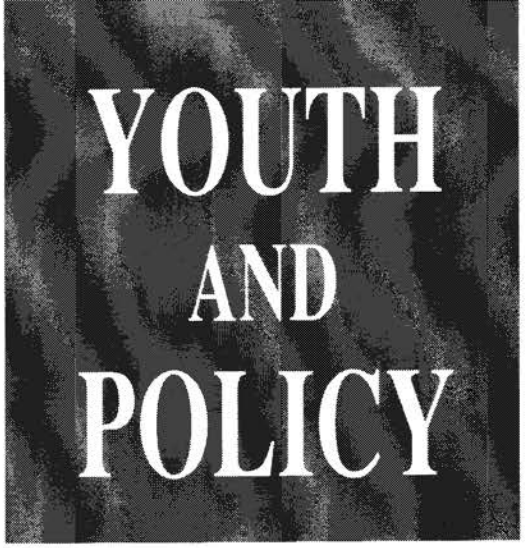
YOUTH AND POLICY

MARCH 1992

No: 36



CONTENTS

ISSN 0262-9798 **No: 36**

Youth and Policy ISSN 0262-9798

Maura Banim, Youth and Policy
PO Box 10, Blaydon, Tyne & Wear
NE21 5DD

Youth and Policy, a non-profit making journal, is devoted to the serious critical study of issues in Youth Affairs and the analysis of policy concerning Youth in society. All of the Editorial Group work on a voluntary basis.

The views expressed in the articles remain those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Youth and Policy Editorial Group.

Whilst every effort is made to check factual material, the editorial group are not responsible for statistical errors in material accepted in good faith from reputable sources. Where possible information will be updated in future issues and any errors corrected.

Typeset by:
The Art Department, 1 Pink Lane,
Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 5DW.
Telephone (091) 230 4164.

Proof read by:
Seaham Proofreaders, 5 Dene Terrace,
Seaham, County Durham, SR7 7BB

Printed by:
NW Printers, Kells Lane, Low Fell,
Gateshead, Tyne and Wear, NE9 5JR.
Tel: (091) 487 6041 Fax: (091) 491 0802.

Effective Youth Policy Responses to the Irish Youth Crisis

GEOFFREY CORRY

Youth services in the Republic of Ireland are going through a major crisis at the moment as they struggle to respond to a dramatically worsening situation for young people. This is partly due to structural factors such as a large youth population and massive youth unemployment, but also because of the lack of adequate policy direction and targeted resource allocation.

Irish politicians are having to grapple with a new wave of suburban youth unrest and juvenile crime which gets written up in newspapers as thuggery. As I write, the evening tabloid newspaper tells the story of a train worker in a station ticket office on the Northside of Dublin being viciously attacked by a gang of savage thugs, doused with petrol through the ticket office grid and then set on fire (Evening Press 1.12.91). Seemingly the attack on the train worker was a retaliation by some local youths who refused to allow them on the platform without a ticket. Further inside the same newspaper is a story about how The Commitments, a film about an Irish band, retains its number one position for Irish cinema goers. Fact and fantasy get mixed up together.

Ironically, the film is set and was partly filmed at this very same train station and the original book, The Commitments, by Roddy Doyle is based on his experiences as a school teacher in this tough environment. Anyone who has seen this fast moving film, comes away with the stark contrast between a very bleak working-class housing estate and the incredible energy, determination, creative ability and sheer good humour of the band. The Commitments is perhaps the kind of dream that youth workers believe could happen to their very own youth group. The all-Dublin cast are now as famous as U2, Bob Geldoff, Sinead O'Connor and Enya - all products of Ireland's talented young generation.

The train worker incident is only one of many such stories hitting the headlines in recent weeks which seem only to encourage copycat incidents in other working-class estates both on the west and south sides of Dublin. Firemen called to put out a fire have been stoned; Garda (Police) reinforcements have been brought in from other districts to quell a night of violence and smashed windows by a gang of twenty drunken youths; local residents are living in fear of intimidation by youths aged between 16 and 20 years.

In the face of this wave of youth unrest, it may be an understatement to say that many youth leaders feel that this is the end of one particular era in Irish youth work and that we must now face into a much more difficult and professionally rigorous piece of work despite all the policy gains of the past 25 years (when state funds first became available), a new consensus among the main youth service partners and new structures are now required to give direction and purpose to practitioners who are presently feeling isolated and lacking in support and recognition.

This raises fundamental questions about the nature of the crisis now being faced, the distinctiveness of the Irish Youth Service of the past 25 years, and the important role which policy can play in giving support, recognition and purpose to practitioners in the field. Each one of these questions will be addressed in turn.

I.SPECIAL POSITION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN IRISH SOCIETY

> *The scale of the demographic revolution over the past twenty five years in Ireland is little understood, either by youth workers on the ground or by policy makers. It has brought about startling social and cultural changes but at the same time has intensified the strains on young people who have experienced a sharp deterioration in their employment prospects (Fitzgerald, 1991).*

Compared with other Western European countries, the Republic of Ireland enjoys an exceptionally large youth population. In 1985, some 48% of the population were under 25 compared with a European average of 36%. In this regard, Ireland is more typical of a Third World country. Over the ten year period 1971-1981, there was a 15.6% increase in the population - four times the EC average. This was due

not so much to a continued high birth rate and preference for large families but rather to a fall off in emigration and substantial immigration. Many Irish people (who had emigrated in large numbers in the 1950s and 1960s) returned with their young families to an economically buoyant country.

This historic situation of net immigration, reversing a century of emigration, did not last for long. Involuntary emigration returned in the mid-1980s and the fertility rate fell sharply, some estimates are suggesting by as much as half, due mainly to the wider availability of contraceptives. Consequently, the population reached a peak of 3.543 million in April 1987 and is now in decline. Projections for the future are quite dramatic as outlined in Table 1. Ireland's youth population is set to fall continuously over the next thirty years from 45.6% in 1989 to 30.7% in 2020 (Tansey, 1991).

TABLE 1: THE CHANGING PROFILE OF IRELAND'S YOUTH POPULATION IN PERCENTAGE TERMS

Cohort	1989	1995	2000	2010	2020	Change
0-14	28.3	24.5	22.5	20.1	18.1	-10.2
15-19	9.5	9.2	8.8	7.1	6.5	-3.0
20-24	7.8	7.3	7.5	6.6	6.1	-1.7
Under 25	45.6	41.0	38.6	33.8	30.7	-14.9

Source: Demographic Statistics (1990), EUROSTAT

Implications of Youth Population Bulge

It goes without saying that this structural factor of a large youth population is a major component of the present youth crisis which will continue to impact for the rest of this decade on housing, employment creation, education and youth policy.

First, the suburban housing estates in Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Galway are experiencing a situation where at least 60% of the population are under 25. In some deprived suburban areas, it actually reaches 70%. Existing youth services and new special projects started up in the last three years have great difficulty in coping with this demographic pressure. When this coincides with early school leaving, unemployment and the breakdown of family life, it exposes substantial groups of 14 to 18 year olds to social risk.

Secondly, the youth share of the labour market will remain at a high level well into the 1990s. In 1988, young people under 26 accounted for 24% of the Irish labour force, despite the fact that just over one-seventh of the potential 20 to 24 year age group had emigrated since 1981. Even taking into account high level emigration, projections for 1996 will not be less than 22%. However, this new generation is more employable than their parents because they are better educated, more adaptable and of course cheaper. At a time when the European labour market is experiencing skill shortages in new technology, Irish young people are competitively placed to pick up skilled jobs.

Thirdly, youth unemployment at present is higher than anywhere else in the EC and will continue to rise during the decade because it will be impossible to create sufficient jobs for young people. The underlying inflow of young persons into the labour force is averaging out at 70,000 per annum. This contrasts with slightly over 40,000 leaving the workplace through retirement, death etc. That means almost 30,000 new jobs must be found each year over and above the existing high unemployment level. The scale of employment creation required in order to provide jobs for those leaving the educational system has been consistently much greater here than anywhere else. Had there not been a halving of the fertility rate, Ireland would have had to cope with 100,000 young people entering the labour market.

Fourthly, the consequence is that involuntary emigration must remain a safety valve for very talented young people who simply cannot find a job at home. The nightmare is that this option looks increasingly closed as the recession in the US and UK economies bites deeper. Already many emigrants are returning home and are discouraging other potential emigrants from leaving Ireland.

The only bright spot on the horizon is primary education. The under 12 primary school population is falling, with consequent reduction of public expenditure on the primary sector allowing either a reduction in class size and/or the switching of resources to secondary and third level education. Barber estimates that by 2006, there will be a 23% drop in the school-going population which will present a difficulty for small schools to provide an adequate curriculum.

> *It will call for a drastic reorganisation of the school system that will certainly require the closing and amalgamation of schools on a large scale. it is inconceivable ... that there will be more than a single school per centre (town). (Barber 1989).*

In short, the youth crisis will not abate until the early

years of the next century when the declining birth rates of the 1980s will be mirrored in the declining numbers entering the labour force. Not until then will the number of first time job seekers fall dramatically and young workers will be increasingly in short supply.

Youth policy makers therefore face a major challenge in devising and developing medium term strategies to contain unemployment and youth unrest until the demographic forces ride to the Government's rescue in the years after 2000.

II. DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF IRISH YOUTH SERVICES

To date, youth work in the Republic has been dominated by voluntary effort organised through a diversity of voluntary agencies. There is a strong tradition of volunteerism organised around the principle that full time professionals should not usurp the work of the volunteer leader nor state services supplant the voluntary sector. This in turn is linked to the principle of subsidiarity which got written into the Report of the O'Sullivan Committee in 1980 (and now much quoted in EC summit discussions) that

> *It is inappropriate for any organisation or agency to attempt to do for a group or for individuals those things which they can more appropriately do for themselves (p19).*

When the National Youth Council of Ireland (NYCI) was formed in 1967 to bring together the national voluntary youth organisations into a coordinating body to represent their interests to Government, a major effort was made to bring about an orderly development of a volunteer based youth service. In the absence of substantial statutory services and state funding, the NYCI played an influencial role in ensuring that the voluntary agencies provided the backbone for youth development programmes. During the 1980s, when politicians saw the potential of attracting the youth vote, the NYCI was given recognition as a 'social partner' with representation on the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) and other important government appointed committees.

NYCI made a clear decision not to go the UK way, where it seemed there was a takeover of voluntary effort by local authorities, but to base further youth service development on the French and German models. From France was taken the strong tradition of training the volunteer 'animateur' (leader) in a basic set of competencies which are recognised at a national level through a certificate at basic level and a diploma at advanced level. Unfortunately the latter commitment to certification has not as yet happened in Ireland. From Germany was taken a commitment to a decentralised grant system enabling a diversity of voluntary projects. From Denmark was taken their real commitment to democratic participation by young people in running their own affairs, a message of particular value to an upcoming generation in Ireland who wanted to see youth work taken out of the hands of the clergy and put into lay leadership. Finally, from the Dutch was the inspiration to experiment and innovate with 'unattached' young people.

Consequently, youth policy over the past twenty five years (1965-1990) has been driven by a partnership between the NYCI and the Youth Affairs Section of the Department of Education. The Department have never really been the lead player and have resorted to a largely reactive and administrative role leaving nearly all of the action to the voluntary sector. The main policy instrument is the Youth Service Grant Scheme which funds the core activities of youth organisations according to a specific set of criteria worked out with the National Youth Council. Final grant decisions are made by a junior Government Minister (now a Minister of State) at the Department of Education.

Where one might well ask do state run youth services come into the picture? In fact, the first local statutory service dates back to 1942 when Comhairle le Leas Oige (Council for Youth Welfare) was established as a statutory youth service of the City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee (VEC) very much from pressure from the socially committed Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. However, the Comhairle structure was not repeated anywhere else in the state mainly due to lack of funding. Successive Governments favoured the voluntary sector as the main channel through which leisure time youth services would be delivered. Within educational developments generally, the VEC's have lost power and have been sidelined.

Present proposals before Government are likely to see a streamlining of Irish education structures and plans for an integrated youth, sport and adult education section at local level are at long last likely to see the light of day. This could begin to restructure the tripartite partnership between the voluntary sector, the VEC's and Department of Education in favour of the local authority. Yet their preferred delivery mechanism might be to continue the contracting out arrangement to the two to three

voluntary organisations who run community based projects.

Youth Services provided by other Government Departments

Outside the Education area, the Health, Labour and Justice Departments are increasing their efforts to respond to the new needs of the disadvantaged young. These include the Juvenile Liaison Service of the Gardai (the main instrument by which the police work with first time young offenders), childcare services of the regional Health Boards and FAS (a government funded organisation) training schemes for the young unemployed. Politicians would now like to see greater resources going to these agencies but this seems unlikely in 1992 as Government faces a new round of public expenditure cuts.

Government Funding

Since 1988, funding comes almost totally out of the National Lottery which has enabled the amount of money available to jump dramatically from about £4 million to £10 million per year. In retrospect, 1988 is a watershed year for it opened up a clear distinction between what is now known as 'mainstream services' for leisure time youth work and 'special services' for disadvantaged projects. In 1991, the core grants to mainstream services were cut for the first time affecting some organisations so badly that some staff have been let go. This indicates a growing preference by the present Minister to favour priority funding for disadvantaged projects.

TABLE 2: STATE FUNDING OF YOUTH SERVICES 1988-91
(Millions Irish Pounds)

	1988	1989	1990	1991
1.Core grants to voluntary youth organisations	4.053	3.816	4.745	4.345
2.Disadvantaged Youth Projects	4.881	3.706	3.428	4.400
3.Local voluntary Youth Councils	45	40	45	55
4.Special Services - Youth Information Centres - Youth exchange - Political education - Miscellaneous	1.048	483	727	1.006
	10.027	**8.045**	**8.945**	**9.806**

III. THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF EXISTING YOUTH SERVICES PROVISION

It would be impossible to provide anything near a comprehensive review so some 'snap shots' of the existing system will be given.

It is always easier to discuss services from the perspective of the providers rather than from the point of delivery, namely, the young person. Yet the whole thrust of the quality revolution in the management of organisations is to assess services in the eyes of the customer or client. Increasingly, youth services are becoming very volatile and market driven as young people make up their own minds what they want to do and vote with their feet.

Youth agencies are asking themselves currently two kinds of question arising out of their realisation that they too are in the marketplace alongside other agencies:

> *Are we being too ambitious in what we are trying to achieve? What realistically can we do?*

Given that the social context and circumstances are changing all the time, it may no longer be possible to carry the huge aspiration that a youth organisation can reach and appeal to all young people. For a start, they are too numerous and too scattered. Secondly, their needs and preferences are too varied and sophisticated.

> *Are we at the end of an era of a particular kind of youth work?*

Increasingly young people do not join one organisation and remain a loyal member for six to ten years. They now visit different organisations and get different things offering only short term involvement of say six months to one year. More flexible responses within certain time commitments are required.

These are the kind of questions that the full-time professionals are beginning to raise as they increasingly take control of strategy for the volunteer managers. Like every other 'industry' they are having to learn the science of marketing and market segmentation. This involves a fundamental reorientation. Instead of assuming that they have a God-given right to run a youth agency according to their perspective, an organisation now needs to identify which part of the market and which set of needs their agency can effectively serve.

So one of the key points for further consideration must be the question: How can managers of youth agencies get a better understanding of what marketing strategies can contribute to better targeting of programmes/projects?

Mainstream Services

It is possible to divide mainstream voluntary youth services into three groups.

1. Uniformed Organisations

These remain popular and well organised throughout the country, both rural and urban. The Baden Powell Scouts and Guides have their roots at the beginning of the century coming across from mainland Britain. They are the only groups catering for the whole age span from five right up to 21, although there is some evidence of declining numbers in the post 14 age group. Great efforts are being made to heal the Protestant/Catholic divide and the gender split through a major push to create one scout and guide organisation. A high level of cooperation exists between the four organisations at present but a major structural overhaul is unlikely before the year 2000.

2. Youth Clubs

Three youth club coordinating agencies bring together autonomous local youth clubs: Catholic Youth Council (Dublin Archdiocese only), National Youth Federation and Foroige. Loosely organised at Diocesan or regional level, these tend to be catch-all groups catering for a wide social mix. They are suffering most from declining membership as they have less identity than uniformed groups and poorer meeting facilities. The impact of the age slither means that voluntary leaders are working more with the younger age group of 10 to 13. Yet many remain innovative and most adaptable if run by strong or enthusiastic voluntary leaders. All three agencies have shifted their focus into community based projects in disadvantaged areas and forged a stronger identity through more specific programmes.

3. Single Tendency groups

More recently formed since the 1970s, these groups belong to the modern and democratic phase of youth work. They include the youth sections of political parties and agencies committed to a specific cause like workcamps or a theme like the environment (Eco groups), culture (Irish language), and youth exchange. They may be overtaking the traditional club sector by concentrating on specialist themes and they do better with older young adult groupings.

In short, mainstream services are primarily geared to leisure time activities of young people in the evenings, at weekends and through summer projects. They are substantially organised by voluntary youth leaders in their early twenties, many of whom are former members. The proportion of older leaders is decreasing all the time as dual career families spread and adults/parents enjoy a greater choice of adult activities.

While standards are increasing through the back-up support of full time professional development officers, there are as yet no obligatory arrangements for all leaders to go through a recognised standard of leadership training or adhere to a code of ethics.

Special Services and Projects with Disadvantaged groups

As the traditional form of delivering youth activities, the club model is experiencing difficulty in attracting a more sophisticated youth market, other initiatives have been tried to compete with commerical provision or indeed to enable young people to make informed decisions.

The last four years have seen an overall investment of £20 million of Lottery funding in projects with disadvantaged groups which have sprung up in the major cities and towns staffed by full time professionals mainly employed by voluntary agencies. Some see it as a huge waste of resources; others see it as mere drops in the ocean; the truth probably lies somewhere in between. Outlined below are six different initiatives.

1. Community based projects: mainly in disadvantaged areas like the new housing estates in West Dublin (Neilstown, Clondalkin, Tallaght), Mayfield in Cork, Raheen in Limerick.

2. Drop in centres and coffee bars: can be difficult projects to run well and need to be linked in with a FAS vocational training and employment scheme (Limerick City and Ennis) where young trainees run the restaurant and coffee bar.

3. Young Homeless projects: Focus Point in Dublin have worked solidly to serve the 'forgotten children'. They have identified about 80 young people under 18 who run away/stay away from home because of long

term conflict with parents. There is a great need for short term accommodation.

4. Young travelling people: The Dublin Travellers Education and Development Group have developed an old church into the Pavee Point Centre in Dublin for education and enterprise development with young travellers.

5. Neighbourhood/Youth Encounter Projects: aimed at early school leavers in tough areas like Finglas, North Inner City, Mayfield. Organised directly by Departments of Health and Education.

6. Information and advice centres: Eight of these get annual government funding and will shortly be computerised. Important for emigration advice, social welfare and travel.

Back to the Drawing Board

The experience of one national voluntary agency has led them to review the assumptions underlying some of the projects. Their projects were in areas of high youth unemployment and targeted at early school leavers in the age range of 15 to 17 years. They have tried to recruit volunteers without too much success. This is partly because the volunteers are predominantly women who feel more comfortable working with the 10 to 13 year age group rather than the older more at risk teenagers aged 15 to 17.

In many of these projects, the role of the full timer was to recruit and train volunteer leaders in the area to work with the most difficult problem young people. Experience would now suggest the following:-

- a community based response of this kind is more able to work with the younger age group of 12 to 13 years.
- recruiting and training leaders takes time and is more about community development than direct work with young people: so what happens to the young people while you are busy with volunteer development?
- working with a selected number of difficult 15 to 17 year old teenagers is a highly skilled task involving intensive work beyond the capacity of volunteers.
- Places for day centres and activities are simply not available in many communities.
- One staff person is insufficient. A team of at least two, male and female, is needed. Yet 80% of appointments are taken up by women.
- Action must be accompanied by structured evaluation and inservice staff training together with regular reviews with management groups.

Child Care System not coping

The most disturbing report published recently is 'Forgotten Children' by Focus Point and the Eastern Health Board, which highlights that the system is simply not coping with the needs that are emerging in Dublin. They say the situation is totally different to that pertaining ten years ago when run away kids (now including girls) were scarcely referred to in the Task Force Report of 1980. Basically, there is a lack of funding and a piece-meal uncoordinated provision by the voluntary and statutory sectors. Some of their findings are:

- Many of the young people who are now homeless spent part or most of their lives in children's homes and have run away for a variety of reasons. There is a lack of preparation for leaving care and no alternative supportive accommodation.
- There are children presently in children's homes who cannot cope because they are either too difficult or too disturbed for that particular setting. There is a lack of appropriate training for child care staff.
- There is a chronic lack of appropriate provision in terms of emergency, crisis, safe residential and therapeutic centres, local family, community and counselling services. There is a major difficulty in finding alternative care and accommodation for the older (over 15) young homeless.
- Young people at risk aged 16 to 18 years who cannot remain at home and who are not in residential care are not eligible for income payments under the Social Welfare Act.
- The lack of role definition and cooperation between the voluntary and statutory sectors. This is compounded by the lack of statutory responsibility for the 16-18 year age group by any one Department.

Children's Court system does not work

From research conducted by John Farrelly (Crime, Custody and Community, 1989) who examined the

number of young people in Dublin given supervision under the Probation Act by the Children's Court, it was found that 20% (40 out of 195) were from the Dublin 1 postal area. This is the North Inner City area, one of the toughest and bleakest parts of Dublin City. Further analysis showed that this figure of 20% held true for cases appearing before the Children's Court.

When all the cases are taken into account, almost half were aged 15 and 16 showing that this represents the point when disadvantaged young people are most vulnerable, probably having left school without permanent employment.

While the Children's Court now enjoys fine new premises in Smithfield, the way it operates and functions is hamstrung by the criminal code and the adversarial system which has failed to respond to the needs of young people. Procedures need to be reformed to make them more informal, child centred with greater involvement of parents and local community. Suggested reforms have included:

- More flexible and informal pre-court structures which are localised in the community where children accused of minor wrong-doing are assessed before a local panel made up of community workers, local residents, teachers, etc.

- Introduction of a Children's Panel system modelled on Scotland to hear cases rather than a single justice at present: use the meeting to mediate and arbitrate agreements between parents and the community.

- Change the present adversarial system to more of an assessment and reparation approach.

At present, the Courts have very few options for committing young offenders to custodial units or alternative centres because these simply do not exist. These can be costly to the State rising to £50,000 per person (1987 figure) in Trinity House, Lusk.

A preventative and community based approach would cost considerably less if the same resources were put into disadvantaged areas. Yet the Neighbourhood Youth Project in Sean McDermott Street in Dublin's Inner City financed by the Department of Health, remains considerably under-resourced and the staff are on short term contracts.

IV. YOUTH POLICY VACUUM EXISTS AT PRESENT

There have been four major efforts at policy making by different governments over the past 20 years - the Bruton White Paper (1977), the Task Force Report (1980), the O'Sullivan Committee (1980) and the Costello Report (1984). Yet despite all this activity, there is no consistent and integrated policy interventions for youth services and child care. There is no legislative base for youth services and the reform of child care law is hopelessly outdated, still based on the 1908 British law.

Why has there been so little policy implementation at government level? With a growing awareness of the youth crisis on the streets and in the housing estates, there is much frustration at the lack of ministerial response, administrative action and the absence of clear coordination between the big Government Departments of Education, Health, Justice and Labour both at national and local level. There seems to be a number of difficulties which in themselves highlight some of the prerequisites for effective policy outcomes.

1. Ministerial competency

The energy level and political grasp of youth policy issues of the incumbent Government Deputy at any one time who holds the office of Minister for Youth Affairs is clearly a crucial variable in getting policy implemented. However, it is often forgotten that the Minister has to spend his or her time on a number of different briefs - youth affairs, sport, a host of small educational issues - as well as looking after things back in the multi-seat constituency. Much depends on whether the incumbent Minister is on the way up the political ladder or sees herself/himself as never getting any further. If the Minister is out of favour with the Taoiseach (Prime Minister), she/he may avoid giving any national direction.

2. Strategic policy interventions by Department

The extra Lottery funding in 1988 coincided with a complete change of staff in the Youth Section of the Department of Education. Suddenly faced with large sums of money to disburse, they had a major piece of work on hand. As there is no Inspectorate for youth services, the limited youth policy experience and lack of continuity proved to be dysfunctional. There was no strategic plan announced at the beginning for how the new additional resources might be targeted, nor were there models and evaluation

frameworks for examining the results of different types of intervention. One sign of hope is that the Department of Education have recently appointed a professional adviser to assist them in assessing present and future expenditure.

3. Youth Policy on Political Agenda

Successive Ministers of State lack the pull at Cabinet table to get priority for such business and Dail deputies are not sufficiently organised in a Committee system to give attention to detail and support reforming legislation. The recent establishment of the Dail (Parliament) Committee on Crime and its decision to review juvenile crime as its first agenda item has provided a useful new forum to gain political recognition and to surface fresh thinking. Whether it succeeds in getting stronger political action remains to be seen.

4. Inter-Departmental 'Turf' Wars

Because youth policy straddles different Departments and each have their own set of youth services, integration requires political action by a Minister or powerful chairman who is prepared to mediate between Departments. Inevitably, civil servants find themselves involved in autonomy disputes or fighting 'turf' wars either defending their patch or trying to become the lead agency. Reform is long overdue. Some clearer decision making mechanism is required as all these issues are reproduced at local level where the existing services are often at loggerheads. This is further complicated by each service having different geographic areas. For example, the Juvenile Liaison Officers work according to Garda districts while Probation and Welfare Officers work on a postal district basis.

It was envisaged that the Minster of State at the Department of Education would chair and coordinate an inter-departmental committee of civil servants across different Departments - Health, Justice, Environment, Labour as well as Education. This has been tried but it does not seem to work. Recently, it has been announced that the Junior Minister at he Department of Health will have this function giving Health the lead role. A more radical proposal was put forward by the Task Force on Child Care Services which saw a shift of authority and administrative action out of the Government Authorities into a Child Care Authority.

Among the initiatives such an Authority could take would be to shift the focus into preventative strategies along the following lines:

- to hammer out a more definitive Government policy at national level to build integrated child care and youth development strategies and services.
- to get a shift to community based preventative services to provide greater support to families and for integration of young people into the life of the community.
- to build collaboration and coordination on the ground between voluntary and statutory agencies and their professional staff.
- to devise early intervention strategies at primary school level, remedial services at secondary level and community youth services for the 10 to 12 year age group at risk.

V. HOW DOES YOUTH POLICY GET MADE?

Finally, the Irish experience raises interesting questions about the process of policy making in youth services. To be specific, is policy something that is made primarily by one main political actor such as a Government Minister? Or is it not in reality dictated by senior civil servants in Government Departments and local authorities largely through administrative decisions and imposed from the top down through grant schemes and regulations? Or can policy be influenced and determined by private voluntary groups and practitioners in the field, whether they be voluntary or full time, in a partnership arrangement with the State?

Youth policy is not dissimilar to most other areas of public policy making where policy outcomes arrive out of some set of interrelated decisions taken either by one main political actor or by a group of actors (Chubb, 1982). It usually is a complex process hidden from public view. Nevertheless, if a youth policy is going to deliver definite outcomes in the field and to bring about change, it needs to have some considerable degree of consensus within its own particular 'policy community'. The reality is that in today's world of dispersed power, Government depends on professional managers, youth work practitioners and voluntary leaders to achieve its goals. In effect, policy making becomes a process of consensus making within a specific network of individuals and agencies.

At a recent conference of Youth Service Officers from the northern and southern parts of Ireland, there was a stark contrast between the two administrative systems in how youth services have evolved and the role of the respective Departments of Education in fashioning and shaping youth work policy.

In Northern Ireland, the 'Blue Book' was put together by the NI Youth Committee and subsequent legislation has resulted in a clearly defined policy framework. This planned and analytical approach leading to a top down delivery system can provide clear direction and common purpose, as well as providing a career structure for professionals. However, it may remain only a policy statment if it is not backed up by clear funding arrangements - and even then it runs into the danger of creating 'flavour of the month' categories. It may lead through heavy handed civil servants to an unduly bureaucratic and structured system lacking flexibility.

