Youth & Policy

Number 93
Autumn 2006

The National Youth Agency

The National Youth Agency
supports those involved in young people's personal and social development and works to enable all young people to fulfil their potential as individuals and citizens within a socially just society.

We achieve this by:
● informing, advising and helping those who work with young people in a variety of settings;
● influencing and shaping youth policy and improving youth services nationally and locally; and
● promoting young people's participation, influence and place in society.

Contents

Youth & Policy
no. 93
Autumn 2006

Contributors

Billie Oliver is a lecturer in Community and Youth Studies at the University of the West of England (Bristol).

Hannah Smithson is a Senior Research Fellow at the Applied Criminology Centre, University of Huddersfield.

John Flint is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, Sheffield Hallam University.

Paul Thomas is a Senior Lecturer in Youth and Community Work at the University of Huddersfield.

Helen Sender is a researcher at the Centre for Community Research, University of Hertfordshire.

Brian Littlechild is Associate Head of the School of Health and Social, Community and Health Studies/Academic Manager, University of Hertfordshire.

Nick Smith is the Youth Offending Team Manager for Hertfordshire.

Graeme Stuart is a team leader at the Family Action Centre and volunteers with the Foundation for Young Australians.

Identity and Change: youth working in transition

Billie Oliver

Government policy over the past 10 years has led to changes in both roles and practices for those who work with young people. The impact has been to cause anxiety and confusion for many working in this field and to lead them to question their sense of professional identity. This paper, based on research with Connexions Personal Advisers, draws parallels with theories relating to young people's identity confusion and transition. It highlights the importance of workers, managers and policy makers engaging in open and exploratory dialogue about new ideas, rather than becoming reactive or defensive about their role or 'profession'. Concluding parallels are drawn with youth work practices of creating 'safe spaces' in which to explore and trial new ideas and identities.

Keywords: Identity, transition, professional role, youth work, Connexions.

Stephen Moore (2005) provides a succinct overview of the changing policy context for youth work since 1997. In that article he highlights the 'significant shifts' in government thinking that have seen the introduction of 'four different, sometimes overlapping' approaches to youth work. Each one of these shifts has had an impact on the practice and context of youth work and has given rise to ongoing debates about the 'nature' and definition of youth work. I recently spent four years working with practitioners experiencing the confusion and uncertainty brought about by one of those policy shifts – the introduction of the Connexions Service (DfEE, 2000). Reflecting on the way in which those practitioners described their struggle to maintain a sense of identity, I was often struck by the strong parallels between their experience and that of young people in transition. I felt there was something to be learned from the ways in which we engage with young people to help them make sense of their experience of change that we could apply to ourselves as practitioners in transition. Although it is based on the findings from my research with Connexions practitioners, this article argues that those of us involved in work with young people would be better enabled to explore the challenges to our sense of identity if we were to take an approach informed by youth work values and principles. As Williamson (2005) has argued, one of the purposes of everyday youth work practice is to engage with young people in ways that 'lead them out and forward'. It is my argument that we should be prepared to adopt this approach in relation to our own practice and occupational identities as well.

Role change

Considerable confusion and uncertainty currently surrounds the workforce roles and

employment structures for all professions working with children and young people in England. The Green Paper, *Every Child Matters* (DfES, 2003) introduced into our professional arena the advent of a plethora of policies, protocols and plans affecting the way work with children and young people is to be carried out. *The Children's Workforce Reform Strategy* (DfES, 2005a) claimed that the aim of government within the *Every Child Matters* agenda is to 'stimulate new ways of working and the development of new roles' and that over time we might expect that the children and young people's workforce 'could change considerably'. More recently still *Youth Matters* (DfES, 2005b) warned us that we must be prepared for yet further changes to 'both roles and practices' of engaging with young people aged 13 to19. Understandably perhaps, workers, employers and professional educators are reeling under the seemingly never ending barrage of new proposals and trying to make sense of where, or if they fit into them.

As Tucker (2005) has pointed out, the impact of all this rapid change is to cause anxiety and stress for those who work with young people and to lead them to question their sense of identity. Tucker conceives of the resulting attempts to construct a stable occupational identity as a 'site of struggle' (Foucault, 1991) wherein competing discourses are juggling for position. However, he also argues that ways of working with young people change over time in response to differing and new demands and priorities with the consequence that an occupational identity for youth working has never been fixed 'in any absolute sense' (p.212). However, as Williamson (2005) has pointed out, there are some who respond to this 'threat' of change by becoming 'reactive' or defensive about their role and their 'profession' and who, in so doing, risk being seen as 'out of touch' or unwilling to engage in current debates about practice. Williamson (2005) and others have recently argued for youth work practitioners to engage constructively and collaboratively, rather than reactively, in articulating the educative and transformative values of their practice. In this way, it is argued, the credibility of youth work will be enhanced. From my research with Connexions Personal Advisers (PAs) I also reached this conclusion. In addition, I found that engaging in dialogue about practice and articulating their practice values to others, helped the PAs to construct and maintain a stronger sense of their own identity as practitioners.

Researching Identity

The introduction of the Connexions Service and Strategy in 2001 brought about significant change for a number of organisations and professional groups, causing them to re-examine their own professional distinctiveness and role in ways which are highly resonant of current responses to the development of Children's Trusts and workforce 'modernisation' (Garrett, 2002; Ainley et al, 2002, Smith, 2000, Szymczyk, 2003). At the heart of the new Connexions Service was the 'new professional role' of Personal Adviser (PA) who, it was envisaged, would have an 'overview of the whole of a young person's needs', form a relationship of trust with them, provide a first point of intervention and then 'broker' the support of relevant specialist agencies with the aim of engaging the young person in a 'participative approach to change' (DfEE, 2000).

I became involved with the Connexions Strategy from 2001 to 2005, as a lecturer at one of the Higher Education Institutions contracted to deliver the mandatory national

'conversion' training programme: the Diploma for Connexions Personal Advisers. Much has already been written about the policy imperative behind Connexions, the nature of the training programme and the role of the Connexions Personal Adviser (PA) (see for example Watts, 2001; Jeffs and Smith, 2001; Hoggarth and Smith, 2004; Holmes, 2004; Oliver, 2002, 2004). Connexions has always been (and continues to be) a contested area. However, it is not my intention to revisit, or add to those debates in this article. Instead, my aim here is to present my findings and reflections from research I undertook, in 2004, with the Connexions Personal Advisers who had participated in the national Connexions training programme with us at UWE. The central aim of my research was to develop an understanding of the strategies the Connexions PAs used to help them construct and re-negotiate their identities during times of change and help them establish a more secure sense of self. The process of transition, and the way that they articulated it, had a high degree of resonance for me with the struggles and uncertainties experienced by young people as they make the transition from childhood to adulthood. It is what we can learn from that parallel process to help us make sense of the current confusion in our professional field that is the focus of this article.

Having said that, I acknowledge that there were substantial difficulties and contradictions with the way in which Connexions and the role of the Connexions PA were introduced, and that these contradictions inevitably contributed to some of the confusions experienced by new PAs. As I have described elsewhere (Oliver, 2004), in the early years of the strategy, training providers had very little flexibility over the delivery and interpretation of the prescribed training materials. Furthermore, Connexions was a very new approach about which neither trainers nor participants had much knowledge or experience. Data from our early evaluations of the training programme suggest that both trainers and participants felt 'thrown together' to work with something they did not necessarily understand, and of which they felt little ownership. Inevitably therefore, some of the confusion and challenge to their sense of identity, voiced by respondents in my study, were related to contradictions in the way the policy was rolled out and managed. The impact of this should not be under-emphasised, but is beyond the scope and focus of this article.

Feedback from participants on the training programme that I was involved with, had indicated since 2001, a consistent and persistent confusion surrounding questions such as 'who and what is Connexions?' and 'who and what is a Personal Adviser?' My emergent interest through working with these PAs, therefore, became focused on the need to understand, not only the nature of the radical changes affecting the field of working with young people, but also how such changes impact on professional work and the identities adopted by those involved. In seeking to clarify these issues I designed an open-ended questionnaire which I sent to every participant who had completed either the Diploma for Connexions Personal Advisers or the *Understanding Connexions* module with us at UWE since 2001. The aim of the questionnaire was to elicit the views of the Connexions Advisers about their role identity: in relation to young people they work with, in relation to other professionals with whom they worked, and in relation to their sense of congruence with any previous or existing professional identity. In this respect the definition of 'professional identity' that I was working with was one concerned with the 'attributes, beliefs, values, motives and experiences' by which people define themselves in a professional role. Freidson (1994:150) suggests that 'whatever else a profession is, it represents a kind of work that

people do for a living'. The kind of work under consideration in my research has been described by Tucker (2004:81) as 'youth working' which he uses as a 'shorthand definition for the occupational activities involved in the fields of health, welfare and education'. It is this perspective of professional identity as 'occupational identity' or 'work role identity' that was the focus of my research. What does calling ourselves a 'youth worker' or a 'social worker' mean to us in identity terms? And what happens to that sense of ourselves when someone creates a new role and/or title for us?

The questionnaire was sent to all participants who had completed the Connexions training at UWE. For ethical reasons I did not include any participant who was still 'a student' – that is anyone who had not yet successfully completed all the modules. Not only could such a request put an additional pressure on participants who had 'fallen behind' but I feared that the potential need to 'stay on my good side' could be construed as coercion. This gave me a population of 271 potential respondents, of whom 109 returned completed questionnaires, a 40% response rate. The sample of returned questionnaires was representative of the total population of PAs with whom we had worked and also representative of the national picture of the Connexions workforce in terms of gender and previous professional role. Of the respondents 35% had a previous professional qualification in Careers Guidance, 15% in youth work, 11% in social work and 11% in teaching. The remainder either had no previous professional qualification or fell into an 'other' category such as Business Administration, Housing Management or Counselling. After analysing the questionnaires I further carried out 11 in-depth one-to-one reflexive interviews which explored in more detail some of the concepts and themes around identity construction that had been raised in the questionnaire responses. Again, the sample selected for interview was representative in terms of gender, professional background and Connexions Partnership.

Complex transitions

One of the themes that began to take shape when analysing the questionnaires and the interviews, was the seemingly parallel process operating whereby the PAs had been undergoing a similar process of confusion and identity transition to the young people with whom they were working. It seemed to me that there is an interesting symmetry to be found in examining the process of transitional identity exploration taking place for a group of practitioners whose new role was specifically introduced with the aim of helping young people manage their own transitions.

For the past 30 years or so, the dominant discourse for interpreting the experiences of young people has been the 'transitions discourse'. It is widely accepted that young people's lives change rapidly and often dramatically between the ages of 13 – 25 as they move towards independence (Coleman et al, 2004). However, increasingly commentators refer to 'extended transitions' and 'precarious transitions' and to the fact that a number of different transitions occur at different times during adolescence and these are all experienced differently depending on social background, ethnic origin, gender and on living circumstances.

It is important to recognise that the overall transition from child to adult is accomplished

through multiple smaller transitions all of which may potentially be stressful or difficult in themselves (Coleman et al, 2004: 227)

In recent years much has been written about the 'extended' nature of 'youth transitions' (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Miles, 2000; Coles, 2004; Bradley and Hickman, 2004; Thomson et al, 2004) and it is a widely held view that for young people the transition to adulthood or independence has become much more protracted, unpredictable and increasingly 'fragmented' in that the different markers of adulthood are 'increasingly uncoupled from each other' (Thomson et al, 2004:xiv). Increasingly, discussions about 'youth transitions' are set within the context of a rapidly changing, uncertain and confusing post-industrial society which have meant that young people today have to negotiate 'a set of risks' which were largely unknown to their parents. This increased uncertainty is widely acknowledged to be a source of stress and vulnerability (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997) and the extension of transitions and changes to the 'typical sequence of events,' is seen as having implications for the construction and establishment of a stable identity (Côté and Allahar, 1996). As such the search for an individual identity, it is argued, has become elongated and more complex (Adams and Marshall, 1996).

It could be argued that a similar set of circumstances have been affecting the education, employment and identity of the traditional professions in recent years, including (or especially) those involved with working with young people. Government policy agendas since 1997 have increasingly sought to blur the boundaries between professional roles, to set an agenda around working with 'targeted' and individual young people and to pursue a 'social inclusionist' (Levitas, 1998) agenda that has challenged the core values and principles of many professional groups. Just as for young people, the resulting increased uncertainty brings with it increased stress and vulnerability for practitioners and can have implications for the construction and establishment of a stable role identity.

Recognition and Identity

Many theorists have attempted to explore and explain the process of identity construction in relation to young people and in particular to the period in young peoples lives that psychologists call 'adolescence'. In exploring some of these approaches to understanding transitions and identity construction I have drawn parallels with the experiences of professionals in transition as described in my research with Connexions PAs. For example, major theorists, such as Erikson (1968), tend to agree that the formation of a personal identity should be defined in terms of what is taken to be 'self' in contrast to what is considered to be 'other'. The process of 'othering' is seen as a way of defining and securing one's own positive identity through the stigmatization of an 'other'. The means by which one differentiates oneself from others is considered to be central to the experience of forming an identity (Geldard and Geldard, 2004). It is this concept of a unique 'self' that can be differentiated from an 'other' that is so deeply threatened by the current policy imperative to increase 'joined-up working', inter-professional teams, 'lead professionals' and new blended roles such as the 'social pedagogue' (DfES, 2005a).

In my research it became apparent that Personal Advisers felt themselves to be working in

a context where very few people understood what their role was and what added value they could offer to other roles. Responses indicated a very strong perception that unless others were able to recognise and understand the unique contribution they brought, it was very difficult to maintain a sense of having a professional 'identity'. Such a challenge to their sense of uniqueness was brought about primarily through the creation of a new role and new, unfamiliar role title. There were indications that respondents believed 'everyone knows what a youth worker, teacher, or nurse is and does' but not what or who a Personal Adviser was. The significance of a 'title' that 'everyone' understands was perceived as being an important factor in the construction of a professional identity, even though in reality the practice behind the label may not be uniform across all contexts.

> It's important that other professionals understand your professional identity because you're not working in isolation – you're linking in with all these other organisations – they need to see where you fit in (PA 225).

The process of confusion and uncertainty brought about through no longer being 'recognised' as having a unique role or contribution led these practitioners on a stressful journey of exploration into who or what they were, are or could be. Erikson (1968) suggested that during the process in which a sense of identity transforms there will be an unconscious striving for continuity with a previous sense of self and that the process of change will entail a period of questioning and exploration before commitment to an identity is achieved. Marcia (1980), expanded on Erikson's thinking to develop a model of identity statuses based on these dimensions of exploration and commitment. Marcia's model includes four 'statuses':

- Individuals who lack a meaningful sense of direction and/or do not appear to be concerned about identity questions are defined as having identity diffusion status;
- Individuals who have commitments to beliefs or goals but have not gone through an exploration process are classified as having identity foreclosure status;
- Individuals who are struggling with their beliefs and goals, but have yet to make a firm commitment are classified as having identity moratorium status;
- And individuals who have gone through a period of crisis or exploration and have committed to an occupation or belief are classified as identity achieved.

It has been reported (Dunkel and Anthis, 2001) that research seeking to apply this model consistently found, among other findings, that change between statuses is common and that the 'moratorium' status might be better conceptualised as a transitional period than an outcome. Markus and Nurius (1986) therefore developed the theory of 'possible selves' to help explain this transitional period. They defined possible selves as representations of 'individuals' ideas about what they might become, what they would like to become, and what they are afraid of becoming' (p.954). A growing body of research has explored the connection between possible selves and a variety of human activity and recent empirical research into the 'Possible Selves' construct has tended to suggest that possible selves emerge during what are called 'affectively significant relationships' (Kerpelman and Pittman, 2001, Rossiter, 2003). As a consequence, much recent research has begun to focus on the relational component of identity construction.

Relationships involve interdependence; connection arises out of the recognition of differentiation and implies the potential for valuing the 'other' as a unique but connected individual. (Hunter, 2003:339)

Connection and identity

Interestingly, one of the key strategies for maintaining or developing a sense of professional identity to emerge from my research with Connexions PAs also indicated the importance of a sense of connection to others. Many respondents spoke of their need to build a collective professional identity in order to re-establish some sense of credibility and break down their feelings of isolation and confusion about their role. What seemed to help practitioners to construct or mould their sense of identity within Connexions was the ability to seek out and work with others who, for example:

understand what I'm talking about,

or who worked with young people:

in the same way'

and who faced similar challenges in their day to day work. It was the ability or opportunity to have an ongoing dialogue with peers that seemed to help them develop an understanding of who and what they are and what they could be in the future.

I think it's important to have a group of people who understand, even if it's just to put it in context and to reassure you that you're not completely out on a limb. It's really helpful to sound it out with someone else and hear them say they agree with you – or even disagree – but at least be on the same wavelength. It's helpful to touch base every now and then and check out that you're not the only one that thinks the way you do (PA 204).

In relation to theories of identity construction in young people, Adams and Marshall (1996) have pointed out this apparent 'paradoxical association' between the need for a sense of uniqueness or individuation and the need for 'communion' which focuses on the need for 'belongingness, connectedness, and union with others'. Identity construction, they insist, is dependent on both a sense of uniqueness and a sense of belonging. Integration centres on the involvement, connection and communion with others and socialisation that facilitates integration will result in 'a sense of mattering in the form of a social or collective identity' (p.431). This dynamic inter-play between the individual and the social functions is, they claim, critical. A high degree of differentiation which results in extreme uniqueness of an individual can be met with a lack of acceptance by, and communion with others which can lead to marginalisation. Conversely, 'extreme connectedness' and low differentiation can curtail an individual's sense of uniqueness and agency which can lead to difficulties adapting to new circumstances. It is a recognition of such potential outcomes that, by my reading, is behind Williamson's (2005:82) call for youth workers to engage in a wider exploration of their contribution to the broader political agenda.

One of the ways in which groups of professionals connect with each other is through what has been described as a 'community of practice'. Based on an idea developed by Lave and Wenger (1991) communities of practice are defined as being a group of people who engage in a process of collective learning in a shared domain (Wenger, 2005). Communities of practice help practitioners 'build knowledge' by providing a forum for talking together and in this respect, according to Wenger, can be seen as a powerful mechanism for building collective professional identities. However, as Gilchrist (2004) has observed, the notion of 'community' can have its downside, with relationships not always being universally beneficial either for the individual or society as a whole. She points out that where people tend to associate with 'people who are like themselves' this can lead to exclusivity and to the maintenance of only those connections that are 'comfortable or convenient' (p.101). Smith (2003) makes a similar observation exposing a danger with Lave and Wenger's (1991) description of the way in which individuals are 'subsumed' into the community identity and learn to 'speak, act and improvise in ways that make sense in the community'. Smith suggests that there may be situations where the community of practice 'is weak or exhibits power relationships that seriously inhibit entry and participation' (p.5). The points that are being made here are that if we are not careful 'communities' or networks of 'like-minded people' can become protective cliques that not only exclude others but can also lead to the perpetuation of poor and unaccountable practice. As Wenger (1998:152) suggests,

> when we are with a community of practice of which we are a full member, we are in familiar territory … we experience competence and we are recognised as competent, we know how to engage with others, we understand why they do what they do ... moreover we share the resources they use to communicate.

Comforting and tempting as this model sounds there is a danger that such communities could fail to challenge the thinking and values behind some of our assumptions and practices. Williamson (2005:76) takes a similar view arguing that for too long youth work has been perceived as 'isolationist and oppositional' and that if youth workers and youth work are to be taken seriously in the changing policy environment we must be prepared to 'articulate the rhyme and reason' of our practice to others. As Freidson (1994:196) has also argued, if 'professionalism' is to flourish, it is essential that practice be infused with a spirit of openness and by the conviction that one's decisions should be routinely open to inspection and evaluation through a 'culture of peer review'. What I discovered in my research, however, was that in times of confusion and change, practitioners tend to lose confidence in both their ability to practise and their ability to articulate their practice effectively. The PAs in my research frequently described themselves as feeling uncertain and incompetent in role.

Competence and identity

Thomson et al (2004) have suggested that one way of thinking about the changing conditions of young people's lives is to recognise that in becoming adult, young people are pursuing the experience and recognition of 'competence', or 'the feeling that you are good at doing or being something' (p. xv). Such discussions of threats to identity and

to feelings of loss of 'competence' in times of confusion and rapid change are highly resonant of the way in which Connexions Personal Advisers described their feelings about their new role. PAs in my research often linked the sense of threat to their professional identity with the feeling that their professional 'expertise' and 'competence' was being eroded through the unfamiliar nature of the new role. They described feeling like 'unskilled novices' again and in need of support and development. They also described themselves as feeling 'ashamed' and 'embarrassed' due to their perception that 'others' were not able to recognise their contribution or competence because of their new and unfamiliar role. Many respondents referred to the 'struggle' they faced trying to explain and clarify their new role to others and this struggle was very often described in terms of causing a challenge to their feelings of self worth and professional identity.

Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) conceived a model of skill acquisition which attempts to map the changes in thinking which occur as a practitioner learns how to act in new and more complex situations and they place 'novice' as the earliest level of learning when we are still dependent on 'context-free' rules for our actions. In their model, learners progress through levels of 'competence', 'proficiency' and 'expertise'. On reaching the 'expert' stage they suggest, a practitioner's skill and knowledge have become so much a part of them that they take them for granted – they have become intuitive. Applying such an analysis to the way in which PAs in my research described their capabilities in role suggests that, whereas in their previous role they had mostly felt able to perform intuitively, in the new role they felt as though they had lost all that confidence and were being forced to learn the rules all over again. Eraut (2004) has described this as a 'transition period' when practitioners are not only expected to learn new practices but also to unlearn old ones. During such a transition period, he argues, practitioners cannot rely on their intuitive practice or tacit knowledge and will find their performance level reduced.

> *The result is disorientation, exhaustion and vulnerability. The practitioners have become novices again without having the excuse of being a novice to justify a level of performance that fails to meet even their own expectations* (p.114).

Underpinning all of the theoretical perspectives on the construction of a stable identity is the implicit assumption that the process of identity change and re-construction involves varying degrees of distress/discomfort, development of self awareness, confrontation and resolution. In relation to professional identity such change can 'generate discomfort, anxiety and anger' as practitioners 'struggle to cope with the disintegration of one version of professional identity before a new version can be built' (Frost et al, 2005:188). Taylor (2004:86) suggests that such a transition period involves a process of 'unlearning' which can be seen as a 'transformative' experience of personal growth involving what she describes as 'receptivity, recognition and grieving'. Receptivity involves being open to new evidence, ideas or ways of working. Recognition involves recognising the validity of the new ideas or evidence to support the new practices. And grieving involves the loss and confusion that may be experienced when new ideas 'touch the core of professional identity'. Taylor suggests that practitioners must 'unlearn' before they can be effectively open to new practices and that the most effective way to achieve this is within a 'safe environment with informed, trusted and engaged colleagues'.

Somewhere to go, someone to talk to

A key theme to emerge from my research into transitional professional identities has been recognition of the importance of creating opportunities that enable practitioners to explore the rationale and principles behind any change strategy that impacts on their role identity, to allow them to build on and develop their 'forgotten selves' (Ibarra, 2003) and to enable them to place themselves within the new strategy. In this way professional practice is defined in terms of values and practices – where the 'why do I do' is of the utmost significance.

Halford and Leonard (1999) have concluded that many change management initiatives make the mistake of working from a 'structural' interpretation in striving to create a new organisational culture or identity. In this approach organisations try to 'bend individual identities to their own imperatives' while failing to take sufficient account of the values or 'agentic needs' that underpin many people's professional identities. In my research I found just such a tension had been created within the Connexions Service which had led many PAs to resist or reject associations with their new identity that were not congruent with their own professional values. There was a perceived 'top-down' approach to trying to 'force' people into a new role and identity without consideration for the impact this would have on their sense of self. As predicted by Halford and Leonard (1999) this approach led to some PAs resisting or circumventing the changes in order to maintain their 'old sense of self'. Halford and Leonard suggest that in most situations, rather than willingly take on a new identity through 'labelling from above', most individuals appear to want to take a 'more agentic role in evaluating (the ideologies) and placing themselves in relation to it' (p.119). This view was supported strongly by participants in my research.

> If someone tells you you're going to be someone else – unless you're a very conforming person – you have to have some investment in it – to identify with it in some way. Otherwise you're going to become a very unhappy workforce, or people will leave. You should want to change. You've got to be able to see the point of it, to be able to relate to it (PA 144).

Boyask et al (2004) have also noted this tendency towards a 'top-down' approach to the introduction of new ways of working. They observe that this has resulted in practitioners being required to become the implementers of policies decided elsewhere. They call instead for a model of professional practice that not only seeks to involve service users, but also to involve the professionals. The 'involved professional', they argue, should be able to 'participate in shaping the dynamic professional culture in which they are engaged by drawing on the professional knowledge which policy makers and managers may not possess' (p.3). This would involve drawing on the 'collective skills and knowledge of their communities' and seeking out and 'trialling theoretical rationales' to help them make sense of their context and experience.

Eraut (2004) has suggested that professionals in transition need to be given a great deal of support, 'especially during the early stages of change when they are disoriented and often disillusioned' and that they need to be 'encouraged' to share their experiences and learn how to adapt the new approach to their own context. He has explored and evaluated some

approaches to enabling this and concludes that

> *those who have spent time sharing their practice with others ... do find that they are able to articulate more of their knowledge than colleagues without such experience. They also claim to be more critical about their practice as a result of trying to spell it out* (p.176).

However, he observed that in 'all but a few notable exceptions', managers and policy makers have tended to regard change as a 'political and administrative process involving decision-making and persuasion, rather than as a learning process'. My research with Connexions PAs would tend to support this view. Throughout my research the respondents described the lack of opportunities to engage in critical debate about policy and practice at work and how this led them to seek out communities of practice that felt 'comfortable and convenient' (Gilchrist, 2004).

> *because we're all isolated from each other we've just kept on working the way we were before and with the same networks we used before. Maybe if we worked together more that would be better. I don't feel we have a strong identity. We don't have opportunities to share practice issues.* (PA 103)

In addition to adding to their feelings of isolation and confusion, this also led to their perception of not being trusted, respected or appreciated. In seeking to overcome these feelings of isolation, many of them formed their own 'support groups' which were helpful for working through their uncertainties.

> *We thought it was very important that we all got together and were able to discuss things. Because we're so isolated – you miss each other, and it's nice to catch up. We find we come up against the same issues and we find it very helpful and that it also shares good practice.* (PA 75)

This ability and willingness to explore practice, with trusted others, in a 'safe' environment emerged as a key finding from my research with Connexions PAs. In this way they were able to re-articulate to themselves, and to others, the core values of their practice and reclaim a sense of identity as a result. One of the respondents in my research first introduced the train of thought that led to me seeing parallels with the ways in which, through informal education, youth work attempts to engage with young people in transition.

> *You have to be brave and go with it when things feel different or difficult. It's challenging and you have to make an effort to move out of your comfort zone. We tell young people this so we should do it ourselves as well.* (PA 192)

As youth workers and informal educators we should not be surprised by this. However, the practice of supporting, enabling and encouraging colleagues through a change process does not always reflect the professional values that we espouse in our work with young people. Youth work practice seeks to engage young people in conversation and discussion about key issues affecting their lives. As Trotter (1999) points out, professionals working with young people use an approach characterised by 'clear, honest and frequent

discussions' and by the use of 'a collaborative problem-solving approach'. Jeffs and Smith (1996:30) suggest that youth workers develop relationships with young people primarily through 'conversation' which involves 'concern, trust, respect, appreciation, affection and hope' and that in order to build and maintain trust with young people workers need to be 'fair, truthful, punctilious about fulfilling obligations, thoughtful and unselfish in their conduct' (p.53). Analysis of responses in my research suggests that there may be merit in adopting a similar approach to assisting the youth work workforce to feel empowered through the current changes.

Conclusion

In this article I have attempted to draw parallels between theories relating to young people's identity confusion and transition and the experience of youth work practice in transition. Based on some of the findings from my research with Connexions PAs, it has been my analysis, that when seeking ways to work with youth work practitioners facing transition we need to draw on approaches based on youth work values of dialogue, open-questioning and exploration of possibilities in a process of co-inquiry. Sachs (2001:154) reaches similar conclusions, arguing that a transformative attitude to identity is more likely to emerge from 'democratic discourses' which promote the open flow of ideas, regardless of their popularity, and which enable people to be as fully informed as possible. When seeking to engage young people in a participatory and exploratory approach to new ideas we aim first to gain their trust and respect. If youth work aims to demonstrate 'concern, trust, respect, appreciation, affection and hope', then any approach to engaging youth workers in new debates about practice, should be based on the same aims. In the words of one of my research respondents:

> We were given time out recently as a community team. That was really good ....and we had a lot of our sessions in our community area and that helps give you a bit of an identity. That was a really positive thing. It gave us more ownership of what/how we wanted to contribute to the agenda. I really felt that I was a 'part of something' by having time out with a group of colleagues. And we really did gel and got some very good ideas together. We came up with our own targets and I thought that showed a lot of vision by management to say 'we trust you to get on and do it'. Trust is important (PA 197)

References

Adams, G.R. and Marshall, S.K. (1996) 'A developmental social psychology of identity: understanding the person-in-context', in *Journal of Adolescence*, 19, 429-442.

Ainley, P., Barnes, T. and Momen, A. (2002) 'Making Connexions: a case study in contemporary social policy', in *Critical Social Policy*, vol.22, no.2, pp. 376 – 388.

Boyask, D., Boyask, R. and Wilkinson, T. (2004) 'Pathways to "Involved Professionalism": Making Processes of Professional Acculturation Intentional and Transparent' in *Medical Education Online 2004*; 9.13. www.med-ed-online.org

Bradley, H. and Hickman, P. (2004) 'In and Out of Work? The Changing Fortunes of Young

People in Contemporary Labour Markets', in eds. J Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, and R. Flynn, *Youth In Society*, second edition, London:Sage.

Coles, B. (2004) Welfare Services for Young People: Better Connections?' In eds. J Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, and R. Flynn, *Youth In Society*, second edition, London: Sage.

Coleman, J., Catan, L. and Dennison, C. (2004) 'You're the Last Person I'd Talk To' in eds. J. Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, and R. Flynn, *Youth In Society*, second edition, London: Sage, pp. 227- 234.

Côté, J. E. and Allahar, A. L. (1996) *Generation on Hold. Coming of Age in the Late Twentieth Century*, New York: New York University Press.

DfEE (Dept. for Education and Employment) (2000) *The Connexions Service: prospectus and specification*, Nottingham: DfEE.

