, but although described seriatim, these techniques will be contemporaneous and designed to have a global influence, complementing each other. For example a certain street event will serve as much to stimulate political consciousness as to vitalise the ambience of the area.

Premises and construction

Urbanisation and re-housing are so advanced in a number of our countries that a high proportion of populations live in areas like Icksville which are already built up. It is therefore not possible to imitate what has been done, for example, at Villeneuve-Grenoble and create from scratch a habitat which is strategically disposed around polyvalent educational and cultural facilities. Nor is there space sufficient to site "temptations" to a revivified cultural and community life at focal points of concourse and circulation, as at Yerres and Dronten. In Icksville such focal points scarcely exist. In any case, we cannot look for this kind of major expenditure on an "experimental project", although it may remain a long-term objective. Of course, the advantage of such centres, apart from the economic and flexible use of facilities, is their provision of central places of leisure resort adjacent both to amenities such as crèche, clinic and social service offices and to socio-cultural facilities.

On the other hand, it is sometimes held by experienced animateurs that the sheer size of such a complex gives it an imposing and institutional atmosphere which deters certains types of people. B. Matson says that "small scattered facilities offer the largest number of

possibilities for people". Others recommend modest centres in converted old houses where there are rooms for groups and small audiences – pointing out that Beethoven and Mozart never played in such dwarfing halls as some of our cultural centres provide. However, in Icksville there are no spacious old houses and the modern housing is so much in demand that any conversion of it to project purposes would arouse hostility. In view of these facts the solution will lie in the part-time use of existing buildings together with a modest programme of new construction and adaptation. Existing buildings consist mainly of the schools, and it is upon these, and extensions and adaptations to them that the programmes of the project must be largely based.

The following building programme will have been completed during the preliminary period, – as an express programme in light construction and pre-fabricated units:

– A project centre – essentially the headquarters of the development officer and his team. It will provide two offices, a small committee room, a large meeting room, and a multi-purpose room for duplicating and photography (possibly also the following advice bureau).

– (If not in the above centre) an office and waiting room for an advice bureau.

– Additions and adaptations to the secondary schools.

– Adaptations to the primary schools.

– A shop-cum-café.

Such a restricted construction programme will be acceptable as part of an experimental project.

The contribution of the schools

It is not germane to a pilot project of limited duration to consider improvements in the school curriculum which will affect future generations of adults. It is relevant, however, to include as part of the project the work of pupils who are in their last two years in the secondary school. At this stage they can become conscious co-operators in the project and grasp its ideology. It must be said straight away, however, that if they are not to reject it as an adult deception they must, in the school itself, find realities which correspond with this ideology – opportunities for initiative, criticism, participation in decision-making and a measure of autogestion. In the CES at Villeneuve-Grenoble there is an excellent example of such opportuni-

ties, and the pupils have a curriculum which is closely related to the problems of their own area providing much discussion of socio-economic and political issues. The study of M. Mason assembles a number of other examples of work in schools which arouses community consciousness and provides occasion for practical action to meet area needs. The Icksville secondary school will be developed along these lines. It will also lay special emphases upon sensitisation to and active participation in the arts. To this end the assistance of practising artists will be sought. For example, the city repertory theatre will be asked to form a young people's theatre movement after the model of the Northcott Theatre, Exeter, where three members of the company are appointed to work partly as animateurs for schools and other drama groups. It is presupposed that the goodwill of the education authority and, more important, of the teaching profession has been secured. A teacher's representative from the secondary school will be co-opted on to the Steering Committee. As stated above, there will be an additional senior member of staff appointed to this school. His or her duties will include the development of the curriculum in desired directions, liaison with the development officer, headship of the cultural centre to be described below, and oversight of the relationship between this and the school. His salary will be commensurate with his special responsibilities.

It is, however, chiefly with the effect of the schools on the present generation of adults that we are concerned. We have noted the gatherings of parents around primary schools – a common feature of urban life and a potential growing point for cultural development. In some of the French "écoles maternelles" there are hospitable arrangements for the reception of these parents and their contact with the teachers. These will be introduced in Icksville, and facilities for coffee in the school canteens will allow for the emergence of group-life and the exchange of opinion around a vital common interest.

This common interest in the education of children is by no means confined to the mothers who cluster round the school gates. It is one of the major concerns of a majority of people, and one of the few which relates the particular situation to national trends and policies. It is one of the main starting points for socio-cultural animation, out of which can grow groups of people seeking to understand new features in the curriculum, such as the new mathematics, or trying to supplement or alter curriculum and methods in the schools. Examples may be quoted from France, Italy and Switzerland, and from the Schule-Laden movement in Germany. Related to basic human drives, this interest brings people to a concern for social justice generally. Too often it is

damped down by the professionalism of teachers who resent parental "interference" or are too busy to help. In Icksville the co-operation of teachers will be sought in encouraging a critical interest on the part of parents and others. Parents association meetings will be revivified not merely by attractive hospitality but, more to the point, by genuine efforts by the school staffs to convince parents that their views are welcomed and heeded, and that, eventually, as in some Swedish models, they can become co-managers in many school matters. It is to reinforce this interest in education that there will be, as stated, regular availability in the area of an officer of the education authority prepared to discuss individual and group difficulties and grievances.

The curricular work of the schools, both primary and scondary, will be developed to make a contribution to the public life of the area. There will be exploration of the possibilities of social service such as the crèche run as part of the housecraft course for girls in a secondary school elsewhere. The schools will take exhibitions and performances into the area – as far as feasible in the open air, – showing arts and crafts, music, dancing and drama. In a complementary direction the experiment will be tried of opening up some of the practical subject courses in the secondary schools to adults who will work side by side with children.

The whole range of interests arising in and around the schools will be exploited by the animation team as a means towards group-life and critical social awareness. In particular, these interests will be represented in the programme of the cultural centre.

Youth activities

The techniques of youth work have been exhaustively studied and set forth. Recently, there seems to be a concurrence of opinion that for the majority of teenagers, which increases sharply after the age of 15, an area youth centre has only limited appeal, their interests lying in self-programmed leisure pursuits mostly outside the area. The group activities which attract them are likely to be those which involve challenge, adventure or commitment to a single interest, whether it be guitar playing or weight lifting or social service.

In Icksville the youth side of the programme will consist firstly in a drive to improve play facilities for youngsters under 15. The primary schools, with some installation of equipment, as well as the existing secondary school youth facilities, will be used for this purpose, and not merely on midweek evenings but all day Saturday and Sunday. The assistance of part-time animateurs will be sought to devise imaginative

play activities which will foster personal development and group co-operation. Again, the assistance of practising artists will be sought. The presence among children at leisure or play of an artist or craftsman at work will – without any structured learning situation – be an inducement to curiosity, discussion and trial.

The animateurs will attempt to canalise the concern which most people feel for the leisure pursuits in the area of younger children. Out of this concern it is expected that groups can be formed to take constructive action. Such committees can make an adventure playground or a miniature Heath Robinson garden as at Zürich. They can organise the supervision of these and other play projects on a rota basis, particularly at school holiday times. With the help of the development officer they can get in touch with amateur music and puppetry groups which will mount events of the Punch and Judy type as elaborated by the London Inter Action Group. More ambitiously they can combine to arrange tours by a "playmobile", a travelling compendium of novel and challenging street games. Apart from the direct benefit of all this to the children, it will multiply group-life and will contribute to the general life of the area.

For youth of the upper ages – teenagers and beyond – this will be the time for national and regional youth organisations to bring to bear upon Icksville their publicity and recruitment drives for committed activities, whether of the physical adventure kinds, or of the types which appeal to altruism and service, such as the Red Cross or the Youth Volunteer Force which arranges for groups of young people to help the old or infirm, or the children in deprived areas. It would seem to be a sounder policy not to cater separately for individual interests that involve some learning for these older young people. They consider themselves to be adults and they will find such provision in the normal courses and activities of the cultural centre. There is, however, one important reservation. Experience, as confirmed in the survey "Planning for Leisure" (HMSO, 1969) and "Les équipements integrés" *(Documentation française,* 13 May 1974), indicates that for purely recuperative relaxation the ambience which suits, and the atmosphere created by teenagers differs so markedly from those of the middle-aged, that a separate refreshment room, in the nature of a discothèque, will be provided on this centre site.

A culture centre

In fact, this will simply be called "The Icksville Centre", and the neutrality of this title, which nails no colours to the mast, is important. It

is, of course, not to be a new construction but is to consist of the premises of the secondary school with adaptations within and additions without. Nevertheless, it will form the largest single element in the project, and the most expensive. The place will be transformed from its present use as, almost exclusively a secondary school which accommodates outsiders a few evenings a week. Its re-dedication to serve the whole community will be announced and publicised. It will, of course, be a far cry from splendid facilities like the Educational and Cultural College at Yerres or the Ivanhoe Community College, but it will be a mighty advance from the present position at Icksville.

At present the educational courses are unimaginatively limited to a few stereotyped subjects – dress-making, cookery, woodwork, shorthand-typing, Spanish. No attempt is made to discover and stimulate other demands, to find and respond to people's latent needs and interests. Only a small minority of the Icksville population knows of the existence of the courses. Not even a notice-board on the school frontage announces their existence.

An omnibus advertisement for the adult courses over the whole city appears once a year in the press. No suggestions or requests for courses are invited. Those who decide to take one of those advertised encounter a number of deterrents. There is a preliminary rigmarole of enrolment and registration and advance fee-paying – although the fee itself is not a deterrent. In the first two or three weeks the course may be abandoned because there are fewer than a prescribed minimum number of subscribers. Arriving on the first evening, the would-be learner has to pick her way across ill-lit school grounds to a building in semi-darkness where there are minimal directions to the appointed room. There she finds no coat hangers, no ash-trays, no mirrors, – and a teacher whose attitude to this work does not dispose him or her to a broad exploitation of its cultural possibilities, or to exceed the minimum time of the lesson. In any case, the caretaker, also anxious to wind up his day, will bring all proceedings to a halt by 21.00 hrs and five minutes later the whole site, including the rooms for youth, will be cleared, deserted and useless again.

Much of the teaching is handicapped by elaborate precautions lest the work in progress of the day school is disturbed; and much of the equipment, including audio-visual, musical and gymnastic equipment, is locked away out of adult reach. Except for an occasional hiring of the hall, the school stands idle from Friday evening until Monday morning.

The experimental project will convert these premises into a place of social and cultural activities, not merely of educational courses. Still,

the role of such courses in cultural development must not be minimised. Acculturation, in the pluralistic sense of the term, is largely a learning process, and while much of this is autodidactic, it can be accelerated by group-learning. Where, as in Icksville, the motivation to such learning is weak, there must be "positive discrimination" to encourage it – an abrogation of normal rules, additional financial and other incentives for teachers – including the Swiss practice of "l'après leçon salariée" – and for caretakers.

Teachers will be briefed to make the socio-cultural maximum of the class situation and the subject material. Students will be welcomed, introduced to each other, encouraged to develop a group-life by such simple techniques as "milling and pairing" and "buzz groups" (Human Potential Research Group, University of Surrey). Points of general interest in the subject will be exploited to stimulate social awareness – for example, a question of "taste" in dress or cookery can lead to discussion of the part played by social hierarchy and sales propaganda in ideas of beauty or goodness. The teacher will make himself one of the group, and be available for social discussion with them after the class. The new senior member of school staff will oversee these developments.

The education authority will make clear to everybody that this is no longer a school but an institution serving the whole community. There will be an end of restrictions on the use of equipment. Plastic curtains and covers and new cupboards will be installed to protect and store unfinished school work during adult sessions and vice versa. As well as massive publicity for the new centre there will be a promotional drive for the adult courses. The curriculum offered will be greatly enlarged and related to interests revealed by the domiciliary questionnaire. In addition, there will be subjects of the kind to be described later as "para-vocational", and courses which introduce people to the techniques of participatory democracy. Another group of short courses will be based on material to be found in the central city facilities – museums and galleries. The disincentives of enrolment and the school-like paraphernalia of registration will be abolished, and rules about minimum numbers relaxed. The frontage of the building on the street will carry an imposing illuminated sign carrying the name of the centre. Access across the grounds will be properly lit, and in the foyer there will be clear directions and, at the beginning of any new course a reception host or hostess. Also in the foyer there will be display cabinets for the work of groups in, say, gem-polishing or ceramics. These will be removable during the school sessions. Something will be done to convert classrooms for adult use by the insertion of portable

coat stands and the creation of an intimate, less school-like atmosphere by the use of portable corrugated plastic screens. If a group decides to smoke – and it should be a group decision – then ash-trays will be provided.

Courses of education are, however, to be only one aspect of the centre. It will no longer be merely a place for learning but a focal point for meetings, group activities and recreations such as badminton, basket ball and, with the installation of flood lighting, for outdoor hard court games. It will be open to members seven days a week, although from Monday to Friday many parts will be reserved for school usage. Membership will be open to all Icksville residents at a fee which will not be a disincentive. A constitution will be worked out whereby an association of members shares the government of the centre with the education authority. There will be a committee structure which enables members to express criticism effectively and initiate alterations and developments. Members themselves will provide much of the ancillary work of the centre – such as the hostesses, service in the bar and manning a patrolling trolley refreshment service during classes. It is as members that they will use the premises for their own group activities without any teacher – activities in which they share their common interests, whether in tropical fish or consumer problems or public grievances.

The centre is to be open in the day-time as well as at weekends and in the evening – the times of maximum leisure. For this purpose there will be additional constructions on the site. One, as we have said, will be a discotheque for the relaxation of younger members. The other, and larger, will provide one discussion room and one multi-purpose studio. It will also contain a large room with a bar and tables for refreshment. There will be sufficient space in it for a small display or demonstration. It is here that course members can pursue their discussions after courses. It is here, too, once the times of maximum usage are better known, that there will be displays of products and techniques by artists and craftsmen. In time it is intended to make it something of a leisure advice bureau, with rota staffing by members, – a method of animation used at Alfreton in the United Kingdom and Erlangen in the Federal Republic of Germany. These extensions will be in light construction, and simple. There will be no attempt to compete with the trappings and decor of commercial centres. Nor need they be of great dimensions. It is not anticipated that they will be overwhelmed by users. Their business is not so much to satisfy an appetite as to create one.

Facilities in the city

As an attraction to the cultural centre, and as a means of widening horizons, membership of the centre will carry certain extra-mural rights which are to be a miniature version of the Leeds Leisure Card Scheme. There will be entitlement to a range of facilities in the city, either free or at reduced price. This will include theatres, certain films, orchestral and pop concerts, art exhibitions, gymnastic and dance displays. It will also include a special programme of celebrity events to be organised in the cultural centre itself for which non-members will have to pay an admission fee.

It is expected that the city cultural facilities will play an active part in the project. Theatres and orchestra will ensure that their seasonal arrangements will include some performances specially geared to the interests and tolerances of Icksville. Their directors will consult with the development officer on these and related matters, and he will ensure that there is full publicity in the area for these performances and a mobile box office. The co-operation of the municipal transport authority will be obtained.

Active participation in drama has a special place in socio-cultural animation. The co-operation of drama groups which seek to promote this will be sought. We have already mentioned the contribution to be made by the repertory theatre. As A. Martynow-Remiche indicates, there is a wealth of latent readiness for dramatic expression among working class people, particularly when this can take forms which do not involve working to a set script, but of creative role-playing around themes of relevance, miming and other manifestations well known to specialists in this field. Music, except for pop groups among the young, presents rather more difficulty. To secure the emergence of active groups in the area every effort will be made to find those who have some musical skill which they can either impart or bring to the formation of a group, a choir, a brass band. At the cultural centre there will be facilities for group instrumental and choral tuition. Groups and individuals will have the incentive of radio and television coverage.

As we have said, the cultural centre will promote an interest in the city museums and gallery. These institutions in turn will mount exhibitions which are of special interest to residents in Icksville – its pre-historic and later background, its twentieth century development, its geological formation; or, more generally, exhibitions round themes such as industrial work, old age, marriage. When there is sufficient material the museums will show small exhibitions illustrating the progress and products of the experimental project. The use of an "art

bus" – to take a small but striking collection of exhibits into the area – will be tried, and mini-exhibitions will be mounted at suitable times in the bar of the cultural centre and in the shop. The museums and gallery will arrange for the access to their premises of groups from the centre at times outside normal opening hours – as they do with alacrity for visiting celebrities and dignitaries.

Reading figures among the chief leisure pursuits of both men and women, but it is an undifferentiated category covering the less exacting material in tabloid newspapers and strip-cartoon romance. Wider possibilities will be made known and recommended in the area. A special library propaganda will be carried out modelled on projects at Kirseberg, Oxhagen and Jorn in Sweden. The existing mobile library service will be increased from once to twice a week. It will carry an animateur and have special displays. Similar displays will be placed in the cultural centre and in one or two factories where there is a high proportion of workers from Icksville. The broader approach of the teachers in the adult education courses will involve plentiful reference to books, and arrangements will be made for the actual books to be available for borrowing in the centre at the times of classes. To suit popular taste the library will not rebind paperbacks in library binding but send them to Icksville in their original format.

The shop-cum-coffee bar

This will be sited as strategically as possible to attract attention and custom. It will, on a small scale, have something in common with "Mille Soleils" in Paris, and be another version of "Centerprise" in Hackney, London. With the reservation that the manager co-operates with the aims and the staff of the project, including part-time helpers, the shop is to be run commercially. The manager will have a salary and any profits he can make. Primarily, the shop will sell materials and tools for the arts and crafts, musical instruments and repairs to them, and a range of discs, cassettes, periodicals and books. The manager will be free to add other lines of goods and to attract customers by any means he thinks fit. Certain shops, run entirely commercially, are clearly making an excellent contribution to the cultural life of various areas, giving sincere advice and putting versatile expertise at the service of customers, and becoming something in the nature of places of cultural resort. In Icksville we shall try to exploit this by the addition of a cafe – merely a coffee self-service bar and two large tables with benches. There will be a space left free for small demonstrations and exhibitions.

Events and happenings

Contributions to these from the schools have been already noted. Gas, electricity authorities and even commercial firms will be encouraged to contribute to the programme of street demonstrations of housecraft and other techniques. After all, the "life on the streets" of old urban areas, so regretted by many sociologists, was composed in large measure of hawkers and hucksters.

A mobile mini-stage – a van with a portable awning similar to tent-frame extensions for caravans – will be acquired for the project and put at the disposal of voluntary groups for exhibitions, demonstrations, shows, street theatre and puppetry of the kind practised by the "Rote Rübe" Group in Munich or the "Gorilla Theatre" in Stockholm.

While all these shows and demonstrations contribute to the general vitality of the area they evoke no more than "audience participation" from the people themselves. By contrast, the organisation of a festival will not only contrive a sensibilisation of the people to the arts and crafts but it will involve them in co-operative group activities. An Icksville festival will be staged at the end of the first year, and it will be prepared through preliminary neighbourhood festivals which will serve to some extent as "heats" for the final tournament. Ingredients will be in some cases purely spectacular – processions, bonfires, street parties for children; in others competitive, – such as street games, races and bicycle races, displays for the best holiday photograph or cake or flower bouquet. The finale may well need to be held in a large park outside the area. For all else there are sufficient spaces and streets and rooms. The success of "Jeux sans frontières" shows the extent of ludic impulses among adults. Neighbourhood groups, assisted by animateurs from the art college will be asked to devise competitive play activities.

Self-interest and "promotion sociale"

Frequently the departure point for cultural development has been found to lie in the wish to "get on", or simply in the wish to make or save money. It is doubtful whether a society ever existed in which this dynamic has not been operative. The presence twice a week in Icksville of a representative of the labour ministry will be accompanied by special publicity for vocational opportunities and re-training courses. A committee of residents, advised by the development officer and the labour ministry official, will be set up to concern itself with finding suitable part-time work for people in situations of special difficulty or restricted mobility. Paper 3/1972 of the Centre de Documentation socio-

culturelle at Namur deals especially with the importance of integrating and up-dating retired people by finding them useful social and professional work. The Durning scheme at New Ham has given some realisation to this. It will be undertaken in Icksville.

In the cultural centre, as well as advice and publicity for permanent education facilities in the city, there will be a group of courses which are "paravocational", assisting people to paid work for which there is no recognised qualification – domestic assistance, care of the elderly, unskilled canteen work, play-group and crèche ancillaries.

It goes without saying that much of the education in crafts and skills in the cultural centre will tend to liberate people from commercially imposed goods and tastes. To quote only one example, the dark room and shared expertise of the camera club will provide an inexpensive means of developing and printing films. Moreover, the formation of consumer groups can do much to free people from complete enslavement to the interests and convenience of purveyors and, ultimately, producers. It is, incidentally, a formative influence in the political education of many women. There will be experiments with the formation of group credit facilities, and also of group discount purchase – a technique of animation successfully used by the Dutch Folk High School at Allardsoog. It will be applied among other things to the purchase of holiday tours and excursions.

Social awareness, criticism and action

Much can be achieved in these directions, as we note from Belgian examples at Schaerbeek and Namur, where there is some major threat to the area or some proposition for a new city lay out. It is not every area, however, which is menaced by a motorway or asked for its view on a new city centre. In Icksville the animateurs can count only on less dramatic issues. They will attempt to canalise into critical and constructive opinion a multitude of minor difficulties, or general problems which are fragmented and unformulated. Helpful information on these will be forthcoming from a study of the results of the domiciliary questionnaire. Among the constructions listed above we mentioned a small advice bureau. As soon as possible this is to be staffed by the residents themselves, after some training, as a resource centre for individual difficulty and grievance, like the "Zuflucht" experiment at Frankfurt am Main. It is anticipated that the small group who help with this bureau will form close liaison with the residents committee and that this, and the Assembly, will lend their weight at points where there is such a concurrence of grievance or need that

action by the authorities or the residents themselves seems called for. The presence in the area of officials of some of the chief government offices will facilitate productive dialogue. Where investigation has taken place it suggests that in most areas there are needs and grievances unknown to the authorities. For example, the United Kingdom governmental leisure survey of 1969 revealed the bizarre fact that the need for public lavatories occupied a high place in the public mind. At the same time, there is widespread ignorance of many citizen rights; a recent random sample in France, for example, showed that one in three manual workers was unaware of his right to paid educational leave.

Consumer action can broaden out into general socio-economic awareness and critique. Thereafter, action becomes, of course, a matter of national politics. In order to avoid controversy, there will be no official liaison between the experimental project and the city branches of the political parties, – any more than with the religious denominations. Nevertheless, their interest may well be expected, and the action in the area of any group with a political objective will be a welcome addition to the processes of animation. Groups in Flanders and Sweden and in Bonn have alerted the public by street games or questionnaires to such matters as the pollution of the environment or the disadvantages of women. Wherever possible, an interest in local politics will be stimulated by concrete issues occurring around housing, rents, repairs, carparking, transport services and the siting of bus stops and telephone kiosks.

The animation team will expect the sympathetic reaction of the authorities to its efforts to channel community needs into action by residents themselves. There is need for a baby-sitting service, for crèche provision and for play supervision between school closure in the evening and the return of parents from work. These, and the holiday play schemes already mentioned, will form the work of neighbourhood committees and rotas. An action group of pensioners will be formed, as at Woodhouse, Sheffield, to secure rights and concern itself with the personal and social aspirations of the "troisième âge".

Area consciousness and the sense of community

The very initiation and existence of the project will go some way towards these objectives, particularly with the accompaniment of mass media publicity. Action will be taken to promote a sense of identity at neighbourhood and street level. It has been along these lines that the Abitbol team of sociologists at Namur has worked effectively. The early

stages of the festival will make a contribution, and a technique from the Brussels area will also be adopted – the presentation to itself of a neighbourhood or street by a ciné recording of its life – its children's play, its morning exodus etc. From this can grow a more thorough appraisal of life in the area, assisted by such full scale documentaries as those made by Inter Action in Kentish Town. Students from the visual arts departments of colleges will be asked to help.

As an obvious part of the project the animation team will institute a committee and a network of neighbourhood correspondents for the regular production of an Icksville news sheet. This will be kept simple for the sake of independence from commercial advertisement. The city press will be reminded to give recurrent prominence to Icksville and to co-operate in a number of ways. These are ably indicated in the *Bulletin* No. 21, 1974, of the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

A very large part of the movement towards area consciousness will fall to the experts in radio and television. Already the media authorities will have co-operated with publicity and a receptive attitude to the results of the questionnaire on television programmes. We expect much also from all that is called "participatory television" or "community television". These are highly technical methodologies which have been the subject of a number of recent CCC studies. We shall merely say here that the available advice of experts will be sought. Of course, the target population we offer is very small in relation to the scope of the medium and its economic usage. We can expect in Icksville no more than a specially favoured share of radio and television time. Nor, for lack of means, is it possible to envisage the familiarisation of ordinary people with the techniques of video-communication as at Grenoble or Verviers where there is costly machinery.

The desiderata which the Steering Group will communicate to the media authorities and other experts are as follows:

– The co-operation of comperes, disc-jockeys and newscasters on the popular channels of regional and national networks of radio, in their response to requests, general chatter and interspersed flashes – all of which is heard by a great many people at home and at work.

– On regional and national television, inclusion of Icksville as often as feasible in programmes similar to the French "Telepromotion Rurale". It is hoped that during the second year of the project there will be a substantial item highlighting a live issue in the area and involving a screen confrontation in which residents participate fully.

– Intensification of attention to Icksville matters on the local radio service, and the increased use of people from the area for studio, postal and telephonic participation and performance.

– Community television ventures which will produce experimental programmes for and with residents in the area-programmes conducive either to social awareness or to creativity.

Social polarity

Attempts to combat this will not be among the early objectives of the project. There is no special problem for members of ethnic minorities in Icksville. And, as we have said, we have given no separate attention to the 3 % of its population in private housing, although in fact it suffers from a certain sort of deprivation, much of it self-inflicted.

Social mix is extremely difficult to contrive, and there are almost no examples of short-term methods. In the longer run, however, we will count upon three factors. Firstly, major socio-economic trends are making for the abandonment by the less prosperous middle class of behaviour patterns which differentiate them from the working class; and for the adoption by both of an emerging style of life which has less and less in common with the old values and patterns of either. This trend is particularly marked among the generation under 30. Secondly, experience leads us to expect that where there are attractive cultural facilities, lively activities and an interesting environment, people are not long deterred from making use of them by considerations of social class. Thirdly, it is also a matter of common experience, not only in animation, but in industry, sport, the arts, war and peace, that the most powerful solvent of class prejudice and diffidence is group activity around a shared interest, whether it be chess or mountaineering or carpentry or putting pressure on the authorities to adjust the bus timetable. In these shared activities people come to be valued by each other for their usefulness and expertise and readiness, and other characteristics lose significance.

Concluding observations

The compilation of this study has brought us more than once to a reappraisal of our whole strategy and methodology. Certain questions have been particularly insistent:

– Is it feasible to operate effectively in only one area of a large urban agglomeration? Should not the whole city be the base? Is area consciousness a retrograde objective, and should we not accept the

new mobile patterns of urban life which involve mere dormitories? Well, an intensive operation on a city-wide scale is not feasible in view of current attitudes to public as opposed to private spending, and anything but an intensive action would miss the people of Icksville, who do, in fact, spend the major part of their leisure there, and not at large in the city.

– How far will the "establishment" of government, industry and commerce continue to support the experiment as some of its egalitarian implications become clearer, and some of its rejection of passive consumership? The only answer we can give is that it will be a major step forward if such antinomies are brought out into the open and clearly formulated.

– Even with comprehensive indicators we stated earlier, what measurable progress will the project achieve? It may appear marginal to enduring patterns of isolated family and private pursuits, and it will be contrasted with a public expenditure approaching £ 100 000 (c. FF 1 000 000) in the first year. Well, in the first place, the objective was not to abolish private life but to diversify and enrich it. And ultimately, it is a question of values. £ 100 000 is not large compared with the total spent on commercial advertisement for a population this size. In any case the results cannot be estimated in cash terms. No matter by how small a percentage, more people will be living fuller lives and relating with their fellow men in fulfilling experiences and constructive activities.

– Lastly, how far does this assemblage of techniques which we have presented make a coherent and effective and sufficient programme? Are some parts of it misconceived; are there significant ommissions? Well, it can pretend to be no more than a sketch plan written in a compressed form. At least, it will serve as a basis for correction and improvement. Someone had to descend from the empyrean of general cultural policy to an operational level on the gritty ground of an actual area, and a soft landing is too much to expect.

We have written this report in the sincere hope of criticism and advice. It remains only to make a small factual point. For only a few of the techniques mentioned in this study has there been any reference quoted. A complete list will be found in the cataloque of innovations at the end of this Bulletin.

DEONTOLOGY, STATUS AND TRAINING OF ANIMATEURS

Introductory report

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The following papers (pp. 129–199) are taken from the documentation of the Brussels Symposium of 1974 on the above themes. While they do not prescribe any single-formula solutions to the problems, or any blue-print, they constitute the conceptual preparation together with many indications of feasibility for future work and decisions on these matters of fundamental importance.

Present situation

Animateurs are to be found everywhere and cultural animation takes place in a large number of professional situations. That immediately raises a question: is it right that the title of animateur should be applied indiscriminately: Furthermore, the various diplomas (out-of-school courses – school courses) have no direct connection with the profession and work and are recognised only by those who employ them.

To simplify our problems, we can imagine a strictly operational typology, comprising full-time, paid animateurs, part-time animateurs and voluntary animateurs.

Full-time animateurs are generally young (between the ages of 20 and 30). They have a husband or wife in a secure job, and although few of them are university graduates, many have passed their school leaving certificate and are social workers or primary school teachers. Most regard their school education as inadequate and even criticise the specialised training courses.

Part-time animateurs (or "fee-paid" animateurs as MM. J. M. Moeckli and J. Hurstel call them)[1] are often specialists in specific

1. See papers by J. M. Moeckli, p. 142 and by J. Hurstel, p. 186 in this brochure.

techniques and regard animation as a function which is complementary to a stable job (often that of teacher) which they supplement by their technical qualifications as animateurs. They are slightly older (between the ages of 30 and 40). It is perhaps their main job which enables them to act as part-time animateurs for a longer period.

The *volunteers* are by far the largest number engaged in cultural action; does this imply a lack of funds in this sector? Voluntary work is often regarded as a guarantee for the quality of moral or remunerate anyone who is fighting for an ideal? Does any wage-earner who campaigns for an ideal become suspect simply because he is paid? Yet volunteers claim the title and status of animateur.

What professionel qualifications are required in the case of persons who agree to work for nothing? Does not that demand thwart the action of all those who defend the profession of animateur? Can the idea of a status be applied to them legally and economically?

And then something must be said, and that complicates the debate yet further, of the triangular relationship between the employee, the public and the employer; between the animateur, the group he has to lead and the boss. Should not the essential link in that triangular relationship be the one between the public and the animateur and should not the term animateur be restricted to individuals who work more for the achievement of objectives defined by their public than those laid down by their employer?

And now comes what is to my mind an important question: are we going to consider those animateurs who sell cultural products the consumption of which is regarded as an end in itself and not as a means aimed at stimulating animation?

The relationship between the animateur and his employer

Apart from France there is no official statute. A trend towards it is developing however in a number of countries: remuneration, social security, statutory working hours, paid holidays, pensions, etc. But are cultural work and the demands it makes compatible with the 40-hour working week? Should not the animateur's timetable be drawn up by the group he leads and the animateur himself rather than by the employer and the animateur?

What are his rights if he is dismissed? On what scale should increments be based? How far are educational and ideological freedom to be respected? Is it possible to be neutral?

Should not the directorate and management (employer) respect the principles of animation based on democratic and decentralised self-management? But does not that attitude diametrically conflict with the idea of status?

Faced with all these problems, animateurs have attempted to form a trade union. But is the function of animateur a liberal or arts profession or are we dealing with employees, wage-earners or workers?

