youth & policy

The Journal of Critical Analysis

Spring 1993
Issue Number: 40

CONTENTS

ISSN 0262-9798

Robert MacDonald, Sarah Banks and Robert Hollands
Youth and Policy in the 1990s - *Editorial* 1

Tony Jeffs and Mark K Smith
Getting the Job Done: *Training for youth work - past present and future* 10

Howard Williamson
Youth Policy in the United Kingdom and the marginalisation of young people 33

Lynne Chisholm
Young People in the European Community:
Staking the terrain for European youth research 49

Keith Popple
Young People in Europe: *A Youth and Policy round table discussion* 62

Popular Font
Laura Johnston - Post-Punk Nostalgia 70

Working Space
Lucy Ford - The Sierra Nevada Expedition - a*n innovative project which aimed to assist in the rehabilitation of young offenders in North Tyneside* 76

Book Reviews 81

In short 102

Subscription Page 9

© Youth & Policy 1993

Editorial and Production Group:
Sarah Banks, Meg Brown, John Carr, Jo Campbell, Judith Cocker, Angela Fenwick, Tony Jeffs, Robert Hollands, Tia Khan, Robert MacDonald, Sue Miles, Chris Parkin, Moyra Riseborough.

Editorial Associates: Inge Bates, Shane Blackman, Lynne Chisholm, Bob Coles, Judith Ennew, Dick Hobbs, Mark Smith, Fred Robinson, Shirley Tate, Patrick West, Lionel Van Reenen.

Youth & Policy, a non-profit making journal, is devoted to the critical study of youth affairs and youth policy in Britain and in an international context. The Journal strives to maintain balance between academic contributions and debates focussed upon policy, practice and the issues confronting young people in society.

Submissions which are insensitive to equal opportunities issues and which are considered to be offensive to any social group on the basis of class, race, gender, sexuality or disability will not be considered.

Material from the Journal may be extracted for study and quotation with acknowledgement of the Journal and the author(s). The views expressed remain those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editorial group. Whilst every effort is made to check factual information, the editorial group is not responsible for errors in the material published in the Journal.

For details of subscriptions, submission of material for publication and advertising see the inside back cover.

Typeset and Printed 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.

Youth & Policy, PO Box 5, Peterlee, Co. Durham, SR8 2EB.

YOUTH AND POLICY IN THE 1990s:
Editorial

ROBERT MacDONALD, SARAH BANKS AND ROBERT HOLLANDS,
FOR THE EDITORIAL GROUP OF YOUTH AND POLICY.

Youth and Policy has reached the grand old age of ten. Like any young person, our own early years have been a mixture of successes and setbacks and the time is ripe for an assessment not just of the Journal but of our subject, of youth.

Perhaps the dominant theme which has informed and underwritten accounts of youth in the past fifty years is that of youth as a social problem (Pearson 1983; Cohen, 1986). From psychologists to politicians and from sociologists to social planners, the image of 'youth as trouble' has been at the centre of popular, professional and academic discourses about youth. Youth stands as a metaphor for the moral and social health of the nation; what they are, we will become. From the moral uproar of the first Teddy Boy riots in the mid-50s to the tabloid condemnation and heavy policing of Rave parties in the 1990s, youth has spelt trouble.

Some on the left have interpreted young people and their cultures as offering embryonic, working-class resistance to the bourgeois status quo. The political right have seen youth as a threat to the happy, normal and ordered functioning of society and sought ways to incorporate and control them. More liberal approaches have subtly transformed the 'youth as trouble' motif into an image of 'youth in trouble' and have argued that young people, especially those from disadvantaged backgrounds, need understanding, care and special treatments to compensate for the failings of society.

Throughout all the post-war discussion and theorizing about youth it has been rarely noticed that most young people are not too dissimilar from their parents. Even before the advent of the Thatcher decade, the vast majority of young women and men developed strikingly conservative identities and outlooks and, until recently, made relatively smooth transitions to adulthood which did little to unsettle stable patterns of social and cultural reproduction. Boys became men, girls became women and working-class kids got working-class jobs.

Thatcher's Children?

In the early 1980s, just before the birth of *Youth and Policy,* things began to change. In one year - 1980 - the rise in youth unemployment was greater than for the whole of the preceding decade. Youth riots in Brixton and later in Liverpool, Bristol, Handsworth and Manchester began to ring warning bells for the new Conservative administration (Hutchinson, 1985; Solomos, 1986) and the implementation of 'special measures' schemes was hurried along to absorb the hundreds of thousands of young people left idle by economic recession and labour market restructuring. These government schemes soon became fixed aspects of the post-16 landscape and the attention of academics throughout the last decade focused upon youth unemployment (and associated problems) and the impact it had upon normal paths to adulthood (e.g. Hutson and Jenkins, 1989; Lee et al., 1990; Hollands, 1990).

Despite fiddling of the figures, a 'demographic time-bomb' of falling numbers of school-leavers (which failed to explode) and mythical skills shortages, unemployment is again, ten years later, the critical social issue facing government, policy makers and practitioners. The 'classless recession', heralded in by John Major's premiership, means that unemployment, and the evils that go with it, are now facts of life for large swathes of youth. There are now over one million young people unemployed (and this is going by the official statistics), and youth in general have been central victims of the latest economic recession.

Whilst this may be a novel problem for youth in the South-east of England, for those in 'peripheral' regions unemployment has, over the past ten years, come to be a normal part of economic and cultural life. Middle-class youth can still carve more or less successful routes through education into middle-class jobs. For large sections of the young working-class however, life in casualized and 'flexible' labour markets now consists of a seemingly endless round of dole, dead-end jobs and government schemes rewarded with further unemployment.

The cultural responses of young people to the closing off of traditional routes into the 'respectable', adult working-class are diverse and are only starting to be uncovered by researchers. Some seek individual solutions through starting their own businesses (MacDonald and Coffield, 1991) whilst others leave their homes and 'get on their bikes' to search for work in more buoyant labour markets in Britain and abroad (Ainley, 1991). Many simply languish in stupefying and isolating unemployment whilst a minority build alternative, criminal careers (Hobbs, 1991; Presdee, 1990).

Some have argued that we are beginning to see the creation of an 'underclass' of people, many of them young, who are structurally confined to near-permanent unemployment in the neighbourhoods and estates of highest joblessness. It has been argued by some on the radical Right (Murray, 1990) that an 'underclass culture' is emerging, built on inter-generational welfare dependency, lawlessness and family irresponsibility, which stands at odds with traditional patterns of 'decent' working-class life (Dennis and Erdos, 1992).

So far academic debates about youth and the underclass have been marked by theoretical confusion, empirical weakness and ideological bias and it is debatable whether this is a useful conceptual tool with which to understand the cultural responses of disaffected, disenfranchised working-class youth. Nevertheless, those that work on a daily basis with disadvantaged youth on the deprived outer estates will tell skeptical academics that something **has** changed, that young people are somehow different now to twenty or even ten years ago and that the hopelessness, political disaffection and violence of young working-class males, in particular, marks a distinct cultural change.

The youth riots of 1991 and 1992 in Oxford, Cardiff, Salford, Newcastle, North Shields and elsewhere would seem to suggest we are creating a society in which the majority (the middle-class and middle-aged) are doing alright but in which a significant minority (the young working-class) are destined for further marginalization and disadvantage (see Williamson in this issue).

One of the striking things about the recent youth riots was the way that they have come to be reported. In 1981, the Brixton riots made front-page news around the world. A riot in Coventry at the end of 1992, in which 400 youths took to the streets and battled with the police, warranted a four line footnote in *The Guardian*. Youth riots are becoming normal, matter-of-fact and mundane. Youth are becoming marginal even when they riot. Relatively little academic debate has followed these events (see issue 37 of the journal: Hobbs, 1992; Conway, 1992: Wharton and Fenwick, 1992) and over the coming decade we hope to publish sound, critical discussions of the relationship between structural change, youth culture and social (dis) order.

Youth Research

In 1993, youth research in Britain stands at a crossroads. The Economic and Social Research Council's *16 to 19 Initiative,* the largest, single programme of social and psychological research on youth in Britain in recent years, came to a close last year (See Bynner, 1987). The body of work that sprang from it (e.g. Banks et al., 1992; Bates and Riseborough, 1993) has done much to consolidate and improve our understanding of the processes of transition that young people make from youth to adulthood.

That locality mediates processes of transition and the structures of opportunity facing young people was confirmed and demonstrated by the initiative. Questions of economic and political socialization and identity were tackled well by its researchers. And the way in which institutional structures (e.g. education), local contexts (i.e. different local labour markets) and government interventions (for instance, the Youth Training Scheme) interact with cultural and structural forces (particularly class and gender) to shape individual biographies and transitions was explored and investigated with great success.

Those involved with the programme would be the first to admit that gaps and questions remain. Little was said about the situation and experiences of black youth. Few theoretical or empirical advances were made on our understanding of youth culture and leisure. Similarly, issues of disability and sexuality remain virtually absent from British youth research and middle-class youth culture also demands attention. The time has come to set new agendas and the ESRC is currently hosting a series of 'youth seminars' in which new themes and areas for investigation are being worked out. Clearly one urgent area of study concerns questions of youth and the 'underclass'.

One of the most significant tasks facing those involved with the study of youth is to confront the 'two traditions' that have crystallized in research on youth in Britain over the past twenty years (Jeffs and Smith, 1992; MacDonald, 1991). The work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham, and associates, during the late 1970s (e.g. Hall and Jefferson, 1976) symbolizes one of these traditions: the cultural studies approach to youth. The CCCS succeeded in developing a sophisticated theoretical account of the relationship between youth, class and sub-culture at the same time as maintaining an ethnographic hold upon the details of actual youth groupings (the Teds, skins and so on).

Inevitably, telling criticisms of this tradition of research followed in subsequent years. These tended to touch upon the **absences** in the CCCS accounts. Girls and young women were virtually invisible (Marshall and Borrill, 1984), the majority of 'ordinary kids' never participated in youth sub-cultures and, with the added impetus of massive rises in youth joblessness in the early 1980s, the focus of academic attention switched away from semiotic resistance through rituals to young people's experiences in the labour market. This second tradition of research, perhaps typified by the *16 to 19 Initiative,* investigated (un)employment, government schemes and education, often through more quantitative surveys.

Whilst researchers in this second tradition have been busy surveying the structures shaping youth transitions, little has been said recently about youth culture. The CCCS and the cultural studies approach has lain largely dormant over the past fifteen years (or perhaps, more correctly, has been carried on at the margins of youth research, often un- or under-funded by postgraduates and other insecurely located scholars). There is a crying need for researchers, in the 1990s, to turn again to more theoretically-informed investigations of youth (sub)culture which are cognizant of weaknesses and strengths in earlier traditions.

The advances in understanding gained through the transitions approach of the past ten years should not be forgotten and there may be value in attempting further integration of cultural and structural approaches to youth studies. Some of the most readable, interesting and original material from the *16 to 19 Initiative* was that carried out by ethnographers who explored the cultures of young people undergoing various sorts of occupational and vocational training (see Bates and Riseborough, 1993).