On the other hand, the Republic of Ireland has a more open, looser and pluralist approach which is highly political with much bargaining and negotiation. While this bottom up approach empowers voluntary groups and supports flexibility, there is a serious lack of policy clarity. The fragmentation and diversity of services makes it difficult at times to see a 'whole' youth service and to bring about effective coordination. There is a much greater competition for scarce resources. Some areas are very well catered for while other areas do not get covered at all. However, despite these difficulties, the system encourages much mobility among youth workers and generates plenty of energy and enthusiasm.

Southern Irish youth policy is now at a crossroads. The benefits of the decentralised and incrementalised system need to be maintained but there needs to be a rigorous shift into quality professional standards by both voluntary and statutory agencies working together to respond to the present crisis. Incrementalism is often ineffective in dealing with 'big problems' and stronger national leadership is required to address the new range of youth social needs.

At the end of the day, youth policy probably gets made not in a planned rational manner, nor incrementally over a period of time but rather in a 'kneejerk' reactive manner. As youth unemployment continues to rise even further above 22%, increased alienation gathers pace on suburban estates and the cost of public bills from youth vandalism and crime escalate, the politicians are forced to act. Unfortunately the range of policy options at this late stage become fewer and the state has no alternative but to resort to law and order strategies to contain the situation.

REFERENCES

Barber, N. (1989). *Comprehensive Schooling in Ireland.* Economic and Social Research Institute.

Breen, R. (1991). *Education, Employment and Training in the Labour Market.* Economic and Social Research Institute.

Burke, H., Carney, C and Cook, G. (Eds). (1981). *Youth and Justice: Young Offenders in Ireland.* UCD Department of Social Administration, Turoe Press.

Chubb, B. (1982). *The Government and Politics of Ireland.* 2nd Edition, IPA.

Corry, G. (1991). *Milestones in the Development of Youth Services Policy in Ireland,* forthcoming publication, National Youth Council.

Corry, G. (1987). 'History of the NFYC' in Kirwan, T. (Ed.), *Giving Young People a Choice,* National Federation of Youth Clubs, pp 2-59.

Crooks, T. and O'Flaherty, B. (1988). *The Community Youth Projects: An evaluative study,* Report carried out by the Curriculum Development Unit for Comhairle le Leas Oige.

Farrelly, J. (1989). *Crime, Custody and Community: Juvenile Justice and Crime* (with particular reference to Sean McDermott street), Voluntary and Statutory Bodies, Killarney Street.

FitzGerald, G. (21.12.91) *Radical shifts in Society's Structure* article in The Irish Times.

Focus Point. (1989). *Forgotten Children: Young Homeless in Dublin.*

Gilligan, R. (1989). 'Policy in the Republic of Ireland: historical and current issues in child care', in Carter, P; Jeffs, T; and Smith, M. (Eds.), *Social Work and Social Welfare Yearbook,* Open University Press, pp 61-73.

Godwin, N. (Ed.) (1987). *The Future of Local Youth Services,* CDVEC Curriculum Development Unit.

Government Reports:

- (1977). *A Policy for Youth and Sport,* Department of Education, Stationery Office.
- (1980). *Final Report of the Task Force on Child Care Services,* Department of Health, Stationery Office.
- (1980). *Development of Youth Work Services (O'Sullivan Report),* Department of Education, Stationery Office.
- (1980). *White paper on Educational Development, Department of Education.* (*see* Chapter XV 'Sport, Recreation and Youth Activities'), Stationery Office.
- (1981). *Interim Report of the Youth Policy Drafting Committee (Keating Report).* Department of Education, mimeo.
- (1983). *Shaping our Future,* Department of Labour, Stationery Office.
- (1984). *Youth Service Grant Scheme,* Department of Labour.
- (1984). *Final Report of the National Youth Policy Committee (Costello Report),* Department of Labour, Stationery Office.
- (1985). *In Partnership with Youth: The National Youth Policy,* Department of Labour, Stationery Office.

Kennedy, P. (1987). 'The Historical Development of Irish Youth Policy'. *Youth and Policy* No 21, pp 7-12.

National Youth Council Documents:

- (1970, 1978 and 1988). *Irish Youth Directory.*
- (1973). *The Development of Youth Services.*
- (1978). *A Policy on Youth Work Services.*
- (1980). *Challenge for Young Ireland.*
- (1982). *Our Future can work: NYCI Employment Policy.*
- (July 1983). *Report of a Joint NYCI/IVEA Seminar on Youth Work, Og-Eolas, No 1.*
- (1984). *Getting There:* NYCI Submission to National Youth Policy Committee.
- (1986). *Junior Partners?:* National Youth Policy Response.
- Meredith, D. (1987). *Memorandum on NYCI Consultative Status* (Unpublished).

O'Higgins, K. and Boyle, M. (1988). *State Care - Some Children's Alternative,* Economic and Social Research Institute.

Shonholtz, R. (1988). *Building a new Juvenile Justice model based on a community volunteer service delivery system.* Youth Policy, Vol 10, No 11, pp 5-9.

Tansey, P. (1991). 'Young People 2000: Future Trends'. Paper presented to FAS Conference on Youth Service.

Putting Youth Work in its Place

TONY JEFFS & MARK SMITH

One of the great strengths of youth work is that contact with young people is founded upon voluntary affiliation. This encourages youth workers to assess their performance and impact. It means workers have to place a high priority on meeting the needs of young people, and seeking ways of ensuring that what they offer is relevant to the lives of young people. If they are not working with sufficient numbers of young people then their funding and, increasingly, their jobs are under threat. Voluntary affiliation is, thus, a source of anxiety and difficulty. Youth workers and adult educators alike do not have the ready-made clientele of the school-teacher or social worker. Aside from the small minority who prefer to work at a safe distance from young people, most youth workers must always be prepared to seek people out.

Exploiting their own personalities, and often little else, workers must create relationships and sustain meaningful contact with young people. Those young people can of course at any given moment sever all links with the worker. In order to establish and sustain contact workers must therefore constantly relate their practice to the expressed and hidden, explicit and implicit needs of young people. Equally they must, as informal educators, create opportunities for the autonomous and collective learning of the people they work with. Failure to address needs will, and often does, lead to irrelevance. Overlooking the educational role often removes any substantive purpose from the contact; at best making the youth worker a 'paid friend', at worst a voyeur. Nor can they act as Ms or Mr Fixit. The absence of access to financial resources, housing stock and other essentials means that the range of material needs that a youth worker can respond directly to is severely limited, often inconsequential.

Informal educators

Informal education lies at the heart of youth work. While this may often be obscured, youth work only really makes sense when the centrality of informal education is acknowledged. The first 'modern' youth work writers grasped this. For example Brew (1946) began her seminal account of informal education as follows:

> *Addison once wrote: 'It was said of Socrates that he brought philosophy down from heaven to inhabit among men, and I shall be ambitious to have it said of me that I have brought philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at the tea-tables and coffee houses'.*
>
> *In that department of informal education known as Youth Service many people are carrying on in this brave tradition... Perhaps nothing will matter more in the next fifty years than the ability of the common man to adapt himself to the changing world - a world in which material prosperity may just be round the corner, but where there are still vast acreages of barren land in the intellectual, emotional and spiritual field. (Brew 1946: 7).*

The concern to bring education out of schools and colleges 'to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at the tea-tables and coffee houses', combined with the idea of working with people to enhance the quality of their daily lives, captures something important about this tradition of working.

In the fifty or so years that have followed the writing of these words, informal education has had a chequered history. For much of the time it has remained a subterranean activity, overlaid by ideas such as social education in youth work, or community development and organisation in community work. At other times it has surfaced in unexpected places like social work and Probation, and less unexpectedly around the fringes of schooling. In recent years this situation has begun to change. For example, pressure to inject more 'relevance' into secondary school provision and to make it more attractive to parents post Local Management of Schools (LMS) has led to growing interest in informal approaches. Within residential work, the shift to community care and changes in the way people with severe learning difficulties are viewed has made a similar impact. Finally, in youth work, dissatisfaction with the largely rhetorical notion of social education has led to a reawakening of

interest in informal education (see Jeffs & Smith 1990 for a discussion of this).

So how are we to characterise informal education? A useful starting point is to think about it as related to everyday living. That is to say it is a set of ideas and processes that pays particular attention to, and makes use of, the fabric of daily life. Thus, familiar and everyday relationships and institutions provide much of the material and context for intervention. Arguments between neighbours or friends; conversations outside the chip shop; organising a coffee bar in a centre; decorating; going on a shopping trip or outing. These things are examples of the sort of situations that informal educators can use.

Because informal educators work in everyday situations, there is a common slippage into thinking that what they do is everyday. In fact, youth work as informal education is a very sophisticated way of working. From the point of view of an onlooker, all that might be seen is two people standing in the street or supermarket chatting about the price of hamburgers. However, the meaning of the exchanges taking place is likely to be somewhat deeper if one of them is an educator. This meeting could be a worker making or maintaining contact with someone; it could be the entry into a discussion of the way in which 'third world' countries are exploited; it might be a conversation about healthy eating. One way of catching part of the flavour of the approach is to describe it as using the familiar critically to further learning.

Failure to grasp the centrality of informal education makes for practice that is indistinguishable from commercial leisure provision, in certain settings, and policing in others. Or maybe a mixture of both. Achieving a balance within practice is a delicate operation. Maintaining it requires both expertise and sensitivity. Almost all discussions with or amongst youth workers regarding their practice involve the expression of concern regarding a failure to get the proportions right - 'we seem to be just catering for the lower age range'; 'discos and football seem to have taken over'; 'I know we should be working with ... but ...'. Like other welfare professionals youth workers have varying and contradictory demands placed upon them. All are required on occasions to police young people; to cater for their leisure needs; to casework them like a social worker; and instruct them like a teacher. Workers may find these roles both attractive and comforting. Often, whilst maintaining the rhetoric of 'youth and community work' they actually seek to adopt one and push aside everything else. They may enjoy, or feel safe operating that way, or be rehearsing their next career move. We all know of 'youth workers' who have sought to reconstruct their job so that they can casework selected young people - transmuting themselves into advice givers, facilitators and ersatz social workers. Few have not met youth workers who have opted to recast themselves as instructors - teaching skills outdoor and in; travel agents - arranging outings and foreign jollies; entertainment officers for the neighbourhood - organising festivals or playschemes; or increasingly as entrepreneurs - talking megabucks 'chief', rushing from meeting to meeting gripping the square briefcase, flashing the electronic diary, praying the mobile phone will ring during the meeting to impress the others and power dressing like mad. Such individuals may be doing something useful - although in the case of the final group we have yet to see a sliver of evidence to support such an assertion - but except by accident or default it is rarely youth work.

What predominately distinguishes the youth worker from other welfare workers is that they are informal educators with a specific remit to work with young people (see Jeffs and Smith 1988; Smith 1988). Therefore, work with young people must be prioritised and should be predicated by the intention to provide an opportunity for learning. Youth workers are teachers of young people who operate outside the classroom and lecture hall. Many may jib at the thought of being described as a teacher. Indeed, this refusal to understand themselves as teachers contributes to limiting the potential of youth workers for liberatory practice. It is a tendency common to community educators and one which key figures such as Freire despair of as their thinking is misused to exclude the possibilities of the pedagogic.

> *I am an educator. I am not a facilitator. The act of teaching is not included in the concept of facilitation. As a teacher, I know I have things to teach. I don't need to feel ashamed. If a teacher says he is equal, he is incompetent, or trying to get some favour from the students.*
>
> *But being different from the students does not mean being authoritarian. It means being competent in order to get the respect and support of the students. The teacher has to struggle to transform a situation of a transfer of knowledge to a real act of knowing.*

Knowing is not something that just happens. (Freire speaking in 1988 and reported in Kirkwood 1991: 43).

The act of knowing demands work and discipline. It is not something that just happens (Freire and Shor 1987: 7-8). This obliges workers to create and manage potential opportunities for young people to learn useful and worthwhile things. Youth workers cannot force young people to share such opportunities, cannot bribe them with the promise of a certificate or job; all they can do is make the experience of learning as inviting, attractive and worthwhile as possible. They must somehow convince the young people they meet that the educational experience they may share will be valuable. Youth workers must therefore be something more than facilitators. More than a clearing house putting young pople in touch with this agency or that expert. Why is this the case?

What distinguishes the youth worker?

First, as informal educators, workers have to operate according to a timetable and agenda that is rarely of their own making. Young people, not workers, predominantly determine when and how an issue or topic is addressed - what teachers might term their learning readiness. This reality makes a nonsense of so much of the youth work curriculum debate; exposing it for the inappropriate and artificial device it is when deposited outside the classroom.

Curriculum provides one of the key dividing lines between informal and formal education. This is not to say that informal educators should not use formal methods from time to time. Undoubtedly, specific groups and training events are a necessary and important part of informal educator's repertoire. However, what must be recognized is that much of the work with both the individual and groups can not have preset objectives in any meaningful sense with regard to outcomes or even methods. Youth workers can put up all the posters they like, buy-in the latest training pack, manipulate the 'club programme', wear all the right badges, set up trips and still not adequately debate and discuss with, let alone educate, a group of young people on a given topic. Then one day a programme on television, a chance remark, a newspaper headline, a dispute between two young people - who can predict what - will create an opening for youth workers to use. Skilled informal educators will see their chance to educate, not facilitate, to take the individual or group forward. At that point workers are usually exposed and on their own. The moment and momentum will often evaporate if they retreat into the office for the right 'curriculum pack' or video. Success or failure will be dependent upon their skills as an educator plus their reservoir of knowledge and experience. Absence of skill, knowledge or experience may, at a given moment may, predicate failure. Worse it may lead to outcomes that are diametrically at odds with those workers desire.

This is an unavoidable risk that makes youth work and all forms of informal education simultaneously exciting and potentially 'counter-productive' for the worker.

Second, the range and nature of the organizational, social and physical settings for the activities of workers provides a central defining feature. At one level we have the sheer variety of physical and social settings that informal educators use such as corridors, shops, clubs and so on. Many of these locales will not have an overt educational purpose. They will not necessarily have 'education' on the sign over the door. However, we should not fall into the trap of putting school on the one side and informal education on the other. There are many activities that happen in and around school that we might want to consider as informal education. For example, some of the things that happen in out-of-school clubs, or the activities of educators such as youth workers, in common rooms or in the play-ground.

The nature and variety of settings provide workers with a number of significant problems. Each setting has its limitations. For example, it is very difficult for a street worker to develop conversations around sensitive matters outside the chip shop or in the middle of the shopping mall. They have to be able to enable things to move so far, and then, if the situation is right, to set up other settings where depth can be achieved. There are further problems concerning role. Workers have to establish themselves as educators in settings where education is not 'normal'. Last, and classically, there are the inevitable tensions between the overt task that the group or individual may be concerned with and the potential for learning in the situation. We may be working with a group wishing to plan a playscheme. However, our primary concern as educators is not the success or failure of the playscheme, however this is likely to be what is at the forefront of participants' minds.

Third, youth workers are operating on the basis of choice and consent. They seek to earn, through the

sensitive use of self, the trust and confidence of young people. To become a meaningful agent in the life of the individual or group and then to build upon such relationships in order to maximise their effectiveness as educators. On occasions the worker may be the only adult or individual who is perceived as being able to help, or who can offer information, advice or analysis that is neither circumscribed by self-interest or the 'party-line' of their employing agency. In other circumstances they may be the one person accessible when others who might help are not. For these and other reasons youth workers must always be prepared to go beyond their role as informal educators. There will be times when they have to be counsellors or caseworkers, even though they may be aware that others are better qualified.

To an extent a useful analogy can be drawn here with the role of doctor with rural practices. Isolation obliges them to undertake work that in other settings GPs would transfer to the 'specialist'. Often that option does not exist. They must be generalists in the best sense of the word. The relative isolation of youth workers, the settings they operate in and the expectations of the clients all coalesce to constrain the opportunities for specialisation. Like rural GPs they are also expected to be re-active, prepared where appropriate to operate according to an agenda not of their own construction. Therefore they must, like other informal educators be able to draw upon a broad and substantive knowledge base; capable of being an educational resource in themselves. Without such a knowledge base the skills and techniques of youth work will often amount to little more than an ad hoc collection of party tricks.

Fourth, we need also to consider the special emphasis within some key traditions of youth work on self organization, the development of social and civic awareness, and people's ability to work collectively. Much youth work takes place within institutions that have associational structures. That is to say they have officers, committees and a way of running things that allow members a say and a vote. Local groups frequently link into regional and national structures that can make for some influence in the traditional political arena. Some groupings may be considered as organized forms of mutual aid 'through which enthusiasts combine together to produce goods and services for their own enjoyment' (Bishop & Hoggett 1986: 4). These concerns and structures may be overlaid with others, or ignored, but they retain a powerful potential for practice. The focus of work outside such organizations and groupings is frequently toward self organization and mutual aid. Workers may be working with members of a tenants association to set up something for themselves; they may be working with a group of enthusiasts to develop provision. Brew, for example, saw in the 'club' (it could be any other group organizing something) a crucial means by which people could freely identify with one another and gain the skills, disposition and knowledge necessary for citizenship.

> *The club at its best creates a society of personalities with a community sense, which is the essence of good citizenship . . . We are not concerned with the making of 'good club members' or 'well-organized youth groups' but with a much wider issue, the making of good citizens. This can only be done in a society where each member is important, where each one is given a chance to contribute something to the life of the group - the leader no more and no less than the member. It is for this reason that self-government is so important in club work. If I had to give the first article of my club credo it would be 'I believe in the club committee'. (Brew 1943: 12).*

At a later point she describes a club as a community engaged in the task of educating itself (1943: 67). It is a theme picked up in the Albemarle Report especially in relation to spontaneous youth groups (HMSO 1960: 54) and echoed by subsequent reports (DES 1969; HMSO 1982). Unfortunately, it is a theme which has not been properly realized or addressed in much contemporary practice.

Fifth, and linked to the concern with self organization, the bulk of youth workers are in fact not paid and are often part of the community from which the membership of their groups are drawn. The level of shared assumption, of common experience and of similar prospects may be higher than that within professionalized interventions (see Smith 1988: 122). This involvement of local people and 'non-professionals' provides youth work with a great deal of its special character and potential. It is both a source of considerable strength, and one of weakness. For many involved, youth work is an expression of commitment - to young people, to their local communities, to the organizations of which they are members. This commitment in itself is important as an expression of concern for the well-being of others. It also allows for the development of organic practice, one that grows from within. Young people can work

with people with whom they share significant experiences, histories and prospects. Many of the weaknesses arise from the extent to which workers fail to rise above the 'taken for granted', and are able to develop the sort of sophisticated ways of working that are necessary.

In this brief overview we can see some of the special features of youth work. Many of these features are shared with practice found in other areas of welfare. However, we can see also how the open ended nature of youth workers' conversations; the range of settings they work in; the chosen nature of their relationships; the emphasis on self-organization; and the involvement of local people and volunteers furnish a powerful possibility. However, it is a possibility which has been sadly diminished by the inability of those within key positions in youth organizations, training and government agencies to grasp the essential character of the work. Too often they have become preoccupied by the latest moral panic or fad. There has been a general failure by workers, policy makers and trainers to name youth work as education. There has been considerable slippage into other arenas. The problem is that informal educators, as we have already seen, often do need to undertake casework, for example. The confusion has come where people have taken these, essentially peripheral, activities as their central defining point, rather than informal education. In many respects, the resistance on the part of many workers to naming themselves as a particular type of teacher is the most telling aspect. It reveals the very limited extent to which those involved in youth work have explored their practice. Without such self reflection and interrogation the danger is that we simply take on what seem, on the surface, to be good ideas. The recent curriculum debacle is an example of this phenomenon.

The failure to fully engage with the essential nature of youth work has led to shoddy practice and to claims about the work that cannot be properly warranted. It would be wonderful if it were the case as Morrison (1991) and numerous others claim that youth workers uniquely or even readily offered young people opportunities for participation and decision-making, or promised them greater confidentiality than other welfare professionals. Unfortunately, although often proclaimed, little evidence exists to support such assertions or aspirations. Indeed in relation to confidentiality many youth workers could learn a great deal from the practice of colleagues in medicine, the law and social work. Regarding opportunities for participation and self-determination, schools, further and higher education institutions are often well in advance of the norms encountered in many youth work settings. Compare, for example, how 16, 17 and 18 year olds are given unconditional funding to manage student unions and their linked welfare services in the latter sector with the controls that are conditional upon the allocation of resources by statutory and voluntary youth and community education agencies.

In terms of practice, the lines of demarcation are also blurred. Teachers often act as informal educators, social workers and advice givers in the corridor, playground or beyond the school wall. Social workers similarly transcend the restrictions of casework engaging in group work and activity based programmes designed to foster opportunities for informal education. In essence, though, two factors set these other professionals apart from youth workers. One is that such activities are peripheral to their main tasks; for example in the case of the teacher the delivery of a curriculum. Whereas for the youth worker the key responsibility is to act as informal educator; engaging in casework or teaching skills in a formal peripheral activities. Equally it is being the centrality of that role that distinguishes the youth from leisure workers who step outside the role of manager and teacher to advise, support, counsel and informally educate young people. Second, although much of the contact a teacher or social worker may share with young people is of a voluntary nature it is set within a context - one where the norm is for relationships to be initially or potentially structured by either legislation or compulsion. That, as has already been noted, is rarely if ever the case for the youth worker.

Changing youth work

Historically youth workers have tended to be based in, or at least closely allied to, youth clubs or agencies. Young people came to the worker, rarely the other way around. The youth club offered a site for leisure activities not available elsewhere, space that young people felt was in some measure their own; which often provided an escape from the overcrowded home or cold and windswept street. Clubs or centres not only provided a haven for young people. They have also served a similar function for youth workers. It gave them a locale that was uniquely their own; in the same way that, prior to the creation of the community school, schools were the property of teachers.

Although larger clubs and centres are still important and have a function they do appear to be in terminal

decline. The seemingly inexorable rise of home entertainment linked to improved housing conditions and smaller family units mean that the majority of young people spend more and more time in the home - young men and young women alike. They also invite friends around who then in turn visit their homes. Young people have also swapped the street in many areas for the shopping mall; inevitable, given that the most popular leisure activity is now shopping. They fill the theme pubs, discos, and the sophisticated arcades of the commercial leisure sector. Like their parents they go out for meals in pairs and groups in the evening, crowding out the pizza joints and a surprising number of middle range pubs and restaurants. Those in search of sporting and cultural activities go to leisure centres, specialist clubs and community schools rather than the youth club of yore. As the number of young people declines, as they become a smaller proportion of the population, so they must travel greater distances to colonise space for their exclusive use. This they do, but in the main they opt instead to coexist and share social and leisure activities and locations with those older and younger than themselves.

The response of youth work services has been varied and largely conditioned by other factors such as resource shortages; staff disposition and expertise; Department of Education and Science (DES) encouragement of targeted provision (e.g. DES 1990a); moves towards contracting, privatization and competitive tendering (e.g. DES 1990b); and concerns, especially among workers, about particular groups disadvantaged, or not catered for, in existing provision. Several broad movements can be identified (see Smith 1991). First, much of the existing provision within uniformed groups and small scale local youth clubs has remained relatively buoyant. In general, the decline in their numbers, where it has occurred, has not been out of line with demographic shifts. Second, there has been an increase in detached, outreach and project-based work. Third, school-based provision has retained its position, and work in further education colleges, particularly of a project or 'outreach' nature has increased. Fourth, there has been an expansion of informal casework, counselling and advice, and more specialist informal education initiatives, especially in the health area. Last, there has been a significant increase in adventure training and outdoor pursuits initiatives and facilities.

Determination on the part of the government to double the number of young people in higher education within a decade, along with the rise in unemployment has ensured a dramatic increase in staying-on rates. More and more remain in full-time education for longer and longer. This is not a trend which is likely to be reversed in the near future. As a consequence a growing proportion of young people spend their days in institutions of education rather than diverse workplaces. Places where young people of similar age tend to comprise a clear majority. Consequently fewer and fewer need youth clubs in order to meet their peers. Neither do so many depend on them to provide them with a space 'that is their own' - education and other institutions perform that function. Leisure becomes crucial for many young people not as an opportunity to re-assert their youthfulness but the reverse, a chance to express their adulthood. To distance themselves from the mass of their peers. The youth club, tainted as it is with the aura of youthfulness, is for these anathema.

Poverty and other factors do isolate a significant proportion from the sort of mainstream trends described above. Rather than enjoying the benefits of better housing some find themselves in overcrowded units, squats or on the street. Not for them access to their own car or that of their parent(s), discos, the commercial world of leisure or the comradery and entertainments of the campus. Rather the choice so often amounts to variations that all reflect poverty; the street, ghettoised housing, early parenthood, unemployment and low paid, unskilled, irregular employment.

Making contact

Youth workers are having either to transmute themselves into something else - activity organizers or play or community workers for example - or increasingly re-locate themselves to where young people are. The former means that by definition they are no longer youth workers. The second entails working to a much greater extent in, for example, schools, colleges (including for the first time Higher Education), leisure centres, shopping malls and the usual range of detached settings. It also requires new forms of working through referrals and the re-discovery of the lost tradition of home visiting, especially those who are isolated as a consequence of disability, poverty or discrimination. In each of these examples youth workers will to an extent be in localities that have been predominately the preserve of other welfare professionals. Teachers, police, leisure, community and social workers, counsellors and advice workers will all become either colleagues or competitors. Indeed, with the rise of targeted provision and moves

towards contracting, a growing number of youth workers are being employed within social work agencies (Jeffs & Smith 1990; Smith 1991: 56). When this is combined with legislation such as the Children Act (1989); concerns and developments around residential care and social housing; and the growth of adolescent teams within social service departments, a fundamental shift occurs. Large swathes of youth work provision are now being incorporated within social work.

There are also significant movements within schooling and further education. In order to sustain viable student numbers, schools are having to develop a range of services that 'add value' in parents' eyes. They are also seeking to make commercial use of plant. A contradictory picture emerges, but one which could have a significant impact on youth work. While some work may be driven out of schools, particularly that run by voluntary groups such as the Guides and the Scouts, other, more commercially orientated, will develop. We can also expect to see schools bidding work in to provide a range of locally-based services. These will not only be to do with children and young people, but for example may be in the area of care and education for older people, for example. A significant feature of this movement will be that school staff groups, like social work teams, are likely to become increasingly multi-disciplinary. A trend that could be further enhanced by the possibility that the functions currently performed by Education Welfare Officers (EWOs) will be reassigned to schools.

The incorporation of youth work within schools and social work agencies will also be matched by the entry of commercial organizations. This has certainly been the pattern in the employment training area. In addition, we can also expect to see a continuing interest in youth work by elements within the Police force. This clearly indicates a considerable shrinkage in employment within local authority youth services. A shrinkage that has already been accelerated by financial cutbacks and pressures within local authorities. It is likely that local voluntary, small scale provision such as church youth groups and village youth clubs and the larger uniformed movements will continue to develop, flourish even. However, they will make less and less reference to collective notions of youth service. The growing organizational diversity of youth work provision and the shifts in orientation were apparent some time ago (see Jeffs & Smith 1987), but it seems that only now are policy makers within the youth work arena beginning to realize what has been happening.

The interests of both young people and youth workers will be best served by persuading other welfare professionals that the interlopers will make valued colleagues. That they have a real contribution to make and that informal educators with a remit to work with a specific age group are a positive asset. A secure future for youth work probably lies in the creation within a number of sectors of the sort of multi-professional teams that are to be found within the health care field. In these, specialist workers with remits that largely, but not exclusively, focus on either particular skills or age groups have learnt to create multi-professional and multi-disciplinary teams. There will also have to be considerable work in relation to harnessing the special contribution that part-time and voluntary workers can make; and in developing mutual aid approaches. Sooner rather than later such developments in the personal social services, education, housing, penal policy and leisure will entail youth workers setting aside the pretence that they have unique characteristics and attributes denied other welfare workers such as teachers and social workers. They will have to actively seek out commonalities and points of convergence while setting aside their distrust of other welfare professionals something that has been a feature of so much youth work discourse in the past.

REFERENCES

Bishop, J. & Hoggett, P. (1986). *'Organizing Around Enthusiasms': Mutual aid in leisure.* London: Comedia.