DfES (2003) *Every Child Matters*, Cm 5860, Sept. 2003, London:The Stationery Office.

DfES (2005a) *Children's Workforce Strategy: A strategy to build a world-class workforce for children and young people*, Nottingham: DfES Publications.

DfES (2005b) *Youth Matters*, Cm 6629 July 2005, Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills, http://www.dfes.gov.uk/publications/youth/docs/youthmatters.pdf

Dreyfus, H. L. and Dreyfus, S. E. (1986) *Mind over Machine. The Power of Human Intuition and Expertise in the Era of the Computer*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Dunkel, C.S., and Anthis, K.S. (2001) 'The role of possible selves in identity formation: a short term longitudinal study' in *Journal of Adolescence*, vol. 24, 765-776.

Eraut, M. (2004) 'Learning to change and/or changing to learn' in *Learning in Health and Social Care*, vol. 3, no. 3, September 2004, pp. 111-117.

Erikson, E. H. (1968) *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, New York: Norton.

Foucault, M. (1991) *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*, Harmondsworth:Penguin.

Freidson, E. (1994) *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy and Policy*, Chicago: Polity Press.

Frost, N., Robinson, M. and Anning, A. (2005) 'Social Workers in Multidisciplinary teams: issues and dilemmas for professional practice', in *Child and Family Social Work*, vol.10, 2005, pp. 187-196.

Furlong, A. and Cartmel, F. (1997) *Young People and Social Change*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Garrett, P.M. (2002) 'Encounters in the new welfare domains of the Third Way: Social work, the Connexions agency and personal advisers', in *Critical Social Policy*, Vol.22, no. 4, pp. 596 – 618.

Geldard, K. and Geldard, D. (2004) *Counselling Adolescents*, second edition, London: Sage.

Gilchrist, A. (2004) *The Well-Connected Community: a networking approach to community development*, Bristol: The Policy Press,

Halford, S and Leonard, P. (1999) *'New Identities? Professionalism, managerialism and the construction of self'* in eds. M. Exworthy, and S. Halford, S. Professionals and the New Managerialism in the Public Sector, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Hoggarth, L. and Smith, D.I. (2004) 'Understanding the Impact of Connexions on Young People at Risk', *Research Report 607*, Nottingham: DfES.

Holmes, J. (2004) 'Inside Connexions', in *Youth and Policy*, issue 83, spring 2004, pp. 30 – 42.

Hunter, S. (2003) A critical analysis of approaches to the concept of social identity in social policy, in *Critical Social Policy*, 23 (3) Aug 2003 pp 322-345

Ibarra, H. (2003) *Working Identity: unconventional strategies for reinventing your career*,

Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Jeffs, T and Smith, M. (1996) *Informal Education – Conversation, Democracy and Learning*, Derby: Education Now Publishing Co-operative.

Jeffs, T and Smith, M. (2001) *'Social Exclusion, joined up thinking and individualisation – New Labour's Connexions Strategy'*, The encyclopaedia of informal education, www.infed.org/personaladvisers/connexions_strategy.htm, May 2001, updated January 2005.

Kerpelman, J. L. and Pittman, J. F. (2001) 'The instability of possible selves: identity processes within late adolescents' close peer relationships' *Journal of Adolescence*, vol.24, 491-512.

Lave, J. and Wenger, E, (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levitas, R. (1998) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour*, London: Macmillan.

Marcia, J. E. (1980) 'Identity in Adolescence' in ed. J. Adelson, *Handbook of adolescent psychology*, New York: Wiley, pp 159-187.

Markus, H. and Nurius, P. (1986) 'Possible Selves', *American Psychologist*, vol.41, 954-969.

Miles, S. (2000) *Youth Lifestyles In A Changing World*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Moore, S. (2005) 'The State of the Youth Service: Recruitment and retention rates of youth workers in England', in *Youth and Policy*, 88, pp. 29-44.

Oliver, B. (2002) 'Links In The Chain: an analysis of the participatory methodology being used to develop the role of the Connexions Personal Adviser' in *Youth and Policy*, issue 76, summer 2002, pp. 29-39.

Oliver, B. (2004) 'Professional Education as co-inquiry: an evaluation of the learning approach to developing the role of Connexions Personal Adviser', in *Assessment and Evaluation In Higher Education*, 29 (1) 109-121.

Rossiter, M. (2003) 'Constructing the Possible: A Study of Educational Relationships and Possible Selves' in *Proceedings of the 44th Annual Adult Education Research Conference*, San Francisco: San Francisco State University, 2003, http://www.coe.uga.edu/hsp/monographs4/rossiter.pdf.

Sachs, J. (2001) Teacher professional identity: competing discourses, competing outcomes, in *Journal of Educational Policy* vol.16 (2), pp. 149-161.

Smith, M. K. (2000) 'The Connexions Service In England', *The encyclopaedia of informal education*, http://www.infed.org/personaladvisers/connexions.htm first published January 2000, Updated 28th January 2005.

Smith, M. K. (2003) 'Communities of practice' *The encyclopaedia of informal education*, www.infed.org/biblio/communities_of_practice.htm first published January 2003, Last updated 30, January 2005.

Szymczyk, N. (2003) Facing Difficulties Together; Unison's reaction to Connexions, in *Careers Guidance Today*, vol.11,no.1, Spring 2003, pp. 29-30.

Taylor, I. (2004) 'Multi-professional Teams and the Learning Organisation' in eds. N. Gould and M. Baldwin *Social Work, Critical Reflection and the Learning Organisation*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, pp.75-86.

Thomson, R., Flynn, R., Roche, J. and Tucker, S. (2004) 'Introduction to the second edition' in eds. J Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, and R. Flynn, *Youth In Society*, second edition, London:Sage.

Trotter, C. (1999) *Working With Involuntary Clients*, London: Sage.

Tucker, S. (2004) 'Youth Working: Professional Identities Given, Received or Contested?' in

eds. J. Roche, S. Tucker, R. Thomson, and R. Flynn, *Youth In Society*, second edition, London: Sage.

Tucker, S. (2005) 'The Sum Of The Parts – Exploring Youth Working Identities' in eds. R. Harrison and C. Wise, *Working with Young People*, London: Sage/Open University.

Watts, A.G. (2001) 'Career Guidance and Social Exclusion: a cautionary tale' in British *Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 29, (2) pp.157-178

Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of Practice: Learning, meaning and identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wenger, E. (2005) *'Communities of practice: a brief introduction'*, Etienne Wenger Home Page, http://www.ewenger.com/theory/index.htm accessed 13/05/05.

Williamson, H. (2005) 'Challenging Practice: a personal view on youth work in times of changed expectations', in eds. R. Harrison and C. Wise, *Working with Young People*, London: Sage/Open University.

Essays in the History of Community & Youth Work

Edited by Ruth Gilchrist, Tony Jeffs & Jean Spence
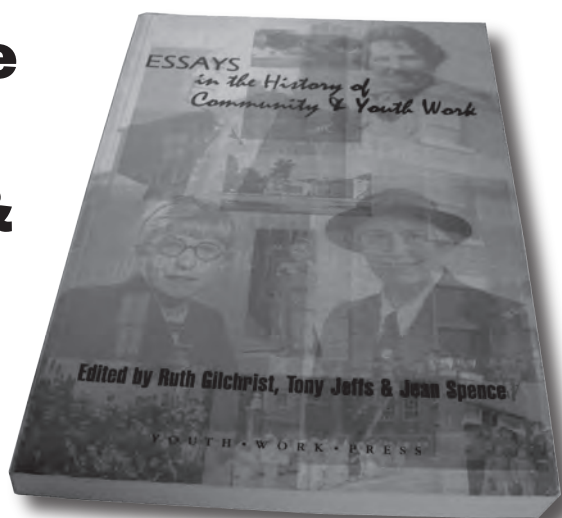
Any profession that fails to learn from its past is doomed to repeat its mistakes. Community and youth work has made a huge contribution to the wellbeing of communities but, with a few honourable exceptions, it has failed to produce its own histories. By neglecting to record its successes and it failures, it has left itself vulnerable to those who would foist on it warmed-over policies that have been tried and found wanting in the past.

This book is part of the process of putting that right. Developed from papers given at the History of Youth and Community Work conference at Ushaw College in Durham, it includes 15 chapters written by leading practitioners and researchers. Each one reflects upon a particular organisation or aspect of work from the past two centuries – from the earliest moves to make provision for young Londoners to the operation of HM Inspectorate in the 1980s. Together they not only pay homage to the pioneers in this field, they help to create a better understanding of contemporary practice and provide the means to resist pressure to go down the wrong road.

More than sentimental nostalgia, these histories offer a vantage point from which contemporary practice can be interrogated. They are an important resource for the student and researcher, but also, crucially, for the practitioner and indeed anybody who cares not just about the past but also the future of community and youth work.

Responding to Young People's Involvement in Anti-Social Behaviour: A Study of Local Initiatives in Manchester and Glasgow

Hannah Smithson and John Flint

Much current policy and media debates about anti-social behaviour in the UK have focused upon the presence and activities of groups of young people in residential spaces. Recent legislation has introduced new mechanisms for regulating the conduct of young people in public spaces, including anti-social behaviour orders, curfew orders and dispersal orders. This article provides a comparative evaluation of two local initiatives specifically aimed at reducing anti-social behaviour amongst groups of young people. The first initiative comprised the operation of a dispersal order scheme in an area of East Manchester. The second initiative involved a social landlord funding additional police patrols in a local neighbourhood in Glasgow. The article explores the rationale and operation of both these initiatives and the roles and responsibilities for different agency and community actors. It continues by identifying the outcomes of the initiatives on levels of anti-social behaviour and the wider impacts on community relations and exploring the perceptions of housing and police officers, adult residents and young people themselves.

Keywords: Anti-social behaviour Act (2003), dispersal orders, community policing and young people

Since 1998, when the Crime and Disorder Act introduced Anti-social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs), tackling anti-social behaviour has been a key priority for the New Labour government in the UK. The Anti-social Behaviour Unit was established in the Home Office in January 2003 to co-ordinate the national TOGETHER action plan to address anti-social behaviour in the worst affected local authority areas. The Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003 created new measures for dealing with anti-social behaviour including, Parenting Orders, Dispersal Orders, powers to close down crack houses, restrictions on selling spray paints to under 16s, restrictions on the misuse of fireworks and new powers for local authorities to deal with litter, graffiti and fly tipping. In 2005, the Respect Task Force was established in the Home Office and in January 2006 published an Action Plan outlining a series of proposals to take the Respect agenda 'broader, deeper and further' (Respect Task Force, 2006).

In addition to these powers, a number of bodies have been created to enforce and co-ordinate the Government's anti-social behaviour agenda. Community Support Officers (CSOs), Street Wardens and Neighbourhood Wardens form part of the 'virtual policing family' with the powers to enforce ASB policy.

A number of commentators have highlighted how new mechanisms such as ASBOs (often accompanied by 'naming and shaming' publicity strategies) and Dispersal Orders have been particularly targeted on young people (Squires and Steven, 2005; Scraton, 2005). These new mechanisms to regulate the conduct of young people both represent challenges to the legal rights and welfare assumptions provided to young people in the UK (Cleland and Tisdall, 2005; Scraton, 2005) and illustrate how an 'institutionalised mistrust of youth' (Kelly, 2003) has had a particular manifestation in governance rationales and techniques in city centres and residential neighbourhoods that seek to disperse and marginalise young people from public spaces (Rogers and Coaffee, 2005).

The research upon which this article is based provides a comparative evaluation of two local initiatives specifically aimed at reducing anti-social behaviour amongst groups of young people in public spaces: a dispersal order implemented in Manchester and a social-landlord funded additional policing initiative in the east end of Glasgow. Within the article we seek to examine the rationales and operation of the initiatives and evaluate their impacts on anti-social behaviour. In addition, we also explore the perceptions of public agency officers, and young people with respect to the above. [1]

Young People and Anti-Social Behaviour – Policy and Practice Responses

In the UK anti-social behaviour policies have been characterised by a conflating of problematic behaviour in local communities with the activities of young people. Bland and Read (2000) found that the police frequently view anti-social behaviour as a problem relating to young people. Millie et al (2005) found that the general public also associates problems of anti-social behaviour with young people, for example, graffiti, drug use and rowdiness.

The British Crime Survey (BCS) 2002/2003 found that 33 per cent of respondents viewed 'teenagers hanging around' as a 'very or fairly big problem'. (Nicholas and Walker, 2004). The 2003/2004 BCS found that overall, this had dropped to 27 per cent (Thorpe and Wood, 2004). This has made little difference to the government's agenda as young people remain the target of much anti-social behaviour legislation (Burney, 2005).

Policy responses have increased the formal control of young people through new legal mechanisms, such as ASBOs, Acceptable Behaviour Contracts (ABCs) and dispersal orders, for regulating their behaviour and increasing the visibility of official authority. Policy seeks to reduce anti-social behaviour by restricting the movement and association of young people and the imposition of fines or other sanctions on young people or their families. Parenting Orders and parent contracts with schools have reconfigured the distribution of rights and responsibilities for the conduct of children between parents, local communities and the state, with parents increasingly held accountable and subject to sanctions for the behaviour of their children, based around the impact of conduct on 'local communities' (Cleland and Tisdall, 2005).

It is argued that many anti-social behaviour measures represent an intensive monitoring and regulation of young peoples' lives (James and James, 2001) as the welfare-orientation of youth policy has become increasingly punitive (Grier and Thomas, 2003; Cleland and Tisdall, 2005). This has involved the problematisation and criminalisation of previously non-criminal activities by young people. Young peoples' citizenship rights have been curtailed through the use of ASBOs prohibiting the wearing of certain clothes or association with friends and the use of ASBOs, dispersal and curfew orders (and exclusion orders in private shopping centres) to prohibit young people's access to and use of public spaces (Goldson, 2002; James and James, 2001; Jeffs, 1997).

The 2003 Crime and Justice Survey (Hayward and Sharp, 2005) provided evidence of the extent of 10-25 year olds' involvement in anti-social behaviour. It found that 29 per cent of young people had committed at least one act of anti-social behaviour in the previous year. The most common was causing 'public disturbance' (15 per cent), followed by causing 'neighbour complaints' (13 per cent). When these figures are presented along side the number of young people who have been for example, the recipients of ASBOs, it highlights the increasingly punitive approach of dealing with young people's behaviour. From June 2000 to the end of September 2004, 991 ASBOs were imposed amongst 10-17 year olds. This represents 52 per cent of the total in that period. (Youth Justice Board, 2005). Recent figures show that 43 per cent of all ASBOs were issued to juveniles from April 1999 to September 2005 (www.crimereduction.gov.uk/asbos2.htm). Furthermore, the government is currently considering the introduction of 'baby ASBOs' which could apply to under 10s (The *Guardian* 2005).

Overview of the Two Approaches – Dispersal Orders and Community Policing

The Dispersal Order

Dispersal Orders were introduced in sections 30-36 of the Anti-social Behaviour Act 2003; and provide the police, working jointly with local authorities, new powers to disperse groups (two or more people) in a designated area (for a period of up to 24 hours) which has previously been the site of anti-social behaviour, if delegated officers have reasonable grounds for believing that the presence or behaviour of a group has resulted in, or is likely to result in, a member of the public being harassed, intimidated, alarmed or distressed. The orders can be granted for a period of up to six months which is renewable.

In addition to powers of group dispersal, when first introduced, there was also a curfew element. Young people under the age of 16 found unsupervised on the streets within a designated area between the hours of 9pm and 6am could be taken home by the police unless there were reasonable grounds for believing that this would cause the young person significant harm. However, this curfew element has been subject to a successful legal challenge, resulting in a High Court ruling that it is illegal for police officers to forcibly escort a young person to their home (www.liberty.org.uk). Home Office figures show that dispersal orders have been used extensively as 418 were implemented between January 2004 and September 2004 (www.together.gov.uk).

The creation of the dispersal order has re-ignited the debate surrounding the use of curfew powers to prevent anti-social behaviour by young people. As Walsh (2002) notes, the potential for introducing blanket curfews in the UK for under 10s was provided by sections 14 and 15 of the CDA 1998. Local authorities made little use of this power, until the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 (CJPPA, 2001) extended the age range to include under 16s and the local chief officer of police alongside the local authority were given the powers to implement curfew schemes. Even though the curfew element of dispersal powers has been overturned, it is important to highlight the critical analyses which have been offered regarding the desirability of such a power, as the findings from Manchester demonstrate that the curfew was the cause of most of the antagonism towards the implementation of the order.

Jeffs and Smith (1996:6) suggest that curfews are characteristically justified for the following reasons:

- They protect juveniles from becoming victims of crime
- Reduce the likelihood that juveniles will engage in criminal activity
- Assist parents in carrying out their responsibility to supervise their children

In terms of the effectiveness of curfews the evidence is unclear, and Jeffs and Smith (1996) promote caution. The American experience suggests that they might have a short-term effect on reducing levels of crime but in the long-term they are less effective. A review by Bannerjee (1994) found that Baltimore had the double national average of juvenile arrests for assault despite having had a curfew for nearly twenty years.

Curfews have been criticised on a number of levels, Walsh (2002) and Jeffs and Smith (1996) both provide a detailed account of these critiques. They cite age discrimination, the criminalisation of previously non-criminal behaviour, oppressive state control, increasing a moral panic about the behaviour of young people and creating hostile relations between young people and the police as the most fundamental concerns.

Community Policing
The enhanced visibility of an official authority presence in residential areas in the UK has been achieved through increasing the police presence in communities, with record numbers of police officers (now over 140,000) supported by community support officers, envisaged to number 24,000 by 2008; and through new neighbourhood policing models that maximise police visibility in order to provide reassurance to local residents (Home Office, 2004; HMIC, 2003). There is a growing pluralisation of policing functions in residential areas arising from visible patrol activities undertaken by the police, neighbourhood wardens and private security personnel (Crawford et al., 2005). This mixed economy of security provision has resulted in a diverse network of funding and contractual relationships in which additional visible patrols operational in specified locations are purchased by a growing range of organisations and resident groups (Crawford et al, 2005; Crawford et al, 2003; Crawford, 2003; Loader, 2000). As housing management has become increasingly implicated within the governance of anti-social behaviour (Brown, 2004) social landlords are also purchasing additional contracted policing services from public police forces, often in response to the perceived anti-social behaviour of young people in public spaces in residential areas. One

such initiative in Glasgow is described in this article. The use of additional public policing resources by social landlords has been subject to criticism both on operational and efficiency grounds and also by arguments highlighting the potential displacement of social problems, the adequateness of accountability mechanisms and the growing inequality of security provision and community safety levels between neighbourhoods within an increasingly fragmented geography of housing and urban governance and policing arrangements (Crawford et al., 2005; Loader, 2000).

The Research Studies

The Manchester Study

The research undertaken in Manchester was part of the wider national evaluation of the New Deal for Communities (NDC) crime theme. NDC is a government programme which aims to tackle multiple deprivation in some of the most deprived areas within the UK. Attention is paid to five key themes: health, education, employment, housing and crime. For the purposes of confidentiality and anonymity the NDC area is referred to only as the Manchester Partnership.

The research was carried out over a three month period from September 2004 until January 2005. Its aims were to: provide an overview of the processes involved in implementing a dispersal order; illustrate NDC practitioners' and police officers' experience of implementing and enforcing the order's powers and provide young people's views and experience of the order. (see Smithson, 2005 for a full review of methods).

A range of methods were used to undertake the research: semi-structured in depth-interviews were undertaken with the Community Safety Manager and the Youth Intervention Officer from the Manchester NDC Partnership; five in-depth semi-structured interviews and two focus groups were undertaken with young people (aged 14-16) living in the designated dispersal area, this involved a total of 23 young people; police officers and NDC staff were observed patrolling the dispersal area and enforcing the order; observation of four dispersal order panels used by police officers to speak with the parents of young children who were not adhering to the requirements of the order; and an analysis of police data collected on calls made regarding juvenile nuisance from 2001-2004.

Interviews and focus groups with young people were undertaken at the local Youth Offending Team (YOT) office, a room at a local youth diversionary project and a local secondary school. The sample of young people included only one female. They had experienced varying levels of contact with the police as a result of the powers imposed by the dispersal order. For example, one of them had been arrested and taken to court due to continuously breaching the curfew requirements, some had been dispersed, whilst the majority of others only had experience of the police warning them to return home prior to the curfew commencing at 21:00 each night.

The researcher accompanied police officers and NDC staff patrolling the dispersal area and enforcing the order on one occasion. This involved travelling in the allocated police van to observe how the order was enforced. It also allowed the researcher to discuss the

implications of the order with the officers. The local area police team collated figures on calls made to service regarding youth nuisance from 2001-2004 and granted the researcher access to these figures.

The Glasgow Study

The Reidvale Community Policing Initiative began in April 2004, involving a partnership between Reidvale Housing Association and Strathclyde Police whereby the housing association funded overtime payments to police officers to undertake 16 hours of additional high visibility patrols in a small designated area where the association's stock was located. The initiative was funded as a 12-month pilot but has continued since April 2005.

The evaluation of the Reidvale initiative included a stratified random household survey of 181 Reidvale Housing Association tenants living in the area subject to the policing initiative. This represents approximately 15 percent of the total Reidvale housing stock in the area, and the sample was stratified to be representative of the gender, age and housing type profiles of the area. Two waves of the survey were conducted. The first was undertaken in April 2004, just after the policing initiative has commenced and the second in April 2005, 12 months into the initiative. In addition focus groups were held with adult tenants (5) and young people (5) in April 2004 and a focus group was also held with adult tenants (6) in April 2005. Interviews were conducted with Reidvale housing officers, Strathclyde Police community police officers and a youth worker at a youth facility within Reidvale in both April 2004 and April 2005.

The evaluation also involved analysis of data provided by Strathclyde Police. This included Command and Control information, for all reported complaints to the police relating to anti-social behaviour within the study area, supplemented by additional anti-social behaviour incidence data provided by Strathclyde Police for Reidvale and three adjacent neighbourhoods. Records of complaints about anti-social behaviour and incidences of vandalism kept by Reidvale Housing Association were analysed. Finally, patrol incident report sheets completed by police officers undertaking the additional patrols were evaluated (for a full discussion about the research methodology, and its limitations, see Flint and Kearns, 2005).

The Initiatives in Operation

Manchester's Experience

A MORI survey carried out in 2004 as part of the NDC national evaluation found that 45 per cent of residents from the Manchester Partnership responded that teenagers hanging around on the streets was a serious problem in the area. Figures provided by Greater Manchester Police (GMP) demonstrate that between April 2002 – March 2003 and April 2003 – March 2004 there was an increase in the reporting of youth nuisance related incidents in the designated dispersal area. The police did acknowledge that the increase could be a result of residents becoming more willing to report youth nuisance.

Table 1: Number of Calls made to Police regarding Youth Nuisance from April 2002-March 2003 and April 2003 – March 2004.

Year	2002/2003	2003/2004	% Change	Number of victims
Designated Dispersal Area	628	725	+15	+97

The decision to implement the dispersal order was driven by the Community Safety Manager from the NDC Partnership and was presented to the local police and the city council as a means to tackle anti-social behaviour amongst young people. The decision was explained in the following way:

> *Young people on these estates have had a free rein in terms of been able to do what they want when they want and cause distress to good residents, good people. Measures like this give a certain amount of safety to people who respect the law and want to be part of the community.* (NDC Youth Intervention Officer YIO)

The order was implemented for a period of three months between 20 September 2004 and 10 January 2005. The local area police team wrote a report for the divisional Chief Superintendent stating the case for requiring the order, which included figures for calls made by residents in relation to youth nuisance and 500 signatures from residents in support of the order. The order was 'jointly managed' by the police and NDC practitioners, with both organisations supplying additional resources to establish enforcement procedures. These resources included providing police transport and police overtime, whilst the NDC's YIO accompanied police officers on area patrols in order to assist them in dealing with young people appropriately. Box 1 below illustrates the steps involved in policing and enforcing the order.

Box 1: Steps involved in policing and enforcing the Dispersal Order

- Two officers patrolled the designated area in a police vehicle from 7pm to 1am. If young people were on the streets they were reminded that the curfew commenced at 9pm for those under the age of 16.
- It was at the officer's discretion whether young people in groups of two or more were dispersed.
- From 9pm onwards details could be taken of those young people still on the streets. Those under the age of 16 were told to go home. It was at the officer's discretion as to whether or not they accompanied a young person home.
- A young person who had been dispersed and had returned to the area within a 24 hour period could be arrested, at the discretion of the officer.
- If a young person under the age of 16 continuously breached the order their parents were asked to attend a multi-agency dispersal order panel, facilitated by police officers and NDC practitioners to provide parents with information and guidance about the order.

According to police and NDC practitioners, the policing of the order resulted in young people being stopped and spoken to without necessarily being dispersed or taken home. Police officers firstly warned young people that the curfew began at 9pm and would recommend that they returned home by that time. On the occasion that the researcher observed the policing procedure the above approach was adopted. It became evident during the course of the research that the procedures lacked consistency. On occasions, liveried police vehicles were not available and unmarked vehicles had to be used, and additional officers were not always available due to other commitments in the area. The lack of a specifically allocated pool of officers led to inconsistency in policing the order, arising from the reliance upon individual officers' discretion.

During the three month period, 277 young people were stopped and 177 young people were dispersed. 96 young people aged under 16 were escorted home. A total of three arrests were made throughout the duration of the order. Dispersal Order Panels were set up by the police to meet with the parents of the young people who had breached the 9pm curfew three times or more. Parents were requested to attend the police station with their child. The police gave advice and warnings about actions that may follow if the curfew was not adhered to. These included issuing ABCs and potentially ASBOs, and parents were also advised that they could lose their tenancies.

Manchester's experience demonstrates the problems attached to policing and enforcing the order. It clearly creates an increased surveillance of young people and their families (Burney, 2005). Three under 16s were arrested as a result of not adhering to the curfew requirements which serves to strengthen the argument that New Labour's anti-social behaviour agenda is increasingly punitive and serves to criminalise previously non-criminal behaviour (Goldson, 2002). Manchester's decision to use dispersal panels as a threat for parents also serves to reinforce the notion that parents are increasingly held accountable and subject to sanctions for the behaviour of their children (Cleland and Tisdall, 2005).

Glasgow's Experience
The Reidvale Community Policing initiative occurred in response to growing concerns about serious youth disorder in the area and the inadequacy of a local police presence. The additional police patrols were specifically targeted at young people's activities. However, although the principle objectives of the scheme were to reduce anti-social behaviour and to increase residents' feelings of safety and confidence in the police, it was also recognised that improving relations between young people and adults and fostering tolerance was an important element of enhancing a sense of community locally, and the initiative was linked to the provision of youth facilities (including a youth shelter) and the promotion of an awards scheme for young people.

The initiative operated through the funding of overtime payments to police officers to undertake 16 hours of additional patrolling activity in a designated area of a few streets. Two officers jointly patrolled between 6pm and 10pm on two designated evenings each week. A total of 91 patrols were conducted between April 2004 and 31 March 2005, amounting to 364 additional police hours, with over a third of patrols conducted on Friday evenings. The timings of the patrols were negotiated between the police and housing association, and the housing association gave the police specific instructions about

particular streets or premises to focus on. Unlike the Manchester initiative, additional patrolling activity was almost always delivered, with less than 20 hours of police coverage being lost due to cancelled patrols or officers being called out within the designated patrol area. A total of 65 police officers undertook the patrols, although a quarter were conducted by a core of eight community police officers. The police provided Reidvale Housing Association with detailed report forms for each patrol and a weekly record of complaints received about anti-social behaviour. The majority of patrol activity involved walking or cycling the streets with some visits to youth facilities, commercial premises and residential properties. During the additional patrols 115 stop and searches were carried out, 18 arrests were made and on a third of patrols groups of young people were dispersed. The concentrated nature of the Housing Association stock and the designated area meant that a police presence and visibility increased significantly, as a police officer described:

> *Sometimes on one additional patrol night we will be in a street five or ten times... whereas on normal shifts we may be lucky to be in that street once.*

The residents surveys showed a 28 percent increase (to 82 percent) in the 12 months of the initiative in the proportion of residents who had seen a community police officer and a 21 percent increase (to 29 percent) in the proportion of residents who had spoken to a community police officer. However, only two thirds of respondents were aware of the policing initiative and only a third of residents reported perceiving an increase in police presence in the locality during the 12 months of the initiative (although this was a 21 percent increase on the previous 12 months).

The Impacts of the Initiatives

a) Reducing Anti-social Behaviour Involving Young People

Although New Labour has lost little time in creating a whole new raft of legislation to tackle what it sees as 'behaviour that makes other people's lives a misery', little work has been carried out to measure the effectiveness and impacts of this legislation. Dispersal orders are a prime example of this neglect. Efforts to locate data and information regarding the number of orders implemented since their creation proved difficult. Unlike ASBOs, the numbers of dispersal orders implemented and broken down by police area are not readily available from the Home Office. Evidence of impacts and effectiveness does not exist in any format other than brief examples on the government's crime reduction web site.

GMP figures for calls made by residents regarding juvenile nuisance in the designated dispersal area were obtained for August to December 2001–2004.

Chart 1 illustrates that calls fluctuated over the three year period, although 2003 experienced higher figures compared with other years. The chart provides evidence of a 'seasonal spike' occurring in the month of October, which police officers and NDC staff attributed to the misuse of fireworks. Comparing the 12 month period of January 2003 to January 2004, figures for 2004 are lower throughout the year until November and December when there is an increased percentage change. The difficulty with comparing 2003/2004 figures is that 2003 saw an exceptionally high numbers of calls being made compared with other years.