The organisation of animation workers would presuppose an employer's organisation of cultural employers with a view to a bilateral negotiation of contracts. In the few countries where such a trade union exists, the animateur refuses to be used as an instrument for the reduction of tensions and the settlement of disputes, an instrument for integrating people into the standards and values of capitalist society. Although the best animateurs have themselves emerged from the group they lead and although they have already proved their worth by becoming natural leaders, does not the very nature of animation conflict with the institutionalisation of training? Is it not an open profession, not restricted only to those who hold diplomas? In that case shall we be prepared to accept different wage levels according to the various standards of diplomas? How will it be possible to leave this open profession which cannot be pursued for a whole working life? What transitional procedure should there be? And towards what professions or vocations? Should not the right to permanent training and educational leave be an essential element in any statute? Is there not a danger of disengagement? Should not a solid professional organisation guarantee to that "open profession" protection in respect of legal position, status and the possiblity of mutual and critical support by colleagues? Would not this imply a mobile labour market based on a recognised recruiting pool placed at the disposal of the users? If so, the public would have priority and the individual would take second place.

This leads to the question of professionalisation, i.e. the problem of recognition by society. The aim here is to persuade other interested persons or groups to accept our own definition of professional activities. Is that not the result of a society characterised by rigid divisions of labour? Furthermore, there is a very strong movement towards deprofessionalisation, and militant activities. Can professionalisation be combined with political commitment? In the relationship between the animateur and his "customers" the true source of prestige and social esteem is recognition by those he is animating. The institution may well continue to be the legal employer, but the true

employer is the group which is mainly concerned, taking precedence over the public authorities and the animateurs themselves. This calls for a detailed discussion on rights and duties in relation to the group.

All that is said so far shows that there are a number of concepts concerning animation.

Van Enckevort[2] put forward four ideas of animation: The first is that of professionalisation. The new professions of animateurs in France, "ombouwwerkers" in the Netherlands, and community development workers in Great Britain make animation the activity of a special category of professional workers; but this idea isolates animation which then becomes an alibi.

A second idea is radical disinstitutionalisation.

A third implies changing the attitudes of existing professionals to their work including those referred to in the first category. And lastly the fourth idea is that we should move away from existing professionals and their institutions and strive after new institutions with new staff.

These four ideas are extremely important.

Is it not the marginal nature of animation which is most likely to help us throw light on the animateur? I believe it is necessary to define the function before the person performing it.

Until recently adult teaching and education were centred on the paternalistic desire to transfer knowledge to individuals who had to be introduced to a culture created and thought up quite independently of themselves, away from the economic and social struggles for emancipation. But animation is centred on groups – and not individuals; it is based on their own culture, their social and economic problems. The animateur becomes a cultural critic and that is where he acquires his marginal "aura". But to be on the fringe of something does not mean having no connection with it. What becomes of our learned typologies when we look at things in that way? J. Hurstel writes that every occupation carries within it the possibility of a split giving birth to an animateur. Such a person's aim is to do his job differently, to play the traditional social role assigned to every worker and animateur differently. This split which is often painful must lead to new practices inspired by the desire for democracy, relationship, expression. The animateur becomes a creator of exchanges, a creator of forms, a creator of contradictions. Understood in that way, the animation of an

2. See his paper on p. 158.

activity will inevitably lead to the breaking down of the objective frontiers in museums, social services, radio and television broadcasts, urbanisation centres, theatres, libraries, trade union meetings etc. Accordingly, animation is characterised less by specific activities than by the way it is practised; it is a way of acting rather than a content, in all fields concerned with developing the quality of life. Everybody becomes an active participant in his own development and the qualitative development of his community. All too often he can only express himself by accepting what he rejects. That explains the suspicion with which political authority tends to look on the practice of animation. When I say political I also mean administrative power.

"Culture for all"

Animation implies cultural democracy by associating the interested persons and groups with the decision-making centres. On the other hand cultural democracy, and we must be clear about this, is the opposite of the democratisation of culture.

The democratisation of culture is based on the idea of culture as a heritage. The masses must be introduced to culture; hence the generous initiatives involving the creation of public libraries, the dissemination of theatre and music etc.

The democratisation of culture is historically bound up with the struggle to extend leisure time so that people could become "cultured". And it is from this idea that we derived the utopian "leisure civilisation" of the 50s, for which I myself pleaded; leisure = culture = development = liberation.

But, in the consumer society – where a person who is able to produce anything at all also has the power to get whatever is consumed – leisure activities do not liberate; they alienate in the same way as work; they are a time set aside for the cultural consumption of products made by hardware producers with a view to profit. This is the age of the slogan: "Culture for All".

However, it is increasingly realised that workers still have to invent their leisure activities and their culture. This is an age of permanent education; and now is the time to decide whether permanent education will furnish the structures for liberation or for domination from birth to the grave.

Culture may well become a kind of sauce which will enable individuals to swallow a life which has become inedible, and animation itself would be no more than a refreshing oasis, a safety valve, the

system's padding, whilst by means of the self-management of cultural institutions it should become a school teaching people to assume responsibilities in all associations seeking the social protection of individuals and groups.

In these efforts to reach the public at large or the people in order to obtain a reduction in the cost of entertainment, to explain what is going to happen on the "stage", the animateur often resembles a salesman gesticulating in order to sell his wares more successfully, whilst his aim should be to enable the public itself to give voice to its own choices. Although much energy has been expended on "raising the cultural level of the popular masses" the actual content of culture, the definition of this product which even the most under-privileged now enjoy is in no way subject to discussion.

To refer today to the idea of cultural democracy constitutes a very different attitude.

It implies refuting the idea of culture as a heritage, replacing it with a different concept which leaves it to the population itself to define culture. Free time would then be an excellent opportunity for animation, but only to the extent in which by making use of the attitudes, personal demands and different values of those controlling labour relations, it introduces a new dynamism into the relations affecting the whole of social life. The self-management of leisure-time centres, the control of cultural industries or tourism and their subordination to the objectives of humanising leisure time activities, together with the methods of self-training in out-of-school education, all these are aspects of a cultural animation policy which should be developed. After all, art is "productive", not in the economic sense, but in the sense of values, images, ideas and symbols. By means of artistic activity, man contributes to "produce" himself as a human being, i.e. to enlarge his social and emotional dimension and, by way of example, we could think of using a video-recorder placed, with the assistance of a filmscript writer, at the disposal of a district in a city to enable the population to prepare its own programme. Does not animation as part of cultural democracy appear, if I have been faithful to the reports I have just summed up in opposition to the economic and social order or does it inevitably conflict with the economic and social order?

If the animateur raises the problem of his identity and aims, i.e. if he encourages expression and promotes exchanges between persons and groups, and if the reply is "to seek to establish cultural democracy" as defined, then animation is not only a methodology, still less a technology, it is a form of social transformation. It clashes with the

economic order and represents creativity as opposed to repetitive work, it is the open rejection of hierarchy which reduces, dispossesses and alienates. In the last resort, it seeks to enable man to master life again.

An animateur engaged in a process of cultural democracy is not a "technician in relations", but above all an activist of social change. There is no cultural democracy without commitment and consequently there can be no cultural democracy without proposals for commitment. A purposeful cultural policy should provide the infrastructure needed for those who wish to express themselves and become committed in television, and also in painting, music and writing, etc.

And now we come to a key question: "Has the time not come to upvalue the idea of activism?"

Functional aspects of an animation policy

I now come to the functional aspects of an animation policy in which animation implies information, the development of active forces and relations with groups and communities.

The first stage in animation consists in arousing awareness, and that implies giving up the idea of the "informer – informed" dualism, and replacing it by joint action aimed at discovering reality by means of the questions asked just as much as by the replies: this should mean that the governments adopt a new attitude towards the problem of information.

With regard to marginal structures, this will mean an increase in the number of information centres for young people, immigrants and women, etc. and as far as official structures are concerned, teaching will fit in with an animation policy when it gives priority to what the student wishes to discover rather than what the "scholar" wishes to impart to him.

Priority must be given to the promotion of all structures permitting individuals to rediscover a belief in their own responsibilities in the face of all the factors tending to make them obedient and passive. Activist organisations have a decisive role to play here. Accordingly governments must give sustained assistance to a wide range of youth movements which promote social commitment and financial support for such voluntary organisations implies the constant evaluation of a transfer system and the effect it has on the social community as a whole.

We must immediately rule out the relationship with the individual in that between cultural animation and those deriving benefit from it. Work with the isolated individual cuts him off from his roots without enabling him to benefit from exchanges with others. Work in a small group permits the discovery and training of an independent personality. The function of the animateur will vary here in the light of the type of group he is dealing with (natural or voluntary group or functional group in which segregation is involved). But at this stage the value of training groups should be considered together with the dangers of manipulation such techniques carry with them. Lastly, as regards the relationship with the community, pluralism must be accepted and practised whatever the difficulties. Animateurs must engage in a dialogue with the representatives of the various sub-groups in the community. As regards the authorities, care must be taken to ensure that reliable partners are found who truly express the social and cultural conscience of the groups concerned. The all-round animateur will have to promote commitment, and the creation of institutions reflecting a common commitment, to a community. Furthermore he must constantly strive to achieve democracy in order to prevent the structures becoming petrified or instruments used for manipulation. His job would be defined in the light of his ability to meet demands, his dialectical analysis of demands and the assistance he provides in a given situation. I stress that last point.

Different frameworks: municipal, urban, rural, regional and even national

It is in towns that the decision-taking power is closest to the ordinary people. In a rural environment one can expect considerable awareness of belonging to a group; in an urban framework one will encourage the growth of a collective consciousness as yet non-existent. For example, by promoting the feeling of belonging to a neighbourhood community, one can make the inhabitants, do something about planning their environment, ensure that the school becomes a meeting place open to all, use televisual techniques as a means enabling each individual to express himself. No attempt should be made to prevent the emergence of a cultural, political and economic identity at the regional level. And lastly at national level, the co-existence of cultural differences, freely shared, and common features can give rise to a true community feeling.

Systematic structures for decision making

In any case there must be systematic structures for decision making in cultural matters at all levels, institutions at the service of the

individual and not vice versa. And in this context, decentralisation must be the basic aim of any animation policy. Accordingly animation calls for the decentralisation of decision-making processes: decentralisation and animation go hand in hand, each of these factors promoting the development of the other.

Who are the agents of an animation policy? To say that everybody can be an animateur is not enough; the vague use of the term "animateur" creates serious disadvantages for their selection, recruitment, training and working conditions.

Existing typologies are inadequate because they are based on doubtful premises. In any animation policy, should not the professional functions contributing to cultural development be defined with reference to three poles? Firstly *persons*, i.e. all those people (in a group or not) whose cultural development is the agent's aim; secondly the *programme*, i.e. all those methods, the carrying out of which is the subject of a precise mandate assigned to the agent by an authority and lastly, *research*, i.e. all the processes for observing reality which are designed for evaluating the needs, practices and variables adopted, and the results, with a view to determining their contribution to cultural development. In my view there can be no contribution to cultural animation without a constant reference to these three inseparable poles: persons, programme and research.

Furthermore, should not methods of training, selection, recruitment and employment all guarantee that these three dimensions are taken into consideration?

The result is three categories of agents: the cultural administrators, the researchers and the cultural animateurs (in the strict sense of the word). The task of *cultural administrators* is to run a service or a "programme" drawn up by the authority employing them. Here the link with the authority takes priority; the people whose development is the object of their activity cannot obtain changes in the tasks of these agents, be they librarians or museum curators. They are concerned with the cultural development of those people, but the characteristic feature of their action is that is relevance to the needs of the population is established through an outside authority.

The function of *researchers* is to establish a situation analysis which will lead to more enlightened options based on assessment. If the public involved is made responsible for that analysis, this dissemination becomes a phase in animation.

Cultural animateurs in the strict sense of the word are workers whose main task is to serve the dynamic forces of a group of persons adapting the activity undertaken to the group's conscious or unconscious aspirations and objectives. Their activities are justified if they correspond to the needs of the group not in terms of solutions but in terms of assistance, by allowing the group itself to find the answer to its needs. They have the right to err. They are, more especially, those animateurs working in non-directed training groups, expression workshops rural animation centres etc., and it is they in particular who now have to be "guaranteed".

Animateurs, researchers and cultural administrators must always remain on an equal footing with constant man-to-man consultation in pluridisciplinary teams.

It will now be very easy for me to conclude, as far as deontology (or the professional ethic) is concerned.

Deontology

In all that I have said hitherto it was not possible to consider the problem of status as a whole nor the idea of animation itself without constantly touching on the problem of deontology.

The animateur's deontology should consist of a series of rights and duties, the exercise of which is guaranteed in his status. As their methods are perfected and communities are better able to use them, so the condition of animateurs becomes increasingly critical: the disputes in which they are involved arise as a result of their work. In such disputes, to fall back on the contract of employment, which is usually too vague, is not a solution unless the post is defined when the contract is drawn up. It can be asked to whom this professional code should apply: to professional animateurs alone? What consequences would this have on the "animation" attitude?

Should not the code concern all those engaged in animation?

In fact what would the work of animation consist of if only full-time animateurs were involved? Is it not flying in the face of the very idea of animation to leave it to the professionals alone? Would not that be even more serious? Is it not their function to arouse an attitude of animation in their fellow men?

Accordingly the aim is not to train animateurs but to develop this "animation attitude". It is important that training in the animation attitude should include both the work of voluntary animateurs and

professionals. The deontology should embrace animateurs as such, but also those who lend their support to animation or seek to develop the culture of a given community. This training is never complete. What is the situation of the animateur going to be? His task affects a given community and he is answerable only to the group; it is the moral contract. If he has really done his work, the group or community must be able to decide whether to terminate or prolong his services. It is at that level that it is possible to create the cell in which cultural democracy takes place. What happens to the idea of status in that case? As things are, although the group is the animateur's real employer, he is engaged by a third party who pays him or dismisses him, whether that party is the state, a municipality or an association. The animateur has two employers: one who appoints and the other for whom he is appointed.

Since his action leads to the group autonomy, that autonomy must also include a free choice of objectives and also of the animateur and his relations with the group. But although the latter is qualified to decide, a third party takes the decision; it is hardly possible to avoid conflict. Does the animateur uncover social conflicts? In fact, an animateur is often employed to reduce or settle a dispute. But the animateur's action, as a deconditioning agent, permits the group to identify society, and thanks to him far-reaching conflicts are revealed. In general, the person paying does not realise that the mediation phase can occur only after the situation has been clarified.

What are the animateur's relations with power? The animateur who receives considerable power thanks to his specific training, his techniques and his knowledge of group mechanisms must never become an instrument in the service of manipulation.

But how far does the animateur's freedom go?

He is a factor making for freedom. To give the animateur the precise status of an official would imply that one could give a precise framework to freedom itself and to imagination. How are we going to get out of this apparent or real contradiction? Preference could however be given to the static order of a society impervious to the forces of change. However, the lesser risk is surely not to be found in a blocked society. The different types of animateurs, voluntary, those receiving fees and those who are paid, must have the same objectives for socio-cultural community development: cultural development and cultural democracy. They must honour their undertakings: the animateur must be faithful to the group and the latter must be able to decide to change its objectives. Animateurs must serve the group in its

work towards identification and autonomy; have regard to overall aims, make themselves unnecessary, i.e. strive after the autonomy of the group and its members who should be able to decide to dispense with them at any time. They must give the group power and not increase their own; develop the research spirit, the spirit of reflection and the ability to imagine new forms of action; develop the sense of responsibility. In the face of the danger of manipulation, the animateur's best defence will be the group to which he has given the critical tools which will sometimes be used against himself.

Recognition and exploitation of error

I return once more from another angle to the recognition and exploitation of error; the very nature of action implies error which must accordingly be to a certain extent integrated into a series of specific rights; the right to err and the right to fail, the right to criticise in respect of the group and the employer, the right to participate in determining objectives and means, the right to personal convictions. You must also ask yourself about the need to have or not to have special professional codes for the paid animateur and the voluntary animateur. Crises always arise in the case of the paid animateur because his employer expects him to account for the money he receives and also because the crisis affects the professional man doing his job and thus threatens his livelihood.

The requirements are the same as for the voluntary animateur, but more pronounced because he devotes all his time to this activity and he has a specific training together with "status" which commits him yet further. However, the group's tendency to release itself from his responsibilities constitutes a danger. On the contrary the group should strengthen his power, i.e. that of its voluntary animateurs and activists, so as to be able to use the animateur "freely". The professional contract implies legal and criminal liability.

Loyalty to the employer by honouring a contract is not subordination; the nature of the work calls for horizontal relationships. To offset the prevailing hierarchy between employer and employee, the animateur owes it to the employer and the group to be frank. Does not that mean the contract should be drawn up within a grouping comprising the group, the employer and the animateur? The time which the animateur owes to his activity is a fundamental dimension of animation. The group's progress towards autonomous action is slow and regular. The animateur cannot leave at a fixed hour; he must be totally available to the group: it is during other people's leisure time that he must be present.

And yet he is entitled to rest, family life and leisure activities. At present he engages in leisure activities at the expense of his rest, and that means overwork and frequently animateurs leave their jobs to find more secure occupations. In that case, should there be a working day beginning at 2 p.m., with paid leave and a working week? That solves the problem of the number of working hours but not that of family life and leisure activities. Could the solution be found in the group – employer – animateur grouping which would give high priority to the training of voluntary animateurs?

Responsibilities can be shared: if the grouping no longer regarded the animateur as a mercenary but as a partner, many misunderstandings would be removed. The training of voluntary animateurs is one of the essential duties of the paid animateur. Here we find the animateur's "school" in the animation grouping. His own training is a result of his activities; continuous training is vital and should be mentioned in the contract; the employer should permit this and the group should understand the need for it.

Instead of being regarded as a waste of time, administration should be a support for the animateur's action. He should perform this administrative task carefully, if only because administrative negligence will be expoited against him in case of disputes or because it gives rise to disputes.

What rights does a paid animateur have? Trade union rights are often threatened not in principle but in their application. The animateur must be able to participate as an integral part of the grouping which also includes the group and the employer. With regard to salary, he should not accept a low one particularly from public authorities. Here animateurs feel themselves weak because they are isolated. Therefore it is up to the group to intervene to support them.

As regards training, the third aspect of our problems, I said at the outset that animateurs themselves usually question the training they have received. This has two main parts: the animateur's school and the course system. You must closely consider the training system as such, which is based on entrance by examination and exit on the award of a diploma. Because the aim of this system is to obtain a diploma and get a job: it is not training itself!

Co-ordination between theoretical and practical teaching?

There is an implicit attitude throughout the curriculum: the statements made by the teachers. Every school trains "its" animateurs

in accordance with its own definition of animation. How could there fail to be a discrepancy between the education received and professional duties? The system maintains social and age segregation. Recruitment takes place on completion of secondary education. We find persons who have failed in other careers, mainly from the middle classes and usually very young. But the animateur is concerned with the underprivileged social classes and under this system young animateurs without any social experience are expected to animate groups of workers and elderly people.

Furthermore, the institution is based on the school model: it constructs a hierarchy of power extending from the teacher to the pupil, on the model of the firm. There are those who know and those who are required to learn. That means that anyone who is aware of the relativity of all knowledge in animation remains perplexed. There is rarely any co-ordination between theoretical and practical teaching: the curriculum consists of theoretical training and technical apprenticeship.

Theoretical training comprises above all an introduction to the human sciences and that has to be completed in two years(!). Without any attempt to study in depth, the pupil is required to make a synthesis. Can the results of his efforts be anything else than a mere list of knowing words? The end product will certainly not be a tool for analysing society as a whole.

Technical apprenticeship comprises the technique of expression or group technique. It may well be asked whether to regard the art of relationship as a technique without raising the problem of aims does not mean a sort of manipulation. The weakness of training curricula lies in the fact that theory and practice are diverted from their proper aim.

Theory is not really practised; there is no training for a trade. The result is the training of clerks in the social order. If there is no training in a trade or militant action which regards animation as a technology, animation is left wide open to the market of multiple interventions in any field whether it be commercial, tourist or otherwise. The social field becomes an area in which a group is manipulated.

An animateur must learn his trade in close contact with reality. Courses often take place in institutions where the same problems are encountered as in the teaching establishment. Time is limited and does not permit practical application. The course is a mockery: people play at pursuing an occupation.

In-service training can solve the problems of age segregation. But why is it often regarded as a crash course or a sort of sub-training in relation to a normal school course?

The model unit/credit system has advantages which consist in choosing the time for training, the abolition of rigid training, with no segregation at the outset, and the training facilities are adapted to suit personal needs. The disadvantage is that this is not co-ordinated training: technical courses, group course or a course in administration. Can an individual co-ordinate that training himself? It is not certain that the course system makes it possible to assimilate these elements and synthesise them. The course does not prepare an individual for a trade: it is no more than a rapid survey of the various factors involved. In conclusion, in-service training and the unit/credit system are a step forward, but this training does not seem to be successful in getting away from its school origin. Diplomas are still decisive in respect of action, since practice is only a simulation of actual activity. The basic principle is always universalism: never is animation defined as a limited and partisan concrete project.

How can we separate training from action? The training of animateurs should be based on a model offered by animation itself. That model, which is closer to the scientific model than the school model, operates by means of questions and not by replies transformed into knowledge as far as teaching is concerned. How can training be anything else but permanent?

Training time must be organised in accordance with the group's needs. The voluntary animateur must take part in it in the same way as the paid animateur. Is it possible to conceive of a place for training other than an action group?

Individual training is replaced by community training in which, if possible, the various members of the work team represent a number of trades and types of experience. This team is not informal: it has its aim and strategy. At every stage in progress it clarifies its relationship with the Contracting Parties, i.e. the Municipality, the State, etc.

A minimum number of conditions must be satisfied to permit training: everyone taking part in training will have an opposite number who will not advise but enable the participant to identify what he is doing. A training programme is constructed on the basis of shortcomings which have been identified and evaluation of action: a programme in the form of a project limited in time, with its objectives and its limits.

I read in the reports that it would doubtless be possible to abolish the diploma of animateur as evidence of training. After all, people do not become animateurs simply by having a diploma. The partner in the

team would act as a "ferry man": he helps the animateur in training to pass from one stage to another. This transition based on recognition rather than the diploma, and a number of experiences in action could well constitute the animateur's curriculum vitae. Could it not be agreed that all training projects carried out should constitute units/credit?

That would mean that animateurs would be paid on the basis of the functions they perform and not of a diploma. No doubt this opinion conflicts with that of the trade unions and the employers. Another important point is the need not to isolate teams. They exchange information and above all persons in training as in the scientific field. Such exchanges should not be confined to national frontiers but extended at least to European level.

There remains the problem of the discrepancy between the number of posts offered and the number of trained animateurs. These must be divided between voluntary and paid animateurs and those receiving fees.

Thus training is no longer merely professional in nature; it trains all participants in animation, particularly the volunteers. However, all voluntary animateurs should not give up their previous duties for the sake of animation; the number of paid animateurs will be smaller than that of volunteers. By progressive selection from the rank and file it would be possible to make better use of experience acquired. Animation is not a trade in itself but a new and different way of performing a number of trades.

To implement these proposals it is necessary to create an administrative body in every country responsible for establishing contacts between teams, co-ordinating training programmes, organising meetings between teams, developing the practice of in-service training; provide the finance so that every team has a training budget for both volunteers and paid animateurs; and as far as exchanges are concerned, to ensure that, if exchanges cannot be arranged on a reciprocal basis, the animateur in training should be paid out of a national training or retraining fund.

In addition to its complexity the subject is still in its infancy. A number of barriers still have to be broken down and as our thought develops we shall have to fight hard to persuade people to accept it, because, and this is not the least of our problems, everything that I have just been talking about will not take place automatically.

Current ideas and present situation – a summary*

by J. A. SIMPSON,
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Introduction

Within the terms of the CCC project animation is seen as a response to a grave and widespread problem of our times, common to all our countries, – a culture gap – a deep division in our populations between socio-cultural competence on the one hand and disadvantage on the other. Apart from its offence to our ideals of social justice, this gap vitiates the work of economic, political, and educational policies designed to produce greater equality and a more intense realisation of democracy.

In one of the working documents of the project, socio-cultural community development – the work of the socio-cultural animateur – is described as the work of "cultural liberation, – an emancipation which is necessary before masses of our peoples can participate in a genuine cultural democracy. The long processes of legal and political emancipation have been crowned in the last fifty years by a large measure of economic freedom. Technological productivity, together with fiscal, educational and social security policies, has greatly enlarged the liberty of people to choose the personal and social activities that go to make up a style of life". However this enlarged formal freedom is not seized, as too few people are in a position to exploit this new potential. "Too many confine themselves to a narrow spectrum of experience and expression, rejecting as 'not for us' whole areas of satisfaction and fulfilment which are rightly theirs as part of the cultural heritage."

Two other excerpts will suffice to give a picture of the ideological framework within which the Council of Europe project operates:

> "Apart from an assertion of a fundamental belief in the enlargement of freedom and practicability of purpose there is no

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intention to interfere with the principle of plurality of equally valid cultures and styles of life, no dirigiste assertion of the value of certain favoured behaviour patterns. What is envisaged is a true cultural democracy in which all styles of life and forms of activity have a respected place in so far as they are means of self-expression, self-realisation, and social communication and association. Naturally this will include those culture patterns which were formerly inaccessible for the most part to the majority of people but which are now being democratised."

"It is a fundamental and inseparable part of socio-cultural community development that it involves the fullest possible participation in its planning and direction by the communities and sections of communities and groups for whose benefit it is designed, and that this participation is indispensable both as a goal and a method of development... The whole concept of socio-cultural community development envisages an alteration in personal relationships across the existing socio-cultural and socio-economic sections of society... and as this will affect all aspects of life, including the industrial and political, it will be a factor of general social change."

These quotations should not only make clear what is the field of work in which we presuppose that the animateur is engaged, but should also indicate three major features:

- culture in this sense is not a matter merely of the arts but of all expressive and communicative experience;
- the desideratum is not the diffusion of any particular set of experiences but the enlargement of each individual's repertoire of experiences available at choice;
- people, whatever their chosen style of life, should be able to engage in constructive social dialogue on a footing of real equality.

The purpose of the project is to give European encouragement to the work of socio-cultural animation as outlined above; to establish an information system whereby promising methods and approaches can be replicated, and to classify the information according to an agreed typology fed by a network of national correspondents to form a sort of bank for future use; to identify the chief problems which beset the work and to study ways of overcoming them. It is clear that a prime pre-requisite of progress for socio-cultural development in all our countries is the availability of a sufficient number of suitable people able and willing to undertake the work of animation. This is work which calls for

qualities which seldom coexist naturally in one personality – a high degree of sympathy with, and sensitivity to, the needs and aspirations of people of small verbal ability, and a capacity for out-going and stimulating relationships, the ability to play a self-suppressive role as facilitator and, when necessary, to exercise initiative and enterprise. It is work, too, in which there is needed a wide range of knowledge and technical skills – as wide a range as from the methodology of area survey to accountancy and from group dynamics to the organisation of festivals. Moreover, "animation socio-culturelle" is very often carried on under circumstances of delicacy and difficulty. The animateur must gain from a clientele which is initially apathetic or suspicious the kind of confidence which they give to those who identify with their situations. At the same time he must have the continuing support of employers and administrators who may be equally disinterested or suspicious. All too often he has to walk a tight-rope across which he must keep faith with his own values and ideals of social compassion and justice. Clearly, the effective animateur is not easily recruited and he needs careful training. And yet, if there is to be the kind of broadfront development in socio-cultural community development which the project envisages, there must be a great increase in the number of people attracted to and trained for the work of animation.

Current practice and opinion relating to the recruitment, training and status of socio-cultural animateurs

Nature of the work of animateurs

There are some ambiguities which are surmounted pragmatically. The work covered by the term "animation socio-culturelle" has come into being in a plurality of forms which are existentially recognisable, and which are still in the process of evolution. Definition of this field of work can, then, be only provisional. Some responsible statements from various countries will indicate that there is a great measure of agreement in the conceptions.

– "Animation – a range of techniques and a specific pedagogical approach designed to further social communication" (France).

– "Animating means giving life to processes which merely exist, combatting the limpness of a community afflicted by isolation and passivity" (Switzerland).

– "Animation may be defined as that stimulus to the mental and physical and emotional life of people in an area, which moves them to undertake a range of experiences through which they find a greater

degree of self-realisation, self-expression and awareness of belonging to a community over the development of which they can exercise an influence. In urban societies today this stimulus seldom arises spontaneously from the circumstances of daily life but has to be contrived as something additional to the environment" (United Kingdom).

– "Animating – arousing a new spirit ... enabling others to progress. .. reintroducing the notion of culture into the modern world" (Belgium).

– "Animating – furthering participation in change and securing individual and collective development" (Switzerland).

These quotations are typical of the vast majority, and there can be little doubt that they represent a consensus of European opinion about the work of the animateur. Ambiguity is present within them, if one takes them as a whole. On the one hand, they revolve about the notion of personal life, of leisure, and of making the most of the possibilities offered by a given society – all of which imply the idea of adaptation. On the other hand they stress the need for popular participation in and initiation of the alteration of the community and ultimately society. Certain writers, some in Belgium for example, distinguish between "animation socio-culturelle" and "animation sociale", only the latter being geared to social and societal change. Without any such explicit formulation a number of animateurs in the United Kingdom and elsewhere share this view. The majority however, and again without much explicit statement of theory, operate on the assumption that:

- consciousness of features in the life of the community which call for amelioration is one of the most effective starting points for animation;
- and that one of the results to be expected from socio-cultural animation is a heightened disposition to take part in action which is fundamentally political.

Thus it is clear that while theoretically the objectives of the work of the animateur are the emergence in people of a state of mind leading to general socio-cultural competence, it is, in practice, not easy, perhaps not possible, to separate the work of the animateur from the historical consequences of this state of mind and this competence. Most animateurs see the work of animation – to quote a distinction made by P. Moulinier[1] – as both "agir dans la société" and "agir sur la société".

1. Cf. a CCC document by Moulinier, P.: *Reflections on the training of animateurs.*

Who are the animateurs?

It is not difficult to see that such comprehensive conceptions of the work of animateurs as those quoted above do not coincide with the work of any single profession. They embrace activities proper to, or adopted by, workers in a number of fields under the aegis of many different departments of local or central government, or by the national, regional or local associations of voluntary organisations, or by individual groups and persons. It is to be noted also that animation is often undertaken voluntarily by a particular worker as his or her personal interpretation of his or her function in a profession which has no official connection with animation. For example, a health visitor or adult education tutor may, in addition to the professional obligation to assist domestic hygiene or give courses, also feel impelled to try and stimulate a new personal and social awareness among the people whom he serves.

Among those who, in all the above senses, engage in animation we may distinguish three major categories:

– Workers in a number of public services in which the professional duties include, or may by individual workers be interpreted as including, an element of socio-cultural animation, e.g. health service, welfare services, social security service, housing service, education (schools), education (adults), labour service, library service, arts administration (theatres, galleries, etc.).

– Individuals and groups who make socio-cultural animation their way of life and gain their bread thereby – operating as cultural missionaries, action groups, street drama groups etc. With these can also be considered a much larger number of people who join in such work part-time entirely without financial return, – for example the young professional people who run "workshops" in their spare time, or members of religious organisations, some of them priests or ministers.

– Workers whose main professional duties consist of socio-cultural animation as it has been described here. One can subdivide:

- Directors and staff of cultural centres, foyers culturels, community centres, youth centres, sports centres, integrated socio-cultural facilities such as those at Grenoble or Yerres.
- Persons employed to effect animation socio-culturelle in an area regardless of any centre-development officers, community workers, workers for projects of community development or urban renewal, peripatetic youth or arts programme workers.