Brew, J. M. (1943). *In the Service of Youth.* London: Faber & Faber.

Brew, J. M. (1946). *Informal Education: Adventures and reflections.* London: Faber & Faber.

Department of Education and Science (1969). *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* (The Fairbairn-Milson Report). London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science (1990a). Responsive Youth Work. *The Youth Service and urgent social need. A survey by HMI.* London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science (1990b). *Managing the Youth Service in the 1990s* (The Coopers and Lybrand Deloitte Report). London: Department of Education and Science.

Freire, P. & Shor, I. (1987). *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on transforming education.* London: Macmillan.

HMSO (1960). *The Youth Service in England and Wales* (The Albemarle Report). London: HMSO.

HMSO (1982). *Experience and Participation* (The Thompson Report). London: HMSO.

Jeffs, T. & Smith, M. (eds.) (1988). *Welfare and Youth Work Practice.* London: Macmillan.

Jeffs, T. & Smith, M. (eds.) (1990). *Using Informal Education: An alternative to casework, teaching and control?* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Kirkwood, G. (1991). 'Education in the community. Fallacy: the community educator should be a non-directive facilitator' in B.O'Hagan (ed.) *The Charnwood Papers. Fallacies in community education.* Ticknall: Education Now.

Morrison, C. (1991). 'Issues in Youth work: Re-examining our role'. *Concept 1* (2): Spring.

Smith, M. (1988). *Developing Youth Work. Informal education, mutual aid and popular practice.* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Smith, M. (ed.) (1991). *The Challenge for Voluntary Youth Work Organizations.* London: YMCA National College/Rank Foundation.

Equality and Empowerment

The Principles of the Youth Work Curriculum?

SUE COCKERILL

Much has been written in this journal recently by academics and trainers on the proposals for a core curriculum for youth work. I want to address some of the issues involved in this debate from the viewpoint of a practitioner concerned about the implications of these matters for youth work practice. My arguments throughout the article will focus on a number of key principles that I believe make youth work distinctive and which I feel are being negated by the present national youth work developments. The final section of this article will look at the way in which these principles have informed the development of a model for self-evaluation in Wigan Youth Service.

Whilst not wanting to reiterate past debates it is important that I set my arguments in a context. Along with other youth workers, I am highly suspicious of any central government interventions in the Youth Service. I believe we have a right to be, for a number of reasons; firstly, and crucially, we are dealing with the negative effects of government policy in the lives of the young women and men we work with. Secondly, we have not been involved in any negotiations of the agenda we are being asked to address and finally, youth work does not exist in a vacuum. The social, political and economic context in which the work takes place is hardly conducive to the Service's survival, let alone any development.

With these concerns in mind many of us involved ourselves in the debates about the proposed core curriculum, genuinely wanting to participate in a promotion of youth work. However, throughout the consultations and debates a prevailing attitude held by many in national youth work circles of, 'you don't know what you're doing', was beginning to irritate those of us on the ground 'doing it'. The problem appeared to be not that, 'we didn't tell you what we were doing', but that 'what we told you was not what you wanted to hear'.

During this time youth workers were being clear about a number of key principles on which the work is based. Firstly, youth work is voluntary, young women and men have a choice in using the service. Secondly, youth work is based on a negotiation with young women and men, it is not 'done to' young women and men. Thirdly, youth work is about learning from experience, young women and men's experience; and finally, youth work is a process not an event, it is on-going, developmental and actively engages young women and men in the process. With these principles, youth work has a distinctive voice which says to young women and men, 'I value your right to choose, to be involved; I value your experience, it matters and is a valuable source of learning; I value your contribution to this process, you have something worthwhile to offer, and crucially; I value your right to control your own learning direction.' If we accept these principles as fundamental to youth work then we begin to see that equality and empowerment are at the core of the youth work process. Every young woman and man has equal value and every young woman and man has something to contribute. With these distinctive principles at the centre of the youth work process we confirm that process as 'bottom up', i.e., directed and controlled by young women and men.

The present national youth work developments appear to be advocating a 'top down' process in youth work, i.e., not controlled and directed by young women and men. The very principles that locate equality and empowerment as fundamental to the youth work process are located as measurable outcomes determining the ensuing process, no longer intrinsic to the process. The National Statement of Purpose for the Youth Service confirms this point:

> *The purpose of youth work is to redress all forms of inequality and to ensure equality of opportunity for all young people who fulfil their potential as empowered individuals....*

Youth work cannot achieve equality and empowerment in a society that actively works against these. The very essence of the youth work process is equality and empowerment.

By targetting the work at 'disadvantaged' young women and men and prescribing outcomes for the

work, the danger is that youth work will, yet again, be seen as a rescue mission for the 'disadvantaged', in order that they can be empowered in some way. In doing this someone, somewhere, will have to assess the individual or group needs. This immediately takes the control and direction of the curriculum away from young women and men. Any outcome will inevitably determine the process and make the negotiation with young women and men difficult. Equality of opportunity is addressed by targetting individuals and groups, e.g., 'you are lacking in equality', and as such, further marginalises young women and men. This creates what I call a 'deficiency model' in youth work. The deficiency model is based on an assumption that certain groups of young women and men are deficient in equality and empowerment and that the youth work curriculum can address this deficiency by targeting specific groups of young women and men and addressing specific issues. For example:-

AIM	EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY & EMPOWERMENT
To be achieved by:-	
TARGETING	INDIVIDUAL/GROUPS - 'DISADVANTAGED', THEREFORE DEFICIENT IN CERTAIN AREAS (KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS AND ABILITY)
ISSUE	TO BE ADDRESSED TO MEET DEFICIENCY
OUTCOME	INDIVIDUAL/GROUP DEFICIENCY MET, THEREFORE, EMPOWERMENT & EQUALITY ENSURED

My real fear lies in who will assess the needs of young women and men and determine the outcome. This fear is prompted by the fact that the government is allowing the Youth Service to prioritise work with girls and young women, black young women and men, lesbian and gay young people. The Youth Service does not exist in a vacuum from the rest of society. Section 28 of the 1988 Local Government Act is alive and kicking and being used; the changes in Section 11 funding will not promote youth work in black communities - need I go on? Is not the danger that the government has recognised that separate provision can, in fact, be a very useful vehicle for delivering the outcomes they determine? One's imagination could go wild with the possible implications!

For example, how about this for a curricular unit?:-

Target Group	Young women
Issue	Heath education (deficiency)
Learning Outcome	Knowledge of a range of contraception
Performance Indicator	Reduction in 'unwanted' teenage pregnancies
or this	
Target Group	Black young men
Issue	Drug education (deficiency)
Learning Outcome	Knowledge of the danger in drug misuse
Performance Indicator	Reduction in drug abuse statistics
or this	
Target Group	Working class young men
Issue	Community involvement (deficiency)
Learning Outcome	Respect for all members of community
Performance Indicator	Reduction in vandalism and crime

These are not paranoid delusions. These very performance indicators were sent, as examples, to participants at the first ministerial conference (the jargon, at the time, was simply 'outcomes'). Alongside these 'outcomes' for young people were outcomes for the Youth Service, one of which was commercial funding. Can you imagine Heinz, producer of baby foods, and one of the largest companies in Wigan, funding my work at the young women's centre with a performance indicator of 'fewer teenage pregnancies'?

For many of us the 'deficiency model' is not new. Funding applications, locally and nationally, have been won by using 'deprivation and disadvantage'. Many an issue has been pulled out to secure money - unemployment, drugs, health. In fact, the Youth Service rejoices in recession, disturbance and 'moral panic'; these are the times when we have the best chance of getting resources. However, whilst recognising the legacy of our lack of status as an educational organisation, I am conscious that until now the key principles we stand for have been maintained. I am not arguing that youth work does not have 'outcomes'. Certainly it does, but they are secondary to the process, and it is the process that contains the principles of empowerment and equality. Prescribed outcomes do not achieve empowerment for young women and men because they do not value young women and men. Prescribed outcomes do not ensure equality of opportunity, they actively work against equality by marginalising these groups and failing to recognise that the 'deficiency', or lack of equality, comes from the fact that we live in a white, patriarchal, homophobic, capitalist society.

The Youth Service has much to answer for in this respect. I came into the work in the late 1970s, when autonomous political groups were developing because the 'distinctive' principles on which the work is based were providing clear evidence that many young women and men were being denied access to Youth Service provision. The National Organisation for Work with Girls and Young Women was established in 1984, with firm feminist principles in order to support work with girls and young women 'on the ground'. This work was growing through women with a clear sense of the ways in which our white, patriarchal, homophobic, capitalist society was denying girls and young women their rights. Girls work developed to address these issues, not to challenge sexism. In the same way, autonomous work with black young women and men was not developed as a 'cure' for racism, but to promote the rights of black young women and men. This work, based on 'distinctive' youth work principles, appears to be getting lost as 'progressive' youth work rears its head, through anti-sexist work with young men and anti-racist work with white young women and men.

To confirm my point, there is, apparently, one Youth Service where the lesbian and gay youth groups are being told they cannot advertise their provision, and are being exposed to the homophobia endorsed by Section 28... but, never fear, heterosexism is on the Service's training agenda. Do we really believe that once we have all undergone training and addressed the issues with young women and men that these groups will be empowered and equality of opportunity achieved?

If, as we all suspected, 'accountability is the watchword', we don't have a problem with that. Most of us spend an enormous amount of time carefully planning, monitoring and evaluating our work, not least to justify its very existence, but more to ensure that the curriculum we deliver is accurate, relevant and accessible. Moreover, valuing and evaluating all the work we do requires a great deal of attention to the process (particularly as the bulk of youth work is done by part-time workers). This is **Quality** Assurance, it is based on the principles distinctive to youth work. We are not frightened by accountability; many of us have developed quite sophisticated systems for ensuring quality. **Quantity** does not worry us either, since all the young women's centres in Wigan are full to the brim with young women (and children), but that is only because the quality **is** assured. The Wigan youth workers' response to the core-curriculum reflects the point:

> *Any serious attempt to produce a common blueprint which helps the Youth Service evaluate its practice will have to grapple much more seriously with the delicate intricacies of the youthwork process (Wigan Youth Workers 1990).*

In trying to grapple with the 'delicate intracacies' of the youth work process, a model for self-evaluation was developed in Wigan Youth Service known as A.R.O.M.I.E., (Aim, Rights, Objectives, Methods, Implementation, Evaluation).

The A.R.O.M.I.E. model begins by addressing three issues:-

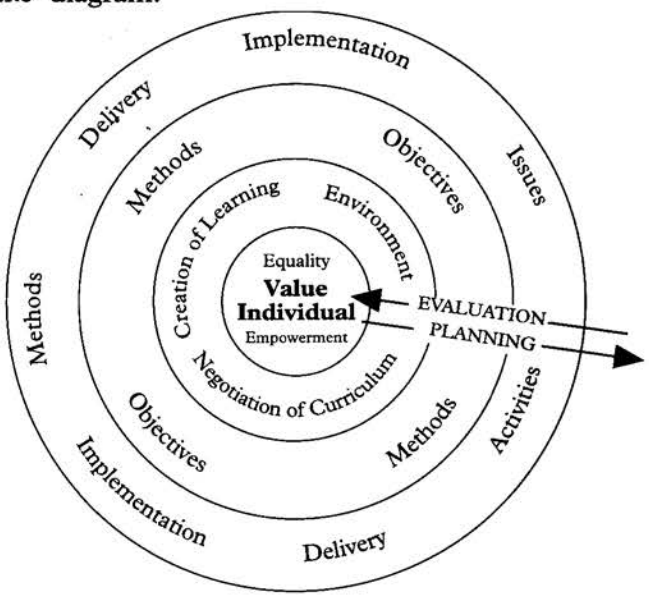
1. The autonomy of the workforce
2. The distinctive principles of youth work
3. The bottom-up process, i.e., the curriculum is negotiated, controlled and directed by young women and men (Quality is defined here).

To do this the model has been developed by and for face to face youth workers as a structure for planning and evaluating the youth work process. It begins with the principles of youth work and it establishes 'self-evaluation as the corner-stone of quality assurance' (DES 1991).

The model has been developed with the distinctive principles of youth work at its core. The youth work process has to start by valuing the individual, in doing this two critical elements have to be achieved before the work can progress. A learning environment must be created and a negotiation with young women and men must begin. In doing this there is an underlying assumption that 'education for change' is an aceptable goal in itself and that the youth work process values the individuals' control and choice of direction as far as possible A.R.O.M.I.E. can then be illustrated as:-

	The individual is valued - equality and empowerment intrinsic
AIM	The individual has universal rights
RIGHTS	Creation of a learning environment addressing rights. Negotiations of curriculum (specific rights)
OBJECTIVES	Targets set to meet specific rights
METHODS	Employed to meet objectives
IMPLEMENTATION	According to methods
EVALUATION	Concentrating on the whole youth work process - rights developed

The model is better represented by a 'pebble in the lake' diagram:



The diagram shows the primary functions of the youth work process as valuing the individual alongside creating a learning environment and negotiating the curriculum. Objectives set, methods employed, and outcomes achieved are secondary functions and can be changed rapidly in order to ensure that the process is accurate, relevant and accessible to the participants.

Whilst not wanting to have a full debate about rights versus needs it is important to say that A.R.O.M.I.E. began its life as a needs-based model. However, youth workers soon found that their distinctive voice, 'I value you, your choice, your experience, your control of a learning direction', became difficult to say alongside, 'I know you have needs, we can meet them'. We also found that we were asserting separate work with girls and young women as their right, which, alongside the negotiation, planning and evaluation of the curriculum with young women, made the needs-based model inappropriate.

So how does this work in practice? In a recent conversation with a part-time worker about developing a young womens group I asked her what she did to get the group together; she said, 'I got a list of names from the housing, visited them, invited them to go on an outing and they came'.

If only it were so simple! On exploring this work further, we began to use A.R.O.M.I.E.

AIM Constant 'rooted' in Wigan's curriculum: 'Young women and men have:-

(i) a right to personal autonomy and development
(ii) a right to participate in society as it is now
(iii) a right to be involved in and influence the development of a changing society' (Wigan M.B.C., 1991)

RIGHT Young women have a right to participate in Youth Service provision

OBJECTIVES
(i) To obtain information from the housing department on young women recently moved into the area
(ii) To ensure consistent outreach work in order to develop a relationship, build confidence and encourage involvement (valuing the individual, creating a learning environment, negotiating curriculum).
(iii) To create a safe, secure and accessible environment in which young women can come together
(iv) To ensure childcare is considered throughout

From the worker's original statement it would have been easy to suggest that she had employed group work as a method, however, through exploring the targets (objectives) it was clear that a number of methods had been employed:

METHODS

Outreach	Consistent time spent making contact (valuing)
One-to-One	During outreach - developing a relationship, building trust and confidence, encouraging involvement (creating learning environment and negotiating curriculum)
Work in wider community	Negotiation with housing department to access name and addresses of young women
Group work	Starting the process by bringing the individuals together

This example shows that a learning process begins with the first point of contact with young women and men and that the individual has to be valued, a learning environment created, and the curriculum negotiated, before any activity can begin. This does not merely happen, a number of targets have to be realised before, as in this case, the individuals come together as a group. These primary functions in the youth work process are too often undervalued. In the case of this worker, who went on to spend a considerable amount of time telling me about the group outing. It was clear that she saw the value of her work as having achieved the 'outcome', not the process she had employed.

The A.R.O.M.I.E. pack has been piloted in a number of youth work settings in Wigan Youth Service, and is presently being adjusted and refined from this

work. The model has proved to be extremely helpful to workers in Wigan as a means of naming, valuing, developing and evaluating the youth work process which engages both young women and young men. The starting point is different to the 'deficiency' model which prescribes outcomes, determines the process and as a result devalues the individual.

I have to end by affirming that the only prescribed outcome for youth work can be the youth work process. If then performance indicators are to be used, they will have to reflect this process, e.g., did the individual feel valued?... was a learning environment created?... was the curriculum negotiated?... If we are truly committed to the principles of empowerment and equality we must start by valuing the youth work process itself.

REFERENCES

Department of Education and Science (D.E.S.) (May 1991) *Managing the Youth Service in the 1990s.*

National Youth Agency (N.Y.A.) (1991) *Statement of Purpose in the Youth Service.*

Wigan M.B.C. (1989) *Working with Young Women and Men, Social and political education within the Wigan entitlement curriculum.*

Wigan Youth Workers (1990) *NYB Consultations - The Wigan Youth Service Response.*

New Developments in Radio

What they offer young people

KATY TRUNDLEY

Young people[1], like all groups who lack power in society, are generally underserved by the mass media. However, radio is a medium often ignored since the rise of television to its current dominant position, yet it offers a service to young people that other media cannot.

Since Radio Luxembourg and its counterparts began broadcasting in the 1930s, radio has always been successful in attracting large audiences of young people. This can be attributed to the relationship between popular music and the image construction of young people; that is, young people often use music as a way of identifying themselves with certain subcultures. Music radio therefore becomes one of the ways that young people define their own identities. It can act as a way of feeling part of a larger 'community'. The radio stations popular with young people have also always been some form of an alternative to the dominant mass media. To begin with this was the BBC radio stations which were operating a 'public service' aiming to 'educate, inform and entertain'. Those in power at the BBC were of the opinion that entertainment was less important than the 'improving powers' of the medium. When television became the dominant medium music radio provided an alternative to the entertainment it supplied. Television and early forms of radio tried to entertain the entire population at once; therefore programmes were by definition and necessity very consensual and 'middle-of-the-road' as they tried to attract such a wide range of interests.

Music radio acted and acts as an alternative to this, it speaks to one particular audience and so can create a sense of involvement among the audience;

> *Since radio is communication directed at a specific audience in a specific locality, listeners can personalise the experience in a manner similar to face-to-face encounters. (Snow, 1983).*

As well as this music radio has a tradition of, in the glib language of the broadcasters, 'reflecting the public's tastes'. In other words, these stations do not attempt to change or 'improve' tastes as the early radio services did by serving the audiences with an output of 'high' culture. This latter approach did not attract large audiences as people decided they wanted to be entertained rather than have cultural tastes preached to them. This particularly applies to young people as they do not generally like to be told by the older generation what music and general cultural tastes they should have. The early history of popular music radio was therefore one of providing an alternative to the prescribed mass media forms. From the 1930s onwards there were stations broadcasting to Britain from the European continent such as Radio Luxembourg and Radio Normandie. These were commercial stations which played the dance music that was popular at the time and that the existing BBC network would rarely broadcast. The fact that these stations were commercial and so took advertising meant that they had a very different ethos to the BBC services of the time. These European stations also broadcast music on Sundays at a time when the BBC only broadcast religious programmes (the 1930s). The successors to the achievements of these stations were the off-shore pirates of the '60s. These stations broadcast from ships anchored in waters off the coast of Britain. They too used advertising to finance their operations, and broadcast pop music. While not strictly illegal until the 1967 Marine Offences Act was passed, they were operating outside the law, which became part of their anti-establishment stance. Until 1967 the BBC had three networks, the Light Programme (broadcasting a service similar to that of Radio 2 today), the Home Service which broadcast a mixed programming package similar to that of television stations today, and the Third Programme which became Radio 3. Therefore in this time of an explosion in youth culture and popular music, there was no service from the British shores that broadcast the type of music that was capturing the imagination of young people. The off-shore pirates, with their styles mimicking American DJs, provided something that many young people were desperate to consume and which proved immensely popular. Their success led to the change in structure of the BBC service with Radio 1 being introduced as the first BBC popular

music station which used the same format and many of the same staff as the pirates had. In 1973 the first Independent Local Radio (ILR) stations were introduced and they generally took on a similar format to Radio 1.

All these stations therefore have become the services that cater for the youth audience with an output of the popular music of the day. They especially aim at young people in their evening programming when there is a large potential audience, whereas in the day they may aim at a wider age-range. Radio 1 and ILR stations predominantly broadcast a 'Top Forty' format; specifically this means they play records that are currently in the charts, or may be about to enter them. As this provides a limited amount of material, the records are repeated regularly throughout the day. These stations have always been an alternative for young people to the consensual styles of the television networks. While television now aims to capture an audience spread across the age-range (in the same way as BBC radio tried to attract a broad audience before it became a streamed service), it often finds itself irrelevant or unattractive to young people who are consistently amongst the lowest users of television. [2] The Top 40 stations are happy to exclude those people whom they do not see as fitting into their audience; i.e. there is no attempt to entertain everyone at once. This is something that in itself is often attractive to young people as they often define themselves in reaction to the culture and norms of the older generation. This can be seen more prominently on those programmes which are specifically aimed at young people - particularly those broadcast in the evenings, such as the John Peel show, when there are very few other age groups listening.

The style of these stations has however not changed markedly from the days of the off-shore pirates, and increasingly the DJs are people left over from this era who have less and less relevance to the lives of 'average' young people. Apart from atypical programmes such as the John Peel show (which is still itself hosted by a man in his forties), the schedule is largely made up of programmes playing music which has already charted or which fits into familiar formats. Therefore much groundbreaking in new musical forms has to occur in clubs because radio is too trapped in its own familiar style. This is typified in the term 'pop and prattle' which demonstrates how inane much of what the DJs say is - there is generally little attempt to say anything of importance or originality between the records. As the Top 40 stations are designed to appeal to the full range of young people then the broadcasters can be seen to come from a very limited section of the population; that is they are predominantly male and in their late 20's to 30's or older - meaning that they surely have different interests often from the audience that they are trying to attract. As well as this the fact that very few DJs on the ILR stations come from their broadcast area means there is an absence of local accents and dialects. These stations often just mimic Radio 1 with the result that there is often little of local relevance mentioned apart from a 'What's on' guide. However DJs are very important in music radio as it is they who structure the programmes and build relationships with the audience and have a certain amount of power in choosing the records. As the vast majority of DJs are male, this has led to a type of sexist broadcasting that is rife in the radio medium.[3]

The 1990 Broadcasting Act will introduce many changes in the radio environment, although this has been all but ignored in the excitement there has been over the changes in television. The Act introduces three new commercial national networks and many new local services and it states that 'the number and scale of local services will depend on local demand and wishes'. (Broadcasting In The 90s, 1988). There is therefore the prospect of many more services on the air. As well as this change in the commercial radio law the BBC has recently, for the first time since the 1967 channel reorganisation, added a new network to its services. This is Radio 5 which broadcasts programming for young people as well as sports programmes. This is a very new style of output aimed at young people as it is speech-based rather than the usual music-based service. The BBC is also considering introducing a new network which would simply broadcast all news, but in a format designed to be attractive to a younger audience than that which listens to Radio 4. Both these new ventures show the BBC trying to recapture the youth audience which is increasingly being attracted to the ILR stations, and which will be further fragmented with the new stations and networks due to come on air. There have however also been suggestions that Radio 1 should take advertising - which suggests a still prevalent belief that pop music is not a service to be counted alongside those provided by Radios 3 and 4 - it is simply too 'popular' and those who it appeals to are not seen as important. When Radio 1 was first instituted it had a fairly explicit aim to appeal to young people as the music that it was playing was only attractive to this age-range. However the station now finds itself with difficuties of direction because: 'pop music may be youth music, but its ever lengthening history precludes it from an exclusivity of appeal based on age'. (Barnard, 1989, p.62).

With the licensing of the three new national stations the Government has shown its commitment to an increase in consumers' choice - something that has been a byword for its term of office. However in this case it does not seem willing to allow the market forces to have the full power as they have prescribed what sort of service the new networks must provide. This was clearly necessary if there was not to be three new commercial Radio 1s on air. But again the decisions made show a group of people prescribing the tastes of the country who are largely separated from the majority of the population, and the forms they have prescribed will only serve a limited section of the country. It is interesting to note that the Government has found it necessary to try and legislate for the new national stations so that they provide different services although this does not fit with their own laissez-faire views on the market. It has been forced to limit what kind of different service can be provided and so rule out some alternatives. This means that they have not allowed there to be all possible types of service and so have prescribed what different services are to be available. The Broadcasting Act says that of the three new networks:-

(i) one is a service the greater part of which consists in the broadcasting of spoken material, and

(ii) another is a service which consists, wholly or mainly, in the broadcasting of music which, in the opinion of the Authority, is not pop music (Broadcasting Act, 1990, p.42/85)

Following a dispute amongst prospective bidders for the licences the Radio Authority further narrowed the second category so that it could not include any form of popular music:-

> *'pop music' includes rock music and other kinds of modern popular music which are characterised by a strong rhythmic element and a reliance on electronic amplification for their performance. (Broadcasting Act, 1990, p.42/85).*

The very language that these directives are couched in indicates the disdain that the law-makers have for pop music. The Government has ruled that there cannot be any other popular music service despite the fact that the two prescribed services are very similar to Radio 3 and to Radio 4, neither of which attract large audiences. Both of these are services aimed at, and popular with, an older audience profile. Few people would suggest that their should have been no restrictions put on the licensing of these stations but it seems an anomaly that freedom of choice is allowing the minority of people who choose classical music to have a choice of two stations, while the huge audience that listens to Radio 1 will also probably have two very similar stations. This legislation presumes that all those who listen to Radio 1 like exactly the same music and all that is included in the Radio Authority's definition of 'popular music' is homogeneous and could not therefore produce a range of diverse formats. The Broadcasting Act seems to suggest that the Top 40 format as defined above covers all types of pop music whereas it in fact does not incorporate forms of rock music, dance music, reggae, and more 'alternative' music that are excluded from providing a service by the Broadcasting Act's definition of pop music which encompasses such a broad range of music which is rarely featured on Radio 1 or ILR. It is in theory possible for the third non-specified service to be given to a station offering a different service to the Top 40 stations but this will be unlikely to happen as the licences will be given to the stations that offer the highest tender and this will most likely be a Top 40 station as these will have the likelihood of being the most profitable. The increase in the number of pirate stations in the 1980s and their popularity showed that there was an audience and demand for an alternative to the Top 40 format offered by Radio 1 and ILR.

As mentioned above the 1990 Broadcasting Act should mean that there should be many more local or regional stations licensed which will be expected to serve the local needs and offer diversity to the audience. It will be expected to: 'broaden the range of programmes available by way of local services to persons living in that area or locality' (Broadcasting Act, 1990). The increase in the number of stations available on the airwaves will fundamentally change the way that people use the medium as specialisation becomes more precise and streaming becomes dominant. Streaming is the term for radio formats or playlists which draw from limited musical 'types', they therefore play only similar sorts of music for all of the programmes. Because of the link between the lifestyle of an audience and their choice of music, there is also a link to the choice of radio station, or at least radio station format. Streaming is already prevalent in Britain but the types of format are limited because they still attempt to capture the majority audiences because there is little competition and fragmentation of the audience. It would seem to follow that with more stations there will be, as the

Government has outlined, a 'diversity' of services aiming to capture different segments of the audience. However broadcasters will be able to choose which audience they cater for by choosing which format they broadcast; 'the fortunes of radio today revolve around the ability of station operators to know as much as possible about the audiences that exist' (O'Donnell et al, 1989). Clearly, this will mean that broadcasters will generally aim at the most affluent audience, that with the highest disposable income, or more specifically that audience which advertisers most want to reach. As streaming and formatting become more advanced, as they have in other countries such as the USA, the analysis of audiences becomes precise and products can be aimed at suitable markets. However the problem with this scenario, in relation to young people, is that as they do not generally have high disposable incomes, programmes attracting large numbers of young people will not attract advertisers and hence programme-makers.[4] This is illustrated in the USA where although there is a diversity in the formats available they are largely geared towards those which attract profitable advertising - mainly those aimed at more affluent audiences, therefore often there is little interest in what programming attracts young people. This can mean that, as happens in other media, programmes which attract lower audience figures than another station can be more profitable because of the make-up of their audience. The same logic can already be seen to be happening in Britain; an example can be seen with ILR stations which have split their frequencies (i.e. they once had the same programme being broadcast on two separate frequencies but now broadcast two different services). These stations have retained their existing Top 40 format on one of the frequencies but have used the other one to target a different audience - typically one with a high disposable income (the '30-something' market). Some examples of this can be seen with Capital Gold the new service which serves London and Great North Radio which serves the Tyne & Wear area - both these play music which is based on album sales and the music of the '70s and '80s rather than more contemporary musical output. Another example can be seen in the London incremental station Jazz FM whose director of broadcasting says 'our success is because we're so upmarket' (From Self, 1991). It can therefore attract expensive advertising if it has the suitable listenership;

> *of its three-quarters of a million listeners, 60 per cent are ABC1 males in the 25-54 age range. No surprise then, that its commercial breaks are peppered with ads for imported cars, finance companies and quality newspapers. (Self, 1991, p.31).*

As well as the fact that the affluent are the most likely to be catered for, the organisation of the commercial stations will probably mean that although there will be a bigger range of stations to choose from it is quite likely that they will not be greatly different to each other. This follows the economic law that if you are trying to position your product in a market then the most profitable place to be is as close to your competitors as possible so that you can attract as much of their audience as possible without alienating a large part of it. Another limiting factor to the commercial stations is that if radio programmers are going to have to become increasingly competitive and compete for the same share of advertising, but among a larger group of stations, then this is not an atmosphere where broadcasters are going to want to break new ground and experiment as there is too much to lose. It would seem therefore that the new commercial stations will have little new to offer young people, as they do not appeal to advertisers and so their tastes will not be heeded and the increase in stations is likely to be more an increase of similar services than of real choice.