**Chart 1: Calls Made Regarding Juvenile Nuisance
Between August to December 2001–2004**
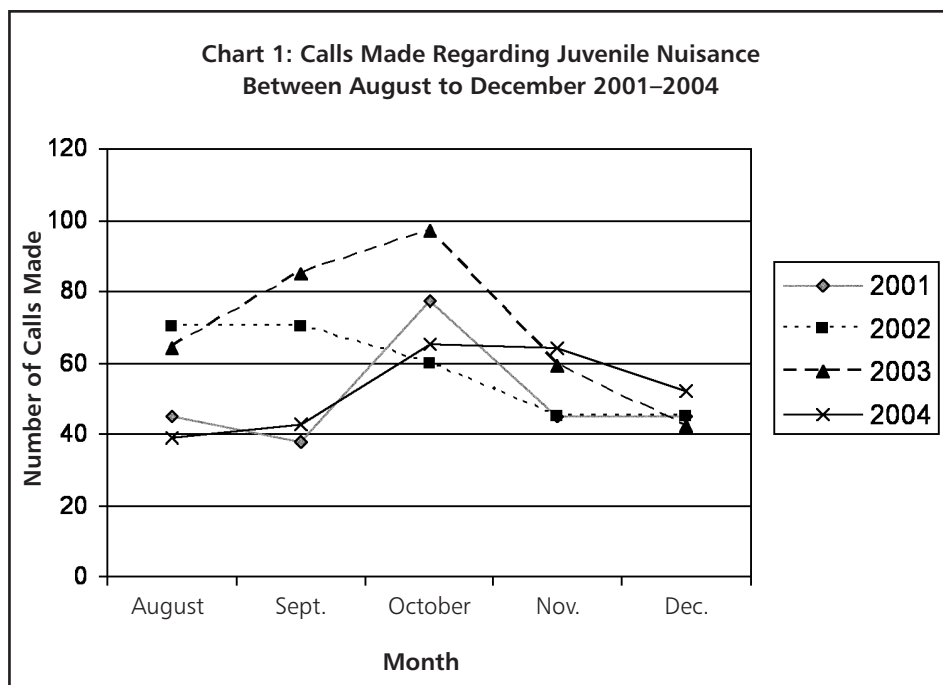
**Table2 Number of Calls Made Regarding Youth Nuisance in the designated
dispersal area: January 2003 to January 2004**

Number of calls made regarding youth nuisance	2003	2004	Percentage Change
January	39	48	+9
February	68	54	−14
March	59	40	−19
April	53	42	−11
May	59	42	−17
June	60	44	−16
July	64	36	−28
August	64	36	−28
September	85	43	−42
October	97	65	−32
November	59	64	+5
December	42	52	+10

Source: GMP

The figures provided for August-December 2004 demonstrate that prior to the order's inception, 2004 figures were amongst the lowest over the three year period. Conversely, figures for 2004 were highest whilst it was in place. One explanation is that the order could have raised residents' expectations and willingness to contact the police whilst simultaneously reducing their tolerance of youth nuisance. Unfortunately, figures for January 2005 and beyond were not made available. As a result, it is not possible to comment on long-term effects of the order. The figures are therefore inconclusive about its impact.

The Reidvale Initiative

A range of evidence suggests that the policing initiative led to a considerable reduction in anti-social behaviour and street disorder involving young people in the Reidvale area. Table 3 shows the number of complaints received by Strathclyde Police about anti-social behaviour in the Reidvale area during the 12 months of the policing initiative compared to the preceding 12 months. We have classified incidents into *major*, involving serious disturbance including physical and verbal assaults, acts of vandalism and public drug taking, *nuisance* including excessive noise, graffiti and complaints of young people 'hanging about' and *other* which comprises complaints about adults and neighbour disputes.

Table 3 Complaints about Anti-social Behaviour in Reidvale: April 2004 to March 2005

	2003–2004	2004–2005	Percent
Major Incidents	197	106	−46
Nuisance	196	110	−44
Other	39	38	−3
Total	432	254	−41

Source: Strathclyde Police records of complaints about youth and street disorder in the Reidvale area, 01/04/03 to 29/03/05

The figures reveal that complaints overall fell by 41 percent over the period of the initiative. The particular targeting of police patrol activities towards young people is demonstrated in the fall in complaints of 46 percent and 44 percent relating to major incidents and youth nuisance respectively whilst incidents involving adults and within properties show little change. There were considerable falls for each month during the initiative compared to the previous 12 months with the exception of September 2004 and the cumulative impact of the initiative is demonstrated by the 70 percent fall in complaints in its final 3 months compared to the monthly situation before the initiative began. Further data provided by Strathclyde Police showed that complaint levels were down a third from the situation two years ago. Reidvale Housing Association also recorded a 35 percent fall in the number of recorded vandalism records over the course of the initiative compared to the previous 12 months (150 incidents costing £5631.17 compared to 232 incidents costing £7796.29). By comparing the dates and times of complaints with logs of additional patrol times it is also

possible to show that there were proportionally less calls about youth nuisance and street disorder during the times of police patrols (an average of 0.31) than during equivalent days and times when the patrols were not operating (an average of 0.73); and this finding was consistent for each weekday.

Table 4 shows that the proportion of residents regarding the activities of young people as big problems in their locality halved by the end of the initiative and there were considerable reductions in the proportion of residents who believed anti-social behaviour involving young people was getting worse.

Table 4 Reidvale Residents' Perceptions of Anti-Social Behaviour Involving Young People

	2004	2005	% change
Residents reporting 'Fairly Big' or 'Very Big' problem (percent)			
Rowdy or disrespectful young people	79	33	−46
Teenagers hanging around the streets	79	33	−46
Vandalism	78	32	−46
Graffiti	77	27	−50
Drugs and alcohol	67	38	−29
Residents reporting that problem got worse in the last 12 months (percent)			
Rowdy or disrespectful young people	48	6	−42
Teenagers hanging around the street	48	6	−42
Vandalism	43	7	−36
Graffiti	42	7	−35
Drugs and alcohol	40	9	−31
Residents avoiding walking past groups of young people	63	57	−6

Source: Household Surveys April 2004 and April 2005 (N= 181)

However, attributing the fall in anti-social behaviour amongst young people in Reidvale solely to the policing initiative is problematic. According to Strathclyde Police figures, the

fall in Reidvale was proportionally the same as two surrounding neighbourhoods (though considerably higher than the most adjacent neighbourhood) and was the same as the proportional fall across the wider East End of Glasgow. On the other hand, these figures also suggest that concerns about the initiative merely displacing youth disturbance into neighbouring communities may have been unfounded.

b) Changing Relations Between the Police and Young People

Much has been written about the uses and meanings of public space and the way in which it is/should be policed (See Loader, 1996 and Corrigan, 1976). The most striking observation is that three decades later we are still having the same debates. Walsh (2002) has argued that by policing curfews, officers run the risk of alienating themselves from young people, whilst at the same time increasing hostility amongst young people and losing any respect they had with this group.

Unlike the Reidvale initiative, relations between the police and young people were not prioritised either by police officers or NDC practitioners when implementing the dispersal order. During patrols, officers referred to themselves humorously as the 'child catchers'.

Young people reported an increased hostility between themselves and the police and spoke at length of the perceived unfairness of the order and also the inconsistency in the way it was policed.

> *They only go for the kids they don't go after the adults. They think we're easier. We're easier to target aren't we?* (14-year-old female)

> *Sometimes you might get these nice police officers yeah, who just tell you to move away from the area cos people are asleep, but some knob heads they'll tell you to f** off home just get away from the area and if I see you in this area I'll just lock you up.* (16-year-old male)

The 9pm curfew was an issue that produced a great deal of resentment. The overall consensus was that 9pm was too early to have to return and stay at home. The young people also bemoaned the fact that it was unfair for police officers to have this authority.

> *They think they're your mum and dad or summat setting your own curfew up.* (14-year-old male)

This grievance does raise the issue of the extent to which the government should have the right to intervene in family matters such as what time young people return home at night (Walsh, 2002).

Police officers in Loader's (1996) study appreciated how counter productive police practice could be in dealing with young people 'hanging around'. There was an acknowledgement that intervention in some instances merely amplified existing tensions. Young people in Manchester were asked their opinions of the effect of the order on their relationship with the police. The majority stated that they tended to ignore the order i.e. in most cases the curfew. They argued that it had adversely affected their behaviour as it created a greater

antagonism towards the police due to its perceived unfairness.

It made us worse because the police make you angry for making you go home at that time, so when you see em you just annoy them. (15-year-old male)

So if they take you home you just go back out again and then you get caught again and you just get into even more trouble. (14-year-old male)

Evaluations carried out in the USA have demonstrated that, in general, curfews have little effect on decreasing the levels of youth crime and in some instances serve to increase it. (see Males and Macallair, 1999 and Budd, 1999).

The broader issue of ownership of the 'streets' was referred to by one young person.

You're not going to leave the area are you if the police tell you to. It's not their area it's ours innit? (16-year-old male)

Loader (1996:52) describes the importance attached to hanging around the streets in groups as defining a sense of place. This allows young people to develop an informal understanding of what constitutes 'our area'.

Advocates of curfews often cite the safety of young people as a justification for their use (See Jeffs and Smith, 1996). NDC practitioners were of this view, as they perceived both the dispersal and the curfew element of the order as being a valuable safety mechanism for young people as it reduced the number who could be out on the streets late at night.

As a safety issue it gets young people off the streets at a reasonable time. It came into effect at the end of September when dark nights and safety issues come to the fore. (NDC Community Safety Manager)

With respect to the dispersal element of the order, neither NDC practitioners nor police officers referred to the fact that young people are far more likely to become victims of crime than older groups and are usually actively encouraged to socialise in groups of more than two. (see Wood, 2004 and Anderson et al, 1994).

The views of young people contradicted those of the police and NDC practitioners as they felt that the dispersal element of the order actually put them at a heightened risk of victimisation.

One day they tell ya to hang about with more people so you're not getting jumped or ought and then the next day they're saying you can't. It's just like saying you're not allowed to have more than two friends. (14-year-old male)

Nah, there's no way that's fair because you see on the news or TV after there's been a rape or murder all you see on the news yeah is if you're going out go with a friend never be on your own, that's one thing I don't understand. The police must want people to be murdered or raped. (16-year-old male)

A number of young people believed that the order was unnecessary as they did not congregate in residential areas causing distress to local residents. They explained that they would rather 'hang out' in areas such as parks where there was little adult or police presence. They felt particularly aggrieved that one of the main parks fell within the designated dispersal area, thereby limiting their access to this location.

> *We go in the parks and then they cordon it all off so then what can we do?* (14-year-old male)

Legitimate facilities for young people in the area were also restricted. For example, youth clubs were asked to close early to ensure that young people were 'off the streets' by 9pm. This seems to be at odds with the Home Office guidance on curfew schemes published after the CDA 1998. 'It is not intended to effect children who are going about their legitimate business such as coming home from a youth club unless there is evidence that they are at risk.' (Home Office, 2001a:4). Practitioners also failed to provide any alternative youth diversionary activities. In a review of curfew initiatives in the USA, Banerjee (1994), found that those regimes which offered youth programmes alongside the stipulations of the curfew were more effective.

It can be concluded that the implementation of the dispersal order served to increase hostilities between young people and the police. From the outset, practitioners missed the opportunity to try and generate more positive encounters between the two. Although NDC practitioners canvassed the opinion of adult residents with respect to implementing the order, nothing similar was carried out with young people in the area. No efforts were made to visit schools and discuss the requirements of the order and seek feedback from young people regarding the types of diversionary activities they would like to see in the area.

In Glasgow, police officers, housing officers and youth workers believed that the initiative had been largely beneficial for relations between the police and young people. The additional time has enabled officers to engage with young people in greater depth and to seek longer term solutions, which crucially also meant challenging adults about their responses to young people, as a community police officer described:

> *Guys in patrol cars are under pressure to sort something out and move on to the next call. We have more time to sort it out and look to longer term solutions, we can speak to a group of kids for five to ten minutes, we have time to listen to the kids...*

The increased regular interaction between police officers and young people also widened encounters to include positive situations as another police officer described:

> *Officers on the regular shift are responding to complaint calls and are operating in a negative context when there has been a complaint about young people's behaviour. We are able to speak to kids in a positive context which is very important, we can ask them if they are behaving and praise them when they are.*

Police officers believed that these more positive encounters had impacted on general relations between the police and young people in the Reidvale area:

We've improved relations with young people. I was in [a local youth facility] and kids were shouting my name, kids are starting to like us, kids know who we are and what we are trying to do. There is a perception of fairness. This leads to cooperation, for example kids gave us information about a missing youngster.

Whilst increased encounters and recognition between the police and young people had improved the effectiveness of enforcement activity, as a police officer described.

we know who the young people are now, and where they live. There is no point in them running away

This increased knowledge also enabled the police to engage with parents about their children's behaviour and to negotiate strategies to resolve problematic behaviour before situations escalated, and police officers reported that visiting parents was an increasingly important element of their activities. However a local youth worker pointed out that young people were more likely to be moved on due to the additional police presence, often on multiple occasions in the same evening and that this bred some resentment towards the police, the continuing adult intolerance and the lack of 'legitimate' facilities and activities for young people in the area.

Conclusions

The relative success of the Glasgow scheme indicates that local initiatives need to be adequately resourced and enforced consistently. Local initiatives also require an enhanced police presence to be used to foster positive interactions between police officers and young people, and for punitive enforcement action to be balanced with simultaneous action to provide 'legitimate' activities for young people. These findings also suggest that local initiatives require a sensitive dialogue and partnership with young people and parents as well as other residents. It is striking that neither initiative impacted significantly on relations between young people and adults or addressed the on-going intolerance of young people's presence in public space, even when they are acting in a law-abiding manner.

Much of the hostility of young people in Manchester towards the police arose from the curfew aspect of the dispersal order which presupposes that young people's presence in specific locations at certain times is problematic or unacceptable.

The dispersal order is an example of an oppressive mechanism of state control over young people which criminalises previously non-criminal behaviour (Walsh, 2002). The governance of young people's behaviour through the imposition of increasingly punitive measures need to be viewed in terms of the messages they send out about young people by increasing fear and intolerance and also the degenerative effect they have on relations between young people and those organisations who seek to control them.

Finally, the focus on neighbourhood-level interventions and the increasing use of mixed economy security patrols by local communities (ODPM, 2005; Crawford et al., 2005) raises wider issues about equality and scales of intervention. Both the Manchester and Glasgow

initiatives were deployed in small defined neighbourhoods. In the Reidvale initiative, an additional police presence was purchased by tenants, through their housing association, to serve a designated area. It may be argued that tenants in social housing should not be paying twice for adequate policing services. However, the fact that Reidvale residents received an enhanced service not available to other residents in surrounding communities symbolises the concerns about a two tier provision of public safety mechanisms and the emergence of levels of community safety becoming increasingly linked to the financial and organisational resources that particular communities are able to access to secure additional public and private policing presences (Loader, 2000; Hope, 2000; Boudreu and Kiel, 2001). Addressing anti-social behaviour amongst young people not only requires a balance between prevention and enforcement and a recognition of the rights as well as responsibilities of young people but also to be grounded in a more equitable public policing approach that reduces, rather than exacerbates, security differentials between neighbourhoods.

Note

1. The authors would like to thank all the residents and practitioners in Glasgow and Manchester who participated in and facilitated the research. We also wish to acknowledge the contribution of Ade Kearns to the Glasgow research.

References

Anderson, S., Kinsey, R., Loader, I. and Smith, C. (1994) *Cautionary Tales*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Banarjee, N. (1994) 'Curfews Spread, But Effects Are Still Not Clear' *The Wall Street Journal*. 4 March.

Bland, N. and Read, T. (2000) Policing Anti-Social Behaviour, *Police Research Series 123*: London: Home Office.

Boudreau, J. and Keil, R. (2001) 'Seceding from Responsibility? Secession Movements in Los Angeles', *Urban Studies*, 38(10): 1701-1731.

Brown, A. (2004) 'Anti-social Behaviour, Crime Control and Social Control', *The Howard Journal*, 43(2), pp.203-211.

Budd, J. (1999) 'Juvenile Curfews: The Rights of Minors vs. the Rhetoric of Public Safety'. *Human Rights.* 26:22.

Burney, E. (2005) *Making People Behave: Anti-social behaviour, politics and policy*. Devon: Willan.

Campbell, S. (2002) *A Review of Anti-social Behaviour Orders*. London: Home Office.

Cleland, A. and Tisdall, K. (2005) 'The Challenge of Anti-social Behaviour: New relationships between the state, children and parents', *Journal of Law, Policy and the Family*, 19(3), pp. 395- 420.

Corrigan, P. (1976) 'Doing Nothing', in eds. S. Hall and T. Jefferson, *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*. London: Hutchinson.

Crawford, A. (2003) 'Contractual Governance of Deviant Behaviour', *Journal of Law and Society*, 30(4), pp. 479-505.

Crawford, A., Lister, S. and Wall, D. (2003) *Great Expectations: Contracted Policing in New Earswick*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Crawford, A., Lister, S., Blackburn, S. and Burnett, J. (2005) *Plural Policing: The Mixed Economy of Visible Patrols in England and Wales*. Bristol: Policy Press.

Flint, J. and Kearns, A. (2005) *Evaluation Study of Reidvale Housing Association Community Policing Initiative: Final Report*. Glasgow: Reidvale Housing Association.

Goldson, B. (2002) 'New punitiveness: the politics of child incarceration', in eds. J. Muncie, G. Hughes and E. McLaughlin, *Youth Justice: Critical Readings*, London: Sage, pp. 386-410.

Grier, A. and Thomas, T. (2003) 'A War for Civilisation as We Know It. Some observations on tackling anti-social behaviour', *Youth and Policy*, 82, Winter, pp.1-15.

Guardian Newspaper (2005) 'Child commissioner attacks 'baby ASBOs' plan'. *Guardian*, October 14th.

Hayward, R. and Sharp, C. (2005) 'Young People, crime and antisocial behaviour: findings from the 2003 Crime and Justice Survey.' *Home Office Paper 245.*

Hennessey, P. (2005) 'Blair's baby ASBOs', *Daily Telegraph*, 9 October 2005.

Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) (2003) *Narrowing the Gap: Police visibility and public reassurance: managing public expectation and demand*. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

Home Office (2001) *Local Child Curfews Guidance Document: Working Draft*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2003) *Respect and Responsibility: Taking a Stand against Anti-Social Behaviour*, cmnd 5778, London, HMSO.

Home Office (2004) *Building Communities, Beating Crime: A Better Police Service in the 21st Century*. London: Home Office.

Home Office (2005) *Guidance on Publicising Anti-social Behaviour Orders*. London: Home Office.

House of Commons Research Paper (2001) *The Criminal Justice and Police Bill 31 of 2000-2001*. London, House of Commons.

Hope, T. (2000) 'Inequality and the Clubbing of Private Security' in eds. T. Hope and R. Sparks, *Crime, Risk and Inequality*. London: Routledge, pp. 83-106.

James, A. and James, A. (2001) 'Tightening the net: children, community and control', *British Journal of Sociology*, 52(2), pp. 211-228.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. (1996) 'Getting the Dirtbags Off the Streets: Curfews and Other Solutions to Juvenile Crime.' *Youth and Policy*. 52:1-13.

Jeffs, T. (1997) 'Changing their ways: Youth Work and Underclass Theory,' in ed. R. MacDonald, *Youth, the Underclass and Social Exclusion*. London: Routledge, pp. 153-166.

Kelly, P. (2003) 'Growing up as a risky business? Risks, surveillance and institutionalised mistrust of youth', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 6(2): 165-180.

Loader, I. (1996) *Youth, Policing and Democracy*. London: Macmillan.

Loader, I. (2000) 'Plural Policing and Democratic Governance', *Social and Legal Studies*, 9(3), pp. 323-345.

Millie, A., Jacobson, J., McDonald, E. and Hough, M. (2005) *Anti-social behaviour Strategies: Finding a balance*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Males, M. and Macallair, D. (1999) 'An Analysis of Curfew Enforcement and Juvenile Crime in California.' *Western Criminology Review*. http://wcr.sonoma.edu/v1n2/males.html.

Nicholas. S. and Walker, A. (eds.) (2004) Crime in England and Wales 2002/2003: Supplementary Volume 2: Crime, Disorder and the Criminal Justice System – public attitudes and perceptions. *Home Office Statistical Bulletin 02/04*. London: Home Office.

Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) (2005) *Citizen Engagement and Public Services: Why Neighbourhoods Matter*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Respect Task Force (2006) *Respect Action Plan* London: Respect Task Force.

Rogers, P. and Coafee, J. (2005) *'Moral panics and urban renaissance: Policy, tactics and youth in public space',* City, 9(3), pp. 321-340.

Scraton, P. (2005) 'The denial of children's rights and liberties in the UK and the North of Ireland' *ECLN Essay No 14*. European Civil Liberties Network.

Smithson, H. (2005) *Effectiveness of a Dispersal Order to Reduce Anti-Social Behaviour amongst Young People: a case study approach in East Manchester*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Squires, P. and Stephen, D. (2005) 'Rethinking ASBOs', *Critical Social Policy*, 25(4): 517-528.

Thorpe, K. and Wood, M. (2004) 'Anti-social Behaviour', in S. Nicholas and A. Walker (eds), *Crime in England and Wales 2002/2003: Supplementary Volume 2: Crime, Disorder and the Criminal Justice System – Public Attitudes and Perceptions*, Home Office Statistical Bulletin 02/04. London: Home Office.

Walsh, C. (2002) 'Curfews: No More Hanging Around.' *Youth Justice,* 2(2), pp. 70-81.

Wood, M. (2004) Perceptions and Experiences of Anti-Social Behaviour: Findings from the 2003/2004 British Crime Survey, *Home Office Online Report 49/04*. London: Home Office.

Youth Justice Board (2005) *Anti-Social Behaviour Orders: An Assessment of current management information systems and the scale of Anti-social Behaviour Order breaches resulting in custody*. London: Youth Justice Board for England and Wales.

Drawing on the Past

Studies in the History of Community & Youth Work

Edited by Ruth Gilchrist, Tony Jeffs & Jean Spence

This is the third collection of essays relating to the history of community and youth work, all of which have arisen out of a series of conferences held at Ushaw College Durham, organised by the editors of the journal *Youth and Policy*.

The 18 chapters cover a diversity of subjects and places. Some tell the stories of events and people. Others consider the impact and relevance of organisations, movements and reports. Yet others are concerned with the value of historical understanding for contemporary community and youth work. They begin to reveal a fascinating history, and have begun to uncover a vast store of archives, many of which remain to be fully explored, documented and analysed.

The themes reflect the interests and enthusiasm of the authors. They include some of the best known names in the community and youth work field in Britain and are enriched by contributions from Australia, Austria and the USA.

Taken together, these essays broaden and deepen our knowledge of the development of community and youth work, and its power to shape and improve the lives of those who come into contact with it.

The Impact of 'Community Cohesion' on Youth Work: A case study from Oldham

Paul Thomas

Initiated by the 2001 disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, 'community cohesion' offers a critique of the apparently negative race relations in many of Britain's towns and cities. Whilst highly contested, this concept has become a policy reality. So what does it mean for Youth Work? Drawing on empirical evidence from Oldham, this paper examines the impact of community cohesion on Youth Work policy and practice. It argues that, contrary to the largely hostile academic critique, community cohesion has been positively understood and supported by youth workers. Furthermore, community cohesion has enabled a 'modal shift' in youth work towards forms of practice rooted in the history and traditions of youth work, and has allowed youth work agencies to take pivotal roles in policy responses to ethnic segregation and tension. Inherent in this modal shift of practice is a critique of 'anti-racism', as it has been understood and practised by many welfare professionals.

Keywords: community cohesion; multiculturalism; youth work; anti-racism

The summer of 2001 saw serious street disturbances in a number of towns in the north of England. Whilst the events in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley had specific and localised triggers, all involved 'race' and racism, with South Asian young men clashing with the police and with white young men in each case. The disturbances and the resulting damage were viewed as the worst in Britain since the inner-city unrest of the early to mid 1980s. Government's response was an Inquiry and two reports (Cantle, 2001; Denham, 2001), whilst the affected local areas of Oldham (Ritchie, 2001), Burnley (Clarke, 2001) and Bradford (Ouseley, 2001) produced their own local analysis. In all these reports, the focus was not on the actual triggers and events that led to the outbreaks of disorder. Instead, there was a shared recognition that the violence represented deeper issues and tensions below the surface of Britain's supposed 'multi-cultural' society. Cantle (2001) bluntly characterised the 'riot' towns as ethnically segregated, with an absence of community cohesion caused by a lack of shared values, respect and mutual understanding. Whilst not using the term 'community cohesion', the local reports accepted that different ethnic communities were living separate, 'parallel lives' (Ritchie, 2001) in their towns. Although many commentators (Kundnani, 2001; Kalra, 2002; Alexander, 2004) have been highly critical of the assumptions and language of community cohesion, there has been acceptance across the political spectrum that the 2001 disturbances, and the resulting 'community cohesion debate', represent a watershed in post-war 'race relations' discourse and policy.

Since 2001 community cohesion has moved from being the dominant paradigm of explanation for the disturbances to becoming policy reality. Community cohesion is now a key pillar of government's race equality strategy (Home Office, 2005). Advice was given to all Local Authorities (LGA, 2002) both on how to initiate and how to measure the effectiveness of work around community cohesion, whilst the concern with evidence-based practice led to funding of pilot activities in fourteen 'Pathfinder' and fourteen (unfunded) 'Shadow' Local Authorities (Home Office, 2003). This policy shift has had direct impacts on youth work, with the National Youth Agency offering good practice guidance (NYA, 2002; 2004), and OFSTED inspections of Local Authority Youth Services focussing on performance around this key area (OFSTED, 2004).

Given these policy developments, it is somewhat surprising that there has been little or no empirical research into how community cohesion is understood and put into practice by different branches of welfare. Academic debate (Kalra, 2002; McGhee, 2003, Burnett, 2004; Worley, 2005) has focussed entirely on the language and discourse of the community cohesion reports and accompanying ministerial pronouncements. How is community cohesion actually understood by practitioners on the ground? What differences has it made, if any, to the assumptions and priorities of practice? In drawing on a small piece of research in Oldham soon after the 2001 disturbances, I speculated (Thomas, 2003) that youth work could potentially make a distinctive contribution to community cohesion. Green and Pinto (2005), in a rare empirical piece of community cohesion research based on evidence from a Local Authority Youth Service in South East England, highlighted this potential, but also showed the negligible impact on youth work practice of community cohesion due to limitations of understanding, commitment and resourcing. Within this, Green and Pinto concluded that:

> There is a crucial need to address the lack of empirical research within the practical application of community cohesion policies. (2005:58)

I attempt to respond to that need by discussing initial findings from research carried out with youth workers in Oldham during 2005/2006. The data discussed was gathered as part of an ongoing doctoral study and material used here is from over 30 one-to-one interviews carried out with youth work staff at all levels of responsibility and experience in both the Local Authority Youth Service and voluntary sector youth and community work agencies in Oldham. As a white, male Youth and Community Work Lecturer, with professional and voluntary fieldwork experience in anti-racist and anti-oppressive Youth and Community Work practice, I have a deep interest in what community cohesion can and does represent for practice. Using this data, I suggest that in Oldham, community cohesion is clearly understood and supported by youth workers, and that the (necessary) prioritisation in Oldham of community cohesion has enabled a modal shift in youth work practice organisation and assumptions around 'race' and race relations. I also suggest that not only does youth work in Oldham have a (largely) successful story to tell around this community cohesion activity, but that it is practice based on what many would regard as 'traditional' (Smith,1982;2003) forms of youth work , based on association, experiential activity and fun.

Community cohesion?

Robinson (2005) has highlighted the fact that community cohesion had no pedigree as a concept or term prior to the reports into the 2001 disturbances. For some, this very newness raises suspicions that it represents a deliberate diversion from important issues of causes and responsibility. A parallel might be made here with New Labour's over-arching focus on social exclusion, for some a helpful way of describing new social and economic realities (Hills et al, 2002), for others (Levitas, 1998; Byrne, 1999) a deliberate form of containment and closure. Worley (2005) helpfully highlights the 'slippages' between 'community ' and 'social' cohesion within government discourse post-2001, seeing this as symptomatic of a desire to avoid 'naming' certain issues or groups. However, Cantle (2001) and Denham (2001) are very clear on the meaning and relevance of community cohesion. For Cantle, the 2001 disturbances exposed stark ethnic/racial segregation and antipathy that many had preferred to ignore:

> *The team was particularly struck by the depth of polarisation of our towns and cities. The extent to which these physical divisions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on a basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges.* (Cantle, 2001:9)

Ritchie(2001) saw 'parallel lives' as the reality of an ethnically-segregated Oldham, but there is a fierce and ongoing academic debate over whether ethnic (as opposed to class/economic) segregation in housing has actually grown (Robinson, 2005). Kalra (2002) challenges the whole notion of 'segregation' within the community cohesion discourse, seeing British young people of all ethnic backgrounds as sharing a common youth culture, which makes the notion of 'cultural segregation' absurd. However, Lord Herman Ouseley, ex-Chair of the government-sponsored Commission for Racial Equality and a long-term anti-racist campaigner commented in his report on Bradford, commissioned before, but published after the 2001 disturbances there, that he found a:

> *Very worrying drift towards **self**-segregation.* (Ouseley, 2001: Introduction. My emphasis)

Here, Ouseley highlights the controversial core of community cohesion: its focus on 'agency' (Greener, 2002); of the responsibility for individual and group choices leading to segregation by both white and ethnic minority communities. Cantle (2001) stressed the need for 'greater use of English' and 'greater commitment to national institutions' – comments that Bagguley and Hussain (2003) see as racialised and partial. Given the clear race equality focus of the Commission for Racial Equality, its own report into the 2001 disturbances might have been expected to echo this latter criticism, but instead accepted the unpalatable reality of 'congregation', or self-segregation by all communities (CRE,2001).

Unsurprisingly, anti-racist campaigners, such as the Institute of Race Relations (Kundnani, 2001), see this as a retreat from anti-racism towards 'assimilation', the requirement that ethnic minorities should 'fit in' with the (white) majority, whilst others (Alexander, 2004)

see the whole community cohesion discourse as a pathologisation of Asian communities. The focus on the need for race equality measures in Cantle (2001) and Denham (2001) makes this charge hard to sustain, although Back et al (2002) identify the Government as 'looking in both directions' on 'race' issues by apparently retreating from a concern with structural racism. In a much more positive assessment, McGhee (2003) sees community cohesion as a 'Putnamesque' problematisation of excessive 'bonding social capital' (Putnam, 2000). To McGhee, 'community cohesion' is acknowledging that previous approaches to 'race relations', in particular the essentialising and privileging of 'race' and ethnicity by both multiculturalism and 'anti-racism' in the face of the reality of racism and racial segregation (Bhavnani, 2001), has supported the development of strong mono-ethnic communities with poorly-developed forms of 'bridging' social capital (Putnam, 2000; Thomas, 2003), so making mutual contact and understanding across ethnic lines very difficult. McGhee (2003) also sees community cohesion's focus on 'agency' as having clear links to Etzioni's notion of 'communitarianism', the idea that individuals and communities should be encouraged to take more responsibility for collectively improving situations around them in an era of welfare approaches that implicitly assume dependency (Etzioni, 1995).