- Professional employees of voluntary organisations dedicated to socio-cultural community development or some aspect of it – councils of social service, women's movements, temperance and religious associations.
- Workers engaged in those sections of the mass media, including radio and TV, which are designed to act as animation socio-culturelle.

Problems arising with regard to recruitment, training and status

Taking account of all three categories identified above, one can see no homogeneous profession of animateur susceptible of a single formula in respect of training, etc. Outside the third category there are either members of various professions each with its own methods of recruitment, its own training arrangements and with its own professional status which it is vigilant to preserve; or persons and groups who, while often bringing great vitality and valuable experiment to the work of animation, are by their nature individualist, resistant to the idea of an institutionalised training and status, and often inclined to see these, for all their advantages, as the kiss of death to their particular approach.

For practical purposes however, the CCC projet has made the assumption that the huge socio-cultural tasks confronting our societies can only be tackled on an adequate scale if there is an institutionalised profession of animateurs with status, salaries and prospects comparable, for example, with those of the teaching profession. Indeed we have said that we envisage a major national effort in this respect comparable with that which created the teaching profession in the last century. For these reasons our considerations as to training and status have tended to concentrate on the third category listed above – the professionals, whether full-time or part-time. It does not seem to be feasible or profitable to take a more comprehensive basis, and the notes which follow have relevance only to professional workers in the field of socio-cultural animation itself. So far as training is concerned, however, we continue to hope that it can be organised in such a way that members of other professions and, indeed, the "individualists" of the second category above, can also participate.

Some pointers to training needs for professional animateurs

A very useful paper was issued by a Groupe de Réflexion at the French Secrétariat d'État chargé de la Jeunesse, des Sports et des Loisirs as far back as 1968. They started with a definition of the social

worker as a social worker whose function is to stimulate and develop activities with an educational, cultural and sporting purpose. These activities are intended for everyone; their purpose is comprehensive permanent education. The following typology was drawn up:

– *Animateur global* (actually in contact with people in a quartier or centre). He will need a knowledge of how to survey and investigate an area sociologically; also pedagogic, group-process and counselling techniques; and knowledge of the range of socio-cultural and social facilities and services available in an area.

– *Directeur* (of centre or similar establishment). He will need all that the above animateur global should have and also expertise in management, staff-training and public relations.

– *Formateur* ("animateur technicien"). He needs subject expertise and the pedagogic of that subject for various ages; knowledge of the techniques of organising courses; of using the subject as a basis for general personal development; of organising competitions, exhibitions, etc.

– *Coordonnateur* ("animateur de synthèse"). He should have a knowledge of the general aims and methodology of animation; a knowledge of administration and committee procedure; and of public relations techniques.

– *Responsables.*

A later (1973) version reads:

– *Animateur diffuseur* ("fonction, faciliter l'accès aux contenus culturels et leur assimilation critique"). He needs deep knowledge in the cultural sector; the methodology of active pedagogy; and of popular motivation.

– *Animateur moniteur* (function, to develop an interest and skill in a particular subject drama, painting). Needs thorough knowledge of the subject and its pedagogy; and the ability to use it to initiate animation globale.

– *Animateur de groupe*, not starting with a ready-made group or with a pre-stated subject or content; but setting out to form groups and serve their emergent purposes. Such a worker needs a knowledge of group psychology and dynamics, a wide range of facilitative knowledge and skill, an appreciation of the aims of animation globale.

– *Animateur coordonnateur.* All the above knowledge plus the skills of management and public relations.

Advanced thinking in most countries, certainly in France, Switzerland, Belgium and the United Kingdom seems to agree on the following propositions:

- Training should not be abstracted from the actual practice of the profession in which animation is effected.
- It should, therefore, be arranged as spare-time training or on-the-job training.
- It should never be authoritarian or didactic but should arise from the needs of the trainees as expressed in co-gestive discussion; it should be pursued as a joint experience by trainees and trainer.
- It should permit of qualification by cumulative credit units.
- It should be based on certain conceptions of the fundamental purpose of the work of animateurs, regardless of difference of status, situation or subject specialism.
- It should, therefore, consist of a common core with branching programmes for different needs and interests among the trainees.
- It should stress always that the work of the animateur must be non-directive. This is important because people are motivated to be animateurs by other drives than altruism – for example by a wish to alter society, or for personal expression and creativity. Thus great care must be taken in training to insist that the aim of animation is to enlarge people, not to manipulate or impress them.

Training arrangements in certain countries

France

A *Bulletin d'Information* from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs September 1973 gives the following brief account. There are 35 centres for the training of professional animateurs. (The training is in many cases not for any fixed profession but for a variety of possibilities such as youth work, social welfare, adult education, socio-cultural or arts animation.) Of these 35, 13 are maintained by the State, including six university institutes; 21 are maintained by private organisations and of these 13 are concerned only with the training of their own staff. There is also one commercially organised centre for training in animation.

All these centres have a total of 2311 trainees divided between 52 different courses, some part-time for trainees already in service, some full-time, mainly as initial training. 58 % of the trainees are in-service. The majority of the courses are of more than one years duration,

usually two. The main elements in the curriculum of training are: human relations, knowledge of milieux, management techniques, public relations.

To widen the avenue to qualification and to bring some co-ordination into this plurality the government in 1970 instituted national qualifications for animateurs. These are the BASE (Brevet d'aptitude à l'animation socio-culturelle) and the CAPASE (Certificat d'aptitude à la promotion des activités socio-culturelles). The BASE is the first stage, and only those who possess it can take the Certificate. The Brevet testifies to the possession of suitable qualities as proven by two years of work as an animateur in a situation approved by the authorities as qualifying for the BASE. During this work the trainee must also undertake certain interviews, attend certain courses, pass certain written tests and submit a sustained piece of writing. The subjects covered includes expression, psycho-pedagogic knowledge, group processes, knowledge of the milieu, management, aspects of civilisation, and some options such as sport, civics, economics.

Also of great interest, not only as regards training needs, but also status and conditions of work for animateurs is a survey currently being undertaken in France by the FONJEP (Fonds de Coopération de la Jeunesse et de l'Éducation Populaire). This survey is investigating the status of the animateur, his relationships with employers and public authorities and the financial basis of his work. It deals with the animateur in both fixed and itinerant situations, and, separately in large cities, new towns or rural environments. The categorisations are interesting and suggestive. The work of animateurs is broken down:

- specialised activities
- relations with individuals
- relations with groups
- relations with the general public
- training of animateurs
- co-ordination of specialist objectives
- documentation
- research
- management
- management of services such as restaurant.

There is to be a classification of animateurs by: age and sex, number and timing of hours of work per week, holidays, opportunities for study, refresher training or research, social origin (parent's occupation), prospects of promotion and prospects of conversion to other work.

The results of this survey should go far to establish a profile of the animateur.

Federal Republic of Germany

Our information extends only to the existence of two categories of *Sozialarbeiter*:

- Holders of a State Diploma in Social Work granted after four years of study (one of which is a year of practical experience) covering group-work, psychology, adult education, law and management.
- Holders of the State Diploma of Educaton after one or two years study in the training establishment of a voluntary organisation approved by the Land.

Denmark

Training in the teacher training colleges is dual purpose – for teacher and for animateur roles. The situation is the same in *Finland*.

Ireland

Animateurs are almost invariably drawn from the teaching profession and given conversion or induction courses.

Italy

There is special training for animateurs as social assistants. Many animateurs have had training as teachers.

Norway

The training of animateurs is at least in part seen as the training of municipal workers.

Switzerland

The training of animateurs is not regarded as a matter for the Federal government. In the French parts there have been some developments. Youth work training has been modified to include the work of socio-cultural animateurs, and this is true the training given by a number of voluntary organisations, where, for the most part the

training is in-service. Apart from this, there is the École des Animateurs de l'École d'études sociales at Lausanne which gives a three year course on a part-time basis. Entrants must have the Baccalauréat or equivalent and the training is intended for those who are to serve collectivities of the population. Also there is the École d'animateurs de l'École de Service Social at Geneva. This is a full-time course of three years of university level. The Lausanne School is financed by a combination of the French cantons and the Geneva School by its own canton. In the German areas there is little on the ground at present but various schools of social science are moving in this direction.

However, in Switzerland as a whole there is an impressive amount of in-service training in the form of seminars, weekend courses and part-time courses run by the voluntary organisations. Its volume may be inferred from the fact that in 1973 the costs of these amounted to 1 700 000 Swiss francs. The main organisations concerned are:

- Cartel Suisse des Associations des Jeunes
- Pro Juventute
- Fédération Suisse pour l'Éducation des Adultes
- Groupe Romand pour l'étude des techniques de l'instruction
- Union Chrétienne de Jeunes
- Akademie für Erwachsenenbildung.

In addition there are many individual initiatives by trade unions, cultural associations, clubs and popular universities.

United Kingdom

There is an initial full-time training course run by the National Federation of Community Associations, and some youth organisations such as the Young Men's Christian Association run full-time courses. In the teacher training colleges (colleges of education) students may take certain options which prepare for youth or community work. Adult education workers and youth workers receive a great deal of in-service training organised by education authorities or voluntary organisations. Certain universities have full-time courses of training for adult education. The Arts Council runs its own courses for arts administrators. Social workers have their own form of training. A great deal of effort has been made to associate the training of animateurs, particularly in adult education and youth, with that of social workers. The difficulties have proved very great. The social worker assumes that

the family is the basic unit of work, while the animateurs think in terms of the individual. On the whole there has been a reluctance on the part of the education, including adult education, professions to take much account of the milieu the leisure of children and adults, the formation of play-groups for example. On the other side the social workers are reluctant to open up wider access to their profession.

The BBC produces a certain number of programmes which have a bearing on the work of animateurs and could be useful in training. However, a working group of the London Council of Social Service which studied these as training material found that they were not sufficiently deep to do more than awaken interest.

There has been very great interest in the United Kingdom in the content and methodology of training for those who will take up work as animateurs or who are in post as such. Two documents issued by the HM Inspectors at the Ministry of Education *(Explorations* and *Course Documentation N 480)* give comprehensive notes with case studies on methodology, and papers on the andragogical and sociological implications. For the most part they relate to a cross-community field of work in which the combined impact of education, health services, welfare, housing etc. is studied.

At the University of Surrey a "Human potential research" project is examining, for the London Council of Social Service, the methodology of training related to the fields of handicap, delinquency, mental health, housing and social service. An interim paper suggests the part that group dynamics and auto-gestion play in this investigation; among the techniques examined are "the peer learning community" in which both the actual situation of the group and the specificity of teaching capacity within it are accepted; "milling and pairing" followed by "the self-introductory circle" as means of quickening the growth of group life; monodrama and "role reversal"; "critical incident analysis" – examination of an incident which made an abrupt change in personal or organisational life – leading to experience and study of the problem solving sequence.

Conclusion

The uneveness of the above account reflects no predilection but only the availability of information. Even within this limitation one can discern much that is unsatisfactory, haphazard and inadequate in relation to the large-scale development of animation socio-culturelle which the CCC envisages.

A final point for reflection has come to us from Belgium. There is some debate as to the relative efficacy of the full-time and the part-time animateur. The merits of the former are that recruitment, training and status are more simply arranged for a full-time articulated profession with entry qualifications. By contrast, it is said, the full-time animateur becomes institutionalised and encapsulated in circumstances which, as an animateur, he should be striving to change. Part-time work on a paid basis can appeal to the generosity and social commitment of younger people of high ability who will, for a time, be willing to dwell in and share the life of the target area; or, again on a paid basis, part-time work will enable an emergent "natural leader" to animate it in his spare time from shop or factory. Such part-time animateurs will have the unreserved respect of those whom they serve. Working class people do not regard a professional full-time animateur as "doing a real job"; and, in any case, his bread and butter is dependent upon "the establishment". Moreover, the work of animation calls for the vigour and ardour of youth. What happens to the full-time professional animateur when middle age begins to slow him up?

Within the project we envisage a full-time profession, but the above point of view cannot be neglected.

The deontology of animateurs

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Introduction

The years we are living through are indubitably the hardest when it comes to elaborating precise definitions concerning animation. Indeed, after a period of euphoria when many people saw animation as the panacea for all socio-cultural conflicts or the answer to all the ills of a society that has come to a halt, a fundamental doubt has crept in about the real efficacity of animation, the value of the training given to animateurs, and even the existence of a specific category of social workers called animateurs. It must be said that the situation is not the same in all the countries of Europe; the concept of animation is not at all the same, to say the least, in the south and north of Europe, for example. But these doubts, these new hesitations, within the circle of animateurs themselves, are indeed the sign that the time is ripe for a reflection on animateurs, on their deontology, status, and training. If until now the division was between those who believed in animation and those who did not believe in it or who were afraid of it, now those who believe in animation themselves are perplexed, and often propose conflicting solutions.

Moreover, the present animation conditions are critical, perhaps more so than at the outset. As animateurs gain experience and refine their methods and communities know better how to employ them, the conflict situations in which they are engaged seem to many to be more the result of their work. Those who deny that conflict has any positive value and try rather to avoid it than to overcome it, at this point rise up against the animateur as the very author of these evils.

In this climate of simultaneous questioning and refusal the question of deontology is not merely theoretical but in innumerable cases very concrete, with the animateur seen at odds with his employer; in these disputes, no solution is reached by having recourse

to the contract, as it is too vague, it gives precise details only of the secondary points of the animateur's task, and as a general rule it is based on contracts of professions where the specific problems of the animateur do not arise. More will have to be said on this matter later on. For the moment, it should be noted that the necessity for a deontology of animateurs makes itself felt the most just when it is the most difficult to establish.

The intention here is not to list the duties of an animateur or lay down a sort of code of conduct, in short a deontology like that of doctors or of lawyers. This report is a reflection on the deontology of animateurs.

Training to produce animateurs or training to produce the attitude of animation? Although this question does not come directly into the framework of the present report, it cannot be avoided; if the first is accepted, the deontology to be studied will be that of professional animateurs, whereas if the second is adopted, it concerns all those engaged in animation. Let us try to imagine where animation would be if the only agents were full-time animateurs; and, more important, does not leaving animation in the hands of professionals alone contradict the very idea of animation? Is not their role precisely to provoke or encourage in others the *attitude of animation*? If therefore we want to train agents for animation with a real concern for efficiency, we must be just as attentive to the training of unpaid workers as to that of professionals. Many associations realised this a long time ago, and it is regrettable that the authorities in general show too little interest in this aspect of the problem.

This is in any case the viewpoint that has been chosen in this report, which is designed to cover not only animateurs as such, but also all those who, wherever they work, intend to give their activities the dimension of animation, all those who are working for the cultural development of a given community: librarians, museum keepers, adult educators, those who work in the theatre and the cinema, radio and televisions, educators in general, whether professionals or not, working full-time, merely receiving a fee or unpaid.

It will be noted, incidentally, that these different types of animateurs present various advantages; sometimes more flexibility and efficiency, invariably a sharing of the burden, lower costs.

It will be agreed that the authorities and the departments in question have not so far paid much attention to encouraging an attitude of animation among members of their staff who should be workers for

cultural development. Librarians, for example, have been carefully trained in the care and classification of books, also in organisation, and sometimes also contact with readers. Even though numerous librarians show in their work an innate gift for animation and make their libraries real centres for meetings and exchanges, it is nevertheless safe to say that the bulk of their training has been concerned with the book/object and the individual/reader, not with the relationship between the book and the community – so that a library is deemed "animated" when the level of loans is high. There will in fact be animation when the relationship between a community and the library, its instrument of communication, is explicit in the eyes of readers, when readers have communicated their thoughts to the group when the communication between book and reader has been enriched decisively with the communication between readers and readers, when the community has assumed responsibility for its library and has indicated its real needs to the librarian-animateur.

Is it unthinkable that librarians should, in the framework be trained, as part of their initial and further training, for the animation attitude which would equip them better for this task?

The same should apply to the other workers for in cultural development listed above, and all who play a similar role, without payment or in return for a fee.

Operational typology of animateurs

The title of "animateur" is not limited; it is used in all circumstances, and even in the socio-cultural field it covers very different activities. Typologies have been drawn up, and have often proved satisfactory. The one put forward here claims to be operational; it should allow questioning on deontology, so it is normal that it should be based on the status of the animateur, and more particularly on the relationship given by his contract.

Unpaid animateur

The typical case is the *activist*, in an association or trade union; the leader of an informal group also comes under this heading.

Such an animateur formally and essentially belongs to the grassroots; as its leader, he is its literal expression in the sense that he speaks in its name, or that he is entrusted with a more important driving function, explicitly or implicitly, by it. Nevertheless, the unpaid

animateur will only be detached if he is given a separate status which distinguishes him from it, as is the case for the trade union activist who becomes a trade union secretary.

The unpaid animateur even if his leadership shows a desire for power, and even though he is given power over the group he belongs to, has an *essentially ideological motivation*; it is not necessarily explicit, but this does not matter; what makes him act is not money, but the desire to make certain ideas triumph.

The animateur who receives a fee

The typical case is that of *the specialist or semi-specialist who is given a task of animation by his own group* or by a group in which he is not an activist; he may accordingly receive a fee. He is not under contract, as he does not have the status of a professional, but that of an amateur who receives a modest fee for what he does. Those who belong to this type are for example teachers in adult education (peoples' universities, for example), a film enthusiast in the cinema club of a youth organisation, a teacher in charge of the animation of a reading group, or a do-it-yourself "expert" in a spare-time centre.

Such animateurs can come from the grass-roots, but they are more often from another socio-cultural or geographical origin; in any case, they are sufficiently distinct for them to be recognised as such, and for links between the group and this kind of animateur to be totally different from those between the unpaid animateur and his group.

Nevertheless, there is usually a fairly close ideological contact, or alternatively the animateur feels it is *an ideology of "service"*; in this case, which is very frequent, he wants to put his abilities at the service of a group which he believes is labouring under a disadvantage. The motivation here is frequently the desire for a change of scene (for example the teacher who wants to resist the alienation of teaching in school). The attraction of additional earnings can also play a secondary role.

Paid animateur

Typical of this group is the *professional worker* in a youth centre, in a leisure centre, etc.

This animateur does not belong, or no longer belongs, to the grass-roots; his status separates him from it irresistibly, even against his will, even if he shares its ideological desires and his vocation is to put them into practice.

His *motivation* is therefore most often ideological; the paid animateur means his action to have a social significance and sometimes just as openly a political significance. It can fairly be asserted that in many instances it is a question of a derived vocation for teaching. A liking for marginalisation is often found, as is the desire to air artistic or aesthetic aspirations. Considering the level of salary of the great majority of paid animateurs, it is fair to say that profit is not one of their essential motivations.

The situation of the animateur

The employer of the animateur

There can only be animation in a group or in a community; the mandate of the animateur concerns a given community (a district, a block of flats, the young or the elderly in a given town, the readers of a library, etc.) or a smaller and better defined group (a group of young people, a company of amateur actors, etc.). His moral contract is concluded with this community or this group, within which he is active; he is answerable to the group. If he has really done his work the group or the community must be able to decide the details of the relation, offer him another contract, or dispense with his services. This can be the unit in which cultural democracy is exercised.

In practice, neither the group nor the community signs the formal contract with the animateur, apart from a few exceptions; although they are the true employer of the animateur, he is recruited, paid, kept where he is or sent elsewhere, and given notice by a third party. It will be said that this third party – most often a public or private authority, state, municipality, or association – has realised that a given group or community needs an animateur and provided him; it will be said also that it is with the money of the larger group to which the community or group in question belongs that the animateur is paid and that the third party is consequently the legitimate representative of the interests of the community or of the group.

In reality, things are not so simple. The action of the animateur in fact leads to his community or group assuming autonomy, and if this autonomy is to be real it must also cover the free choice of objectives, and also of the animateur and of his relations with the community and the group.

It can be seen therefore that the animateur has two employers: the one who engages him and the one for whom he is engaged. At the beginning, the first knows, or thinks he knows, why he has taken him on;

if the animateur does his work, only the second will really be in a position to decide later on. Yet it is the first who continues to decide.

It is hardly possible to avoid an eventual conflict, when the animateur takes his work seriously. At present it is even a general rule. A word about deontology should put this aspect of the problem in evidence.

The animateur – creator of conflict, or mediator?

An animateur is often engaged to diminish or resolve a conflict, or more generally to face an existing or foreshadowed conflict situation. Since the very action of an animateur is to allow the members of the group he is serving to find their identity, to identify society and their relationships with it, and so to reach a state of autonomy, by this action deep-seated conflicts become apparent, and are now more intense, more visible, more explosive, more menacing, in a word more real.

It must be said at once that the animateur's vocation is not to create conflict for conflict's sake; but he knows if the relationships with others are not fully clear, autonomy is not possible. Faced with powerful conditioning forces which disguise reality, "everybody's pretty, everybody's nice", he is a de-conditioning agent. Once the group has achieved autonomy, it is not for him to indicate the directions its action should take; in theory his task is now over, and he can disappear. But it is precisely this result that is frightening, and this is where the challenge is declared.

The direct action of an animateur therefore creates conflict, or rather reveals conflict; and his indirect action perhaps allows mediation. Often those who pay animateurs do not realise that the mediation phase is only possible after the confrontation phase; the employer and the employee did not read the same things into the contract. "The young people of the district were at a loose end, so we engaged an animateur for them; now they are asking for not only a social centre, but for improved status for apprentices!"

The animateur and authority

Here we must explode the myth of the animateur stripping himself of all authority and appearing almost naked before the group or the community which he has to animate, that of the animateur as a consecrated victim, the animateur crucified. An animateur's authority is considerable; it is inherent in his training and his status, and it is at least as great as that of a teacher. He acquires it through his specific

training, his techniques and methods, through his professional situation, his knowledge of group mechanisms, etc.; it is enough to see certain "animateurs" at work, manipulating, directing or even terrorising a group simply by their analysis of behaviour.

In brief, the action of an animateur is not to transmit an authority which he would in this way give up, but rather to multiply it.

Is the animateur then a lay saint? No, instead he is something like the good nineteenth century village schoolmaster who, unlike the magician or others who jealously kept their knowledge secret, wanted to share it with the greatest number possible. It is moreover from the moment when his power becomes fragmented – that is, when he has succeeded – that the animateur frightens people and that his difficulties with his employer begin.[1]

Here, we come to one of the crucial problems of cultural democracy, that is, democracy. If democracy is the exercise of authority by all, then the animateur is the ideal agent of democracy.

The animateur, liberty and imagination

From the previous points it can be seen that the animateur is a factor for liberty, both cultural and political. He opens the way to the creative imagination of the community, the group, the individual; he promotes the conditions for liberty. When he succeeds, there is a sort of outburst which is disquieting because it compromises an established order.

This being so, to give an animateur a precise civil servant type of status would imply that it was possible to put liberty and imagination inside precise limits.

Once more, we are facing a contradictory situation; and once more it must be accepted as such, exploited, experimented with and not rejected. It is certain that such exploitation and experiments are not without their risks; but liberty and imagination are risks that are worth running. It is also possible to prefer the static order of a fixed conditioned society to the dynamics of change, but the smaller risk is not in the first of these cases.

1. For the sake of simplicity the term "employer" will be used to describe the institution that pays the animateur, and "group" to describe the community or the group which he is engaged to animate.

The animateur as researcher

If we accept what has just been said, the situation of the animateur presents at least one point in common with that of the researcher; both are engaged in a project, and not in a plan; they do not know where their action will end, but gradually it becomes apparent and their progress is presented as an "unveiling of successive horizons" as the philosopher F. Gonseth said.

When it is realised how much is to be gained from giving the researcher freedom of movement, his progress is more rapid. It is probably not mere chance that the state gives financial support to research in the physical sciences, where the results are more easily adapted to mass production, rather than to research in the social sciences, which are regarded as creating useless conflicts. It is nevertheless true that the situation of the researcher even in social sciences, is at present better than that of the animateur, and that it would be interesting to follow up the possibility of giving the animateur the status of one engaged in a research project.

Elements of a deontology common to the three types of animateurs

On the basis of what has been said so far, it will be readily admitted that it is impossible, and would be absurd, to make out a catalogue of the animateur's rights and duties, and to classify responsibilities that by their nature defy classification. It would nevertheless be possible to study a sort of charter on which the parties could base their agreement to collaborate and their contract, whether written or implicit. What follows is the rough draft of such a document.

The three types of animateurs – unpaid, receiving a fee, or paid, as we have called them – have exactly the same objectives: socio-cultural animation, community development, cultural democracy. These ideas have been studied in other circumstances, and agreement in theory can be assumed to have been reached, although resistance still occurs and differences of interpretation are considerable. Having said that this objective is common to all types of animateurs, we must add that it is not necessarily explicit, and that some animateurs, especially among the unpaid, are not very conscious of the profoundly democratic nature of their action.

In reading the following two sections it is important to keep in mind the bi-polar situation of the animateur between his employer and group, and remember that this situation is essentially that of the paid animateur.

Fulfilling engagements

A goal was fixed at the beginning, and everything possible must be done to reach it. Not, however, in a formalistic state of mind: it is perfectly legitimate for the group to change its aims on the way. The animateur must be faithful to his group, in the sense that he must allow its programmes as decisions. In practice this is not as simple as it seems; the experienced animateur who foresees the detour or blind alley the group is taking is often tempted to pre-empt its decisions, to gain time for example, whereas he should rather give his point of view and then respect the decision reached. This is raising the whole question of directivity and non- or semi-directivity, which of course comes up with every step taken by the animateur. It must also be remembered that his commitment is to his relationship with the group rather than with his employer, so that the group is best placed to decide whether his contract is being fulfilled. In other words a written or verbal contract cannot be annulled simply by the employer; its annulment should occur via concertation with the group.

Serving the group

It is so elementary that it is almost a pity to repeat it. And yet, how many animateurs confuse work and pleasure! One animateur may have always dreamed of staging Molière or Ionesco, and be persuaded – and persuade his group – that it is the wish of the group; another may believe he is filming the script imagined by his group, whereas it is he who unconsciously dictated it to them. The group is too often the instrument of his desires and wishes.

Neither is it his essential task to be in communion with his group, but to put the members of the group in communication with themselves and with one another, and to put the group in active and reciprocal communication with other groups and with society.

For the animateur, then, it is not a question of pleasing himself, nor of pleasing the group, but of serving it in its difficult task of identification and autonomy.

Taking into account the overall aims of the group

The specific target chosen by the group is naturally part of a much wider, much vaguer field. It is easier for the group, and the animateur, to isolate the target in an absolute way, and thus to have the illusion that they have reached the goal. Producing a play does not have the same

meaning if the goal that is aimed at is a finished product – the performance, the show – or the expression of a group, the embodiment of a collective reflection.

This is not to diminish the value of a determination to do something well and accurately but to point to the broad, general signification of such activities.

Becoming dispensable

This is a postulate that is willingly accepted at the beginning, but not realised easily. And yet it is fundamental, since animation aims at cultural democracy, the autonomy of individuals, of groups and of communities. But emotional bonds are created between an animateur and his group, and these can conceal relationships of dependence. In this case it is the animateur who has to cut the bonds, hard though this may be. Things should happen in such a way that the group is capable at any time of doing without the animateur, and he should make them practise it.

Developing the potential power of the group and of its members, and not his own, is the real purpose of an animateur; it demands a strong personality and great lucidity, and the group can be a great help to him in this, as can also the employers.

Questioning fundamentals

As we have seen, the group and its animateur are not fitted into a plan, but they develop a project; they should therefore be continually in a state of change. This does not signify instability, but the dynamic equilibrium of forward motion. This situation, which is that of the reseacher, implies a great freedom of spirit, and unfailing lucidity about oneself and about the group.

It seems unnecessary to emphasise the danger of intellectual sclerosis in such actions, but it is as well to condemn certain habits that have been inherited from a superficial practice of group dynamics; more and more animateurs are to be found apparently making an institution of questioning the fundamentals of the group, so that it becomes paralysed and does not move forward, or goes round in circles. Questioning fundamentals should propel a group forward, not bring it to a halt. A lot could be said about animation practices which in reality mean torture for the group, and allow the animateur to reinforce the group's dependence on him.

Spirit of research, of imagination, and of conception

These qualities follow on from those demanded of the animateur, as noted above, but are worth stressing. Routine and repetition have a value in some jobs, but not here. This applies not only to moments of immediate contact with the group, but to the whole of the animateur's work. Administration apart, the animateur is perpetually faced with the necessity for imagining new forms of action and reflection which correspond to the new phases of his projects.

Responsibility

The methods of animation are efficient, and their impact on individuals and groups is far-reaching. The responsibility of the animateur is therefore all the greater. When the instructor fails, it means only non-acquired knowledge or a non-mastered movement for his student; when he is wrong it means only imperfect knowledge or a clumsy movement. The action of animation is measured by the change in mental and social structures, that is in the very texture of the individual and of society. The responsibility of the animateur is commensurate with the ambition of animation itself; he does not have the right to play with his group and send it in to battle unarmed.

Such efficiency in animation has its reserve side: it can become manipulation, and that is the worst danger; an instrument for liberation which is used as an instrument of alienation. It is hard to see how and why animation should escape this danger, to which both printing and education, to give but these two examples have succumbed. The animateur must therefore be continually on guard; his best defence will be the group to which he has provided with the tools for criticism, against himself if need be.

His responsibility takes on yet another aspect. The group which he animates is by definition searching, therefore continually searching for equilibrium, as are the individuals who make it up. In this situation, the intervention of the animateur can take on a character of exceptional gravity. Risks are increased further, as are responsibilities, when the animateur is working with *marginal groups*, as is often the case: immigrants, the old, the young, whose nature is socially fragile, and who are more easily manipulated.

When the animateur works in a team and is backed up, responsibilities can be shared and the risks are less. This is one of the reasons why there is some danger in leaving him alone. The advantage of a team made up of a paid animateur and several other animateurs, either unpaid or receiving a fee, may be noted in passing.

It is unthinkable that the best of animateurs should be incapable of error. The very nature of his action, that of a research project, implies error. Error is not here a "mistake".

Even though deontologies are more often concerned with duties than with rights, it is worth mentioning them: the right to error or to failure, the right to criticism, with regard to the group and to the employer, the right to participation in all determination of objectives and of means, the right to personal convictions, whether manifested or not.

Specific Deontology for paid animateurs

Crises are always concerned with paid animateurs, firstly because they have an employer who pays them and wants value for money, secondly because the crisis concerns a professional exercising his trade, and attacks his means of existence. These two facts make the conflicts raised by animation all the more intense; when unpaid workers (or even those who receive a fee) come under fire, the more flexible relations between the animateur and his group or employer generally allow friendly solutions to be reached. But, in this context, the situation of the professionals does not only have drawbacks for animation; indeed, the radicalisation of the conflict lays bare the problems raised, reveals to certain people the true nature of animation, permits the group to realise the scope of its autonomy and efficiency, mobilises the community concerned, all of which can lead to a questioning of fundamentals and to a new start for committed animation. Speculation about the specific character of the deontology of paid animateurs therefore seems legitimate.

For the paid animateur, requirements are the same, but more marked than for the animateur who is unpaid or receives a fee; it is not that these are less "animateurs" than he is, but his commitment is professional in its nature. This means that he devotes to this activity the whole of his working hours that he has received – and is still receiving – a specific training, in theory more comprehensive and thorough, that he has a particular status which often accentuates his commitment and vulnerability. All this means that the group and the employer expect more of him, as witness the hopes that an association puts in the engagement of its first professional animateur, as if he alone were going to solve all problems. Incidentally, these excessive expectations are dangerous both for the group and for the animateur; firstly, the animateur can do nothing without the group and its full collaboration; secondly, the group thus has a tendency to opt out of its responsibili-

ties, whereas the animateur is precisely there to help it shoulder them. An interesting chapter could be written on the steps that an association, for example, has to take before engaging a paid animateur, it should in any case strengthen its authority, that is, those of its unpaid animateurs and of its activists, so that it can freely use the animateur and prevent him from taking power, if such was his wish.