Much British youth research is necessarily dependent upon external funding from the research councils. Unfortunately, but perhaps inevitably, this has meant that research problems often reflect social problems defined by (and in some cases created by) government and this was clear in much 1980s youth (un)employment research. More creative, imaginative research projects, which would take young people's own agendas as their starting point, remain unfunded or carried out at the margins of youth research, often by younger researchers. The time has come, however, for a re-evaluation and it is hoped that, in deciding new directions for youth research in the 1990s, those who hold the purse strings for research grants will seek to: broaden and enliven the field of enquiry; integrate the cultural and structural aspects of distinct research traditions; and encourage younger researchers, in what has become a somewhat elderly and greying discipline.

Work with Young People

Youth and Policy has always been a journal aimed at both youth practitioners and academics. Over the decade we have published significant contributions about work with young people reflecting changing ideologies and approaches to practice, as well as the impact of policy on the organizational delivery of youth work, schooling, juvenile justice and youth social work.

It has been a decade when issues of oppression have been high on the agenda. The need for separate provision for young women, anti-sexist work with young

men and the development of feminist approaches to practice have been discussed, written into policy statements and, to a limited extent, implemented in practice (Little, 1984; Taylor, 1984). Work around racism, heterosexism, and 'ableism' has been developed, although to a lesser extent in the case of the latter two (Cohen, 1988; Heathfield, 1988; Hirst, 1984; Sanderson, 1991). Yet whilst anti-discriminatory work with young people has gained official acceptance, many workers have felt frustrated at the gap between the words and the action (Sawbridge and Spence, 1991). Some commentators are also now questioning the focus on the '-isms' as yet another way of stereotyping people into categories and ignoring the complex interrelationships between individual identity, culture and difference (Jeffs and Smith, 1992; Nelson, 1992; Gilroy, 1992).

In the field of youth work there has been a growth in non-centre based work - including detached and outreach work, mobile work in rural areas and specialist projects offering education, advice and campaigning around issues such as drugs, car crime, homelessness and HIV/AIDS. Recent editions of *Youth and Policy* have included practitioners accounts of such projects from Costigan (1991), Hutson and Liddiard (1990) and Miller (1991). These projects are indicative of the gradual move from generic youth work provision for all young people to specialist work targeted at particular groups, problems or neighbourhoods. This has occurred partly due to the growing problems young people appear to be facing and causing to society and also as a result of cuts in central and local government funding. The ever-present tension in youth work between the twin aims of individual/collective empowerment and social control is being tipped more overtly towards the latter.

In 1982, when the first issue of *Youth and Policy* was published, a government-sponsored review of the Youth Service had just taken place and was discussed in the Journal (Smith and Cartlidge, 1983). The Service at a national level then seemed forgotten again, with each county developing very different types and levels of provision. For a brief period in the late 1980s/early 1990s youth work and the youth Service was again the focus of central government attention with a series of Ministerial Conferences attempting to define a core curriculum for the work. Whilst the idea was welcomed by some as an opportunity to develop a national profile for the Service with a set of clear aims and objectives (or rather, a 'mission statement', 'learning outcomes' and 'performance criteria', to use the current jargon), it was dismissed by others as a means of enforcing a central government-controlled straitjacket on a service designed to meet local needs in a variety of ways. These debates were aired in Youth and Policy (Davies, 1991; Sawbridge, 1991; Drew and Kelleher, 1991) until the Youth Service Minister suddenly dropped the idea, paving the way for the dismantling and disintegration of local Youth Services in a piecemeal fashion.

As Local Education Authority budgets are cut, Youth Services are being destroyed, dismantled or contracted out. The generic occupation of Youth Worker is in danger of disappearing, as increasingly specialist and problem-oriented projects are established within Health Promotion Units (on smoking, drugs and HIV/AIDS), the Probation Service (on alternatives to custody, prevention of car crime) and a multitude of independent and voluntary agencies (working with the young homeless, youth trainees, young mothers etc). Some of the casualties of the cuts have

included work with young lesbians and gays, young black people and young women - which has led practitioners to question whether the decade of equal opportunities and positive action has actually made a lasting impact.

Youth and Policy - the Journal

In the past we have been criticized for being 'too academic' in our orientation at the same time as being reprimanded for being too concerned with 'practitioner debates'. Inevitably, this will continue to be a creative tension within Youth and Policy (the editorial collective comprises people from all sides of this debate) and we are firm in our belief that the Journal should be relevant to all those concerned with the situation of youth in society.

In the past, however, we may have been too narrow in our concern with professional youth work practice and training and we are aware that many people who work with young people now come from disciplines and organizations outside of the statutory and voluntary youth work sectors (e.g. criminal justice, education, training, employment, enterprise). Some of the most insightful and useful work on contemporary youth culture has been done by practitioners writing from a health (e.g. Gilman, 1991; Merchant 1992) or arts perspective (e.g. Willis, 1990; Rubenstein, 1993) and we are especially keen to broaden the appeal of the Journal by publishing more articles which succeed in integrating 'practitioner' and 'academic' debates. We will strive in the future to publish quality, academic articles which deal with the position, processes and experiences of youth as well as including alongside them discussions of 'practical' relevance to people who work in a professional capacity with young people.

New challenges face youth practitioners and it is tempting to see a reflection of the focus upon a minority of youth, which characterized youth cultural research in the 1970s, playing itself out in youth work practice. Both academics and practitioners must come to grips with the new patterns of youth cultural identity which are being formed in the wake of the shattering of traditional avenues for class and gender apprenticeships through previously stable patterns of industrial and family life. Sexuality, ethnicity, gender and musical/cultural styles, together with the impact of private enterprise, consumerism and the economy, are more important than ever in shaping youth identities (Hollands, 1991), whilst social class remains a constant if covert force structuring youth transitions and experiences (Bates and Riseborough, 1993).

Youth transitions have become protracted and we need to ask ourselves who youth are. On the one hand, youth clubs become populated by children and young teenagers whilst, on the other hand, academics argue that the narrow 16 to 19 focus should be abandoned in favour of analyses which follow youth transitions into adulthood and the 'twentysomething' age group and which pay attention to protracted youth transitions and the concept of 'post-adolescence'. Youth, as an age period, needs to be conceived of more broadly and more imaginative approaches to who youth are and what youth means are demanded of both practitioners and academics.

In the last two years *Youth and Policy* has begun to produce special issues of the journal in which articles addressing one theme are published together. 'Rural Youth' and 'Youth and the Riots' were two such issues. These proved popular and in the next few years we will continue to publish thematic editions. In the near future, the themes of 'Youth and the Environment' and 'Contemporary Youth Culture' will be approached in special issues. Articles on these themes are welcome as are suggestions and contributions for other special issues readers might wish to see.

In this issue of *Youth and Policy,* reformatted in a smaller and hopefully more convenient and appealing style, we are pleased to present articles which both reflect and add to some of the dominant debates in the field of youth over the past ten years.

Howard Williamson reviews the impact of a wide range of social policies affecting youth through the 1980s (in the realms of education, housing, training, criminal justice) and how these have contributed to the marginalization of young people over the past decade.

Tony Jeffs and Mark Smith provide a timely, critical discussion of youth work training focusing upon the historical development, present predicament and future potential of youth work.

Lynne Chisholm, from the University of Marburg in Germany, begins the task of defining the agenda for European youth research. Surely this aspect of youth study will be high on any new agenda for the 1990s. In 1993, we now, finally, have a Single European Market, Europe is expanding to the East and, as borders supposedly come down, workers, especially young workers, are encouraged to seek their economic livelihoods in foreign places. Chisholm sketches out some of the issues and challenges facing those of us concerned to move beyond parochial 'Little Englander' views of youth. In addition, we have an informative 'round table' discussion on questions of youth and Europe, hosted by Keith Popple with discussants from Germany, Holland and Britain.

Finally, as part of our 'Working Space' section (which contains shorter, less formal contributions often from those who do not usually write for journals) we include a piece by Louise Ford of Northumbria Probation Service, which reports the experiences of young offenders who participated in an innovative group work project in the Sierra Nevada in Spain.

Youth and Policy has contributed to diverse debates over the past ten years and we will continue to do so over the next decade. The policy of the Journal will be to continue to publish a wide-ranging debate about youth and society. At the same time as discussing important debates about youth work practice we are keen to involve a wider range of 'youth professionals' in reading and writing for the Journal. Similarly, we will strive to become the natural home for academics taking up the challenges of the new agenda for youth research in the 1990s who write on diverse aspects of youth culture, youth transitions and youth policy.

In another ten years time, with the continued interest and goodwill of our readership and contributors, *Youth and Policy* will be twenty years old - in the prime of youth! Our overriding aim is to provide a forum for the critical analysis and discussion of the academic, policy and practice debates about youth in the 1990s. By the year 2001 half the world's population will be young people (i.e. under 24 years old). The time has come for youth to shift from the margins to take a central place in theoretical, practical and policy debates.

References

Ainley, P. (1991) *Young People Leaving Home,* London, Cassells.

Banks, M. et al, (eds) (1992) *Careers and Identities,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Bates, I. and Riseborough, G., (eds), (1993, forthcoming) *Youth and Inequality,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Bynner, J. (1987) 'Coping with Transition: ESRC's new 16 to 19 Initiative', in *Youth and Policy,* 22, pp.25-28.

Cohen, P. (1986) *Rethinking the youth question,* Working Paper no 3, Institute of Education, University of London.

Cohen, P. (1988) 'Popular Racism, Unpopular Education', in *Youth and Policy,* 24, pp.8-12.

Conway, E. (1992) 'Digging into Disorder', in *Youth and Policy,* 37, pp.4-15.

Costigan, S. (1991) 'The Teesdale Community Bus - Reaching Out in Rural Areas', in *Youth and Policy,* 33, pp.66-67.

Davies, B. (1991) 'Whose Youth Service Curriculum?', in *Youth and Policy,* 32, pp.1-10.

Dennis, N., and Erdos, G. (1992) *Families Without Fatherhood,* London, Institute of Economic Affairs.

Drew, P., and Kelleher, M. (1991) 'The Core Curriculum: A Case Study', in *Youth and Policy,* 35, pp.26-29.

Gilroy, P. (1992) 'The End of Anti-racism', in Donald, J., and Rattansi, A. (eds.) *Race, Culture and Difference,* London, Open University/Sage.

Hall, S., and Jefferson, T. (eds) (1976) *Resistance Through Rituals,* London, Hutchinson.

Heathfield, M. (1988) 'The Youth Work Response to Lesbian and Gay Youth', in *Youth and Policy,* 23, pp.19-22.

Hirst, M. (1984) 'Education after 16 for Young People with Disabilities', in *Youth and Policy,* 2, 4, pp.37-40.

Hobbs, D. (1992) 'White Riot or the Sound of Breaking Class?' in *Youth and Policy,* 37, pp.2-3.

Hollands, R. (1990) *The Long Transition,* London, MacMillan.

Hollands, R. (1991) 'Losing the Generation Game: Revisited', in *Youth and Policy,* 33, pp.38-41.

Hutchinson, A. (1985/6) 'Community Uprising or Riot? Handsworth', in *Youth and Policy,* 15, pp.1-8.

Hutson, S., and Jenkins, R. (1989) *Taking the Strain,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Hutson, S., and Liddiard, M. (1990) 'Homeless Young People in Hostels - Some Practical Considerations' in *Youth and Policy,* 31, pp.40-42.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. (1989) 'Taking Issues with Issues', in *Youth and Policy,* 28, pp.16-20.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. (1992) 'Youth', in *Developments in Sociology no. 8.* Lancaster, Causeway Press.

Gilman, M. (1991) 'Beyond Opiates ... and into the 90s', in *Druglink,* November/December, pp.16-18.