From this perspective, rather than representing a retreat from anti-racism, community cohesion could represent a timely and necessary step forward towards a genuinely hybrid and cosmopolitan society (Hall, 2000), a move that requires robust and genuinely open debate, and the acceptance of multiple, rather than singular identities (Modood and Werbner, 1997). Current debates over the meaning of 'Britishness' and the reclamation of the English flag from the neo-nazi far-right can also be seen in this context.

Youth Work, racism and community cohesion

Popple (1997) analysed youth work's long and changing engagement with racism and racial tension, from the assimilationist assumptions of the Hunt Report (DES, 1967), to the anti-racism of the 1980s (DES, 1982; Chauhan, 1990). The changing approaches identified by Popple partly reflect the reality that, as a form of Welfare State practice, the government-funded Youth Service has always bent and changed to reflect wider policy needs and priorities (Jeffs and Smith, 1988). Indeed, the priorities of youth work specifically (Smith, 2003) and welfare/education interventions with young people generally (Mizen, 2004) can be seen to be increasingly controlled by governmental agendas. Nevertheless, youth work has historically allowed 'space' where issues of race and identity can be addressed, and has shown the ability to engage with young people likely to become involved in racial conflict (Dadzie, 1997; Thomas, 2003).

The community cohesion reports (Cantle, 2001; Denham, 2001) highlighted the poor state of youth work provision in the areas affected by the disturbances, with Cantle calling for a 'statutory base' for the Youth Service, and Denham emphasising the important role of youth work in promoting community cohesion. This can be seen as a direct reflection of the role of young people in the disturbances. Ritchie (2001) highlighted the inadequacy of youth work provision in Oldham prior to the 2001 disturbances as a direct, contributory cause. However, Ritchie also explicitly criticised the approaches taken to that youth work provision by Oldham Local Authority Youth Service. For Ritchie, the (assumed) role of youth work in

providing diversionary activities for young people (meaning young men) on the streets had been replaced with more formal, group-based educational programmes that engaged few of the 'at risk' young people. This downgrading of open access, youth club provision, the mainstay of youth work from the Albemarle report (Ministry for Education, 1960) onwards, in Oldham, as nationally, can be traced to the analysis of the Thompson Report (DES,1982). Davies(1999) highlights how open access youth clubs have historically been dominated by white young men to the exclusion of young women and ethnic minority young people, the latter point being first highlighted by the Community Relations Council Report (1976). This analysis was finally accepted by Thompson, with his report giving Youth Services the green light to prioritise group work rather than open access and crucially, to remedy the deficit regarding ethnic minority young people by developing ethnic-specific youth provision (Chauhan, 1990; Popple, 1997).

Alongside these developments was a focus on anti-racist policies and programmes, and an acknowledgement that multiculturalism (Chauhan, 1990) had failed to address issues of racism, exclusion and power. There is increasing evidence, however, that much 'anti-racism' in youth work and schools, with its focus on creating 'acceptable' norms of language, behaviour and attitudes, has been problematic, and possibly counter-productive in some cases. Hewitt (1996), in a study commissioned by Greenwich Youth Service, identified a 'white backlash' amongst white working class young people to anti-racist approaches they perceived to be one sided and privileging of ethnic minority needs and experiences at the expense of their own. Hewitt's research followed the racist murders of three ethnic minority young men, including Stephen Lawrence, in the borough in the early 1990s, and represented an admission by Greenwich Youth Service that their anti-racist approaches and assumptions had not worked. Previous research by the University of Huddersfield (CRE, 1999; Thomas, 2002) identified that white-origin youth workers felt unsure and unconfident of their role in relation to anti-racism work with white young people. Workers perceived anti-racism to be about a curtailing and policing of 'wrong' attitudes and behaviour, something that the white-origin workers saw other, 'expert' (normally ethnic minority) workers as better-equipped to deal with than themselves. Underpinning this was a clear lack of confidence in their own ability to operationalise anti-racism, as they understood it.

The above discussions suggest that youth work assumptions and practices around 'race' and ethnic relations were bound to be re-examined in the light of the 2001 disturbances and community cohesion becoming a policy reality. Green and Pinto (2005) carried out research in one Local Authority Youth Service in the South East of England on the impact of community cohesion. Whilst questioning the concept itself, Green and Pinto found that an under-resourced Youth Service was ill-equipped to meet the challenge of what was viewed as an additional work task. Resourcing, though, was only partly the issue, with the concept itself being problematic:

> *Our findings showed that the youth service did struggle with the conceptual ambiguity and confusion in relation to the concept of community cohesion and the realities of trying to implement policy based on such confusions. Within an under-resourced and badly organised local environment, such problems seem exacerbated.* (Green and Pinto, 2005:58)

Researching the impact of community cohesion

How much do the negative conclusions about the concept of community cohesion and its impact on Youth Work reached by Green and Pinto (2005) represent a generalised reality? Oldham was chosen as one of the towns experiencing disturbances in 2001, and yet having received comparatively little academic scrutiny.

At the time of the 2001 disturbances, Oldham was the 38th most deprived of 354 Local Authorities in England, with seven electoral wards within the 10% most deprived nationally (Cantle, 2006). With Oldham's internationally-renowned role in the cotton spinning trade long gone, unemployment is above the national average, although falling recently. Much higher pockets of unemployment exist in some geographical wards, particularly amongst white working class, and Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities of the town. Whilst the ethnic minority population of Oldham is 13%, amongst under 25 year olds of the town this rises to almost 23%. Economically and socially, Oldham cannot afford a tense and racially-segregated future (Cantle, 2006).

The research involved in-depth, semi-structured, one-to-one interviews with youth workers in Oldham during 2005 and 2006. Given that Smith (1982) identifies 'conversation' as the key tool for youth workers, this research approach seemed the most appropriate, especially as the focus was on understandings and opinions. Existing professional relationships with statutory and voluntary sector youth work agencies in Oldham were utilised to negotiate access, with the final decision on participation resting with individual workers. Whilst youth work staff at all levels of responsibility were interviewed, ranging from Principal Youth Officer/Chief Executive to part-time workers and trainees, relying on a 'statistical sampling' approach (Kvale,1996) would have over-represented part-time workers with only limited involvement in developing new work strategies. Instead, full-time professional workers, titled Area Youth Managers by Oldham Youth Service, were prioritised, using a 'theoretical sampling' approach (Flick,2002),because of their relevance to the issue under investigation. Given the concerns that community cohesion may represent a back-tracking on anti-racism (Kundnani, 2001; Alexander, 2004), ethnic minority staff were also over-represented in the later stage of the research for the same reasons. However, Gunaratnam(2003) highlights the contradictory and problematic nature of researching 'race' and ethnicity; on the one hand giving legitimacy to questionable categorisations of individual identity by discussing it, but also having to engage with the reality of individual's experience and self-identity. Here, researchers have to both work with and against racial categories, reflecting both the racialised and discriminatory realities of society, but also the illusory and dangerous nature of 'race' itself (Gunaratnam, 2003).

All individual respondents agreed to take part before interviews were arranged, following sight of an explanatory brief. In all cases, interviews were negotiated directly with respondents, rather than through line managers. Interviews took place in a private space at their work base, with a pseudonym identified by each respondent for research use. All respondents agreed to the taping and transcription of the interview. My own background as a professionally qualified youth and community worker, and previous professional contact with a significant number of respondents, helped to establish rapport in the interview situation. Robson (2002) posits the view that social research can and should aim to make a

positive contribution to real world problems, and I made a commitment to feedback to the professional field in Oldham and regionally as soon as possible. This paper represents an initial attempt to offer learning and reflections to the field nationally. Rather than a positivist concern with 'truth', I take an interactionist (Flick, 2002) concern with the meanings and understandings of community cohesion held by youth workers in Oldham. For Kvale, the researcher here is not looking for a definitive answer:

> *What matters is rather to describe the possibly ambiguous and contradictory meanings expressed by the interviewee.* (Kvale, 1996:33)

Research findings: A modal shift in youth work practice

The research process outlined above produced clear evidence that community cohesion has led to significant changes in the thinking and practice of youth workers in Oldham over the past five years. In some ways, this is not surprising, given the seriousness of the events of May 2001, and the negative picture of the town painted by Ritchie (2001). A large majority of the youth workers interviewed live in Oldham, with many having grown up there, and it was clear that the 2001 disturbances had been a traumatic event for them. Nevertheless, the enthusiasm and (largely) positive assessment of the work since carried out in the name of community cohesion was both striking and in stark contrast to previous studies of youth workers involved in ant-racist work (CRE, 1999; Thomas,2002).The key research findings are discussed below, including continuing problems and concerns.

Community cohesion as 'meaningful direct contact'

A very clear consensus quickly emerged amongst respondents around the meaning of community cohesion as being about 'meaningful direct contact'. This clarity is in stark contrast to the findings of Green and Pinto (2005). The emphasis of Cantle(2001) and Ritchie(2001) on the need for contact and dialogue across ethnic divides as a means of developing mutual respect and shared values beyond the cul-de-sac of 'parallel lives' had clear resonance for all the youth workers surveyed. Workers of all ethnic backgrounds accepted the analysis of an ethnically segregated town, and that all communities needed to do more to bridge divides. Workers tended to be critical of their own ethnic 'community ' or backgrounds here, rather than of others. This acceptance of 'agency', and its currently negative use by individuals and communities, may be seen as evidence of the liberal assumptions of 'welfarist' youth work (Jeffs and Smith, 1988), but it can also be seen as shedding light on the gap between reality and the evidence-free academic discourse around community cohesion.

For the youth workers surveyed, community cohesion means meaningful direct contact and work between young people of different ethnic backgrounds. Asad, a Bangladeshi-origin full-time Oldham Youth Service (OYS) Area Manager running youth work provision in a mainly Bangladeshi area, defined it as:

> *Building relationships, friendships and knowing what other cultures, other religions are doing and why, and understanding each other.*

Stacey, an African-Caribbean origin OYS part-time worker currently studying for her professional qualification, comments that:

> You've got to mix to learn – if you don't mix, you aren't learning anything.

For Johnson, a white-origin full-time OYS Area Manager for a largely Asian area, this direct contact has a clear focus on commonality:

> For me, you're bringing young people together, you're highlighting that they've got a common interest, that they're young, they experience the same things as in poverty, crime, whatever... highlighting that the things that happen to them do happen to other people.

Whether this community cohesion 'direct contact' should simply focus on ethnic/racial differences alone, or also on much wider 'social' differences of territory, class and geography provoked much more debate amongst respondents. To some extent these differences support the focus of Worley (2005) on the 'slippages' between 'social' and 'community ' cohesion in the national discourse. For respondents supporting a wider, 'social' understanding, this was partly an assertion of the traditional youth work belief that, first and foremost young people are young people, with shared experiences and interests, rather than an amalgam of differing ethnicities, classes and genders (Davies, 2005). It was also a recognition that in Oldham, other forms of difference and divides are equally fraught and problematic. For instance, many respondents commented on the violent, 'territory' based feuding between young people from different geographical neighbourhoods, but of the same ethnic origin. Jennifer, a white origin OYS Area Manager in a white working class area comments that:

> There is this perception that community cohesion is about Asians and whites, and them getting on together, and I think, 'well, hang on a minute.. I've got young people in X, and the idea of them mixing with young people from Y...!' (both white areas)

Other respondents highlighted the extent to which intergenerational tensions are a major source of complaints about 'anti-social behaviour'. However, there was a collective recognition that, given the events of 2001 and the current situation in the town, direct contact across ethnic and racial lines has to take precedence within community cohesion work in Oldham.

This common understanding of community cohesion as meaningful direct contact between young people of different ethnic backgrounds contained the simultaneous recognition that the term has no meaning or recognition factor for young people. Habib, a Pakistani-origin, qualified full-time OYS worker described a young person defining community cohesion as:

> Something you lot go on about!

This lack of understanding of the term itself should not be seen as problematic, providing that young people understand, and agree, the purpose of 'direct contact' work. Smith (1982) sees a key function of youth workers as breaking down complex events into parts that can be worked on, 'translating' into meaningful, everyday language as they do so.

Youth Work promoting 'direct contact'

The challenge for youth work in Oldham of creating this meaningful direct contact has been heightened by the reality that prior to 2001, such contact had not taken place. Alex, the dual-heritage Principal Youth Officer (PYO) of the Local Authority Youth Service took over shortly after the 2001 disturbances, and comments that:

> They (youth workers) never even met each other, let alone worked with each other – some of them had never seen each other's areas or buildings.

Such parochialism might be seen as the downside of the community orientation of localised youth work provision. It can also partly be explained by the belief, following the Thompson Report (DES, 1982) that ethnic minority communities needed separate, ethnic-specific provision, staffed by workers from their own communities who alone were capable of meeting their needs. Whilst the case for such provision, in the face of racism and marginalisation (CRC, 1976; Davies, 1999) was strong, it had downsides, as Khan, a Pakistani-origin voluntary sector youth worker, and former OYS worker, comments:

> At one time, we didn't have a Afro-Caribbean centre, we didn't have a Pakistani centre, we didn't have a Bangladeshi centre; what we had was a Glodwick Community and Youth Club, and that brought everyone together.

Youth Work in Oldham has developed direct contact community cohesion work post-2001, using a number of distinct vehicles:
- Borough-wide events, such as the annual 'Eid party' to celebrate the Muslim New Year
- Formalised working links between youth centres/units of different ethnic and geographical backgrounds
- The use of residentials, joint programmes and activities to build these relationships and links

These approaches highlight a fundamental principle of the community cohesion youth work being developed, that the direct contact is based on association, fun and experiential activities, rather than formal programmes of learning about 'diversity' or 'anti-racism'. Contained within this is a stepping up of open access provision, including purpose-built mobile units, in direct response to the criticisms of Ritchie (2001). Asad comments:

> There was a breakdance competition... we invited Shaw (overwhelmingly white area) young people to come over, and we went to Shaw. The young people did a bit of dancing and we did see some links being made. What really impressed me was the Bangladeshi young people and the white young people took time out, not to come down to the centre, but to get the bus to Shaw and go down to the young person's house. So, that to me was a step towards community cohesion, some links made. I still see a young person from Shaw, and he says, 'how's X? and how's Y?', and I say, 'come down', and he says, 'I will do, it's just dark, I will come down in the summer', so to me that's a step towards community cohesion.

Mark, an African-Caribbean origin OYS part-time worker took a white group to the annual

Eid party, at which every youth centre was represented:

> *Yes, it was hard getting them out of there. We had to come back for a certain time and they didn't want to leave!*

These activities and events are deliberately experiential and fun, but the challenge involved for the young people taking part should not be under-estimated, given the racialised reality of Oldham (Ritchie, 2001;Thomas, 2003). Johnson comments:

> *We have a triangulation with myself, Limehurst (club based on an urban white estate) and Saddleworth (rural white area), so we're getting the young people out and I think that works because that breaks down the barriers.*

Johnson then goes on to describe a recent joint residential weekend involving the groups:

> *We went for an Indian meal on the first night we took them to Whitby ... and one of the white lads said, 'God, if people on Limeside knew what we were doing now, we'd get leathered', and that was just going to a restaurant.*

Planning for the spontaneous

The last quote illustrates the dangers and pressures of bringing young people together across ethnic lines in the name of community cohesion. Such direct contact could be disastrous without careful planning. The importance of planning is illustrated by the example of the annual 'Fusion' residential. Fusion involves young people from every High School in Oldham, including young people with physical and learning disabilities, taking part in a residential experience planned and facilitated by Oldham Youth Service. The residential consists of experiential, fun activities that require young people to build relationships and to work positively together. Alex comments of Fusion that:

> *Certainly, within the planning it's not up for grabs whether it's successful. It is planned with incredible detail to be successful, to make a difference with every single person in terms of their perceptions of young people from different cultural backgrounds, different genders and different geographical areas within the borough.*

Mary, the white/ Irish-origin Assistant Head of OYS in charge of planning Fusion explains how preparation translates into the reality of the residential experience:

> *It's how the staff managed the group, how the staff got young people interacting, how they bring issues in that young people would look at then or discuss. So, it's not so much the activity, it's the workers, the staff are the key for me.*

This careful staff planning and preparation enables 'spontaneous', experiential learning around community cohesion, as Mary goes on to explain:

> *We sort of set the scene, grow the seeds during the day and through the week, but*

once those young people start establishing relationships with each other, that's when a lot of the discussions were happening, and people were asking questions. For instance, one of the (Muslim) young women was praying at night, so the other girls watched her pray, and asked her really interesting questions about it. The fact was that it was done at one o' clock in the morning, and they should really have been in bed, but I didn't stop it because it was a really interesting piece of dialogue that was going on.

This creation of an environment during activities, events and residentials where learning can take place can be seen as illustrative of the 'hidden', informal education that is the core purpose of youth work historically (Smith, 1982; Davies, 2005). The fact that such approaches are being prioritised by youth work in Oldham in the name of community cohesion is noteworthy at a time when many perceive government agendas to be forcing youth work down ever-more 'formal' and compulsory modes of contact with young people. A frequent accusation of traditional informal education is that it can manipulate young people, bring in issues without them realising, particularly around 'sensitive' issues such as 'race'. Respondents refute the charge that experiential community cohesion youth work activities are manipulating young people in this way. Rafiq, the Bangladeshi-origin co-originator of a voluntary sector youth work agency focussed on cohesion issues, believes in being very clear with young people what their involvement in work programmes is all about:

Up front, in terms of what they're going to get out of it, what are the challenges they'll face once they go back into their own communities with a new understanding of some of these issues.

This perspective is based on previous, painful experiences of a backlash from young people and families who did not realise what anti-racist youth work programmes actually involved. Alex highlights how OYS believe in being entirely up front regarding the nature of community cohesion direct contact work:

For us, quite deliberately, the Eid celebration is called 'Eid Celebration'; we don't just label it as a 'party'... oh yes, they (young people from youth centres across the Service) knew what it was about, and that it was religious and culturally based. The organisers had taken the time to actually pick seven different quotes from the Qu'ran and printed them, so that information was on each chair.

Youth workers as models of community cohesion

This new, post-2001 mode of youth work practice in Oldham is based around meaningful direct contact across ethnic lines, through traditional youth work media of experiential, association-based activity. It has been underpinned by the strategic use of staffing, a deliberate decision to create ethnically mixed staff teams that provide young people with adult role models of different ethnic background. This can be seen as directly challenging to the ethnic essentialism of 'anti-racism' (Bhavnani, 2001), which assumes that the needs of ethnic minority young people can only be met by workers of the same ethnic background. Instead, the new approach in Oldham looks to use individual workers as role models, and as agents of community cohesion, through their relationships and interaction with young

people. Qummar, an experienced Pakistani-origin worker, was asked to take over as OYS Area Manager for a 'notorious' white estate targeted by the British National Party:

> *It was a big challenge coming to a predominately white community as a black worker, but the experience from youth work training...enabled me to settle down quickly here. I've never had a problem here working as a black worker... yes, people have taken me very well.*

Qummar went on to describe how he has expanded junior provision through his community development work with a group of (white) young mothers. Space does not permit a fuller discussion here (see Thomas, forthcoming), but this can be seen as a further, radical modal shift in youth work practice, breaking with (implicit) orthodoxies.

Problems and limitations

Whilst respondents clearly identified new work approaches and their positive impact, developed in the name of community cohesion, they also identified problems and limitations. These problems and limitations focussed on:

- The perceived superficiality, and the apparent 'one-off' nature of some of the 'direct contact' youth work
- The questionable capacity of youth work staff, and of youth work's existing resources, to effectively deliver community cohesion work
- A possible down-playing of concern with racism and 'anti-racism'

The superficiality of 'one-offs'

For a number of the respondents, 'direct contact' work across ethnic boundaries is now happening, but its impact is questionable. Habib has worked in a number of different areas of Oldham Youth Service, and comments:

> *In the paperwork it could look like it's community cohesion, but in reality it is that they are just doing the normal thing of getting a few Asian kids in a room with white kids and vice versa, and saying, 'this is community cohesion'. It doesn't mean that they talk to each other, that's the difference.*

Workers in the voluntary sector, including Michael, a white qualified full-time worker for an environmental-based voluntary youth organisation, have also had negative experiences of 'cohesion' events

> *In my opinion, it was just cohesion for cohesion's sake. There's a quick response, some money to do some joint activities...if you do that, its like a works 'do', everybody immediately sticks together, and to me not a lot came out of it except for the fact that we were seen to be doing some cohesion work.*

Ethnic minority-origin youth workers were noticeably more critical of the perceived 'one-off'

nature of some pieces of work, possibly demonstrating a wider frustration with the pace of change in addressing issues of racism post-2001. Asad organised one of the Youth Service's large set-piece events, the Eid Party:

> I wasn't happy it just being a one-off event and calling it a community cohesion event... alright, there might have been a lot of thought gone into it, but I don't think it's touching or achieving what we need to.

Asad did also admit that this party had a big impact, both on the visiting young people and on the Bangladeshi-origin young people using his centre. Other respondents discussed the positive, real impact the same event had made on their young people, prompting wider conversations and a desire for more involvement in direct contact. The concerns of workers such as Asad may well reflect a lack of confidence over what progress and change will look like – more structured, ongoing programmes may provide apparent certainty, so explaining anti-racism's reliance on formal programmes (Hewitt, 1996; Thomas, 2002) but the reality may well be the slow and imperceptible changes that come from experiential youth work. It does, however, demand that direct contact community cohesion youth work is meaningful.

The capacity of youth work staff

A concern here is over capacity; the skills and experience of youth workers to ensure that even one-off events are planned and facilitated well enough to ensure a positive learning experience for young people. This partly raises wider concerns over youth work's continued reliance on unqualified, part-time staff to deliver significant levels of face to face work (Moore, 2005). This was echoed by a number of respondents who pinpointed the extent to which experienced full-time workers/ area managers were caught up with paperwork and meetings. The careful and strategic planning over community cohesion by these workers and their managers can run aground on the reality of the face to face workforce, as illustrated by the example of the focus on community cohesion in the Youth Service's sessional monitoring forms, with Stacey commenting:

> Well, I just put the same thing every week.

Many respondents highlighted the large variations in understanding and confidence around the meaning of community cohesion held within the Youth Service. Mark, a part-time worker with a full-time 'day job' reflects this uncertainty:

> I don't know... I've been to a lot of meetings, and I think no one ever says what they actually mean by it.

This lack of experience and confidence goes a long way to explain the minority of poorly planned, one-off events, and situations where youth workers seemed unable to prevent direct contact going badly wrong. Several respondents identified examples of direct contact work that had resulted in little interaction, or even tension, with workers unable or unwilling to change things. As an Area Manager, Asad can identify varying levels of understanding and confidence within his own, ethnically mixed, staff team:

I feel some of them know what they are doing, but achieving it is a problem. Others really don't understand it, but just touch it in a surface way, so it's a mix. X (white part-time worker) is really passionate about community cohesion, he'll drive it and push it, but some of the other part-time workers would say, 'Well. It could just be some people from the same area who've never spoken, if we just get them talking, that's fine', and they won't look at the bigger picture.

A downplaying of anti-racism?

Both the problems and limitations discussed above can be seen as representative of wider and more generic issues for youth work delivery nationally. A more serious charge against community cohesion as it is being operationalised in Oldham is that it may represent a downplaying of, or a retreat from anti-racism. As discussed above, the focus on direct contact and informal, experiential activity can be seen as an implicit critique of the assumptions and operations of anti-racism (Hewitt, 1996;CRE, 1999), but where does that leave the continuing need to expose and challenge racial prejudice and discrimination?

Salma, a Pakistani-origin qualified part-time OYS worker, has experienced racist abuse from young people during her work in white areas, and is critical of the unwillingness of some workers to face racism head-on:

I would say that work doesn't tend to touch on anti-racism because there might be a taboo on that, 'Don't talk about that word because it will bring trouble'... I would say that cohesion is an easy option because you can get negatives and positives out of it, but when you talk about racism, you do get a lot of hatred and a lot of negativity out of it, but then it needs to be talked about.

Imran, a qualified Pakistani-origin worker from the voluntary sector feels that:

It's (community cohesion) *put race equality on the back burner in this town.*

This suggests that community cohesion allows and enables, at least some people to focus on wider social/economic issues, rather than racism and the stark racial/ethnic segregation at the heart of the 2001 Oldham disturbances. Such a concern was also shared by a number of white-origin workers.

For many respondents this concern is rooted in the lack of confidence in the skills and orientation of the (mainly part-time) youth work workforce to ensure anti-racist approaches continue under the broader community cohesion remit. Some qualified and experienced full-time respondents were confident of this continuity, whilst for others the failure to continue use of the language and profile of 'anti-racism' and 'race equality' is a worrying, retrograde step. Deborah, the white-origin qualified, OYS participation co-ordinator, has experience of challenging racism in white areas, and is not convinced that many youth workers have the skills to challenge racism:

I'd say no, especially the part-time workers, because the level of training is not as in-depth, a lot of people have fear of really exploring issues of racism and values, because they are almost frightened to say, 'I don't understand, I don't get it'. For some, this illustrates the need to continue focussing on racism, but it can also be seen as further evidence that the language and assumptions of anti-racism are problematic (Hewitt, 1996;Thomas,2002)

Positive outcomes: A modal shift in youth work practice

The problems and limitations discussed above are real and continuing, but all respondents agreed that community cohesion has both identified the reality of ethnic segregation in Oldham and enabled a significant shift in the practice and assumptions of youth workers in the town. Despite the concerns over superficial one-offs, the shared understanding of community cohesion as 'meaningful direct contact' has enabled the development of determined and purposeful youth work programmes that bring young people of different backgrounds together. Alex, as Youth Service PYO, praises the way youth work staff have responded to the challenges, and implicit criticism of past professional practice, of community cohesion:

The approach of staff to including community cohesion as a principle of professional practice has been phenomenal, its been the approach of 'we're not going to do it by halves, we're going to do it as well as we can', and I've never worked with a group of people like these before.

The research process has highlighted that this positive response of youth workers is at least in part due to the leadership, a role distinct from that of 'management' as it is traditionally understood in the public sector, of Alex herself. June, an African-Caribbean origin , qualified OYS Officer comments that:

It's probably Alex herself as an individual who's really pushing for this. I think she's got so much drive and energy, and so much positivity, she won't turn up an opportunity, she never misses anything.

Converting this leadership into effective practice at all levels of the Youth Service is inevitably problematic, but it is clear that Alex's leadership has succeeded because the concept of community cohesion resonates positively with youth workers. The focus on association (Ministry of Education, 1960), experiential/informal learning (Smith, 1982) and 'fun' (which has been adopted as an official Principle of Practice by OYS) that are central to community cohesion, plays to the strengths and beliefs of youth workers; in many ways, this work, and the forms of delivery used, such as residential experiences, youth centre-twinning programmes, and 'events' represent traditional forms of youth work practice (Davies, 2005). This is underpinned by the autonomy and agency (Greener, 2002) given to youth workers by the forms of delivery and the approach to them taken by managers such as Alex:

What I try and do here is create a culture that actually requires people to be creative and innovative by not providing them with the step-by-step 'how to do it' guidelines – and that is quite deliberate.

This focus on agency, the trusting of youth work staff to find ways of achieving agreed Youth Work goals, is central to the approach taken to community cohesion, with the prominence of the concept encouraging responses from workers, as Louise , a white-origin, qualified OYS Area Manager, highlights:

> If you've got it (community cohesion) there, then you're thinking about doing joint activities, you're getting people together... we use the word loads now, and I think it does help.

This approach of agency, and the confidence and enthusiasm around community cohesion is in stark contrast to the approach and effects of anti-racism, as it has been understood by youth workers, and other welfare practitioners (CRE, 1999; Thomas, 2002).Michael reflects this:

> I think anti-racism...automatically has quite a negative spin-off, because it's anti-something, you're immediately challenging people's views.

Clearly there is a continuing need to identify and challenge racism, particularly in a tense and divided town like Oldham, but there also needs to be recognition that anti-racism as it has been understood by youth workers, has not led to enthused and confident practitioners on this issue. Community cohesion, with its focus on traditional forms of youth work, has clearly engendered confidence and enthusiasm in the Oldham situation, no mean feat after the traumatic events of May 2001, and the resulting criticism of youth work's contribution (Ritchie, 2001). The unresolved challenge now for youth work agencies in the town is how to ensure a clear focus on and challenge to racism by youth workers at all levels, within the broad concept of community cohesion. Deborah uses the example of a successful piece of youth work with white and Asian young women to illustrate the need to integrate anti-racism and community cohesion:

> It had to be both. It had to be work within their own community , and the opportunity to integrate and mix with others, like the young women who did the drama project with me who spent three hours talking to the young women from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds, talking about the same things, but from a different perspective, saying, 'I didn't know you thought that'... really daft things and finding out there was more in common and that even the differences they thought were there, weren't, they were different differences!

Even with the major focus on community cohesion within Oldham Youth Service, there is a recognition of the need to integrate the challenge of anti-racism, with the positive 'direct contact' of community cohesion. Mary, Assistant Head of Service, comments of community cohesion that:

> It has worked, so I'm ok with it, but maybe, yes, it is a little bit too twee, too comfortable... But it has worked for us, so I don't know.

Conclusion

In my view, 'community cohesion' has meaning and relevance for youth workers in Oldham, and has 'worked' for their youth work agencies. Within Oldham Youth Service, and within individual voluntary sector agencies, the concept has facilitated a modal shift in the priorities and assumptions of professional youth work practice, enabling agencies to address problems of the town, and the failings and limitations of youth work practice in the past. Community cohesion youth work, as operationalised in Oldham, is bringing about forms of practice that play to the historic strengths of youth work and of youth workers, so explaining the marked enthusiasm and self-confidence of youth workers around this work, something in stark contrast to their views, and those of youth workers nationally, on 'anti-racism'. The notes of caution discussed above are important here, but for the majority of youth workers this is not a rejection of the need to focus on, and clearly challenge racism and all forms of discrimination, but a recognition that the practice formations and assumptions flowing from 'anti-racism' have been limited ,and sometimes counter-productive. Much needs to be done to ensure that 'meaningful' direct contact takes place that is grounded on a recognition of racism, but the problems and limitations underpinning this are generic to the staffing and training of the youth work profession.

Youth Work practice focussed on 'meaningful direct contact' across ethnic boundaries, delivered through experiential and association-based methods, may not be immediately possible in monocultural areas (although how about 'twinning' between different Local Authority Youth Services?), but it is possible in many areas, as Rafiq highlights:

> In towns like this, and in inner city areas... that positive interaction is possible as soon as you step out of the community that you live in.