Professional contract

The contract between the paid animateur and his employer is written, and implies a legal, even a criminal responsibility; the varieties of contracts and national labour laws would demand a study extending beyond the limits of this report; it will be enough here to emphasise that the engagement of an unpaid animateur or of one who received a fee is generally verbal, and that in any case its terms rarely have legal consequences. It is therefore the paid animateur's duty to discuss his contract attentively, and then to respect it, subject to the restrictions mentioned earlier.

This respect of the contract means that the animateur must, when necessary, remind the employer and the group of its spirit. Keeping faith with the employer is not be taken as subordination. This amounts to saying that traditional relationships, whereby the employee is subordinate to his employer, rapidly make any attempt at real animation impossible. This means that the contract must be concluded *within a collectivity made up of the group, the employer and the animateur*; within the framework of an association this is quite possible; it must become possible in the framework of a public authority, at the risk of failure.

Availability

The paid animateur must of course be able to face the problems presented by his group with a complete availability of mind; this entails an accumulation of problems, because he often has to deal with several groups simultaneously, even groups of different nature, and he has substantial administrative responsibilities. Each group, at each meeting, expects just as much from him, and in the interval has acquired new preoccupations. The animateur must be able to be completely available when he meets the group, and this is not easy.

Another aspect of the same problems is the time the professional animateur must devote to his activities. The problem is perplexing, whatever the angle from which it is viewed.

His activity puts the animateur in the service of a group, which already implies contraints. Above all, *the fundamental dimension of animation is time*, a specific duration, a psychological duration which can be neither compressed nor limited too firmly without risk of disturbance. The progress of a group and the individuals that make it up towards autonomous decision and action is slow and irregular; there are brusque accelerations – moments when realisation dawns but also periods of lethargy that are perhaps necessary. If the animateur has a good knowledge of these complex mechanisms, he can sometimes make it easier to move forwards, although to try to pick up a regular speed and make arbitrary divisions is fraught with risk. It is unthinkable that he should say to a group that has reached a critical phase of reflection: "It's 10 o'clock, my day's work is finished. I'm off."

Let us add that, for obvious reasons, it is at the end of the day and in the evening, on Saturdays and Sundays, that the members of the group are usually available, and it is at those moments that the animateur must be present. And yet he has the right to rest, he has the right to family life, he has the right to leisure.

The answer may be a working day beginning at 2 p.m., for example, with days off in the week. That settles the question of the number of hours of work, but not that of family life, and only partially that of leisure.

How have people managed until now? His recreation time comes out of his rest time. Everyone knows where this intense sense of professional duties leads: to overwork and its results, or to a change of lot with more regular hours and safer prospects.

The solution is to be found in the community of group employer, and animateur; if priority is given for example to the training of unpaid animateurs, responsibilities can be shared; in this case, the members of the community know that the animateur *is not mercenary, but a partner* who is responsible for a particular task, for whose execution a contract has been concluded. A great many obstacles are thus removed, many misunderstandings are avoided, and rights and duties of each are respected. Once more it can be seen that if the employer does not participate, animation is hard to achieve.

Training

One of the paid animateur's essential duties is training. First of all, the training of unpaid and fee-receiving animateurs because this is the key to delegation. It should not be possible to imagine any animation

activity not closely associated with, or even incorporating, a training campaign, enabling animation to be multiplied without a multiplication of paid animateurs and of cost. This is one of the principal justifications for the professional. And it is here that the "school" of animateurs is to be found, in the community of animation, in the heart of action, under the joint responsibility of the group, the employer and the animateur.

His own training usually takes place in action, all the time, while he is working. But we know that a certain distance is sometimes necessary, to see further, and to recover breath. The continuous training of a paid animateur can take different forms; this question is not going to be studied here, although it must be noted that it is paramount, that the animateur should demand its inclusion in his contract, that his employer should make it possible and that the group should understand its necessity.

Administration and management

This is a field in which animateurs do not always feel at home. Their training has not really prepared them for it and often they are without qualified administrative colleagues; the financial bases of their programmes are inevitably uncertain; the programmes themselves are only defined as they develop (research projects); and above all animateurs have chosen this sort of profession because it puts them in direct contact with people and groups, and they therefore have a tendency to resent the time spent on administrative action and to regard it as a waste of time.

They must be persuaded that the opposite is the case; *administrative action is ancillary to their action*, it makes it possible or it speeds it up. The employer must understand that it is in animation that the animateur needs to spend most of his time, and make it possible for him to do so by relieving him as much as possible of the administrative burden. But the animateur for his part must take as much care as possible in the management operations with which he is entrusted, if only because administrative negligence will inevitably be used against him in any dispute with his employer; it is sometimes the cause of conflict, and often a pretext for conflict with the employer seizing on careless administration, when what he is really attacking is the animation itself.

The rights of the paid animateur

His fundamental rights have already been mentioned above.

The following rights are worth emphasis, as without them his action can in the long term be seriously compromised:

- *Right to leisure and private life:* This point was dealt with above;
- *Union rights:* Generally speaking, they are threatened not in theory, but in practice, in the case of breach of contract, for example;
- *Right to training:* This point was dealt with above;
- *Right to participation:* As has been seen above, the animateur should be an integral part of a community which is formed also of the group and of the employer. It is important that he should participate in determining objectives and means;
- *Right to appropriate pay:* The readiness of animateurs to accept the job is often the reason for their being underpaid. This is all very well when they are employed by an association with slender financial means, but it is inadmissible when the employer is a public authority. In this field as in other, animateurs feel themselves weak because they are isolated; then it is up to the group to lend support. Such an action can operate very well within the employer – group – animateur community; it is more difficult when the employer and the group have no contact.

The status of animateurs

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Introduction

It is hard to say anything coherent about the status of socio-cultural workers (animateurs) in the Western Europe of 1974. "Western Europe" is scarcely an entity in a political or economic sense, and it is not united on cultural policy either. The phenomenon which is referred to by such terms as "animation", "socio-cultural work" and "community work" does, it is true, cover some common ground, but the practical circumstances in which the work is done differ from country to country in historical development, type of state intervention, degree of professionalisation, etc. This is at least one source of imprecision in my analysis – of imprecision, and also of contradictions.

There is also a second reason why imprecision is unavoidable. The Brussels Symposium on the "Deontology, status and training of animateurs" is proceeding on the assumption that "status" is a crystallisation, an operationalisation and a clearcut definition of elements from the deontology of the socio-cultural worker. A deontology may be even more abstract and imprecise, but I am afraid that systematic reflection has only just begun (and the preparatory observations of the three rapporteurs could obviously not constitute a decisive step forward), and that the deontology has not yet advanced so far that we can deduce any clear standpoints in respect of status. Moreover, allowing the deontology to precede an analysis of status is only very partly justified. Deontology implies a critical appraisal of status, and this holds good here as it does for any ethical judgement. Status comes before deontology. Not until the battle for a clearer status has been won will a clearer deontology emerge. And this battle, to be waged by socio-cultural workers, has not yet begun. It is impossible to talk about status in absolute terms, without reference to history and

time. These comments relate to the present situation, a situation in which no reasonable measure of certainty about the status of socio-cultural workers is discernible anywhere.

But the most important source of imprecision and contradiction lies in *the ambiguity of socio-cultural work*, in animation itself. Earlier Council of Europe conferences and papers suggest a growing consensus about the concepts of animation and animateurs.

This consensus of theoreticians and policy-makers unmistakably contrasts with profound differences of opinion among practising socio-cultural workers.[1] Cultural democracy, democratisation, participation, liberation, emancipation and all the other key-words used at the San Remo Symposium on "Methods of managing socio-cultural facilities in pilot experiments" (1972) look like abstractions concealing fundamental differences of opinion. Before discussing the status as such, I must start talking about my viewpoints with regard to the function of socio-cultural animation in present day society.

Animation and animateurs

It has been frequently observed that cultural work or adult education is a marginal activity in the society of today. This marginality is generally attributed to the fact that this kind of work has not developed very far. It is argued that socio-cultural work is not yet sufficiently integrated into society and not yet properly recognised, and the hope or expectation is expressed that this is a transitory state of affairs.[2] The marginality of the institutions leads to uncertainties and to a marginal, or second-class, position for the workers involved. For most of them, adult education or cultural work is a second option, practically never a firm career choice.[3] Marxist theorists analyse the marginal character of this type of work and this profession in a different way, as a historical phenomenon. All society's ideological apparatus, its policies on welfare, culture and education, can only exert a renewing influence on the sidelines of the struggle between socio-

1. A clear symptom of this is to be seen in: Mangenot, M.: *Des animateurs se rebiffent*, Ed. Universitaires, CEPREG, Paris, 1973. – Relevant research material will be found in "Les animateurs" *Les Cahiers de l'Animation*, 1973, No. 3; Drouard, H. et al: *Le public d'une institution de formation socio-educative*, Documents de l'INEP, Paris 1973, and Simonot, M.: *Les animateurs socio-culturels – Etudes d'une aspiration à une activité sociale*, Rouen-Paris, 1974. – Differences of opinion are taken into account by Moulinier, P.: *Les animateurs: Fonctions et formation*; Report, Paris 1972, and *Reflections on the training of animateurs*, CCC, Strasbourg 1974.

2. Two outstanding studies analysing the socially marginal position of adult education are: Clark, B. R.: *Adult education in transition*, Berkeley, 1958, and Fritsch, P.: *L'éducation des adultes*, Paris, 1972, – See also Jackson, K.: *"The marginality of community development", in: International Review of Community Development*, No. 29–30, 1973.

3. For a discussion of the cultural worker's marginality in his profession, see, in addition to P. Fritsch: Deppe, D. A.: "The adult educator: marginal man and boundary definer" in *Adult Leadership*. October, 1969 and de Haas, G. C.: *Onvoltooid beroep*, Bilthoven, 1971.

economic interests. There are some people who even refuse to admit this margin of freedom and regard cultural work as merely a consolidator of existing economic patterns. One common feature is that the marginal, divergent status of cultural work is seen as a negative position which should be combated either directly or indirectly. However, there are also authors who, while acknowledging the lack of opportunity for fundamentally innovatory action, are anxious to exploit the margin of freedom offered by cultural work in a positive way.[4]

In my view, the marginality of socio-cultural work is not merely a product of historical circumstances, but may also reflect the adoption of a clear standpoint. This is in fact the significance of the rise of socio-cultural animation.

Both in the French form of "animation socio-culturelle" after the second world war and in the English form of "community development", animation was a reaction to the failure of educational and cultural activities (including social work) in the last century. A large part of the population achieved neither greater equality and emancipation nor a secure existence. Education for the masses, the development of the people and social care turned out to be directed at too universal a target to reach people in distress. They were based too much on a paternalistic model directed at individuals to give assistance to groups in their growing self-awareness. They were too far removed from the social and economic struggle to assist emancipation. Educational and cultural work tended rather to reinforce inequalities than to dismantle them. Consequently, socio-cultural animation was not simply a new term for "éducation populaire", "adult education" or "cultural work". Animation is aimed at a different kind of cultural work:

- directed at groups, not at individuals;

- involving and drawing upon their own culture, inextricably bound up with their own economic situation (not a transfer of isolated middle-class culture);

- in which the educative and cultural activities are a means in a process of emancipation rather than ends in themselves.

Animation therefore signifies the quality or function of cultural work rather than the type of work or activity itself. This viewpoint obviously embodies also a conception of culture and education and

4. One example is Hajer, R : *De bijdrage van het educatieve en welzijnsbeleid aan een gelijkere inkomensverdeling*, Vorming, 1974, No. 6.

their functions in society. This is not the place for a more detailed analysis of that approach, but it can be indicated with a few key-words. Animation is the critical dimension of culture. Animation is the celebration of awareness (in the sense given to that term by Ivan Illich). Animation is the anti-institutionalisation of cultural work. Animation means investment in human relations, not in technology and equipment. Animation is a problem-solving process, not a process of cultural transfer. It is probably not possible to say much more than this about animation: despite the growing body of literature on the subject, the basic issues have hardly been investigated.

There is a tendency to define animation in such broad and abstract terms that the world ultimately loses all meaning. The danger has been pointed out by P. Moulinier, who says: "In the last fifteen years the words animateur and animation have enjoyed a considerable vogue in France which has helped to obscure the function rather than clarify. Everything in France has become a 'subject' of animation and everybody has become an animateur... As for animateurs, they are a motley bunch – there are cultural animateurs, socio-cultural animateurs, social animateurs, holiday-camp animateurs, animateurs dealing with tourism, entertainment, fashion, radio and television, business and sport... even the director of a bankrupt firm is referred to as "animateur de la société X".[5] The same could be said about such concepts as "culture" and "cultural worker". Reading the definitions from the Rotterdam Symposium, I have the impression that it tried to find wordings so abstract that everyone could subscribe to the definitions.[6]

A consensus was also postulated at the San Remo Symposium. If you read the report carefully, much of the clarity vanishes. The rapporteur, J. A. Simpson, said: "Socio-cultural animation means cultural liberation, an emancipation which is necessary before masses of our peoples can participate in genuine cultural democracy. The long processes of legal and political emancipation have been crowned by a large measure of economic freedom. Now we need new attitudes to bridge the socio-cultural gaps". But at the end of the Symposium he also said: "The organisation of our societies should be changed radically". The question is whether the emancipation process is to be crowned with animation or whether that process has yet to begin.

There is a similar contradiction where it is suggested that a pluralistic culture must be accepted, that recognition of the intrinsic

5. Moulinier, R.: *Les animateurs culturels: fonction et formation*, Paris, 1972, and *Reflections on the training of the animateurs*, CCC, Strasbourg, 1974.

6. Cf. also the summary in the report by Agren, L. et al: *Socio-cultural facilities at the urban level*, Chalmers University Gothenburg, Council of Europe, 1974, pages 5–7.

worth of many (sub-)cultures is one of the aims of animation. Set against this is the fact that a pluralistic culture can also be interpreted as a fragmented culture, a culture in which socio-economic inequality is reflected in separate sub-cultures. When it is observed at the San Remo Symposium that animation "is at present a fragmented responsibility", this is probably fair comment, but the "fragmented responsibility" is evidence of a "fragmented society".

To shut one's eyes to these contradictions would be extremely dangerous. They reappear in the animateurs' attitudes to their work; for example, when the San Remo Symposium expects the animateur to have "a sense of responsibility towards the communities in his charge and towards the political and social institutions", but on the other hand also to have "autonomy, freedom of action guaranteed by the authorities granting the subsidies". The contradiction appears again in the contrast between:

– animation as a technique or as an attitude to work,

– animation as a profession in its own right or as a feature of different professions,

– animation as an educational and cultural activity or as a kind of social action,

– animation as an institutional responsibility or as availability to a group,

– animation as "act upon" or as "act within".

Types of animateurs

I would regard animation as above all a mentality on the basis of which social, educational and cultural activities are undertaken. This mentality can perhaps best be summed up as an effort to support socio-economically under-privileged groups by placing culture and education at the service of the struggle for emancipation. Animation is one of the functions that must be discharged in social and cultural work. A recent Dutch report calls it "mediation between facilities and the groups who must acquire priority control of those facilities".[7]

It is clear that animateurs in this sense (people active in the agencies trying to realise this function) existed long before the term and the profession of animateur became current. This function is and

7. Hajer, R. et al.: *Permanente educatie en de funktie van edukatieve centra*, Amsterdam, 1974, 9.

was more often and more readily assumed by volunteers, militant activists from a wide range of groups, than by professional social and educational workers. But I do not wish to describe this category of volunteers as animateurs. By animateurs I mean professionals – paid social and educational workers, to the extent that they try to make the animation function a real part of their work.

Various typologies of animateurs have been developed in recent years. "Animateurs techniciens", for example, are distinguished from "animateurs relationnels". We are familiar with a classification which includes "animateur diffuseur", "animateur moniteur", "animateur du groupe" and "animateur coordinateur".[8] The Council of Europe has developed the typology: "animateur teacher", "animateur manager", "animateur-animateur" (the genuine animateur?) and "animateur artist". These typologies undoubtedly make sense for certain purposes – just as it makes sense to discuss the training and status of animateurs. But great danger lies in these typologies. They inherently suggest that animation is the activity of a special kind of professional worker. Animation is thereby isolated and becomes an alibi for other workers to pursue their work along the old lines.

There are four conceivable strategies which would give animation a place in social and cultural work, and all four are to be met with in practice:

– The first is the creation of *a new profession* and its addition to existing professions in the social and cultural field. The title may be "animateurs" as in France, or "opbouwwerkers" as in the Netherlands, or "community development workers" as in England. It is this solution which leads to an alibi function.

– The second strategy involves *changing the attitude* of existing professionals to their work. Animation is then regarded as "a quality necessary in the work of several professions".[9] In so far as the first category of workers in fact exists, they will also be subject to this strategy.

– The third strategy sets it apart not only from the existing professions but also from the institutions. It mistrusts the possibilities of

8. For typologies see also the report by J. M. Moeckli. Further information will be found, inter alia, in Labourie, R.: "De quelques problèmes de l'animation et de la formation socio-educatives" in *Les cahiers de l'animation*, 1973, No. 1; Schaeffknecht, J. J.: "La formation des formateurs en Europe" in *Education permanente*, 1971, No. 12; Gourbault, G.: "Les formateurs, leur formation", in *Education permanente*, 1971, No. 12; Levet-Gautrat, M.: "Les images de rôles des animateurs socio-culturels" in *Les cahiers de l'animation*, 1973, No. 3; Théry, H.: *"Les animateurs: essai de typologie"* in *Recherche sociale*, 1967, No. 13 and "Emergence, nature et fonctions de l'animation" in *Pour*, 1971, No. 18/19.
9. Moulinier, P.: Reflections on the training of the animateurs, 1973, p. 15.

discharging an animation function in the context, and on the basis, of existing agencies. Preference is therefore given to *new institutions with new workers*.

– A fourth conceivable possibility is the *radical de-institutionalisation* of the existing structures. This might also be described as a revolution from within.

The last-mentioned strategy strikes me as utopian. My preference is for a combination of the second and third. In my view, the margins of cultural and educational work and of the balance of power are wide enough to accommodate possible reversals of that balance and opportunities for animation. On the other hand, I am so unsure about this that I feel the need for a complementary strategy in the form of new agencies. When I talk about animateurs, I shall mean workers within the context of these strategies.

The status of animateurs

The principal question that concerns us here is as follows: What socially and legally guaranteed working conditions should socio-cultural workers enjoy for them to be able to discharge an animation function?

For our present purpose we shall adopt a broad definition of status, as used by G. Vessigault and in one of the first reports on this subject by J. Lestavel.[10] Lestavel says of status ("statut"): "The socialisation which is becoming general requires it for the security of individuals and institutions". Vessigault distinguishes between:

– Rules laid down by law for officially recognised professions (regulations, statutes, implementing orders) and

– the social status, reputation and working conditions (position as member of a profession).

There is always the danger when speaking of "the status of animateurs", and certainly in the first sense, of tacitly recognising the existence of an animateur profession distinct from other professions in the social and cultural field, with a community of members and a more or less standardised job description. Needless to say, such tacit acceptance must be dismissed. There are social and cultural workers. It is essential that their rights and obligations should be set down in a statute.

10. Vessigault, G.: *The status and training of youth leaders*, CCC, Strasbourg, 1969 and Lestavel, J.: *Statut et formation des animateurs*, Paris, 1963. Cf. also: *Workers in adult education: their status, recruitment and professional training*, CCC, Strasbourg, 1966.

A brief explanation is needed here, for various reasons. In the first place, recruitment and training become impossible if the situation and career cannot be described to some extent.[11] But a more important reason is that animation is a need which, as experience shows, is not automatically satisfied in the context of educational and social work but must be met by public measures. There is of course the danger that a statute could in fact deprive a profession of all its freedom of manoeuvre and independence, but in my opinion this is concequence of the content of a statute rather than of the statute itself. Without a statute freedom and independence can certainly not be guaranteed. We shall not evade the basic problem in this way: the recognisability of a function to other people – social and mutual recognition and recognisability – also mean controllability and vulnerability with all their attendant dangers. The value of the statute must be judged on whether or not the recognisability becomes so great that it precludes all flexibility.

Apart from the content of the statute, the most important factor for its actual operation is the extent to which the statute corresponds in social law terms to the social standing and reputation of social and cultural workers. For this reason, too, "status" and "statute" are inseparable. The magnitude of this influence is apparent from developments affecting the status of the medical profession in recent years: awareness on the part of the "patients" makes the closed system of disciplinary jurisdiction, as is still laid down in medical statutes, practically unworkable. Where status is concerned, therefore, the question is how far society recognises a work function in its own right. Aspects of this status are the following:

- Social esteem and prestige: problems of identification, etc. (recognition by clients).
- Institutional and economic power: problems of contracts of employment, salaries, etc. (recognition by employers).
- Associational power: problems of recruitment, career, etc. (recognition by colleagues).
- Social institutionalisation: problems of professionalisation (recognition in society in general).

We shall concentrate on these aspects in the following sections.

There are few examples of "statutes" which we might take as starting points. As far as I know, only in France is there a legally

11. Cf. Vessigault, G. op. cit. p. 357.

established statute.[12] A decree in which a statute of this kind was envisaged was passed in 1973 in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, and a draft statute was put forward for discussion in July 1974.[13] There are a variety of regulations setting out conditions in respect of training, remuneration and responsibility. A few attempts have been made in the Netherlands to establish a professional organisation of cultural workers and/or development workers. Among the results of these efforts is a draft code of professional conduct the provisions of which have had considerable influence on the Flemish draft statute.[14] Further moves towards an official status are evident in state-assisted or state-organised training institutes, articles about the ethics of social and cultural work, further trends towards professionalisation and resistance to them. In many respects, social work appears to have made more progress: the professional organisation in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Canada, the United States of America, Sweden etc. have codes of professional conduct.[15] However, the force of application of these codes is extremely limited, particularly when they are compared with those of doctors, lawyers, accountants and so on. Outside the Netherlands, a legally established right to refuse to give evidence as a consequence of the social worker's obligation to observe professional secrecy is encountered only sporadically. As regards status in adult education, the situation has not changed very much since 1966 (when the Council of Europe's report appeared). I attach particular importance to the German legislation on "Weiterbildung" (further education) which contains rules governing the professional freedom of "Erwachsenenbildner (adult educators).[16]

Social esteem and prestige: relationships with clients

All those concerned will have to be involved in defining the profession and status of cultural workers.[17] Foremost among those concerned are those groups which must be enabled to achieve emancipation by means, among other things, of cultural work. We may

12. "Statut des personnels professionnels d'animation socio-educative et socio-culturelle" in: *Documents sur la jeunesse*, no. 2, November-December 1970.

13. Hinnekint, H.: *Statuut, opleiding en deontologie van de social-culturele werker in Vlaanderen, Brussels, 1974.*

14. *"Beroepskode voor de kultureel werker" (Professional Code for cultural workers), Concept*, 1972, *Proefversie*, Utrecht, 1972. Also published in *Volksopvoeding*, June-July 1972, p. 280–288.

15. The texts are reproduced in Jens, L. F.: *Beroepsethiek en code van de maatschappelijk werker*, Arnhem, 1967.

16. Cf. "Lehrfreiheit für den Erwachsenenbildner?", in *Erwachsenenbildung*, 1974, No. 2, pp. 92–94.

17. I shall be concentrating in the following sections on cultural workers involved in socio-cultural and socio-educational animation. Although they have much in common with other welfare workers, cultural workers remain a distinct group, partly because they are tied to special institutions. Moreover, animation is a principle which is undoubtedly just as relevant for social work. See for example Brun, M. R.: "Animation in social work", in: *New themes in social work education*, IASSW, New York, 1972.

refer to them by the perhaps somewhat misleading, but generally current term, of clients. These are the people primarily concerned, before the community development workers themselves, the authorities and the employing agencies. And this requirement can be met only if certain preconditions are satisfied.

The most important precondition seems to me to be that cultural workers should actually begin to present themselves as cultural workers, in other words as the representatives of a profession. For this reason, too, a professional organisation is desirable (and not merely a trade-union type of organisation designed to defend sectorial interests). As yet, cultural workers appear to describe themselves primarily by reference to their job ("employed in this or that institution or agency") rather than as belonging to a professional group. In his own eyes, and in public opinion, a cultural worker belongs to an organisation or institution rather than to a community of cultural workers engaged in one way or other in a common enterprise.[18] As W. Leirman says, reference is made to the function and/or place of employment, not to a specific occupation.[19] This being so, clients are more likely to refer to the institution than to the workers and to the social process involved.

Very little is known with any certainty about *the public image of the cultural worker and the image he has of himself.* In France, thanks to the investigations of Ph. Fritsch, M. Simonot and H. Drouard et al.,[20] knowledge of the way in which animateurs see themselves is growing. A noticeable feature is that the questions and answers are directed more to general ends and strategies than to the social function in relation to clients. This is also true of the enquiries pursued by a smaller group of cultural workers in the Netherlands and Germany.[21] In so far as any information is available on the public image,[22] it may be assumed that although the cultural worker is regarded almost unanimously as a progressive, motivated idealist, people have only vague notions, or none at all, about what exactly they should expect of him. The psychological appeal is slight. More research is certainly desirable into the obstacles in this sphere.

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18. Cf. *Workers in adult education*, Strasbourg, 1966, pp. 76–77.
19. Leirman, W.: "Beroep en opleiding van de vormingswerkers", in *Tijdschrift voor opvoedkunde, Jrg. 14, 1965–66, no. 5, pp. 296–312.*
20. *Fritsch, Ph.: L'education des adultes*, Paris, 1971; Simonot, M.: *Les animateurs socio-culturels*, Paris-Rouen, 1974; Drouard, H., Labourie, R., Oberti, A., Pouzol, G.: *Le public d'une institution de formation socio-éducative*, INEP, Marly-le-Roi, 1974.
21. Boender, L. B.: *Beroepspraktijk jeugdwerkers*, The Hague, 1970: Wijk, D. von: *Functieopvatting en functievervulling van opbouwwerkers*, Deventer, 1973; Jagenlauf, M., Siebert, H.: *Die Volkshochschule im Urteil ihrer Mitarbeiter*, Brunswick, 1970.
22. Drouard, H. et al.: op. cit.

A third and more down-to-earth precondition for the involvement of the clients in the definition of this profession is the formulation of a few basic rules for its exercise. Formalisation of them in a professional code could be an important step towards recognition of independent status. This code will mainly be concerned with rules to enable the group for which the cultural worker works also to become his employer. To this end the following duties are put forward, inter alia, in the Dutch draft professional code:

– The cultural worker is required at all times to justify the objectives and strategy of his work to those participating in it. It is essential to the competent exercise of the profession that the cultural worker shall be capable of accounting for his work, both orally and in writing, in the language of the participants for whom he is working and the society in which he works. (One commentator observed with a sigh that he would have to master a great many "dialects" in addition to his own jargon and mother tongue.)

– The cultural worker is required to ensure by his working methods that participants are able to handle the desires, needs, new possibilities and difficulties arising out of the cultural work process, and give form to them, by their own means, or – if this proves impossible – under expert direction. (He must ensure that cultural work does not lead to other, permanent, forms of dependence.)

– The cultural worker has the right and the obligation to treat as confidential all information which comes to his knowledge in the exercise of his profession regarding the participants either as individuals or as a group. He respects the freedom of participants to contribute what they are willing and able to contribute. He obtains such information about participants as he needs for his work only from or with the knowledge of the participants themselves and from the details which they are prepared to provide during the process of cultural work.

– The cultural worker works with people only when the relationship between him and the participants is accepted voluntarily.

– The cultural worker is required to make it clear to the participants what services he is able and permitted to offer in the framework of the objectives of the working relationship or the institution to which they have addressed themselves.

These guidelines are only a beginning. Discussion of them has still to take place, both among animateurs themselves and with participants. It is striking, moreover, that the emphases on the animateur's duty to justify his work vis-à-vis the participants dwindles in Article 15 of

the Flemish draft statute[23] to a duty "regularly to account for his own objectives and working methods to the officers of the council, authorised officials and his own professional colleagues". In an enquiry into a conflict between a training institute and an industrial concern,[24] it is emphasised that objectives and working methods are not fixed quantities which simply have to be made explicit: giving practical effect to them is a social process which takes place in conjunction with the participants and can only operate with those who are willing to be involved in this social process. Cultural workers must have professional autonomy within basic legal limits in order to develop their objectives and methods together with the participants, as is the case in education. This substantially limits the obligation to justify their work vis-à-vis "outsiders".

Like information about individuals and groups, concrete objectives are part of the "common property" of participants and cultural workers. *The right and duty of confidentiality* applies here. Unlike the situation in, for example, social case work or medicine, where a relationship exists between two persons, this right cannot be rigidly circumscribed here: cultural work takes place in a group situation where, generally speaking, confidential information becomes available not only to the animateur but also to others. For this reason, the animateur cannot guarantee that particular items of information will not become public. Confidentiality is a group responsibility. On the other hand, the right of socio-cultural workers to refuse to give evidence before the courts must be established. The Dutch Criminal Code, for example, contains an Article which reads: "A person who deliberately reveals a secret which he has an obligation to keep by reason of his present or former office or occupation shall be liable to imprisonment for a term of not more than six months or to a fine of not more than 1 200 guilders". In the absence of legal precedents, it is impossible to say whether cultural work is an office or occupation within the meaning of this article. But if it is to be recognised, one indispensable precondition is the establishment of the obligation of secrecy in a professional code accepted by the people who exercise the profession. Consequently, the draft professional code contained the following article: "The cultural worker shall have the right and the duty of confidentiality... this right and duty shall in general be understood as a right and duty to observe professional secrecy. The cultural worker may disclose information obtained about participants in the course of his work only in professional contacts with

23. See Hinnekint, H.: op. cit., p. 51.
24. Dibbits, J., Enckevort, G. van, Langeveld, W. and Putt, J. van der: "General conclusions and recommendations", in: *Siemens against The Hague Training Centre, documentation about the conflict*, DIC, Amersfoort, 1972.

his colleagues and with persons in other professions also bound to secrecy by a formal code, and then only with the permission of the person or persons concerned. Even with the consent of the participant or participants concerned, he shall not disclose any information unless such disclosure is clearly in the interests of the participant or participants and/or if it conflicts with the interests of other participants". This article has acquired increased relevance in recent years in the context, for example, of socio-cultural help and active assistance to children under age.[25]

Another important right of cultural workers in this connection may be *the right to strike*: the right to refuse assignments which conflict with the interests of the group or groups for which he is already working. It will probably always be difficult to agree as to whether a conflict of interests is in fact present in alternative assignments, but the recognition of the right to strike is nevertheless desirable in principle. A cultural worker cannot be expected to be universally available everywhere, to everyone, whether in turn or simultaneously. M. Mangenot[26] analyses an instance of strike action which clearly demonstrated the need for a strong professional organisation (the strike led to an "association des travailleurs de l'éducation populaire").

The general proclamation of such rights is however of little significance unless the group of participants is able to function as principal in *the organisational structure of cultural work*, even if it cannot be an employer in the public law sense. It is therefore desirable that the activities of a socio-cultural institution should be organised as decentralised, independent projects. Project organisation is preferable to conventional bureaucratic-hierarchical organisation, with its rigid procedures and standards of service, and to professional organisation with complete autonomy for the professionals involved, based on agreement as to the policy pursued. Project organisation offers, on the one hand, a firm organisational basis and a range of varying projects with specific objectives and on the other hand, a circumscribed process and independent management. In addition to flexibility, democratisation can be a particularly important facet of project organisation. However, if this democratisation is not to be confined to participation of professionals in the decision-making process, the managerial bodies must be appointed in a different way (not merely be designated by the authorities or co-opted), and outside agencies must be enabled to participate.[27]

25. Jens, L. F.: loc. cit., deals extensively with the question of professional secrecy and the right to refuse to give evidence to the courts, colleagues and counterparts in other professions. The Flemish draft statute contains no provisions of this kind.