Throughout this description of the radio in this country it has been apparent that it is always older people who are prescribing what the radio output should be and what young people should be listening to. In other words, in both the case of the BBC and of commercial radio there are interests above that of what the audience wants that lead the stations' programming. However there is another type of radio station that has been developing recently. Community radio is a relatively new concept (in Britain) and it is based on ideas of access to the medium for people who are not normally permitted to broadcast. Community radio gives young people a chance to define what they want to listen to and then to make these programmes. It is a complete move away from the ideas of prescribing the tastes of the audience to a respect for their own choices. Young people are placed in the position to decide what music to play or to discuss the issues they want in the ways that they want. This is possible because community radio uses volunteers as staff and therefore there is no need for staff to have been through a long training process. Young people can produce, write and present their own programmes with fairly high levels of autonomy. One station in Britain which operates on the community radio beliefs is Wear FM, broadcasting in Sunderland. This station relies on its

volunteers because it is operating on such a tight budget and many of these volunteers are young people and people who are unemployed. Granville Gibson (the chair of the Board of Directors)has said that being involved with the station gives people who are unemployed and may never have had a job a 'role' and some 'dignity' which may not have been present before. As Gibson says 'if we do nothing else there is some measure of success in that'[5]. If Wear FM is managing to give these people some self-respect as well as allowing them to have a voice that they have never previously had then it is surely offering them more than traditional radio forms. Wear FM also broadcasts a broader range of music than the local ILR station - every evening there is a programme of different dance music presented by local club DJs - this is a real alternative to the usual output and is obviously aimed at the youth audience. One of these dance programmes is called 'Gay to Gay' and is presented by DJs from a local gay nightclub. Although the programme does not focus much on issues it is as important as any speech-based programme in that it allows gay people the space to express what is an important part of their lifestyle. It is the first gay dance programme to be be broadcast in the region. This is a revolutionary move as it allows a group to make its own programme whose voice is rarely heard in the media - indeed whose voice and views are constantly suppressed. Not only this, but being presented as it is in a slot that is aimed at young people it offers a positive lifestyle option to the listeners in a way that is rarely offered to young people. It is not a discussion of being gay as a problem but as something that can be 'fun' - can be enjoyed in the same way as growing up heterosexual. From these examples it can be seen that Wear FM and community radio, by offering young people chances to make their own programmes - by offering different choices of music and lifestyle options - gives young people more than the traditional radio formats do. Unfortunately, community radio may not be able to have a very big role in broadcasting as it will always face financial difficulties because it will be forced to compete with the new commercial stations for the advertising income that it must have to support its programming initiatives.

One question that is raised by this discussion of young peoiple and radio is whether or not young people do need different programmes than other people suited to their particular needs and tastes ? It would seem fairly evident that there is a demand for this type of programming - even television is beginning to provide 'youth programmes'. However a further question remains and that is, how can programmes be made that can address young people's needs and desires ? As in programming for other marginalized groups, i.e. groups that do not find themselves with much power or say in the mass media, one way is to allow these groups to make their own programmes and to have fairly high levels of autonomy. This may be even more important in programming for young people, because as discussed above they often define their tastes in reaction to traditional tastes and culture. Community radio seems to be the only one of the new radio services that will offer this to young people but its future is uncertain because it is not recognised by the 1990 Broadcasting Act as offering a public service, it is merely seen as any other commercial operation. This means that community radio faces problems with raising the advertising to support its programming - this has been shown by the demise of all the stations, apart from Wear FM, which began broadcasting with community radio stations. It seems therefore that, although radio is popular with young people and as such obviously offers something that they can identify with, this is often a very limited offering and the change in legislation following the 1990 Broadcasting Act will not offer many new services to young people. The increase in choice will be based on advertising sales and young people are not attractive enough to advertisers to lead to new stations being created in response to their tastes.

REFERENCES

Baehr, H. & Ryan, M. (Ed) (1984). *Shut up and Listen! Women and local radio: a view from the inside.* Comedia, London.

Barnard, S. (1989) *On the radio - music radio in Britain.* Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

Briggs, A. (1961-79). *History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom Vols 1-4* Oxford University Press, London.

Broadcasting Act (1990) HMSO

Broadcasting in the 90s. (1988) Government White Paper cm 517 HMSO.

O'Donnell, L.B., Hausman, C. & Benoit, P. (1989) *Radio Station Operations.* Wadsworth, Belmont.

Self, D. (1991). 'Listen Out' *The Listener,* 3rd Jan 91.

Snow, R.P. (1983) *Creating Media Culture.* Sage, Beverley Hills.

NOTES

1. I will use this term to refer to people under 18, but more specifically in this context to those between the ages 12-18, although some of the issues are relevant to those younger than this.

2. For evidence of this see *Annual Review of BBC Broadcasting Research Findings (1974-present)* & similar IBA publications.

3. As noted DJs form the relationship between the audience and the station, studies have shown that this relationship is constantly couched in sexist/heterosexist stereotypes which will not be broken until more women become DJs; but women cannot become DJs because of the existing stereotypes. More thorough discussion of this can be found in Baehr, H. & Ryan, M, (1984), and Bernard, S. (1989).

4. Although young people are targetted with music, they are not the target of many advertisers because they have a comparatively low disposable income and do not consume directly many of the products that advertisers want to sell.

5. From private conversations with Granville Gibson 2.10.91

HIV/AIDS

A Peer Education Approach

VAL HAMILTON

Introduction

This paper describes a Peer Education Programme implemented to educate young people on HIV issues. Eight young Women (15-17 yrs) were trained to run workshops for other young people (14-18) on HIV/AIDS. The young women ran their workshops in local Schools, Colleges and Youth Clubs. Later, they were invited to speak at National Conferences and Seminars for Health Educators. This paper

1) briefly outlines the design and delivery of the programme.
2) assesses the impact of the programme on the Peer Educators and their audience/participants.
3) highlights some implications for practice and policy.

It is not intended as a piece of formal research. Implications and lessons can no doubt be drawn from this example of successful practice, but it is important to remember that they are based on one local example only.

1. DESIGN

Planning

The two people who ran the programme were ex-colleagues having worked together on Peer Education Programmes in Islington. They combine the skills and expertise necessary to run this programme. Val Hamilton had considerable experience in developmental group work and in Peer Education Programmes. Frankie Lynch was equally experienced in Community Health and HIV/AIDS education.

Both were now in positions with a great deal of autonomy and with access to significant resources. Val Hamilton, as Director of a Social Responsibility Project based in Education, was expected to create innovative programmes to encourage social responsibility in young people; Frankie Lynch as Health Education Officer at the Terence Higgins Trust was expected to create innovative education programmes on HIV/AIDS. Recognising the joint interest, they were able to combine resources and run a Peer Education Programme on HIV/AIDS. It is important, in terms of policy and practice, to note that neither worker on this project was constrained by the traditional boundaries of; rigid job descriptions (historically or managerially imposed), geographical or Agency boundaries or imposed timetables. Flexible 'job descriptions' meant they could respond flexibly to an immediate social issue.

Planning the programme took a considerable time, but this was crucial to the success of the project. The two organisers/trainers met with two Youth workers in the local area who helped them plan the programme; four meetings were held before they felt confident enough to begin. Much anxiety was evident during these meetings, a great deal of which came from the workers' own issues around HIV/AIDS. A visit to the Terence Higgins Trust was arranged and support counselling offered for the workers involved and for the Peer Educators should it be required. It was important that the workers took the time to understand and work through some of their own issues in relation to HIV/AIDS. It meant they were better equipped to help young people going through a similar process.

The Programme

As the programme was to be run by two women, it was decided the Peer Educators would be young women.

The training programme would last twelve weeks and involve: weekly 2 hour sessions; a residential weekend; a full-day Sunday.

It would be run in a local youth club as this offered a relaxed environment.

The aims were:

- to investigate if young people can educate other young people on HIV/AIDS.
- to investigate if peer education is an effective form of education.

To prepare the young women to run workshops successfully we aimed to:

i. inform them of the myths and facts around HIV/AIDS.

ii. develop general groupwork and communication skills e.g. listening, public speaking, organising information.

iii. promote the personal development of the Peer Educators particularly in regard to self-esteem, confidence and assertiveness.

When the aims were discussed with the young women, they very promptly added their aims.

- to meet other young people.
- to have fun.

This was an important and timely reminder. The young women did not want to be seen as 'boffs' as they described them (serious know-alls) or as 'do-gooders'. They wanted to have fun and enjoy themselves and to make sure that their workshops were fun and enjoyable. This obviously has implications for how the topic of HIV/AIDS is approached with young people.

Recruitment

It was intended to recruit 10 to 12 young women of between 15 and 17 years of age. We hoped there would be a mix of backgrounds and talents, but no specific criteria were set.

Recruitment was attempted through the Youth Service and through Schools. One trainer attended a monthly meeting of youth workers in the borough, introduced the programme and asked for assistance with recruitment. It became clear that the workers, particularly the men, found the issue of HIV/AIDS difficult. This was recognised by the youth workers themselves and training in HIV/AIDS was arranged for their next residential training week. A group of black women youth workers arranged to meet the trainer separately and put her in contact with a group of young women who were interested in getting involved.

Before recruitment could begin in schools it was necessary to check that all policy guidelines re: Sex Education and HIV/AIDS had been adhered to. The ambiguous situation in which schools find themselves in regard to HIV/AIDS can make this a difficult and discouraging task. The trainer met with the following people to inform them of the programme and gain their advice and support:

- Health Education Co-ordinator
- HIV/AIDS Co-ordinator
- Director of the Advisory Service
- Interagency Steering Committee of the Social Responsibility Project (including Schools, Courts, Police, Youth Service, Social Services, Education Psychology Service).
- Press Officer for the Local Authority.

It was important to ensure that no schools were placed at risk of having transgressed policy guidelines.

Further, when any particular schools were approached to become involved, the Head Teacher was consulted and kept informed. Head Teachers were not approached directly, as the programme tended to be introduced through a Deputy Head with responsibility for Pastoral Care or a Senior Teacher with responsibility for Personal and Social Education. One school decided not to allow pupils to participate in the project as the Headmaster and his two deputies decided it could contravene the Sex Education Policy of the school.

In the event, only personal contacts actually resulted in recruitment. Teachers, with whom one of the trainers had worked on other issues, gave her direct access to groups of young people in school and from these 8 young women volunteered to take part in the Programme.

It was noticeable in this procedure that although some men were very supportive of the programme, only women became actively involved. This was true in both the Youth Service and Schools. It is difficult to say whether this was due to the fact that it was to be a young women's group, or whether it indicates that men are more resistant to dealing with the issues that HIV/AIDS raises. Women consistently responded more comfortably and enthusiastically to the programme.

The planning and recruitment process highlighted several issues:

i. The need to work with adults before it is possible to work with young people on this issue. The anxieties of the workers and of other adults in positions of responsibility can prevent young people being given the opportunities to learn about HIV/AIDS.

ii. The question of whether men find HIV/AIDS more difficult to confront than women.

iii. The various guidelines on Sex Education and HIV/AIDS are ambiguous and leave teachers

feeling unclear and vulnerable. This increases the risk that the topic of HIV/AIDS will be avoided, and can lead to inconsistency between schools and teachers.

iv. Current social issues, like HIV/AIDS, are perhaps most likely to be addressed by people whose roles and conditions allow them the flexibility to respond imaginatively and swiftly.

v. Our subsequent experience in attempting to establish similar programmes has shown that the leaders need to be very confident and experienced group workers.

2. IMPACT

Training Programme and its Impact on Educators.

The total programme and each session was divided between discussion on HIV/AIDS issues, specific training on the skills required to run workshops and time for personal and group development.

The initial sessions concentrated on building a team of young people who could offer each other support. Consequently a residential weekend was held early in the programme and proved very successful. The young women felt that they got to know and trust each other, and that they learned a great deal about HIV/AIDS.

The sessions on HIV/AIDS were always run according to the young women's agenda. For example, in the first session they were simply asked to share what they knew and thought about HIV/AIDS. With their permission, this session was taped, to be used for evaluation purposes. This initial discussion revealed that they were actually quite aware of 'The Facts'. They knew that HIV/AIDS were not the same, that HIV was a disease that affected your immune system and that you could eventually die of having AIDS. They were less knowledgeable of the modes of transmission. There was a strong sense of the social impact of this disease.

All further input on HIV/AIDS arose from questions or issues the young women brought to the group, or from a "quiz" game called 'Opinions'.

A discussion on HIV/AIDS was taped several weeks into the programme. Surprisingly, this discussion did not reveal major changes. They had more knowledge on routes of transmission and time scales between a positive diagnosis and symptoms of AIDS. The most significant change though, was in their confidence. They were much more assertive about their own knowledge. The young women decided to keep a journal. Two questions indicate its flavour:

> *I've really got to know everyone now. Today's meeting has really helped me to cut out myths and become certain about the facts.*

> *You can pass HIV to your unborn child but it doesn't mean that it will stay with them. They could grow to be healthy.*

The increase in general confidence of all the Peer Educators was commented on by their teachers, friends and parents alike. The group were asked to review their own development periodically and at the end of the programme they were asked to comment on each other. This session was taped. The young women discussed each other openly and sensitively, with a maturity that actually surprised the trainers. The final evidence of their newly found self-confidence came about through their willingness and ability to lead a workshop at a national conference on HIV/AIDS for other professionals.

The training and evaluation indicate that opportunities for honest and open discussion of HIV/AIDS between young people need to be provided if young people are going to internalise knowledge on HIV/AIDS to an extent which will give them confidence to assert this knowledge. Without this confidence and assertiveness, their knowledge is unlikely to affect behaviour.

The Workshops

The young women decided on the following format:

i. Introduction of themselves and why they had decided to join the group.

ii. Dramatic sketches to raise issues around HIV/AIDS. The audience were encouraged to discuss and comment on the sketches.

iii. Cards from the 'Opinions'[1] games were handed to members of the audience. They answered or gave their opinion.

iv. Small group discussions in which the participants could ask any question they wished.

The young women ran their first workshop for girls only, as they felt more secure doing that. It was run in a local High School.

This was not without its difficulties. A Senior Teacher had to get the permission of the Head Teacher to run the workshop in the evening and to allow the Peer Educators to put up posters advertising the event. Permission slips had to be sent home to be signed by parents. The Head gave permission for the workshop but prohibited some of the posters which explicity mentioned 'condoms'. He felt these were too explicit for the 11 and 12 year olds in the school.

The second workshop was easier to arrange as it was in a Sixth Form College, which was, therefore, not subject to the same restriction. This was for young men and women. In the feedback session after the workshops, the Peer Educators noted that although they had asked for two mixed groups for the small group discussions, they had actually ended up with one mixed group and one group which was all boys. The single sex group was far more successful as the young women leading it found it much easier to generate discussion. In the mixed group the female participants were very reluctant to talk and share opinions, while the male participants covered their embarassment with bravado. On this basis, the Peer Educators decided that their future discussion groups would be single sex.

The third workshop was held in a Youth Club, the arrangements were much easier. All the posters were displayed for a few days before the event and the Youth workers were in full support of the programme. A very pleasant and well-equipped drama space was available. The Peer Educators felt this workshop gave them a genuine opportunity to challenge myths and misinformation about HIV and AIDS.

They were particularly pleased that there had been lots of fun and good humour.

Although the Peer Educators ran subsequent workshops, the key issues for practice and policy were evident at this stage:

i. Compared with school, Youth clubs offered a far more relaxed environment which was more conducive to discussion and debate. The Peer Educators felt schools to be restrictive and intimidating, whilst Youth Clubs felt welcoming and enabling. This highlights the importance of youth work approaches in educating young people on social and health issues. The trainers wish to stress at this point they do not believe that sex education of HIV/AIDS should be left to youth clubs and removed from schools. Rather youth work attitudes and approaches should be imported into schools. Most of our young people attend schools; only a limited number attend youth clubs. Many teachers are more than willing and able to tackle these issues, and indeed do. Frequently, however, teachers are hampered by the restrictions of timetables, specified roles, and sometimes moribund policies. Not all the restrictions are negative. The need to gain parental permission, although time-consuming, is actually an opportunity to reach the wider community. The young people need the support and understanding of parents if they are to deal with these issues.

ii. Although the Peer Educators felt it was very important that both sexes were involved in the workshops, they felt very strongly that the small discussion groups worked best when they were single sex. This indicates that schoools and clubs should provide opportunities for single sex groups to discuss issues such as HIV/AIDS.

Impact of the Workshops

This is the weakest area of the programme evaluation. All participants were given the opportunity to give feedback to the Peer Educators directly or via teachers, or youth workers. It is clear that socially the Peer Educators had a great impact. The sixth formers were impressed and surprised by the confidence of women younger than themselves leading the workshops. Young women at the youth club asked whether they could become Peer Educators.

There were no formal measures taken to evaluate the participants increased knowledge of HIV/AIDS or any shifts in attitude. The Peer Educators did not welcome the idea of pre/post questionnaires etc, during the workshop and more subtle approaches were too time-consuming. This area requires further investigation. It is the view of the Trainers, however, that the debates which took place in these sessions, were open, challenging, and well received. Comments and views were expressed and then challenged in a way the trainers believe would not have happened as easily in groups led by adults. It is their belief that Peer Education was effective in informing young

people and in challenging myths and stereotypes around HIV/AIDS.

3. IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND POLICY

Peer Education programmes are an effective method of educating young people on issues such as HIV/AIDS. They are, however, costly as they require a great deal of time, and experienced workers to lead them. The impact of these programmes on the Peer Educators is startling and unquestioned. They gain in confidence, ability and knowledge. The impact on the wider audience has been less clearly evaluated. This area of evaluation needs to be investigated to ensure cost-effectiveness.

The experience of planning and running the programme highlighted a number of issues around HIV/AIDS education:

- the anxieties of adults can prevent young people being given an opportunity to deal with HIV/AIDS issues.
- women seem more comfortable than men in confronting these issues.
- young people seem to know facts on HIV/AIDS but have not been given opportunities to internalise this knowledge in a way which will affect behaviour.
- the importance of the influence of Peers in HIV/AIDS education.

REFERENCES

1. 'Opinions' is produced by the Riverside Health Authority.

THE CHILDREN ACT

Some Implications for Youth and Community Workers

STEVE MURPHY

14th October 1991 marked a milestone for legislation concerning the welfare of children as it was a day when the most comprehensive piece of child based law was introduced imposing 'duties' and 'powers' on local authorities.

The reality of the situation is far from this grandiose design and it will probably take years for those parts which can actually be implemented to be embedded in the services of the authorities unless specific aspects are challenged in law and forced into implementation.

For Youth and Community Workers, to whom there is no reference in the Act, there are a number of important implications. Some major ones are set out here but represent only those areas to which the writer has been able to stretch his mind to date.

There are basically five areas which will effect the Youth and Community Service.

1. Assistance to Social Services to compile a register of disabled children and to help publicise the provision available for them.
2. Supervision of Attendance - Education Supervision Orders (ESOs).
3. The inspectoral function of Social Services for residential and day provision for young people.
4. Provision of services for under 8s e.g. holiday, nursery and after hours provision.
5. Training in relation to all aspects of the Act.

Each area has elements which the Service can and must be involved in, remembering that the thrust of the legislation is to assist parents in their responsibility of raising their children and ensuring that 'children in need' are properly supported.

1. Register of disabled children

At first glance perhaps, the compilation of a register of disabled children would have little effect on the Service but it is the identifying of the numbers of such children which will overtly point to a need which ought to be addressed. Then the requirement to publicise provision available will create its own pressures on services to meet the demand. This has resource implications for local authorities either to provide facilities for disabled children or to assist voluntary organisations to meet the demand via grant-aid. This pressure is to be welcomed as the disabled are still marginalised when it comes to provision of real opportunities but without the resources, the frustration of workers and clients will only increase.

2. Education Supervision Orders

Supervision of attendance at school could have a great effect on the service. Before obtaining an Education Supervision Order (ESO) it has to be shown that all efforts to improve attendance have failed.

In those authorities where school based youth and community provision is part of the service there is likely to be pressure to become involved in this process via the 'social contract' involving a number of days in the curriculum and the remainder of the week in a 'youth work' setting. Even where school provision is not a norm all youth facilities will be under pressure to devise new strategies for dealing with such young people before ESOs are made.

Then when ESOs are made, the role of the Youth and Community Service is most likely to increase as alternatives to normal schooling will be sought. Who else more appropriate to deal with such problems than the service? We should therefore be prepared to respond to such requests by formulating opportunities along with the voluntary sector. After all, we are the people who are usually most involved with the young people liable to ESOs.

One major stumbling block to potential voluntary sector involvement in this process is the inability to obtain police checks on certain categories of voluntary workers. This is an area of concern which must be addressed by the Police. All people working with the young should be 'police cleared'. The Children Act could be the catalyst to bring this about.

Also with ESOs there may be far more opportunity for workers to be involved with the parents of the young people to advise, support and counsel them leading up to an ESO or when an order has been made. The community work model adopted in most local authorities will facilitate this process. The service will probably become the 'honest broker'.

3. Inspection of Residential and Day Provision

Provision for pre-school children has to be registered and inspected annually. Many centres within the Service offer such facilities and therefore advice to groups and liaison with Social Services will be required. More important, finance will be required to bring provision up to standard. The danger is that without this injection of cash much valued facilities may have to close.

4. Provision for under 8s

Provision for the under 8s will involve holiday schemes, nursery provision and after hours facilities. The service will need to assess the demand for holiday and after hours schemes and respond by possibly providing venues and resources (both financial and staff). Not only would this be for 'children in need' but I feel that this is one of the potentially largest growth areas under the Act.

5. Training

Then, in relation to all the above, in addition to the other parts of the Act, training will be essential. Most local authorities are considering the training needs of their staff and programming accordingly. In the more enlightened areas multi-disciplinary groups are being trained to bring out the complementary aspects of current services. This is the way we must go. The responsibility for implementation of the Act is with the Local Authority, although Social Services are regarded as having the major input into delivering the services. They cannot do it alone and many of the skills which the Youth and Community Service has developed over the years will prove invaluable in implementing the requirements of the Act.

The $64,000 question is, however, where will the additional money come from? I can hear the reply now - 'It's in the Standard Spending Assessment (SSA)', along with everything else. Having been given a structure to look after the welfare of children there must be the realisation that qualified people and money are needed to make it work and the finance needed is extra and not 'sloshing about' in local authority budgets.

But what will probably happen, as it has many times before, is that we will 'shoot ourselves in the foot' as a service and take on all the extra work at little or no cost in the hope that our good work will be recognised.

It does provide a dilemma! The Children Act requires the Youth and Community Service to make it work, but the Service can do without taking on any more work.

However for everyone connected with the service - young people come first and that's the way it will always be. The Children Act is the first time that legislation has actually agreed with us.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Department of Health (1989). *An Introduction to the Children Act 1989.* HMSO.
HMSO (1989). *The Children Act 1989.* HMSO.
White, R., Carr, P. and Love, N. (1990). *A Guide to The Children Act.* Butterworth.

CLASSIC TEXTS REVISITED

The Albemarle Report

Ministry of Education (1960), The Youth Service in England and Wales (Cmnd 929), London, HMSO

BERNARD DAVIES

Who needs a statutory Youth Service?

As in these neo-Thatcherite days the struggle intensifies to preserve a proactive state presence in the Youth Service, we need to remind ourselves just how recent, and therefore how fragile, this is. Its origins can, it is true, be traced back at least to 1940 and 1943 Board of Education circulars, and even to the 1918 Education Act. However these interventions have to be seen as mainly short-term responses to war-time and post-war conditions, and particularly to fears that 'youth' and the generation gap were threatening national revival. A rather more positive and convinced state committment to youth work has existed for only about thirty years; since the publication in February 1960 of the Albemarle Report.

It had taken very little time after both world wars for state support for what youth workers were doing to become the softest of financial targets. By 1956 the impression of one Commons Select Committee was that 'the Ministry (of Education) is ... apathetic about the (Youth Service's) future'. Answering a Commons question in February 1958 the Minister openly enunciated his policy as 'not to encourage it too much'. Not surprisingly therefore the Albemarle Committee concluded that the Service was 'dying on its feet'.

However, by the later 1950s the threat to the Youth Service went beyond just shortage of money. A 'cradle-to-the-grave' welfare state was by then seen to exist. This, in addition to offering social security, children's and housing services, also provided secondary education for all which, it was still widely assumed, was about to be made compulsory up to the age of 16. Many more young people anyway were already attending further education courses.

It would therefore have been risky for anyone in 1958 to have assumed that the government's intention was to advance or even to defend the statutory Youth Service - especially given its explicit instruction to the Albemarle Committee to advise on how to get 'best value ... for the money spent'. A much more hard-headed view would have been, and often was, that central to the official agenda was getting rid of the Service altogether.

The new teenager: shaping the consciousness of a committee

In the event other sometimes less tangible forces - material, social and ideological - so shaped the Albemarle Committee's work and final report that ministers and senior civil servants got much more than they had bargained for.

Some traditional concerns were still around - not least that the young were going to the dogs. Yet even these were given a new edge as realisation dawned that an apparently novel teenage society was in the making. Mark Abrams made available to the Committee findings - eventually published in the enormously influential *The Teenage Consumer* (1959) - on growing affluence amongst young people. At about the same time, Colin MacInnes' *Absolute Beginners* appeared (1959). This offered a fictional celebration of 'kids' who had money 'at the best time in life to use it, namely, when you're young and strong', and who therefore knew that 'no one couldn't sit on our faces any more'.

This awareness of the new 'teenager' - a term which, despite its faddishness at the time, the Committee used in a wholly unself-conscious way - clearly penetrated to the very heart of its thinking. One of its members, Pearl Jephcott (1942, 1943, 1948, 1954), had for years been researching with great sensitivity and sympathy into young people's and especially girls' interests. Another, Richard Hoggart (1957), had two years earlier touched a (sometimes very raw) populist nerve with his *Uses of Literacy*. In this he had shown himself only too aware of the 'juke-box boys ... who spend their evening listening in harshly-lighted milk bars to the "nickleodeons".' For him they represented a threat not just of 'dissipation' but of 'unbending the springs of (working class) action', which needed to be tackled quickly and in *culturally* relevant ways.

As a result the Committee's own survey of 'young people today' did not concentrate only on 'objective' factors like the population 'bulge', the ending of national service and young people's assumed wealth. It also noted the 'changing pattern of women's lives'.

And it went on to analyse the highly contradictory 'mental climate' in which the young - 'the litmus-paper of a society' - were growing up. This it described as both 'formidably restricted' and (thrusting forward a word about to gain wide currency) 'surprisingly permissive'. It thus saw the young as 'between conflicting voices', being emitted by a society which simultaneously was

> *democratic (and so having no official 'philosophy'), commercial, still to some extent expressing traditional forms and values but rapidly becoming more open and demotic*

- that is, of the people.