Community cohesion has also worked externally for Oldham Youth Service, with the wider Local Authority seeing them as a lead body on this issues in relation to young people, and recognition nationally by OFSTED of their 'good practice' (OFSTED, 2004). Voluntary sector agencies such as Peacemaker have also rightly received recognition (Home Office,2003; Cantle,2004). At a time of profound structural and policy changes, this experience suggests the possibility of a distinctive and positive role for youth work providers nationally in promoting cohesion and dialogue amongst young people. In Oldham, this has been made possible in both sectors by 'leadership' on the issues by managers who have kept youth work's historic values in mind, and who have 'mainstreamed' anti-racism and 'community cohesion' together within imaginative youth work programmes. Measuring the impact on young peoples' attitudes and behaviour of youth work interventions has always been problematic, and further research is needed in Oldham to evaluate what has come from these revised youth work approaches, but the professional judgements offered here by youth workers are encouraging.

References

Alexander (2004) 'Imagining the Asian Gang: Ethnicity, Masculinity and Youth after "the riots",' *Critical Social Policy*, 24 (4):526-549.

Back, L, Keith, M, Khan, A, Shukra, K and Solomos, J (2002) 'New Labour's white heart: Politics, multiculturalism and the return of assimilationism', *Political Quarterly* Vol. No.73(4) pp445-454.

Bagguley, P and Hussain, Y (2003) 'Conflict and Cohesion – Constructions of "community" around the 2001 Riots', *Paper to Communities Conference*, 18-20 Sept 2003

Bhavnani, R (2001) *Rethinking interventions in racism*, Stoke-on -Trent: Trentham Books

Burnett, J (2004) 'Community, cohesion and the state', *Race and Class* 45:3, pp1-18

Byrne, D (1999) *Social Exclusion*, Oxford: Blackwell

Cantle, T (2001) *Community cohesion – A Report of the Independent Review Team*, London: Home Office

Cantle, T (2004) *The End of Parallel Lives? The Report of the Community cohesion Panel*, London: Home Office

Cantle, T (2006) *Challenging Local Communities to Change Oldham*, Coventry: Institute of Community cohesion

Chauhan, V (1990) *Beyond Steel Bands 'n' Samosas*, Leicester: National Youth Bureau

Clarke, T (2001) *Burnley Task Force report on the disturbances in June 2001*, Burnley Borough Council: Burnley

Community Relations Council (1976) *Seen But Not Served*, London: CRC

Commission for Racial Equality (1999) *Open Talk, Open Minds*, London: CRE

Commission for Racial Equality (2001) *A Place for Us All - Learning from Bradford, Oldham and Burnley*, London: CRE.

Dadzie, S (1997) *Blood, Sweat and Tears*, Leicester: Youth Work Press.

Davies, B (1999) *A history of the Youth Service in England and Wales*, Leicester: Youth Work Press.

Davies, B (2005) 'Youth Work: A Manifesto for our times', *Youth and Policy* no.88, pp5-27

Denham, J (2001) *Building Cohesive Communities – A Report of the Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community cohesion*, London: Home Office

Department for Education and Science (1967) *Immigrants and the Youth Service: Report of a committee for the Youth Service Development Council* (the Hunt Report), London: HMSO

Department for Education and Science (1982) *Experience and Participation: Report of the review group on the Youth Service in England* (commonly known as *the Thompson Report*), London: HMSO

Etzioni, A (1995) *The spirit of community: rights, responsibilities and the communitarian agenda*, London: Fontana

Flick, U (2002) *An introduction to Qualitative Research*, London: Sage

Green, R and Pinto, R (2005) 'Youth related Community cohesion policy and practice: the divide between rhetoric and reality', *Youth and Policy* no. 88 pp45-61

Greener, I (2002) 'Agency, social theory and social policy', *Critical Social Policy* Vol.22 (4) pp 688-705

Gunaratnam, Y (2003) *Researching 'race' and ethnicity*, London: Sage

Hall, S (2000) *'Conclusion: The multicultural question'* in Hesse, B (ed) Un/Settled Multicuturalisms, London: Zed Books

Hewitt, R (1996) *Routes of Racism – the social basis of racist action*, Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books

Hills, J, Le Grand, J and Piachaud, D (eds.)(2002) *Understanding social exclusion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Home Office (2003) *Community cohesion Pathfinder Programme: The first six months*, London: Home Office

Home Office (2005) *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: The Government's Strategy to increase Race Equality and Community cohesion*, London: Home Office

Jeffs, T and Smith, M (eds.) (1988) *Welfare and Youth Work practice*, Basingstoke: Macmillan

Kalra, V.S. (2002) 'Extended View: Riots, Race and Reports: Denham, Cantle, Oldham and Burnley Inquiries', *Sage Race Relations Abstracts*, Vol. 27(4): pp20-30

Kundnani, A (2001), 'From Oldham to Bradford: the violence of the violated', in *The Three faces of British Racism*, London: Institute of Race Relations

Kundnani, A (2002) *The death of multiculturalism*, London: Institute of Race Relations accessed via: http://www.irr.org.uk/2002/april/ak000001.html

Kvale, S (1996) *Inter Views: An introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*, London: Sage

Levitas, R (1998) *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour*, Palgrave: Basingstoke

Local Government Association (2002) *Guidance on Community cohesion* London: Local Government Association

McGhee, D (2003) 'Moving to "our" common ground – a critical examination of community cohesion discourse in twenty first century Britain', *Sociological Review*, pp366-404

Ministry of Education (1960) *The Youth Service in England and Wales: Report of the Committee appointed by the Minister of Education in November 1958.* London: HMSO (Commonly known as the Albemarle Report)

Mizen, P (2004) *The Changing State of Youth*, Basingstoke: MacMillan

Modood, T and Werbner, P (eds.) (1997) *Debating Cultural Hybridity*, London: Zed Books

Moore, S (2005) 'The State of the Youth Service: Recruitment and Retention rates of youth workers in England', *Youth and Policy*, no.88, pp29-44

National Youth Agency (2002) *Spotlight: Promoting Community cohesion: The role of the Youth Service*, Leicester: NYA

National Youth Agency (2004) *Justice, Equality, Our World*, Leicester: NYA

OFSTED (2004) *Report of Inspection of Oldham Youth Service*, London: OFSTED

Ouseley, H (2001) *Community Pride, Not Prejudice – Making Diversity Work in Bradford*, Bradford: Bradford Vision.

Popple, K (1997) 'Understanding and Tackling Racism among Young People in the United Kingdom' in Hazekamp, J.L. and Popple K (eds.) *Racism in Europe*, London: UCL Press

Putnam, R (2000) *Bowling Alone – The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, London: Touchstone

Ritchie, D (2001) *Oldham Independent Review – One Oldham, One Future*, Government Office for the Northwest: Manchester

Robinson, D (2005) 'The search for Community cohesion: key themes and dominant concepts of the public policy agenda', *Urban Studies* Vol.42 (8) pp1411-1427

Robson, C (2002) Real World Research, Oxford: Blackwell

Smith, M (1982) *Creators not Consumers: Rediscovering Social Education*, London: NAYC

Smith, M, (2003) *Transforming Youth Work*, accessed via: http://www.infed.org.uk/youthwork/transforming.htm

Thomas, P (2002) 'Youth Work, Racist Behaviour and Young People -Education or Blame?' in *Scottish Journal of Youth Issues*, Issue 4, pp 49-66

Thomas, P (2003) 'Young people, Community cohesion, and the role of youth work in building Social Capital', *Youth and Policy*, Issue 81, pp21-43

Thomas,P (forthcoming) *Youth Workers as agents of community cohesion*

Worley, C. (2005) ' ''It's not about Race, it's about the community '': New Labour and community cohesion', *Critical Social Policy* Vol.25 (4) pp 483-496

Black and Minority Ethnic Groups and Youth Offending

Helen Sender, Brian Littlechild and Nick Smith

Despite significant concerns and public inquiries concerning the treatment of ethnic minorities within the criminal justice system as a whole, research on this area in relation to the youth justice system is comparatively rare. What evidence there is demonstrates that ethnicity can have a significant impact on the progress of young people through the youth justice system. United States based research on the topic, where high proportions of ethnic minority groups are caught up within the youth justice system, is examined. Current problems to be addressed are analysed, and suggestions on how to improve the system are given, including in the area of ethnic monitoring, which we identify as a key issue to be addressed in order to identify and deal with any possible discrimination within the youth justice system.

Keywords: Youth Justice System, discrimination, black and ethnic minority groups

This article gives a critical summary of current issues and research related to the treatment of black and minority ethnic (BME) groups within the Youth Justice System (YJS) in the United Kingdom. It also examines findings from the USA, where extensive research has been undertaken on this area, in contrast to the UK, where comparatively little research evidence is available to guide our analysis of salient issues. The rationale for our analysis of the US system is that the UK has emulated many of the USA criminal justice developments, such as the increased use of prison incarceration, zero tolerance policies, and the development of punitive and control based, rather than welfare based approaches to dealing with offending (Pitts, 1999; Muncie and Hughes, 2002; Tonry, 2006).

The article discusses several interrelated themes: first, the extent and nature of discrimination; secondly, the part played by the attitudes of those who have power to make significant decisions at various points in the system; and thirdly, the relatively neglected area of how ethnicity is recorded, and the effect this has on our knowledge, monitoring and development of policies in this area.

There has been great concern about the treatment of BME groups within parts of the adult Criminal Justice System (CJS) (e.g. MacPherson report, 1999). This is due to the over representation of BME people in all parts of the system. Examples of this are the high rate of stop and search of BME groups, the disproportionate amount of arrests of black people and the longer sentences that they receive (Home Office, 2003). African-Carribbean and Asian people are also more likely to be refused bail (Phillips and Brown, 1998). In this article these examples and other issues relating to the experiences of BME groups within the CJS are drawn upon and are explored in relation to discrimination. The intention is to draw from the knowledge base that we have of the CJS and racial discrimination, in order to more

fully understand the discrimination that occurs in the YJS. There is relatively little published material regarding the youth justice system and discrimination in the UK apart from that of the Youth Justice Board (YJB) (Youth Justice Board, 2004a). In particular there is very limited research and literature that examines female young offenders from ethnic minorities.

The YJB's Race audit and action planning toolkit for Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) states that BME 'children and young people continue to be disproportionately represented throughout the youth justice system. In some respects, the gap has increased in recent years' (YJB, 2004b: 4). In response, it requires YOTs 'to have an action plan in place to ensure that any difference between the ethnic compositions of offenders in all pre-court and post-court disposals and the ethnic composition of the local community is reduced year on year' (YJB, 2004b: 3).

The different treatment of BME groups has been linked to racism in the CJS, defined in general by the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry as 'conduct or words or practices which disadvantage or advantage people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. In its more subtle form it is as damaging as in its overt form' (6.4), and in institutional terms as:

> *The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people* (6.34)

These are the definitions which will be used in this article. They are appropriate for this article as they encompass a wide reaching definition of racism that has been widely quoted within the current literature on racism.

BME groups in the UK Justice System

Section 95 the Criminal Justice Act 1991 includes a 'duty to avoid discrimination against any person on the grounds of race or sex or any other improper grounds'.

However, the amount of further work needed on this area has been emphasised by a number of reports. For example, in 1999 the Home Secretary, commenting on the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report, pointed to individual social responsibility as well as systems failure within services:

> *I want this report to serve as a watershed in our attitudes to racism. I want it to act as a catalyst to permanent and irrevocable change, not just across our public services, but across the whole of our society. This report does not place a responsibility on someone else. It places a responsibility on each one of us* (NACRO, 2001: 1).

In 2003, when the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) (2003) addressed the over-representation of people from BME groups in the CJS this was linked with the recognition that people from minority ethnic groups continue to be significantly disadvantaged as

a result of policies and services within a range of areas. There is evidence of disparities between different ethnic groups at all stages of the system; from how they are paid attention to as members of the public, through to their treatment whilst in detention, demonstrated in the latter area by the circumstances surrounding the murder of Zahid Mubarek by a racist cell mate (http://www.zahidmubarekinquiry.org.uk). Barclay et al's (2005) research supports this evidence of disparity as they found that black people of all ages are six times more likely to be stopped and searched, and three times more likely to be arrested, than white people. The findings from a Youth Lifestyle Survey of over 300,000 primary and secondary school children, found that in the 11 to 16 year old age band, 55 per cent of white young people self-reported offending behaviour. This is in comparison to 50 per cent of young black people, 33 per cent of Asian young people and 61 per cent of young people of mixed ethnicity (Armstrong et al, 2005). This survey demonstrates that on the basis of self-report studies, white young people take part in more offending behaviour than black or Asian young people. Results from the 2002/2003 British Crime Survey found that agencies within the criminal justice process have yet to fully demonstrate justice and fairness for all.

Stop and search data demonstrates a large discrepancy between the policing of black and white people. Black people are seven times more likely to be stopped and searched than white people, relative to the resident population (Home Office, 2003). When arrested, white people are more likely to be given reprimands or final warnings than black people, 16 per cent of the former compared to 11 per cent of the latter.

Barclay and Mhlanga's (2000) study produced data which suggested that BME defendants were processed by the Crown Prosecution Service on less robust evidence than white defendants. The study showed that white defendants were more likely than BME groups to be convicted by the courts; less likely to have their cases terminated early before court proceedings; and have a lower acquittal rate than that for both Asian and or black defendants.

In the prison population as a whole, 22 per cent of males and 29 per cent of the females are from BME groups (Home Office, 2003) whereas only 7.6 per cent of the population are from these groups (National Statistics, 2002). Within the prison system itself, there is evidence of significant personal and systematic racism. Yet a study conducted by Wilson and Moore (2003) on the experiences of young black men in custody, found that few people who had made a complaint regarding racism had experienced a positive response, or were aware of any resulting action.

In this context, the YJB stated that it was committed to realising the ideals of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 which requires public authorities to become proactive in preventing discrimination (Youth Justice Board, 2004b: 6) and to monitor the impact of policies and practice on racial equality.

Reflecting the CJS as a whole, a YJB study (2004a) found that there existed an over-representation of BME suspects within all parts of the youth justice system, from arrest through to sentencing. This study is not clear on why such a disparity exists though it acknowledges that such overrepresentation may not reflect higher rates of offending by

certain ethnic minority groups, (see also Philips and Brown, 1998). Smith (2003) states that the results of self-reporting surveys suggest that the offending rates among young people from all ethnic groups are relatively similar, although Asian young people have a lower self-reported crime rate. Therefore, as Goldson and Chigwada-Bailey (1999) argue, the disproportionately high percentage of BME young people within the YJS must be for reasons other than their participation in offending.

The YJB study found that in eight YOTs examined, young black men were considerably over-represented. Black females generally were also over represented within the majority of the YOTs, while Asian females were under represented. Young people from mixed heritage background were over represented: 'the chances of a case involving a mixed parentage young male being prosecuted were 2.7 times that of a white young male with similar case characteristics' (Youth Justice Board, 2004a: 7). This was also the case for females of mixed heritage, although the authors state that this is due to recording inaccuracies, indicating basic flaws in the monitoring of the treatment of BME groups, to which we return later in this article. Such statistics demonstrate that it is important to differentiate between the situations of different BME groups, both within and outside of the Criminal and Youth Justice system. The following examples are indicative of the nature of difference in relation to two particular groups: young black people and young Asians. These two groups were chosen as 'Black' and 'Asian' to represent Britain's largest minority ethnic populations (National Statistics, 2002).

Young BME groups' experiences of the YJS

There are perceived tensions between young black people and authority. Antonopoulos (2003) argues that black people view the police in less than favourable ways due to their perceived differential treatment, and there is hostility on both sides due to this. This has emerged from historical circumstances, including the conditions and policies associated with immigration which have created a climate of fear by depicting black people as 'dangerous' and as undermining British culture, and within the education system where black young people have been constructed as a 'problem'. In the 1980s there was a strong perception of black young people being disruptive, due to the media and official sources' representation of urban disturbances. There is a large amount of research that supports the view that within classrooms young black people were seen as troublemakers (eg. Wright, 1992; Connolly, 1995). As we have demonstrated, within the YJS there exists an over representation of black young people within all areas of it, which is illustrated by current statistics (Youth Justice Board, 2004a).

According to Jefferson and Walker (1993) the hostility between black people and the police contributes to young black people pleading 'Not Guilty', resulting in prosecution rather than reprimands or warnings. Ethnic background also has a role to play in the refusal or granting of bail. A study by Phillips and Brown (1998) found that of defendants refused bail, 28 per cent were white, 34 per cent were African-Caribbean and 35 per cent were Asian, and that this was the case even when criminal record and seriousness of the offence were controlled in the study. Reiner (1993) argues that both racial discrimination and black offending patterns have a part to play in the overrepresentation of black people in the criminal justice

system, along with factors such as age, gender and class. It is argued that the racism that many black young people face in their everyday lives has an impact upon their 'self-esteem and confidence and excludes them from gaining qualifications and jobs, greatly increasing their marginalization' (Fleming and Keenan, 2000: 167). This in turn seems to suggest that criminal activity might become for some an alternative activity which provides access to resources that are otherwise denied.

Although racism is just as much a reality for Asian young people as for those of Afro-Carribbean descent in Britain, Asian young people are under-represented in terms of research regarding victimisation or involvement in the commission of crime (Goodey, 2001). Goodey argues that there exist changing stereotypes of Asian youth that depict British Pakistani males, for example, as the 'new urban folk devils' (2001: 429). This has been reinforced since the terrorist attacks on London carried out by young Muslim men in July 2005. The attacks were followed by a significant increase in the targeting of Muslims for arrest under Terrorism legislation and Asians have been subject to increased incidences of race hate crimes (4/08/2005, BBC News).

In Home Office statistics (1998) the 'South Asians' category (Home Office definition), seems to be under represented. However, when this group is broken down, Pakistani people are over represented within it. Goodey (2001) argues that although young males of Pakistani origin are responsible for their own actions, they are assigned negative labels by white society which associate them with criminality. They may or may not choose to live up to these labels, but if they do, it can be in terms associated with externally created definitions which help to create a specific type of 'criminal class'.

Within the research literature and official statistics, concern has been expressed about Asian youth and criminal activity including violence, usually inter-ethnic/religious and drugs (Barn, 2001). The use of drugs by people who offend is a well known and often cited phenomenon (Muncie, 2004). Results from studies that have been designed to find out the actual drug use of members of BME groups, provide statistics to support the view that it both occurs and is increasing. A study by ADP (1995) found that out of a sample of young people in Tower Hamlets (77 per cent of whom were South Asian), 60 per cent had used an illicit drug at least once. Bentley and Hanton (1997) carried out interviews with 150 young South Asians in Nottingham; they discovered that there existed relatively high levels of drug use. They also found that more of their female than male respondents had never used drugs.

A study conducted for the Home Office by Calverley et al (2004) on Black and Asian offenders on probation, found that there was an indication that Asian offenders were less likely to access programmes. A reason given for this occurrence is that they had lower average Offender Group Reconviction Scale (OGRS) scores, meaning that they had fewer previous convictions than others with higher OGRS scores who were generally more likely to be placed on programmes.

Young BME females
There exists a serious lack of attention from research on ethnic minority girls who are offenders. It is important to account for differences based on gender as well as those of

class and race. Toor's (2000) research on British born African-Caribbean and Asian girls' criminality and related issues of poverty, abuse, gendered socialisation, ethnicity and culture, concluded that the effects of these factors required further investigation.

Carlen (1988) argues that female offenders who are from a BME group will become 'over criminalised' as they are the victims of both race and gender discrimination.

Theories of overrepresentation: Britain and USA

Over-representation of BME groups within the criminal justice system at one level reflect wider social inequalities, and at another are the consequence of the prejudices of those involved in administering criminal justice. Theories concerning this over representation fall into two broad areas: reflections of wider inequalities and individual prejudice.

Dholakia (1998) argues for a system of decision-making which is demonstrably and transparently free from discrimination. At different stages within the CJS:

> there is scope for discretion in making decisions. If discrimination – whether intended or not – occurs at any of these stages, it will have a cumulative effect on what happens next, all the way through the system, being reflected in the prison population figures (Dholakia, 1998: 101).

Individual decisions made within the criminal justice process cannot be looked at in isolation but need to be seen as a whole to discern the resulting impact. For example, the decision making process in deciding whether or not a rape case will go to court is made on the basis of police statements and their assessments of the credibility of the 'victim'. There is therefore a possibility that stereotypes and subjectivity may come into the process and influence the outcome (Kelly, 2002). Kelly argues that the majority of rape cases are lost or dropped, because they are either designated as false allegations by the police or the victim will withdraw their statement, partly due to police discouragement of their case. Research therefore suggests that there are continuing problems between the encounters between police officers and victims reporting rape.

Discrimination within the YJS is viewed by a number of commentators in this field as simply being a reflection of the inequalities that exist within wider society (Goldson and Chigada-Bailey, 1999). BME groups are more likely to live in deprived areas and be poorer, and therefore come into contact more frequently with the CJS. The system then amplifies and/or compounds these inequalities, examples being found in the child protection and looked after children systems, where there exist a disproportionate number of children and young people from ethnic minorities, particularly black children. In 2001/2, the population of looked after children in England comprised 18 per cent from BME groups (http://www.dh.gov.uk: accessed 20/03/06), whilst during that period only 8 per cent of the population were from BME groups (http://www.statistics.gov.uk: accessed 20/03/06). Chand (2000) argues that there are numerous reasons for this phenomenon. Racism and unfair discrimination are the main forces but there are also issues concerning language and interpreting services, child-rearing differences, poverty and social work assessments. There is

a large body of evidence to suggest that a high proportion of looked after children become involved in youth crime and that 'looked after' children are disproportionately represented amongst youth court defendants' (Ball and Connoly, 2000: 600). As BME groups are already over represented in the looked after children population, this represents one of the points at which the 'multiplier' effect comes into play.

There is also research that demonstrates a link between children who have been excluded from school and those children who become involved in the YJS (Berridge et al, 2001), and how African-Caribbean pupils are disproportionately affected (Wright et al, 2000). The main factor associated with the exclusion of black pupils is the negative stereotyping by white teachers who see black males as 'more aggressive' which in turn affects the attitudes of black children towards authority. Although black and Asian girls outperform males from the same ethnic group, in school and within GCSE results, they still face consistent and significant inequalities of attainment. Bangladeshi, Pakistani and African Caribbean pupils experience particular disadvantage within the educational system and this may lead to the increased likelihood of social and economic exclusion in later life (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000).

Given the evidence of over-representation of BME young people in these areas, the effects of social exclusion and the possibility of prejudices in decision-makers' views about such young people, all of these areas are likely to have a multiplier effect within the YJS (Smith, 2003).

Targeting of black and minority ethnic groups
Bowling and Phillips (2002) argue that the government's asylum policy has fuelled a new type of racism that is directed at the world's displaced and dispossessed, and that the Labour government's new crime plan at that time would have the impact of reinforcing existing patterns of racial discrimination. They identify initiatives such as Reprimands, Final Warnings and Referral Orders as leading to new and finer 'nets', which may result in the increased 'over-charging' of young black people, where they become sucked into formal systems as a result of that net-widening.

> As a consequence, British black and Asian people feel angry, unsafe and insecure. The 'double whammy' faced by these communities is that they are widely seen by the police and prison service as problematic, suspicious and sometimes, simply criminal (Bowling and Phillips, 2002: 255).

Smith (2003) found that many young offenders view legitimacy and fair treatment as being the two main problematic areas within their experiences of the YJS. Lyon et al's (2000) research with young people in custody, found that young women felt that judges were racist and biased against them. The Office of Standards in Education and the HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2004) found that girls held in prison are among some of the most vulnerable people within the youth justice system. The report found that the majority of the girls interviewed had poor educational histories with low levels of attainment and very low levels of self esteem. The custodial part of their sentence provided a time of respite and they valued attending education during custody.

There has been greater attention paid to ethnic discrimination in the YJS in the USA: a

system that many see as having influenced UK policy to a considerable extent (Pitts, 1999; Muncie and Hughes, 2002; Tonry, 2006). In the USA:

> *As of 1997, the institutional confinement rate for black juveniles was roughly five times that of white youth, and the rate for Hispanic youth was more than double the rate for non-Hispanic white juveniles'* (Engen et al, 2002: 194)

Vazsonyi and Pickering (2003) state that approximately 30 per cent of all cases in the criminal justice system involve African American youth.

Engen, Steen and Bridges (2002) examined some of the main theories for the disparity. They include imprisonment being impacted by differences in offending rates between white and BME youth, and that the effects of racial identity and attributions on case outcomes are independent of differences in offending behaviour, and that issues of racial background and ethnicity do impact on the actual decision-making process. Recent research has highlighted a large variability in the decision making process within the YJS in the USA (Leiber and Mack, 2003). Bridges and Steen's (1995) research illustrates how values and beliefs held by decision-makers had a strong negative impact on African American youth, who were more likely to be seen as being involved in crime due to internal attributions such as lack of respect and responsibility, while white youth offending was more likely to be attributed to external causes such as poverty and family life. Leiber and Mack's (2003) study of decision-makers suggests that a psychological discomfort towards black young people makes them treat them differently. Alternatively, decision-makers may perceive that the single parent families do not fit into the traditional nuclear family unit and are therefore a corrupting influence on others.

DeJong and Jackson (1998) argue that African American youths are more likely than white youths to live in single-parent homes. They found that from their analysis of juvenile cases from the State of Pennsylvania during the 1990s, that only white juveniles who are living with both parents are given preferential treatment, black juveniles are not. Black youths are treated in the same way regardless if they live with both parents or just with their mothers. A reason for the differential treatment of delinquents according to family status could be the result of stereotypical attitudes toward black parents. Bishop and Frazier (1996) argue that some judges may view the black family structure as being weak and therefore may treat black young people in a harsher way, as they are of the opinion that their families cannot deal with them adequately.

Holzer et al (2006) argue that about half of all black men in their late 20s and early 30s who did not go to college are non-custodial fathers. Eckholm (2006) states that studies conducted have cited a number of main causes for the deepening social exclusion of black youths, these are, 'terrible schools, absent parents, racism, the decline in blue collar jobs and a subculture that glorifies swagger over work' (Eckholm, 2006: 3).

These findings, we suggest, may also have impact upon recording and monitoring practices, as set out later in this article. This research, however, failed to look at the impact of decision making for youth that are from other minority ethnic groups in the USA, such as the Hispanic and Asian communities. DeJong and Jackson (1998) state that their findings show

that Hispanic youths are treated in a harsher way than black or white young people at the referral stage. They argue that disparate treatment of minority youth groups can occur in an indirect way, particularly in regard to age, type of charges and living arrangements. However, for white young people there is no relationship between type of charge and placement. An example being that drug offences are treated more seriously for black young people than white young people (Steffensmeier and Demuth, 2000).

In both the UK and the USA there exist stereotypes regarding how 'black' people cannot be trusted not to 'obstruct' justice if they were given bail rather then being kept on remand. A recent study by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) in Britain highlights this, as an analysis of 13,000 case files found that the CPS were more likely to object to bail for male African Caribbeans (13.2 per cent) compared with white males (9 per cent) (Mulholland, 2003). A New York state study found that Black and Latino males were more likely not to be given bail than similarly situated white males who had been convicted of felony offences (Office of Justice Systems Analysis, 1995). In the case of the USA the prosecution service has a very important role to play, in terms of the power that they hold over the sentence outcome for the offender. Prosecution discretion can be exercised systematically in a way that disadvantages people from ethnic minorities and the judgement of the prosecution may be shaped by a 'self perpetuating' racial assumption (Weich and Angulo, 2002). In England, the prosecution service does not have this power in the decision making process in terms of the sentences.

Dealing With Discrimination Within The Youth Justice System

Given the evidence of discrimination in the YJS in both Britain and the USA, it is perhaps surprising that there are not more operational suggestions to deal with such a clearly acknowledged set of problems, and it is to some possible responses to these problems in Britain that we now turn.

Overall, there needs to be a mainstreaming of race equality strategies across the criminal justice service and all public services. Information in agencies needs to be more systematically and uniformly collected, monitored, and evaluated. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry Report recommended that agencies should assess and combat racism by conducting an audit of current policies, and the impact of practices and procedures on local communities. Routine ethnic monitoring should be conducted and then results should be made use of locally, with local communities assisting in the devising of plans to tackle any identified problems (MacPherson, 1999). This is starting to take place, an example of this being the current 'Race audit and action planning toolkit for Youth Offending Teams', that has been distributed to all YOTs by the YJB in 2004, for implementation in 2005.

The overall aim should be that the CJS should make equality of outcome its core principle that governs all its practices (NACRO, 2003). Within the YJS a wider problem solving approach needs to be undertaken to challenge discrimination. For this to occur their needs to be a commitment from senior managers of all organisations, to the implementation of effective measures for stopping discrimination occurring and also for enforcing them (Dholakia, 1998). This needs to be done through an understanding of diversity in case

management and agency performance. Two areas are, we suggest, key in agencies developing their performance in relation to dealing with the issues we have raised in this article; one is the commitment to monitor and challenge how workers in the YJS review, assess and work with young people from minority ethnic groups. The second, which is necessary to be able to do this, is to address significant problems in the recording of ethnicity, as otherwise the information on which monitoring and change is based is flawed.

Ethnic recording and monitoring

Issues of how race and ethnicity are defined, constructed, and interpreted impact directly on the crucial matter of recording and monitoring. The decision making process by individuals and how they deal with problems is an issue that cannot be ignored. If this is not addressed at local and national levels, the data on which we gain baseline information and how any changes over time can be monitored, and any changes in the treatment of BME groups, will be flawed. We know that a high proportion- 11.1 per cent – of ethnic backgrounds are not recorded on monitoring forms for YOTs (NACRO, 2003). In order to address individual workers' own specific issues, monitoring and training should be carried out in order to help with this process. Defendants from BME groups may have another dimension of disadvantage added against them if these inaccuracies are not resolved. The ways that knowledge on a defendant is presented and constructed needs to be aligned, so that full information is available on all defendants, regardless of race and gender (NACRO, 2003).

NACRO (2003) highlights that one major problem is that agencies are not using accurate ethnicity categories in their recordings of defendants. In order to make improvements in the treatment of BME groups, information needs to be more consistent and replicable, with different agencies using the same categories for their definitions of people's characteristics. They suggest that the Census 2001 categorisation for ethnicity should be used (White, Mixed, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Other Asian, Black Caribbean, Black African, Other Black, Chinese and Other Ethnic Group) and that the police should take the lead, as their classifications of ethnicity are the crucial ones. Parekh (2000) argues that the majority of the racial categories currently used are unhelpful, including that of 'other'. More precise and appropriate categories are required and need to be used by institutions. In response to some of the Parekh's reports recommendations regarding ethnic monitoring, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary is now in charge of ensuring that all police services have the agreed monitoring in place (Runnymede Trust, 2004).