26. Mangenot, M.: *Des animateurs se rebiffent*, Paris, 1973.

27. Marx, E. C. H.: "De projektorganisatie als organisatie van instellingen", in *Volksopvoeding*, 1970, no. 2 and "De taakopvatting van besturen van instellingen", *Volksopvoeding*, 1968, No. 4.

Institutional status and legal position

It will already be clear from the above observations that the question of status vis-à-vis participants is bound up with status within the institution, responsibilities and rights vis-à-vis the administration and so forth – in short, with the legal position relating to a contract of employment. The overwhelming majority of animateurs are employed by one institution or another, and therefore have contracts of employment; the possibility of free-lance animateurs (field workers, community development workers, social activists) may not be totally illusory, but such people are rare. The animateur is *an employee in a modern, late-capitalistic society, in other words a worker.*

Many cultural workers and their employers still appear to find it difficult to accept this reality. If they think of the work as a profession, they do so in terms of independent professions such as those of doctor, lawyer, journalist and so forth, or else by reference to artists. Underlying this in some cases is the resistance which emerges whenever a transition takes place from charismatic volunteerism to institutionalisation and professionalisation.[28] Enthusiasm, open-mindedness and involvement cannot be pinned down in a contract of employment (quite right, of course!). Sometimes the resistance derives from the fact that every animateur wants to be a militant, but a misunderstanding of the distinction between the two can, as A. Meister rightly observes,[29] result in animateurs being no more than "militants manqués". And the romantic desire for harmonious relationships between employers and employees makes some cultural workers hesitate to accept employee status.

Generally speaking, there is as yet very little trade-union participation on the part of cultural workers.

The legal protection of the rights and duties of cultural workers is impossible without a *trade union organisation.* This presupposes a counterpart in the form of employers' organisations. Annual negotiations about contracts of employment, subject to democratic controls, would then be possible. An important factor is recognition of this consultation machinery by the governmental authority providing the subsidy, which must also take part as a third party. Besides, this is a matter of concern not only to animateurs but also to administrative and domestic personnel.[30]

28. Cf. Leirmann, W.: op. cit., p. 297.
29. Meister, A.: "Militanti e animatori", in *International Review of Community Development*, No. 29–30, 1973, pages 123–64.
30. Employers' organisations, trades union bodies and regulations on legal status for various areas of social and cultural work have appeared in the Netherlands in recent years, the different areas (for example, social work, youth work, community and club-house work, adult education and training) being increasingly attuned to each other.

In this way, cultural workers are also brought into very close contact with social injustices. While their point of reference is often the more elevated professions, they will also have to substantiate their commitment to under-privileged groups in negotiations about the substance of contracts of employment, wage rates and the like. In this way, they can at the same time also bring a breath of fresh air into an ossified trade-union structure. An example is provided by the French-speaking animateurs in Switzerland at their first congress in April 1974, at which they passed the following resolution:

> "Community development workers no longer recognise the validity of the hierarchy which has been established between trained animateurs and trainee animateurs discharging the same responsibilities, and will endeavour to eliminate the resulting salary differentials. Likewise, animateurs, supporting the efforts of other categories of workers, desire that compensation for increases in the cost of living should in future be calculated in Francs and not as a percentage, and calculated in such a way that everybody receives the same amount".[31]

The question of *salaries* and related matters such as social security (sickness insurance), working hours, leave, pension regulations and so on are a complex of problems still to be solved. Satisfaction with the arrangements is fairly closely tied up with the reference group used. A survey in the Netherlands has shown that cultural workers and community development workers, although they carry heavier financial and administrative responsibilities and work irregular hours, are less well paid than teachers. The arrangements for sickness insurance and pensions (indexed to the cost of living!) are less favourable than in teaching or the civil service. Further, there are considerable differences between workers at local level and those at provincial and regional level, with the result that first-rate staff of all kinds are creamed off to "higher" levels and finish up in consultative posts.[32] In future, the reference point will increasingly have to be the public service sector, since the matter at issue here is a government responsibility (even though the public authorities are not employers in the direct sense).[33] The danger does then arise of a rigid delineation between first-grade, second-grade and third-grade animateurs with special training, special conditions of work and so forth. This danger is certainly not imaginary in France.[34] It stands to reason, moreover, that

31. Report in 24 Heures, Lausanne, 16 April 1974.
32. Blans, J. H.: *Kultureel werkers worden slecht betaald*, Attak, November 1973.
33. Cf. Leirman, W.: op. cit., p. 303–4.
34. The distinctions were already being made at the famous Marly-le-Roi Congress in 1966. See the report by Rio, M.: "Statuts et formation des animateurs", in: *Animation et animateurs*, INEP, Marly-le-Roi 1966, page 115 et seq. The French Statute of 1970 contains a sub-division into five grades of animateur with the appropriate salary scales, training standards, etc.

professional organisations for cultural workers, community development workers and so on should normally be affiliated to trade unions for civil service staff.[35]

The following observations taken from the Dutch "Knelpuntennota" (Report on Critical Areas of Social Policy) would appear to be relevant for other countries too: "In most parts of this sector there is no protection from dismissal, and this is a particularly sore point in a sector in which conflicts between management and employees are generally about the purpose and content of the work. Furthermore, there is no retaining pay scheme, and even where there are arrangements of this kind a grant is not payable. This makes employees doubly dependent upon the management of an institution and on the public authorities. Arrangements along these lines are essential to a sound personnel policy, particularly at a time when increases of scale are continuing to produce mergers and close-downs".[36]

The animation function (with the requirement of "availability") raises special problems in connection with *working hours*, leisure time, etc. Overwork is a regular complaint. It is not feasible to offer general solutions to these problems here. Cultural work will remain a mobile profession hard to measure within the norms of a 40-hour working week. It might be possible to establish the general though vague, principle that the hours worked by, and the supervision of, the cultural worker are primarily a matter between the worker and the group for whom he works and not between the worker and the institution. The project organisation model is applicable here too.

A more important and more serious problem arises in the sphere of secondary working conditions and their *ideological implications*. These problems were referred to at the San Remo Symposium, but they were not explored through the simple device of comparing the requirement of "responsibility towards the communities in his charge and towards the political and social institutions" and "a high degree of independence in his work". In Belgium, protection of ideological and philosophical views is provided by an Act of 16 July 1973. The remarkable thing about this act is that it covers not only institutions but also staff recruitment, appointment and advancement. It is all the more

35. A certain amount of discussion has taken place on this in the Netherlands in recent years, leading to a higher degree of organisation. Government service staff associations are now recognised as being entitled to take part in discussions on employment conditions in the socio-cultural field. Cf. Koppelaar, E.: *"Problemen rond de rechtspositie"* and Hest, F. van: "De helpers geholpen", both in: *Maatschappelijk welzijn*, November 1968. Mulder, J. J.: *De rechtspositie van de beroepskracht*, De Schalm, 1968, No. 3.

36. *Knelpunten-nota. Rapport van de beraadsgroep knelpunten, harmonisatie welzijnsbeleid en welzijnswetgeving*, Den Haag, 1974, p. 25.

surprising, therefore, to see that the draft statute places far-reaching limitations on this by implying a large measure of answerability vis-à-vis management and officials when it says "If his views do not receive approval, he must be prepared to reconsider his attitude or to terminate his contract of employment".[37]

Attention is focused on these problems in a French document entitled "Recrutement et emploi par les collectivités locales de personnel professionnel d'animation socio-éducative".[38] The relevant passage reads: "It must be appreciated that while the animateur is closely associated with the groups with which he works, he is also bound to the community which employs him and to which he is answerable. This ambiguous situation may generate tension and even conflict. This is why we believe the animation function should be emphasised and the contract between the animateur and the community which employs him should contain a kind of 'escape clause' which will enable him to break his contract honourably in the event of serious disagreement in this respect with his employer, and subsequently to apply for another job in keeping with his qualifications.

The limitation on this freedom, of course – this needs to be stressed – is that the animateur must respect the various opinions of the groups with which he works and correctly assess their critical capacities and the receptivity of the social environment.

Consequently, the animateur must observe the strictest neutrality in the exercise of his functions and respect the opinions of the various participants in his groups. The use of his position for political ends must result in termination of the contract between him and his employer."

At first sight, this text does appear to safeguard the animateur's ideological freedom, but the sting is in the tail where "the strictest neutrality" is called for in political matters. Politics (the struggle for power) is apparently dissociated from the ideological struggle (differences of opinion). But this reveals a misunderstanding of the animateur's real function: animation is always a political matter. Political neutrality therefore cannot and may not be demanded, only an approach which guarantees open-mindedness and respect for different political attitudes. Conflicts will thus always be inevitable, and they cannot always be resolved. All that can be done is to try to make them manageable, in the sense that they constitute a positive element in the animation process. The following are necessary or desirable to this end:

37. Cf. the report by Hinnekint, H., op. cit.
38. The full text will be found in: *Documents sur la jeunesse*, No. 3, January-February 1971.

- clear arbitration machinery laid down in a professional code, excluding closed, secret disciplinary proceedings;[39]
- recognition of pluralistic interpretations of the role and function of animation, including in political terms;
- an institutional organisation in which answerability to colleagues invariably takes precedence over answerability to management or authority (project organisation or self-management).[40]

The *form of management* adopted by institutions is also of importance in connection with the legal position. Here lies the principal source of difficulties and conflicts over the discharge of the animateur's functions. The boards of directors of most institutions – whether public bodies or independent foundations – are largely made up of representatives of the established bourgeois culture. Generally speaking, they operate in a hierarchical and entirely autonomous manner and allow no part in the decision, making process to professional or other collaborators or to outside groups. The external activities of animateurs on behalf of deprived groups, aimed at changing the structures of power, will also bring animateurs into frequent conflict with those who wield the power inside the institutional structure. This danger is certainly not lessened where the public authority is itself the employer. Important factors here, in addition to the project organisation model (cf. above) and a different approach to managerial functions, are the following:

– A distinction must be made between the formal inclusion of animateurs in a bureaucratic machine and the material executive powers of decentralised managerial agencies to which the public authorities delegate their responsibility;[41]

– Animateurs and client groups must be strongly and democratically represented on the managerial bodies;

– There must be a change towards a form of self-management of social and cultural institutions, through the intermediary of workers' councils and participants' councils.[42]

39. See also: Moulinier, P.: *Reflections on the training of animateurs*. CCC, Strasbourg 1973 p. 28.

40. Staff loyalty is described as an important requirement by Dibbits, J., Enckevort, G. van, Langeveld, W., and Putt, J. van (see note 24).

41. Cf. *Knelpunten-nota* op. cit., p. 45.

43. Weber, L. P.: "Die Aufgaben der Mitbestimmung an der Volkshochschule", *Hessische Blätter für Volksbildung*, 1971, No. 4. The Yugoslav worker universities operate on the self-management principle.

Status among colleagues: an "open profession"

In a situation where working methods and organisational structures are such that the emphasis comes to lie on the relationship between professional workers (animateurs, cultural workers) and client groups, the crucial question is: who is recognised as an animateur or cultural worker, by whom, when and for how long? What persons constitute the community of cultural workers and are recognised as colleagues? Tied up with these questions are problems of recruitment, career, the right to work and so forth, together with professional solidarity and criticism.

Animation or cultural work (and in our view, other forms of social work too) must, if they are true to their own principles, be an *open profession*.[43] This is at first a negative concept: it rejects a system in which a person is recognised as a colleague simply on the basis of a special training or admission procedure – for example, an election or the signature of specific documents (cf. doctors, social workers, etc.). Stated in a positive way, it means that it is necessary for the development of animation itself that the profession should remain accessible to people with different kinds of training and experience in life. The most important arguments for this openness are as follows:

– Animation is an activity for a specific group. The best animateur comes from groups with which this work has been done and has already proved his ability as an animatuer. (Though this does not mean that all "indigenous leaders" or militants ought to become animateurs in the professional sense.).

– The most essential qualities for animation work are always primarily personal qualities (creativity, flexibility, commitment, balance, "style associatif", humility, willingness, ability to communicate, etc.) which come before knowledge and technical skills.

– The animation function calls for a multiplicity of expertness, skills and abilities from a variety of people. Besides technical and personal qualities, inherent capabilities in various fields of information and science are required.

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43. This requirement is most clearly argued in the expert report: *Functie en toekomst van het vormings – En ontwikkelingswerk met volwassenen in de Nederlandse samenleving*, Amersfoort, 1969, p. 98. C. also Hinnekint, H., op. cit., p. 57. The principle of the open profession is adopted by the Dutch professional organisation in the draft professional code. The Belgian draft statute restricts this openness considerably by recognising, besides a special diploma, only "at least five years thorough experience of socio-cultural work" (five years, and not in other kinds of work!). The French document *Recrutement et emploi* (see note 38) offers a fairly long list of possible diplomas, but is limited to specific kinds of professional training.

– Animation itself is an attempt to obtain equal recognition for the values of different cultures, different forms of education, different skills and so forth, and contrasts with the existing rigid institutionalisation of training and education.

Moreover, the open nature of this profession in no way detracts from the desirability of specific (not exclusive) forms of training.[44] Training is required not only as a means of admission to the profession but even more, precisely because of the openness, as a right and a duty of cultural workers who are already active. Further training in this sense is not compatible with degradation to the status of "trainee" or "assistant animateur". Likewise, differences in training level and the length of training periods must not be allowed to constitute grounds for differences in pay or other conditions of employment for people discharging equivalent tasks. All this would be significantly helped by the drawing up of a list of basic animateur skills. The list given in the Dutch draft professional code could serve as a basis for discussion here. It includes:

"– awareness of one's own function and role in the exercise of the profession and in relation to participants;[45]

– ability to establish a diagnosis, together with participants, of the situation in which they find themselves, as regards both shortcomings and opportunities for cultural expression and as regards personal potential;

– ability to formulate, in relation to participants, practical objectives in keeping with the fundamental aims of cultural work;

– ability to acquire, handle and control the means of achieving these objectives;

– access to means of assessment in order to decide whether working methods are still appropriate to objectives;

– ability to make an independent contribution to organisation and management processes."

Besides the change in the function and value of training and diplomas, the open profession also involves a reappraisal of the place of volunteers. They are no longer to be regarded as the "precursors" of professionals in a past age or as professionals' "helpers" or

44. For a discussion of training problems, see the report by Hurstel, J.: *The training of animateurs*, CCC, Strasbourg, 1974.

45. Not forgetting the requirement that objectives and methods should be amenable to explanation in the language of the participants.

"assistants". In an open profession, it is acknowledged that volunteers can be just as expert as professionals. Because they have a different status, they have different opportunities for animation. As militants, they are indispensable to the animation process, particularly in initiating it and because they are not impeded by conflicts of loyalty.[46]

Indeed, the danger of an open profession lies in too rapid and too easy a progression from the status of so-called "para-professional" or "indigenous non-professional" (militant) to the status of professional. It is true that they constitute an initial source of recruitment for professional animateurs, but they also fulfil an essential function of their own. The para-professional serves two purposes which can rapidly enter into conflict with each other, viz:

- The opening up of channels for upward mobility for those unable to follow traditional training courses, and
- Improvements in the offer and quality of services by making use of leaders who emerge from the group and act as a bridge between institution and client group (the nucleus of the animation function.)

A number of American analyses and investigations[47] point to the risk of "professional contamination", meaning that the "indigenous leader" loses his bridging function where upward mobility is taken seriously. G. S. Berman and M. R. Haug conclude that a large measure of marginality on the part of para-professionals causes them to lose their true function and over-orientates them towards the professionals. They consequently argue in favour of separate organisations (unions, coalitions, community groups) of para-professionals able to preserve their own identity, from which their own special requirements can be formulated. They conclude: "An alternative career ladder could evolve, one tied to the community rather than to the conventional professional model. In other words, instead of becoming a trained professional with the traditional credentials, the indigenous para-professional worker could become a leader whose power was derived from a following of clients, rather than from professional authority or intitutional commitments."

The other side of the "open profession" coin is the problem of *transition to other professions*. Animation and cultural work are not

46. See also: Meister, A., op. cit., note 29. Reference can also be made to this article for a discussion of the status of volunteers, which is not dealt with in depth here. Another important article is the one by Meister, A.: *Participation, animation et développement*, Paris, 1969.

47. Grosser, C.: *Non-professionals in the human services*, San Francisco, 1969; Gartners, A.: *Para-professionals and their performance*, New York, 1917; Clark, K., Hopkins, J.: *A relevant war against poverty*, New York, 1968; Berman, G. S. and Haug, M. R.: "New Careers: bridges or ladders?", in: *Social work*, July 1973, pp. 48–58.

generally lifelong occupations or careers. Many studies point to the rapid turnover of personnel. To some extent this can be attributed to bad or unclear conditions of employment, but it is also an inherent characteristic, mainly bound up with the qualities needed to go on doing this kind of work. The French document on *Recrutement et emploi* says:

"Experience has shown that it would be desirable to recruit animateurs with the possibility of taking up a different occupation later. Since animation work cannot normally be done by one official throughout a full career, it is important that the animateur should be able easily to convert to another occupation if necessary."

Besides being an additional argument for the idea of an open profession, this remark also prompts a number of recommendations, viz:

– The right of cultural workers to educational leave should be an integral part of their statute or of the regulations governing their legal position, and should not be confined to education and additional training for cultural work but must be amenable to very flexible application in order to facilitate the transition to another occupation.

– Cultural and educational work comprises a multiplicity of different kinds of activity, and differs in practical application from one group to another, but the central animation function is the common feature. A common statute is both possible and desirable. This would also make it easier to transfer to functions for other groups in different kinds of activity (e.g. to older age groups, or from an activity aimed at direct action to another activity aimed at reflection and preparation for action.)

– Training and instruction courses in this sector must always be designed to develop professionals skills, and not be orientated exclusively towards the development of technical skills for a specific task.

– Advocating openness in this profession means that more openness will also be required in other professions.[48] This applies particularly to professions in the welfare field – primary and secondary education, social work, mental health care.

One final aspect of this model of an open profession is the need for a strong professional organisation. It has already been advocated in connection with the legal situation. It can also be defended on the

48. Cf. Hinnekint, H.: op. cit., p. 58.

grounds that mutual support is needed in building up a profession that is necessary to a society which, through its fragmented culture, systematically thwarts certain groups in their efforts to achieve full participation (systematic repression makes systematic counteraction necessary). This question of professional organisation is highlighted here because an open profession can lead, by virtue of its mobile character, to an uncommitted, amateur approach, however enthusiastic. Hence the validity of what S. Alinsky, the "professional radical" has to say: "If you want drama, get a movement; if you want results, get an organisation".[49]

Thus a professional organisation must not be designed solely to establish and safeguard legal position and status. It also has the function of making continuous mutual support and criticism possible. In this work, "one-man bands" should really be avoided; they do however exist and are inevitable at this stage of development. A professional organisation offers opportunities for "intervision", an alternative for "supervision" during training periods, to be understood as a process of learning among colleagues during which the partners are, everyone in his turn, intervisor and facilitator. This is a necessity but also a right.[50] By fulfilling these functions, a professional organisation is essential to effective cultural work and, like the work itself, deserves the financial support of the authorities.

Professionalisation: recognition by society

The process of professionalisation in socio-cultural work has already been described implicitly, in the foregoing, as a positive development. However, the above account is based on a minimum definition of professionalisation, as a process in which activities previously carried out by volunteers or part-time workers, for a wide range of reasons and in addition to their usual work, come to be the principal activity of paid full-time workers appointed for the purpose. This development is judged to be a positive one because through it the community discharges an essential responsibility.

However, the concept of professionalisation is used in a more qualitative sense, to mean a process by which the carrying-out of professional activities becomes the more or less exclusive privilege of people socialised for that purpose. This socialisation comes about by a number of mechanisms, including:

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49. Sanders, M. K.: *The professional radical. Conversation with Saul Alinsky*, New York, 1970.
50. "Intervision" is a term much used in recent times in the Netherlands as a variant on "supervision", that is as a form of learning through practical experience and reflection about it, in a relationship among colleagues (instead of the expert/pupil relationship of conventional supervision).

– the constitution of a fairly closely defined and relatively comprehensive body of theoretical knowledge, experience and skills;

– the establishment of specific forms of training through which the necessary knowledge and skills are imparted;

– the constitution of a professional organisation which crystallises feelings of solidarity and accepts joint responsibility for the proper exercise of the profession;

– the development of a clearly defined approach and a professional ethic expressed, inter alia, in a formalised professional code;

– recognition of these elements by society as being of general interest, possibly followed by legal protection and sanctions.[51]

These criteria are only very imperfectly satisfied in respect of cultural work or certain parts of it. As a result, animation is sometimes spoken of as an incomplete profession, implying the suggestion or hope that it will continue to develop.[52] Other people use the term "semi-professional" to describe occupations which are unable to achieve full-scale, separate institutional status and in which training and professional knowledge are less self-contained.[53]

The concept of semi-profession or quasi-profession in itself reveals the resistance to professionalisation which exists in many quarters. Professionalisation is seen as a characteristic of a society with a rigid division of labour designed to safeguard positions of power. Others fear that professionalisation may reduce ethical issues to technical questions. In social work particularly, though also in some areas of cultural work, a powerful move towards deprofessionalisation is at present perceptible. In an illuminating article, H. Specht analyses four ideological tendencies in this movement:

- *activism:* the striving towards a more relevant and politically committed professional practice which the emphasis on technique threatens to eliminate;
- *anti-individualism:* emphasis on group work as opposed to isolated, individual responsibilities and options;

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51. For these elements of professionalisation, see especially the collection of articles by Vollmer, H. M. and Mills, D. L.: *Professionalisation*, Englewood Cliffs, 1966. The term "professionalisation" is used in the more limited and neutral sense of the activities of professional people in the German publication by Schulenberg, W. et al.: *Zur Professionalisierung der Erwachsenenbildung*, Brunswick, 1972.

52. Cf. Haas, G. C. de: *Onvoltooid Beroep*, Bilthoven, 1971. Also Hawley, J. B.: "The professional status of community development in the United States", in *Community Development Journal*, vol. 4, 1969, No. 3, pp. 124–32.

53. Etzioni, A.: *The semi-professions and their organisation*, New York, 1969.

- *communalism:* the idea that changes can be brought about only by communities of people, not by professionals set apart from other people;
- *environmental determinism:* all problems are reduced to malfunctioning of the "system", "structures" or "power elite".[54]

Specht's analysis leads him to the conclusion that, despite the validity of this approach, these views are too one-sided and often naive and need not be taken as an argument for deprofessionalisation.

The call for deprofessionalisation strikes me as illusory or utopian in character, certainly when it comes from professionals trying to repudiate their own situation. Rather, it should be seen as a symptom of the problems arising in this profession. They centre primarily on one of the most important facets of professionalisation, namely the attempt to achieve a privileged position, self-regulation and the legitimation by the community of a position of strength.[55] Over-emphasis on these facets leads to a situtation in which professional activities are controlled exclusively by other members of the profession, as they are for example in medicine and law. Expressed in a very negative way, this means the pursuit of one's own interests under the guise of fine words with high symbolic value. In these circumstances, professionalisation can indeed result in the consolidation of inequalities, to hierarchical relationships in the process of assistance, and in a curb on the development and implementation of new ideas about the exercise of the profession. Professionalisation does however contain another essential element, namely the conviction that knowledge and skills must be placed at the service of certain values and that independence may be demanded vis-à-vis persons and agencies that would like to see these skills applied for purposes not in keeping with those values.[56]

Various critics of professionalisation put this central element forward when they invoke professional autonomy in conflicts with the authorities or boards of directors. A professional watchdog to ensure that these values are being respected is particularly necessary when the work situation involves individual, isolated activity. The animateur's expertise gives him constant ascendency in his dealing

54. Specht, H.: "The deprofessionalisation of social work", in: *Social Work*, March, 1972. An approach seen from the client's standpoint in which the deprofessionalisation tendency is assessed more positively will be found in Haug, M. R. and Sussman, M.: "Professionale autonomie en de opstand van de client", translation of an article in *Social Problems*, 1969, No. 2 and reproduced in *Hulpverlenen en veranderen, handboek voor psychisch gezondheids- en welzijnswerk*.

55. *These aspects are especially highlighted in the more recent sociological theories about professions, e.g. Johnson, T. J.: Professions and power*, London, 1972 and Mok, A. L.: *Beroepen in actie*, Meppel, 1973.

56. Jens, L. F.: "Professionalisering", *Maandblad van de Ned. Vereniging van Maatschappelijk Werkers, May, 1974.*

with clients. Consequently, the clients' claim to a greater say is frequently an illusion, because what happens in the great majority of cases is that the basis of the individual professional's power is strengthened, to the extent that is frees him from his colleagues' occasionally inhibiting supervision of his acts and omissions.[57]

No deprofessionalisation, then; but what are we to have instead? Strict, complete professionalisation with the emphasis on strengthening the basis of power is impossible if the concept of the open profession is maintained, for this means that the process of professionalisation is never brought to an end. The terms *contra-professionalisation* or *anti-professionalisation* could be used in this connection, in the sense of a professionalisation developing from critical institutional analysis and leading to counter-forces opposing established positions of power.[58] A number of new trends in thinking about professionalisation can be summed up in this concept, which needs elaborating in greater detail.

Despecialisation

This means a broadening of the field in which professional group formation takes place, or countering developments towards distinct professions of animateur, adult educator, youth worker, community worker and so on. The role of the professional will have to be seen in the broadest possible terms, i.e. (in future) as a welfare worker rather than as a cultural worker. Within this profession there are specific skills and tasks attaching to specific officials, but the function is not raised to the status of a specific profession with assured autonomy. The result is also less ghetto formation and a lesser distance from the client's skills and powers of judgement.

Segmentation of the professional community

This entails abandoning in the pattern in which a universal consensus about the profession's values is postulated or pursued. The profession of cultural worker or welfare worker is characterised much more by internal conflicts and mutual competition and by disagreement about values and standards. The common ground is the conviction that it is important for people with a particular professional position to

57. Roessingh: K. H.: "Professionalisering en beroepsethiek", in: Van Gent B. and Have, T. T. ten: *Andragologie*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1972.

58. The term is used in an analogous sense to anti-analysis, anti-psychiatry, anti-pedagogy, etc., as employed in the "mouvement institutionnaliste" of Guattari, Lapassade, Loureau et al. For a general survey and introduction, see "L'Analyse institutionnelle et la formation permanente", in: *Pour*, Nos. 32 and 33, 1973. Of special relevance to the training and status of animateurs is Sargeot C. and Scherer, F.: "Pour une analyse institutionnelle du CAPASE", in: *Pour*, No. 33, pp. 37–42.

continue talking to each other about the values and standards attributed to that profession. The professional organisation recognises segments, in other words groups of professionals who share an organised identity and philosophical or political frame of reference with each other. The segmentation can also arise through differences in the frequency and basis of contacts with clients, differences in training and differences in legal position. The more dominant segments remain under constant pressure, so that the mobile character remains.[59]

Involvement of para-professionals

In a segment model, para-professionals can act as one of the segments. They are then no longer a market from which to recruit "indigenous leaders" who will take over the standards of the professionals by co-option. They can construct their own organisational frameworks from which they will put pressure on the middle-class professionals.[60]

A flexible professional code

The professional code, which is after all necessary for several reasons (among them, to get society's recognition for the requirement of minimum professional autonomy and self-supervision) consists mainly, in this connection, of provisions which lay down those issues about which continuous discussion is necessary. Its basis is the attempt to codify those rights and obligations of the cultural worker which safeguard the client's interests. Its flexibility can be promoted, not only by segmentation of the relevant professional organisation, but also by explicitly prescribing procedures for the public settlement of conflicts, recognising initial contradictions in the worker-client process, and determining aspects of the open profession.

Formalised codes, professional organisations and the like were once described by G. B. Shaw as "a huge conspiracy of silence against the public". We shall have to take the drawbacks and dangers of alienation seriously, but at the same time we cannot and may not deny that they exist. The point must be to place them at the service of animation in such a way that the guarantee of professional autonomy and recognition by society remains intact. It is one of the professional organisation's important tasks to make all those concerned aware of the alienating effect.

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59. Cf. Mok, A. L., op. cit.
60. Cf. Haug, M. R. and Sussman, M.: op. cit. (note 54) and Berman G. S. and Haug, M. R., (note 47).

Conclusion

Although considerably longer than foreseen, in the present report a great many issues have still not been touched upon. Besides such questions as age requirements and the right to a proper working environment, there are other complicated problems such as the status of temporary project workers, the position of spare-time workers, the status of officials given leave to do cultural work, the political and social militancy of welfare workers, etc.

My purpose has been to present a text which may serve as a starting-point for a more systematic consideration of the problems of status and as a check-list of points which, in my opinion, must be raised in any discussion of formal status and statutes.

Because relatively little preliminary work has been done, many of the opinions put forward in this paper may appear premature. However, at this stage in the development both of theory and of practice, I should like to claim one of the most fundamental rights of the animateur, namely the right to fail, to make mistakes and to change his mind.

The training of animateurs

by J. HURSTEL,
animateur, Montbéliard.

I speak here on the basis of four years' daily practice in an industrial town in eastern France. For my part, I wish that all who "talk" about animation or "socio-cultural community development" would say precisely whence their theories and their experience derive. This seems to me part of the very logic of animation, and what I have to say as an "animateur" is personal and partisan. I am neither a cultural sociologist nor a cultural administrator, but what is called by a curious ellipsis – at least in France – a cultural "animateur".

First definition of the function

Without dwelling on the fluid and multiform concepts of animation and culture at this point, it would be useful to circumscribe the function of the animateur in terms of his daily practice.

Perhaps the exact meaning of "animateur" needs to be defined.

Above all, I am a man of the theatre who practises his profession not in terms of theatrical production, but in relation to a specific group of people – sometimes a district and sometimes a neighbourhood community. My work consists of going from door to door, establishing relations with inhabitants and groups seeking out the unique identity of each area and differentiating between them, seeing how a family of North African working class people differs culturally from a group of teenagers or an old couple. And this is only an introduction to other roles that come about through artistic involvement. These groups express themselves, they create objects, films and plays. I then act as an artistic adviser, helping to shape ideas and words, channelling them into effective forms and finding suitable languages for them.

Finally, I am an organiser of festivals and community events, the fruits of the combined efforts of a community (e.g. carnivals, midsummer eve bonfires).

In what way am I an animateur? I am only an animateur because I practise my profession otherwise than is traditional for a man of the theatre. Here I join other animateurs in the social or educational fields. They all share this desire to play their assigned social role in a different way.

This refusal is not just a matter of challenging the practical methods or obligations of an occupation (bowing to the timetable and the hierarchy); it also involves a more far reaching rejection of the system of which that occupation is a part.

Thus, if I go from door to door in a district of Montbéliard, it is because I reject a cultural system which reduces the artist to a mere producer of objects or performances which are sold to cultural consumers (the public) according to the rules of the market.

Perhaps the same applies to "other animateurs" who object to the system at work in schools, administration or social service. This rejection takes the form of new functions and different practices, but the profession remains the same.

It is a many faceted rejection. Every occupation, position or institution carries within it the possibility of a split giving birth to an animateur. I must stress this idea of splitting because it is inherent in the function of the animateur: the birth of any animateur is painful, and it is hard to cut oneself off from the security of a career marked out from entrance diploma to retirement pension.

While this rejection is necessary, it is not enough. The function of animation in fact entails a final goal, a field of research, and methods. I emphasise this going from door to door in a large town because it represents one of the main currents of animation, flowing from the base upwards, and because encouraging people to meet and express themselves means putting the concept of cultural democracy into action; at least it is a modest attempt to do so.