A new philosophy:
from patronage to personal and social education

In the Committee's responses to these contradictions, there were some major gaps. For example, though appointed only three months after the Nottingham and Notting Hill riots, it seemed puzzled and even somewhat hurt that the young from different racial groups were not getting along better: after all, did not 'young people of all races and nationalities ... share common interests such as jazz and football'?

Nonetheless where its consciousness was raised it tried hard to pick a route through the contradictions - though in ways which also harnessed the chair's 'fix-it' skills and her determination to make an offer the politicians could not refuse. In particular it declared itself to be 'struck' by how often certain terms were used *'as though they were a commonly accepted and valid currency'* (emphasis in the original). Included as examples were 'dedication', 'leadership', and 'character building' which, the Committee suggested, do not seem to 'speak to their (young people's) condition.' As a result it quite explicitly recognised youth workers' need to walk 'day-to-day ... on a razor-edge between sympathy and surrender' and denied aims which sought 'to remove tensions so as to reach towards some hypothetical condition of "adjustment" to individual or social life'.

By adding that it neither wished to be misunderstood nor to 'challenge the value of the concepts behind these words', the Committee showed that, in expressing such views, it knew it was taking some risks. The context after all remained overwhelmingly that described in 1951 by Alicia Percival in which the principles of *'noblesse oblige'* and class patronage remained very powerful, if not actually still dominant.

At the time these passages *were* challenged. Above all, what - correctly - Albemarle's critics recognised was a threat to their traditional power to define the values on which youth work rested and the 'problems' which historically it had been constructed to tackle. For embedded in the Albemarle message were some important shifts of thinking. These, albeit cautiously and within strict parameters, legitimated some more person-centred purposes and approaches and so gave greater emphasis to starting from and valuing where young people were and to encouraging their 'self-determination' and 'self-programming'.

Most positively, such shifts created space in which, for a time in the later sixties and early seventies, more 'progressive' forces were able to operate 'in and against the state'. The way was partially cleared, for example, for feminists to make an impressive push for political as well as social educational work with girls and young women, whilst some of the work done with black young people, for example, and even occasionally with gay and lesbian young people also started from a structural analysis of their situation.

None of this swept the Service, of course. What is more, many of the gains which were made turned out to be far too shallowly rooted to resist the gales of Thatcherism. Nonetheless if the Youth Service, at least in comparison to other state services, has offered some fertile territory for such perspectives and approaches to take hold, this is partly because Albemarle created some of the necessary conditions.

In these days of a dominant and highly oppressive state youth policy, Albemarle's albeit limited ideological reappraisal can hardly be dismissed out of hand. Nonetheless, the limits were very real. For one thing, as its view (quoted earlier) on race shows, it relied very heavily on a 'cultural' explanation of and solutions to social problems. As a result, though not unaware of the damaging effects on young people's lives of, for example, the impersonality of 'life at work' and 'sub-standard housing', it glossed over or played down the fundamental economic and material constraints these imposed on their development.

It also failed adequately to penetrate some of the deeper political issues facing it. Though, almost in passing, it characterised youth work as 'social education' and gave a particularly high profile to 'association' among young people, its underlying mission was not in any way *collective*. On the contrary, Albemarle summarised the tasks of the Youth Service as helping 'many more *individuals* (emphasis added) to find their own way better'.

Here as elsewhere, it thus provided an early but characteristic expression of a social democratic perspective on social policy. This identified the state's role, not as confronting and seeking to eliminate in-built economic and political inequalities and injustices, but as engineering the conditions and institutions through which individuals could ultimately pull themselves up by their bootstraps.

Institutional regeneration - and rigidity: the enduring Albemarle bequest

Albemarle's attempts to regenerate and re-resource the institutions of the Youth Service had the most obvious and probably the most long-lasting impact. The Committee for example recommended, and the then Conservative government immediately conceded, a negotiating committee on full-time youth leaders' salaries and conditions; and a national training college whose brief was to increase their numbers from 700 to 1300 over five years. New local training structures for part-timers and volunteers were also established; the Youth Service got its very own annual building programme; grants to national voluntary organisations were increased and higher spending by local authorities agreed; and a Youth Service Development Council was set up to assist and advise the Minister.

Again when looked at from a neo-Thatcherite viewpoint, it is hard to believe that, if such 'goodies' were suddenly spread before youth workers today, they would not simply gorge themselves gratefully and largely uncritically. That certainly - and at the time for many good reasons - is what they (we) did in 1960.

In retrospect however a more critical view has to be taken. Even ten years after the Report appeared it was possible to see just how unhelpful and even debilitating some of the, at least *unintended*, consequences of the apparent Albemarle bonanza had been. In crucial ways many of those consequences continue to constrain us even today.

Clearly underlying these constraints were the limitations of the Albemarle analysis and ideology. These shaped fundamentally the Report's main policy and practice recommendations which in turn had long term effects on the Service's staffing structure and resourcing strategy and so on its essential forms of service-delivery.

The Albemarle Committee was certainly committed to dealing with major weaknesses in the Service at that time - such as the poor career prospects and public image of its staff. However it was particularly committed, too, to full-time workers setting standards for the rest of the Service by developing 'a trained mind' and the 'new techniques' which would enable them to respond better to the new teenage culture. Intentionally or not it therefore helped to establish at the very heart of the new statutory Service a highly elitist conception of practice. This depended on a 'corps' or full-time staff who, it was assumed, had to be socialised into appropriate attitudes and approaches via exclusive forms of qualifying training.

This emphasis on (increasingly costly) 'professional' staff, in combination with the overwhelmingly building-based approach to service-delivery which in practice Albemarle also created, has over time helped to construct a further set of constraints: the investment of most of the Service's human and revenue as well as capital resources in a limited number of physical and geographical locations. Not only have these policies strongly reinforced and perpetuated conceptions of youth work as synonymous with 'youth club' and 'youth centre' work. They have also produced an intrinsic and damaging inflexibility within a form of provision which by definition needs not just to start from where young people are but also to work with them as far as possible on their own ground.

Finally, the Youth Service has been increasingly forced by the Albemarle bequest into the kinds of bureaucratic and managerial moulds which distorted so much state-provided educational and welfare facilities during the 1960s and early 1970s - and which made them so vulnerable to Thatcherite attack in the 1980s. Ostensibly they were brought into being, especially by 'socialist' governments, to embody collective responsibility for meeting individual and social need. More and more however they came to be experienced by their 'clients' as alien and even oppressive. For youth workers this has posed particularly sharp dilemmas, given their commitment not just to providing relevant *content* but even more strongly to creating participative processes and empowering relationships between 'worker' and user. Within the unresponsive forms of 'welfare state' provision produced by social democracy, the statutory Youth Service has found it increasingly difficult to achieve some of its essential goals.

The Albemarle balance sheet

The Albemarle report undoubtedly helped both to legitimate some new ideas and approaches and to

generate some new resources for youth work. Over the past 30-odd years these have enabled many individual youth workers and indeed some organisations to contact and respond to young people in ways which **they** have judged to be helpful and even sometimes liberating.

Nonetheless, some hard lessons need to be learnt from that experience. Such as:

> **Youth work's achievements are likely to remain unnecessarily restricted as long as the task is seen largely as supporting individuals rather than nurturing collective identities, strengths, initiatives - and outcomes.**

And:

> **As long as the Youth Service insists on channelling so many of its resources through geographically fixed, expensive-to-maintain and very labour-intensive facilities it will continue to find it difficult to respond quickly and sensitively to a clientele which, by definition, changes constantly and whose 'presenting' interests and demands are often quite transient.**

None of this means however, as for example the would-be new 'progressives' within the National Youth Agency seem to be advocating, that the Albemarle 'experiment' of making youth work a state responsibility should be abandoned. Leaving youth work to the 'market' of personal and corporate charity - and that in the end is what is now being proposed - will inevitably return it to its dark pre-Albemarle days. This will mean, not just few resources and exploited staff. It will also endorse a resurgence of patronising conceptions of what should be done which, post-Albemarle were increasingly and sometimes successfully challenged.

Despite its restricted definition of the problems facing the young and its cautious institutional solutions, the Albemarle Report did help to 'spring' youth work from some of its historical traps. In doing this it offered some room for manoeuvre to a more liberating view of practice which was (and still is) inseparable from a positive and expansive view of what statutory intervention can make possible.

Simply now to abandon that state commitment rather than re-examine its past performance critically and try to reconstruct it in a more humane and responsive form is certain to set the Service back thirty years. For this will involve removing the *internal* challenge to interests which at best are concerned with shaping young people in their own image and at worst with mere containment. To that extent at least the Albemarle inheritance needs to be defended - and without compromise.

REFERENCES

Abrams, M. *The Teenage Consumer,* London Press Exchange, 1959.
Hoggart, R. *The Uses of Literacy,* Chatto and Windus, 1957.
Jephcott, A.P. *Girls Growing up,* Faber and Faber, 1942.
Jephcott, A.P. *Clubs for Girls,* Faber and Faber, 1943.
Jephcott, A.P. *Rising Twenty,* Faber and Faber, 1948.
Jephcott, A.P. *Some Young People,* Allen and Unwin, 1954.
MacInnes, C. *Absolute Beginners,* Penguin, 1959.
Percival, A. *Youth will be Led,* Collins, 1951.

OTHER READING

Davies, B. 'Policies and Priorities in Youth and Community Work', in Booton, F. and Dearling, A. The 1980s and Beyond: *The Changing Scene in Youth and Community Work,* National Youth Bureau, 1980.

Department of Education and Science, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s: Proposals by the Youth Service Development Council,* HMSO, 1969 (Chapter II).

Jeffs, A. *Young People and the Youth Service,* Routledge, 1979 (Chapters 2 and 3).

Jeffs, A. and Smith, M. 'Youth Work, Welfare and the State'; and 'The Youth Service and the Threat to Welfare'; both in Jeffs, A. and Smith, M. *Welfare and Youth Work Practice,* MacMillan, 1988.

REVIEWS

REVIEWS IN THIS ISSUE

T. Jefferson
THE CASE AGAINST PARAMILITARY POLICING
Open University Press 1991
ISBN 0-335-09325-6
£10.99 (pbk) £27.50 (hbk)

Giovani Andrea Cornia
and
Sandor Sipos
CHILDREN AND THE TRANSITION TO THE MARKET ECONOMY
Avebury 1991
ISBN 1-85628-241-4
£29.50 (hbk)
pp251

Derek Gardiner
THE ANATOMY OF SUPERVISION: DEVELOPING LEARNING AND PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE FOR SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS
The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press 1989
ISBN 0-335-09573-9 (Hbk)
ISBN 0-335-09572-0 (Pbk)
£27.50 (Hbk) £12.95 (Pbk)
pp.161

Joyce Lishman (Ed)
HANDBOOK OF THEORY FOR PRACTICE TEACHERS IN SOCIAL WORK
Jessica Kingley 1991
ISBN 1-85302-098-2
£12.50 (Pbk)
pp.236

Martin Wright
JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS
Open University Press 1991
ISBN 0-335-09696-4
£10.99 (pbk)
pp159

Gellisse Bagnall
EDUCATING YOUNG DRINKERS
Routledge 1991
ISBN 1-415-017181
£35.00 (hbk)
pp176

Ilana Belle Glass (Ed)
THE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF ADDICTION BEHAVIOUR
Routledge 1991
ISBN 0-415-04127-9
£14.99 (pbk)
pp366

Bob O'Hagan (Ed)
THE CHARNWOOD PAPERS
Fallacies in Community Education
Education Now Books 1991
ISBN 1-871526-03-5
£5.95
pp122

Tilman Furness
THE MULTI-PROFESSIONAL HANDBOOK OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE - INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT, THERAPY AND LEGAL INTERVENTION.
Routledge 1991
ISBN 0-415-05563-6
£20.00 (pbk)
pp357

Giles Darvill
THE IMPACT OF CONTRACTS ON VOLUNTEERS
Publisher: The Volunteer Centre in association with Calouste Gulbenkian and NCVO, 1991
(Obtainable from The Volunteer Centre, 29 Lower King's Road, Berkhamsted, Herts HP4 2AB)
No price given
pp25

D. Chamberlain
DEVELOPING YOUTH ARTS POLICY: INTENTION TO REALITY
Youth Clubs UK - Keswick House, 30 Peacock Lane, Leicester.
LE1 5NY
ISBN 0-907095-65-8
£3.95 (Pbk)
pp61

T. Jefferson
THE CASE AGAINST PARAMILITARY POLICING
Open University Press
ISBN 0-335-09325-6
£10.99 (pbk) £27.50 (hbk)

This book addresses paramilitarism in the policing of public order. It charts and analyses development from the 1950s to the late 1980s in the UK, critically examines histories and theories of policing and provides an historically-based model of policing public order. Although primarily concerned with public order, the book is relevant to studies of policing in general. Indeed, the preface sets this study in its original context of an earlier study whose purpose was precisely to make links between apparently disparate policing activities.

The series editor's introduction succinctly sets the scene; the long association of policing with militaristic styles is stated, but there has somehow been a quantum shift towards authoritarianism since the 1960s. The hallowed doctrines of 'policing by consent' and 'citizen in uniform' and the concept of 'democratic accountability' are immediately constrasted to reality, whetting the appetite for the promised 'central analysis of diverse theoretical positions'.

Chapters 1 and 2 analyse post-war policing of public order. Chapter 1 begins by contrasting images of static, defensive policing of demonstrations in the 1960s with aggressive, snatch squad styles in the 1980s. It outlines debates and relates these to events. A picture of increasing paramilitaristic equipment, clothing and organisation is painted, culminating in the 1984/85 miners' strike - the historical watershed which normalised the paramilitaristic response. The chapter then briefly discusses centralisation and professionalism - two theories purporting to explain the growth in paramilitarism which rest on notions of restrained, consensual policing. The author argues these are 'idealistic blind alleys'.

Chapter 2 immediately counterposes the oft-written history of policing as an evolutionary process of gradual acceptance and therefore peaceful and consensual against a notion of consent being far from universal and contingent - ie dependent on the outcome at moments in history of

settlements being more or less stable. Whereas the evoluntionary approach can only explain the miners' strike as the exception proving the rule, the contingent approach analyses the balance of social forces prevalent at any one time and allows for both restrained and coercive policing. Cohen's history of policing in Islington is used to illustrate the policing outcome as the outcome of a settlement between the new 'respectable' working-class and the police against the 'roughs' loyal to contervailing values. The mythical nature of 'impartial' law enforcement and its contradictory relationship with upholding order is explained since there is no consensus of interest and values.

Using this framework, the author cogently sketches out a history of consent, dissent and repression in its economic context from the hegemonic 1950s through to the less hegemonic 1980s. All forms of dissent have become homogenised in the ideological battle into a single threat and depoliticised - the enduring process of 'moral panics and folk devils'. At the moment of Thatcherism, 'consent' includes fewer and fewer people as more are included within the threat, more forms of dissent are criminalised and more methods of containment are legalised.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide a sociological analysis of determinants of policing practice, carrying through the theme of examining contrasting theories. Chapter 3 first exposes the idealism of 'impartiality' and police 'independence'. In the real world, decision-making is necessarily a selection of priorities and therefore partial and political. It is influenced by three structures: law, democracy and work. Previous studies have identified various components of these acting as constraints on police practice being the product solely of law-making. Jefferson, however, reconceptualises these components and considers that the relationship between all possible influences needs to be examined in any particular instance. A diagram would have helped this reader to be less confused about which structure the various components come under.

The strength of the legal structure will determine the capacity for the democratic and work structures to influence practice: the more the law constrains behaviour, the less room for discretion and vice-versa. This is an unsurprising conclusion, but it is in the detail of case-study examination that the relative influence of the determinants of discretion is revealed. In the case of public order policing, the law and democracy structures are weak, with the work structure dominant. The latter is split into two dimensons: organisational and occupational.

Chapter 4 analyses the relationship between the two dimensions. 'Organisational' dimensions are examined through policymaking and supervision. Empirical examination of policymaking on public order in a force area shows that issues of police behaviour are not discussed. Indirect supervision (after the event) emphasises quantity of activity and checking of accounts for court, with no analysis of police behaviour in incidents. Direct, on-the-spot supervision gives way to the independence of the 'office of constable' once officers are ordered onto the offensive. At this point, the 'occupational' dimension of police culture takes over and is seen to be dominant at critical moments.

Chapter 5 focuses on 'effectiveness'. The 'idealised' theory that specialised paramilitarism is effective is contrasted with paramilitarism as an amplifier of disorder and violence. A tautologous logic is identified in one proponent's professionalism/expertise argument before a sequential model of 4 stages of policing incidents is constructed and applied to three case studies. This model successfully shows how the amplifying spiral works. The 'multiple protections' afforded by the other weak influences allow the dominance of occupational norms. Research from the USA and Australia shows how the amplification process is mirrored elsewhere. Spark's work in the USA, for example, draws out the contradictions between the conditions of policework and those of military work which paramilitarism seeks to emulate: hence an explanation for relative indiscipline.

Chapter 6 inspects the elements constitut -ing occupational norms: recruitment, training and informal socialisation. A masculinist ethos, the equation of quantity of arrests with activity, the pre-occupation of training with drill and techniques and its failure to tackle handling of incidents complement the policymaking and supervision processes. Thus, 'how to avoid trouble' is a question left unasked. Informal socialisation fills the vacuum and here comradeship, teamworking, unquest -ioning mutual back-up are learned, along with how to spot trouble in a crowd. The author uses comments from divisional officers to underline the differences between the two types of policing.

Chapter 7 provides a concise summary of the book and then sets out two possible scenarios. The amplifying spiral currently in motion is seen to be the most likely course, given the Left's failure to reconstruct and offer alternatives. The alternative details re-formulation of 'impartiality' and 'discretion' beyond idealistic conceptions, and different values underpinning changed criteria of success. Such reforms would need to be in tandem with reforms tackling social injustices to be effective.

The book handles its wide scope admirably and provides an historically grounded model of policing public order which ought to be read by all those concerned with criminal justice. Its analysis applies not only to the speciality of public order policing, but to other case studies and to general studies of policing.

Although those unfamiliar with theorising and/or research on policing may find initial difficulty with some of the concepts, the book is well-structured throughout, with chapter introductions and re-caps providing constant reminders of where it's been, where it's at and where it's going. Diagrams and tables might usefully have supplemented this guidance and sum -marised the models and contrasting theories.

The book has relevance far beyond academic study. Its theories are empirically based, and therefore, an analysis of reality. Its important insights into the nature of discretion are useful in contextualising campaigns which focus solely on legal safeguards: indeed, the book contains a more realistic conception of the legal structure as a whole than one which looks narrowly at law-making. Again, the police-accountability debate benefits from a conception of democracy which takes account of the relative power of various sections of the public.

The book may be used in parts for its succinct history (Chapers 1 and 2), its macro-sociological modelling (Chapters 3 and 4), its study of deviancy amplification (Chapter 5) and its micro-sociological examination of police culture (Chapter 6). However, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts and the thesis requires a holistic reading to understand the relationships between the phenomena. Some readers, for example, may be tempted to skip the contextualisation in Chapter 2, but in doing so they will miss important points in understanding how to interpret changes in policing public order.

In one respect this present study would benefit from being co-joined with the author's earlier work and the original research project. Although 'idealised' theories are elucidated sufficiently to show that they do not stand up to empirical examination, I would have liked to have seen broader coverage of those theories. On effectiveness, for example, the author examines only the tautology of Waddington, leaving the reader to rely rather heavily on previous knowledge of literature. At various other parts in the book Waddington is referred to without a citation: readers need to study the preface to understand the significance of Waddington's work to the present study.

I would also have liked to have seen more

made of the role of ideology in police culture. The author in using Cohen shows the origins of this and an analysis of the role of this in, say, 'spotting trouble in a crowd' would have been useful.

But these are trifling criticisms. The book is cogently-argued and will provide inspiration to anyone dealing with policing: it will help to locate the rhetorical defensiveness of the police encountered by those who tackle problems in policing. It provides a coherent explanation of policing public order and a pattern to what can often seem to be chaotic events. Academics will find the book's grounded theory an invaluable contribution to sociology and criminology. Practitioners working with young people will find explanations for the nature of policing and a context for their work.

I was present at a Conference earlier this year at which the author spoke to an audience which included serving police officer students. Their reaction was one of predictable, if polite, derision. One criticism often made of researchers by the police is that they do not understand the job and don't take into account the pressures involved. This book does both of those things - it is firmly grounded in reality.

One question the study suggests is the extent to which the problems and solutions identified are unique to the policing of public order and the extent to which they are symptomatic of broader problems in policing. The suggested re-linking of this present work to the original might address this question.

Elaine Conway

Giovani Andrea Cornia
and
Sandor Sipos
CHILDREN AND THE TRANSITION TO THE MARKET ECONOMY
Avebury 1991
ISBN 1-85628-241-4
£29.50 (hbk)
pp251

There is nothing more difficult than writing about transition when everything is in a state of transition. This is the task which faces all authors writing about the current fluid situation that is, or was, East Europe. To begin to come to terms with the effects of change, it is probably a good idea to be well versed in the old ways, otherwise the point of the exercise may be lost on the newcomer. What is stunning about the way East Europe is developing is that only the uncertainty principle applies.

This study by UNICEF is good in parts to the general reader, but is more often a non-stop gallop through material for the researcher and statistician. The difficulty for both is that the book does not really concentrate on children (young people), but covers a welter of information which pieces together the bare skeleton of change, stripped of the political glossing, which we get from media accounts.

Children and the Transition opens up with some definitions of terms and abbreviations so we know we are dealing with a document rather unsure of its readership.

Part one on Social Policy and Child Welfare is a solid read which sticks to the subject and hits the spot; the abandonment of socialist ideals does not necessarily imply a solution to the outstanding problems of the East. The Pinch-of-Salt theory still rules when we read early on that 'Poverty statistics are in their infancy in most central and eastern European countries'. This obviously leads to a shrug of the intellectual shoulders, since we move fairly quickly to a barrage of, yes, poverty statistics.

We learn that the urban poor have overtaken the rural poor. But are the rural poor no longer poor? The vastness of it all soon overwhelms the reader, '6.7 infants per 10,000 died of infectious diseases in Estonia in 1986, 174 were victims of the same cause in Tadjikistan'. Hands up all those nodding wisely at the lack of child care facilities in Tadjikistan. Have you ever been to Missouri? No unintentional political point intended. The Soviet Union is a big and complex place.

Children get ill; parents are ill-educated; so it goes. The scale is hard to comprehend and when the horror of Chernobyl is tossed in, there is a sense of loss and mess which we knew was there and now can be disclosed.

People do not eat well. Nutritional deficiencies abound. But when the market takes over and prices rise, the consumption of milk goes down. Who remembers the great milk controversy in the UK of the 70s (not about semi-skimmed)?

A wide range of social factors are laid before us, and there is the occasional gem, There is little factual information about Romania....

The saddest thing the researchers point out is how badly equipped the many many young pople are who come out of institutions having to survive in this turbulent new society. So we have the anticipated situation where the number of children released into the community grow more at risk and related poverty rises.

There is a scant and inconclusive couple of paragraphs on the change in youth services and the impact of youth unemployment. It is good to get the range of figures under one roof.

The second chapter of the book tails off into an ambitiously over-reaching analysis of the various welfare-state models with which the East Europeans could wake up and strive to properly resource for the rest of their natural lives. In effect, this second chapter is a distraction, offering little on the key theme of the effects on children, and, although providing landmarks, drifts away on a raft of data far from the stated emphasis on 'transition'.

Taking the same viewof the third chapter, an overview of social security systems, it is helpful, but is it useful in the context of this book, which really must be of interest to social scientists? Such an audience should have sufficient background to come at the text on Central and Eastern Europe critically.

Chapter Four steers us back to the effects of economic reforms, starting with a rather euphoric tone, and ending in a more questioning voice. There is reference back to the same material as chapter one, with some small contradictions. There is also the occasional oddity: Between 1990 and 1991... When was that exactly?

Speculative is the easiest way to describe the analysis. There are and will be considerable social costs to the stabilisation of the turbulent condition of the socialist economies. The welfare of children is at stake here. Cornia spells it out, in case, by page 114, you were missing the point, 'Children, particularly those from large, single-parent or crisis famililies, from ethnic minorities or areas particularly affected by economic restructuring, as well as youth in search of first employment, are among those most affected.'

Some of the fears are addressed, but the spectre of unemployment, in a society which had abolished the concept, lingers throughout the analysis. The policies are new and their effectiveness will take years of careful monitoring. In a positive stance, Cornia advocates regular collection and scrutiny of data on the social situation, submitted to government and (more significantly) to the public at large. As the economy crumbles what is a fair price-tag to be for social assistance expenditure.

Part Two of the book takes four case studies on the reform of social policy for children in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. This is generally easier to read and to hold on to, as the data flies about.

Bulgaria, in reality, feels incomplete. The nature of the change is incomplete. The analysis of Czechoslovakia is rather faceless, but attention is drawn dramatically to the rise in defence expenditure, in contrast to the static budget for social assistance. Reasons are not detailed.

Hungary has had more than twenty years of economic reform and therefore makes analysis more comprehensible and somehow more substantial, in what is an increasingly bumpy ride for those in power. Poland is more complex to penetrate in a short example. There seems to be a significant weakness in the analysis in not examining the impact of religious faith in continuously underpinning the social system throughout Poland's recent history.

In the main themes, the impact of homelessness needs further analysis. Young people, even when married, tended to live with their parents. That claustrophobic atmosphere was contained in a tight system. Now released, there are many problems which face the young and their children. The outcome could be explosive.

Overall this book is for the -ologist. The statistics rather prevent the narrative flow. Even so, we are warned that they might not be accurate, and it is that sense of uncertainty which puts the nature of this 'transition' firmly in a living historical context.

Gordon Blakely

Derek Gardiner
THE ANATOMY OF SUPERVISION: DEVELOPING LEARNING AND PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE FOR SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS
The Society for Research into Higher Education & Open University Press 1989
ISBN 0-335-09573-9 (Hbk)
ISBN 0-335-09572-0 (Pbk)
£27.50 (Hbk) £12.95 (Pbk)
pp.161

Joyce Lishman (Ed)
HANDBOOK OF THEORY FOR PRACTICE TEACHERS IN SOCIAL WORK
Jessica Kingsley 1991
ISBN 1-85302-098-2
£12.50 (Pbk)
pp.236

Supervision of students on placement, or practice teaching as it is sometimes called, is increasingly becoming recognised as important - by the various actors involved in it and for a number of reasons. Professional and vocational education and training programmes, in youth work, community work and social work for example, have long recognised the centrality of learning through practice. What perhaps have gone unrecognised are the educational processes involved in enabling students to learn on placement. To some extent, taken-for-granted assumptions about the value of practice placements have prevented us from asking questions such as: How do students learn through practice? What are the functions of supervision? What models and methods of supervision are the most effective, for which students? Is theory applied to practice or is the educational process in practice more concerned with theorising through practice?

At a time when practice, experienced-based learning and work-based training are becoming significant throughout further and higher education, it is fundamental that we address these sorts of questions. It is vital that, as practice assumes pride of place in education and training programmes, supervisors, or practice teachers, develop their role as educationalists. I use the term 'education' in the sense of the concern it should have with ideas, opening up cherished assump -tions for scrutiny, debate and possible change, reflecting on our place in society and on ways in which our views are shaped through social structures and processes in a society divided by class, race, age, gender, sexuality. There is a tendency for practitioners in youth work, community work and social work to reject education, particularly in the Polytechnics and Universities. Because it is elitist, but also some say, because it is removed from practice. Practice is thought of as more relevant than theory. But practice without theory is in danger of being only an expression of dominant ideas and views. Practice can be rule-bound, routinely processed, narrowly conceived, bureaucratically controlled. Practice is not, by definition, a good thing.

These are the sentiments with which I approached the reading of these two books on supervision and practice teaching.

Derek Gardiner's Anatomy of Supervision is an account of research undertaken into the experience of supervision of social work qualifying students on placement. This research was carried out in a range of ways. First, Gardiner reflects on his own supervision experience, as a student and as a supervisor. This is an interesting example of using your own life experience as a source of data for research: a method relevant to supervisors in encouraging students to reflect on their own practice. Second, a structured account of supervision was sought from thirty-nine supervisors, contacted through a national conference for supervisors. This provided data on teaching and learning styles, the links between them, and their impact in supervision. Third, a detailed case study of one supervisory relationship over a sixteen-week placment on a two year non-graduate CQSW course was made. Supervision sessions were taped and the student and supervisor interviewed, separately and together. Fourth, a national sample was drawn of fifteen supervision pairs (supervisors and students). In-depth interviews were undertaken with students and supervisors, again separately and together, focusing on the teaching and learning in the placment, both the processes and content of teaching and learning. Also, a learning styles exercise was completed by the supervisor and student separately.