Meanwhile, the YJB have decided to use simplified categories of Asian or Asian British, Black or Black British, White, or Chinese or other ethnic group, and Mixed. Whilst this simplifies data capture and makes it easier to classify individuals, it also may mask significant discrimination against certain smaller groups, e.g. Travellers or young people of Pakistani origin. The YJB's Race audit and action planning toolkit for Youth Offending specifically states that there is scope for additional categories to be included, 'for example, Gypsies and Travellers' (Youth Justice Board, 2004b: 4). This may require the addition of local categories for such groups as deemed necessary locally (Youth Justice Board, 2004b). Consistency is required within and across agencies locally and needs to be addressed within a multi-agency forum which have the powers to determine the use of such coding, and their consistent application by individual practitioners. Therefore, it would seem important that one senior person within each of the local YJS agencies has the responsibility to have oversight of and

the duty to ensure the validity of the categories determined by the YJS multi-agency forum: to monitor its effective implementation and usage, possibly including monitoring forms, to ensure that they are fully completed and accurate and include appropriate ethnicity criteria.

Using monitoring for change

However, recording and monitoring of this area has not, and cannot, produce change on its own; s95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991 introduced monitoring of ethnicity issues, which is presented to Parliament each year, yet the evidence of continuing disparities is still there. The MacPherson report argues that greater importance should be placed on both the reporting and recording of racist incidents and the service should aim for the encouragement of the initial reporting of racist incidents. The report also views local authorities as having an important role to play and it recommends that they should under the Crime and Disorder Act; 'Consider implementing community initiatives aimed at promoting cultural diversity and addressing racism, and the need for focused, consistent support for such initiatives' (Commission for Racial Equality, 1999: 5).

The Social Exclusion Unit (2001) argues that it is wrong to generalise about the position of young people from BME groups. Those however, whose experience of discrimination, poverty and other forms of exclusion is particularly acute may pose challenges for policy and re-engagement work. A new approach is needed, to the treatment of young people who are at risk. At a national level, the objectives need to be based on proper evidence about young people from BME groups. Information needs to be detailed enough to pick up the distinctions between and within groups, and between young men and young women. Government should develop an evidence base that is used in an effective way to inform both policy development and individual programmes of departments.

At a local level, an information base needs to be built within the new mechanisms, regarding the BME groups in the local youth population. This should aim to establish where current services are not meeting their needs effectively and to ensure that processes that are set up are to meet these identified needs. People from local BME communities should be included in the development of this new structure and at all stages of policy development young people should always be involved within policies that would affect them. This includes those who are discouraged from participating in public involvement, due to their cultural identity or a lack of English. Advice may be gained from the voluntary sector or those who act as faith and business leaders. New approaches to prevention and family support should be developed with the assistance of people who have knowledge of the circumstances of particular BME communities and the best practices for working with them.

'Official' policy on ethnic monitoring and good practice

The Youth Justice Board (2004b) stated that it was committed to realising the ideals of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, which requires public authorities to become proactive in preventing discrimination. In realising this, public authorities are required to monitor the impact of policies and practice on racial equality, both internally and in relation

to the services delivered. The 'Achieving Equality' report stated that the new 'Public Duty' provision of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, makes racial equality central to the whole range of youth justice policy decision making, and the inspection/performance management regime will ensure measures are in place to effectively address racial equality procedures and practices (Youth Justice Board and Commission for Racial Equality, 2001).

One key aim is to ensure annual and quarterly data returns accurately detail ethnicity and gender findings, both in relation to offending and staffing requirements; resource staff training, designed to improve their ability to express relevant ethnicity aspects accurately in written reports for the Police, the Courts, and in support of referrals to other service providers. Across the country, the recording and monitoring of ethnicity has made the realisation of this goal problematic. (Youth Justice Board 2004b; NACRO, 2003). This information is important for the base lining of the provision of services, and how these may be changing over time.

How such information, based on accurate and comprehensive monitoring of ethnicity, and which provides the basis for the tracking of the progress of young people through the local YJS is collated and used within and between agencies, becomes a key concern in order to produce the results which the YJB is looking for. This issue could be valuably addressed by local interagency groups which have representation at a sufficient level of seniority to drive forward change in their organisation, and be part of monitoring progress over time on the basis of the information systems developed. This person could then be tasked with acting as a change agent, and 'championing' the issues within their agency, as well as acting as a consultant to staff on categorising ethnicities, advising their agency on training, and reporting back to the inter-agency group on developments/outcomes.

Some areas, such as the Hertfordshire Youth Justice Service, have invested time and resources in starting to develop such systems. Initial findings demonstrate that in accordance with national guidance from the YJB, a systematic approach to ethnic recording and monitoring is valuable. In addition they have decided to use an approach whereby exit interviews will be carried out with young offenders, who are about to complete their sentences, in order to gain qualitative information about their experiences of the local YJS. This will provide valuable information for those planning services, working directly with young offenders, and particularly in relation to those from BME groups.

Conclusion

This article has summarised some of the existing current literature on the treatment of BME groups within the YJS. Several themes have been explored: regarding the types of and the depth of discrimination; the role played by decision makers; and the way that ethnicity is recorded, the overall impact this has on policies, monitoring and our understanding of the role that ethnicity plays in the justice system. Whilst this article refers specifically to youth justice, its conclusions have relevance to the area of ethnic monitoring in general, and the full range of criminal justice agencies.

There appears to be many gaps within the literature on the United Kingdom's youth service,

in particular within the areas of ethnicity. From research conducted in the USA, the literature on factors affecting the decision making process is extremely valuable and there needs to be more research in the UK on this topic. There also needs to be greater consideration and research on how a variety of different factors and characteristics of youth within the system interrelate with each other in complex ways and how they affect the outcomes of individual cases. Comparisons need to be made between the stereotypes held by decision-makers about all different BME groups, and they then need to be challenged. There also seems to be gaps in the literature and research that looks at all the different factors that can affect why young people become involved in the YJS in the first place, and the impact that this has for their progress through the system. Research is required on the connection between 'looked after children', school exclusion and youth offending, in order to develop policies and strategies which can be implemented, to reduce the current trend of 'looked after' children and excluded children getting involved in youth crime and the added danger of the multiplier effect for young people from BME groups who are disproportionately excluded and accommodated by local authorities. There is also a lack of literature into the provision of schemes and services, in terms of whom they target and the reasons for this.

There also needs to be practical improvements made within the YJS. Those within it need to improve their basis for and processes of recording and decision-making. Management needs to ensure that personal stereotypes play as small a part as possible and that important external factors are identified, so that young people are judged, and outcomes are decided, in the fairest and least discriminatory way. In conclusion the YJS needs to evaluate all the different factors that have brought young people into the justice system, including the effects of ethnicity, decision-making, recording and monitoring; as the evidence of variation and omission in such practises would undermine the YJB's aim of eliminating discrimination.

References

ADP (Asian Drugs Project) (1995) *Substance use: an assessment of the young Asian community in Tower Hamlets and a summary of the development work of the Asian Drug Project*. London: Asian Drug Project.

Antonopoulos, G. (2003) 'Ethnic and Racial Minorities and the Police: A review of the literature', *The Police Journal*, Volume 76, 222-245.

Armstrong, D., Hine, J., Hacking, S., Armaos, R., Jones, R., Klessinger, N. and France, A. (2005) *Children, Risk and Crime: the On Track Youth Lifestyle Surveys* (Home Office Research Study 278). London: Home Office.

Ball, C. and Connoly, C. (2000) 'Educationally Disaffected Young Offenders. Youth Court and Agency Responses to Truancy and School Exclusion, *British Journal of Criminology*, 49, 594-616.

Barclay, G. and Mhlanga, B. (2000) *Ethnic Differences in decisions on young defendants dealt with by the Crown Prosecution Service*, London: Home Office.

Barclay, G., Munley, A. and Munton, T. (2005) *Race and the Criminal Justice System: An Overview to the Complete Statistics 2003-2004*. London: Criminal Justice System Race Unit.

Barn, R. (2001) *Black youth on the margins: A research review* (Joseph Rowntree Foundation). York: York Publishing Services.

BBC News (04.08.05) *City Takes on Racial Harassment*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/bristol/ content/articles/2005/08/04/bristolpartnership_feature.html Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Bentley, C. and Hanton, A. (1997) *A study to investigate the extent to which there is a drug problem amongst young Asian people in Nottingham. How effective are drugs services in providing assistance for such minority ethnic groups?* Report: ADAPT, Nottingham.

Berridge, D., Brodie, I., Pitts, J., Porteous, D and Tarling, R. (2001) *The Independent Effects of Permanent Exclusions from School on the Offending Careers of Young People*, Home Office, Research, Development & Statistics Directorate. London: Home Office. http:// www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs/occ71-exclusion.pdf Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Bishop, D. and Frazier, C. (1996) 'Race effects in Juvenile Justice Decision-making: Findings of a statewide analysis in *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 86: 392–413.

Bowling, B. and Phillips, C. (2002) *Racism, Crime and Justice*, Harlow: Longman.

Bridges, G. and Steen, S. (1995) 'Social Status, Offender Typifications and the Punishment of Deviants', *American Society of Criminology*, Boston, MA.

Calverley, A., Cole, B., Kaur, G., Lewis, S., Raynor, P., Sadeghi, S., Smith, D., Vanstone, M. and Wardak, A. (2004) *Black and Asian offenders on probation* (Home Office Research Study 277), London: Home Office.

Carlen, P. (1988) *Women, crime and poverty*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Chand, A. (2000) 'The over-representation of Black children in the child protection system: possible causes, consequences and solutions', *Child and Family Social Work*, 5, 67-77.

Commission for Racial Equality (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry. Implications for Racial Equality*. www.cre.gov.uk Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Commission for Racial Equality (2003) *Gypsies and Travellers: A strategy for the CRE*, 2004 – 2007. http://www.southglos.gov.uk/corporate/Travellers/GypsyTravellerStrategy.pdf Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Connolly, P. (1995) 'Boys will be boys? Racism, sexuality and the construction of masculine identities among infant children', in eds. M Blair, and J. Holland, *Equality and difference: debates and issues in feminist research and pedagogy*, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Criminal Justice Act 1991. Section 95. http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/section951.html Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Dejong, C. and Jackson, K. C. (1998) 'Putting Race into Context: Race, Juvenile Justice Processing and Urbanization' in *Justice Quarterly* 15 (3) 487–504.

Dholakia, N. (1998) 'Ethnic Minorities and the Criminal Justice System: Exclusion by Choice or Design?' in eds. M. Barry and C. Hallet, *'Social Exclusion and Social Work. Issues of Theory, Policy and Practice'*, Dorset: Russel House Publishing.

Engen, R, Steen, S and Bridges, G. (2002) 'Racial Disparities in the Punishment of Youth: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment of the Literature', *Social Problems*, 49 (2), 194-220.

Fleming, J. and Keenan, E. (2000) 'Youth on the margins in Northern Ireland, England and Ukraine', *European Journal of Social Work*, 3 (2), 165-177.

Gillborn, D. and Mirza, H. (2000) *Educational Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender. A synthesis of research evidence*. London: Office for Standards in Education.

Goldson, B. and Chigwada-Bailey, R. (1999) '(What) justice for black children and young people?' – *Youth Justice: Contemporary Policy and Practice*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Goodey, J. (2001) 'The Criminalization of British Asian Youth: Research from Bradford and Sheffield', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 4 (4), 429-450.

Eckholm, E. (2006) Plight Deepens for Black Men, Studies Warn: Growing Disconnection

from the Mainstream', *New York Times*, March 20th.

Home Office (2003) *Findings. The Prison population in 2002: a statistical review*. Publications.rds@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Institute of Race Relations (2001) 'The three faces of British Racism. A special report', *Race and Class* (Special Edition).

Jefferson, T. and Walker, M. (1993) 'Attitudes to the Police of Ethnic Minorities in a Provincial City', *British Journal of Criminology*, 33(2): 251-266.

Kelly, L. (2002) *A Research Review on the Reporting, Investigation and Prosecution of Rape Cases*, London: HM Crown Prosecution Service Inspectorate.

Leiber, M.J. and Mack K.Y. (2003) 'The Individual and Joint Effects of Race, Gender and Family Status on Juvenile Justice-Decision Making', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, February, 40 (1), 34-70.

Lyon, J., Dennison, C. and Wilson, A. (200) *Home Office Research Study 201* 'People in Custody. Tell them so they Listen. Messages from Young People in Custody. London: HM Prison Service.

MacPherson Report (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry*. www.archive.official_documents. co.uk/document/cm42/4262/4262.htm Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Mulholland, H. (2003) 'Ethnic minority defendants denied equal treatment in court', *Black Information Link*, 22/10/2003. http://www.blink.org.uk/pdescription.asp?key=2637&grp +16&cat=103 Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Muncie, J. (2004) *Youth and Crime* (Second Edition), London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Muncie, J. and Hughes, G. (2002) 'Modes of Youth Governance: Political rationalities, criminalization and resistance' in eds. J. Muncie, G. Hughes, and E. McLaughlin, *Youth Justice: critical readings*, London: Sage.

NACRO/ACOP (1995) *A Crisis in Custody-A Survey of Juveniles Remanded into Custody Awaiting Trial*, London: Association of Chief Officers of Probation and the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders.

NACRO (2001) *Youth Crime Briefing October 2001. Youth offending teams, race and justice- after the watershed* (Part one), http://www.nacro.org.uk/data/resources/nacro-2004120254.pdf Last accessed: 20/09/05.

NACRO (2003) *Pilot inter-agency tracking and monitoring project*. Race and Criminal Justice Unit.

National Statistics (2002) *News Release: Minority Ethnic Groups in the UK*, Dec 12th 2002. (http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/meg1202.pdf). Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Office of Justice Systems Analysis, New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services (1995) *Disparities in Processing Felony Arrests in New York State, 1990-1992*, New York Felony Study.

Parekh, B. (2000) *The future of multi-ethnic Britain: the Parekh Report* (London, Profile Books).

Phillips, C. and Brown, D. (1998) *Entry into the Criminal Justice System: A survey of police arrests and their outcomes*, Home Office Research no. 185. London: Home Office.

Pitts, J. (1999) *Working with Young Offenders* (second edition), Basingstoke, BASW/ MacMillan

Power, C. (2003) 'Irish Travellers: Ethnicity, racism and pre-sentence reports', *Probation Journal*, NAPO Vol 50(3): 252-266

Reiner, R. (1993) 'Race, crime and justice: models of interpretation', in Gelsthorpe, L. and

McWilliams, W. (eds.), *Minority Ethnic Groups in the Criminal Justice System*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Institute of Criminology.

Runnymede Trust (2004) *Realising the Vision*, Briefing Paper April 2004. http://www. runnymedetrust.org/publications/pdfs/RealisingTheVision.pdf Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Smith, R. (2003) *Youth Justice – Ideas, policy, practice*, Dorset: Willan Publishing.

Social Exclusion Unit (2001). *Preventing social exclusion*.

Steffensmeier, D. and Demuth, S. (2000) 'Ethnicity and Sentencing. Outcomes in U.S. Federal Courts: Who Is Punished More Harshly?' *American Sociology Review*, October, 65: 705-729.

The Office of Standards in Education and the HM Chief Inspector of Prisons (2004) *'Girls in Prison' The education and training of under-18s serving Detention and Training Orders*. England: Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons.

Tonry, M. (2006) 'The prospects for institutionalisation of restorative justice initiatives in Western countries', in eds. I. Aertson, T. Daems, and L. Robert, *Institutionalising Restorative Justice*, Cullompton: Willan Publishing

Toor, S. (2000) *Researching British Born Minority Ethnic Girls and Crime*, Ionian Conference 2000, Challenges of the New Millennium.

Vasilescu, V. and Bell, C. (2000) 'A New Racism?'. *Youth Justice Matters December 2000*. 'VisionQuest: Seeking solutions for you to help young people in trouble' (pp. 1-4).

Vazsonyi, A. T. and pickering, L. E. (2003) 'The importance of family and school domains in adolescent deviance: African American and Caucasian youth' in *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 32 (2) 115–129.

Weich, R. and Angulo, C. (2002) 'Racial Disparities in the American Criminal Justice System', chapter in Pinche, D; Taylor, W and Reed, R, *Rights at Risk: Equality in an Age of Terrorism,* Report of the Citizens Commission on Civil Rights.

Wilson, D. and Moore, S. (2003) *Playing the Game – The Experiences of Young Black Men in Custody*, Children's Society.

Wright, C. (1992) 'Early education: multiracial primary school classrooms,' in eds. D. Gill, B. Mayor, and M. Blair, *Racism in education, structures and strategies*, London: Sage.

Wright, C., Weekes, D. and McGlaughlin, A. (2000) *Race, Class and Gender in Exclusion from School*, London: Falmer Press.

Youth Justice Board (2004a) *Differences or Discrimination* by M. Feilzer, and R. Hood, www. youth-justice-board.gov.uk Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Youth Justice Board (2004b) R*ace audit and action planning toolkit for Youth Offending Teams*, www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk Last accessed: 20/09/05.

Youth Justice Board and Commission for Racial Equality (2001) *Achieving Equality within the Youth Justice Service*. http://www.youth-justice-board.gov.uk/Publications/Downloads/ AchievingEqual.pdf. Last accessed: 20/09/05.

What does Gandhi have to say about youth work?

Graeme Stuart

Gandhi, assassinated in 1948, was a seeker after the Truth who transformed India and inspired social change movements throughout the world. Gandhi's large body of writing provides him with the opportunity to 'speak to you from my grave' (Dasgupta and Walz, 1986) and, although he may not have written directly about youth work, his theory and practice of non-violent social and individual change could serve as a solid foundation for youth workers today.

Mohandas Gandhi (better known as Mahatma Gandhi) was born on 2 October 1869 in India, to middle class parents; his father was a senior official of a small Indian state. Married at 13, Gandhi set sail for England to become a lawyer when he was 19. After being called to the bar in 1891, Gandhi returned to India to work as a lawyer without much success (partly due to his shyness). His move to South Africa in 1893 to become a legal advisor to an Indian merchant set the stage for his political awakening. Shortly after his arrival, despite having a first-class ticket, he was thrown from a first-class train compartment because a white man objected to his presence. His humiliation at the hands of those and other officials began the process of transforming him from a meek, mild citizen into an unwavering political and social activist.

During his 22 years in South Africa Gandhi refined many of his non-violent techniques, began his life long commitment to communal living in ashrams and learnt to lead large-scale political campaigns. Returning to India in 1915 he became involved in various campaigns to help his fellow Indians before emerging as a leading figure in India's successful struggle for independence. In 1948, five and a half months after independence, Gandhi was assassinated on his way to a prayer meeting by a Hindu radical who accused him of weakening India by allowing the creation of the separate Muslim state of Pakistan.

Prime Minister Nehru told the newly independent Indian nation:

Friends and Comrades, the light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere, I do not know what to tell you and how to say it, our beloved leader, Bapu [Father] as we called him, the Father of the Nation, is no more.... The light has gone out, I said, and yet was wrong. For the light that has shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many many years, will illumine this country for many more years, and a thousand years later, that light will still be seen in this country and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living, the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom. (Nehru, 1989:1)

Despite being a leader of a political struggle, Gandhi's major concerns were spiritual and moral. His belief, however, that political, economic, social and spiritual actions were interrelated and could not be compartmentalised meant all his actions were part of his spiritual quest. Non-violence was not just a political strategy but a central foundation of his philosophy influencing all aspects of his life.

Satyagraha

Gandhi is best known for his non-violent resistance British rule in India. Initially Gandhi used the term 'passive resistance' to describe his methods of non-violent action but used the term *satyagraha* from 1908. The literal meaning of *satyagraha* is 'holding on to Truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force' (Gandhi, 1951:3). According to Gandhi:

> In the application of Satyagraha, I discovered, in the earliest stages, that pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent, but that he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For, what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but one's own self. Satyagraha and its off-shoots, non-co-operation and civil resistance, are nothing but new names for the law of suffering. (Gandhi, 1996)

The 1930 campaign against the British salt laws is an excellent example of Gandhi's use of *satyagraha*. Under these statutes the government had a monopoly on production and levied a sales tax on salt, whilst Indians were not permitted to produce their own salt or to use salt manufactured illegally. Gandhi used these laws to highlight the injustice of British rule and to mobilise the Indian population. He first wrote to the Viceroy in March 1930 addressing him as 'Dear Friend':

> Before embarking on Civil Disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out. My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less human beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold British rule in India to be a curse, I do not intend to harm a single Englishman.... Let me put before you some of the salient points.... The whole revenue system has to be revised as to make the peasant's good its primary concern. But the British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the salt he must use to live is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him....

> My ambition is no less than to convert the British people through nonviolence and then make them see the wrong that is done to India.... If my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th of this month, I shall proceed with such co-workers of the ashram as I can take to disregard the provisions, of the salt law.

> I regard this tax to be the most unjust of all from the poor man's standpoint. As the independence movement is for the poorest in the land, the beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submitted to this cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I

know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me....

This letter is not in any way intended as a threat, but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on a civil resister.... I remain, your sincere friend, M. K. Gandhi. (Sinha, 1985)

The Viceroy's secretary responded 'His Excellency.... regrets to learn that you contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace' (Sinha, 1985) and so Gandhi, with 78 *satyagrahis* (*satyagraha* activists), started a 24 day, 388 kilometre March to Dandi. On the way he spoke to large crowds and urged Indians to join the struggle for independence. Upon reaching Dandi, he spent a day in prayer and meditation and then, with the *satyagrahis* proceeded to collect salt. At first the government ignored the protest, but as it gained momentum the official response became more and more brutal. In the middle of the night of May 5, the police arrested Gandhi and proceeded to arrest the other leaders of the campaign. The breaking of the salt laws, however, continued to gain momentum. The non-violence of the *satyagrahis* at times stood in stark contrast to the violence of the police. Webb Miller, a United Press correspondent, described an action on May 21, 1930:

The salt-deposits were surrounded by ditches filled with water and guarded by four hundred native Surat Police in khaki shorts and brown turbans. Half a dozen British officials commanded them. The police carried lathis – five foot clubs tipped with steel. Inside the stockade twenty-five native rifle-men were drawn up.

In complete silence the Gandhi men drew up and halted a hundred yards from the stockade. A picket column advanced from the crowd, waded the ditches, and approached the barbed-wire stockade, which the Surat Police surrounded, holding clubs at the ready. Police officials ordered the marchers to disperse. The column silently ignored the warning and slowly walked forward.

Suddenly, at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel-shod lathis. Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like ninepins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected skulls. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow.

Those struck down fell sprawling, unconscious or writhing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders. In two or three minutes the ground was quilted with bodies. Great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. The survivors, without breaking ranks, silently and doggedly marched on until struck down.

Then another column formed while the leaders pleaded with them to retain their self-control. They marched slowly towards the police. Although everyone knew that within a few minutes he would be beaten down, perhaps killed, I could detect no signs of wavering or fear. They marched steadily with heads up, without the encouragement of

music or cheering or any possibility that they might escape serious injury or death. The police rushed out and methodically and mechanically beat down the second column. There was no fight, no struggle; the marchers simply walked forward until struck down. There were no outcries, only groans after they fell... The blankets used as stretchers were sodden with blood. (http://www.saltmarch.org.in/h_press.html)

After the action Miller went to hospital and counted 320 injured and two dead. By mid summer, as many as 100,000 Indians had been jailed (Mehta, 1977). The salt protests were a turning point in the independence struggle and helped mobilise the India nation. Part of Gandhi's strategy was overcrowding the country's jails to put a strain on British rule and to highlight the brutality of the response.

The salt marches demonstrate four central foundations of Gandhi's philosophy and actions:
1. Truth (*Satya*)
2. Nonviolence or non-harm (*Ahimsa*)
3. Willingness for self-sacrifice (*Tapasya*)
4. Welfare for all (*Sarvodaya*)

Truth (Satya)

For Gandhi, God alone was Truth and everything else was transitory and illusory.

The word Satya (Truth) is derived from Sat, which means 'being'. Nothing is or exists in reality except Truth. That is why Sat or Truth is perhaps the most important name of God. In fact it is more correct to say that Truth is God, than to say that God is Truth... And where there is Truth, there also is knowledge which is true. Where there is no Truth, there can be no true knowledge... Devotion to this Truth is the sole justification for our existence. All our activities should be centred in Truth. Truth should be the very breath of our life. When once this stage in the pilgrim's progress is reached, all other rules of correct living will come without effort, and obedience to them will be instinctive. But without Truth it is impossible to observe any principles or rules in life. (Gandhi, n.d:3)

Gandhi's (1940) autobiography *The Story of my Experiments with Truth* attests that the search for Truth was at the heart of his political, social, economic, and ethical thought. For Gandhi, Truth was inseparable from God and universal justice (Gandhi, 1958a; Walz and Ritchie, 2000) and the *satyagraha* movement was a 'movement intended to replace methods of violence, and a movement based entirely on truth' (Gandhi, 1951). Gandhi went to the extent of defining untruth as violence (Ritchie, 2001). Since he believed that non-violence involved a search for truth and that no individual had a monopoly on truth or complete understanding he assumed his opponents needed to be treated with respect because they had the potential to contribute to a greater understanding of truth (Gandhi, 1958a). Gandhi believed all people were manifestations of Absolute Reality and so they were able to evaluate truth through their inner voice or conscience. The search for truth, however, could not rely on meditation and withdrawal from the world but needed to be conducted in the world and involved an active engagement in social and political change (Ritchie, 2001).

The marches highlighted the truth that although the British were happy to have the consent of Indians, wherever possible, British rule was supported by coercive and brutal force – they would rule by the club and the gun. By bringing this truth into the open, British authority was undermined to the extent that going to jail was no longer a mark of shame but a badge of honour (Ackerman and DuVall, 2000) and international attention was given to the independence struggle.

Nonviolence (Ahimsa)

Ahimsa, which means literally 'non-harming,' was also a foundation of Gandhi's spiritual and political quest.

> *In its negative form it means not injuring any living being, whether by body or mind. I may not therefore hurt the person of any wrong-doer, or bear any ill will to him and so cause him mental suffering.... In its positive form, ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of ahimsa, I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rule to the wrongdoer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son.* (Gandhi, 1986: 212-3)

Gandhi believed non-violence was the law of love and that it involved loving one's enemy. He believed, 'it is no non-violence if we merely love those that love us. It is non-violence only when we love those that hate us' (Gandhi, 1958a:86). He went to the extent of suggesting that hate was the subtlest form of violence and 'complete non-violence is complete absence of ill-will against all that lives' (Gandhi, 1971:69). Gandhi objected to violence not only because it was a barrier to a search for Truth but also 'because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; [but] the evil it does is permanent' (Gandhi, 1958a: 95).

Gandhi (1958a) suggested, 'no man [or woman] could be actively non-violent and not rise against social injustice no matter where it occurred' (p. 89). He depicted social justice 'as fairness to the individual, with priority to disadvantaged people' (Walz and Ritchie, 2000:214). And expected his followers, amongst other things, to work towards the end of untouchability and other injustices, to be active in social and political change, and to work towards the elimination of poverty.

During the salt march Gandhi urged *satyagrahis* not to inflict harm on the British and the supporters. He believed that people were basically 'gentle, co-operative and giving' and even when they acted differently, they could be assisted back to a path of 'nobility and selflessness' (Sharma, 1989: 65). He made a distinction between people and their actions: *satyagraha* involved the 'demonstration of love and respect even for one's so-called enemies' and 'doing good even to the evildoer' (Ritchie, 2001: 56). 'I must love my enemy. I must apply the same rule to the wrongdoer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son' (Gandhi, 1986:213). It was appropriate to resist injustice but to attack the people behind it was 'tantamount to resisting and attacking oneself' (Gandhi, 1958a: 88). Gandhi argued that violence could never really end injustice because it inflamed the prejudice and fear that fed oppression (Ackerman and DuVall, 2000). Violent, unjust means would never lead to a non-violent just end.

The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree: and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree.... We reap exactly as we sow. (Gandhi, 1909, Chapter 16)

Self-sacrifice (Tapasya)

Rather than cause physical harm to others, *satyagrahis* were willing to accept self-sacrifice.

Self-sacrifice of one innocent man is a million times more potent than the sacrifice of a million men who die in the act of killing others. The willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful retort to insolent tyranny that has yet been conceived by God or man. (Gandhi, 1958b)

Gandhi believed '*satyagraha* means fighting oppression through voluntary suffering. There can be no question here of making anyone else suffer' (Gandhi, 1987: 55). Gandhi claimed that suffering worked because 'real suffering bravely borne melts even a heart of stone' (quoted in Ritchie, 2001:53), and he thus argued that *satyagraha* required:

More heroism than does fighting a battle. The soldier has weapons in his hand; his aim is to strike the enemy. The satyagraha, on the contrary, fights by suffering himself. Surely, this is not for the weak and the diffident. (Quoted in Ritchie, 2001:53-4)

Welfare of all (Sarvodaya)

Gandhi believed that *sarvodaya*, or the 'welfare of all', began with care for the 'poorest of the poor' (Walz, Sharma and Birnbaum, 1990: 16) and implied 'selfless service to others' (Ritchie, 2001: 67). In the Indian context Gandhi had a particular concern for ending the oppression of untouchability.[1]

The most important thing to do is purification from within. So long as the poison of untouchability remains in the Hindu body, it will be liable to attacks from outside. It will be proof against such attacks only when a solid and impregnable wall of purification is erected in the shape of complete removal of untouchability. (Gandhi, 1963b: 105)

Gandhi argued personal and social development were inseparable (Sharma and Ormsby, 1982: 17), and social development needed to focus simultaneously on individuals, families and communities, as well as the social, psychological and moral institutions from which economic and political life emanate (Sharma, 1989: 63). The central component of *sarvodaya* was the 'individual and village or small local communities in control of their economic and political life' (Ritchie, 2001: 66). Only 'self-sufficient, self-dependent, and self-governing towns or villages' could provide individuals with the 'wholesome and intimate environment' necessary for personal development (Sharma, 1989: 67).

An important feature of *sarvodaya* was the principle of human scale and immediacy, *swadeshi*, which involved people having a particular responsibility for their local

environment and community (Walz, Sharma and Birnbaum, 1990).

> *It means a greater dependence on indigenous resources and talents for individual and societal functioning, identifying, exploring, and creating such resources and talents locally, and creating a new social order according to the needs, goals, and aspirations of the local populations.* (Sharma, 1989: 67-68)

Swadeshi, important component of *sarvodaya*, emphasised a human scale of social organisation (Walz and Ritchie, 2000: 218) and an economic system that was local, small scale and people-oriented (Sharma 1989, see also Schumacher, 1973). It entailed 'developing an attitude of self-help in all aspects of life, including the bringing about of desired social development' (Sharma and Ormsby, 1982: 22).