Lee, D. et al. (1991) *Scheming for Youth,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Little, A. (1984) 'Feminism and Youth Work Practice', in *Youth and Policy,* 2, 4, pp.9-12.

MacDonald, R. (1991) 'Youth, Class and Locality in Rural England', in *Youth and Policy,* 33, pp.17-27.

MacDonald, R., and Coffield, F. (1991) *Risky Business? Youth and the Enterprise Culture,* Falmer

Press, Basingstoke.

Marshall, S., and Borrill, C. (1984) 'Understanding the Invisibility of Women', in *Youth and Policy,* 9, pp.36-40.

Merchant, J. (1992) 'Ecstasy, Rave Culture and Health', unpublished MSc dissertation, University of Edinburgh.

Miller, D. (1991) 'Reducing HIV Infection Among Young men Who have Sex with Men', in *Youth and Policy,* 34, pp.44-45.

Murray, C. (1990) *The Emerging British Underclass,* London, Institute for Economic Affairs.

Nelson, A. (1992) 'Models of Oppression in Youth Work', in *Youth and Policy,* 38, pp.24-28.

Pearson, G. (1983) *Hooligan,* Macmillan, London.

Presdee, M. (1990) 'Creating Poverty and Creating Crime', in Wallace, C. and Cross, M. (eds) *Youth in Transition,* Sussex, Falmer Press.

Rubenstein, P. (1993) 'Youth Arts Work After Willis', in *Youth and Policy,* issue 39.

Sanderson, A. (1991) 'A Case for Asian Theatre', in *Youth and Policy,* 35, pp.48-50

Sawbridge, M. (1991) 'Core Curriculum - Education for Change or Status Quo?', in *Youth and Policy,* 33, pp.27-31.

Sawbridge, M. and Spence, J. (1991) 'The Dominance of the Male Agenda', working paper, Department of Adult and Continuing Education, University of Durham.

Smith, D., and Cartlidge, R. (1983) 'Experience and Participation: Report of the Review Group of the Youth Service', in *Youth and Policy,* 1, 4, pp.10-15.

Solomos, J. (1986) 'Political Language and Violent Protest: Ideological and Policy Responses to the 1981 and 1985 Riots', in *Youth and Policy,* 18, pp.12-24.

Taylor, T. (1984) Anti-sexist Youth Work with Young Males', in *Youth and Policy,* 9, pp.8-16.

Willis, P. (1990) *Common Culture,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Wharton, C. and Fenwick, J. (1992) 'Waiting to Happen', in *Youth and Policy,* 37, pp.15-22.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

4 Issues

Academic Institutions, Statutory Organisations, Libraries & Overseas...............£40.00
Individual & Youth and Community Agencies...............£23.00

Back Issues - *Nos: 9 onwards*

Academic Institutions, Statutory Organisations, Libraries & Overseas...............£9.00
Individual & Youth and Community Agencies...............£5.00

Subscribe to Youth & Policy by completing the order form below (cheques payable to Youth & Policy) send appropriate remittance to:

Youth & Policy Subscriptions, PO Box 10, Blaydon, Tyne & Wear, NE21 5LY.

Name of Subscriber...............

Address...............

....

....

Please send me an index (issues 9-21) ❑ (tick box)

Please send me 4 issues of Youth & Policy ❑ I enclose £ ....

Please send me a selection of available back issues. Quantity... ❑ I enclose £ ....

Total Remittance enclosed £ ....

Send remittance with all orders. **I require a receipt ❑ (tick box)**

GETTING THE JOB DONE:
Training for Youth Work - past, present and future

TONY JEFFS AND MARK K. SMITH

Thomas Henry Talton got a new job on November 18, 1844 . His employer, the YMCA, had only been in existence a few months. He was employed to work with young men to set up local associations and to 'make himself generally useful among the class to which his efforts will be directed' (Shedd et al 1955: 25). He was the first person to be employed by a youth organisation to work with young people. As more YMCA secretaries were appointed, a particular mix of jobs and dispositions became associated with the work. At the same time, with the development of youth institutes, boys clubs and the like, an occupational grouping began to emerge. In this article we want to look at the history of training for this occupation, its current state and speculate on future developments.

Starting with strengths

Accounts of training for youth work in the UK tend to focus on the post Albemarle period. This is unfortunate, because earlier forms of training have had a profound influence on subsequent developments during the last thirty years. Returning to the activities of the early YMCA secretaries we can see the start of organized training for work with young people and in youth organisations. By 1894 there were around 118 YMCA secretaries employed in Europe, six in Asia and a staggering 1159 in America. Ten years later these had snowballed to 343, 140 and 2954 respectively (Shedd 1955: 443). In America around a quarter were specialist boys workers. Not unexpectedly, there was a growing demand for organized training. The most sophisticated training provision emerged in America located in specialist colleges established in the 1880s at Springfield, Massachusetts and Chicago. The curriculum at Springfield was built around three 'poles': academic studies: biology, sociology, psychology and religion (especially the findings of contemporary biblical scholarship); social service; and physical education. By the late 1890s these were augmented by systematic teaching around the notion of adolescence (under the influence of G. Stanley Hall) (Macleod 1983: 118). However, only a small proportion of secretaries took these courses, and youth work, generally, suffered from a high turnover of staff and low status within the movement. In the UK, by the 1880s, the training was a combination of study visits (spending time with an accomplished secretary) augmented by annual conferences for Secretaries. UK staff also attended some Europe-wide short courses (6 weeks) held in Berlin and Geneva in the 1890s.

We have to wait until 1925 to see the establishment of a specialist professional training course for youth work in Great Britain. Prior to this uniformed organizations had instituted rigorous training programmes for their volunteers. However no sustained programmes existed for the small, but growing number of full time leaders and organizers. The first course was collaboratively designed and organised by the National Council of Girls Clubs and the London School of Economics (Evans 1965: 112). Students had to hold a University Social Science Certificate awarded following a minimum of two years study. They were also required to have under-

taken regular youth work practice and visited a number of agencies. They then went onto the Certificate course full-time either for 12 months (Certificate II) or 18 months (Certificate I). Those who completed the Certificate I course could then after a further year of experience in responsible work be awarded a Diploma. This was for people deemed exceptionally well qualified for the work of club leadership. Part-timers could take a special certificate in between 18 months and three years (see Rooff 1935: 104-105). The London School of Economics intake is important - since 1912 they had been running special programmes of education for social workers initially designed and sponsored by the Social Education Committee of the Charity Organisation Society (Smith 1965). Students on the youth work courses had to undertake placements in social casework and community work agencies such as settlements.

Given some of the current debates concerning training, a number of significant aspects of the Girls' Clubs scheme need to be underlined. First, the programme was operating at around the level now designated as DipHE. Second, as with the early YMCA courses, youth leadership was seen as requiring a solid grounding and expertise in the social sciences including social administration, economic and social history, applied economics, psychology and social philosophy. Students also undertook a substantial programme of work in relation to health education and education theory and method (Evans 1965: 115) plus at least one specialist subject such as music or drama. Third, students were required to engage in practice, supplemented by specialist placements and visits.

This course did not cater for large numbers of students, for example between 1936 and 1939 only 35 took the course. Later, in the 1930s, the YWCA established a course at Selly Oak. Normally two years, it involved two terms in the college with the balance spent in a large centre and on placement at a social casework agency (Morgan 1939: 396). The YMCA also ran in Central London a six month scheme that included a mix of 'practical experience and theoretical training' (op cit).

The government takes a hand

The expansion of youth work in the UK during the Second World War led to new training initiatives. Three English universities and the University College of Swansea in addition to the YWCA all ran one year courses; and one teacher training college (Homerton, Cambridge) and some voluntary organisations developed 'emergency' courses and programmes of various length after the government agreed to fund them following the publication of Board of Education Circular 1598 in 1942. In addition to these the University of Durham started a two-year part-time course, the University of Liverpool a one year scheme and the National Association of Girls Clubs an 18 month programme located in various provincial centres (Evans 1965: 120-121). Over 300 students had by 1944 enrolled on these programmes. War-time conditions and an absence of mandatory grants meant many of the courses encountered difficulties in recruiting students and keeping their drop-out rates below an acceptable norm. (Board of Education 1944: 97).

As the Board began to consider strategies for English and Welsh post-war educational reconstruction it became clear that there was a pressing need for the reform of teacher training. New teachers needed to be better equipped to respond to the

expanded curriculum, the new county colleges, and the raising of the school leaving age. These developments meant that schools and colleges would be working with a far higher proportion of the young people who had comprised the traditional clientele of the youth service. Senior Board officials therefore saw an advantage in linking the careers of both and the McNair Committee was briefed to look into the supply, recruitment and training of both teachers and youth leaders (Gosden 1976: 388-410).

McNair recommended that the salaries of both should be comparable; that service as a youth leader should be pensionable; that the normal period of training should be three years; and that transfer between the two occupations should be facilitated (Board of Education 1944: 93-106). The content of the full time courses they proposed was very similar to that of the earlier NCGC scheme. A quarter and sometimes a half of the training should be devoted to practical work with fewer lectures and more seminars and tutorials. They highlighted the danger of a lack of coherence in such courses. The course was to comprise three years of full-time study and practice. There was the possibility of shorter courses (of not less than a year) for those with university degrees and certificates or who had considerable practical or professional experience. The minimum age for recognition as a full-time leader was to be 23.

Sadly, there followed a period of procrastination and indecision. The financial costs of the McNair proposals were judged to be excessive; the number of youth leaders fell sharply as a consequence of post-war austerity; and worries were voiced concerning the relatively short time that people were expected to practice as youth leaders in comparison with teachers. The principle solution to this problem of a low return on investment was that youth leaders might proceed to employment within the new post-school county colleges. The government still argued the case for an increasing fluidity in the employment of teachers, youth leaders and community centre wardens, 'so that they may contribute to the different aspects of education and social services, according to their abilities and interests' (Ministry of Education 1947: 74). At this time the first 'emergency' six month training courses for community centre wardens began at Fircroft College, Birmingham, run in association with the National Federation of Community Associations. Two courses were run, but a third could not recruit (Broady et al 1990: 56). In Scotland, the 1945 Education (Scotland) Act made provision for the promotion of social, cultural and recreative activities and in 1946 professional training for youth workers under the auspices of the Scottish Youth Leadership Training Association commenced. This relatively modest scheme came to an end in 1950 (Scottish Education Department 1975).

Uncertainty remained and the Ministry took the usual route of setting up committees, first Jackson (Ministry of Education 1949) and then Fletcher (Ministry of Education 1951). These watered down the McNair proposals. People holding a teaching qualification or a degree or social science qualification would undertake 3 months training; the others one year. One significant point of difference between the findings of the committees was that the first saw the main source of supply as teachers; whilst the latter did not. This was a response to the adverse reaction to the Jackson Report among voluntary youth organizations (Kuenstler 1954:64). Both

saw youth work as a stopping off point, something undertaken by men and women largely during their mid- to late- 20s as a prelude either to marriage or entry into their chosen profession which was assumed by Jackson to be teaching. The Fletcher Committee saw other career paths for youth leaders. These included work in community centres, the Borstal and Probation services, remand homes, child care work, moral welfare and the Youth Employment Service.