Gardiner also presents valuable literature searches into the evaluation of education and into research on adult learning. As a result, the study is an informed account of the process of supervision. It makes visible what is often private and hidden, and questions assumptions about the ways in which adults learn.

The study reveals interesting findings. First, Gardiner found that supervision in social work is firmly rooted in the classical tradition both of social work (casework) and education (formal instruction). He uses the term 'concept leakage' to analyse the way in which thinking from therapy infiltrates into thinking about supervision, resulting in supervisors caseworking their students. This finding is revealing although the process of leakage could well have been explained more. After all, to use concepts developed in one area to understand another can be informative. Leakage, though, denotes a process that is implicit, unknowing. The unpacking of this would have led to an interesting account of the lack of reflection on implicit theorising that takes place in social work - and in youth work and community work.

Second, three different levels of interaction of styles of teaching and learning were identified. The first concerned surface-reproductive learning, focusing on content and producing the right answers. The second concerned a deep-constructive learning, focusing on the negotiation of meaning rhrough the process of learning. The third was 'characterised by meta-learning - reflection on various approaches to learning, and choosing from a repertoire of approaches to meet the requirements of a task, so that learning to learn enhanced the process of the transfer of learning' (page 150). Problems occurred in the supervisory relationship when there was a mismatch of levels between supervisor and student: usually this meant the supervisor teaching at level one with the student wanting to learn at other levels.

This is a useful study of supervision, but there is room for much more. One dimension of the supervisory relationships that I would have been interested to learn about is that of power. Gardiner does provide data on whether supervisors and students were male or female, but did not analyse the gender relations in supervision. Neither did he take account of sexuality and the pervasiveness of heterosexism. Neither, unfortunately, was he able to take account of the experiences of black students and black supervisors. His sample was not drawn in such a way as to ensure their presence. Supervision is private. Thanks to feminist scholarship, we do know something about the interaction of structural and interpersonal power in the private sphere. Power in supervision must also be made public and open to scrutiny and change.

The research is rigorous and employs a variety of structured and unstructured methods of producing a wealth of mainly qualitative data. But, as is often the case for studies that start out as PhDs, the Anatomy of Supervision would have benefitted from more attention to style and readability. A more punchy and focused account would make supervision appear more lively and interesting - which indeed it is. Nevertheless, despite reservations, I recommend the Anatomy of Supervision, both for those wanting to reflect critically on their work as supervisors of students on placement and those interested in contributing to much needed research work on making supervision visible.

The Handbook of Theory for Practice Teachers in Social Work, edited by Joyce Lishman, is quite a different publication. I expected a text on theory for practice teaching: perhaps a text on theories of teaching and learning through practice, or one on ways of handling theory in practice teaching such as theorising through practice. The Handbook is neither of these. I was both disappointed and rather alarmed.

The Handbook is a collection of potted versions of key social work theoretical perspectives in an accessible form for practice teachers. It was commissioned by the North of Scotland Consortium for Education and Training in Social Work with the new Diploma of Social Work in mind. As such, it is for practice teachers who, within college/agency partnership arrangements, have major responsibilities for the educational programme: curriculum design, syllabus planning, assessment of student performance, course evaluation. It is, of course, absolutely appropriate that practice teachers share these responsibilities with college lecturers. But questions must be raised about standards if a Diploma in Social Work consortium believes that those who are practice teachers require introductory and summary texts such as the Handbook. I am not, by the way, wishing to imply that there is nothing to be questioned about the standards of college teaching. But that is for another day! I am quite aware that this text will be as much used by college lecturers as by practice teachers, and by students. Some of the contributions are useful as summaries of key theoretical perspectives.

The first part of the Handbook covers models of understanding human develop -ment. Jane Aldgate, on 'Attachment Theory and Its Application to Child Care Social Work - An Introduction' provides a good guide to the literature and usefully deconstructs the social work common sense notion of 'attachment' (ie maternal bonding), thus opening up a variety of models of living. Judith Brearley presents well the developmental and dynamic processes of theory building in her chapter 'A Psychodynamic Approach to Social Work'. She advises against the 'Founding Fathers' approach and the use of outdated theory and concepts, a common feature in social work education. A summary of consensus and conflict approaches to social structure is provided by Ann Davis, drawing on functionalist, marxist and feminist theories. Pauline Hardiker and Mary Barker develop carefully a social theory for social work, providing detailed examples of teaching material.

In the second part, concerned with models of social work intervention, we find the only chapter in the Handbook that is written particularly with the practice teacher in mind, that by Michael Jacobs on 'Psychodynamic Counselling'. It is vauable in its approach to theorising the counselling relationship in practice rather than only presenting a summary of a theoretical perspective as, for example, Barbara Hudson does on 'Behavioural Social Work'. I would have thought that this chapter and the one following by Kieran O'Hagan on 'Crisis Intervention in Social Work' are more appropriate for first year Diploma or CQSW students than for practice teachers. A useful guide to the literature and summary of research on 'Task-Centred Practice' is provided by Peter Marsh.

The Handbook seriously lacks a framework and guiding principles. There appears to be no rationale for selecting some theories of human development and models of intervention and not others. It is only in the chapter by Davis 'A Structural Approach to Social Work' that any serious attention is given to feminist theory. And yet feminism has so much to offer social work. Its approach to the individual as well as to the structural, recognising the false dichotomising of these, provides for a wealth of understanding. The Handbook misses out on an opportunity to explore such theorising. Why put feminism only into the chapter on structural approaches? It reminds me of the 60s when we equated political change only with community work and 'hard' issues such as housing. All chapters would have benefitted from feminist approaches to theory, particularly bearing in mind the CCETSW anti-discriminatory policy context. Indeed, at the end of her chapter, Judith Brearley makes a plea for theory to address inner and outer realities. Perhaps theoretical perspectives provided through feminism, hermeneutics, discourse theory could provide such opportunities.

Barbara Hudson makes the point that 'learning theories are not compatible with competing psychological theories'. Quite, but the Handbook, if it is to be more than an introductory social work theory text (and there are quite a few of them available now) should have addressed this important point overall. How do we judge between competing understandings? How do we evaluate theoretical perspectives? It is important to be able to reflect upon how key perspectives, ideas, thoughts, theories, the knowledge base of social work, come to be and maintain an influence in policy and practice in social work.

Ann Davis opens her chapter on 'A Structural Approach to Social Work' with an extract from CCETSW's Requirements and Regulations for the Diploma in Social Work: the requirement that qualified social workers develop an awareness and understand processes of oppression, stigma and discrimination and are able to engage in non-discriminatory and anti-oppressive policy development and practice. Given this, how can practice teaching ensure that students on placement theorise effectively in their practice? This surely should have been a guiding principle for all the contributions to the Handbook.

On the contrary, many of the contributors make no acknowledgement at all of this requirement. Gerard Rochford, for example, makes no gender, race or class analysis in 'Theory, Concepts, Feeling and Practice: The Contemplation of Bereavement Within a Social Work Course'. Likewise, Alastair Gibson provides an account of 'Erikson's Life Cycle Approach to Development' with no reference to gender, race or class and with only fleeting reference to theories of homosexuality. Erikson demands a greater critique than this. That a summary of 'Community Social Work' in a Theory Handbook contains no race or class analysis is quite extraordinary, perhaps signifying the state of community work in the statutory social services.

There is always the risk in vocational

education and training programmes that theory is used only descriptively (describing how something appears to be) or prescriptively (prescribing how it should be). 'Community Social Work' is merely described for us from one person's perspective. On the other hand, cognitive-behaviour therapies are prescribed for us - or rather for us to use with other people in vulnerable circumstances. There are dangers in social workers taking off the shelf, and putting into practice, therapies such as 'stress innoculation therapy' without detailed understandings of them and the contexts for their use.

Theorising in social work, and in youth work, must be concerned with generating understandings of all participants in practice in order to maximise human wellbeing, equality and social justice. Practice teachers, or supervisors, need to develop ways in which to engage with students in theorising through practice and in evaluating theories. This Handbook does not provide very much help in these fundamental tasks.

Angela Everitt

Martin Wright
JUSTICE FOR VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS
Open University Press 1991
ISBN 0-335-09696-4
£10.99 (pbk)
pp159

An entire restructuring of England's criminal justice system based on restorative rather than punitive principles is proposed by Martin Wright in this comprehensive test on victims and offenders. He traces the history of restorative justice in the UK from the middle ages, surveys recent developments in the US and Europe, and develops with admirable thoroughness a classification of the myriad different types of victim/offender reconciliation programmes. This book covers a broad spectrum of initiatives, from local independent community mediation schemes to high-tariff reparative pro grammes operating entirely within the criminal justice system.

This is a textbook rather than a polemic, referenced to the hilt, exploring and measuring every point of view in a balanced and rational way. It therefore comes as something of a surprise when Wright, in the final chapter, presents his revolutionary vision of a criminal justice system based entirely on reparation and mediation, running in tandem with a network of independent neighbourhood disputes centres. This separation of functions is Wright's method of avoiding the dangers of 'net widening', or bringing new cohorts of people into the purview of the criminal justice system.

Wright sets out his vision in some detail, proposing two new government departments to oversee the new system, and countering anticipated professional and political crititicisms with the same thoroughness he uses elsewhere in the book. One is left however at the end with a sense of disbelief that such fandamental changes can be wrought gradually and rationally in the emotive vortex of UK criminal justice policy. A measure of the distance we need to travel before Wright's vision can be realised is found in one judge's response to his questionnaire: 'Sounds like a socialist made up this question. Just don't steal from the rich then'.

In his historical analysis of crime and punishment, Wright details a gradual loss of focus on victims and on 'making good the wrong' over the centuries, as the State has taken over responsibility for enforcing the law from local disputants. The State has in effect 'stolen' the conflict from the disputants, and the primary focus has become punishment and deterrence rather than reparation and reconciliation.

This trend has only been challenged in recent decades with a resurgence of concern for victims and schemes involving reparation and conflict resolution. Wright argues that the principles of restorative justice can satisfy public and professional concerns about offenders that are currently expressed in terms of punishment and retribution.

Wright works hard to convince the reader that restorative justice is in everyone's interest. He carefully analyses the differing motives of victims, offenders, reparation scheme promotors and justice system officials, and acknowledges that the latter are more powerful than the former, and can distort the objectives and operation of any programme. Victims, for example, do not always see the advantages of recon ciliation, as both the women's movement and Victim Support have pointed out, yet may be pressurised to take part for the sake of the offender or to reduce pressure on the courts.

Similarly, within community mediation schemes, Wright points out that there can be a significant power differential between disputants, and some will be less articulate than others. In these situations, informal mediation may not always be the best answer, and the weaker disputant may need the protection of a legal resolution.

None the less, Wright points to the practical experience of schemes which have tackled these dilemmas and have come up with acceptable formulae for protecting the rights of weaker parties and victims, the majority of whom retrospectively vote the experience worthwhile.

At times I am uneasy about Wright's inclusion of such a broad variety of schemes within his classification. While restorative justice and reconciliation are the linking threads between all the different kinds of initiative portrayed in this book, it is unlikely that volunteers working in a neighbourhood disputes centre would feel part of the same movement as professionals attached to the court or probation service who are organising reparative sanctions for offenders. The difference in scale, focus and values is substantial, and they would not necessarily identify with each other. Both are undoubtedly worthwhile, but the voluntary community initiatives may need a different champion.

Wright recognises that the police and criminal justice system only deal with a limited proportion of known crime - according to the recent Home Office publication 'Safer Communities', only 7% of crime is actually cleared up. Wright argues for an enhanced form of crime prevention to fulfil the deterrence/ enforcement functions of the present system, and positive inducements to create safe communities in preference to traditional negative forms of deterrence. This is consistent with recent trends in the crime prevention and community safety fields.

A major attraction of Wright's vision of a network of neighbourhood disputes centres is that much crime in fact goes unreported and unrecognised by officialdom - although the consequences of the 'dark figure' of crime are felt every day in the communities where it occurs. While reported crime continues to rise dramatically and police detection rates fall, a mechanism is urgently required to cope with the petty crimes and nuisance that do so much to diminish the quality of life, particularly in deprived and inner city areas. Yet the general public still needs to be convinced that the answer to crime is not a police officer on every street corner, even though this would mean force establishments many times what they are today. While community mediation schemes offer a real prospect of defusing and dealing with much petty crime in deprived areas, they will not take much of the burden off the existing criminal justice system, and are unlikely therefore to attract significant resources from that quarter.

One has to admire Wright's dedication and commitment to the cause of restorative justice, and the soundness of his ethical and professional arguments. This book provides a good overview of the history and principles of restorative justice, together with a useful analysis and classification of the main schemes in operation in recent years.

Kevin Gill

Gellisse Bagnall
EDUCATING YOUNG DRINKERS
Routledge 1991
ISBN 1-415-017181
£35.00 (hbk)
pp176

Most people are familiar with the classic communication failure story from the Second World War. Troops in an advance position, eyeball to eyeball with the enemy have their urgent message

> *Send reinforcements we're going to advance!*

Transcribed, via a sleepy radio-operator and crackly reception as:

> *Send Three and Fourpence, we're going to dance.*

This farcical situation is so common in today's educational scene that nobody bothers to laugh. Certainly, GHQ so mistrusts and despises LEAs and schools that they would have the voting populace believe that teachers would send for pocket money for light entertainment, rather than advance on the enemy of ignorance and sloth. The message from the working world of professional educationalists are not heeded, because appropriate responses are costly and require imagination, creativity and commitment to education. It is not easy to distinguish between John Major's philosphy for education, and that of a window-cleaner speaking at the Tory Conference (October, 1991).

Major, in his first speech as leader, whispered:

> *I will fight for my belief, and my belief is a return to basics in education. The progressive theorists have had their say!*

Our window-cleaner drew ecstatic, prolonged applause with his pane-full assertion that his old school had been wonderful in enforcing: 'Firm discipline, good uniform, regular homework and SHORT HAIR-CUTS!' (he didn't actually say which SS unit he had belonged to).

Neither contribution to the education debate helps very much in clarifying our understanding of how best, with limited time and resources, we can help youngsters grow up safely and confidently in a fearsome, terrifying world and realise their personal, social and intellectual potential as sensitive and caring adults. The scholarship, subtlety, integrity and wit of workers such as Gellisse Bagnall goes a long way to redressing the balance between the crassly political slogans of the Right and the needs of the people.

If research is required to reject the Null hypothesis that people with short hair, wearing uniform and doing homework catch Aids, I would rather our intrepid Secretary of State for Education and Science listened to Gellisse Bagnall than Mr Chamois Leather.

'Educating Young Drinkers' shows how important it is to bring relevance and understanding to the secondary school curriculum. It acknowledges the dilemma of working at contemporary problems and issues with yesterday's curriculum model. Drink, beggary, child prostitution and 'contagious diseases' didn't seem to sully Mrs Thatcher's retrospective glorification of Victorian values and Kenneth Clarke looks as blindly forward as Mrs Thatcher looked backwards. Reactionary, old fashioned specific subject approaches, labelled Core, Extended-Core and Foundation **do not leave space or energy or time for other issues**. However exciting or imaginative Cross-Curricular themes may appear, in theory and in practice, teachers involved in these areas await the 'left-overs' of the curricular carcass when the mighty lion pride of traditional departments and faculties have picked the skeleton almost clean - to the last tendon, ligament and eyeball. Ten years ago, Pring coined the phrase 'curriculum on the hoof' to describe the enterprise needed to be flexible, adaptable and responsible to hostile situations. Never in the field of PSE has so much been expected of so few with so little, by so many:

> *How could I tell them not to get Aids - become junkies or alcoholics or rioters - I was too busy disciplining them over uniform, short hair, homework and miscellaneous other 'basics'?.*

In Chapter One 'Is Alcohol Education Needed?', there is a brilliant, clearly articulated review of Health Education as a whole. The literature evoked to explain the later methodology will provide the practitioner with an immediate entree to the most relevant thinking upon which to build a philosophy. The de Haes epidemological triangle of self, context and substance leads on to the rejection of top down active - dominant - experts **telling** passive, dependent clients how to live. Instead, a partnership is proposed in which people can help each other grow with enhanced self-esteem and develop self-determination. The desirability of increased awareness is argued, but this must be accompanied by the development of contextual skills to deal with pressures which will eventually contribute to an overall understanding. This approach is fundamental to all education, not only that dealing within PSE with addictive behaviour modification.

Chapter Two deals with the research work and details of the standard Social Science experimental procedure - selection of survey areas - selection of sample populations and discusssion of the intervention controls and pre- and post-intervention measures. 'The Base-Line Survey' in Chapter Three looks at the involvement of youngsters aged 12-13 in Dyfed, Berkshire and the Highland region of Scotland, and the actual research begins to look a little shaky, and in no way as convincing as the general work of the earlier chapters. There is an apologetic note that the study group used was not selected by a technique which would produce a sample which was statistically representative of the total population of 12-13 year olds in Britain. There is also the strange conclusion from the finding that the majority of 12-13 year olds drink alcohol neither frequently or excessively and that alcohol use amongst young people is more serious than that of illicit drugs! The actual teaching package is discussed briefly in Chapter Four. It seems to fit the currently acceptable notion of being cheap, easy to use and relatively boring unless in the hands of a good, well-trained, highly motivated teacher (SIC). It seems a long time since the defunct Schools Council abandoned the idea of packaging ready-made solutions to individualised curricular problems. The bespoke suit has been shown to be far more appropriate than the Top Man, ready made. The Fifth Chapter, 'Comments from the Classroom' echoed standard views of staff - the Hawthorne Effect seemed rampant:

> *I generally found the groups worked well. I didn't find the prescriptive approach of the Teachers Manual unacceptable or frustrating. This was probably because of the novelty of the topic for our children. If they had regarded it as the 'same old stuff', more innovative teaching approaches might have been required to add interest.*

Others were more critical:

> *Any final production of the package would no doubt have a professional layout and colour. The pupils in the main found the lack of colour and the layout uninspiring.*

Chapter Six asks 'was the Alcohol Education Effective' and concludes that the package, unlike some others, had a positive effect in that it promoted knowledge, skills and understanding about alcohol, and **seemed** to have some influence in modifying behaviour over the long/medium term. In the final chapter 'Conclusion and Implications', there is a very broad, international survey highlight -ing the poverty and shallowness of UK thinking and action on general Health Education. Scotland, alone in the UK is

attempting to recognise Health Studies within the Scottish Examinations Board Certificate of Education. In England, generic attempts to educate for an understanding of behaviours which fascinate and appeal to adolescents **cannot be found an adequate platform** within the National Curriculum. Until we acknowledge that HIV, alcohol and illicit drugs are likely to affect us all in a destructive way, effective, sensitive ways of presenting them, in our curriculum, will not be possible.

Gellisse Bagnall has written with honesty and genuine enthusiasm. Her innocence and educational naivety are more than compensated for by her vitality and optimism. Who cares whether 'attribution of casuality' should be 'attribution of causality' (p.5) , or that 'second year of secondary education' seems quaint. The statistical presentation seems to fall between two stools; too complex for the non-mathematical and not rigorous enough for the aficionado. Strictly speaking, the technical aspects of the research itself were not of the highest standards. Not until p.87 does it emerge that some of the data has been 'contaminated' i.e. one of the control schools **not** receiving the benefits of the alcohol education package scored highly . It appears that this school had already taken part in a similar though different programme! It also seems a bit alarming, that out of 1800 original pupils, only 500 replies were received about pupil perceptions of the programme. The author accepts that this 'introduces a potential bias into the data that was received'! (p.78).

A more serious concern is the nature of the 'follow up questionnaire' in Appendix 1a. The English version is only slightly less perturbing that the very impressive Welsh version - Appendix 1b! The probing, personal, intrusive questions about family life and drink would not be welcome in most schools with which I am familiar. In the post Cleveland era, schools asking pupils if parents tempt them with drink seems a wee bit controversial. The phrasing of questions is clumsy and in some cases uses pre-historic, fossilized slang:

'So my friends won't think me scared or **yellow**'. In the same vein, how many twelve year old boys would agree to drinking alcohol - 'to help them talk to members of the opposite sex'? The end of the questionnaire offers a very patronizing tit-bit for good behaviour - a sad little contrived 'word search' containing 'spirits', 'jug' and even 'cherry'.

Gellisse Bagnall set out to conduct a systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of one approach to educating young people about alcohol, **and** provide schools with an inexpensive, user-friendly package requiring minimal time for preparation and administration. In fact, 'Educating Young Drinkers' is a much more important book than either two aims would indicate. It does not provide a hungry profession with a fish, but shows HOW TO FISH. Perhaps John Major has been done a profound injustice - perhaps when he calls for a return to 'basics', what he means is the same as Gellisse Bagnall i.e. the promotion of specific learning by generic methods to promote knowledge, skills and understanding which enhance and generate self-esteem and the capacity for self-determination and articulate self-expression. 'Educating Young Drinkers' is a fine example of a book, **not an instruc -tion manual**, it does not inform alone - it stimulates creative thought and action, thoroughly deserving a place in the Health Reference Section of every School's **inset library.**

Bryan Langley

Ilana Belle Glass (Ed)
THE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK OF ADDICTION BEHAVIOUR
Routledge 1991
ISBN 0-415-04127-9
£14.99 (pbk)
pp366

The International Handbook of Addiction Behaviour aims to address the needs of those training to work with problem drug users (a definition which is discussed early in the text with the reader being reminded that drug problems must be seen in the context of the interaction between the drug user, the drug and the social environment) particularly those on the Diploma in Addiction Behaviour course, run by the Institute of Psychiatry, University of London. The main thrust of the book is to tackle clinical issues of diagnosis and management, with sections covering scientific approaches to addiction, clinical syndromes, health risks and the addictions, screening and detection, therapeutic skills, services, prevention and policy, and training. The international perspective of the handbook derives from contributors who work in the UK, USA, Canada, Switzerland, and Australia. However, the bulk of the contributors are from the UK, reflecting the book's genesis. A surprising omission is the Netherlands whose policy and practice across the range of illegal drug use has been the focus of considerable comment in recent years. The contributors represent the multi-disciplinary nature of working with problem drug users.

As the aim of the book is primarily to address the needs of students undertaking training in the field of addiction behaviour there is limited scope to deal with the many and various topics in any great depth. The book will therefore work best as a general introduction to the field and, hopefully, students will want to progress beyond its limitations in terms of depth.

The field of addiction draws on many disciplines both for the purposes of diagnosis, treatment and management, and in order to inform debate. Thus to understand the nature of problem drug use it is essential to integrate the contributions of pharmacology, psych-ology, psychiatry, sociology, economics and social policy, amongst others. Naturally it is essential to adopt a scientific approach to understanding the pheno-menon of problem drug use, which entails caution when basing understanding of causality on self-reports. As a basis for treatment and management personal histories are required to inform as to the reasons for drug use. Such histories can only be meaningfully interpreted within a scientific framework which teases out the difference between association and causality. The section on scientific aproaches to addiction covers some of these contributing specialisations in a brief accessible manner.

Clinical syndromes identified with various drugs including alcohol, opiates, cannabis, central nervous system stimulants (cocaine and amphetamines), reflecting, tobacco, volatile inhalants, and pathological gambling are discussed. In some of these cases the controversies surrounding the validity of syndrome diagnosis will whet the appetite of the reader to go beyond the brief descriptions provided in order to gain deeper understanding.

A major concern of anyone working in the addiction field is the harm associated with the use of different drugs, and the section on this aspect introduces alcohol and tobacco-related harm, as well as some of the major complications arising out of drug use such as AIDS. Of particular interest to newcomers to the field will be the chapter on AIDS and drug use, because of the increasing prevalence of harm-reduction programmes. The problems of assessing the effectiveness of these programmes would have merited some in-depth discussion as could the incompat-ibility of data drawn from different sources. This is one area in particular which would have benefitted from more extensive discussion of the relationship between social policy and the harm attributable to different drugs. For example, cost-effectiveness and cost-benefit analyses of different treatment regimes and social policies will, or should, be of interest to addiction workers. However, there would

doubtless have been many issues that vied for inclusion in the book and the editor would have had many difficult decisions to make in this respect.

A similar reservation concerns the section on prevention and policy, where the noticeable omission is drug education, its role and effectiveness. The different types of drug education are remarkable mainly for their ineffectiveness. It is inappropriate to see drug education as something outwith the realm of diagnosis and treatment, given that high profile fear-arousal campaigns recur frequently. Despite evidence and advice to the contrary fear-arousal is still preferred in some quarters: a type of drug education which tends to confirm the wider (ie non-using) community in its attitudes and perpetuate negative stereotypes of drug users. As there is a need to provide services which are perceived as accessible and user-friendly such campaigns run counter to the need to attract problem drug users into contact with helping agencies.

The above point notwithstanding, the sections on services and prevention and policy present a number of important issues including: the role of different agencies, workplace interventions, links between drugs (including alcohol) and crime, national policy on alcohol, and developing responses to the harmful consequences of the tobacco industry. However, the role of monitoring and evaluation in service provision is a topic that deserved greater prominence.

Certain issues are not properly addressed. For example, the context in which problem drug users present for assessment and treatment can easily influence the sort of explanations given for use. If the presenting drug user perceives a need to explain their habit in terms of low personal blameworthiness the tendency will be to explain in terms of causes beyond personal control. The concept of addiction with its inherent assumption of being driven to do something by forces outwith personal control provides such a framework to downplay culpability.

The inclusion of gambling as an example of non-substance-based addiction presented a missed opportunity to go into the pharmacology of purposive behaviour and the implications of compulsive behaviour in the absence of a substance.

The book brings together many different strands in the addictions, some of which are already to be found in various other texts. Nonetheless, the book provides a fairly comprehensive tour around existing theory and practice in diagnosis, manage -ment and treatment.

Niall Coggins

Bob O'Hagan (Ed)
THE CHARNWOOD PAPERS
Fallacies in Community Education
Education Now Books 1991
ISBN 1-871526-03-5
£5.95
pp122

I'm a simple soul and it took me some time to work out what was the thesis of this book. 'Fallacies' suggests that the book might be hostile to community education. And the topics examined (all dear to this reviewer's heart) looked like getting a rough ride. But no, beneath all the double negatives we find, in general, an optimistic and generally supportive work; one that seeks to cut away the undergrowth of lost causes and reveal some strong new shoots beneath.

The book is based on talks given at a series of seminars at community colleges in the Charnwood area of Leicestershire in 1989. There is a timely lesson in the way they came about. In the expectation of funding from the county community education training budget Bob O'Hagan invited some of the country's best practitioners to do a session each. County funds were refused but then the councils of the various community colleges where the talks were being held all agreed to devote some of their own (non-county) community funds to the project. As in so much of community education, enthusiasm wins through; pragmatism rules. And this is no fallacy.

Colin Fletcher kicks off with an introductory chapter called: Fallacy : A Policy is Everything or Nothing. (Work that one out). Colin, like Bob O'Hagan (and myself) was one of the founders of C.E.A. and one who urged the D.E.S. to give us its line on our work. 'We don't frame policy ...' was their reply. 'We don't interfere'. Happy days?

Like many others I spent a year under Colin's tutelage and it is refreshing to meet again his incisive analysis, witty debunking, and most of all, his gleaming metaphors. One can be dazzled by a rich lady's jewels without at first fully understanding their significance: 'Community education is not like a car engine ... more like a vulnerable sapling.' As for his aphorisms how about: 'Our policies are assurances to the world at large and insurances against inevitable mistakes.'? And there is so much useful material to quarry in this paragraph:-

> ... community education is distinctive because it acknowledges a set of benefits which is wider than customary. There is no claim to benefits without costs. Good community education policy addresses its own costs rather than augmenting the benefits to belittle the costs. Many will be felt within the family. Community education does both strain and strengthen the family.