Farm workers and a section of the middle class are the best target publics for community development. I mean *class* and not under-privileged section of the population, nor do I refer to "catching up". (Catching up with what?)

The methods for attaining this goal should fulfil the technical conditions for expression and the dissemination of information; group techniques, of course, not as a final goal but as a means of attaining the objectives set by people themselves; but also all other practical means and manual or intellectual techniques, whether existing or yet to be

invented. For while the theory of community development is progressing by leaps and bounds, practice is often left behind, and not without reason.

To talk about the training of animateurs is to raise the question of their function. This function cannot be limited to a single occupation. It is formed by a break with former, ossified functions and unsuitable professional structures; it introduces new practices, new methods marked by their concern for democracy, for inter-personal relationships for popular expression. Stated very succinctly, the animateur is a creator of exchanges, forms and contradictions.

Second definition of the function

The animateur as a force for social change

In defining the animateur's function, one cannot rely solely on methods, a particular field of action, or transformation of traditional occupations without rapidly reducing this function to mere technique and animation to technocracy.

More than a policeman or teacher, the animateur has to define his identity, his reason for being. This search seems to me to be part of his function. What is his purpose in encouraging self-expression and promoting contact between individuals and groups? If the answer is "to attempt to establish cultural democracy", one must immediately add "which exists nowhere yet" and conclude that community development is not just a methodology, and still less a technology, but a means of social change.

If I use this approach here in this industrial town in spite of considerable difficulties, it is because it strikes me as more efficient than another earlier concept, that of "cultural democratisation", which after twenty-five years has ended in complete failure. I am not just talking about working class theatre audiences, but about the approach to all social or cultural action.

Moreover, in a town with 35 000 factory hands working in shifts, the first of which starts at 4 a.m., even the most attractive concepts cannot challenge established patterns.

Community development as a method of social change clashes first of all with the economic order. I am not going to describe soul destroying forms of work or the process by which "men are transformed into goods". I will talk only about the difficulties of

generating creativity and self-expression in people who have just finished eight hours' repetitive, boring, demeaning work on a production line.

How can one develop relationships among people and between groups, or develop self-expression, when these people are subject to a strict company hierarchy? The man with something to say is the man who wields the power. And what he has to say makes its way down to the lowest employee, who is there to do as he is told. To favour self-expression and inter-personal relationships is to upset the social structure and the pattern of relationships which obtain inside the firm.

The worker does not control his environment any more than he does his working time. He finds himself deposited in a district he has not chosen, in a building constructed without reference to him. How can he be made to understand that he can act and influence his surroundings?

Finally, the development of consumption, or rather the purchase of objects, corresponds to the sale of the labour force. They are the two sides of the same phenomenon.

To this man, this piece of merchandise to be bought and sold, this fragmented man dispossessed of his speech, his time and his space, community development proposes the opposite in every point.

Either community development is only an illusion, or it sets out effectively to fight this economic order that demeans, dispossesses and alienates. It strives to give man control again over his life, his time, his space and his work.

Against the social order and the reigning bureaucracy which tries to enclose all relationships within the rigid framework of rules and hierarchies, community development pits creativity and democratic decisions taken at the grass roots.

Against advertising, which tries to enclose people in an antiseptic world of lawn-mowers and hi-fi equipment, it pits consumer action.

Against television which acts to iron out geographic, social and political differences, it sets community television and experiments in video-animation, information and self-expression for a whole range of social groups.

Cultural democracy is in total contradiction with the economic, social and cultural order. Community development is the expression of this contradiction; it is contradiction in action. This must be said clearly, because too devious an approach may strip cultural democracy of its

force and animation of its justification. An animateur, at least one who is engaged in a process of cultural democracy, is not a "human relations technician", but above all a militant of social change.

To conclude this brief survey of the community development function, I shall return to the animateur as a person, but less to what he should be ideally than to what underlies his work – what animates the animateur, so to speak. In an orderly, dogmatic and unchanging society, he asks a question and voices a desire. But this desire poses a problem. How can one animate, create a desire for change, share the joy of self-expression and relationships with others if that desire is lacking in oneself, if one is content to reproduce a technique or an institutional mechanism?

Herein lies the complexity of training for animateurs. It is not enough to establish a centre for institutionalised technical and theoretical training: a training place for cultural democracy must be created in keeping with the spirit of animation. Here, starting with the desire to question and to act, people capable of tolerating contradictions, militants of social change, creative minds, are educated.

Training (persistence of outdated methods)

This long preamble is necessary because it lays the foundation for my views on the training of animateurs. Without a definition of the function, ideas about training can only be misguided. In the following pages I shall question the two main types of animateur training which prevail at present: schools; practical training and credits.

I shall of course draw heavily on the French example and its European variants.

Schools

Training in schools, university institutes of technology and training centres is examined below from the standpoints of the system, the institution, the programme, its objectives and its effectiveness.

The training system

The system is oriented round an entrance examination and a leaving certificate. The objective of the system is not the training itself but the acquisition of a diploma and a professional position.

The system is based on one conception of community development and its function, a position implicit in the programme and the teachers'

lectures. Thus each school has a tendency to train its "own" animateurs according to its own conception. As a result, certain qualifications are developed which do not necessarily correspond to what will be required later.

The system quite naturally breeds distortions between the instruction received and the professional function. Training institutions endeavour to reduce this distortion by two methods, generalisation and limitation. The institute gives either very general training that does not correspond to any precise function, or a very precise and limited training that may not correspond to the requirements of the labour market. In both cases, the student arriving on the scene must train himself to deal with a concrete situation.

Lastly, the system maintains social and age bracket segregation.

Recruiting is usually done at the end of secondary education, and the schools' intake is therefore a broad reflection of the range of pupils finishing this period of education. Middle and upper income classes are represented, but there are very few children of manual workers or farmers. Segregation is reinforced by the fact that the animateur diploma is not a highly prized socially as for example, a doctorate in medicine. Entrants to these schools are often people who have failed in other fields (e.g. university, teaching).

The entrance system conditions the average age of students entering the schools, which is the same as that of university entrants.

Thus the end result is to increase social segregation, despite the animateur's claim to be concerned primarily with those social classes which are not represented in the schools.

Young people, with no social experience other than that acquired at school, are trained as animateurs, and then expected as soon as they leave to direct and inspire groups of workers and old people.

People are trained who have no occupational skills and none of the authority conferred by a traditionally recognised profession (e.g. medicine, teaching), and are then required to assert themselves in a given district, working with associations and local authorities.

The institution

The animateur training institution is based on the academic model – even if, and indeed especially if, that model is challenged in the name of "non-directive methods".

The theory of animation is reduced to a knowledge of various subjects, like school education, and the manner of teaching it remains academic. It is not a question of good or bad teaching but of the inherent logic of the training institution.

First of all, this logic determines the fundamental precepts on which the teaching relationships will be based: the teachers and the taught, those who know and those who must learn. For anyone who knows the relative nature of all theory in this field, the situation is perplexing. This logic rarely leads to co-ordination between theoretical and practical teaching for the simple reason that the theoreticians are often university people and the practitioners professionals.

This institution establishes a hierarchy of power which goes from the student to the teacher (on the business pattern). Any attempt to upset this order from within is doomed to failure because the school is part of an institutional fabric and a social order that does not change.

The point at issue is the frame of reference for cultural democracy. How can this institution be the best place to learn how to form relationships, and develop creativity and imagination? The tentative, rough and ready answer is that the animateur training institution is a place where all "animation", in the sense of change or creativity, is excluded, unless one regards the institution as a necessary initiation to contact with other institutions in professional life.

The programme

(according to a CERD (European Research and Development Committee) enquiry on the training of animateurs)

Besides the practical training periods, instruction is in two parts – theoretical and technical.

The theoretical instruction is primarily an introduction to the social sciences. Over two or three years the student touches briefly on psychology, sociology, social psychology, and political economy. Unable to deal with any of these fields in depth, he struggles to achieve a synthesis, to assemble these scattered scraps into a coherent body of knowledge – an effort doomed to failure, for nowhere does this theoretical synthesis yet exist.

The result of all these efforts is more an ideological treatise than a corpus of practical theory, more a lexicon of erudite terms than a tool for analysing concrete reality.

Technical instruction encounters the same difficulties. Techniques of expression and group techniques clearly reveal what the purpose is here: to consider self-expression or interpersonal relations as a technique, without reference to the ultimate objective, leads to manipulation of groups and persons. Moreover, an introduction to various techniques does not constitute real vocational training. As in the introduction to theory, the students swallow a few bits of information about conducting meetings, corporal expression, theatre and photography; and they think they have a basis for practical work not only for themselves, which would itself be an illusion, but for communication to others which is either ridiculous or scandalous as the case may be. What it wrong with these training programmes is the fact that theory and practice are diminished and diverted from their real objectives. They neither teach true theory nor train people for the job to be done. Falling between two stools, what they do is produce the office boys of the social sciences.

Objectives

Limited by time (two years), institutions and programmes, the school sets its own objectives and judges people according to internal criteria – its own teaching, its own ethics. In doing so, it forgets both the outside world and its effect upon that world. It overlooks the question of animation's ultimate objective, and this oversight betrays its whole conception of the animateur's function.

When the animateur is trained, he is not taught how to do a job, how to campaign or how to change society; he is taught techniques whose underlying purpose is not considered. Animation itself is regarded as a vast technology, and the animateur as a technocrat. Thus animation is opened up to the fruitful market of multiple intervention in any field whatever – commercial, academic, tourism or social. The whole social field is thus thrown open to the animateur, to the "social relations technician", as an area for the mystification of speech and the manipulation of groups and individuals. It will soon be possible to describe them as the faithful watchdogs of order and dogma, and to say that animation, or community development work, comprises two conceptions, one centered on change and the other on perpetual motionlessness.

The danger of technocratic training is less serious than it appears. Once in the field and faced with reality, the animateur will be forced to learn a skill, to learn to observe and analyse the world around him. In general, it is at this point that his real training begins.

Practical training and credits

An attempt has been made to answer these criticisms by adapting the system and trying to make it more outward looking. Periods of in-service training, in conjunction with a units/credits system, mark a definite step forward.

Practical training periods. These remain the most common form of functional adaptation. The value attached to practical training periods is a good indicator of an institution's educational intentions. I will deal first with training periods that complement technical and theoretical instruction.

Place. Training periods very often take place within an institution. The trainee thus faces the same problems that he encountered in the teaching establishment. The opportunity for broadening horizons is limited.

Time is also limited. In a few months one can at best understand the way an occupation operates and the conditions in which it is pursued. One cannot come to grips with the practical aspect.

Nature. Here, perhaps, lies the major obstacle: the trainee is not in a position really to do a job or practice an occupation – he comes for a limited time and plays at exercising an occupation without the responsibility of a long-term commitment. By definition, a training period is a "dummy run" somewhere between school and work – a no man's land where one finds things out and acts a part.

Relations with the school. It is a real problem to co-ordinate teaching and practical training. Any training period inevitably raises problems that the school does not necessarily solve when its programme is fixed in advance. Either that, or the training period is a mere illustration of the theoretical course and teaches nothing new.

In-service training

In-service training might solve the problems of age and segregation, provided there is no selection process upon entry to an occupation. Nevertheless, it raises the problem of adapting experience and instruction to reality, especially if the award of a diploma reduces this experience to an undervalued first step. In-service training is very often considered inferior to the straightforward school qualification, being regarded as remedial rather than as genuine training.

System of credits (base or capase)[1]

This system offers some advantages: choice of training time, and training through personal experience and opportunities without an over rigid training institution or initial segregation. But besides the fact that this training does not prepare the trainee for a job, it has the disadvantage of being fragmentary. The individual himself has to piece together the various technical group and administrating training periods, and success in this is not self-evident. The system of training periods may not enable him to assimilate and synthesise these elements. And here again, a series of training periods does not prepare an individual for a job. It gives rapid survey of the ingredients which ideally go to make up an animateur's stock of knowledge, but no guarantee that these ingredients will be integrated into practical form.

In-service training and a system of credits corresponding to training periods constitute considerable progress in the training of animateurs. But one has the impression that training will not manage to free itself of its scholastic origins and that even while becoming more liberal it is trying to maintain the system. Two basic elements never change: the diploma is the end product of every teaching process and practice almost always remains a mere semblance of the real activity of animation. The training system has also kept the basic, sacred principles of the school system: secularity and universality. Animation is never defined as a limited partisan project, conflicting with a social group, but always as a universal technique, isolated from social strife.

I have tried in the following propositions, not to propose a new system, but to uncover the hidden questions. If I do it so clearly, it is because I am speaking from practice and experience.

Proposal No. 1

Training should no longer be separate from action

The separation between action and training in animation is an artificial one. It exists only because animateur training institutions take as their model the school context from which they are derived. Animation is a new and different kind of teaching fundamentally unlike the school model substituting its own design. The training of the participants is one of animation's fundamental objectives. It is therefore pointless to superimpose school training on training for animation. Pointless and dangerous. The training of animateurs should

1. Approximate translation: BASE = Socio-Educational Diploma (Youth and Sports); CAPASE = Certificate in the Promotion of Socio-Educational Activities and Exercise oi Socio-Educational Professions (Youth and Sports).

follow animation's own model, which is closer to the scientific than to the school model operating through questions and not through answers transformed into knowledge or teaching material. This question is the equivalent of a working assumption, a plan of action. Put into practice, it corresponds to an assessment and a further question. From one question to another the training develops. It is an infinite and perpetual movement, that which gives life to any experiments in animation.

Proposal No. 2

Training is not limited in time, it is permanent

The necessary training time should be modulated according to the natural rhythm of action, and to personal and group needs. Action – reflection and assessment – plan – action determine natural intervals of training. The unpaid animateur participates in this training as does the professional. There is no fundamental difference between them, only a difference in the time devoted to activity and training. This training can take place at any time in life, not only during adolescence.

Proposal No. 3

The place for training is in a working team

Collective training replaces individual training and relationships with the persons who make up the work team replace the student teachers relationship. It is best if these persons have different occupations, experiences and origins. This team is not informal; it establishes its objectives clearly, methods and strategy. At each step it clarifies its relationships vis-à-vis those with whom it has to deal (municipality, state, etc.). This team does not disguise the problem of authority one person is responsible for the continuance of the group project. The team is a place where notes are compared, achievements discussed and progress made together towards a set goal.

Proposal No. 4

Training is not to be confused with action

In order for the training to be effective: In addition to the other individuals in the team, an instructor accompanies each trainee, not to "help" or "advise" but to enable the trainee to find his true role, to get the right perspective, to formulate questions and hypotheses, to develop. The instructor devotes a great deal of time to these meetings.

Training scheme and plan of action: a training programme is designed on the basis of action evaluations deficiencies felt. The

resultant training schema covers a set period of time, with predetermined objectives and limitations. It may include contacts with outside individuals, visits, or simply a time for personal reflection. The important thing is that the scheme should correspond to personal research and training requirements.

Specialist training: animateurs oriented more towards management or instruction, or those more specialised in the audio-visual field, gradually develop and prove themselves in practice.

Proposal No. 5

Abolition of the animateur diploma awarded on completion of training

The diploma, that sacred cow of modern society, underlies the whole academic system for training animatuers ("I award a diploma, therefore I am").

But some professionals turn this to account ("I have a diploma, therefore I am an animateur"). This kind of horse trading ought to be stopped.

The team instructor could also serve as a type of ferryman by assisting the trainee to pass from one training stage to another. The transition is by no means a formality. It links personal desire and the necessary experience and is made by common agreement. More than a diploma, it marks recognition. A series of practical trials in the field plus time spent in various teams could make up the curriculum of each animateur. If an even more formal structure is desired, credits might be given for completed training projects. Dropping the diploma, as such, requires only one thing: Rewarding the person for his function, not his diploma. For my part, I have never hired an animateur on the strength of his diploma but always on the basis of his previous experience.

Proposal No. 6

The teams are not isolated: they exchange information and above all trainees

What is accepted in the field of science or art should be accepted in the training of animateurs namely, moving from one team to another according to training requirements. As these teams have different objectives and methods, time spent with them should enable a person to complete his training. The time spent with the team – and not just a visit but a work period – would be decided by common agreement.

These exchanges should not take place solely within a country, but at a European level at least. The Council of Europe should study ways of encouraging these exchanges.

Proposal No. 7

The openings

The traditional system conditions/trains an animateur and then attempts to place him on the labour market. It seems obvious to me, therefore, why there should be such a difference between the number of jobs available and the number of animateurs trained, not to mention the disparity between training received and the qualifications required for these jobs.

The above proposals should make it possible to harmonise training and the distribution of animateurs into volunteer, paid and honorary positions.

First of all, this training is no longer simply vocational: to varying degree, it trains all participants – and particularly volunteers in animation.

Achievement of the objectives of animation means that the persons trained can take over the work.

Not all volunteer animateurs need abandon their previous occupations to devote themselves to animation. Through a process of progressive selection there would be fewer paid animateurs than volunteers, and it should be possible to co-ordinate the various categories.

The title of professional animateurs then corresponds to a real qualification, the animateur having exercised this function in the course of training and training no longer being separate from practical work.

Proposal No. 8

The job itself

Animation is not an occupation in its own right, but a new "different" function of various occupations. Training may take two forms:

– it may either be progressive training for an occupation (by which I mean detailed knowledge and lengthy practice of techniques), starting

with basic principles, consolidated through team-work, and completed by periods spent in outside teams;

– or it may be training already acquired through more traditional channels (schools, universities, etc.).

In both cases these proposals remain valid. A museum curator, for example, could train himself for animation by joining a project team, just as an animateur coming from basic instruction could train himself in a museum. The acceptance of a two-way system of exchange is all that is required.

Implementation of these proposals would entail:

– administrative requirements:

creation in each country of an organisation responsible for liaison between teams, co-ordination of training activities and dissemination of information. This organisation should also dismantle the training monopolies (university, various ministries) and organise national or international meetings among teams. In the longer term, it should encourage the development of on-the-job training;

– financial requirements:

each team would have a budget for the training of volunteers and paid animateurs. This budget should be large enough to enable leading scientific and artistic figures from outside to be invited. Some large institutions already have such a budget for the purposes of permanent education. Other smaller teams should receive a subsidy when they provide training facilities in their own sector;

– exchanges:

if exchanges cannot be made on a reciprocal basis, the animateur being trained should be paid from a national training or retraining fund. This is already possible to some extent in France. The Council of Europe would simply have to extend the system of practical training to a European scale.

These eight proposals do not claim to define a new training system. They are a basis for discussion, allowing for contradiction, openness, imagination and creativity. They do claim to lay the foundations for a more open approach, for a calculated risk which brings us as close as possible to the animateur's real purpose of dynamism which outstrips order, dogma and bureaucracy. Training of animateurs in accordance with this very fragile liberation movement called *animation*.

Summing-up lecture

by M. HICTER, Director General,
Ministère de la Culture française, Brussels.

The conditions

Our most difficult problem during the symposium discussions has been that we formed so heterogenous a group. Those taking part included civil servants, representatives of voluntary organisations and animateurs with different levels of experience and qualification. And even among the civil servants, some tackled the problems from the point of view of the work of ministries in general, others from the point of view of their own particular ministry; at the same time, some came from the cultural department, others from youth departments, others again from adult education or the ministries of justice or of welfare.

Then, too, there is the difference between our political situations and levels of development. The twenty or twenty-one countries that are either members of the Council of Europe or have signed the European Cultural Convention face problems arising at different levels and in different political contexts. And lastly, there was the irritating and ever-present matter of language and vocabulary.

Those who are used to international work know how long it takes to learn what a word that looks the same really means in another language. And it is especially dangerous between French and English to the extent that their abstract words look the same and yet sometimes have not just different connotations but directly opposite meanings. Thus English uses a single word to cover what is meant by both "instruction" and "éducation" in French.

Another example is the word culture, which was used so often: when one says "culture", some people think of the cultural heritage, and all that has been acquired in terms of culture; others think of a kind of creativity; others again, in the tradition of the Germanic languages, tend rather to think of a concept of civilisation; and our British colleagues know that the word culture often has snobbish overtones in

English which create a barrier to serious discussion. Another example, which I shall return to in the course of the discussion, is the problem we ran into in connection with these words, which I took from one of the rapporteurs: "the function of militancy has to be rehabilitated". With militancy getting translated into the Germanic languages as activism, and activism meaning radicalisation and radicalisation, for some, meaning "Baader-Meinhof gang" – it is obvious that we needed time to find out what we were talking about even when we thought we understood each other.

In some of the working groups, the discussion about the substance of the problem hardly got going at all because it was preceded by so much skirmishing about the terms "animation" and "cultural democracy" and the basic concepts underlying them. So perhaps we were too ambitious.

Another problem is that the members of the symposium asked themselves about the importance of what they were doing, and what authority the Council of Europe has, and thus about the results and the impact what they were doing here would have. I am well aware that the Council of Europe is a body without any executive power, but having spent a long time in international institutions I am bound to say that it is a place where many years ago, knowing that they could not force anyone to do anything made up for it by setting out to do some worthwhile thinking. Thus for me the Council of Europe is a sort of university where people with high-level responsibilities in government, administration or the universities, coming from different backgrounds and from all countries, have come together to undertake research, and to try to formulate principles. And in my own case – and in yours too perhaps – it is after all in Strasbourg, in this confrontation with colleagues from all over Europe, that I have got my ideas straight about an approach to leisure, about a policy on permanent education, about a cultural development policy and now about a policy for cultural democracy. The function of Strasbourg has been, and is, for the future, to create common ground, or what will become common ground.

Animation and cultural democracy

What justification is there for an "animateur" to intervene in the affairs of a group? Why does anyone agree, or decide, or take the initiative, to undertake group animation? By what right? Doesn't such an attitude reveal that the person in question has a dangerous tendency towards cultural imperialism?

There are some who think that animation is to be seen as a public service, and that the activity of the animateur is justified on the same grounds as that of the primary school teacher or social worker. Others, however, believe that it should help bring about emancipation and autonomy. Since the notion of democracy for culture is new, it is vital to know exactly what political context the problem we have been debating fits into. The society we live in establishes and maintains disparities and privileges; traditional cultural policy reinforces those disparities and privileges. Cultural democracy, by contrast, is based on the principle that the individual must be able to develop all his potentialities in total liberty through action in solidarity with others.

Cultural democracy means equal rights for all men and aims at creating for everyone the material and spiritual conditions in which those rights can be exercised. It aims at bringing about a balance between the full and free development of the individual and the awareness of the individual's links with his community and with the whole of mankind.

This means that culture is action, constant action by man to improve his own nature and his surroundings, and the pooling of the results of this action.

Culture is the continuous enhancement of man and his surroundings. So cultural democracy stands for both responsible use of their freedom by individuals and groups and the cohesion of society through the solidarity of these same individuals and groups.

That society is then a free association of free men and women of diverse convictions striving after common goals. This conception of course postulates the right to experience, the right to be different, all as means of developing one's personality and discovering new cultural richness for all. It rejects privilege, cultural élitism and domination by the privileged few, though they have something to contribute, provided they fit in with the group's way of life. It guarantees individuals and groups the practical means of living according to their convictions. In fact, it is a question of making life richer, no more, no less. This society can only be brought about by democratic means, by a consensus expressing itself through structures which are themselves democratically run.

That means that this democratic society requires each citizen to be educated in the theory and practice of democracy. Such education is an essential factor in overall cultural policy, which in a society subject to continual change naturally takes as its starting point the general

principle of education itself being organised as a single continuous process, both in and out of school, for the benefit of every person, of whatever age, and every social group.

Over and above the acquisition of knowledge, this education prepares people to have a positive approach, to participate, and to be critical. The educative process is vital because the transformation of society depends on thorough educative action. This transformation is the goal that animation has set, but this does not mean that its aim is to take power; its purpose is rather to increase people's awareness and secure their responsible participation. Just as all citizens must effectively exercise all their rights in the political, social and economic fields, so too must they be able in the cultural field to take part in the continual broadening of old-established values and the establishment of new ones. They have the right to be offered something that motivates them, that arouses them: they must be aroused and put in a position where they can become aware.

Moreover, preparation for participation and actual participation in the practice of social, political and economic democracy is a cultural act. That is something so important that it needs underlining. It seems to me to be the answer to one of the basic questions we were asking, but I would like to go further than that. Forty-eight hours ago a radio journalist asked me: (sic) "... And in a time of inflation, pollution and unemployment, don't you think it is a bit airy-fairy to be bothering internationally about cultural animation?". I answered him rather roughly that our conception of a democracy which is an immediate part of the lives of citizens – cultural democracy – is not something implied by political, social and economic democracy: it is a prior condition for it. If there is agreement on that point, then it must be said that what we want is citizens who, through animation, achieve a level of awareness and a level of effectiveness and determination to act which will have an impact on all the communities of which they are part: not only on the family and the local or regional community but also in terms of the effectiveness of their daily work. The Third World Conference on Adult Education at Unesco, with 103 countries, undoubtedly went further than we have done in the way we have expressed things because our countries' representatives were under pressure from the massive presence of the third world countries.

We know that in our countries, in our society in the process of change, a worker can no longer just turn up each day, unchanged, at the gates of his factory, and that he is obliged to change the work he does or to change occupations several times. We know that a lot of

qualities which until recently had nothing to do with economic efficiency are now indispensable to this same economic system: culture, adaptability, mobility, happiness, participation, cultural democracy – all of them essential prerequisites of economic democracy. So I think it is important to see what makes an individual become a cultural animateur. It is an area where information is lacking and where it would be interesting to do some research.

Deontology

The discussion on this point was a difficult one. The themes seemed to have been arranged in a logical order, but perhaps it might have been better to start from something more practical and down-to-earth like training. The liveliness of our discussions on the diploma seem to bear this out.

Anyway, in talking about "deontology" we were in for a surprise. Many of those taking part regarded it as a piece of mumbo-jumbo which animateurs could use to foist their system of values on a group of weaker individuals but which could also be used by the authorities to "train" their citizens. The immediate reply to this was that any thinking about a code of conduct for animateurs had to be set against a background of prior acceptance of the principles of cultural democracy. Others then added that there was general agreement on rejecting a single, identical set of safeguards for all kinds of animation and that it was preferable to seek different versions for different groups. It was also suggested that it would be easy to agree on working out flexible general principles rather than a formal code. It was also argued that applied "deontology", in the sense of constant reflection by animateur, group and employer about the nature and purpose of their joint action and their respective responsibilities, was a part of animation itself. It was not thought possible to have a different code of professional conduct for paid animateurs and for unpaid volunteers. So the attempt was made to move towards practical directives, not a fixed code, and – this was the final formula – towards guidelines.

It is important for the animateur to fit in with the values of the group, but also that he be aware of his relationship to the universal values of society; that he should be aware of – and make others aware of – the gaps in the group's values; and that he should set out to make himself and the group more aware. Having become aware of the gaps or, as they say in English, realised the short-comings in given situations, he seeks to set in motion a process of expression to serve as a springboard for action. It was at this point that there was talk of the

dangers of militancy. Some delegations felt that "activism" should be preferred to "militancy", which had unfortunate connotations in English – or in any case of the ambiguity surrounding the word. We agreed this morning that it was meant to evoke not seizure of power but attitudes which bring about pressure from the grass-roots on those at the top.

What is at stake, no more no less, is inculcating the values of cultural democracy. There is thus no question of propounding any particular ideology, which would run contrary to the process of making people aware. That is an area where it is the members of the group being animated who decide what is important.

At this point I should mention a certain number of assertions and proposals which went the rounds. Some spelt out a number of principles, parallel to those governing social work; the animateur should gauge the impact of his action; he must be self-aware; he must accept his "clients" without judging or censuring them; he must be receptive; he must help those he works with to decide for themselves. Others said: he gives people heart, that is to say the courage to understand and to act. Others again said he conceals nothing, makes relationships more transparent and groups – alienated and conditioned – more responsible, more autonomous, more free.

The animateur himself changes at the same time as the group changes; and once that happens the three-sided relationship I talked about in my introductory speech – the relationship employer, animateur and group – must tend to become bi-polar; animateur-group. The demand comes from the group and the group takes over the control function. There will then be bi-polar tension between a sub-system supplying a service and a customer-employer sub-system. There will be conflict if those involved do not turn out to have the same approach – whence the need for constant dialogue.

On the other hand, – and it was J. M. Moeckli who said this – we should not underestimate the positive value, the educative value, of conflict. The animateur must be clearly aware of the risks but to refuse to take them would be to reject animation.

To sum up: "deontology" seemed to have been given quite a new meaning and we feel the thing to do is to opt for gradual definition of the concept in terms of guidelines rather than a rigid code of conduct. The fact that the substance of the problem was not really dealt with means that research on this subject has to be continued, and Moeckli's paper, though only dealt with at a late stage, received in general a favourable response.

Status

As to the status of the animateur, if I had to sum up in a single phrase the impression of our discussions, I would say: "Yes to rules; but No to a closed profession". Someone pointed out, moreover, with general approval, that culture must not be shut up in houses, nor animateurs made prisoners of their own status. The result was that G. van Enckevort's paper, which contains twelve proposals, met with overall acceptance save for a few minor amendments. In that paper, certain main strands of thought can be distinguished.

The symposium recognised the priority due to committed unpaid workers, but their work will become more and more difficult without the professionals' support and that is why the symposium paid most attention to the status of these professional workers. The animateur should be recognised as a worker with the same rights as other workers in the same country, and they agreed to his taking part in groups set up to defend the interests of the profession, or in trade unions. It was felt, however, that any assertion of narrow, sectionalist interests was to be avoided and that the defence of animateurs' interests as a group should be provided for within a broader framework than that of their professions alone.

Status was seen above all – not as a means of defence for individuals but as a way of ensuring minimum guarantees for animateurs so that neither their work, its value nor its continuity can be called in question by anyone at all. It was at that point that the following idea emerged – one which I pass on to the public authorities – namely that in this case it would be very valuable for the funding body to be different from the body to which the animateur is accountable: it is the group that evaluates the quality of the work done, and that is why it is indispensable that power should be decentralised. The symposium holds, indeed affirms, that animation is an open profession and that access to it can consequently not be linked to specific kinds of training.

Animation, which means people, comes before bricks and that holds at the financial level too. Salaries could be fixed by contract according to the responsibilities the animateur will carry or the work to be done. The animateur's conditions of employment should make explicit the right to re-training and to complementary training, since education is permanent. A trend emerged in favour of animateurs working in teams and hence for programme contracts of the kind used with research teams: in that case the employer would pay for a project as a whole.

It is necessary, however, to insist on the fact that animation cannot be planned and programmed like an industrial activity; by its very nature it can better be assimilated to scientific research, though less by its methods than by its spirit (openness, adaptation, change, right to make mistakes, evaluation, etc.). Such a programme contract is clearly not valid for animateurs working on their own, and those who are on their own are in a majority, and need more protection than the others. So there is a need to reformulate a coherent philosophy as to the relationship between the public authorities and non-governmental voluntary organisations.

Training

On the subject of training, J. Hurstel wrote this phrase, which has weighed heavily on all research in this area. "Every occupation carries within it the possibility of a split giving birth to an animateur". It is a question of doing one's job in a different way, of playing in a different way the traditional social role attributed to anyone working in animation. This painful split must bring about new ways of doing things, marked by a concern for democracy, for people to relate, and for self-expression. The animateur becomes a creator of exchanges, of forms, of contradictions, a militant for social change – despite the confusion that arises over this term – and not a technician or a technocrat of social relations. It was quite natural that we should find ourselves discussing Hurstel's paper with its eight linked proposals:

– training must not be separated from action

– training is not limited in time

– the place for training is in a working team

– training is not to be confused with action; a minimum of conditions are needed for training to take place

– the animateur's diploma awarded at the end of training must be done away with

– teams are not isolated, they exchange information and above all trainees

– a proposal about openings and one about the job itself according to which animation is not an occupation in its own right but a new, different function of various occupations

– training may take two forms, and so on.