No lead came from the Ministry of Education (Evans 1965: 129). The university courses, the syllabi for which can be found in Kuenstler (1954), mostly petered out; the programmes based in voluntary organizations struggled and in some cases expired (e.g. the National Association of Mixed Clubs scheme). The one significant exception - the National Association of Boys Clubs extended its programme. The only new route established was Westhill (1952), a two year full-time course running in parallel with teacher and missionary training programmes.

These initiatives largely failed for four reasons. First, youth work employment opportunities declined sharply during the post-war period. The prioritization of health, housing and schooling within a context of a 'cold war' which demanded high defence expenditure ensured that the government, although sympathetic to the case for the development of youth work and county colleges, held such programmes in abeyance. Second, students did not receive a mandatory grant and many experienced financial difficulties. Third, full employment, especially the demand for teachers and further education lecturers, made alternatives more attractive. Fourth, the failure to introduce county colleges meant there was no clear career structure.

Lady Albemarle to the rescue

Political and media pressure on the government to 'do something about youth' reached a crescendo in the late 1950s. Once again a committee was appointed. This time the Albemarle committee was not a stalling mechanism but in part a means for legitimating the already planned expansion of local authority youth provision (Jeffs 1979: 31-45). Henceforth commentators much more confidently spoke of a youth service, albeit one dominated administratively and politically by the LEAs.

The Albemarle Report (HMSO 1960) called for a near doubling of the full time youth work labour force to 1300 by 1966 and a scheme of emergency training to achieve this. McNair, it should be noted, argued for between 5,000 and 6,000 workers, one full-time worker for every 300 15 to 18 year olds (Board of Education 1944: 98). Albemarle like Jackson saw teachers as the main source of recruitment (1960: 72). The corps of professional leaders was to be drawn from three main sources: teachers, social workers and mature persons with a natural gift for leadership. They argued that teacher training should include youth leadership options. This was pushing against an open door as ten were already developing options on their new three year Certificates. Albemarle hoped there would be a parallel development within social work training plus three month transfer courses to enable teachers, social workers and certain other professionals to enter youth work.

For those with 'mature gifts' the Committee saw the Westhill two year course as the ideal model. However, the time needed to expand college provision and train

people over two years was seen as unduly lengthy given the 'gravity' of the youth problem. Their proposal for a one year emergency course was accepted and the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders was opened in Leicester in September 1961 (Watkins 1972). The initial intake was 60 and 140 for each of the remaining five years of the College's existence. In addition to the established Westhill and Swansea courses, the Liverpool NABC course and the London based YMCA course were recognized as leading to professional qualification. A one year Diploma course in youth work was also offered by Manchester University. Some three to six month courses were organised by the DES and the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Youth Organisations in 1963 so that some existing practitioners could be recognised as qualified. Youth work training was also reintroduced in Scotland in 1960 along similar lines to that advocated by Albemarle (Milburn 1990: 44).

The impact of Albemarle on training cannot be easily over estimated. In particular the expansion it fuelled created a phalanx of workers who in a short space of time came to dominate youth work management. Second, the hastily assembled staff of the National College and the curriculum came to exercise a disproportionate influence on youth work training for both full- and part-time workers during the following decades. Third, Albemarle led to the creation of a structured and reformed mass training programme for part-time workers (Ministry of Education 1962; DES 1966). Finally, unlike earlier reports in respect of training, publication was accompanied by a prodigious growth in employment opportunities. Now local authorities had the money and the incentive (they needed workers to run their new centres) to grant-aid students.

Putting the ship in order

Two year courses were established in 1971 once the immediate problem of supply was alleviated. These were predominately located within larger, non-monotechnic institutions (the exception was the newly established YMCA National College). The Fairbairn-Milson Report (DES 1969) had reiterated the argument for a minimum course length of two years but saw a three year course as being preferable. The committee also recommended that:

- courses should prepare students for community development work along the lines suggested by the Gulbenkian Report (Calouste Gulbenkian 1968). (It should be noted that Milson was involved in the Westhill two year programme set up in 1963 to train community centre wardens).

- it should be made possible for youth and community workers with the ability to take shortened courses to become qualified teachers. (Fairbairn was chief education officer of a LEA that located nearly all 'statutory' youth work in school settings and only employed qualified teachers as youth tutors). The committee recommended a similar professional link with social work.

- the two year programmes should be based within colleges of education or polytechnics with departments of education; and that the existing National College course be wound up.

- substantial material on counselling be included in courses.

Post haste eight two year courses were established, the NABC and YMCA schemes upgraded and the two one-year post-graduate courses retained. Despite the reluctance of the DES to support the change all the courses followed Fairbairn-Milson in appending community to their title.

Following the initial flurry one or two additional courses were started in the next decade. These included the DES sponsored distance education programme based at the YMCA National College. Changes in the regulations governing teacher education, and problems of teacher over-supply led to the closure of a number of courses and the demise of the specialist qualifying options within Certificate and BEd programmes. At this point of time, teachers were still recognised as qualified to be youth and community workers. As the courses gained in maturity and the youth service in size so pressure emerged for the creation of a regulatory body similar to the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work and the Royal College of Nursing with oversight over training (Davies 1988). The recommendation in the Thompson Report (HMSO 1982) that such a national body be set up to be 'concerned with nature, quality and extent' of training (ibid: 97) was endorsed by the DES who set up the Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work. CETYCW duly began to operate as a validation body early in the following year.

For Scotland there were two key reference points. First, Community of Interest (Scottish Education Department 1968) gave a clear impetus to community-based developments both in adult education and youth work. Second' the Alexander Report (Scottish Education Department 1975) argued for the creation of a community education service on the grounds that: 'Adult education and youth and community services already overlap and interrelate to a considerable extend; but there would be much advantage from still closer association... The infusion of work of a more intellectual kind into the programmes of the youth and community service would we understand be welcomed' (ibid: 35). Alexander also called for linked changes to be made in training (ibid: 83). Subsequently, the Carnegy Working Party Report (Scottish Education Department 1977) and Training for Change (Scottish Community Education Council 1984) laid the foundations for the development of training for a non-specialist generic community education worker (Steward 1990: 70). The result was the establishment of Community Education and Validation (Scotland) and the requirement that initial qualifying training should be provided at the level of a professional degree in community education (SCEC 1990: 16). Once again Scotland may be setting the agenda for change. Just as their introduction of an all graduate teaching profession significantly pre-dated similar developments elsewhere in the United Kingdom.

Everybody on board

The establishment of the CETYCW coincided with an explosion in training. The decade that followed saw the emergence of a profusion of different routes to qualification including apprenticeship schemes, accreditation of experience, part-time routes, and degree courses. Not just routes multiplied. Cane (1991) reports that

between 1984 - 91 the number of courses grew by 300 per cent; five routes expanded to 13; and the number of students rose from 380 to over a 1000. In part expansion resulted from government initiatives such as the Youth Leaders for the Inner Cities Programme (DES 1992a). However, other factors need to be acknowledged.

First, growth was initiated, or justified, by reference to a widely circulated position paper produced by the research officer of the CETYCW (Kuper 1985). This argued that during the late 1980s and early 1990s a significant shortfall would occur in the number of youth and community workers. The case was predicated upon an assumption that growth could be extrapolated from recent trends without reference to the fiscal and political context, in particular, the determination of central government to restrain local government spending and change its tax base. The report amounted to one of the most crass, ill-thought out and inadequate attempts yet to assess potential demand within a segment of the labour market. Sadly it was overwhelmingly accepted as gospel by those in the training business. Almost without exception they opted to ignore the contrary case (Jeffs and Smith 1987) and press ahead with wholesale expansion.

Second, growth was vindicated on the basis that it would simultaneously improve access for disadvantaged individuals and groups to youth and community work and higher education (Holmes 1988). This may well be so, but what substantive benefits accrue from increased access to a specifically vocational programme of study that is unlikely to provide secure well paid employment? Without wishing to impugn the motives of individual academics the suspicion lingers that many applicants gain access precisely because the job prospects are poor. If the posts were there, opportunities expanding, and remuneration was on an upward curve then would 'disadvantaged' applicants really be able to compete against the better qualified, predominately middle class rivals who would be fighting to get in? Or would in those circumstances the position be analogous to that prevailing in law or medicine? Equally it has to be acknowledged that the feminisation of youth and community work has coincided with the decline in its attractiveness as an area of employment; the shift towards substantial part-time work and use of temporary contracts.

Finally, expansion has been encouraged by higher education institutions selfishly seeking to raise fee income, and academics looking to protect their jobs or secure promotion. Consequently both have often recruited with scandalous indifference to either their capacity to provide a high quality training programme or the ability of the market to offer their graduates employment. A typical example of this imbalance occurs in the North East, where cutbacks in provision and an increase in the number of courses and students on existing programmes will mean that during 1992 the numbers in training approximated to those currently employed by the major local authorities in the region. This is a pattern replicated elsewhere. For example, in another region, the two local authority employers that sponsored one apprenticeship programme failed to offer any of the graduates an interview let alone a post. Six weeks after completion not a single student had secured full-time employment in youth work.

The current situation is a mess, a scandal even. One complicated by the contraction in employment opportunities. The wholesale expansion of training programmes has meant that an unprecedented number of graduates are entering the labour market at precisely the time cutbacks in vacancies and redundancies are being encountered on a scale not seen since the immediate post-war period. A third of full time jobs in youth work evaporated in Inner London between 1988/89 and 1992 (London Youth Matters 1992). In other areas budgets have been reduced by over 30 and 40 per cent leading to redundancies and frozen posts. We are witnessing the virtual cessation and threatened extinction of local authority youth and community education services in a growing number of localities such as, at the time of writing, Warwickshire, Bury and North Tyneside. The crisis of employment in England and Wales is unlikely to get better in the immediate future. Yet still some institutions manage to somehow justify to themselves increasing their intakes and bringing new courses on stream. One suspects that in the present climate most universities would provide a Diploma in Effective Torture and Political Prisoner Management if an exploitable 'window of opportunity' appeared in the market.

The new endorsing body for initial youth work training in England and Wales (the National Youth Agency took over the responsibilities of CETYCW in 1991) has shown little propensity to act any more responsibly than its predecessor. Both have failed to protect the employment interests of students by seeking to research the labour market or intervene to foster a socially responsible attitude amongst course providers regarding recruitment. Such recalcitrance may be a by-product of government policies designed to create a free market culture within higher education and discourage interference or it may be a natural reluctance to avoid any repetition of the disastrous results of CETYCW's earlier attempt to predict demand. Neither amount to an adequate excuse for inaction. CETYCW previously and now NYA possess a capacity for independent action. Their reluctance to display this is no longer excuseable. Each in turn has failed to demand or protect standards on existing courses; to impose exacting criteria for new programmes which insist on minimum staff-student ratios; monitor the availability of quality placements and fieldwork supervision; or insist on adequate resourcing within institutions with regards to teaching accomodation and the funding of libraries and support services.

Given this sorry record, is there a case for retaining the NYA as an endorsing agent? We would argue not. First, the continued existence of the present body is daily becoming more problematic as the nature of informal education with young people, and its location, changes. These changes will be discussed later. Suffice it to say for the moment, the NYA, wedded as it is to notions of youth service and free-standing youth work, has little to offer. Second, no agency so patently controlled by central government can hope to acquire the respect, authority and independence required of a professional endorsing body. Past compromises and failures mean that a new free-standing professional endorsing body similar, for example, to the Law Society or Royal College of Midwives, is needed (but more of this later).