Tom Lovett's Fallacy is 'Community Education Work is Subversive'. True much work might SEEM subversive to those whose ways are threatened. But read what he says about his work in a community association in Belfast and dare to criticise. His work 'rests on an essentially optimistic view of human nature which stresses the cooperative ...' Most of community education is apolitical, seeking unions and associations the formal political parties have never really thought about. (At my own grass roots in a busy rural community I find it amusing to be thought of as a Leftie by the tories, and rather Blue by my labour associates.) As Lovett says, we 'seek to unite ... apparently opposite views of the role of community education in the process of community development.'

I can't entirely go along with Paula Allman. True it is very likely fallacious that oppressed people can become liberated simply by 'getting more education'. But the kind of utopia she posits (with free housing, and production organised not for profit) sound more like the U.S.S.R. than anywhere else. And the kind of revolutions she urges HAVE been happening, but in the opposite direction: to rid us of those very systems! I accept her dream that good education is a cooperative process with teacher and student co-investigators. But this already happens in more places than she gives credit.

But hold on, in the next chapter Gerri Kirkwood blows sky-high the myth that a community educator should be a non-directive facilitator. (Hooray. No more sitting around in seminar circles waiting for something to happen!) And for support she draws on none less than Paulo Freire. Freire surprised his audience on a Scottish visit in 1988 by underlining the importance of the need for the teacher to TEACH, and to be 'competent, in order to get the repect and support of the students. The teacher has to struggle to transform a situation of a transfer of information into a real ACT OF KNOWING. Knowing is not something that just happens.' Wow!

Cheer to those whose youth work is based in a school will come in Chapter 5. Jeffs and Smith, after painting a gloomy picture of the way so many people see today as full of problems, state that because of so many prejudices there has been a 'failure to acknowledge the significant advantages that the school setting may possess.' If a school is not seen as a desirable place to return to in the evenings then probably the fault lies with the school. And why should the adults who teach them in the daytime seem different/be different from the adults

who run the club? On a personal note it's good to see one's articles of a quarter of a century ago (on residential youth weekends in school) referred to. But, like all busy practitioners of the time I suppose I share the book's blame for not publishing more widely what we did.

Jeffs and Smith are very worried about the future. Today's youth club clientele are very different from those described in the Albemarle Report. 'Youth Clubs/Centres were the product of a particular historical era ... but ... now of diminishing significance.' But low numbers attending youth clubs is not the whole story. We have seen a massive growth in specialised activity in sport, recreation and in leisure pursuits for all ages. This plus the very great increase in study by late teenagers must be absorbing much of the energy of young people. The end-of-chapter vision of the future (requested of all contributors) succeeds in picking up all this and more in the multi-age multi-purpose centre. But such centres exist already!

The home-school partnership is, to its credit, given prominence in a chapter in this book. In any community, parents, children, and their local school are fundamentals, and John Bastiani gives much practical advice on how to develop good relations. The fallacy is that 'all we need is a change of teachers' attitudes.' We need this, and much more, I assume. I was sorry to see only a brief mention of Parent Governors. With all the power and influence now in their hands surely they - respresenting both the parents and, I would hope, the community - could do so much to warm things up. A book review in Youth & Policy of Sept 1991 p.33 of PARENTS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION describes what has happened in one school, abeit with the stimulus of a full time Parent Organiser.

I guess that the lecture behind Chapter 7 on the National Curriculum and the 'Community Curriculum' given by Tim Brighouse drew the largest audience in Charnwood. There's a gloomy start, echoing the 'we are all engrossed in delivering the national curriculum ...' of school's reinforced by the author's personal lambasting of the narrowness of this curriculum. But this soon gives way to an optimism about how he sees the new curriculum acutally encouraging community education PROVIDED IT'S HANDLED BY GOOD TEACHERS. A good teacher can see well beyond what's prescribed. He even sees the abolition of catchment areas and the open enrolment at the primary/secondary transition as a challenge for schools in an area to work more closely together and to have such things as joint P.T.A's and shared parents' evenings. (We began these in 1965!) As for the future, Brighouse like Henry Morris, 70 years before him, sails away into exciting territory describing the multi-use community centre/school of the future. (To it, I would add joint libraries). But it's not as far away as he thinks!

Finally, Bob O'Hagan, the editor, sums up with an exposure of the Fallacy of Empowerment. ('Providing people with the knowledge and skills which will allow them to struggle for and gain more power for themselves.') The 'empowerment people" he says, have been behind many of the fallacies exposed in this book. I have never been clear about the meaning of this word and I now see that I was not alone. Having spent a whole teaching career bringing horses for courses to water I very well know that that alone does not make them drink. Empowerment, we are told, can alter or improve your status in life. Fine, but if some people want to gain power it can only be at the expense of others losing power. This is logic. Community education is not a radical route to change. In itself it is politically neutral. The most it can do is 'play a small but significant part in augmenting the resources of the powerless.' If there is any route to power here I would say it is not via education but service.

Just a minor bleat to end. Their computer typesetter has a penchant for splitting words so that almost one line in five ends in a hyphen. I thought that with the advent of flexible justification we had seen the last of this sort of thing. Thus the compositor is 'empowered', but it has gotten him no-where!

Maurice Dybeck

Tilman Furness
THE MULTI-PROFESSIONAL HANDBOOK OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE - INTEGRATED MANAGEMENT, THERAPY AND LEGAL INTERVENTION.
Routledge 1991
ISBN 0-415-05563-6
£20.00 (pbk)
pp357

At present a plethora of books on child sexual abuse are being published but as the blurb on the cover of this book says this one 'gives easily accessible advice on specific practical problems and provides a new understanding of the multidisciplinary problems and conflicts which arise.' By and large this is true, although initially I was rather put off with what looked like a rather dull, technical read. However, I soon found it to be an interesting and informative book.

The focus is on child sexual abuse as a 'syndrome of secrecy and addiction' and as such it is divided into two parts. Part one outlines the principle ways and basic concepts used in dealing with child sexual abuse and part two deals with the practical problems that arise in practice. There is cross-referencing between the two which allows one to concentrate on specific practical problems while never losing sight of the underlying issues involved.

There is a useful definition of child sexual abuse -'the sexual exploitation of children refers to the involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in activities that they do not fully comprehend, are unable to give informed comment to and that violates the social taboos of family roles ... and which aims at the gratification of the sexual demands and wishes of the abuser'. This, it occurs to me, is an adequate legal/normative definition which may or may not mean the child is psychologically damaged, the latter depending on, for example, the child's age at the time of abuse, the duration of the abuse, the degree of violence or threat, the age difference between the child and abuser, how close they are related, the absence of protective parental figures, and the degree of secrecy.

The notion of child sexual abuse being a 'syndrome of addiction' for the abuser is interesting. Thus, the abuser knows what he is doing is wrong and is a crime but still does it; like other addictions it is not primarily pleasurable but rather relieves tension; and guilt feelings may lead to attempts to stop but can lead to, for example, feelings of anxiety, irritability and restlessness.

As for intervening in child sexual abuse, three types of intervention are outlined. These are: primary punitive intervention aimed at the abuser, not least in punishing him; primary child intervention aimed at the child so as to protect her/him, though unfortunately this can lead to secondary victimisation of the child when it is removed from home, family, friends, school etc; and primary therapeutic intervention which includes all the interventions which seek to treat the individual psychological trauma and to change family relationships, the underlying dynamics of which lead to and maintain abuse. Furness obviously favours the latter approach, and he stresses the coordination of intervention by all the relevant agencies as otherwise it leads to 'greater damage and traumatisation of family relationships and individual children than the original abuse.' For example, there can be: social stigmatisation from the reaction of neighbours, peers and school, and family breakdown can result with material and social hardship bringing additional problems; and secondary traumatisation whereby individual sexually abused children can provoke rejection, punishment and even re-abuse through their over-sexualised behaviour.

Following on from this, there is a timely warning for social workers (and the police for that matter) of 'abuse-promoting child protection' whereby social workers act prematurely, in allegations of child sexual abuse, out of primary identification with the child or where they act according to guidelines and procedures which force them to intervene prematurely. This can mean that children may be taken away from their families and only later do social workers realise that their evidence is not strong enough to implement long-term child protection measures, so the children are returned home and abuse continues with, for example, the fathers confidently telling the children that no-one will ever believe you now. To counteract this 'child protection action in child sexual abuse must therefore be taken only on the level of a well-founded .... suspicion and after the full co-ordination and co-operation of the entire professional network'. One wonders if the social workers in Cleveland, Rochdale and Orkney followed this dictum.

Furness sees child sexual abuse as a symptom of family dysfunction whereby intergenerational boundaries break down in certain areas of family functioning. Thus, the structured dependence of a daughter as child clashes with her role as pseudo-equal partner in the inter-generational sexual relationship with the abuser, and this confusion in the family hierarchy can bind family members into a collusive system in which the abuse can continue for many years. The resulting practice from this approach is family therapy, along with individual and group therapy. Examples are given of this.

However, a problem with the 'family dysfunction' approach is that it is all too easy to blame the mothers/female partners for child sexual abuse. Witness, for example, all the references to 'collusive women' in much child sexual abuse writing, when surely it is the husband/male partner/father who has the **sole** guilt and responsibility.

Taking this last point further a criticism has to be made of the fact that the concpet of 'power' is played down, if not dismissed, by Furness. He argues that the use of the concept is 'often really meaningless' and instead notions of 'parental responsibility' and 'structural dependence of children' are advocated. However, child sexual abuse can be seen as predominently the result of gender/power structures within present society. Drawing on Marxist/feminist theory, which unfortunately cannot be elaborated here, the patriarchical nature of society whereby men have the power, not least financially, upon which women and children depend, fuels the belief that women and children are of low status and ultimately the possessions of the husband/male partner/father. Following this male sexuality can be seen as an instrument of male control over women and children leading to the sexual abuse of them both.

Nevertheless, the book is a welcome addition to the growing literature on child sexual abuse and will provide useful reading to all those involved in the problem whether they be, for example, social workers, teachers, the police, lawyers or doctors. Social workers in particular will find the practice part of the book of value, providing they keep in mind the Marxist/feminist arguments referred to!

Steve Rogowski

Giles Darvill
THE IMPACT OF CONTRACTS ON VOLUNTEERS
Publisher: The Volunteer Centre in association with Calouste Gulbenkian and NCVO, 1991
(Obtainable from The Volunteer Centre, 29 Lower King's Road, Berkhamsted, Herts HP4 2AB)
No price given
pp25

Whether we like it or not, the Contract Culture is upon us. For those of us who have spent years filling in grant applications, keeping our fingers crossed that we have done our sums right and that there will be no disasters that will need us to either tighten our belts towards the end of the financial year or hope for a sympathetic hearing to our application for a supplementary grant, the new culture means a new sense of purpose. That purpose, or 'mission' (to use the vogue terminology of the business world which is pervading the voluntary sector) is to apply financial and business planning techniques which seem out of place and hostile in our world, which we believe is still fundamentally about caring and commitment.

So, can we reconcile the two - the commitment to caring service provision, which has been one of the things that has brought together paid and unpaid workers in the voluntary sector over the past decades, with the thrusting entrepreneurial approach that the contract culture seems to require?

Certainly Giles Darvill's pamphlet, starting from the base line that the contract culture is here and we should learn how to use it, does provide some invaluable pointers as to how to go through the process and (hopefully) emerge on the other side with our principles still intact. The deployment of volunteers in voluntary organisations has been a subject of much debate over the past few years, and this contribution to the broader debate on contracts and the voluntary sector is welcome in that it focuses on the volunteer, rather than the voluntary, side of the debate. I feel though, that we still need to be clearer about the distinctions between volunteers who sit on management committees and volunteers who are undertaking unpaid work within an organisation. It is the latter who can be exploited when organisations are seeking to compete for contracts to enable them to continue to deliver services. Volunteering can, and should be, a positive and empowering process - but too often we fail to recognise the real needs of volunteers and fail to develop good practice in working with volunteers. The Contract Culture contains its own risks, recognised by Darvill, that we may lose the principles of voluntarism from the agenda.

I'm not sure that I agree with Giles Darvill in concluding that 'the contract is only an administrative device which is mostly neutral in impact'. I think that his chapter on Responding to the Contract Culture and his helpful list of questions that should be examined by every voluntary organisation (whether it involves volunteers or not) belies the neutrality of the contract system as he sees it. Within that section, some critical policy issues are raised, such as 'what are the implications of contracts in terms of our values and culture?' 'Do the agencies giving contracts have general policies on users and volunteers which safeguard standards and which .... can be incorporated into the contract?', 'should you specify how volunteers will be recruited, accommodated, selected, prepared .... supervised, given further learning opportunities ....' etc. These issues, which he highlights as points for discussion, are in my view fundamental policy issues on standards for volunteering. His view that 'Standards are mainly a matter for local negotiation' is not sufficient. Whilst concluding the book with a very good model for a 'local Code of Practice on Volunteering', I am sorry to note that he suggests that volunteer organisations should not expect to achieve all of their aims in relation to all elements that could be considered good practice at once. The issues of good practice have, as he rightly notes, been around for a long time. All of us involved in improving the quality of the experience volunteers gain through volunteering have argued long and hard in many different forums that we should adopt a clear code of guidance on volunteering and not sell volunteers short. What we have to negotiate is a clear set of guidelines and code of practice to ensure that we can take advantage of new opportunities that the contract culture may provide, without exploiting volunteers.

Giles Darvill is right, however, at the end of his book to include a section on volunteering which is not part of contracting. Encouraging statutory

agencies to continue to make grant aid available for volunteer activities that are non-priority or which would be inappropriate for contracting, is essential. One of the key strengths of the voluntary sector is the diversity of service provision, the ability to innovate and the scope for community entrepreneurship which has marked many of the most exciting volunteer led and community based projects up and down the UK over the past decades. Despite the caveats above, Giles Darvill's book, in focusing on the management and policy issues that we need to consider and understand to take full advantage of the new opportunities that the contract culture can offer us will help us to ensure that volunteers still have an important role to play in ensuring that services are user responsive, efficient, cost effective, but above all, exciting and empowering.

Christine Forrester

D. Chamberlain
DEVELOPING YOUTH ARTS POLICY: INTENTION TO REALITY
Youth Clubs UK - Keswick House, 30 Peacock Lane, Leicester. LE1 5NY
ISBN 0-907095-65-8
£3.95 (Pbk)
pp61

Intention to Reality is worth reading, even if it simply re-emphasises the problem of - great sentiment, shame about the practice!

The physical side of the text is refreshing and indicates that some real thought has gone into its production.

Unfortunately, the warning bells sounded in paragraph 1 of the introduction which began with three enormous generalised statements.

> *Arts involvement will be among the most productive ways of enhancing life during the 1990s*

We all like to blow our professional trumpets and I'm sure sports people, accountants, doctors might all respectively substitute football, finance, medicine for Mr. Chamberlain's art but above all those things might one not sight improved health service, better housing, lower 'real' unemployment, less crime, less racism etc. etc. etc.? Yes, the arts are 'in' there, but let's not get things out of proportion.

The second statement concerning arts as 'an Educational and Developmental tool' (and, incidentally, an economic tool), begs the questions of why the arts are being defined through so many diverse interests? Is it that commerce, educationalists and society in general have suddenly realised that the arts should be an important and integral part of life? Or is it an extension of what has been going on for decades and more intensely since the late 70s of having to 'justify the arts'.

The third statement also to be heard from prominent politicians is that:

> *Society in the 1980's was dominated by consumerism and material concerns. In sharp contrast the 1990's are seeing the emphasis of values shifting towards support for 'quality of life' topics like the environment, community health and participation in the arts.*

As the decimation of local government and democracy continues apace, the poor continue to get hammered while the rich get tax relief and 120% pay rises, more and more legislation i.e. 'community care' is pushed through the statute books with little or no money to turn it into reality .....

But let us get to the real essence of the text. Youth Arts Policy.

Half way through the book under the chapter 'The Adult Role', Mr. Chamberlain hits and then glances off the real substance of the problem.

Yes, we need policies - policies that lead to good practice **but** is the whole idea of 'nannying' young people in this way anathema to the very nature and soul of the creative activities of youth?

Dick Chamberlain quite rightly says that **youth arts** and **youth culture** are 'not the same thing'. However, isn't it true that art and culture are more closely linked for young people than they are in the adult world (just add a sweeping generalisation of my own)? For example, I may visit the Stephen Petranio Dance Company but not come out wearing a basque and frilly bits round my willie (if I had one) but a young person with a particular cultural identity will mix with others from the same 'cult' - dress the same, make up the same, talk the same language, take part in the same arts activity either as participant, audience or creator.

Having recently been involved with spray can artists, I observed that the dress code, music tastes, language and even political views were almost carved in tablets of stone. Briefing them in to do graffiti paintings in youth clubs or on mural 'display boards' was so 'against' the culture that it diminished the art and I saw nothing to compare with the vibrance and daring displayed on railway sidings (try moving culture by Paul Willis).

Also (here we go for the second sweeping statement) youth culture roughly described above is one of the most diverse and dynamic forms of culture we may experience. It is therefore difficult to legislate for, unless we concentrate on enabling young people. The problem is perhaps best illustrated by a brief disagreement which occurred between myself and one of the organisers of the 1991 Youth Culture Conference in Manchester.

There was a proposal to draw up a list of youth language, trendy jargon, with the real meaning alongside. The problem I expressed at the time, was that the language, by the time it was drawn up and inwardly digested, would be out of date - and anyway isn't the language designed to KEEP US OUT!

A level of realism is contained in the paragraph related to service management - a recognition that if we are to have policies and they are to work, they do not only need to take into account the grass roots, they need to be supported and implemented by the men (and occasional woman) at the top.

Lots of talk of 'social education' and training youth workers to be youth arts workers is all very well but why not recognise that there are hundreds of artists willing and able, with specialist skills to work with young people? Young people are interested in contact with people who are skilled in their field. The young lass singing her heart out in a band is probably not interested and probably doesn't need 'socially educating' - she probably wants to be Madonna!

But back to the previous paragraph and the 'occasional woman' - I was pleased to see equal opportunities given a mention - albeit somewhat superficial. Again, a by now - characteristic unqualified statement.

> *The one topic of policy that is common to the two worlds is equal opportunities.*

You cannot be serious! Equal opportunities may be a 'topic' - but only in the same way that Rupert Murdoch might regard fair play and conditions for workers as a topic.

It is true that the youth service has, in many areas worked towards equal opportunities and even made it an issue with young people but let's not get carried away, cosily putting youth work and arts practice in bed together. The former will not purify the latter by such a union. To say that:

> *Both sectors, youth and arts, share an interest ... (in equal opportunities).*

is to drag the arts up by youth work's bootlaces.

To Mr. Chamberlain's list of target groups:

> *Young black people, girls and young women, youth in rural areas and young people with disabilities.*

Let us for completion sake add young unemployed, youngsters living in families below the poverty line and then ask -

where is their real or intended position in the arts - whilst putting the arts forward as a means of 'social education' for these young people what of the real world - what of careers for young black people as arts administrators, young disabled people becoming arts practitioners?

The arts remains as elitist as any other vested interest. No amount of good intentions, papers and pamphlets can hide this.

Recently Northern Arts produced its new five year plan. Despite previous papers such as 'Not a Black and White Issue' and fine statements about priorities such as 'Black and Asian Arts' (their termin-ology not mine) there was no hint of a scent of a mention of black arts place in that five year plan. When the north east black arts network complained - a half of one sentence of which the other half belong to disability arts, was given over to the issue.

This is not intended to load guilt onto the shoulders of Mr. Chamberlain but simply to say if we are serious about intentions to reality lets begin by seeing the real picture. Lets not drag youth work down with the work of the arts or give too many youth work brownie points to the arts.

The general statements relating to policies - production and implementation are sound. 'Consultation', 'planning', 'monitoring', 'evaluation' are all mentioned plus

> *A policy is only ever as good as the extent to which it is implemented.*

Ten out of ten, however, one wonders a little about the book's intention to be realistic when reading statements such as

> *.... the arts should become a significant and ongoing element of the annual training programme within every organisation and every authority.*

Surely one way to get intentions to realities is to be realistic in the first place.

If intentions are to turn into realities we need to be realistic about what is possible and what is not and remember that the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

But where this paper began with skepticism and confusion, let it end with hope in the shape of the penultimate paragraph.

> *It is for adults to create new and diverse openings for participatory arts and to liberate better options for artistic expression.*

This sounds, more clearly and succinctly than any other statement in the book like **enabling** young people to **do it for themselves.**

Amanda Ward Baker

Popular Front

Youth Music
Does it Exist Any Longer?

JEFF BROWN

Recently, I have had reason to look closely at young people's tastes in music. It seems to me that they are wider than ever before, to such an extent that I wonder if the term 'Youth Music' still has any validity. This seems particularly strange, as today is a most exciting time musically, offering a wide diversity of styles that would appear to satisfy all the needs of today's young people. In order to investigate what has happened to 'Youth Music' it is worth taking a trip into the past to look at the history of popular music.

In the early 1950s popular music in the UK was clearly divided into two sections - pop for children and pop for adults. 'Uncle Mac' on Saturday mornings played hundreds of records with titles like 'You're a Pink Toothbrush I'm a Blue Toothbrush' made specifically for children. Adults were listening to sentimental sugary automatic love ballads - automatic, because according to the lyrics of the songs, everyone had to fall in love and had to get married. Music specifically for 'Youth' did not seem to exist.

After the devastation of the 2nd World War, British kids grew up in an austere world and began to look to the USA for cultural and musical relief as well as inspiration. This came in the form of film stars like Marlon Brando and James Dean and films like 'Rebel without a Cause'. and 'Blackboard Jungle'. A new sociological group was emerging labelled for the first time as 'teenagers'. They were recognised in America as a separate economic force, young people with money in their pockets. 'Rock around the Clock' by Bill Haley and the Comets, which was featured in 'Blackboard Jungle' was probably the first great anthem of rock and roll and symbolised the beginning of the youth orientated music which was sweeping across the USA. The film was about rebellious college kids and had an impact so great that audiences got up and literally danced in the aisles. Cinema riots were witnessed across America, while in England similar mayhem was created by the first teenage sub-culture associated with rock and roll - the Teddy Boys.

This was definitely the first time young people were a force to reckon with in popular music in the UK. Many of the first British stars, for example Tommy Steele, Billy Fury, Cliff Richard and Marty Wilde, were pale imitations of Elvis Presley in the States, but genuine artists began to develop with their own style. Lonnie Donegan brought originality to the music scene, and started the skiffle craze, with thousands of youngsters getting involved in pop music themselves for the first time.

My own record collection was probably fairly typical of someone who bought their first records in the middle to late 50s - Elvis, Brenda Lee, Bill Hayley and Buddy Holly rubbing shoulders with Anne Shelton, Vera Lynn, The Andrews Sisters, Glen Miller and even Jimmy Young. It contained several adult influenced records, but definitely for the first time, many records that only young people would buy. What is shown more clearly than anything by 1950s pop music is its strong appeal for young people over and above any other age range, and possibly the most heavily targeted group was teenage girls, all wanted to be 'Bobby's Girl - that's the most important thing to me' as Susan Maughan sang in her hit song - a long way from feminism! At the same time black youth gained a voice for the first time through the emergence of black run record labels notably Tamla Motown. These created the first black pop superstars, Supremes, Temptations, Marvin Gaye, Four Tops etc. who achieved control over their musical output after a lengthy period of white supremacy. This empowerment has survived the Tamla Motown boom and is evidenced by the strong presence and influence of black artists in contemporary pop music charts.

By the mid 60s, my record collection boasted The Beatles, Animals, Fleetwood Mac, Stones, Bob Dylan, Donovan, John Mayall, Muddy Waters and quite a number of classical albums. Within ten years of buying records, I was the owner of a strange mixture of musical styles, and fairly typical of my peers.

By the 70s generally, there were noticeably different trends on opposite sides of the Atlantic. America began to worship Heavy Metal and Britain started its own version known as 'glam-rock' which produced stars like Marc Bolan and David Bowie. Neither musical style crossed the Atlantic successfully and in the late 70s the musical paths of Britain and America became even more widely separated. British youth, caught up in unemployment, could find little relevance in the sun-

kissed utopia in which the Eagles seemed to live. They also rejected some of the biggest British stars of the era - Elton John, Fleetwood Mac, Pink Floyd - who spent most of their time in America where life was more comfortable. At the same time young people failed to be moved by the efficient and catchy songs of ABBA, who had a wider audience than purely young people. Were young people turning away from music intended for them? The only area where youth music survived significantly in the UK was within Punk Rock which brought outrage to the older generation and created bands like The Sex Pistols and the Clash who thumbed their noses at the disco-music craze epitomised by the Bee Gees.

In the 80s, 25 years after rock music began, it seemed that music generally was celebrating its past rather than building for its future. The British scene was more experimental and developed several musical crazes - Two Tone with racially mixed groups like The Specials, New Romanticism which produced Duran Duran, Spandau Ballet and Culture Club and of course Bob Geldof who organised Band Aid and Live Aid which brought together music and charity appeals for the first time. Both in the UK and America political music revived youth interest and involvement. In the same decade many waning careers were revived in huge stadium concert events - Eric Clapton among others. The past seemed equally important as the present in the world of music.

Now we are in the 90s, it has become tempting for record companies to fall back on the growing backlog of 'superstars' from the past 3 decades, and unbelievably we have seen huge tours from 'oldies' like Rod Stewart, Tina Turner, Joe Cocker and Yes! Teenagers are as likely to be collecting Queen and Genesis albums as Madonna and Sinead O'Connor and even more lucrative have been the retro-releases, often prompted by TV commercials selling youth orientated products, and Blockbuster movies such as 'Ghost'. So maybe it is not surprising that I am posing the question as to whether 'Youth Music' exists any longer. I just have to look at my own collection from the past 35 years to understand the huge choice young people have today, and why they have such unusually wide tastes in music. Every single year there is a brand new generation of record buyers, living through the musical trends of their time, in time passing on their collections to their children, who repeat the whole process. A teenager in the early 90s has some 50 years of recorded music at his or her disposal, in addition to the rapidly changing styles and techniques in musical trends at this present time.

Malcolm McLaren, former manager of the Sex Pistols and musical entrepreneur, has recently been quoted on TV as saying that he would hate to be a young person walking into a record Megastore today to try to broaden a record collection. He compares modern record stores to museums housing thousands of recordings that have been made over the years, and says that he would not know where to start. I believe, however, that he does not understand that a huge diversity of music has been falling upon the ears of today's teenagers all their lives; from their parents' records, TV, radio, cinema, concerts and from swapping discs with schoolfriends and they are not all confused by the diversity. Even really young teenagers have extremely wide tastes. I know of a 14-year old whose collection includes Led Zeppelin (from his father and older brother); Slade and The Beatles (from his parents); Adam Ant and the Communards (from his older sister); Memphis Slim (from where?); Siouxsie Sioux, Billy Holliday, KLF, Madonna, Frank Zappa, John Lee Hooker and George Michael! This is nowhere near his full collection and demonstrates the immense diversity of music that a young person is listening to.

It is not simply that young people have diverse musical tastes because of the range and quantity of music now available to them. There seems to be a much more laissez-faire attitude towards lifestyles generally - a rejection of compartmentalism in both music and fashion. Today it seems the message is - 'just be yourself'. In the late 70s Punk was popular within youth culture and ABBA a dirty word. Today you can hear the Sex Pistols and ABBA back-to-back with total acceptance. A Rolf Harris track, including instructions on how to play the stylophone entered the charts recently. This would have been unheard of in the 70s and 80s. Today if a young person hears a track and likes it, it does not matter when it was recorded or by whom. With massive technological advances in record production, young people are borrowing styles from the past and re-interpreting them within today's music, so there is no reason why Vera Lynn should not be rubbing shoulders with one of the newest bands like KLF on the same track. Anything goes!

So, is there 'Youth Music' any more? I think not.

At a time when popular music has reached an incredibly exciting watershed, young people are becoming an indefinable group in terms of musical taste. They no longer need a label for their music - they just listen.