All that raised a certain number of problems and prompted us to analyse the role of the school, of courses, and of training ghettoes. It would be good to bring together a certain number of scattered ideas which seem to me to be very important. Some rapporteurs were not as categorical as Hurstel in wanting to do away with traditional training, passing on certain knowledge or experience through schooling, and to replace it by direct experience of action in the field. All were agreed however that training methods should be inductive and not deductive, and that this training should seek to provide, over and above knowledge, tools for analysis. That is why we turned far more to the idea of an "à la carte" training, rather than a school-type monopoly. A major debate took place about the most handicapped recipients for training, and it was with great interest that I noted this convergence between the Tokyo text and the text adopted here, since the Tokyo text was not known to you. In fact, if we take a good look at what we have been doing in recent years, we have to ask ourselves whether our whole popular education policy, even our youth policy, has not consisted almost essentially of giving new privileges outside the school system to those already privileged by that system. In this context, it is worth recalling the important debate which took place about work in working-class areas, about the concept of a culture, and about the training of animateurs for these areas, or from a working-class background. And it was above all this problem Hurstel was trying to find an answer to in his eight proposals.

It is important that we should have declared that the cultural colonialism of the middle classes over the urban proletariat cannot in any case lead to cultural democracy. That was why we concluded that training, and specific training, was no doubt needed but that it should lead not to the award of an examination certificate but rather to an agreed evaluation.

There was a lot of talk too about the problem of language, which crops up all over the place: it is in fact not possible to undertake mass cultural animation using school certificate or university language. That holds for the mass communication media whose message, looked down upon by the intellectuals as mediocre, goes over the heads of the mass of the people – as has been shown scientifically; – and it holds too for the attitude and vocabulary of the animateur. Lastly, mention should be made of some forward-looking thought about an international exchange policy between animation and training teams, and the establishment of a European team to train animateurs.

Follow-up

What is the follow-up? There is a certain amount of research to be done on "deontology", on what makes people become animateurs; the glossary of basic educational terminology which the Council of Europe has sought to establish has to be taken a stage further so that, at the beginning of any international meeting, or any symposium, a thesaurus of 100 words can be handed out, giving what they mean in translation, and the definition of them, so that everyone knows that when he says militancy.

Should we not carry out an evaluation and a critical appraisal of the Brussels symposium (documents, delegations, working methods, etc.)? The organisation of future seminars would benefit.

One bit of follow-up is already being carried out. The European Communities are drawing up a major project for some five hundred grants for international exchanges of workers. Since they are grants, there is no reciprocity requirement, and the European Communities would look with a favourable eye on the introduction of the notion of cultural workers. In this way they could provide professional socio-cultural animateurs with the means of ensuring that they got permanent training.

Another kind of follow-up: our work will end up on the desk of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, then on the desk of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC), and finally on the desks of the representatives of the Foreign Ministers. The Secretary General of the Council of Europe reminded us that in the course of his European parliamentary career he had been chairman of the Council of Europe Assembly's Cultural Committee, and he made a point of saying how much European action in the cultural field also had to help further the cause of European unity.

I think that in seeking to find a European language among educators and animateurs, we have made a contribution to the building of Europe, but I think too that the delegates from the Council of Europe will be able to tell their Secretary General that what went on here was really something political, since this conception of animation fits into a vision of real, living, day-to-day democracy. I think that is important, and that this new dimension which we have added to our thinking is something that states, towns, provinces and voluntary organisations can draw on for their action, their moves and their decrees.

Lastly, when I look back on so many years of cultural action, I see only failures. In fact, nothing that I have been able to do has been what I

wanted to do; and I say this so that our friends who worked so hard in the committees shall be indulgent with me, agreeing to find in what I have just said something of their own and telling themselves that if everything they said was not taken into account, a minus multiplied by a minus makes a plus and that this collection of failures and disappointments ends up, at the close of a lifetime, by constituting a fairly substantial positive contribution.

SOME PROJECTS IN MEMBER STATES

Socio-cultural community development – a list of projets

by J. A. SIMPSON,
Project Director, Exeter.

This list, the third of its kind, has been up-dated to 1977, but the following points should be noted:

– It is not an attempt at a comprehensive catalogue but a list of some two hundred examples which may serve to sharpen the definition of socio-cultural animation.

– Many animation initiatives are designed to be of limited duration. Thus a number of those listed here may no longer be operative.

– Difficulties of collection of information have resulted in a list which is unrepresentative of the comparative volume of animation activities as between one country and another.

One of the long-term tasks of the Animation Project was the foundation of a European Information System. To this end a typology of animation was worked out and a "fiche" or information card designed to facilitate classification, filing and transmission. National correspondents were appointed in the various countries. Secretarial resources, however, proved inadequate for the completion of the task during the duration of the project.

Other useful classified collections of information about animation are to be found in *The Demystification of Culture* by Finn Jor (see appendix), and, so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, *Animation Projects in the U.K.* by Frances Berrigan, published by the National Youth Bureau, Albion Street, Leicester.

Cultural or community centres, arts centres, foyers

Belgium-Wallonia

Tournai – Maison de Culture

A complex of provision for a comprehensive range of cultural activities, with extramural animation in the surrounding countryside, and seminars for the training of animateurs. The main aim is transform a spectator culture into culture vécue. There are four full-time animateurs.

Flemalle and Fontaine l'Evêque – Maison des Jeunes

In both of these there is a move to transform a youth centre into a Foyer Culturel. There is a combination of recreative facilities – bar, table games, etc. – with theatre, courses and other cultural activities. The difficulties of the work are open-eyedly assessed by dedicated professional animateurs.

Cyprus

Larnaca – Cultural Centre

This has been created in converted premises and has begun with an experimental programme which can be adapted to meet emerging needs and wishes.

France

Châlons-sur-Saône – Maison de Culture

Example of concentric provision – main centre supporting six local outposts and eventually a number of small neighbourhood or street units. Main appeal is by uniting cultural interests to restaurant and sports. Activity managers get among this working class population in their work and leisure places and stimulate demand.

Grenoble – Maison de Culture

A most attractive centre for the more established features of culture at prices which are not a deterrent and with excellent social amenities. Extramural work in the surrounding area. Emphasis on theatre, music and the fine arts.

Montmesly – Social centre

This is an example of animation in a new town which has been physically disrupted by the construction of arterial roads. Appeal is made to the interests of children and their mothers by the creation of a

"pre-centre". Sophisticated methods of reception and animation are in use, for example the presence of "hôtesses d'accueil" distinct from the animateurs.

Mâcon – Cultural centres and sports halls

It is the quantitative aspects of the provision which is noteworthy here – a population of 31 000 benefiting from five cultural centres and eight sports halls.

St. Germain en Laye – Maison de Culture

There are no spectacularly differentiating features here but it is an excellent example of the solid achievement by gradually expansion which can be achieved by a cultural centre in a common type of socially mixed area.

Yvelines – Maison des Jeunes

This centre has widened its programme out from simple facilities for youth to include socio-cultural facilities for all ages. Most interesting has been its contribution towards pilot experimentation in the possibilities of a school curriculum which is 50 % concerned with the creative use of leisure.

Federal Republic of Germany

Land Hessen – Community Centre provision

This is generous and of high quality. In the villages there are small centres providing library and meeting rooms associated with communal facilities such as deep-freeze, bakery and kindergarten. Larger townships have polyvalent centres with sports facilities, auditorium, day nursery and clinics. The large centres in towns have multiple socio-cultural facilities of a sophisticated type and commercially run bars and restaurant.

Ruhr Herne area – Gysenberg Park

Parking for 1 000 cars – open to all. Superb indoor facilities for active recreation and sheer leisure as well as cultural events. Splendid outdoor sports and games amenities. One of several such parks planned for the Ruhr.

Italy

Chianti – The Social Centre

Interesting for its attraction to animation through mountain excursions, festivals and competitions and girls' football.

The Netherlands

Amsterdam – Cosmos

Attractive centre in historic building providing restaurant, tea-room, lounge, sauna, library and creativity studios, concert hall and rooms for meditation. Emphasis is upon the meditative inner life and the counteraction of passive consumer culture. Six full-time workers.

Hoogeveen – De Tamboer

A sophisticated complex – intimate theatre, studios, halls for dance and music and drama, studios for painting, sculpture and crafts, and exhibition rooms. Presentation of traditional drama and music also. Courses for the practice of graceful living of wide variety.

United Kingdom

Bracknell – South Hill Park

Bracknell is a new town and the centre has the following aims:

– support all those individuals and groups already making a creative use of leisure;

– present as broad a range of the arts and crafts to as wide a public as possible;

– be a focal point of social contact conducive to cultural development;

– be a resource centre of expertise and equipment for creativity

The centre has extra-mural outposts; its staff lives in the town and they act as area animateurs. Among features of the centre have been a children's week for which puppetry and a giant statue were made by the children; a community bonfire and rock dance; there is a litho press available at the centre; also recording studio; wood, metal and stone workshops; bars and a bistrot for younger users, and a creche.

Devon – The Beaford Centre

An attempt to integrate the arts with the life of rural communities over a scattered area of 1 000 square miles. The centre operates at Beaford and also extra-murally at over sixty other venues. It is supported by the local authority and has a fulltime animateur assisted by members of the community in a voluntary capacity.

Hampshire, Lymington – The Community Centre

This is one of many set up under legislation which enables a voluntary group of residents to form a democratic association and

receive finance from both central and local government to create and maintain a socio-cultural centre with recreative and educational activities. Lymington, like Debden q. v. is one of the most successful. It has been favoured by the nature of the area which has a high proportion of better educated people.

Liverpool – Great Georges Project

A much described project run by professional artists with support from an industrialist and the public authorities. It provides temptations to active cultural experience through progressively challenging play and the imaginative use of converted premises. It serves an area of multiple disadvantage.

Loughton, Essex – Debden Community Centre

This well-known centre is an example of success in creating a community spirit and excellent facilities to reconcile new residents in a big housing area. It has sports hall with showers, etc., an observatory, rifle range, two garages, a sailing centre. It gives support and loans to other organisations in the area. Very large usage.

Scotland – Glenrothes Centre

Animation globale starting with adventurous outdoor pursuits – close liaison with educational institutions, voluntary movements and industry.

Wales – Glan Llyn Camp

A centre for high achievement in outdoor recreation which touches off personal development and aspirations.

Integrated facilities; multi-purpose centres

France

Premol (Département de l'Isère) – Multi-purpose facilities

This is a "Maison pour tous" based on the old Olympic village. It follows the pattern noted elsewhere in France for integrated facilities but it is notable for the extent to which the participants are associated in co-gestion with the authorities, and for the co-operation of the governmental and other agencies behind the provision.

Yerres – Multi-purpose facilities

These have become celebrated. They include integrated provision for school, restaurant, sports stadium, maison pour tous (cinema, theatre, debate, hobbies), Welfare Office, dance and drama studios, library, school of music and dance and – in future phases – museum, theatre, swim-pool. The work of animation and teaching is carried on largely by dual-trained personnel.

Federal Republic of Germany

Chapachen – Integrated facilities

Interesting example of school cum social-cultural facilities as applied to a small community – 8 000 people.

Hanover – Area multi-purpose centres

These consist of fourteen houses of leisure in the non-central area of the city (there are splendid central facilities). Their aim is to provide facilities to enhance the quality of life; to promote sociability and dialogue between all classes and age-groups; and be a focal point and cross-fertilising point for numerous organisations which were hitherto exclusive and isolationist. The Leisure House at Ricklingen combines a youth club, an old people's club, a cultural and recreative "maison pour tous", a socio-educative centre with teaching equipment for arts, hobbies, crafts, etc. and a reception centre for other agencies. There are two large rooms for c. 160 people – multi-purpose for table tennis, dance, conference; a cafeteria and a restaurant.

Hanover – Vahrenwald Recreation Centre

A dramatically expensive set of facilities – more than five million DM. But with excellent results in provision for children, youth and adults.

Norway

Gol – The Community Centre

There are some 350 centres of this kind in Norway. Gol is special because it is integrated with a school so that there is flexible dual-purpose usage of the auditorium, library, swim-pool and seminar and discussion rooms and studios.

Switzerland

Zug – Loreto Integrated Facilities

Of particular interest because it shows the relevance of school cum socio-cultural provision to a smaller community.

United Kingdom

Leicestershire, Cambridgeshire, Cumberland, Devonshire Community Colleges (Village Colleges)

These are sufficiently well-known – they combine school provision with socio-cultural facilities for adults, and the premises are designed for community use, the school being only one element. There is a specially qualified staff for all purposes, and management is by a council in which the adult users participate.

Village College, Impington, Cambridgeshire;
Ivanhoe Community
College Ashby de la Zouch, Leicestershire;
Wyndham School, Cumberland;
Llanwryddin Community School, Wales.

Manchester – The Abraham Moss Centre

Formerly known as the Cheetham Crumpsall Centre this is a much publicised and costly example of integrated facilities including school, arts centre, sports centre and leisure and social welfare facilities. It has now been in existence long enough for some assessment to be made here of the impact and usage of such facilities. The British Ministry of Education has described this in *Building Bulletin 49/73*

Nottinghamshire Sutton in Ashfield – The Centre

Multi-purpose facilities including a school, youth centre, adult education centre, sports centre, centre for teachers' in-service retraining, old people's facilities, probation service, creche, employment bureau, studios and tuition in drama, music and the arts and crafts, and foyer for voluntary organisations. Maintained by district and local authorities. There is also a restaurant and bar. The decision was to build this right in the city centre even at the sacrifice of school playing fields in order to bring some life at night to city centres which nowadays are usually dead.

Teeside – Billingham Forum

This complex of integrated facilities has become widely known. It does not contain a school but associates cultural activities with commercial provision for leisure – swim-pool, ice-rink, restaurants, etc. – in an architectural layout which constitutes an attraction to the former.

Teeside – Thornaby Pavillon

A multi-purpose community building as part of a new civic centre with adjacent shops, library, advice bureau, indoor bowling. This is the creation of a new municipal department for co-ordinating leisure and culture. 150 000 people use it per year.

Telford, Shropshire

Animation in a new town of c. 200 000 being constructed over a wide area of scattered townships. Aim is to avoid the anonymity of living in a pre-fabricated habitat and to promote a kind of leisure and personal life more directed towards social intercourse and activity and community participation. There are seven distinct lay-outs with leisure centres integrated with the schools, provision also of creches and play-centres. The most developed centre has a swimming-pool, a roller skate rink and facilities for tennis, bowls, climbing, dry skiing, a discotheque and an adventure park. Recently video-animation has been introduced. On the whole the techniques are not unfamiliar but the staffing arrangements for the animation project are imaginative. An interesting appraisal contrasting Telford with Villeneuve Grenoble is *Two New Towns* by D. Buchanan, National Institute of Adult Education.

New towns

France

Melun-Senart – A new town

Here an actor/animateur has made contact with local authorities and existing organisations and groups, but mainly has worked towards the creation of neighbourhood ateliers for creativity, and audio-visual experience and general leisure pursuits.

St. Quentin en Yvelines

This is a well documented example of the way in which the work of a multi-discipline team can make progress in a new town.

Italy

Projects in new communities

- Ente della Padano
- Ente Maremma
- Ente Fucino.

Examples of total resettlement in new housing with facilities built into the planning and encouragement for group-participation in self-programming.

United Kingdom

Durham, Washington

This is a new town where there have been effective efforts to involve people in the creation of their own socio-cultural amenities under the guidance of a professional development officer.

Stevenage, Harlow, Crawley, Hemel Hempstead

Examples of new towns where teams of sociologists, educationists and urbanists have attempted global animation.

Sutton Hill, Telford

This has been notably effective. Two resident animateurs have been funded by the Town Development Corporation, with aid from the Arts Council and the Gulbenkian Foundation. They have done much to prevent this new housing area from becoming a cultural desert by establishing communication patterns and community activities.

Features of architecture, planning and lay-out or premises

Belgium Flanders

Westrand Centre

An architecturally persuasive juxtaposition of facilities on the outskirts of Brussels designed like a village around a focal street that serves as a concourse from which run tempting facilities – bar, creche, play centre, common rooms, interest studios and seminar rooms.

Denmark

Musholm Gade

An example of road planning which takes account of people's wishes; the creation of through traffic system while preserving children's play facilities.

Taastrup – Leisure Centre

A building of a flexible, polyvalent kind around an attractive atrium; designed to serve the needs of existing clubs and associations in a favourable suburban area. It includes a kindergarten.

France

Grenoble – Villeneuve

This is a celebrated example of total planning by educationists, urbanists, sociologists and animateurs. It provides a new habitat complete with all educational and socio-cultural facilities and commercial provision. All the workers and teachers are involved in an overall policy with special duties and qualifications. The lay-out is such that there is a natural flow of populace from one facility to another and there is great freedom of access. It is an outstanding example of the co-operation in a consortium of a number of central and local government agencies.

Montbéliard – Use of premises

This very well known centre is quoted here for its example in extra-mural work using makeshift premises, including schools, in the evenings in peripheral areas of the city.

Federal Republic of Germany

Frankfurt am Main – Area centres

These are interesting as marking recognition of the need to decentralise provision; and also, in such cases as that of the Riederwald and the Nordweststadt centres, because of the flexibility of usage which the architecture has secured.

Hamburg – Urban and Community Living

A public housing project planned to overcome the isolated life style of the small family unit. It involves shared leisure rooms, kitchen

and domestic work facilities, and there is an auto-gestion committee. Other examples, Lichtenrade, Berlin and Kuppershof, Aachen.

Porz am Rhein

Demonstration building project of a new "humane" town aimed at showing how planning and architecture can raise the quality of community life.

The Netherlands

Dronten – De Meerpal (or de Agora)

This celebrated building in a new town on reclaimed land realises the ideas of van Klingeren in maximising public life as contrasted with private life. The Agora is one large roofed in rectangle which could hold 25 000 when movable internal walls are put aside. It contains the city market, a circular theatre, sports facilities and bar and restaurant. It is open from 8.00 hrs. to 24.00 hrs.

Sweden

Brickebacken – The Centre

It is set as one leaf of a clover-leaf pattern including old people's housing and student accomodation. In the planning and construction there was an excellent example of resident participation. Most of the facilities get dual usage. There is a restaurant and swimming pool as well as library.

Switzerland

Berne. The Tscharnergut complex

Here we have an experimental habitat for 5 000 people. It incorporates the following: kindergartens, creches, shops and post office, restaurant with lounge and club-rooms, ateliers for arts and crafts, classrooms and lecture hall, library, gymnasium and day-centre for children, velotrack, football ground, free-play lawns, hard games-courts, dry ski and toboggan runs, garages, motor-bike maintenance depot, a little theatre, facilities for the handicapped.

United Kingdom

Newbury and Bristol – Premises

Examples of derelict buildings successfully restored and converted to cultural uses. The first is an old water mill at Newbury now a theatre. The other, the Arnolfini Gallery at Bristol, was formerly a warehouse.

Contributions through schools and parental interest

Austria

Salzburg – Parent Groups

A project run by the agencies for adult education to promote short courses in 34 communities and form groups with the common interest of parenthood. The courses deal with the normal crises of childhood and adolescence, common difficulties, career, schoolwork, etc. They are well advertised and in the hands of tutors qualified for animation.

Belgium

Animation through schools

A monograph by R. Delbaere in Editions JEB published by the French Ministry of Culture, Brussels, gives a comprehensive and articulated set of examples of the animation of schoolchildren at leisure, and of the outreach of the school to adults.

Federal Republic of Germany

Berlin – Max Planck Institute

Training of parents, along with nurses and teachers, in behavioural therapy.

Schuleladen Movement

This has manifestations in most of the great cities. It represents an effort by voluntary action, supported by government, to involve parents in the strategy and tactics of the education of their children and the amplification and creation of facilities for this – e.g. the creation of preschool provision or supplementary creative experiences to the school curriculum. Action also as a pressure group on education authorities.

Italy

Bologna – Quartiere Irnerio

Animation by co-ordinated work of museum, schools and animateurs.

Briganza – The Circle

This organisation starts with people's interest in social security and welfare services, and also with the interest of parents in the schooling of their children.

Southern regions – FORMEZ

An association for development and learning in the southern parts of the country. One starting point is common action to meet the concealed demand of schoolchildren for experiences not covered by the school curriculum – arts, sport, etc.

Switzerland

Canton de Vaud, Lausanne – Centre d'initiation au cinéma

Children come from school in groups to make their own films and TV programmes. Area animation is effected by arousing interest in the effect of the mass media on "your children".

United Kingdom

Bristol – Area animation starting in the schools

Entitled "The Social Education Project", this was Bristol's method of providing a curriculum for older secondary pupils when the school-leaving age was raised to 16. Teams of university staff and students from the social science department introduced groups of c. twenty school pupils to such social work as building adventure playgrounds, helping retarded children, etc. – all as part of the school curriculum. The work thus started influenced the parents of the pupils and other adults in the community.

Deptford, Birmingham, Liverpool – Educational priority areas

These are areas designated to break a cycle of deprivation. The action is primarily upon school children but has side-effects on the whole community. Extra resources are made available to build up

home-school liaison, found play-groups, bring parents into the school, hold exhibitions in shops and pubs, and strengthen adult education.

Flamborough – Animation of an area through the school

A mathematical project in the school has touched off a general interest in the area in the environment and the statistics and social facts of their own community.

Liverpool – Edgehill College of Education

An early example of the dual training of teachers for teaching and social work which may prove relevant to the training of animateurs.

Shipston on Stour – The High School

A staff of three dedicated to the promotion of community activities in scattered villages served by the school. Their work is peripatetic taking facilities out to the villages. Not an example of integrated facilities.

Sidmouth and Watford

Examples of the contribution of a progressive school curriculum to the community life of two areas. In the former, girls from the secondary school run play-groups for small children as part of their school work. In the second the pupils of the secondary school undertake social work in association with the Young Volunteer Force.

Libraries

The Netherlands

Apeldoorn – Public Library provision

A thorough attempt through enquête participation to build up library services in accordance with public needs and wishes.

Sweden

Kirseberg, Oxhagen and three other towns – Libraries

Animation through the build up of public library services. Amplification of headquarters service into a place for seminars, meetings; record library, etc. And also extra-mural work by side-walk libraries, mini-libraries in factories. Sunday opening for the library.

United Kingdom

Kirkby. Animation and libraries

High claims are made for the combination in one library of librarian, teacher and animateur. Kirkby, a slum-clearance area near Liverpool, is a notorious problem spot with 85% educationally disadvantaged population and a low reading age. The library has attractive amenities.

Courses and causes

Belgium Flanders

Project POM

In this case animation has been a side-effect of a campaign to activate public opinion about the career and other disabilities of women. The process of street questionnaire and polls and publicity brought great access of social awareness.

Belgium Wallonia

National movement: "Le camping vivant"

An attempt to take advantage of people's maximum leisure for enriching their range of activities.

Federal Republic of Germany

Bonn – The Emancipation Game

An example of street propagandist animation in the cause of women's liberation. Large plastic dice and a large pavement lay-out like a snakes and ladders board, with such instructions as "university degree – return to base and wait for husband".

Düsseldorf – Housewives

This is the early stage of the introduction of educational leave for housewives in North Rhine-Westphalia. Mothers can come with their children for one or two weeks' education in political, economic, educational, medical or environmental matters. All without loss of cash to the family.

Italy

Civic centres for pedagogic experimentation

This is a form of adult education presented in novel and attractive ways in a setting which contains a pleasant reading room and discotheque.

Italian centres for women

A movement to develop the position of women in the communities, making an initial contact through film and television and going on into area surveys of needs and aspirations.

Cosenza – Action on women

Starting from the common problems and circumstances of the wives of emigrant men.

General – Social centres of permanent education

To meet special social problems, especially in the south, the former reading centres have been widened out to reinvigorate the social life of depleted areas and to bring knowledge and incentive which will lead to economic and cultural personal development for individuals. Courses of a variety of types, including vocational, are associated with music, sociability and the interest of parents in the education of their children.

Milan – The Ambrosian Social Institute

This depends upon the motivation of more favoured people to equip themselves with the knowledge and skill to improve the lot of the less fortunate.

The Netherlands

Folk high schools at Bergen, Bakkeveen and Baarn

These are quoted as examples of animation not in connection with their function as residential adult education centres, but because the resident staff have tried to make these courses relate to development projects in the surrounding area of the high schools. Examples have been aid to a fishing community to know more about the economics of the industry and to purchase their own gear; aid to a run-down sea-side

community to develop a higher quality of life and better amenities; aid to teachers who are bewildered by the shifting demands of curriculum reform, aid to male nurses in a difficult work situation.

Sweden

A national outreach plan, FÖVUX

Strictly speaking this concerns adult education courses only, but its methodology is of interest, and its socio-cultural effects have been calculated.

The aim is to touch people hitherto unreached – women working at home, hospitalised people, the handicapped, the deaf, people in scattered areas or in industries with awkward times for cultural activities.

United Kingdom

Kidlington, Oxford (Headquarters only) The Alternative Society

A communication centre for all those striving to create new forms of social organisation, habitat, architecture, education and creativity. The association is financed by donations and its own activities. It has support from continental Europeans and Americans. It runs a substantial programme of seminars and workshops in various parts of the United Kingdom and summer camps and courses. These include missionary projects to animate marginal or disadvantaged sections of the population.

Northern Ireland – Derry: adult education and animation

An example of combined adult education and community action of considerable interest in view of conclusions reached by the CCC Adult Education Symposium at Siena. Study groups are formed after informal meetings and special programmes on main television channels. They study practical ways of solving area problems and improving amenities. The whole operation is based on advanced sociological research. Details from The Institute of Continuing Education, Magee University College, Derry.

Street and neighbourhood animation

Belgium Flanders

Galgenberg – Neighbourhood work

Animateurs taking advantage of the increase of leisure in this run-

down urban area. Contacts made through cookery demonstrations, savings facilities, sports interests, excursions, care for the distressed and a neighbourhood newspaper.

Belgium Wallonia

Brussels Foyer Culturel de Schaerbeek

Animation of an apathetic area by Socio-political prise de conscience. Advantage taken of a threat to the area from a motorway; newsletter distributed in a demonstrative way asking such questions as "Who owns Schaerbeek?". Attempts to create a self-picture at street and small neighbourhood level.

Denmark

Copenhagen – Emdrup Building Site

The influence on an area of a group of full-time children's play leaders who man facilities which are open all day.

France

Belfort – The Alsthom-Bull factory

An example of the animation carried on by the team of animateurs from Montbéliard. A variety of techniques are used in this rootless working class area to foster dramatic self-expression-festivals, specially written plays and dialogue, role-playing, house-to-house visiting – all designed to widen participation in and appreciation of drama among working people. An essential feature of the work is the identification of quite small sub-cultures and catering distinctively for each.

Bourg en Bresse – Locaux résidentiels

These are good examples of realisation of the French socio-cultural stipulations of housing legislation. The premises are used for animation from a subliminal level but include dance, cinema, library and courses as well as simple club meetings and sociability.

Marne-la-Vallée – Neighbourhood and area development

A team of animateurs including actor, architect, ciné-expert and painter concentrates on stimulating people to create small neighbour-

hood facilities, and to form groups to advise local authorities. On a wider scale the team has set up a teachers' centre and a cinema workshop.

Ulis-Bures d'Orsay – Early stage animation

This is a scattered area with few existing facilities. The technique has been experimental pre-animation in each neighbourhood to discover needs and resources. Secondly the association of all existing agencies. The staging of a festival as a step towards area prise de conscience. Creation of facilities will come later.

United Kingdom

Birmingham – Small Heath and Little Green

Two deprived urban areas with high proportions of disabled, elderly and immigrants being "animated" by a governmental and municipal joint plan. Techniques include: development of awareness among schoolchildren; creation of pre-school and leisure play facilities for children; and Advice Centre and a Family Service unit, both to be progressively manned by residents; street meetings, block meetings, newsletters and fact sheets; increased expenditure on youth clubs and community centres; detailed study with participation of residents of factors of deprivation; anti-litter campaigns; improvement plans for designated streets – lawns laid, trees planted, paving repaired; arts play van – contains video-tape, film-making apparatus, material for introduction of arts and crafts; portable rostrum for improvised drama; polystyrene shapes for creative play; inflatables.

Liverpool – The Granby Festival

Held in 1974 this exemplifies animation of a rundown area full of deprivation and racial discord by enlisting the aid (sometimes paid) of community arts groups, pop groups, sports organisations, churches, benevolent and welfare organisations, the BBC, public bodies like road safety committee, Red Cross and the home governments of racial minorities – all providing something, including money, to enrich the life of the area and promote social contact, identity and solidarity and responsibility. Starting with street parties, street games, inter-street competitions it passed on to larger and more ambitious events bringing street music, drama, dance, poetry and displays. There was a week of festival as a culmination. There has been permanent follow-up, including the formation of a savings bank association and a credit association. The whole conception owes very much to a permanent worker in the area – Mr. C. Elphic.

Liverpool – Vauxhall Community Project

Animation of a variety of kinds with stress on the community arts in a run-down urban area. This is one of a number of projects in the Merseyside area which have taken place within the framework of the Urban Renewal Programme. In Vauxhall much has been done at street and small neighbourhood level with street parties, festivals, credit-purchase.

London – Inter-action

A comprehensive range of activities for the people of a deprived area. Play and drama are strongly marked, and there are new devices for street events such as "the kinetic box" and the use of close-circuit television. However, there are also crafts, writing and film-making – all designed to bring out latent creativity. Initiative from a dynamic "cultural missionary" who has gained the support of local authorities.

Scotland – The Craigmillar Festival Society

This is an example of how a festival can have a permanent follow-up in a featureless slum-clearance area which has tended to deteriorate. The Festival Association has become a social focal point. The local government has been outgoing in attempting to secure popular participation in municipal affairs.

The contribution of artists, actors and drama generally

Belgium Wallonia

Seraing – Théâtre de la communauté

Action by a team of five full-time animateurs and voluntary helpers to sensibilise an area through drama – mainly through the schools, communes, and voluntary organisations and ad hoc groups. The whole is under the guidance of a democratic local cultural committee.

Cyprus

Music workshop in which people are familiarised with the processes behind concert performances and recordings.

Paphos – Visual Arts Workshop

Artists at work at this historic site use animatory techniques to involve people, to teach and induct them. As well as Cypriots many summer visitors benefit.

Finland

Various Festivals

A substantial part of Finland's care for socio-cultural development is expressed in a policy of national festivals. Organised chiefly in holiday areas they exert a cultural influence upon people who are receptively at leisure, and they decentralise cultural facilities from the capital. The attendance of foreign tourists makes a significant contribution to the finance. Some of the festivals have a dominant theme such as "The Future of Man" at Jyväskylä in 1970. Others are Kuopio Dance and Music Festival; Vaasa Festival; Savonlinna Opera Festival; Pori Jazz Festival; Kautinen Folk Music Festival; Tampere Theatre Festival; Turku Music Festival; Turku International Rock Festival; Helsinki Festival.

France

Cergy Pontoise

Community workshops manned by a team of animateurs drawn from artists, actors and architects promotes bricolage for personal and domestic use but at the same time gets people to take a critical look at their environment and way of life. A good deal of role-playing, imaginative discussion and attempt to formulate an ideal style of life.

Tourcoing – Théâtre de Lambrequin

Quality drama (Corneille, Marivaux, Brecht, Büchner) put on over a wide area in such centres as Calais, Arras, etc. Plays chosen for relevance to our times and publicised by lively street parades, mimes, spectacles and happenings, and prepared also by propaganda in schools and colleges.

Federal Republic of Germany

Munich – Rote Rübe

A drama group bringing live theatre to the young and the working class through work in pubs, streets and schools.

Italy

Bologna – Area animation

Examples of lively animation in working class quartieri; stress participation in the arts, particularly drama with suitable programmes,

times and prices. Teatro Stabile dei Burratini; or by informal open fora accompanied by music – Quartiere Marconi.