Never mind the quality feel the width

We have written elsewhere about the state of initial training (Jeffs and Smith 1987; 1990; 1991) so will be brief. In many ways training today is less coherent, less grounded in practice, less imaginative than that offered in the 1960s. In fact, when compared with the 1930s NAGC scheme and, indeed, the YMCA programme of the 1890s, it may also be less intellectually rigorous and relevant. Many of the failings flow from the reluctance of the youth work and community work fields to competently address their essential purpose, occupational character and working processes. Practice has not been interrogated with the rigour required to conceptualize what it is that the trainers need to achieve. Consequently, the 'field' has not made a realistic or sustained contribution to the development of training programmes or a critique of them. However, all cannot be blamed on the field. Trainers themselves have shirked their responsibilities - for example, they have made few substantive additions to the literature since the early 1970s (Jeffs and Smith 1987).

Let us summarize the key points of failure and success.

An inability to understand the process as professional education. Many courses fail to understand that what they are engaged in is professional education. A number have tended to work with dual aims - one to do with training, the other with entry into higher education. Many programmes have been seen as so called 'second chance' routes. In these situations it is very difficult to reconcile student expectations and the demands of both sets of objectives.

A failure to explore the nature of the work. The trainers are not alone in this. Central and local agencies alike have also failed to address key questions. Just to take community work, for example. We are still left today with analyses of community work which owe more to the 1960s and 1970s than to the 1990s. We remain locked into many of the typologies and paradigms of that period. The few texts that have appeared in recent years (e.g. Barr 1991; Broady and Hedley 1989; Ellis 1989; Francis and Henderson 1992) are best understood as reworkings of old themes.

An inattention to understanding youth work and community work as education. In many respects this is excusable in relation to community work. In that sector there occurred a distancing from informal education in the late 1960s (Thomas 1983: 33-35). In youth work, the pressure for leisure provision, the empty rhetoric of social education, moves to casework and counselling; and links with crime prevention and diversion projects have added to the confusion (Smith 1988: 65-87). Put starkly, youth workers and community workers have great difficulty in understanding themselves as educators and teachers. Few programmes that we have seen give sustained attention to the nature of education, its philosophy and its practice.

A relative inattention to process and practice. It is rare, say the Inspectors, to 'find teaching explicitly designed to extend the range and depth of professional skills in such areas as group work and counselling' (DES 1990: 9). There has been a movement away from a focus on process and practice to attention to particular issues

(Jeffs and Smith 1989). Were the lack of attention to professional processes not enough, it is so badly done. As the Inspectors say again: 'in the course of their training, students are rarely invited to recognise, assess and use evidence in reasoned and productive argument, but tend instead to rely on assertion and anecdote'. (DES 1990: 1).

Some programmes are beginning to break away from historic low academic standards. As the Inspectors comment:

> *A minority of students on the two-year certificate courses read widely, learn to write well and subsequently go on to success in more advanced study. The majority make discernible progress, reading more difficult texts and writing with greater assurance. There are many others, however, who need much more help with reading and writing than they receive. (DES 1990: 8).*

This is a situation repeated on the Education Support Grant Initiative where the Inspectors judge that participants, 'have been insufficiently challenged and have read neither widely nor critically' (DES 1992a: 1). The move to Diplomas of Higher Education and hence to degree level work has encouraged in some instances greater attention to these questions. However, problems remain.

There has been criticism of the shift in levels; that, for example, courses may be less accessible to those lacking traditional qualifications; and that courses may produce 'academics' rather than 'good workers'. Both may happen - but as a result of course operation and philosophy rather than level. In contrast, some new programmes, such as the new Scottish community education degree courses, are directed at improving practice. This means that students completing such programmes are having to display their skills in say, working with groups, to degree level.

Unfortunately, similar expectations are not built into most English courses. These have opted for what might be described as 'two plus one' model. That is two years professional training topped up by an 'academic' third year which may be taken by either full- or part-time study. The whole area is further complicated in England by the decision of the NYA to retain the Certificate as the baseline for qualifications. As a result, graduates of CeVe (Scotland) programmes can practice anywhere in the U.K. In contrast graduates from two plus one degrees and shorter programmes in England and Wales will not be recognised as qualified community educators in Scotland. Similar difficulties are likely to arise over comparability between English and other European qualifications (Barr 1991).

Programmes are beginning to address questions around race, gender, sexuality and disability. Programmes have, on the whole, attempted to concern themselves with the under-representation of particular groups. Again HMIs comment that, 'the ethnic and gender balance among students has changed significantly in the last decade: just over half the students were women and one quarter from ethnic minority communities' (DES 1990: 2). Within these global figures there remain some major areas of concern. For example, Training Agency Group figures still point to a significant under-representation of students from certain Asian traditions (Parr 1991). There is also a further problem highlighted by the Inspectors namely

that, 'the diversity of backgrounds that students bring with them to the courses requires varied teaching styles and approaches. Course programmes do not take sufficient account of the needs of each student'. (DES 1990: 2). The content of many programmes has changed to address race, gender, sexuality and disability (or other-ability) as curriculum areas. In some cases there has been a degree of success, in others a deterioration into a crude 'issues' approach (Jeffs and Smith 1989). Yet for all the problems that remain, it must be said that substantial progress has been made.

Sort it out yourselves

It is clear that not only initial training and higher education but also youth work and community work in general are at key points of transition. We can partially perceive our points of departure - but it is difficult to grasp where we are heading. We believe that in each area what will exist in ten years time will be radically different to the present situation. Clearly change in one policy area will impact, often dramatically, upon others; a multitude of agents and socio-economic factors will combine to re-shape each of them. Having noted that and given the orientation of the article we will focus largely on what is currently happening within higher education, vocational training and youth and community practice and provision.

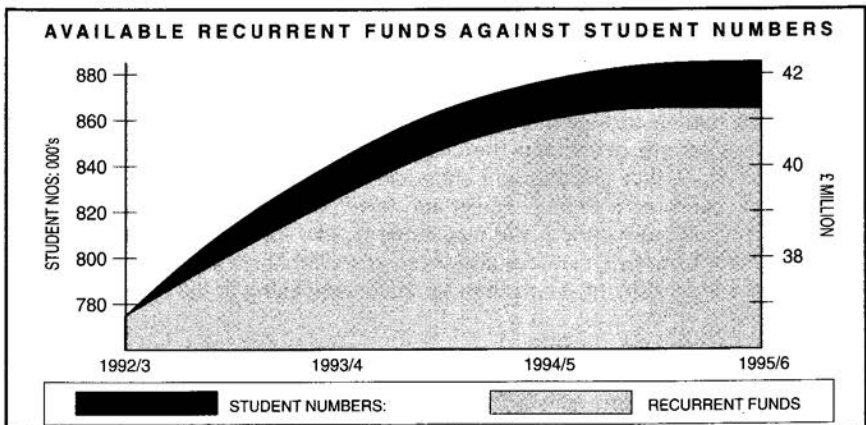
The government appears to have no youth and community service policy in England and Wales. Having just changed the name of the responsible section in the Department for Education from 'community education' to 'dual use' it also obviously neither has, nor desires, a community education policy either. As the humiliating debacle of the recent National Youth Service Conferences illustrated, central government also has no desire to impose a national curriculum on the various warring factions that comprise the Yugoslavia that once was the youth service (NYA 1992). Rather, they apparently wish to step aside and, in the words of the responsible Minister, allow 'the process of planning, delivering and evaluating a curriculum determined locally, in individual organisations' (DES 1992b: 3). The future under this government, to extend an earlier metaphor, lies in the continuing Balkanisation of the youth and community service. Even if this means, as one significant commentator has argued we can now see, 'the writing on the wall for the death of the youth service' (Paraskeva quoted in Dore 1992). The youth service is being dismantled largely because central government wants to dismantle local government. The motivation for this has little to do with either the efficiency or otherwise of either the youth service or local authorities. It is being undertaken first in order to eliminate socialism, and one presumes social democracy, as a viable intellectual and political alternative to free market conservatism. Such a policy requires that local democratic institutions are weakened and, in the case of the Inner London Education Authority or the metropolitan counties, eliminated, because they can be controlled by opposition parties who legitmately use them to implement alternative policies and challenge the power of central government. Second they wish to extend the involvement of the private sector by handing over the delivery of services to large corporate concerns (Whitfield 1992). Finally they seek to distance central government from direct responsibility for unpopular decisions such as school closures, whilst concentrating power in Whitehall through overall control of budgets and the appointment of hand picked 'friends' to run the boards to whom management of services is often delegated. Apart from taking

power away from local authorities through legislation the government has also sought to weaken it by severely restricting its capacity to raise income and reducing the volume of transfers from the Exchequer. This pincer movement has meant that the quality of local services has declined and charges have risen. Inevitably dissatisfaction amongst users has increased and discontent amongst staff grown. Central government has clearly counted on such discontent eroding public support for locally elected councils and fuelling demands for 'opting out' of local authority control. Hoping that both users of services and face-to-face workers would abandon the principle of democratic control by elected local government representatives for the short-term financial benefits flowing from central government funding.

The impact of these policy objectives upon different areas of welfare is highly variable and at times contradictory. In relation to youth work, with an extensive range of historic and more contemporaneous agencies in place , the elimination of local authorities as direct providers is feasible. In higher education where the 'market' is dominated by a small number of powerful universities, although patterns of funding may change, the overall structure is far less susceptible to external reform. However the difficulties the government encounters when trying to impose policies in areas where a multitude of providers and agents exist is well illustrated in the slow progress they have made to the establishment of a national system of vocational qualifications.

Standing room only?

We are in the midst of a fundamental shift from elite to mass HE. Between 1987 and the end of the century it is the intention of the government to raise the age participation rate for 19 year olds from 14 to 32 per cent. (DES 1991). This would bring the UK in line with the United States, but still leave it well adrift of the levels achieved in a number of OECD countries (DES 1988) and less than half the 70 per cent which is the ambition of the French government. The UK participation rate has been constantly revised upwards. Numbers were projected to increase from 494,000 (1987) to 746,000 in 1995 and then to just under 1,200,000 by the end of this decade. The government now has brought forward the breaching of the one million ceiling to 1995/6 (see figure 1 below).



The DFE have not indicated how many additional academic staff they intend to see in post by that date. However, originally to cover the 66 per cent increase up to 1995 they envisaged a paltry 9 per cent growth in staffing (DES 1992b). All the evidence points to a significant worsening of staff-student ratios between now and the end of the century.

Expansion will only partially be funded by greater central government investment. As a proportion of the total higher education budget such transfers are expected to decline. Students will be required to contribute far more of their own money to cover both living and study costs. Where applicable this will entail parents or partners more generously supporting students. The Universities are expected to aggressively market themselves to raise cash from donations and fees for research until such earnings approximate to at least the US level of 21 per cent of overall income (DES 1989; DTI and CIHE 1989). Undoubtedly, as in the United States this will lead to a sharper divide between rich and poor universities, those with affluent patrons and those without.

To achieve economies of scale and the maximisation of managerial flexibility courses within the new market orientated universities will become increasingly 'unitized', broken up into distinct and free-standing modules. Most students will be selecting options from a range of standardized programmes building up their qualification via a cafeteria technique. Modules will be credit rated and students will, as a consequence, be theoretically free to move within and between institutions. Such movement is unlikely to be totally unhindered. Higher tuition and living costs in some institutions will probably prevent many lower income students taking advantage of the free market. Others will also encounter, if the American model is adopted, 'entrance tests'. These will be applied by popular colleges and programmes within institutions. Tests designed to ascertain levels of existing knowledge and competence as well as to control, where necessary, numbers.