> *Much of the deep poverty of the masses is due to the ruinous departure from Swadeshi in the economic and industrial life. If not an article of commerce had been brought from outside India, she would be today a land flowing with milk and honey. But that was not to be. We were greedy and so was England.... If we follow the Swadeshi doctrine, it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to proceed, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages as are not locally producible.* (Gandhi, 1963a, chap. 87)

Underpinning *sarvodaya* and *swadeshi* were six values: material simplicity, personal growth, self-help, human scale, self-determination and ecological awareness (Sharma, 1989; Walz, 1986). Gandhi believed liberation from the British was only part of the struggle. At a social level industrial capitalism tolerated, if not promoted, a violent social order though exploitation, inequality and unequal distribution of resources (Walz, Sharma and Birnbaum, 1990) with over consumption and the exploitation of villages leading to unacceptable levels of poverty (Ritchie, 2001). He argued that personal revolution had to precede social revolution (Sharma and Ormsby, 1982) and believed the only way to broad social change was for individuals to change. For Gandhi over-consumption in the face of extreme poverty and environmental degradation could not be supported and each person needed to meet their basic needs in a prudent and sparing manner. In addition he believed that reducing consumption would encourage individuals to become more generous and less attached to material possessions (Ritchie, 2001).

Ashram vows

The eleven vows that formed the basis of ashram life provide indications of what Gandhi might expect from youth workers today. The ashrams established by Gandhi were disciplined, intentional communities that were experiments in living out his high ideals. For Gandhi vows were powerful tools that encouraged the denial of self as part of the quest for self realisation and social transformation. Ashram adherents vowed to practice:

1. Truth
2. Nonviolence
3. Chastity
4. Non-possession
5. Non-Stealing
6. Bread-Labour
7. Control of Palate
8. Fearlessness
9. Equal respect for all religions
10. *Swadeshi*
11. Elimination of untouchability.
(http://www.mkgandhi.org/philosophy/fivebasicprinciples.htm)

The emphasis was on both personal and social liberation. While the relevance of most of the vows can be seen to flow from the principles discussed above, some require further explanation. The vows of chastity and control of palate were based on the Hindu concept of *Brahmacharya* and were important in Gandhi's emphasis on the search for self-realisation. According to Gandhi:

> *The full and proper meaning of Brahmacharya is search of Brahman [God]. Brahman pervades every being and can therefore be searched by diving into and realising the inner self. This realisation is impossible without complete control of the senses. Brahmacharyathus means control in thought, word and action, of all the senses at all times and in all places. A man or woman completely practicing Brahmacharya is absolutely free from passion. Such a one therefore lives high unto God, is Godlike.* (Gandhi, 1955:112)

Gandhi's concern about over-consumption and poverty meant he expected people living in his ashrams to take a vow of non-possession.

> *Non-possession is allied to non-stealing. A thing not originally stolen must nevertheless be classified as stolen property, if we possess it without needing it. Possession implies provision for the future. A seeker after Truth, a follower of the law of Love, cannot hold anything against tomorrow. God never stores for the morrow. He never creates more than what is strictly needed for the moment.... If each retained possession of only what he needed, no one would be in want, and all would live in contentment.... We ordinary seekers may not be repelled by the seeming impossibility. But we must keep the ideal constantly in view, and in the light thereof, critically examine our possessions and try to reduce them.* (Gandhi, 1963a, chap. 37)

As can be seen from the Salt March, Gandhi expected his followers to be fearless.

> *My nonviolence does not admit of running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, I can only prefer violence to cowardice. I can no more preach nonviolence to a coward than I can tempt a blind man to enjoy healthy scenes. Nonviolence is the summit of bravery. And in my own experience, I have had no difficulty in demonstrating to men trained in the school of*

violence the superiority of nonviolence. As a coward, which I was for years, I harboured violence. I began to prize nonviolence only when I began to shed cowardice. (Gandhi, 1963b)

Everybody at the ashrams was expected to undertake bread-labour or to work for their meals. Gandhi had great faith in the value of manual labour and believed that it was 'a veritable blessing to one who would observe non-violence, worship Truth, and make the observance of Brahmacharya a natural act' (Gandhi, 1960: 8). His attitude towards welfare was also shaped by his attitude towards bread-labour.

My friendship for the paupers of India has made me hard-hearted enough to contemplate their utter starvation with equanimity in preference to their utter reduction to beggary. My Ahimsa would not tolerate the idea of giving a free meal to a healthy person who has not worked for it in some honest way, and if I had the power I would stop every Sadavrat [charity] where free meals are given. It has degraded the nation and has encouraged laziness, idleness, hypocrisy and even crime.... Every city has its own difficult problem of beggars, a problem for which the moneyed men are responsible. I know that it is easier to fling free meals in the faces of idlers, but much more difficult to organize an institution where honest work has to be done before meals are served. (Gandhi, 1960: 36-37)

Gandhi's search for truth was not limited by religious boundaries. Although he was a Hindu, he drew on the insights from many different religions and regularly read a wide variety of sacred texts.

I came to the conclusion long ago, after prayerful search and study and discussion with as many people as I could meet, that all religions were true and also that all had some error in them, and that, whilst I hold by my own, I should hold others as dear as Hinduism, from which it logically follows that we should hold all as dear as our nearest kith and kin and that we should make no distinction between them. (Gandhi, 1963a, Chapter 12)

Implication for youth workers

There are numerous implications for practice based on a Gandhian approach to youth work. Here I will suggest five. First youth workers need to strive for highly ethical standards both in their work and personal lives. In particular they need to seek truth; they need to act with integrity and absolute honesty; they need to be nonviolent and just in all their actions; and their relationships with young people need to be free from manipulation and exploitation. A commitment to truth and honesty means that youth workers would share all relevant information with young people (including case-notes and other files), they would not withhold information 'for the young person's own good', and they would actively seek out Truth as experienced by young people.

Second youth workers need to be committed to social justice and social change. Too often they focus on individual rather than social or structural change for a range of reasons including:

- Paying such attention to addressing the immediate needs of young people they have little time or energy for social change
- They are working in a political context that places little emphasis on social justice
- They are concerned that their funding may be at risk if their providers disagree with an involvement in social change activities
- They may not feel that they have the knowledge or skills needed for social and structural change (Bessant, 1997; Bessant, Sercombe and Watts, 1998; White, 1990).

It is possible, however, to develop practices which meet the needs of individual young people while also meeting broader social objectives of improving the position of marginalised young people. As White (1987) suggests, there is a significant difference between youth workers who 'actively and consciously situate' their work within 'a framework of broad political and social objectives', as opposed to those 'workers who concentrate on the provision of services without reflecting too much on the social or political significance of their day-to-day practices' (p. 25).

Third youth workers should work from a position of *power-with* rather than *power-over* (Stuart, 2004a). According to Starhawk (1990), power-over is linked to 'domination and control' (p. 9) and is ultimately backed by force. Power-with is linked to 'social power, the influence we wield among equals' (p. 9) and is based on respect, influence and empowerment. The relationship between power and youth work is complex but it is an issue that is unavoidable and needs to be dealt with explicitly (Sercombe, 1998). Youth workers need to recognise the nature of power involved in their relationships with young people and how they exercise power. Although youth workers and young people are not equals, working from a position of power-with encourages youth workers to recognise the wisdom and insights of young people and to adopt strategies that are empowering and do not rely on force or coercion. In particular youth workers need to explore non-coercive behaviour management strategies that are based on meeting the needs of young people, building community and co-operation (Stuart, 2004b).

Fourth at a time where there are growing attempts to control young people and youth services are being pressured to target marginalised young people through a social control orientation (Robertson, 2000; Smith, 2002), a Gandhian approach to youth work would favour practice based on informal education. Ideally informal education is grounded in a commitment to social justice, individual and social change, critical thinking, dialogue and collaboration. It involves dialogue and critical thinking, through which people can recognise the ways in which they are marginalised and disempowered and take action for change (Jeffs and Smith, 1990). Such an approach is consistent with Gandhi's emphasis on both personal and social liberation.

Finally *sarvodaya* and *swadeshi* imply that small, locally based social services are more likely to deliver services meeting local needs than large corporate service bureaucracies (Walz and Ritchie, 2000:219). Therefore youth workers should be involved in developing social and economic systems that promote human worth, productivity, creativity and dignity, while not over-exploiting the world's natural resources (Ritchie, 2001; Sharma, 1989).

At times a commitment to empowerment, social justice and non-violence seem to be out

of fashion, but Gandhi challenges us to ensure that youth work focuses on both individual and social transformation. Although speaking from a different culture and era, Gandhi can provide inspiration and guidance to youth workers who are willing to accept the challenge.

References

Ackerman, P. and DuVall, J. (2000) *A force more powerful: A century of nonviolent conflict*, New York: St. Martin's Press.

Bessant, J. (1997) 'Free market economics and new directions for youth workers', *Youth Studies Australia*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 34-40.

Bessant, J., Sercombe, H. and Watts, R. (1998) *Youth studies: An Australian perspective*, South Melbourne: Longman.

Dasgupta, S. and Walz, T. (1986) 'Gandhi and the New Society', *Social Development Issues*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1-10.

Galtung, J. (1990) 'Cultural violence', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 291-305.

Gandhi, M. (1909) *Hind Swaraj and Indian Home Rule*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House. Available from <http://www.mkgandhi.org>.

Gandhi, M. (1940) *An autobiography or The story of my experiments with Truth*, M Desai, Trans., Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House.

Gandhi, M. (1951) *Satyagraha: Non-violent resistance*, B Kumarappa, Trans., Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan Publishing House.

Gandhi, M. (1955) *Truth is God: Gleanings from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi bearing on God, God-Realization and the Godly Way*, compiled by R Prabhu, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Gandhi, M. (1958a) *All men are brothers: Life and thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi* as told in his own words, Paris: UNESCO/Melbourne University Press.

Gandhi, M. (1958b) *The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India.

Gandhi, M. (1960) *Bread labour: The gospal [sic] of work*, compiled by R Kelhar, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Gandhi, M. (1963a) *The mind of Mahatma Gandhi*, 3rd ed., Ahmedabad: Navajivan Mudranalaya.

Gandhi, M. (1963b) *The way to communal harmony*, compiled by U Rao., Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Gandhi, M. (1971) *The writings of Gandhi: A selection*, compiled by R Duncan, London: Fontana/Collins.

Gandhi, M. (1986) *The moral and political writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 2, compiled by R Iyer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gandhi, M. (1987) *The moral and political writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 3, compiled by R Iyer, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gandhi, M. (1996) *Selections from Gandhi*, compiled by N Bose, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Mudranalaya.

Gandhi, M. (n.d.) *From Yeravda Mandir: Ashram observances*, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. (eds.) (1990) *Using informal education*, Buckingham: Open University

Press.

Mehta, V. (1977) *Mahatma Gandhi and his apostles*, Middlesex: Penguin.

Nehru, J. (1989) *Mahatma Gandhi: Reflection on his personality and teachings*, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Available from <http://www.mahatma.org.in>.

Ritchie, H. (2001) 'Gandhian thought as general theory for social work practice', *Masters of Social Work thesis*, The University of Iowa.

Robertson, S. (2000) 'Working space. A warm, safe space: An argument for youth clubs', *Youth & Policy*, No. 70, pp. 71-77.

Schumacher, E. (1973) *Small is beautiful: A study of economics as if people mattered*, London: Blond and Briggs.

Sercombe, H. (1998) 'Power, ethics and youth work', *Youth Studies Australia*, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 18-23.

Sharma, S. (1989) 'Gandhian development: An exploration of the conceptual, structural, and valuational linkages', *Journal of International and Comparative Social Welfare*, Vol. 5, pp. 62-75.

Sharma, S. and Ormsby, H. (1982) 'The concept of social development in Gandhian Philosophy: Some preliminary observations', *Social Development Issues*, Vol. 6, pp. 15-25.

Sinha, S. (1985) *A Pinch of Salt Rocks An Empire*, New Delhi: Indraprastha Press. Available from <http://www.mkgandhi.org>.

Smith, M. (2002) *Transforming youth work: Beyond Connexions*, Informal Education Homepage, viewed 25 June 2002, <http://www.infed.org/youthwork/transforming.htm>.

Starhawk (1990) *Truth or dare: Encounters with power, authority*, and mystery, San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.

Stuart, G. (2004a) 'Nonviolence as a Framework for Youth Work Practice', *Youth Studies Australia*, Vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 26-32.

Stuart, G. (2004b) 'Youth work and managing behaviour', *Youth & Policy*, No. 85, pp. 19-36.

Walz, T. (1986) *'Organisational behaviour and nonviolent management: A Gandhian analysis'*, *Gandhi Marg*, Vol. 83, pp. 756-767.

Walz, T. and Ritchie, H. (2000) 'Gandhian principles in social work practice: Ethics revisited', *Social Work*, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 213-222.

Walz, T., Sharma, S. and Birnbaum, C. (1990) *Gandhian thought as a theory base for social work*, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois.

White, R. (1987) 'Youth workers: Training for what?' *Bulletin of the National Clearinghouse for Youth Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 23-27.

White, R. (1990) *No space of their own: Young people and social control in Australia*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Note

1 'Untouchables' or *harijans* were members of the lowest Hindu class or people who were outside the caste system. They often undertook tasks that were considered ritually unclean (e.g. killing animals, working with dead animals, cleaning toilets) and members of the higher castes believed that contact with *harijans* made them unclean. *Harijans*

faced many restrictions such as not being allowed to enter Hindu temples or to drink from public water fountains). Although officially abolished, *harijans* still face extensive discrimination.

Reviews

Robert MacDonald and Jane Marsh
Disconnected Youth? Growing Up in Britain's Poor Neighbourhoods
Palgrave MacMillan 2005
ISBN 1 4039 0487 1
£16.99
pp. 252

Stuart Waiton

*D*isconnected Youth attempts to assess the transitions of young people in one of the poorest areas in the UK, East Kelby in Teesside. Through qualitative research using semi-structured interviews with eighty 15 to 25-year-olds, MacDonald and Marsh aimed to understand the lives of these young people, as an end in itself, but more especially to ascertain to what extent the underclass theory about these 'types' of people stands up to scrutiny. After all, as the authors point out, if you can't find the 'underclass' here, it is unlikely that you can find them anywhere else in Britain.

With a useful overview of underclass and social exclusion 'theories', *Disconnected Youth* shows how elements of the underclass understanding have been incorporated into the newly labeled 'socially excluded'.

The conservatives viewpoint promoted by Charles Murray in the early nineties was that a cultural, welfare dependent class of people had emerged who were now morally feeble, lacked 'family values' and were pretty well allergic to work. While Murray blamed the individual members of the underclass for their own poverty, there also emerged at this time a more structurally based explanation for this new 'class' of people. Accepting that the underclass existed, this approach blamed economic circumstances for creating a group in society that was permanently detached from the labour market. Despite the different political perspectives in these two outlooks, MacDonald and Marsh note the cultural depiction of a class of people, who were somehow different from everyone else, could often be found in both approaches. An outlook that to some extent saw the lifestyle and behaviour of these people as the problem to address and that fed into the understanding of the socially excluded.

Disconnected Youth, while accepting the harsh reality of the fluid and somewhat unstable lives of many of the young people in East Kelby, argues the stereotypes promoted by underclass thinkers and some of the social exclusion promoters are simply wrong. 'Young people in these neighbourhoods', MacDonald and Marsh argue for example, 'had solidly conventional attitudes to parenthood', and they also had a, 'deeply held and widespread emotional and moral attachment to work as a way of signifying, and providing for, adult independence'.

The book's strength in developing a detailed picture of the lives of the young people in

Teeside who drifted in and out of part time unskilled work, New Deal and other training courses, is in its capacity to challenge the often deterministic understanding of young people today. Examining the drug and criminal careers of those in East Kelby the authors note for example that rather than crime being something they did when young which set a pattern of behaviour for the rest of their life, not only was most crime of a petty nature, if at all, but that, 'offending in early teenage gradually lessened as the years passed'. Despite some individuals who had all the 'risk factors' necessary to allow criminal psychologists like Farrington to predict a life of crime, the research often found this not to be the case. Concluding on the unpredictable and highly contingent nature of transitions in general MacDonald and Marsh explain that, 'transitions of whatever sort do not roll on deterministically to foregone conclusions'.

These young people the authors argue were generally resourceful and resilient at getting by, often having wider connections, or 'social capital', than might be expected by some sociologists of individualisation; they were somewhat aimless and dominated by events out of their control but were not a determined underclass. Rather than the state providing welfare to work programmes that fail to resolve underlying causes MacDonald and Marsh propose that the bottom line for incorporating the 'excluded' is an improvement in the economic context and the development of full time skilled and semi-skilled work.

Despite the useful research in this book, and the common sense proposal at the end, it felt a little dated with regard to understanding the young people in question and the issue of inclusion. The book describes the 'solidly conventional' attitudes to work and family, but what are these attitudes because I am not sure that the rest of society holds them anymore. Work no longer carries the meaning it once did and the family is no longer an 'institution'. Young people may say they think work and family is important, but important for what. In today's more therapeutic times, many areas of life have become reposed in terms of the self and how things make us feel so that even getting a job is no longer seen as the goal, but rather as a useful resource to improve our self esteem.

Even the purpose of 'training' in New Deal and Sure Start programmes has a more therapeutic dimension. In relation to the family, billions of pounds have been spent nationally in recent years on these programmes, with a key 'success' being the development of better emotionally literate parents. Determinism comes in many forms, and where Murray's underclass were explained as a product of welfarism, today's 'excluded' are more likely to be understood as products of bad parenting and personal relationships. Welfare determinism has been replaced by emotional determinism. To what extent this more therapeutic and interventionist framework had influenced these young people's lives and outlook – especially with the high level of contact they had with these government training programmes – was something that was missing from this research.

Disconnected Youth is useful in that it questions one of the strands of determinism that incorrectly depicts young people in such a negative light. But without a critique of the emerging therapeutic state it fails to examine developing trends in the changing relationship between the state and the individual and the impact this has upon young people.

Stuart Waiton is Director of Generation Youth Issues.

Sue Thompson
Age Discrimination
Russell House Publishing 2006
ISBN 1 903855 59 4
£13.95 (pbk)
pp. 91

Annie Franklin

This book is an early title in a new series which aims to fill a gap in the market for short, succinct user friendly texts, written by experts, to introduce sets of theoretical ideas and relate them to practice issues. No information is offered about other titles in the series, just an invitation to those who may wish to contribute to contact the editor at www. avenueconsulting.co.uk.

The book is certainly short at only 86 pages of text, sub-divided into four key parts. And while time-short professionals may well welcome its brevity, I am not sure that it represents great value for money with a price tag of £13.95. It is printed in A5 format with a soft jacket and feels very much like an issue of a journal. The narrative is interspersed with a series of Exercises and Practice Foci which appear in text boxes. The exercises pose questions for the reader to consider and the Practice Foci offer examples taken from practice, presumably as food for thought.

Part One is entitled The Theory Base and its first section attempts to define terms such as discrimination; oppression; stereotyping; ageism; ethnicity; values; partnership; social constructionism, because 'it may well be the case that some of the concepts referred to are new to you'. A notion I find odd when the series is aimed at practitioners who must surely all have received training that included an explanation of such concepts. Can anyone who works in any – what the author terms – 'people work' really need to be given a definition of 'values' or 'discrimination'? The following sections in part one examines ageism as a concept and the processes which enables it to function. But ironically it is sadly under theorised for it does not provide a clear summary of writing on ageism (at either end of the age spectrum), which is surely what hard-pressed practitioners really need a book like this to do for them.

In Part Two – The Implications for Practice – we are extolled to listen to people ('a much more complex skill than it might first seem'); make communication work ('far too complex a topic to go into in any depth in an introductory book such as this'); recognise language as a force for change (as it 'is used to describe and explain, to conjure up images and to influence our thinking in particular ways'); and challenge the power imbalance ('What often happens as a result of ageist stereotyping is that it is assumed that those at the extremes of the age continuum [young and old]… do not need to be active partners in decision-making processes').

The third part focuses on discrimination and oppression with sub sections on Ageism; Ageism and Sexism; Ageism and Class; Ageism and Racism; Ageism, Heterosexism and Sexual Identity; Ageism and Disablism.

It was unclear to me why the practice section was sandwiched between the theory sections. The final section – Guide to Further Learning, structured as it is, under sub heads like General Text, Children and Young People, and Older People – fails to offer the reader, especially one who is the novice the book's tone presumes, sufficient structure and clarity about where they might find the further works where they can explore particular ideas and issues.

Sadly, this book does not achieve all its aims. While it does highlight the existence of ageism; provides some food for thought about its consequences; and may get some practitioners thinking about how it can be challenged, it inadequately introduces the key concepts and issues. This is a major failing in a text of this sort. But perhaps the book's most serious flaw is its tone and the language used, which is patronising throughout, leaving this reader feeling like a child (sic). Given this problem it is very hard to agree with the claim on the cover that it is 'well written'.

However, I felt I was the wrong person to review this book. To fulfil the role ideally, my patronym should be Thompson. The author's name is Thompson, the series editor's name is Thompson and N Thompson appears ten times in the references section, while no other author appears more than twice and many whom one might expect to see included are not there at all. It is not clear whether this 'keep it in the family' approach is a result of mere nepotism or whether it reflects simply the difficulty in getting practitioners to write; it being easier to twist a spouse's arm than the arm of more distant colleagues. If the latter is the case then it is a problem which will need to be tackled if this new series aimed at practitioners is to stand any chance of success.

Annie Franklin works as a freelance consultant.

Pete Moser and George McKay
Community Music: a handbook
ISBN 1 903855 70 5
Russell House Publishing 2005
Price: £25.00
pp203

Mae Shaw

It is perhaps ironic that just as this excellent publication, which draws on a long history of community arts in the UK, appears, one of the most significant and exciting proponents of that tradition is about to cease operations. 'After 37 years of joyous mayhem' Welfare State International, with which Pete Moser, one of the editors, has had such a long and mutually creative association, is about to 'create its last gig'. As John Fox, Co-founder and Artistic Director explained in the *Guardian* (4/1/06) 'The zeitgeist – driven by the market, fear or uncertainty and a need for security – has halted our vision'. This says something profoundly pessimistic about our cultural landscape and perhaps some of the same imperatives lie behind this project, but there is clearly no lack of vision in the pages of this handbook.

What makes this book so distinctive and so welcome is that, as the two pages of acknowledgements testify, this is the product of a lot of work by a lot of people over a long time. No slick technocratic manual here, but as the blurb on the back says 'a book of ideas, a catalogue of experience, a mass of personal stories, a collection of inspiring musical exercises and a historical perspective'. For this reason alone, it will be of interest to a wide range of people who are interested in the power of music to express what other forms of education struggle to achieve. At a time when funding for arts work is increasingly tied into supporting particular government priorities, it is reassuring to come across a handbook which is unashamedly partisan; which is interested primarily in ordinary people expressing themselves as producers of culture, not simply as consumers or, worse, customers.

Publication has been made possible through specific funding from Arts Council England and Youth Music. Rising out of a 10-year training programme by More Music Morecambe, it has drawn on the talents of many of the key players in British community music. It also includes a set of inspirational poems by Lemn Sissay which connect each chapter. The content provides a comprehensive guide to all aspects of music making: drumming, improvisation, group composition, bandwork, voicework, songmaking and new technologies.

At a time when there has been such a renaissance in informal music-making, in a whole variety of contexts with people of all ages and backgrounds, this book is timely. As the authors argue, 'community music is one of the striking success stories of the community arts movement in Britain'. But it doesn't mistake informality for casualness, stressing the necessity to pay attention to detail if things are going to work creatively and effectively – clear objectives, pre-planning, honest evaluation – yet always the sense of an open and exciting encounter. As any good community worker knows, making the arrangements so that learning can take place is a meticulous business and this is demonstrated here in the many checklists offered. These give the reader the benefit of long experience of trying out different things with varying degrees of success, and venture some warnings as well as some shortcuts. While the educational work is taken seriously every effort is made to demystify the artistic process. The section on what creates a positive learning environment, for example, invites the reader to consider the factors identified by the authors and to add their own.

This handbook will be of value to music makers of all kinds and to those who are not. For expert musicians, there is advice about how to get their expertise across to others in creative ways. For those less expert, or less confident, there are prescribed sessions. Some of it is quite technical (there is a good section on new technologies), some of it indicative or inspirational, but all of it is interactive – putting the participants at the centre of the process. For educators it offers a particularly important resource; a refreshing antidote to the stifling managerialism which has come to dominate educational work in general. It is designed to engage people's active side, to get them thinking, expressing themselves and making themselves heard.

It is well produced, systematically presented, packed with ideas and practical means of turning them into song and music. It is particularly good for people who are not so obviously creative, who don't have great ideas themselves. A core skill of all community and youth workers should be the capacity to beg, borrow or steal (well, adapt anyway) other people's where necessary. This handbook offers a bin load.

The last word goes to Billy Bragg who has been glad to endorse this handbook: 'Music and songwriting are great at getting people together to express themselves. Community Music is a wonderful tool for all those who wish to tap into this latent creativity. Inspirational'. Hear, Hear!

Mae Shaw, Department of Higher and Community Education, University of Edinburgh.

David Crimmens and Ian Milligan
Facing Forward: Residential child care in the 21st century
Russell House Publishing 2005
ISBN 1-903855-76-6
£19.95
pp200

Heather Smith

Crimmens and Milligan have put together a book focused on residential child care that they claim is 'designed to stimulate thinking, promote debate, and provide theoretical and practical resources for residential practitioners and managers who seek to improve the quality of care provided across the UK' (p.1).

There are six parts to the book, which are further divided into chapters. Varied professionals cover a myriad of issues within the residential child-care arena. For example, it explores the need to acknowledge the differences and diversity of children in the residential child care system paying particular attention to black children, young people and those with a disability. Whilst some of these issues are specific, much of what is written regarding good practice within youth work and child care can be considered and applied outside of residential care.

Part one looks at the policy context of residential care. Attention is paid to this becoming a positive choice for children and young people and the impact of policy; in particular they pick up on the theme of permanency for 'looked after' children. In the 1980s the 'quest' for permanency became a key theme in informing the 'strategies of social services department and the practice of social workers' (p.21). However within these strategies residential care was not seen as an option and came to be seen as a placement that should be used on a temporary but not permanent basis. They also identify that 'the position of children in state care becomes effectively framed as one key target in the New Labour social inclusion agenda' (p.24) and that appropriate staff training needs to play a key part in modernising this agenda. The editors argue that for the purpose of the text, and in particular their chapter, that 'it is sufficient to note that the lack of appropriately qualified workforce continues to hinder the development of the sector' (p.25). They highlight that despite the significant investment in staff training the proportion of qualified staff in the sector falls short of recommended targets put forward by Utting and Skinner in their reports on residential child care over a decade ago.

Interestingly the text does not just seek to criticise the residential care system but it also offers some strong theoretical points that can be translated into practice. For example, space is given to looking at 'Resilience and Residential Care' arguing that:

> 'Resilience is enhanced not by some 'high tech' specialist practice. It is enhanced, where this proves possible, by attention to some of the fundamentals of good care – close relationships, purposeful engagement in valued tasks, opportunities for enriching social and educational opportunities'. (p105)

Recognition is given to the fact that residential care is not there to protect the child from the outside world but to ultimately prepare them to be able to operate in the outside world. This shows forward thinking in planning for the future of young people whose primary care lies within the residential sector. Within this part of the book thought is also given to the value of relationships within the residential care system. The importance of the 'here and now' is identified when responding to a need, want or question and most refreshingly 'adults having a high degree of care for and commitment to the young people they work with, high levels of self-confidence and responsibility, and a general and immediate awareness of themselves' (p.123) is an important ingredient of meaningful interventions. This is refreshing in that care and commitment are pushed to the foreground rather than the more favoured professional distance and boundaries.

Probably the most useful and poignant chapter in the book is in part three 'The Voice of Children and Young People'. Jane Whiteford who was formerly the Assistant Director for Young People's Services at Who Cares? Scotland, writes chapter seven 'Lets Face It! Young People Tell Us How it is'. It uses extracts from a report that followed an extensive consultation period that focused on what young people had to say rather than being policy driven. It raises the question of the stereotypes that children and young people feel that they are branded with because they are in the care system, challenging those who work within the system to ask themselves whether or not they contribute to this notion and make judgements based on these rather than the attributes of the individuals they meet. But probably a key element that we should all be concerned with, whether we work within residential care or not, is how safe the children and young people feel both with each other, within the community and the adults that are there to ensure their well being (2004, 76-78).

The writing style is accessible and offers solid practical examples alongside a good theoretical framework. The book is broken down into themed parts and then into chapters, the text uses clear titles and sub-headings, which allows the reader to re-visit particular areas of interest. The two-column layout however detracts from the general readability and seems to cause the text to be smaller which contributes to making the book stylistically difficult. This undermines the relevant and useful theories and practice examples being put forward. In general the book makes an important contribution to the discussion around the residential child care system and the part it plays in many children and young people's lives.

Heather Smith teaches at City of Westminster College, London

Timothy H. Parsons
Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa
Ohio University Press 2004
ISBN 0-8214-1596-4
pp318

Aylssa Cowell

Timothy H. Parsons is an ambitious man. In *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* he aims to write the first historical account of Scouting in Eastern and Southern Africa spurred on by the rather mysterious fact that Boy Scout uniforms, alongside firearms, explosives and illegal drugs cannot be imported into Kenya.

In the African colonies the British had a problem; they did not have the money nor the resources to impose their rule upon, in particular, the rural areas, so they relied on a method of 'indirect rule' whereby 'tribal' leaders would ensure that British interests were served. These 'tribes' in many cases did not exist previously – they were created to fit in with the British model of the tribe having rights, not the individual. In order to justify the occupation of the African territories, Britain claimed it had a humanitarian mandate; the duty to educate.

Education in many places fell to the church missions, and initially African children were taught a classical literary curriculum, however this caused problems. Once you teach someone how to read you cannot dictate which books and African young people started challenging Empirical rule.

Scouting was introduced into Africa at this point to 'retribalise' young people whose education and intelligence led them to question tribal leaders and therefore British rule, wanting more for themselves than rural farming life. It was thought that Scouting would make western education more compatible with British rule by helping make such ambitious students accept their place, well under the 'colour bar', in colonial society.