Monticchielo – Teatro Povero

Animation motivated by interest in drama and revival of folk plays as a tourist attraction.

Malta

General animation policy

This includes the organisation of cultural tours, travelling exhibitions sent to villages, mobile libraries and a travelling theatre producing plays in Maltese.

The Netherlands

Amsterdam – Melkweg

A disused dairy refurnished as a youth centre. Emphasis is on artistic creativity around a succession of themes e.g. death, with drama, mime, music, film, video. It has recreative facilities and bar but is chiefly a contact point for creative young people.

Spain

Barcelona – The Joan Mirò Foundation

This is a rare example of a great artist's contribution to the cultural development of others. The foundation is entirely self-financing. It maintains a superb exhibition centre, with library and projecton room, auditorium and meeting rooms. The foundation seeks to take account of increased leisure and standards in popular education to foster creative art, help young artists and promote the culture of the people.

United Kingdom

Birmingham – Arts Laboratory

An example of public support – through the Arts Council – for facilities for "counter culture" – provided by a group of young intellectuals and artists in revolt against prevailing concepts and patterns in the arts, entertainment and style of life.

Bishops Stortford – Triad

Similar to COMPAS, Minnesota USA. At Bishops Stortford a disused brewery as a centre where practising artists may share their experience with beginners and where all participate in the conversion work. The centre runs its own bar.

Derbyshire – Stainsby Arts Centre

Enthusiast professional dramatist and actress wife have created a centre where the people of a mining area are animated through the arts.

Exeter – Barnfield Theatre

A disused municipal building reconditioned as a theatre in the city centre to provide, with municipal support, a regional headquarters for drama movements in the area. The amateur productions are interspersed with professional performances.

London – The New Arts Laboratory

This centre makes a communication between artists and a local community. Contact points around the making of graphics, inflatables, and the use of electonics and video-type, and off-set litho. Some of the enthusiasts behind it are wealthy and famous. They regard is as a social duty of artists to sensitise others.

Rotherham – The Civic Theatre

Conversion of a disused church for use as a theatre by amateur groups and by professional touring companies. A drama centre for the community.

Salford – Inroads

A group of youth workers widening out play programmes by holiday street arts, crafts and games and by social work with tenants associations. Group therapy, street theatre and video animation. An example of the introduction of the community arts.

South Western Planning Council – Medium Fair

In essence this is a van with portable equipment and manned by a company of young professional actors to take theatre to the small

communities of this predominantly rural region. Stress is placed upon drama which has socio-economic relevance to life of the kind lived in the area. There is a grant from the Arts Council.

York – Theatre Royal Annexe

The creation adjacent to the theatre of a social focal point for café relaxation, poetry, discussion, jazz recitals. A special animateur organises all this.

Scotland – Glenrothes – Town Artist

Public appointment of an artist to stimulate artistic creativity and appreciation in a new town. He also contributes to the aesthetic side of the environment, and has involved working-class people in this task.

Welwyn – Interplay

An interesting feature of this centre is the use of inflatables, as an art form for construction, as an aesthetic experience of novel and shifting interiors with experimental light patterns and as a source of satisfying tactile experience which reduces aggressiveness.

Scotland – The Third Eye Centre

Advantageously sited in central Glasgow, it has a good restaurant and bar. It aims to alert working people to the aesthetic experiences of painting, sculpture, drama and film. Adventurous in technique. Special buses were run to bring shipyard workers to see an exhibition of Stanley Spencer's paintings of shipbuilding, with good response.

Arts Council – Community Arts

The report of the Arts Council's Community Arts Evaluation Working Group is now available from The Arts Council of Great Britain, 105 Piccadilly, London. It is an open-eyed document.

Social Service to those in need

Denmark

Copenhagen – Projekt Hus

Youth movements have undertaken the conversion of a run-down house to provide a hostel and lodgings bureau for young people, together with a centre of political and cultural activities which emphasise the young idea. All participants share in the building work.

Federal Republic of Germany

Bonn – The Day Mother Project

An example of a scheme by the Federal Ministry of Health whereby mothers of families are given induction training into giving a day of experience of family life to deprived children.

Cologne – Social work by citizens

This is a shop for the sale of donated second-hand clothes run by a group of citizens in premises given free, and with profits devoted to social work.

Duisburg

Care for migrant workers. Mobile library with books in five languages: Greek, Turkish, Serbo-Croat, Spanish and Italian, together with newspapers, discs, slides and film-shows.

Frankfurt am Main – Zuflucht

An organisation springing from the initiative of the citizens. It is an advice centre particularly for desperate cases. It seeks to cut out the red tape and slowness of the social welfare services, and while manned by the citizens themselves it can count upon the voluntary participation of lawyers and doctors.

Munich – Centres for young people who have cut themselves off from families

These are advisory centres of a non-authoritarian kind to which such young people may have recourse. There is complete confidentiality even from parents and there is liaison with voluntary organisations.

Sweden

Gothenburg – Hagahurst

An old central building, originally a library, reconditioned for social work and children's activities. The participation of the neighbourhood led to programmes of mass-meetings, committees, a coffee-house, a workshop, film and music groups. Unfortunately the project ended because of poor communications between the managing committee and the public authority.

United Kingdom

London, Camden – Accommodation Scheme

Animation arising from response to a basic need: housing. The scheme has been assisted by the national Urban Renewal Policy.

London, Camden – Consumer Aid Centre

Service by the citizens themselves, assisted by some professional workers, to their fellow citizens on shopping problems of all kinds in this disadvantaged area.

London, Catford – Welfare rights stalls

Voluntary service in street stalls to apprise fellow citizens of their rights in matters such as housing, social benefits, etc. The use of the service has been so great that a mobile service, using a converted bus is contemplated.

London – Islington Law Centre

A service offered to residents by lawyers and community workers from the area working voluntarily. It is animatory in that the centre gives not merely neutral information but identifies with just causes and stimulates active participation in social action. It is in liaison with Inter-Action q.v.

London, New Ham – Durning Hall

A Christian Community Centre in a working class area. Wide range of sectional interests – immigrants, handicapped service; clinics; meal service; discussion; sports; paid work for retired people.

Surrey – The Oval House

Starting as a traditional missionary settlement by an Oxford college to help a slum area, this has recently turned to emphasise the need for creativity through the practice of the arts, and the use of phonic media.

London, Wapping – Warehouse D. Project

This has a programme similar to that of the St. Georges Project in Liverpool based on catering to ludic interests in a culturally

underdeveloped population. This one is, however, run entirely by an independent trust without public support. Its appeal has been mainly to the young.

Liverpool – Elfrida Rathbone Scheme

A project for inducing youth groups adult centres to take charge of welfare and induction into employment of sub-normal children.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne – Youth Volunteer Force

In this manifestation of a national organisation which has central government support teams of young people are introduced into areas to initiate local community projects using funds raised in the area by animatory fund-raising techniques. The communities are all in a run-down urban area and the teams have headquarters in a disused college building. So far the work has consisted of finding jobs for the elderly and the housebound, play schemes for the young, manning a housing and welfare bureau, the holding of street meetings and events to promote community awareness.

Community development including improved employment and welfare

Belgium

Brussels, Les Marolles

This is an example of animation in an area of multiple deprivation where markedly anti-social trends operate. It is written up in scholarly detail by D. Beaurien in JEB 4/76 published by the Ministère de la Culture française, Brussels.

France

Chatillon Malakoff – Socio-cultural Centre

A good example of the association of animation with provision for family health and social service needs. The programme is very wide – from conventional educational courses and common hobbies to bridge and yoga.

Italy

Centro di Conflente

An attempt to involve the young through sport and film and lead them to participation in the solution of local problems such as truancy.

Bari

Area animation by a team of animateurs either part-time or unemployed primary school teachers trained over six months by four day seminars. Work directed by a committee representing all political parties and all agencies. Steering committee on which animateurs induce residents to serve. Preliminary enquête to identify needs. Main technique the transformation of reading centres into centres of permanent education. Their programmes include vocational training in viticulture, horticulture, tourist service, English and French. Also courses and events around hobbies, civics, family problems, film and TV clubs with discussion, Discofora, exhibitions, amateur drama, a youth orchestra and sports. Great reliance placed upon certain dynamic personalities both among the animateurs and the residents.

Other projects

Consideration was given to the methods of the following projects all of which unite economic with community development.

- Abruzzi Pilot Project
- Sardinia Project
- Centre for Educational and Agricultural Co-operation, Trevigliano
- Iserina Project
- Canavese Community Movement
- Community Development Centre, Palma di Montichiaio
- Shell Projects, Borgo and Monzano.

United Kingdom

Coventry Hillfield

This is a community development project among a population which has a high proportion of coloured and Irish immigrants.

Yorkshire Batley

Community development in a difficult area with a large majority of immigrants and 50 % of the population working outside the town which is a legacy of nineteenth century industrialisation. An example of effective work under adverse conditions.

Animation invoking a commercial or financial motivation

Belgium Flanders

Heuvelland

"Animation globale" in a decayed rural area beset by leisure problems. An economic incentive is provided by work which will enhance the tourist attractiveness of the area; there is also stress upon creating a community sense through common political pressure.

France

Examples of animation with the co-operation of commercial interests.

La Rochelle

Introduction to popular arts and crafts located in one of the big department stores.

Orléans

Co-operation between the Director of the Maison de Culture and the managers of various stores.

Paris – Les Mille Soleils

This is an example of commercially based animation. A large sales area in the rue de Sèvres is for artistic productions. At the same time there are adjacent "ateliers d'initiation" for the promotion of individual creativity. The venture marks a new relationship between the professional artist and the man in the street, with the general philosophy of improving the quality of life by increased sensitivity and expressiveness.

Animation linked with profit motive

At Tarbes one of the supermarkets employs a cultural animateur to give guidance about purchasable equipment. At Evry, the new shopping precinct contains the cultural centre.

Italy

Santulusurgio – Area development

"Animation globale" starting from a project to import machinery which would improve earnings in the chief industry. Pressure brought on regional government.

United Kingdom

Exeter Greenhalgh's

This is a frankly commercial firm for the sale and service of musical instruments, scores, etc. It is a family concern and they and staff show a real concern for the musical development of their clientele. Without any avowed animatory intention it does a very great deal for the cultural life of the city and is something of a focal point. A useful example of benign commercial contribution.

General self-financing animation

This is exemplified in Old Woking Surrey where artistic creativity is financed from local football pools; also at Debden Community Association q.v. by the letting of lock-up garages; at Lymington Community Association q.v. by a second-hand book-shop.

London, Hackney – Centerprise

Neighbourhood scope animation. It is a book-shop, coffee-bar and with community facilities such as a neighbourhood newspaper, record player and chess. In the coffee-bar there are no small tables only two large communal tables. Local artists' work is exhibited, and local groups give entertainment. In a room upstairs community activities are helped by a full-time worker and there are typing and duplicating facilities. There are six full-time and six part-time workers. It is financed from profits and a grant from the Education Authority.

Yorkshire, Leeds – The Leisure Card

This is a system whereby at a tempting price the public may purchase an entry card to a wide programme of events ranging from pop concerts, dance displays, sport events to educational courses, symphony concerts, lectures and exhibitions.

Radio, Television, Video and Community Development

Belgium

Verviers – Videoption

This is an example of participatory electronic video communication (magnetoscope) between groups in the community. There is multi-purpose usage of a wide range of techniques, and animateurs in this special field are being trained.

France

Cergy-Pontoise – Video-bus

This is one feature of animation over a number of adjacent communities. It is portable TV equipment operable by two persons with the co-operation of members of the community.

Grenoble, Echirolles – Video-animation

A team of five animateurs working with new audio-visual techniques to help a population of 10 000 find its own identity.

Isère – Peuple et Culture d'Isère

An organisation to promote community and area awareness with a marked stress on video-animation.

Italy

Region Emilie-Romagne

Here there are twenty-four groups each composed of workers, students and teachers. They investigate and present on film conditions relative to life problems such as the management of schools, housing conditions and overtime arrangements.

The Netherlands

General: Nederlands Omroep Stifting

A foundation working for greater access of the public to the mass media and particularly television. Experiment and research into techniques for associating voluntary organisation with telecasting.

United Kingdom

BBC Radio 1 – 11.30 am Saturdays (1972)

An example, which has been followed by others, of the use of a routine pop music programme by a well-known disc jockey and compère to make a mass audience aware of environmental problems.

Cwmbran – Community video

This is a new town of some 45 000. Video equipment has been made available to aid individual and group development in the area, to show the example of successful community development elsewhere; to

heighten the sense of community, solidarity and identity in the area; to assist communications between the citizens and local government; and as an area news and information channel.

Liverpool and surroundings – Merseyside visual communications unit

A centre of expertise and equipment for communities to record and, thereby, master their life and culture visually. Activities include film-making, video-recording, film archive, information service for individuals and groups, exhibitions, film showings.

Examples of self-governing, grass-roots initiation, and participation

Belgium

Brussels and Charleroi – Institut de Formation Socio-culturelle

This is a grass-roots organisation with an unusually high degree of self-governing by the people themselves and of deference to their wishes by the academic experts, animateurs, etc. The programmes are built around courses of study but involve much group work and inter-visiting organised by the people themselves who have real control of programmes, choice of tutor and content and method of work.

Belgium-Wallonia

Florennes – Foyer culturel

Formerly a "Maison des Jeunes" this is now a self-governing centre for all age groups. It is an example of the progress which can be achieved by the appointment of a full-time worker.

Namur – Civic participation

In the project "Quel centre ville?" the people at large have been encouraged to associate themselves with the team of sociologists, urbanists and administrators considering the plans for rebuilding the centre in 1980. This participation has already caused modifications in the plans.

Belgium-Wallonia – Luxembourg

Centre d'animation globale

A well-documented project to involve young people in starting a cogestive programme of development. Very lucid auto-evaluation.

Federal Republic of Germany

Merzig – Youth Centre

One of some fifteen similar centres which are manifestations of the Youth Centre Movement in Saarland. Merzig makes a serious and carefully studied attempt to meet the creative, expressive and social commitment needs of youth, as well as catering for their recreation. It is an open centre in which the young people learn to take on responsibility for their own programmes and the management of their centre.

Italy

Rimini

Interesting example of democratically constituted local government attempting to make democracy more meaningful by informing the public through attractive audio-visual material about planning proposals, and video-taping popular reaction for further consideration.

The Netherlands

General

The Thousand Clubs Project envisages clubs designed by the users themselves in accordance with their needs and tastes.

Norway

Oslo. Co-operative Housing

This is one of the few examples of grass-roots initiative in the creation of socio-cultural facilities which stands up to closer investigation.

Sweden

Kiruna

A housing estate in a harsh climate area where community initiative has created a children's playground with adjoining cultural facilities.

Switzerland

Chaux-de-Fonds – Centre de Rencontre de Serre

Through participation in the planning and stage by stage evaluation of the users there has been an attempt to create the right kind of centre mainly for younger people.

United Kingdom

Ashford, Kent – Associate House

A centre for the people of the community financed largely by the local authority. It represents a wide variety of interests and is an eminent example of the participation of the users in the management and programming.

Birmingham – Sparbrook Association

One example of eight housing estates where the civic authorities provide facilities and professional and amateur staff in response to spontaneous demand for community action.

London – Notting Hill Housing Association

A voluntary group in a decayed urban area which has involved the people in communal action to act as a pressure group.

Liverpool – Earle Housewives' Club

A well-documented example of the growth from a simple social group of working class women with a cup of tea, into an interest in keep-fit, and thence into an active community educative force which co-operates with local radio in making programmes called "Living Today".

Tower Hamlets Senior Citizen Film Association

Interest lies not so much in a non-profit association for discerning films at low cost for the old, as in the large measure of autogestion involved, and in one of those rare activities provided for the aged which do not presuppose that they are imbecile.

Research, information, experiment and publicity

Austria

The vitamin B advertisements

A method of publicity for socio-cultural self-development and auto-didactic courses and adult education. Details and illustrations in *Neue Volksbildung*, January 1975.

Belgium Wallonia

Ministry of Culture – Policy statement

A codification of guidelines for the building of foyers culturels with emphasis on maximum attraction at modest cost. It goes into detail of architecture, fitting and furniture. Already there are realisations in Brussels and at Haine-St. Pierre.

Relevant university research

Three significant publications by the team of sociologists Mrs. A Martynow-Remiche, Mrs. C. Wery and Mr. P. Delooz published by the Ministry of Culture: *Le refus ouvrier, Verité théâtrale et aspirations populaires* and *Le musée interdit.*

Louvain – Training of animateurs

Experiment at the New University. Carefully selected people with a background as practising animateurs in the Catholic Workers Movement have the opportunity to take a course on part-time basis leading to a university qualification. It is expected that this will enrich the animation work they are doing. Interesting features are the auto-evaluative procedures of the course, and the presence at sessions of an animateur in addition to the lecture.

France

Paris – Antenne ALFA

This is a documentation and information centre concerned with the socio-cultural development processes, problems and techniques in new urban living areas. Its conspectus is on a general and strategical plane, but it is also concerned with details of method in preanimation, animation and co-ordination of agencies.

Rennes – The socio-cultural office

A model for the co-ordination of research and experimental work and the documentation of results in the field of animation socio-culturelle.

Federal Republic of Germany

Düsseldorf – KIFAA

A culture-ecological institute for research and animation. The emphasis is strongly upon setting the artist in a framework of social

commitment, and upon efforts to widen municipal concepts of cultural development from a narrow concern with the traditional arts.

Baden-Württemberg (Land) – Kunstverein

Valuable research and documentation by a study of the shop window as an animatory factor as exemplified by twentieth century Stuttgart.

Wuppertal Kommunikationszentrum

A manifestation of project "Borse" initiated by a team of seven social workers and social psychologists. The aim is the stimulation of group formation and the formation of opinion by interchange of views between all sections and groups in society. It publishes a broadsheet and invites the participation of all even by marginal comment on the print. Particular attention to the community arts through film-group, theatre group. There is strict regard to the economics of socio-culture, including the costs of subsidised state opera, etc. There is constant study of animation techniques and an auto-critique of work done.

The Netherlands

Amsterdam – The Dr. E. Boekmanstichting

This is an animation research centre for art and culture in the Netherlands. It is the product of co-operation between the government, the Arts Council and Artists Federation. Research into the best methods of animation, disincentives and barriers. Publications in Dutch and English.

Amsterdam – Learn at the Lantern

The annexe to an avant garde theatre – facilities for music, drama, film, literary production. It originated from a survey of artistic needs and aspirations which is of great value as research material for animation and the community arts.

Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Welfare

A documentation of thorough and scientific research into the socio-cultural needs of developing areas alongside existing provision. A sophisticated methodology established for identifying aspirations of the population. This has been followed up by a further stage – the setting up of experimental facilities at Eindhoven and East Groningen.

Heerenveen – Training of animateurs

An experiment in on the job training arranged in accordance with the expressed needs and wishes of the animateurs and consisting of an interchange of ideas and the identification of common problems. All based on actual co-operative projects to improve the quality of life in the eroded villages of Friesland.

United Kingdom

Manchester – Commercial type advertisement for the arts

In 1974 a special advertisement campaign – press, walls, buses, trains, lamp-posts and mass media – for the George Rouault Exhibition at the City Art Gallery. Attendance over normal was more than doubled and 35 % were visitors to a gallery for the first time. (Similar results followed from a project "Eyesites" in the Tower Hamlets area of London for an exhibition by indigenous artists.)

Leigh Park, Havant – New communities project

This is a three-year project catering for growing but scattered communities totalling 150 000. Its aim is general animation and improvement in the quality of life. It is supported by central and municipal government and aided by adult education agencies and universities. It has a centre which is chiefly a headquarters for the project workers. Essentially it is a research and fact-finding project.

Various – Local and Community Newspapers

These of course are non-profit making. A considerable number have been reported. At Dumbarton, Scotland, two fortnightly community newspapers were started. Both aimed at community awareness and participation. One aimed also to be an outlet for creative writing while the other confined itself to straight reportage. The former with no advertisements is having a difficult time. The latter flourishes.

The co-ordination of agencies

Belgium Wallonia – Luxembourg

Provincial Youth Service

This is an example of government service to existing voluntary organisations – loan of equipment, training of leaders, organisation of festivals and regional events. Stress is placed on the need to enrich

leisure, and a special provincial project thereto has been mounted – operation Loisirs Vivants.

France

The ALFA experiment

This is a state supported programme of socio-cultural activities run by the Association pour le logement familial et l'animation des grands ensembles. It combines the more economic type of community development with animation socio-culturelle.

United Kingdom

London – Arts Council

The Arts Council is a "juridical person" through which the government makes its main contribution to the arts. The present reference is to its recent development – *The Community Arts*. This has been defined as leading to "opportunity for the majority of the population participating in the creative process, and controlling the means and resources necessary". There is now a Community Arts Committee concerned with "grass-roots workers" ("animateurs", "community artists") who will work in a specific community for some years, and helped by visiting teams. There is to be a national movement to bring all such workers and initiatives into contact with each other.

Liverpool

This note merely records in broad terms that Liverpool, which contains some of the most spectacularly disadvantaged communities in Europe, has been the scene of two national projects – the Educational Priority Programme and the Urban Renewal Programme. Many new techniques of animation have been evolved, and the experience gained has led to the establishment there of a Centre for Urban Community Studies under the direction of E. Midwinter.

Scotland, Dumbarton

The quality of Life Experiment here is one of four in the UK to test what improvement can be achieved by a policy of socio-cultural development co-ordinating and stimulating existing agencies, and forging links between them. The whole programme, inaugurated by the Home Office, and including also Stoke on Trent, Sunderland and an area in South Wales has been accompanied by sociological observation and an evaluation will shortly be available.

THE OUTLOOK IN 1977

The documents contained in Bulletin 4/75 have been reproduced as they first appeared there, so to speak, in the heat of battle. Some of the statements therein would not now be made with the same vehemence; other points which are there only suggested or implied would now be asserted boldly. The subsequent development of the Animation Project and of the cause of European socio-cultural animation have been briefly outlined in the introduction. Together with the findings of studies and the results of pilot experiments, they have brought about some modifications in the viewpoint of many spokesmen of animation. Some of the original objectives have now been achieved; new objectives have emerged. One notable achievement is that the concept of socio-cultural animation is now familiar and, for the most part, acceptable to central governments. It is with a considerable number of municipalities that much remains to be done, and, as the Nuremberg Colloquy noted, it is municipalities that usually play the key role in the cultural policy in so far as it affects the daily life of the average man and woman. An emerging problem, however, is that both central and local authorities evince a regrettable tendency to equate socio-cultural animation with programmes designed to ameliorate the condition of small, conspicuously disadvantaged minorities – pockets of cultural deprivation constituted by ethnic ghettos, slums or isolated rural communities. No one question the necessity of such programmes, but it is with the restricted socio-cultural circumstances of the broad mass of the people that animation is concerned.

The Nuremberg Colloquy of 1975 was something of a turning point in several respects. It brought together animateurs and the newer type of arts administrators among whom it has now become a commonplace that guardianship of the heritage arts can best be ensured by promoting the practice and *active* participation in them by a much wider socio-economic range of people than the professional artist. Thus the arts are taken to include simpler and spontaneous forms of creativity, activity and response – especially those which centre around festivals, fun and ludic impulses or social issues closely relevant to daily life. In several

countries the authorities for culture have inaugurated programmes for what have come to be called "the Community Arts", which are often indistinguishable from some aspects of animation. It was this overlap between Arts programmes and socio-cultural animation, marked at Nuremberg, which foreshadowed the eventual merging of the Animation Project and the European Towns Project.

At the same time, the colloquy enunciated a principle which cleared away a stumbling-block for many who would otherwise have looked on animation with a more favourable eye; a difficulty, also, which had begun to trouble many animateurs. In their righteous indignation at cultural policies which seemed to ignore all save the heritage arts, animateurs had been led at times to identify themselves with the outré views of a handful of extremists, and question the value of the cultural patrimony because of its small numerical appeal, particularly among the working-classes, and even to indict it as bourgeois, elitist, "a museum culture". Such a viewpoint conflicted with the innermost conviction of nearly all animateurs. Worse, they were finding that it placed them in a situation of cultural nihilism in which cultural pluralism was pushed to a point where all manifestations of socio-cultural life can claim equal validity; where the passive absorption of television and the inanities of bingo (lotto) were of equal value with the creative and committed activities preached by the animateur. If, on the contrary, some scale of values, independent of popularity, is admitted, there is firm ground in logic and ethics for programmes of both socio-cultural animation and the diffusion of the heritage arts. It was with such considerations in mind that the Nuremberg Colloquy recorded its conclusion that the great tradition of European culture must be kept alive and flourishing; that the movement towards cultural democracy must include continued efforts for the democratisation of culture in the more restricted sense of the term; and that the cultural patrimony is of inestimable value to all levels of society, even though this may not be realised by more than a minority.

This marks some retreat from the concept of cultural pluralism as it was interpreted in some of its earlier formulations. It is now usually taken to mean the following. Across the plurality of cultures co-existing in our society, any of which can be the framework for socio-cultural and artistic creativity, certain sovereign values hold good, as much for cakes and kettles as for poems and paintings, as much for conversation as for oratory. A hard fact which is to be noted as a corollary is that in all these coexisting cultures creativity, active response to and appreciation of the arts, social commitment and involvement are characteristics of only a small minority of the people – and this is true of the haute

bourgeoisie as of the working classes. True, the minority may be somewhat larger where there have been educational advantages, but in all reaches of society manifestations of life which go beyond the satisfaction of acquisitive and sexual drives, are predominantly composed of passive and nugatory diversions or isolated domestic relaxation. The task of the animateur, then, is not dissimilar from that of those who seek to democratise the heritage arts. Both must campaign against majority predilections. We must, also, re-examine the proposition that the working classes have been culturally deprived, and that it is for this reason that they participate only in small numbers in cultural and socio-cultural activities; that it is only necessary to rehabilitate their own culture for there to be a widespread upsurge of creativity in their own idiom. All the experience examined in the Project on Animation suggests that this proposition is untrue. And, indeed, why should one expect it to be? The socio-economic classes where no such deprivation can be said to have existed, where people have not been alienated by disparagement from their own idiom, also manifest no such large-scale creativity, interest in the arts and social involvement.

There have then been some alterations in the prospects that appeared to open up when the Project on Animation first began. Few would now confidently claim that adequate expenditure on socio-cultural animation could achieve a massive break-through which would have a large-scale impact on the life-style of the working classes. The success which is now expected consists in the gradual and steady increase of a minority – a minority which is encouraged and facilitated in its activities. To some extent the target of the animateur has become the individual rather than the whole community – the socio-cultural progress which an individual can make. Community activities, events and opportunities are only a part of socio-cultural animation. It has justly been called a process of cultural liberation, but it is a process in which people themselves must actively seek liberty, co-operating in their own socio-cultural emancipation by efforts which cross-cut the inclination towards ease and inertia and drifting with the crowd.

This is not to say that the quality of community life is no longer a prime concern of animation. This concern is, however, now likely to be more pragmatical in objective, more modest in expectation, and less political in scope. Its emphasis will be less on the generalisations of "real democracy" and more on intermediate, concrete results such as the multiplication of groups in the community, the increase of socio-cultural facilities and attractions, the enrichment of "life on the streets", and the diminution of loneliness and isolation through contacts around creative and expressive activities. If today the

promotion of action-groups and the demand for autogestion occupy a less prominent place in the repertoire of animation, this is not because of any ideological retreat, but because experience has demonstrated that social criticism and action towards closer control of social situation offer only a feeble attraction to most of those whom the animateur wishes to animate; and because opportunities for participation in community decision-making have so often proved to be opportunities only for the emergence of some new, unrepresentative hierarch. It has been noted that the realisation of participation and autogestion demand much patient preparation before a majority of the people can make use of them without becoming willing victims of a new dominator. Animation, as those engaged in the project have always clearly asserted is not political in any direct partisan sense but is, if effective, bound to have politicising results. Today, animateurs are more inclined than formerly to see these not as centring immediately around protests and demos but as the spread of a general awareness which will ensure that even the least sophisticated sections of society can, as necessary, produce free associations to combat injustice by exercising legal rights – what de Tocqueville calls "des associations libres qui soient en état de lutter contre la tyrannie sans détruire l'ordre".

There is another respect in which the wording of the foregoing papers may, in places and at times, now seem to be over-pitched. It is clear now that governments cannot always be accused of neglecting socio-cultural animation merely because their explicitly named "Cultural Policy" or "Arts Policy" has taken little account of it. A good deal may well have been done, or should have been done, under policies with a different title, perhaps under the aegis of other ministries. For example, in the United Kingdom, as well as the work of the Arts Council, which is charged with the maintenance of the heritage arts and their development, there have been programmes for community, youth and adult centres under the Ministry of Education, and for community development under the Home Office. There is great overlap between them in objective, and progress will obviously lie not in depriving one to build up another but in enriching and co-ordinating all of them in a new comprehensive cultural development policy. At regional level the Arts Council has taken the initiative along this road exploiting the kinship between community arts programmes and socio-cultural animation through adult and community centres, as well as carrying out its work as custodian of the cultural patrimony. A similar stage of development is observable in other countries, such as the Federal German Republic.

The foregoing points have not been made to sound any general withdrawal or to confess any less of faith in the potential of socio-cultural animation and the need for it in Europe. They record what seem at the present time to be realities of which account must be taken in forming a forward-looking strategy. They cannot claim any finality or infallibility. The work for animation goes on in the new Project on The Quality of Life in European Towns where it will be co-ordinated with work for the heritage arts and the contemporary artist at any level, professional or non-professional. The 1977 Summer Number 32, of the CCC publication *Education and Culture* gives a lively picture of this ongoing work and tasks on the animation side which lie ahead are outlined in the final report of the Animation Project *Audit and Legacy*.

APPENDIX

Some other papers and studies produced in the framework of the Project on Socio-cultural Animation

(Unless otherwise stated, these are all published by the CCC.)

Managing facilities for cultural democracy; documentation of the San Remo Symposium, 1972.

P. Moulinier, Reflections on the training of animateurs, 1974.

M. Mason, The school and the socio-cultural development of the community, 1974.

A. Martynow-Remiche, Animation and the theatre, 1974.

P. Moulinier, Animation and the cultural industries – the French experience, 1974.

J. M. Moeckli, Reflections on cultural democracy.

F. Jor, The demystification of culture: animation and creativity, 1976.

A. J. Kingsbury, The place of radio and television in socio-cultural animation, 1973.

J. A. Simpson, Audit and legacy – final report of the project on Socio-cultural Animation, 1976.

Relevant documents produced in the framework of other projects

Facilities for cultural democracy, report of the Rotterdam Symposium, 1970.

Decentralisation of cultural promotion:

Case Study No. 1, Montbéliard (France) and the Swiss Jura, H. Ingberg, 1976.

Case Study No. 2, Verviers (Belgium) and Frankfurt (Federal Republic of Germany), H. Ingberg, 1976.

Case Study No. 3, The Norwegian experience of decentralisation compared with other Scandinavian practices, D. As and G. Billing, 1976.

Case Study No. 4, Le Havre (France) and Bologna (Italy), Institute of Cultural Development, 1976.

S. Mennell, report of the Nuremberg Colloquy on the Decentralisation of Cultural Promotion, 1976.

S. Mennell, Cultural policy in towns, 1976.

J. A. Simpson, Towards cultural democracy, 1976.

J. Giusti, Video as an instrument of community development in new towns, 1975.

J. Hopkins, Socio-cultural applications of television technology in the UK, 1975.

J. D. Halloran, Communication and community, 1975.

H. Lhoest, Video-animation in French-speaking Belgium, 1975.

L. & V. Soule, Two-way radio and socio-cultural development, 1976.

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