Such changes will in universities encourage and enable students to complete their programme of qualification via a mixture of full and part-time study. As in the United States and Germany, fragmented patterns of study will become widespread perhaps even the norm. It is likely that the main motivation for students to move away from the present mode of unbroken attendance will be financial difficulties resulting from the slow but inexorable decline in the value of grants, exclusion from benefits and difficulties in securing vacation work plus the necessity to contribute to the hidden costs of study. The need to 'pay their way through college', or to allow their parents or partners the chance to refurbish and balance the family budget, will mean that students will encounter mounting pressure to 'take out' a semester or year to earn money. Fewer and fewer will complete their diploma or degree in the minimum period. We may move rapidly towards the German model of studies embracing between four and seven years (Smithers and Robinson 1991), with only a few wealthy or scholarship students completing in the minimum stipulated period.

No universal pattern is likely to emerge in the short-run but the separate youth and community work course, with a fixed cohort and shared group experience will probably not survive for much longer. Students will increasingly be part, for much

of their training, of groups containing peers working towards a plethora of vocational, specialist and general qualifications. Common first year modules shared with general degree students as well as aspirant social workers, teachers and other social science linked careers will become the norm. Many will not therefore decide upon their specialism until well after they have entered higher education, whilst others arriving with a nominated career as their desired goal may move sideways to other occupational destinations or institutions. The distinctive culture and ethos of youth and community work training is unlikely to survive within the melee that will be HE in the foreseeable future.

Existing professional and vocational courses located within higher education have traditionally been more expensive than academic social science courses in the same institutions. High investment in individual and small group tutorials, placement visits, payments to agencies for placements and supervision, along with study visits all combine to raise unit costs. Pressure to continually lower these is unlikely to ease in the immediate future and therefore resistance to cross subsidization within institutions will intensify. The 'high cost practices' within youth and community, social work and teacher training programmes described earlier are likely to be abandoned to avoid either closure or the imposition of differential and disadvantageous fees. Not suprisingly a growing number of courses have already moved away from individual tutorials and placement visits.

Will these changes further limit access for disadvantaged groups and individuals into this area of work? Paradoxically it will certainly reduce the average age of entry to the occupation (as has already been the case with health visiting and social work). This may well however be a short term phenomenon. There is a clear trend for the age of entry to higher education to move upwards as a consequence of demographic and other changes (DFE 1992). Whether they will make entry for those from low income and disadvantaged groups more difficult is not easy to predict. The DFE believe not (but they would hardly be expected to say otherwise - would they?). Their comparative cross-national survey of patterns of entry into higher education argued that the introduction of loans and self-funding 'suggests no clear correlation between form or quantity of student support and representation of the lower occupational groups' (DES 1988: 38). Part-time study, not linked to employer sponsorship; more open access on the part of institutions desperate to raise fee income; and the ability to move into new areas of study without 'passing through the interview barrier' may, for some, create access opportunities currently denied. For others the declining value of the mandatory grant, low income backgrounds and a shortage of suitable part-time work may erect new, or merely reinforce old, barriers. Either way this is an issue that will require careful monitoring.

C'mon everybody, let's do the NVQ

This article is concerned with the initial qualifying training. To present an adequate account of recent and concurrent changes in the structure and patterns of training for 'part-time' workers would require another article of similar length. Unfortunately we are unable to do this but do wish to consider a number of key issues that impact upon initial training. The post-Albemarle model of 'part-time' training established following the publication of the Bessey Reports (Ministry of Education 1962: DES 1966) envisaged the creation of collaborative programmes of

training jointly owned by the voluntary and statutory sectors. This structure largely failed to materialize. Large youth organizations such as the Scouts and Guides maintained independent training programmes. LEAs as the principal employers and funders of paid part-time workers came to dominate the 'Bessey' programmes. They picked up the tab and their training officers felt entitled to dictate the style and content of courses (Jeffs 1979: 57). Although the curriculum and modus operandi has changed the organisational context and pattern of control has remained largely unaltered (Butters and Newell 1978; Kendra 1985a).

At a national level the first significant change post-Bessey was wrought as a consequence of the publication of Starting from Strengths (Bolger and Scott 1984) which although not universally adopted, created an influential model based upon the use of portfolios and accreditation of prior learning. The setting up of CETYCW and the establishment over a period of time of panels dealing with initial, in-service and 'part-time' training stimulated debate about the possibilities of creating a comprehensive and all-embracing system; one covering all youth work training and programmes of qualification. Progress towards this has gathered pace and the establishment of a mechanism for national and regional validation (Regional Accredition and Moderation Panels) is beginning to mean that qualifications awarded by one local training body are recognized by others.

These developments have reflected a general trend within vocational training. This involves an orientation towards competency-based training; employer-led programmes; the adoption of alternative modes of learning and assessment; modularization; the introduction of unit credits; and the development of a national system of credit accumulation. It is widely assumed that the latter will eventually be integrated with a national record of vocational achievement and individual 'log-books' (Jessup 1990). The government has certainly sought to encourage the emergence of a system of national vocational qualifications (NVQs) which will encompass all levels of training and the majority of the workforce. For youth work it may approximate to Figure 2 although there will certainly be some dispute over the placement of certain elements. For example should basic training be seen as equivalent to level 2 or level 3. Such problems inevitably arise because the imposed five levels do not neatly fit with what currently exists.

NVQ FRAMEWORK: youth work · community work · community education			
5	(Post) Graduate	Degree · MA Post Graduate Diplomas	NVQ 5
4	Higher Education	Dip HE · Certificate Initial Training	NVQ 4
3	ADVANCED DIPLOMA		
	Advanced Level (A Level)	Specialist and Advanced Training	NVQ 3
2	ORDINARY DIPLOMA		
	Ordinary Level (GCSE)	Basic Training	NVQ 2
1	GCSE (KS4)	Advanced Member and Pre-basic Training	NVQ 1

For youth work there has been an added complication. The reluctance of the DFE to loosen control over teacher education has meant that no lead body has, at the time of writing, been established for education and therefore youth work in England and Wales. It is a grid-lock that may be solved by the transfer of responsibilty for post-16 education and training from the DFE to the Department of Trade and Industry but such a solution is likely to create for youth organisations as many problems as it solves.

Delays in the creation of an education lead body have been exploited by a significant group of community workers and employers. One of the most advanced NVQ sectors has been that linked to residential care, probation and the personal social services. The National Federation of Community Work Trainers has made great efforts to develop NVQ programmes under the auspices of this lead body. This initiative may well signal a break. There have also been several indications of a desire on the part of many community work practitioners to establish an independent system of qualification and accreditation. A wish strengthened by the realisation, now publicly confirmed, that the NYA is restrained from taking the focal responsibility for community work training.

It is important to stress that an NVQ is a statement of competence rather than a training programme. Nevertheless it is one which can be achieved through the accumulation of credits in the form of units acquired via a variety of modes. Therefore, the creation of a lead body will not de facto diminish the intrinsic value that accrues from the existence of an independent endorsing body. Indeed, the existence of such a body might ensure the creation of a more coherent and accessible route for the acquisition of qualifications and help curtail the adoption of a crude competency model.

As this process perculates through youth work with the introduction of RAMPs, the local structures on which it has traditionally been founded are becoming less secure. More and more local authorities are finding themselves unable or unwilling to fund programmes and employ training officers. Recently validated schemes in some localities have never actually taken place. Others, are in abeyance because the appointment of paid part-time workers has ceased and therefore LEAs have scant incentive to maintain the supply. Despite a number of welcome reforms that have taken place in the recent past it is difficult to avoid reaching the conclusion that the training of part-time workers is fast becoming something of a disaster area, one attributable overwhelmingly to the determination of central government to impoverish local government.

Changing partners

The decision to embark on initial training as a youth and community worker or community educator is rarely taken lightly and the combination of reasons why someone applies for and completes such a programme is not always easy to identify. It may be predicated by lengthy involvement as a part-time or voluntary worker; it may reflect a deep-seated ideological commitment to political, social and individual change; or it may, more prosaically, be viewed as a relatively painless avenue into higher education (no 'A'levels required) and rite of passage to professional employment and status, albeit one with a traditionally lower threshold of

acceptance and apprenticeship than the majority of professions. Whatever the motivation the decision is in most cases linked to an expectation that the qualification will be marketable, leading with minimal delay to relatively well paid and secure employment. Such employment was, until fairly recently, virtually guaranteed. Either as a consequence of sponsorship or secondment by an employer or by a labour market offering ample vacancies for new graduates. Youth workers and community educators have for the bulk of the post-war period enjoyed a sellers market.

During the last decade that situation has changed beyond recognition. Local authority funding was initially eroded by an inability to keep pace with inflation. Subsequently it has been curtailed as a consequence of reductions in central government transfers and 'capping' which have restricted their capacity to raise income. Initially this financial pincer movement led to youth and community posts being frozen but more recently redundancies have been declared in a burgeoning number of localities. The picture nationally is still uneven with some authorities maintaining high staffing levels while others incrementally, or in the space of a couple of months, have reduced their workforces to a rump. Peversely some Scottish community education services are talking of modest growth in the coming financial year but these are very much an exception . The voluntary sector have not been immune from these changes. First, because they have tended to be the prime victims of local authority financial constraints as they sought to protect in-house staff by reducing grant-aid to non-statutory bodies. Second, because many had allowed themselves to become overly dependent upon Manpower Services Commission funding, especially Community Programme monies. When CP funding evaporated, virtually overnight, many found themselves incapable of sustaining provision developed on the back of cheap and exploited labour. In both sectors not merely full-time jobs have disappeared but also part-time posts, in fact in certain localities, the latter disproportionately so. Almost without exception employers have opted to reduce these, cut investment in part-time training, and de facto lower rates of pay; usually in order to protect full-time posts.

Local authorities and traditional voluntary agencies have never been the exclusive employers of youth workers, community educators or community workers. However, they have long dominated the market. This is far less likely to be the case in the future. As we have argued elsewhere (Jeffs and Smith 1992) it is becoming increasingly the case that radical changes are taking placing regarding the employment location of youth workers, community educators and community workers. Health promotion agencies, the police, local authority leisure services, the fire service, the personal social service departments, schools and Further Education colleges, housing departments and associations, development agencies, museums and private 'for profit' firms are all beginning, for various reasons, to show a growing interest in the potential value of employing informal educators to work with young people and community groups.

Obliquely this tendency is being encouraged by the thrust of government policy. A good example of this is found in the White Paper *The Health of the Nation* (DoH 1992). This sets targets for the Health Service which include a 50 per cent reduction in pregnancies amongst 13 to 15 year olds by 2000, plus a plethora of similar

targets relating to sexually related diseases, HIV/AIDS and illnesses linked to 'individual and group' malpractice. If these are to be achieved resources will have to be released for substantial informal education programmes. Youth workers, community educators and community workers all have a potentially significant role to play not only in relation to health but also within every area of welfare policy.