Anyone who has ever been a Scout will remember the Fourth Scout Law – 'A Scout is a friend to all, and a brother to every other Scout, no matter to what country, class or creed, the other may belong' (p.259). African Scouts used this law to directly challenge racism and oppression in their country, demanding equal rights amongst Scouts as many troops were split through colour. In Apartheid South Africa many years were spent fighting to enable Black young people to become fully fledged Scouts as opposed to 'Pathfinders' which was based upon Scouting but without the Fourth Law.

Personally I never did find out why Scout uniforms were banned from Kenya or whether South African Pathfinders ever did become Scouts because I abandoned the book halfway through. It is the first historical account of Scouting in these areas of Africa therefore it is incredibly detailed, far too much for me as a general reader. When you read the book it feels as though the author has uncovered masses of information, and does not want to leave anyone or anything out, so for example you get to know all the names of all the

missionaries who set up both Scouting and Girl Guide troops. I felt like I was wading through lots of detail but not really getting any further with the overall picture so eventually I gave up.

This is not to say the book does not hold any value. It is interesting as the story of a time in Scouting history where instead of helping young people challenge oppression and racism, colonial authorities attempted to use the movement to keep young Black African people in their place, and young Black Africans used the movement to challenge exactly that place within that society. The book is fantastic if you want to hold a piece of Scouting history and use it as reference. If you are interested in the way colonial society actually worked it is best to see it through one of its institutions. Scouting turns 100 next year and it is great that this has been written. However it is hard going and I would only recommend reading it if you already have a vested interest in this topic, otherwise wait until someone writes an overview.

Aylssa Cowell is a Youth Worker at Streetwise in Newcastle Upon Tyne

Sarah McNamara
Helping Young People to Beat Stress
Continuum 2005
ISBN 0-8264-8755-6
£16.99 (pbk)
pp114

Mary Hodgson

This book arises out of the research done by the author (published initially in 2000) into the growing levels of teenage stress and from which a companion pack 'Stress Management Programme for Secondary Schools' (2001, Routledge Falmer) was produced. For this edition she has removed some of the more academic parts of her work, and has aimed to produce a practical guide for parents, teachers, mental health professionals, social workers and youth workers or 'anyone who wishes to talk to teenagers about improving their coping skills'.

The scope of the book is ambitious, with chapters covering mental strategies for, and physical ways of coping with stress, study skills and time management, interpersonal and communications skills, and self care ('treating yourself right'). These chapters are broken down further to cover a massive agenda, from depression to anorexia, nutrition to time management and bullying to problem solving. Gray, shaded boxes throughout the text helpfully summarise the major learning points and give ideas for exercises or discussions.

The book starts at a place very familiar to youth workers – how to frame initial conversations with young people so they will participate and engage in the activity on offer. The author gives a brief reminder that the tone of any work should be relaxed and exploratory, and that

ground rules should be negotiated relating to confidentiality, democracy and respect. The agenda should be young person-led, with no right or wrong answers. One would hope that anyone setting out on the skilled work of running a young people's group would already have these principles well entrenched and would be experienced in such work. It is doubtful whether others who need this guidance should be working with such groups at all. The bulk of this chapter then concentrates on suggesting ways of defining, recognising and analysing stress.

Chapter 2 covers how to discuss coping and preventative strategies with young people. It contains some useful material about planning ahead and being prepared for stressful events, once identified. There is a strong cognitive behavioural approach apparent in this section, with the author encouraging the reader to help young people to replace negative thoughts with positive ones. Techniques such as 'thought stopping' and 'stress inoculation' are explained, as is the importance of learning how to relax. The author suggests encouraging young people to keep a 'stress diary' as a way of identifying their own personal response to stress. The young person would then use this in the group to discuss how to approach their own stress levels.

The chapter on physical ways of coping with stress is particularly wide ranging. The group should 'discuss normal eating, sleeping, exercise and drinking routines' and see how these link to thoughts, feelings and behaviour, and the role they play in mental health. There is information on alcohol, fat, dieting, eating disorders, PMS and a discussion on weight and body shape. Surprisingly though, given the extensive range of the chapter, there is no mention of recreational drug use.

The book then continues into the more traditional school/stress area of preparing for exams, in a chapter which will not contain any new information for teachers. It is a straightforward and sensible précis of the way in which (one hopes) good schools have been preparing their students for exams for many years.

Chapter 5 covers the more difficult ground of stress in relationships. It contains some good ideas for exercises which will bring it home to young people that 'we can only bring about changes in others by changing ourselves and changing the way we relate to them' and that this takes time. Assertiveness, negotiation skills and listening skills are explained, before the author suggests opening the discussion on bullying.

On then, to Chapter 6 which starts with ideas about how to raise issues of self confidence and self esteem with a group and ends on the subject of 'unhappiness and depression' – all in fifteen pages!

The tone of the final chapter ('Discussion and conclusion') shifts radically from training manual to research dissertation with its discussions of 'programme implementation' and 'socio-economic dimension' (although a final 'grey box' gives a good summary of all the themes of the book).

The book may be a useful overview or introduction to someone beginning to consider the issues surrounding the stress that young people face. Some of the most helpful parts of it

are simple, practical exercises which group leaders could add to their repertoires. It is very ambitious in its scope which is where the problem with it lies.

In attempting to provide the reader with a crash course in young peoples' issues, health promotion, cognitive behavioural interventions, social and study skills, it skims over the surface of some very complex areas. Would it be right, for example, for the group leader, whose training is unspecified, to 'try asking young people: Is their weight below normal and Have people commented that they look thin'? These issues have to be approached with caution, respect and expertise

Is school, in fact, the right setting for such a programme and are teachers (even when in 'shifting roles') best placed to lead them, given their main role of educators and disciplinarians. How relaxed is a student going to be when the setting in which s/he is learning about coping with stress may well be stressful in itself and how willing to share personal material?

The author believes her book is important because there is 'a dearth of both formal and informal resources for practitioners in helping young people to cope with stress'. It is surprising she has not come across the publications of, among others, The Trust for the Study of Adolescence and other social skills material being used by practitioners (e.g. youth workers, counsellors) in both school and community settings. Highlighting the amount of stress present for young people can only be helpful but is it realistic though to imagine that armed with one slim 'practical guide' a practitioner could run a safe and effective programme to combat this stress? Surely our young people deserve more expertise and resources than this.

Mary Hodgson is Counselling Co-ordinator at Youth Enquiry Service, York.

Allan Percival
No Sex Please – We're BB
Anecdotal BB Memories 1951-2003
Anchorage Publications 2006
ISBN 0-9550311-0-9
£14.95 (pbk)
pp500

Jack House

At any one time I normally keep on my reading shelf a work of fiction and one of non-fiction. There were occasions during my reading of this book when I was a little uncertain into which of these categories it best fitted. To a person like myself, once a Boy member and later an officer in The Boys' Brigade, and having over the years had a lifelong interest in the movement, many of the author's personal recollections and reflections

seemed, initially, to move beyond the realms of reality. Especially so, arising from within an organisation which since its founding in 1883 has proudly declaimed as an object 'The advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys, and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverance, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness'.

Yet the ultimate reality of what is recounted is vouched for by Percival's own impeccable credentials. Having served in the ranks and as a company officer, he was subsequently employed by the Brigade for some 43 years. During this time he served for a quarter of a century as the Regional Field Officer in the North of England and later as Resource Centre manager and Secretary of the International Committee. All this leading up to his being made redundant, with very little warning! Thus he had wide experience of the Brigade and its workings at local, regional and national level.

These 500 pages of recollections and reflections arising from these long years of Brigade membership are variously personal, partial, passionate, penetrating, challenging, even shocking – and quite unputdownable! Read as an adjunct to my own academic research into the growth and development of the B.B. in one particular locality, Percival's revelations have certainly caused me to re-examine my own view as to what the movement was about in the second half of the twentieth century.

Many of the authors recollections and reflections, as hinted, bring little credit to The Boys' Brigade movement generally or to many named paid officials or voluntary officers who have served during the period under review at national, district, battalion or company level. There are numerous accounts of personal conflicts, infightings and antagonisms, arising from misplaced tribal and parochial loyalties, petty jealousies, overweening personal ambitions and the stubborn clinging to outdated traditions and methodologies. Startling examples are chronicled of personal and corporate incompetence in the management of Brigade affairs, especially in the areas of financial control and the stewardship of resources. There are revelations of a lack of even basic professionalism in the treatment of paid employees, let alone any hint of the application of a Christian standard of morality, as might be expected in the B.B. And, sadly, there are instances noted of personal self indulgence in, amongst other things, the apparent personalising of the Brigade's historic memorabilia and in the over imbibing of alcohol. Perhaps, strangest of all, there is some evidence presented of what might seem to be a destructive Masonic influence at work in the movement. All of these propensities in a movement proudly claiming historical pre-eminence amongst the Christian inspired voluntary youth organisations and a movement whose membership would seem to have been largely and naively oblivious to what was going on in its name.

Doubtless many B.B. people will regret the publication of this book, seeing it as an attempt by an embittered individual to wash the movement's dirty linen in public. In fact, I am given to understand that an application by the author to advertise its publication in The Boys' Brigade Gazette was refused. It is also interesting that the book receives no mention in the April 2006 edition of that official journal either. However, in spite of the apparent ferocity of his criticism of so many within the Brigade during the period under review, in an after word, the author stresses his continued commitment to the movement and its Christian object, although he would like to amend and shorten the wording to 'Challenging young people with the gospel of Jesus Christ'.

I hope that B.B. people in particular and many others engaged in work with young people in our society will read this book, on the basis that it provides a far reaching, if perhaps partial, insight into The Boys' Brigade movement and its doings in the decades 1950-2000 in particular to issues such as the ongoing debates around the admission of Girls into membership, appropriate programmes and activities, particularly for older members, uniform, devolution, falling membership and even the Christian object of the movement. This book has caused me to ponder seriously as to the reasons the B.B. movement has survived, which in spite of considerable numerical decline, especially amongst teenage members, has even in some places seemed to flourish. As a Christian minister, whose own entry into a faith community came through membership of a company of The Boys' Brigade, I might want to suggest that the prime reason for this phenomenon is a belief in a divine working through, and even in spite of, the examples of human frailty revealed by the author. Others, having read this book may wish to proffer other reasons. Certainly, Percival provides much material to assist such pondering. Again, having read and re read the book, I have been forced to consider the motivation of those who seek to serve and work with young people in the B.B. and similar organisations and the dangerous ease with which such a leadership role can become the basis of a personal ego trip – something against which a Criminal Records Bureau check does not safeguard!

Two endnotes. First, I was surprised by the large number of literal and several important factual errors e.g. 'the Flying Scotsman' was a LNER (not GNER) 'giant' (p.118), whilst the Maxwell printing empire was situated in Headington, not Headingley (p.74). Was the book ever properly proofread? Secondly, you have to read to page 148 before you can appreciate the title!

Jack House, University of the West of England, Bristol

Peter Aggleton, Andrew Ball and Purnima Mane (eds)
Sex, Drugs and Young People: International Perspectives
Routledge 2006
ISBN 0-415-32878-0
No price given (pbk)
pp224

Richard Kimberlee

Awell respected professor of education, who has written extensively on the issues of youth and education has teamed up with a Senior Strategy Adviser from the World Health Organization's Department of HIV/AIDS and a Policy expert from the Joint United Nations' Programme on HIV/AIDS to provide us with a collection of essays on the issues of sex, sexuality, illicit drug use and substance use. Issues, as the book demonstrates, that remain the focus of an almost perpetual and universal moral panic in nation-states across the world when discussed in conjunction with young people's lives. Aiming to inform professional service providers working with young people the book delivers a series of very interesting chapters on sex and drugs in different contexts (e.g. prisons, the military) and

through different lifestyle choices (e.g. prostitution and same-sex relationships) that young people often escape into or encounter in their transition to adult statuses.

Clearly declaring at the start of the book that with increased globalisation it is important and indeed enlightening to get a broader understanding of young people's drug use and sexual behaviour in different zones of the world, the book delivers exactly this. As a reference book, researchers, academics and professionals working with young people could dip into various chapters and use it as a useful starting point to locate evidence and research on a whole range of health issues and themes. These are as broad as the extent and nature of poverty amongst young people worldwide, to more focused like the impact of harm reduction strategies on indigenous communities in Canada. The chapter by Hunt provides a very useful collection of data on illicit drug use but also offers the reader a very clear and concise outline of methodological issues frequently associated with data collection in this field. A subject often ignored by policy makers and practitioners.

The editors' opening chapter takes us through the dilemma of the optimistic and pathological approaches that have been developed historically by writers, analysts and the media in their discourses on young people. This dilemma in discourse and in the reality of sex and drugs is explored throughout the subsequent chapters. The editors also reinforce the accepted but frequently ignored view that young people are not homogeneous and demonstrate that their lives are structured by gender, ethnicity, risk, poverty etc. The latter is explored extensively in an excellent chapter by Rivers et al who remind us that nearly half the people on the planet are under 25, and that developing countries are home to 85% of the world's young people. Also, in contrast to the breadth of quantitative data in this book, several chapters lead the reader to explore more qualitative themes like the discourses surrounding themes of drug use among same-sex attracted young people where public and private consumption is shown by Howard and Arcuri to provide a variety of meanings for young people living in the developing world.

For professionals who work as service providers the array of evidence presented in this volume reinforces the importance of developing a broad understanding of young people's complex lives and it urges them to use programmes that will meaningfully engage with young people's conceptions and discourses on issues of sexual health and substance abuse. It is clear that in the face of global poverty, health programmes frequently fail to do this and they rarely take account of young people's lack of social and economic opportunities. Overs and Castle's review of policy and programmes to deal with young people who sell sex and use drugs frighteningly documents violent programmes unleashed by some state forces. Unfortunately many initiatives have failed to include active, agency forces in civil society and digress instead to perpetuating the pathological discourses of young people as 'collections of difficulties and problems'.

The message from all of these chapters is a reminder of the importance of empowering young people with rights and the need for policy makers to encourage the development of positive policies to address sex and drug issues. When young children escape to the streets and positively valorise prostitution (for whatever reason) it is very clear that policy makers and practitioners still need to put far greater investment in understanding local cultural processes in order to create and sustain effective programmes with and for the world's

population of young people where the effects of poverty, social exclusion and inequality are most firmly felt. All too often across the world, policy has failed because it has always been based on assumptions of blame and at best offers only tokenistic participatory opportunities, if at all.

Where the book has it limits is in its portrayal and contribution to the understanding of the issue of global power. It is clearly strong on justifying and providing evidence to encourage national and global state structures to adopt and respect children's rights as a bulwark against repressive and harmful social policy and as a tool to empower young people to embrace the heterogeneous, local, contexts in which they live their lives and encounter risks. But none of the authors ever fully provide policy makers or practitioners with any understanding of power and/or globalization. This is strange given its declaration of offering International Perspectives. There is no discussion of globalization and yet in various places it rears its head e.g. in reference to young people's common cultural pursuits across nation states (Bullock) and the global labels of same-sex relations (Overs et al). Is this a new era or are young people today inheriting familiar internationalized challenges similar to the colonial injustices of the past that has prevented indigenous young people from developing adequate foundations for health and well being (Saggars)? This is not a complaint. The discourses on international sex, drugs and young people outlined here are broad, but in terms of developing internationalised structural understanding of global forces, professionals working with young people would get very little insight as to the nature of these dynamic structures. They might even get confused as to how they spell homogeneous.

Richard Kimberlee, Senior research Fellow, University of the West of England, Bristol.

A. Bancroft, S. Wilson, S. Cunningham-Burle, K. Backett-Milburn and H. Masters
Parental Drug and Alcohol Misuse: resilience and transition among young people
Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2004
ISBN 978 1 85935 248 9
£13.95
pp42

Willie McGovern

This report seeks to build on findings from the Hidden Harms Agenda and Getting Our Priorities Right, and seeks to describe and analyse the social, economic and psychological impact of parental substance use on young people. It discusses how young people affected by substance use, cope with their daily living experiences and how this affects their transitions into adulthood.

There are a plethora of sociological and policy documents that argue parental substance use can have a detrimental effect on the social, economical and psychological development of young people. However, whilst I accept this can be the case I do not agree that these numbers have significantly grown as the report argues. Not least because there are now more robust methods of data analysis relating to the numbers of parents who have

substance use issues and children. I also believe that there are a large number of young people who have experienced social isolation and economic deprivation as well as the difficulty in the transition into adulthood who have not had parents with significant substance use issues.

Methodologically I find it difficult to agree that young people at the age of 27 can have a realistic memory of their childhood such as those mentioned in the study as it is difficult to conceptualise your position and the factors which inhibit or contribute towards your development at a young age. I also disagree that having extended responsibilities in childhood like caring for others, cleaning houses and looking after siblings is necessarily a bad thing. I support the view, and I guess the majority of youth workers would agree (rightly or wrongly), that taking responsibility and identifying your role within the family unit is essential for young people.

Overall the report is communitarian in orientation and only mentions the economic and social deprivation experienced by parents and young people briefly three times. The discussion surrounds the role of parents, extended family, neighbours and the wider community for the lack of support in young people's lives. The report evokes a somewhat purist model of parenting and the skills required to be a good parent. Unfortunately there is no data from parents or relating to what was happening for them at the time of their substance use, something that weakens the impact of the report. Further criticisms must be levelled at the role of young people in manipulating their parents. Only two references are made throughout the report to how young people preferred their parents to be under the influence of substances. On page 15 the account of a young persons attempts to collude and support their parents use could have been explored more robustly. Certainly I have seen young people manipulate their substance using parents emotionally and financially on numerous occasions.

I would like to draw attention to the sections of the report that focus on resilience and transitions. These two sections could have been more robust in their arguments and explanations. In citing Furlong and Cartmel (1997) the authors indicate that many young people are still disadvantaged by socio and economic position. However, a more appropriate frame might have been adopted by referring to the Introduction of that publication which emphasises how young people now face a set of risks, choices and life chances which were unknown or apparent to their parents.

There is a commonly held empiricist view that substantial numbers of young people go on to use drugs, significantly Heroin, as a consequence of their parents usage. This suggests that young people are passively responding to the norms and values of the household, despite not agreeing with this. However it is also evident that many used drugs with their peers-possibly irrespective of what was happening in the household or to their parents. Finally in terms of policy development it would seem that only those young people who have been in care have accessed services. One must ask if this position could be rectified by incorporating this hidden population's needs into an assessment package whenever adults with responsibility for children attend drug services.

Willie McGovern works with a Drug Action Team in the North of England.

Obituary: Bert Jones 1935–2006

Bert Jones was an individual full of vitality and optimism, someone with a strong cultural background as he acknowledged it in his deep roots and in his appreciation for Welsh culture as an English speaking south-Walian. He was resilient because despite being hurt deeply by, for example, his sudden departure from NEWI in 1999 or by the closure of the Wales Youth Agency in 2005, he was able to continue to fight for what he had believed in for all of his professional working life. That is, the value and potential of all the young people of Wales and the need for a particular style of intervention by adults that enabled young people to discover for themselves the characteristics they needed to lead a life worth living.

Bert was, above all else, an inspirational lecturer who enthused many students on professional qualifying programmes at NEWI and UWIC for almost 30 years. During the same time he was involved in delivering a range of Youth and Community work programmes to large numbers of students involved in the old 'Bessey' courses which become part of the Coherent Route of Training in Wales. In particular he developed a long term link with West Wales and became a regular visitor to the Ferryside Training Centre where he encouraged part-time workers into both thoughtful ways of working with young people and the possibility of developing a career in the Youth Service. His style of teaching reflected his personality and as a consequence it was informed, passionate, creative and often inspirational. Sometimes it lost its focus as he concentrated on a particular argument with an individual or small group among the students he was teaching, promising to come back to the main topic as soon as he had sorted out some particular argument. Bert's ability to become distracted, or perhaps refocused on a new priority, was perhaps most obvious during a national committee meeting of some importance when Bert, incensed by what he considered an inappropriate remark, shot to his feet, red in the face, veins throbbing in his neck to pound the table demanding the Chair of the meeting allow him to speak. After some confusion he was gently reminded that he was the Chair. However, his work as a teacher was above all else underpinned by an immense knowledge and love of his subject. There was little he could not recall from his reading and his discussion with colleagues both in Wales, the UK or the wider Europe.

Bert could also be identified by his great energy which often spilled over in the most inappropriate ways. When he was driving for example he would change gear with increasing frequency dependent on how agitated he became during a conversation with his passengers. This was not a comfortable position, with one passenger arriving at a meeting in mid-Wales white and shaking following a car journey from Wrexham with frequent gear changes made worse by the claim that he was in a hire car with an automatic gearbox. Another example of the excitement of driving with Bert was experienced by a nervous passenger who had been offered a lift to the History Conference in Durham on a particularly bleak week-end. Driving up the M6 in sleet, snow and a biting wind he would, it was claimed by his passenger, slow down in the fast lane from 60 miles an hour to a sedate 30 miles an hour so that he could read the road signs and not miss his exit. This excess of energy forced his students at NEWI to develop a range of strategies to slow him down in

his seemingly constant flight around the campus at Cartrefle. As a consequence it was not unusual to find small groups of them lurking at a crossroad of paths waiting to waylay him with a well placed question or request as he came flying past from one brief meeting on his way to another.

Bert had a great ability to make those he had taught or worked with feel good about themselves. If he had to introduce someone at a conference or some other event he would always be fulsome in his praise of their achievements, always able to find some significant achievement in their past, always able to describe their potential for the future. Achievements by his students would be magnified by his eloquence as would their promotion which was always underpinned by a great belief that at last the right people would be in position to take the Youth Service forward. He was a great socialiser given the right circumstances, always happy to meet colleagues for a beer or, depending on the time of day, a glass of whisky. He saw these times as an opportunity to discuss a wide range of issues with whoever was about. The state of Welsh rugby, which had never improved in his opinion from the golden years of the 60s and 70s, the new players with their yet to be revealed potential; and above all else an abiding wish to see England beaten by traditional Welsh inventiveness. It was also a time to voice his concerns about the Welsh language becoming an elitist language which would disadvantage those who were unable to speak it and his support for becoming part of the wider Europe where he had many friends and colleagues.

Bert was born in 1935 and raised in Llanover Road, Pontypridd. The youngest son of Gladys and William Jones he was educated at Pontypridd Grammar school until he served in the RAF. On completion of his National Service in 1956 he attended St Paul's College Cheltenham where he obtained his Teacher's Certificate. His first teaching position was in Barking, Essex where he also made a name playing rugby at scrum half for the Ford Motor company. In 1958 he married Peggy (Brown) and lived in Chadwell Heath, Essex until 1959 when he returned to Wales to take up a teaching post at Twyn School Caerphilly where he continued his rugby playing with Taffs Well. During the following years he started his part-time youth work at Pentyrch before taking up a full-time Youth Tutor post at Penarth which proved highly successful with the club winning the Glamorgan Youth Eisteddfod Shield for a number of years. Whilst at Penarth he studied for an Open University Degree as one of its first students. He was seconded to Manchester University where he gained an M.Ed Degree.

In 1977 he was appointed lecturer in Youth and Community at Cartrefle College Wrexham. On the transition to NEWI during reorganisation in 1995 he was appointed Principal Lecturer until his early retirement in 1999. During this time Bert developed a national role in Wales and was actively involved in many of the key developments affecting both the strategic and operational priorities of the Youth Service. Youth Information was a particular interest and he was part of the Canllaw/On Line initiative which produced the first information booklet for young people in 1985. He was an original member of the Board of the Wales Youth Agency following its formation in 1992 and he was instrumental in bringing the professional endorsement responsibility for Youth and Community Work training to Wales and was a founder member of the Education and Training Standards Committee which was formed as a sub-committee of the Wales Youth Agency in 1995. His work on behalf of this committee included a central involvement in the development of the

Coherent Route of Training and the writing of a 'Code of Ethics for Youth Workers'.

He was very active in the wider Europe and in 1991 became the vice president of the European Association of Training Centre for Socio-educational Care Work (FESET) and president in 1993. He was the first and only president of the association from the UK and was in his own energetic way very active in developing networks around social pedagogical work. As part of this interest Bert organised and managed a study visit to Vilnius in Lithuania to which he had invited key managers and practitioners from the Baltic States to meet with colleagues from the Youth Service in Wales in an attempt to share ideas around the concept of non-formal community based education.

In his 'spare' time he regularly volunteered to work with young people in a wide variety of settings including the innovative Heritage camp run in the 1980s by Alun Michael who became the First Minister in the National Assembly for Wales. He was also actively involved with the Adventure Playground in Wrexham where he performed the role of Father Christmas for many years. I have an endearing memory of Bert preparing for this role in a backroom of the 'Venture' where I had been called for a meeting about a particular development that had annoyed him. His transformation from College Lecturer to Father Christmas was meticulous and nothing was left to chance as he undressed from his work clothes and slowly became, through his costume and make-up, the figure that all the children in the room next door had come to see. Throughout the process he never stopped haranguing me about the failures of government, the need for collective action, the failures of Youth Service managers and practitioners to remember their history. The meeting concluded earlier than many I had enjoyed with Bert because his audience was waiting but he finished resplendent in his assumed persona with a passionately delivered quotation from Paulo Friere before ringing his large brass bell and striding into a room packed with small children.

During his 'retirement' he worked with the Wales Youth Agency as a consultant and lectured part-time at University of Wales Institute Cardiff (UWIC) which required him to travel down from north Wales often before the sun rose to meet with students for a 9.30am start. This he considered a privilege because it allowed him to drive through what he considered to be the most beautiful country in the world and because it was taking him to do what he enjoyed doing most – teaching Youth and Community work students. In more recent years he assisted at ECTARC, Llangollen where his links and passion for young people and all things European were put to good use.

My last meeting with Bert was in a coffee shop in Llangollen when we spent a couple of hours debating and arguing about how the Youth Service was developing. He was concerned about its future, as he had been for some time because he believed that young people were being moved away from the centre of an agenda that he felt that had been hijacked by bureaucrats who did not see the value of the Youth Service. Despite a long period of despondency Bert had started to develop a new, more positive strategy which involved him in meeting those who had an influence on the Youth Service. This action had re-energised him and he was once again about to write to the Welsh Assembly Government to ask for more information about their thinking and their actions, which I am sure maintained their fondness for him. During that last meeting we also talked about an article

we were writing together about the influence of the USA on Welsh youth culture. We had written collaboratively on a number of occasions and his approach was typical of his general approach to his work with young people and the Youth Service. It was grand, sweeping and visionary, full of *hwyl* and ready to challenge the establishment at every opportunity. It was rooted in a unique knowledge of the history of the Youth Service in Wales which included an in-depth recollection of people and events that had shaped it during the previous 40 years. During our last conversation he asked me what I thought of the last draft he had sent me. My reply was that the structure needed some work and the referencing was all over the place. When I made such comments he always used to pat me on the shoulder and say 'you used to be my student you know'.

When we parted I expected my usual Sunday evening telephone call which always started with the words 'John this is Bert' as if I wouldn't know who it was. Our conversations would often last for a couple of hours as we again discussed young people, the Youth Service, the gap between what he believed politicians wanted and what was happening in the field. He would recommend books, he would quote from newspaper articles and he would ask me if I had read the Western Mail and seen the letter he had written about some subject that he felt had been ignored.

Bert was a modest man who did not fully recognise the impact he had made on the hundreds of students who had been fortunate enough to meet with him and to have been taught by him. This modesty was perhaps supported by the lack of any recognition from NEWI following his retirement where he had given so much of his time, commitment and energy. It was also supported by the lack of any recognition by the honours system despite his name being forwarded by the Wales Youth Agency. His lasting legacy is, however, the work with young people being carried out on a daily basis by those he trained and influenced. It is a significant legacy that will not diminish soon.

Bert will be an impossible act to follow because he had a combination of attributes that probably do not exist in their entirety in any other individual involved in the Youth Service in Wales. He had an energy that was focused on the Youth Service; he had a great understanding of its history and philosophy; and he was the conscience of those who worked in the Youth Service, always ready to remind those who he thought were undermining its principles and values of the error of their ways.

Bert will be sorely missed by all those who knew and cared for him.

John Rose

Youth & Policy

ADVERTISING RATES AND DATA

CIRCULATION

Youth & Policy is issued quarterly. It has a circulation not only throughout the United Kingdom and Europe, but also as far afield as the USA and Australia. Many academics and professionals subscribe to what has proven to be a valuable contribution to those involved in various forms of youth study and youth work.

RATES

Advertisements

Full page	£225+VAT
Half page (landscape only)	£125+VAT

Inserts	£150+VAT for single sheet A5 or A4 (folded)

1,000 copies circulation. Delivery to The NYA address for the attention of the Head of Media Services.

Other rates by negotiation.

DEADLINES

One month prior to publication of each quarterly issue. Contact NYA Media Services on 0116 242 7480 or e-mail: andyh@nya.org.uk for further details.

Inserts – two weeks prior to publication.

MECHANICAL DATA

Full page	120mm wide x 195mm deep
Half page	120mm wide x 95mm deep

The National Youth Agency will typeset and lay out your advertisement from copy/illustrations supplied. All advertisements will print mono unless otherwise negotiated.

FURTHER DETAILS

Please contact *Youth & Policy*, The National Youth Agency, Eastgate House, 19–23 Humberstone Road, Leicester LE5 3GJ. Tel: 0116 242 7480.
E-mail: andyh@nya.org.uk

S U B S C R I P T I O N S

To take out a subscription to *Youth & Policy* please fill in the form below, or a photocopy of it, and return by post or fax to The National Youth Agency.

Annual subscription (four issues)

Individuals, Youth and Community Organisations, Voluntary Agencies, Academic Institutions, Statutory Organisations and Libraries in the United Kingdom
£28.00
(Special student offer – £14.00)
(Price includes UK second class postage)

Overseas – Europe Add £8.00 postage
– Elsewhere Add £10.00 postage

Single issues and back issues
Available @ £9.00 per issue (price includes UK second class postage)
Overseas – Europe Add £2.00 postage
– Elsewhere Add £2.50 postage

I wish to subscribe to *Youth & Policy*

Name
_____

Organisation
_____

Address
_____

Postcode
_____

I enclose a cheque made payable to The National Youth Agency ☐
Please charge my VISA ☐   Mastercard ☐

Card number
_____

Expiry date
_____

Name on card
_____

Back issue nos.
_____

Postage (overseas only)
_____

I require a receipt ☐

Please make cheques payable to The National Youth Agency.
Send or fax forms to The National Youth Agency, Eastgate House,
19–23 Humberstone Road, Leicester LE5 3GJ. Fax: 0116 242 7444.