REFERENCES

The NME Rock 'N' Roll Years: W H Smith Books
Rolling Stone Rock Almanac (The Chronicle of Rock & Roll): Macmillan

Working Space

Telling Tales - *Another Way of looking at Educating Youth Workers*

JANET BATSLEER

TELLING TALES - Another Way of Looking at Educating Youth Workers

Since starting work as a professional youth and community work educator and trainer five years ago, I have worried away at the language of skills and competences, finding myself increasingly alienated from this language, even when it is being spoken by colleagues I respect and trust. What is this resistance in me?

Five years ago, I expressed it like this:

> *So, there is great pressure on trainers to develop programmes of 'skills sequencing', 'profiling' and the 'common core skills'. It is a pressure I believe trainers should resist. Job descriptions, negotiated with employers, can provide an accurate basis for describing the work of youth and community workers. A trained worker is presumably someone who can do these jobs. But in the work of the welfare state, which is essentially 'work with people' and therefore profoundly political, such usages can serve to neutralise conflict and process and to disguise the profound conflict in value systems and practice currently shaking the work of 'skilled professionals' at its core. The language of 'skill' and 'competency' moves us away from a holistic notion of 'good practice' evacuating the word 'good' of any moral content. What on earth is the abstraction 'a skilled listener' or 'a skilled groupworker' referring to? People who don't know when or where to turn a deaf ear perhaps, or for what purpose?*

The article by Bernard Davies and Mary Durkin *'Skill', 'Competence' and 'Competences' in Youth and Community Work* offers a more thorough review of the history of the concepts and a contemporary critique which certainly echoes my own doubts and hesitancies. They weigh the pro's and con's carefully:

> *An outcome led systems model rests uncomfortably with the values of community action, empowerment and demystification and is deeply disturbing when applied to education and training. Central to education are development, exploration and indeed risk. This is no less true for the teacher than for the student. All that is intrinsic to the process of learning - enquiry, conflicting and ambiguous ideas, tangential and divergent thinking - is precisely what a systems model puts in jeopardy.*

At the same time they acknowledge the potential in the work of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications.

> *It could encourage the accreditation of prior learning which, when integrated into credit accumulation schemes and modularised course systems, could significantly widen access to qualifications. It could also reduce barriers, allowing much greater flexibility and lending some consistency and coherence to the qualification maze referred to earlier. And all this could dovetail well with the 'competence'-based training and qualifications increasingly being introduced by youth and community work.*

This seems to encapsulate the current debate and still I am left uneasy. So what follows is an attempt to move away from critique to express a positive alternative. It can't be seen as a new system ... that would defeat its nature. What follows is a tangential, divergent attempt to express some aspects of teaching and learning in another idiom. Perhaps it is not accidental that this is a more female idiom: letters, diaries, journals, notebooks, ever-changing lists of things to be done, the impulse to tell stories, to hear stories, all the ways that women make meanings in our lives. We'll return to this. But first, let me tell you a story ....

> *Once upon a time, a young woman left her firm foothold in the groves of student life for the 'reality' of community work. Something in the life of middle-class intellectuals was alienating her; like so many bright working-class kids, she didn't entirely want to give up on her roots or leave her community. Her family told her in no uncertain ways 'Never forget where you've come from ....*

Or perhaps .....

> *Once upon a time there was a young man. He'd never liked school. He didn't fit in. He didn't like the fighting in the playground. He used to go to the art room to draw and paint. Finally he went to art school. Still dreaming of the life of the artist but he has to earn a crust. Found work with people with severe learning difficulties. It satisfies him. Why not? His dad wants to know when he's going to get a proper job.*

And again .....

> *She'd decided a long time ago that big changes were needed if women were to have a fair deal - big revolutionary changes, big enough to hold her needs and dreams and desires and to hold the rest of us too. She felt good with the big dreams of peace and justice, but she felt bad with the revolutionary socialists, the ones with scientific principles and rigour and analysis. She tried to understand and strategise, but in the end it all felt too neat and life was much more messy. Andanyway, she was falling in love with the mothers and children who came every week to the playgroup she'd found sessional work with.*

These stories could all be fragments of one biography or they could be taken from the biographies of different individuals. I choose them to show the importance of the stories we tell about ourselves, our sense of our place in particular histories, to our ability to understand ourselves and our work. Some of the contemporary philosophers of our time - particularly those associated with thinking about postmodernism - have stressed that there isn't one big story that we are all part of, one river of history in which all our streams can mingle, I don't know if they are right .. but I do believe that helping people tell a story about themselves and then see how it connects with other narratives is a fascinating, creative and productive way to work. It's no accident that a great deal of psychological and psycho-analytic discourse is rooted in the re-telling of ancient myths and fables or that analysis of our dreams can take on the quality of poetry. Rhythm, image, narrative seem to me fundamental to who we are, so - if I can call myself a person-centred educator, it is to such processes that I wish to attend.

Over the last few years, I've had the opportunity while working as a tutor to youth and community students, to identify some key elements of my own practice. Here they are - jottings from a record book, notes from a diary.

1. Searching for critical questions; identifying determining contexts.

Person centred doesn't mean passive to me. It can be highly interventionist, especially when people seem to be mouthing the latest expressions of the trade, whether these are radical or simply taken from the pages of Wednesday's Guardian. Define your terms. What to you mean when you talk about empowerment? About anti-oppressive practice? What do you think oppression is? How does it exist in your own world, in the communities you are part of? Don't tell me what you think you already know. Tell me what it is you don't understand. Tell me what you want to understand better. Do you have a sense of the processes and influences that are shaping your thinking? Where do you belong? How do you locate yourself? What are your significant landmarks? People have told me that this 'teasing out' method is hard, too hard at times. That it can feel negative. And there is a very fine line to tread between the unsettling process that opens us up to learning and the destruction of self-confidence. Perhaps in this cold climate we need a more affirmative process.

2. Finding a voice.

This is the moment of affirmation in a process of liberating education. Naming the world, affirming understandings that have been struggled for, behaving as people not as objects to be named, assessed and measured. It is a movement from the acceptance of oppressive namings and stereotypes to an active naming and participation in the world. 'Long have we been endeavouring to find ourselves men' declared the mutineers of the fleet in 1797. 'We now find ourselves so. We will be treated as such.'

As well as the powerful social structures in which we raise consciousness and struggle to find a voice - all the patterns of inequality and oppression that impact on our sense of ourselves and our dignity - there are specific struggles for community workers. Affirmation that there is labour and skill in supporting the development of young people in communities: 'You mean you get paid for this?' Affirmation that this labour and skill is a development and enhancement of the everyday processes of interaction in particular communities and that it need not be alienated from those everyday communications. 'Professionals don't

know what it's really like.' Affirmation that the task of dealing with the pain, crises and contradictions of a whole society is an impossible one - homelessness, despair, rape, racist attacks, dangerous drugs dependency, poverty, inertia - and that to seek support in work that means daily contact with these realities is not weakness but the beginning of real strength. For there are so many voices, inner and outer, that are decrying the possibility of community, of development.

3. Risk Taking

The Creative leap. This is the heart of the process. It enables movement, stops us being stuck, frozen with fear, on the edge of an abyss. We have to keep on taking risks. Speaking, rather than remaining silent. Not ducking things. Taking an action without knowing where it will lead. And it is impossible to know what the most risky steps are for another person. Go and talk to that young man over there. Write the letter to your manager. Resign. Don't resign. Confront. Lie low. Ignore the danger. Speak honestly to your manager. Try working on your own. Try working with a team. But whatever our own risk-taking we all have to be adventurers. And risk-taking enables us to move towards greater truthfulness, clearer communications, better understandings. It is the only way solidarities and alliances can be built.

4. Stories and histories.

Alliances can be made when people can see how their shared experience is understood differently and how different understandings and histories can connect. A black woman and a white man are treated with E.C.T. as a result of their 'disturbed' schizophrenic behaviour. Do they have the same experience? Do they, or their loved ones, of their communities make the same sense of it? No, because behind them stand the different stories of 'violent poor white trash (but better than niggers)' and 'savage untamable mule woman (look how she moves)'. And yet they are both subject to the same omniscient psychiatric intervention: 'Let us see how we can help. This is a common problem', and they are very likely to suffer the same memory loss and the same long-term tranquillisers. To become a story-teller and to listen to others' stories. Because our struggle is also a struggle of memory against forgetting, against the distortions of a 'Brave New World' in which 'History is Bunk' and the greatest sense of community is made from norms, rather than out of diversity. 'Community, Identity, Stability', the slogan of Huxley's 'Brave New World' can only be resisted by a creative process in which community is built from the recognition and celebration of difference.

5. Visions ...beginnings, middles and ends.

It's good if people can have a sense of where the journey is taking them. This is the kind of group we want to become ... these are the needs we want to meet; these are the potentials we are going to try to fulfil; this is the place where I hope that my dreaming can be done; here are the images, the music, the dance that express my hopes and fears; this is what my community hopes for - 'A People's Plan for Docklands', 'Hulme Views', Carnival; support for single parents who go out to work; support for parents who don't go out to work; opportunities for women with children to return to education; to be able to live without fear of rape; to be able to live without fear of racist attack. Expressing such hopes and fears needs our imaginations to be set free, as well as the hopeful work of planning and strategising. Sharing accounts of what has been achieved elsewhere is vital. Recording the work becomes primarily not a method of checking and monitoring, but of providing resources for the continued inspiration of others.

Of course, my notebook isn't really like this, but at the same time I could tell you lots of stories about people I have worked with who have taught me these things. I don't expect these fundamental patterns will change a great deal; they seem so basic to the process of education. And yet they clash with the language of skills and competences. 'Bring out weight and measure in a time of dearth' said William Blake. Is the clash of discourses a clash of power or simply two different ways of describing our work, each with their own radical and conservative 'Telling tales' or 'Assessing anti-discriminatory practice'?

What will the outcome be? How will the story end?

Janet Batsleer

In Short

CIVIL LIBERTY

BILL OF RIGHTS

The former National Council for Civil Liberties now known as Liberty has proposed a Bill of Rights covering; freedom of conscience, expression and movement; freedom from discrimination, torture, slavery; the right to life, to privacy, to natural justice and to organise and demonstrate.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p 21)

LAW CENTRES : FUTURE

Law Centres are in crisis and the fundamental review of civil legal aid announced by the Government earlier this year continues to leave the problem unresolved. The proposed national legal service, free at the point of delivery, would eventually do away with green form and civil legal aid.
(Source: The Guardian, November 27 1991, p 25)

COUNCIL TAX

HASTY PROGRESS

Opposition MPs claimed that the Council Tax was being pushed through Parliament in half the time used to debate the community charge. Government back-benchers and opposition MPs have protested that more time is needed for debate and to propose amendments. Bandings and the impact on mobile home owners are two issues which concern MPs of all parties.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p 6)

DEMOGRAPHICS

The first figures are emerging from the 1991 census. The DOE announced that the number of households is projected to grow by almost 3 million in the next 20 years. The population is expected to rise overall from 56 million in 1991 to 58.4 million in 2011. The number of married couples in England is projected to fall from 10.6 to 9.8 million, the number of single parent families to rise from 1.9 to 2.5 million and one person households to rise from 5.1 million to 7.6 million.
(Source: The Independent, 24 August 1991, p 10)

EDUCATION

POLYTECHNIC TEACHERS PAY

Kenneth Clarke, the Education Secretary, intervened in pay talks for polytechnic and college lecturers. The deal does not allow for increases to be determined locally. Lecturers have already rejected a 5% pay offer. *(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p 2)*

GCSE: CUTS IN COURSE WORK

Kenneth Clarke, the Education Secretary, announced plans to improve 'credibility' of the GCSE by restricting course work. The major changes are: Less counting of course work towards final GCSE grades : pupils can take closest to their ability levels; ablest candidates can be entered for GCSE candidates early.
The aim was said to be a wish to redress the variations in assessment.
(Source: The Guardian, November 21 1991)

PROFESSIONALS' CHILDREN DOMINATE IN UNIVERSITIES

Proportionately more children whose parents are professionals are university students. This mirrors a growing middle-class society according to a study carried out by Professor Alan Smithers of Manchester University. The report will be published in January 1992.
(Source: Daily Mail, December 2, 1991, p 19)

EMPLOYMENT

SMALL RISE

The unemployment figures for October 1991 showed a smaller rise in joblessness than for a similar period in 1990. Government claims that the recession tide is turning have been rejected by Opposition MPs. The banks remain gloomy.
(Source: The Guardian, November 15 1991, p1)

EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Opportunity 2000

The Government announced its intentions to increase the number of women holding top public appointments. 23% of women achieved high office last year. The Government is under pressure from the EC because it blocked EC initiatives to help working women. The EC will expect all member states to report by 1995 on legislative progress towards equal opportunities. Opportunity 2000 is supported by 61 employers who want the Government to support the scheme by extending tax relief on childcare and by improving training opportunities for women.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p 24)

Red Brick Recruits for Whitehall

The Government aims to encourage more Red Brick Recruits to reduce the reliance placed on Oxbridge graduates. Ministers have 'adopted' Red Brick Polytechnics and Universities to encourage more graduates to enter Whitehall.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p 2)

EUROPE

RECOGNITION OF EDUCATIONAL/PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

A general system was created in 1989 as part of an EC impetus to create a 'People's Europe'. Directive 89/48 was subsequently adopted. This meant that a system was set up for the recognition of higher education diplomas awarded on completion of professional education and training of at least 3 years duration.

Member states were obliged to have implemented the directive into their legal systems by 4 January 1991. To date it has been implemented in Ireland, the UK, Denmark and partly in France and Germany. Discussion is currently under way to institute a second system which would provide for the recognition of shorter periods of training and secondary level training such as BTECs or ONDs.
(Source: European Information Service, issue no 123, 30 September 1991)

HEALTH

CANCER CARE

The Royal College of Radiologists claim, in a report, that while the incidence of cancer continues to rise the number of specialist oncologists has not been increased in proportion to the rise. Only Portugal comes lower than Britain in the European League Table where the ratio of population to consultant specialists is concerned.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p 4)

PATIENT'S CHARTER

The Patient's Charter for England was published on October 30 1991. The Charter incorporates 7 existing rights, 3 new rights and 9 national standards. The standards will be monitored by reference to published performance expectations.
(Source: The Guardian, October 31 1991, p2)

NHS CHANGES HAMPERING HEALTH

A report 'NHS Reforms - The First Six Months, A Survey of Directors of Public Health Medicine' was published on November 7 1991. The report shows that of the 146 English health districts four-fifths of the total (68%) say they are not able to assess health needs. 59% say they

have inadequate resources to formulate contracts, 58% are unable to safeguard care quality. 41% of directors in health districts thought the services would deteriorate because of the requirements to introduce individual patient billing. However, 62% of health directors think separating the purchase and provision of care will improve services.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p 10)

EXTRA CASH FOR NHS
From next April (1992) extra cash will be made available to the NHS. £2.7m should ease some of the financial strains being experienced by the NHS. However, the UK still spends less on health than other European countries with the exception of Greece.
(Source: The Guardian, November 15 1991, P24)

CONTRACTS FORCE CUTS
Privatisation (contracting) has been blamed for cuts in spending. Almost 65% of hospitals will need to cut spending or the numbers of patients they treat. Hospitals will be trying in many cases to renegotiate contracts.
(Source: The Guardian, November 19 1991, p6)

HOUSING

NO RECOVERY
Data from the housing market suggests that little recovery has occurred. Consum -ers remain constrained.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p5)

NO NEW COUNCIL HOUSES
The Institute of Housing announced on 6 November 1991 that council house building will virtually cease in 1992. Repairs and renovations to council homes could be affected since money will be squeezed by mandatory requirements for local authorities to provide improvement grants for private housing.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p5)

IMMIGRATION

REFUGEES
The Government intends to introduce stricter controls on immigration. The controls will also affect the way in which asylum seekers are treated and fewer refugees are expected to achieve asylum in Britain as a result. Europe has been dealing with far higher numbers of refugees, 200,000 in 1990 in Germany reaching 30,000 a month in summer 1991.
(Source: Guardian, October 29 1991, p23)

ASYLUM BILL
The Government intends to abolish legal aid for asylum seekers; fingerprints will be recorded and there are proposals to remove statutory responsibilities of local authorities to rehouse refugee families who are awaiting decisions on their applications for refugee status.
The bill is expected to receive royal assent before the general election.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p24)

DETAINEES
Kenneth Baker, The Home Secretary, announced that the Government intends to convert redundant prisons into detention centres for asylum seekers pending decision on their applications.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p2)

LEGAL AID AXE
The United Kingdom Advisory Service (UKIAS) is planning to lobby against changes proposed to cuts in legal aid provision. The legal aid changes aim to withdraw green form legal aid to immigrants and asylum seekers. UKIAS has been undergoing internal restructuring and power struggles have been rife. Government ministers are likely to be reluctant to go ahead with plans to fund UKIAS as the monopoly provider of legal assistance on immigrant matters. *(Source: The Guardian, November 19 1991, p5)*

LOCAL AUTHORITIES

CUT BACKS IN SERVICES
The DOE is expected to announce spending restrictions which will force nearly half the local councils in England to cut services.
Capping rules say how much a council can spend over the previous year without the Government stepping in to enforce the limit. 14 councils were above capping limits in 1991, but capping in 1992 will also apply to those authorities with budgets below £15 million. The district councils will be affected. *(Source: The Guardian, November 19 1991, p 24)*

LOCAL GOVERNMENT SHAKE UP
The second reading of the Local Government Bill commenced in the Commons on 18 November 1991. The Bill proposes redrawing the boundaries of local government in England. Local government structure changes including the abolition of shire county councils, the reintroduction of county boroughs are proposed. The Bill also introduces performance indicators, extends compulsory competitive tendering practices and requires authorities to publish details of performance. *(Source: The Guardian, November 19 1991, p9)*

POLICE

NORTHERN IRELAND
Amnesty International will be presenting allegations concerning torture and mental intimidation against detainees and prisoners under British anti-terrorist legislation in Northern Ireland. To the United Nations this will be the first time the committee against torture (UN) has heard allegations from Northern Ireland subjects.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p1)

GAY RIGHTS
The Metropolitan Police Authority intends to alter its equal opportunity policies in an attempt to end discrimination against gay officers. The statement of change is expected in December 1991.
(Source: The Guardian, November 21 1991, p3)

POVERTY

HOUSING
A National Consumer Council Report says Government rules on council housing finance are penalising society's poorest members.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p4)

INFANT DISABILITY
The Common's Health Committee reported, on November 6, 1991, that infant disability is closely linked to poverty. Poor diet increased the risk of low birthweight. Low birthweight is one of the most important factors.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p10)

PRISONS

PRIVATISATIONS
The Government accepted a tender of £4 million from Group 4 to run the first privately operated jail. The prison in Wolds near Hull is intended to house 350 remand prisoners and it opens in April. The Government wants to see a twin-track approach where public and private sector are side by side according to Angela Rumbold, the Minister for prisons.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p2)

PUBLIC SPENDING

BOOSTS
The Government announced in its autumn statement that public spending would be boosted by £11bn. Unemployment and an increased need for housing benefit in the south east help account for the boost in social security spending. Social security will receive an extra £4.2bn in addition to the £70.6bn announced for 1991-3. Education will receive £0.9bn on top of £7.95bn.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p4)

DISABILITY LIVING ALLOWANCE/DISABILITY WORKING ALLOWANCE
In June the Bill (title above) reached the last stage of its journey through Parliament. Both benefits will be introduced in April 1992. DLA amalgamates the mobility and attendance allowance. DWA is entirely new. CPAG has criticised the benefit levels in both cases.
(Source: Poverty, Summer 1991, No 79, p2)

UNEMPLOYMENT SICKNESS AND INVALIDITY BENEFIT
Amendment regulations to the above are currently being considered by the Government. The low pay unit claims that transferring claimants from income support to family credit and reducing the number of hours claimants are entitled to work are two changes which will help no-one. Benefit reductions are the effective result.
(Source: The New Review of the Low Pay Unit, Oct/Nov 1991, No 12, p 8)

SOCIAL SECURITY ACT 1989; EFFECTS
The low pay unit investigated the impact of the social security changes in 1989 and concluded that few claimants had managed to find appropriate jobs or training although the Act set out to enable claimants to achieve this.
(Source: The New Review of the Low Pay Unit, Oct/Nov 1991, p14)

SOCIAL SECURITY
Social Fund
The Government could exclude some categories of claimants from social fund payments depending on the outcome of an appeal against a high court ruling.
(Source: The Guardian, October 29 1991, p 4)

SOCIAL WORK TRAINING
The Government has surprisingly, according to the commentators in the know, come out in support of new qualifications to increase the professional standing of social workers.
The old qualifications of CQSW and CSS are on the way out to be replaced by a diploma in social work (DIPSW). There seems to be consensus between Government and social workers on the need for training for all members of social services departments.
(Source: The Guardian, November 27 1991, p27)

YOUTH TRAINING
£100m MISSPENT
Sir John Bourne, The comptroller and Auditor General, has refused to endorse the Department of Employment's training programme accounts for the second year running. £47 million may have been misspent.
Auditors from the National Audit Office think some £24.5m has been paid to trainees who may never have attended programmes run by the training and enterprise councils.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p8: Appropriation Accounts 1990-91: Volume 5 : Classes VI and VII Employment and Transport; HMSO, £9)

CUTS
A minimal increase in spending on training was announced by Michael Howard, The Employment Secretary but this disguises cuts in programmes in real terms.
(Source: The Guardian, November 7 1991, p4)

OTHER LEGISLATION IN PROGRESS

Local Government Finance Bill
3rd sitting, 20.11.91

Charities Bill
House of Lords Committee (November 1991)

Local Government Bill - House of Lords Committee (November 1991)

Nurses, Midwives and Health Visitors Bill
House of Lords Committee (November 1991)

Disability Living Allowance and **Disability Working Allowance Amendments**
Standing Committee, House of Commons (November 1991)

(Draft) **Statutory Instrument**
HMSO, ISBN 0-10990492-3, £7.50

Family Credit (General) **Amendment Regulations, 1991, Income Support** (General) **Amendment No 4**

Regulations - 6th Standing Committee on Statutory Instruments,
House of Commons (November 1991)
HMSO, ISBN 1-01990992-5, £7.50

Magistrates' Courts (Remand in Custody) **Order 1991**
Standing Committee, House of Commons (November 1991)
HMSO, ISBN 0-1099029-2, £7.50

Boxing Bill
House of Lords (November 1991)
HMSO, ISBN 0-10870102-6, 60p

Further and Higher Education Bill
House of Lords (November 1991)
HMSO, ISBN 0-10870042-9, £9.80

STATUTORY INSTRUMENTS

The Education (National Curriculum) (Attainment Targets and programmes of study in Geography) (England) (No 2) **Order** 1991 coming into force 1.8.91. HMSO, ISBN 0-11015562-9, £1.00

The Child Abduction and Custody (Parties to Conventions) (Amendments) (No 3) **Order 1991,** coming into force 19.11.91
HMSO, ISBN 0-11015986-1, £1.00

(Draft) **The Education Support Grants** (Amendment) **Regulations 1991.**
Laid 12.11.91. HMSO, ISBN 0-11015782-6, 60p

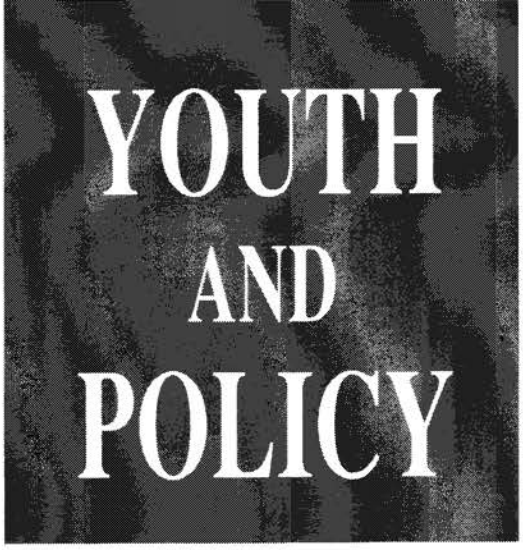
The Social Fund Cold Weather Payments (General) **Amendment No 3 Regulations 1991.** Coming into force 1.11.91
HMSO, ISBN 0-11015448-7, £1.00

The Income Support (General) **Amendment No 6, Regulations 1991,** coming into force 11.11.91.
HMSO, ISBN 0-11015334-0, £1.45

The National Health Service Contracts (Disputes Resolution) **Regulations 1991**
HMSO

The Legal Aid in Family Proceedings (Remuneration) **Regulations 1991**
HMSO

The Education (Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council) (Prescribed Expenditure) **Regulations 1991,** coming into force 19.10.91
HMSO, ISBN 0-11015307-3, £1.00



CONTRIBUTORS

Amanda Ward Baker is Arts Development Officer at Sedgefield District Council, Co Durham.
Janet Batsleer is a lecturer in Youth and Community work at Manchester Polytechnic.
Gordon Blakely is head of the Youth Exchange Council.
Jeff Brown is an Associate Producer, Tyne Tees Television.
Sue Cockerill was a youth worker with girls and young women based at one of Wigan's young women's centres. She now works for Salford Youth Service.
Niall Coggins is Senior Research Officer of the Addictions Research Group at the University of Strathclyde.
Elaine Conway is currently at Newcastle University's Centre for Research on Crime, Policing and the Community, and she is researching on the policing of young people. She previously worked at the Bridges Project, Tyne & Wear.
Geoffrey Corry has been Secretary General of the National Youth Council of Ireland (1976-1980) and General Secretary of the National Federation of Youth Clubs. He presently works as a self-employed management consultant specialising in the management of organisational change/renewal, team building and conflict resolution.
Bernard Davies is Youth Officer (Training) with Sheffield Youth Service and author of 'Threatening Youth: Towards a State Youth Policy'. (OUP 1986).
Maurice Dybeck is retired warden of Sawtry Village College, Cambridgeshire, Chair of the local council, Educational Film Producer and author of 'The Village College Way'.
Angela Everett works in the Social Welfare Research Unit at Newcastle Polytechnic.
Christine Forrester is project director of the Globe Centre - a new project working with individuals with AIDS and HIV, in East London. Until December 1990 she was Director of the Voluntary Action Resource Centre in Falkirk, Scotland. She was a member of the management board of Volunteer Development Scotland from 1984 - 1990.
Kevin Gill is Director of Crime Concern, Scotland.
Val Hamilton has a background in teaching and social work, and now specialises in the management of organisational change
Tony Jeffs teaches in the Department of Applied Social Studies at Newcastle Polytechnic.
Brian Langley is Deputy Head at Oxclose Community School in Washington.
Steve Murphy is Assistant Director (Continuing Education) in the Borough of Sunderland.
Steve Rogowski is a social worker specialising in work with children and families with Oldham Social Services Dept.
Mark Smith is a tutor at the Centre for Professional Studies in Informal Education at the YMCA National College, London.
Katy Trundley is a Research Assistant at Sunderland Polytechnic and is currently working on the concept of Public Service broadcasting in radio.

SUBMISSION DETAILS

Material for the journal, including correspondence, is welcomed within our stated editorial aims.

Please send all material to the relevant editor named below, P.O. Box 10, Blaydon, Tyne & Wear NE21 5LY. Material not published will be returned if possible, but contributors should note that this cannot be guaranteed and are advised to keep copies.

ADVERTISING

Details of rates, deadlines etc available from: Maura Banim.

ARTICLES

Articles of 2,500 to 10,000 words are welcome and should be written in accordance with the Journal's style. For a style sheet and contributor's notes, please contact Judith Cocker.

FEEDBACK

We welcome letters concerning the journal or on issues concerning Youth in society: Maura Banim.

REVIEWS

Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors are invited from the readership: Chris Parkin.

WORKING SPACE

Working Space is aimed at those who may not normally consider contributing an article and may be written in whatever style the individual feels comfortable with:
Tia Khan.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Youth and Policy subscriptions.
Annual Subscriptions (4 issues):

Academic Institutions and Libraries: £35.00
Individuals and Youth and Community Organisations etc: £18.00
Individual copies: £5.00
Back issues *(if available)* Academic Institutions and Libraries: £9.00
Individuals and Youth and Community Organisations: £5.00
Overseas rate: £35.00
(including postage at 'Printed paper' rate).

Special terms for orders of 10 or more, on request.

YOUTH AND POLICY

CONTENTS

ISSN 0262-9798 **No: 36**