However, involvement will depend on a paradigm shift in ethos and approach. Such employment will demand an extensive knowledge base; a sophisticated capacity to work effectively in multi-professional and multi-agency settings; clarity regarding areas of competence; knowledge of research techniques and methodologies; and, perhaps above all else, a sense of professional worth and expertise founded upon an understanding of the theory and practice of informal education (Jeffs and Smith 1990: 124-143). An understanding that will enable the practitioner to develop in the course of their work their own grounded theory. If this is to occur then many of the training agencies will have to institute a paradigm shift regarding their own practice and orientation in order to prepare skilled and intellectually competent professionals for a significantly different environment. To abandon the mind-set that sees the local youth officer as the employer whose needs have to be satisfied and voice heeded. Unfortunately these new and exciting areas of work are not reserved occupations for youth workers, community educators or community workers. Many nurses, health visitors, police officers would be delighted to 're-train' as informal educators, to augment their current skills and knowledge base. Modularization of initial training will make it increasingly easy to do. The future of full-time paid youth work may well, therefore, in part, depend upon the ability of the training agencies to read the new welfare labour market. To grasp the potential role open to informal educators within it and the attributes demanded as the price of entry. We are not at the moment confident that many can or will do so.

Thanks for the memory... of times we've had

For the immediate future the free for all that is currently youth and community work training will continue. Overall the prospects are not good. First, the numbers presenting themselves for training will probably decline as potential recruits realise that the employment opportunities such courses offer are severely limited. Already a substantial number of graduates, as many as a third on one course, use their qualification as a means of securing access to other, usually more advanced, programmes of study. Unitization will allow this process to take place at an earlier stage. Some courses may well as a result find themselves being used largely as a conduit by which applicants who failed to secure entrance to other programmes can eventually do so.

As has already occurred some courses will shift their orientation, no longer defining themselves in the traditional way as youth and community work programmes. This may flow from a recognition that youth work and community work is marginal. That it has to be placed alongside larger, more substantive occupational groupings and fields of study such as education, health and social welfare. Or from an acceptance that youth as an organising focus for defining a pedagogical approach is increasingly difficult to sustain (Jeffs and Smith 1993; Smith forthcoming) Students are already partially recognizing this by demanding different inputs onto programmes and alternative placements; and partly by seeing current pro-

grammes as a staging post providing a licence to practice that has to be supplemented by the acquisition of additional qualifications and expertise.

One obvious model can be found in the Scottish orientation to community education - which is radically different to school-focused notions of community education current in England and Wales; and which also stands in contrast to the usage of the term to describe administratively unified adult education and youth work (Smith forthcoming). Other programmes may choose to acquire unique specializations, by seeking to cater for a market niche e.g. animateurs in sports promotion, health education, rural development and drama. This response is problematic. Not least because it will involve the providers coming to a much closer accommodation with other disciplines - this will not be a comfortable process - particularly as the programmes will do so from a position of weakness. Once the shift has been made to a specialism linked to an historic discipline or field of study then the justification for youth being the organzing idea evaporates.

Some programmes will, in the time honoured fashion, attempt to do nothing. Courses that ignored the opportunity provided by the move to diploma and degree level programmes to restructure in line with changes in both the labour market and intellectual debates are unlikely to readily abandon their inertia. Some will of course simply lower their standards to keep up numbers, but this is a ploy with only a limited lifespan. These will become, like some that already exist, widely seen as 'sub standard' and therefore at risk from threatened government intervention designed to 'promote rigorous mechanisms of quality control' and identify sub-standard courses and institutions (Meikle 1992). Their graduates, whatever individual qualities they might possess, will inevitably become stigmatised by employers. The onset of modularization will not save all the existing courses and it is likely that during the next few years we will witness a partial re-run of the situation that occured during the early 1950s. Once again courses will close down, their passing, in many instances unmourned and scarcely noticed.

The essential reorganization and reorientation of initial training programmes would be aided by the existence of an independent and vibrant endorsement body. Such a body should not be a simple replication of existing models. It would have to operate across a number of different welfare arenas and with a multitude of public, voluntary, private and independent employers and groups. With the withering away of the youth service and changes in community education services, and the growth of employment for informal educators in other welfare areas, the focus of the body would inevitably shift from youth and community work to non age specific informal education. In addition, the modularization of higher education will mean that the endorsement process will gradually relate less to 'coherent', self-contained free-standing courses, than to units within programmes of study and the assessment of individual portfolios of qualifications. Unfortunately, an independent endorsement body is unlikely to emerge in the immediate future in England and Wales. Sadly the NYA is unlikely to self-destruct, and the present government with its fear of democracy and pluralism will block at every turn attempts to create such an entity. This should not be taken as a justification for inaction. In particular, there already exists a number of bodies which might provide both an impetus for analysis, and the bare bones of a structure for

moving forward. Not least amongst these is the Training Agencies Group (to which all programme providers can belong). Up until now it has been content to be a pressure group and forum for discussion. In the past it has not been able to take an agreed position, for example, on the proliferation of training routes, and in the current market situation where institutions for the most part see their interest in individual rather than collective terms it remains doubtful if it will do so.

We are witnessing the Balkanization of both training and youth and community work. In the case of the later it is leading to the end of the youth service as an identifiable entity. The historic compromise that was the Albemarle Report seems to have little future. We are witnessing the end of the 'Albemarle era'. This should not be taken to mean that we are facing the imminent demise of youth work or what might more accurately be called informal education with young people. This will continue under many guises and in many different settings and may possibly expand during the coming years once the dead hand of the youth service is lifted from it. New forms of work will require new forms of training and education. It is questionable whether many of the present agencies are intellectually prepared to undertake the task of creating programmes that will match the needs of the new environment. The ways in which some have embraced the competency model and colluded with employers seeking to exploit cheap apprentice and part-time student labour by training students for unemployment inspires little confidence that they have the capacity to do so.

No longer can informal educators in the field or teachers in higher education look to others to provide either ready packaged theory or the framework for action. All parties have to recognize that it is a task they must undertake for themselves for we have arrived at a time when:

> *Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;*
> *The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everwhere*
> *The ceremony of innocence is drowned.*
>
> *(W. B. Yeats The Second Coming)*

References

Barr, A. (1991) *Practising Community Development.* Experience in Strathclyde, London: Community Development Foundation.

Bates, S. (1992) 'Major Targets Left Ideas In Schools'. Independent 26th June.

Board of Education (1942) *Emergency Courses of Training for those engaging in the Youth Service (Circular 1598),* London: HMSO.

Board of Education (1944) *Teachers and Youth Leaders. Report of the Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education to consider the supply, recruitment and training of teachers and youth leaders ('The McNair Report'),* London: HMSO.

Bolger, S. and Scott, D. (1984) *Starting from Strengths.,* Leicester: National Youth Bureau.

Broady, M. & Hedley, R. (1989) *Working Partnerships. Community development in local authorities,* London: Bedford Square Press.

Butters, S. with Newell, S. (1978) *Realities of Training,* Leicester: National Youth Bureau.

Button, L. (1971) *Discovery and Experience. A new approach to training, group work and teaching,* London: Oxford University Press.

Button, L. (1974) *Developmental Group Work with Adolescents,* London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (1968) *Community Work and Social Change. A report on training,* London: Longman.

Cane, T. (1991) *Professional Training in Youth and Community Work in Confidence and Crisis. A briefing paper,* Leicester: National Youth Agency.

Christian, C. & Kitto, J. (1987) *The Theory and Practice of Supervision,* London: YMCA National College.

Davies, B. (1988) 'Professionalism or trade unionism' in T. Jeffs & M. Smith (eds.) *Welfare and Youth Work Practice,* London: Macmillan.

Davies, B. and Gibson, A. (1967) *The Social Education of the Adolescent,* London: University of London Press.

Department for Education (1992) *Statistical Bulletin 19/92. Students in Higher Education,* London: Department for Education.

Department of Education and Science (1966) *A Second Report on the Training of Part-time Youth Leaders and Assistants. Report of the Review Committee of the Youth Service Development Council. December,1965,* London: HMSO.

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

Department of Education and Science (1988) *Top-Up Loans for Students,* London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science (1989) *Aspects of Higher Education in the United States of America. A commentary by HMI,* London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science (1990) *Initial Training for Professional Youth and Community Work. An overview report by HMI on reports published during 1985-1990,* London: Department of Education and Science.

Department of Education and Science (1991) *Higher Education. A new framework,* London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science (1992) *Education Support Grant XXX Youth Leaders for the Inner Cities. Education Support Grant XXVIII (Wales) Youth Work in the Valleys. October 1990-March 1991. A report by HMI,* London: Department of Education and Science.

Department of Education and Science (1992) *Departmental Report. The Government's Expenditure Plans 1992-93 to 1994-95,* London: HMSO.

Department of Health (1992) *The Health of the Nation,* London: HMSO.

Department of Trade and Industry and Committee for Industry and Higher Education (1989) *Collaboration Between Business and Higher Education. Policy and strategy for higher education,* London: HMSO.

Dore, A. (1992) 'Opt-out plea to save youth services' *Times Educational Supplement,* December 4. .

Ellis, J. (1991) *Meeting Community Needs. A study of Muslim communities in Coventry,* Coventry: Centre for Reearch in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

Evans, W. M. (1965) *Young People in Society,* Oxford: Blackwell.

Francis, D. and Henderson, P. (1992) *Working with Rural Communities,* London: Macmillan.

Goetschius, G. W. and Tash, J. (1967) *Working with Unattached Youth. Problem, Approach, Method,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Gosden, P. H. J. H. (1976) *Education in the Second World War. A study in policy and administration,* London: Methuen.

Hendry, L. B., Love, J. G., Craik, I. and Mack, J. (1992) *Measuring the Benefits of Youth Work. A report to the Scottish Office Education Department,* Edinburgh: Scottish Office.

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

HMSO (1982) *Experience and Participation. Review Group on the Youth Service in England ('The Thompson Report'),* London: HMSO.

Holmes, J. (1988) 'In defence of initial training', *Youth and Policy* 23, pp.1-4.

Jeffs, T. (1979) *Young People and the Youth Service,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Jeffs, T. & Smith, M. (1987) 'What Future for Initial Training?' *Youth & Policy* No 20.

Jeffs, T. & Smith, M. (1989) 'Taking issue with issues', *Youth and Policy* 28.

Jeffs, T. & Smith, M. (1990) 'Youth work, youth service and the next few years', *Youth and Policy* 31: 21-29.

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

Jeffs, T. & Smith, M. K. (1992) 'Putting youth work in it's place' *Youth and Policy* 35.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. K. (1993) 'Changing youth work' in M. K. Smith (ed.) *Youth or Adult?*, London: YMCA National College/Rank Foundation.

Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. K. (Forthcoming) 'Curriculum and Competencies'

Jessup, G. (1990) 'National Vocational Qualifications: implications for further education' in M. Bees and M. Swords (eds.) *National Vocational Qualifications and Further Education*, London: Kogan Page.

Kendra, N. (1985) *The Demythologisation of Part-time Youth Work Training*, Newcastle: Youth and Policy.

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.

Kitto, J. (1986) *Holding the Boundaries. Professional Training of Face to Face Workers at a Distance*, London: YMCA National College.

Kuenstler, P. H. K. (ed.) (1954) *Youth Work in England. Extracts from Ministry of Edcuation and other publications relating to statutory and voluntary youth work in England*, London: University of London Press.

Kuper, B. (1985) 'The Supply of Training'. *Youth & Policy* No 13.

Leighton, J. P. (1972) *The Principles and Practice of Youth and Community Work*, London: Chester House.

London Youth Matters (1992) *December Mailing*. London: London Youth Matters.

Matthews, J. E. (1966) *Working with Youth Groups*, London: University of London Press.

Mead, L (1992) *The Politics of Poverty*, New York: Basic Books.

Meikle, J. (1992) 'Doubt Cast On Degrees By Minister'. Independent 16th Sept.

Milburn, T. (1990) 'The Community Education Service and its role in developing learning opportunities for adults' in T. E. Corner (ed.) *Learning Opportunities for Adults.*, London: Routledge.

Milson, F. (1963) *Social Group Work Method and Christian Education*, London: Chester House Publications.

Milson, F. (1968) *Growing With the Job*, London: National Assocation of Youth Clubs.

Milson, F. (1970) *Youth Work in the 1970s*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Milson, F. (1972) *Youth in a Changing Society*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Milson, F. (1973) *An Introduction to Group Work Skill*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Milson, F. (1974) *An Introduction to Community Work*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Ministry of Education (1949) *Report of the Committee on the Recruitment , Training and Conditions of Service of Youth Leaders and Community Centre Wardens ('The Jackson Report')*, London: HMSO.

Ministry of Education (1951) *Report of the Committee on the Recruitment and Training of Community Centre Wardens, ('The Fletcher Report')*, London: HMSO.

Ministry of Education (1962) *The Training of Part-time Leaders and Assistants. Report of the Working Party appointed by the Minister of Education in July 1961*, London: HMSO.

Morgan, A. E. (1939) *The Needs of Youth. A Report made to the King George's Jubilee Trust Fund*, London: Oxford University Press.

National Youth Agency (1992) *Planning and Evaluation in a Time of Change. The report of the third Ministerial Conference for the youth service*, Leicester: National Youth Agency.

Parr, J. (1991) *Community and Youth Work Training Agencies* - Intake Report 1989/91, Birmingham: Training Agencies Group.

Principal Community Education Officers, Scotland (1989) *Youth Work in the Community Education Service*, Edinburgh: Scottish Community Education Council.

Principal Community Education Officers, Scotland (1990) *Adult Education in the Community Education Service*, Edinburgh: Scottish Community Education Council.

Principal Community Education Officers, Scotland (1992) *Community Development in the Community Education Servce*, Edinburgh: Scottish Community Education Council.

Rooff, M. (1935) *Youth and Leisure. A Survey of Girls Organisations in England and Wales*, Edinburgh: Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.

Scott, D. (1990) *Positive Perspectives. Developing the contribution of unqualified workers in community and youth work*, Harlow: Longman.

Scottish Community Education Centre (1984) *Training for Change. A report on community education training*, Edinburgh: Scottish Community Education Council.

Scottish Education Department (1968) *Community of Interests. Schools, Youth Service, Community Service, Further Education Colleges, Evening Classes and Sports Organisations*, Edinburgh: HMSO.

Scottish Education Department (1975) *Adult Education. The challenge of change ('The Alexander Report')*, Edinburgh: HMSO.

Scottish Education Department (1977) *Professional Education and Training for Community Education ('The Carnegy Report')*, Edinburgh: Scottish Education Department.

Shedd, C. P. and other contributors (1955) *History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations*, London: SPCK.

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

Smith, M. K. (forthcoming) *Local Education. Community, conversation, action*, : .

Smithers, A. and Robinson, P. (1991) *Beyond Compulsory Schooling. A numerical picture*, London: Council for Industry and Higher Education.

Steward, T. (1990) 'The development of community education in Scotland since the publication of the Alexander Report: the challenge of change' in T. E. Corner (ed.) *Learning Opportunities for Adults.*, London: Routledge.

Tash, J. (1967) *Supervision in Youth Work. The report of a two- year training project in which selected youth workers acquired skills in supervising*, London: London Council of Social Services.

Thomas, D. N. (1983) *The Making of Community Work*, London: George Allen and Unwin.

Watkins, O. (1972) *Professional Training for Youth Work. The development of methods used at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders 1960-70*, Leicester: Youth Service Information Centre.

Whitfield, D. (1992) *The Welfare State*. London: Pluto Press.

YOUTH POLICY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM and THE MARGINALISATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE

HOWARD WILLIAMSON

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to paint a broad picture of the changes in social policy in the United Kingdom which affect young people between the ages of 14 and 25. My argument will be that the impact of such 'youth policy' has polarised choice and opportunity for the young - while the 'social condition' of many young people has remained relatively positive for the past two decades, a significant minority has been steadily marginalised and increasingly disadvantaged.

Across Europe organisations representing young people, and young people themselves, have asserted the contribution to be made by young people to a changing Europe provided they have the supportive infrastructure of a coherent 'global policy' in the areas of training and education, employment, housing, cultural and leisure activity, and relevant and accurate information (cf. Llangollen Declaration 1991). The call for greater integration and participation by young people has hardly been reflected in concrete policies; by contrast, we are witnessing the public disaffection on the part of young people in the displays of neo-facism in Germany and elsewhere and the private difficulties of many young people in managing the transitions from dependent to independent living - the hallmark of attaining adult status (Burton et al. 1989).

The position of young people in society has always been the focus of interest and concern, not least in terms of establishing appropriate 'rites de passage' to adult status (Gillis 1981). Behaviour by young people - which often tests the boundaries of adults norms and standards - is a constant source of debate around questions of tolerance and accommodation against containment and control; such behaviour is often the catalyst for the emergence of latent 'respectable fears' (Pearson 1983) and 'moral panics' (Cohen 1973).

While social psychologists have consistently stressed the normality, ordinariness and conformist tendencies of most young people (Eppel and Eppel 1966; Furnham and Gunter 1989; Furnham and Stacey 1991), sociologists for many years fell victim to the seductive attraction of spectacular, bizarre, apparently deviant and allegedly rebellious youth cultures (Hall and Jefferson 1976; Mungham and Pearson 1976; Brake 1980). The 'folk devils' within the cultures of the young were eminently media-worthy and of sufficient concern to politicians and public institutions to attract research funding. Very little attention was paid to the vast majority of young people making a range of key transitions in their lives. Far from expressing rebellion or dissent, they were - and remain - more concerned about securing the necessary footholds on the path to adulthood, especially *jobs* which provide a passport to adult status and material identities (see Davis 1990). The limited attention they received concentrated on their aspirations, expectations and orientations to the future, particularly in terms of 'career choice' and transition to the labour

market (see, *inter alia,* Roberts 1984). (This neglect of 'ordinary' young people and narrow focus on labour market transitions has been rectified in recent years by the work undertaken under the auspices of the ESRC 16-19 Initiative - see Banks et al 1992.)

'Choice' and 'opportunity' have remained key rhetorical terms in youth policy making in a broader social, economic and policy climate which increasingly denies or restricts choice and opportunity for many young people in British society. Local studies of the 'condition' of youth in the United Kingdom have drawn attention to the 'fracturing' of traditional transitions to adulthood in the wake of the massive rise in youth unemployment during the late 1970s and 1980s (Willis *et al.* 1988; Coffield et al. 1986). It was held that the dramatic demographic decline in the youth population in the UK by the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s would reverse such difficulties; indeed, employers were being exhorted to trawl beyond their traditionally favoured young recruits and to consider recruiting young people who were often more disadvantaged in the labour market (CBI 1988; NEDO 1988). In some quarters, it was anticipated that the 'demographic time-bomb' would finally provide access to employment opportunities from which some categories of young people had historically been excluded, such as black young people (see Wrench 1991). Such optimism appears to have been misplaced.

Once the conventional pool of young recruits has been exhausted, employers have turned to older workers and women returners rather than, for example, young people from ethnic minorities or those with few formal qualifications, who are too often vulnerable to stereotypical assumptions about their (wrong) attitudes to work and personal characteristics (Lee and Wrench 1983). Furthermore, the debate has become somewhat academic as the bite of economic recession in the UK has led, once again, to rising youth unemployment and contracting local labour markets.

Social policy initiatives affecting young people derive largely from the key policy areas affecting the whole of the population (health, social security, housing, employment and training, criminal justice) though some (education) are clearly focused primarily on the young. The major *youth policy* areas are education (including the youth service), vocational preparation and training, and juvenile justice, though health policy is becoming increasingly targeted at young people (particularly in health promoting activity around issues such as smoking and sexual behaviour), and social security and housing policies have, if only by default, influenced (negatively) the scope for choice by young people on issues governed directly by other areas of policy.

Since the economic crisis of 1973 (arising from the hiking up of world oil prices) and more so since the political realignment which took place following the election of the Thatcher government in 1979, there have been major changes in youth policy and social policy more generally. Between 1972 and 1977 unemployment amongst young people in Britain rose by 120% compared with a rise of 45% amongst the working population as a whole (MSC 1978). It was this rapid rise in youth unemployment which led to major state intervention in the policy arena of youth training (see Rees and Atkinson 1982), based as much on fear of unrest (Mungham 1982) as

on labour market requirements for a better trained workforce, and which formed the backdrop to subsequent youth policy development. As Davies has maintained in his cogent analysis of an emerging 'national youth policy',

> *Training policies for youth were developed which had a new coherence and single-mindedness and which contributed significantly to the construction of a wider national youth policy (1986, p.65).*

However, early state interventions remained based, to some extent at least, on dialogue and consultation, and policy initiatives retained some 'social engineering' objectives, which had been central to youth policy developments in the 1960s, in intent if not in practice. Increasingly, however, such objectives evaporated or were abandoned, replaced by dogmatic ideology which bore little relation to the realities of young people's lives or contemporary social relationships.

All social policy development in the United Kingdom throughout the 1980s has been dominated by three central political objectives; the reduction of public expenditure (economy), the releasing of market forces (efficiency), and the enhancement of consumer choice (effectiveness). These goals have been enshrined collectively by the latest Conservative administration in a 'Citizen's Charter' which, although depicted by its critics as 'all gesture and no substance' (Diamond 1992), serves to convince opinion-formers who never use public transport or the national health service that 'something is being done'. What is becoming increasingly clear, however, is that consumers without resources have little choice and no voice; a point which applies especially to young people.

What such Charters are managing to conceal is the recasting of public issues as private troubles - for individual enterprise and resolution. Social disadvantage and marginality is increasingly presented as pathological, but with no 'medical model' or 'social' attribution to cushion individuals from personal blame and responsibility. Individuality, rationality, personal choice and self-determination prevail - and it is for individuals to take the consequences of their autonomous decisions. As I shall argue below, youth policy development in the United Kingdom is steadily confirming the marginality of increasing proportions of *certain groups* of young people - and although it is difficult to disentangle the differential effects of class, race and gender, policy has impinged most detrimentally on young people who are black, female, poorly qualified, with disabilities, from 'broken homes' and with criminal careers. Regional factors also bear on this disadvantage: in more economically depressed areas of the country, a greater proportion of traditionally more advantaged young people have become vulnerable to impoverished social and economic futures (see Banks *et al* 1992). The consequence of a variety of 'youth policies' has been an increasing demoralisation and alienation of the young which, in turn, has led to disaffection with conventional opportunities to participate in a democratic society. Furthermore, some such young people have become excluded - both formally through policy decisions (as in the case of social security) and informally through the structure of their consequential lifestyles (as in the case of, for example, health care) - from access to the infrastructure of state assistance

and support. Despite the political rhetoric of choice and opportunity for young people and incessant political claims that 'young people are our future, in whom we must invest', the reality is much more to do with the subordination of young people to wider labour market and law and order imperatives. As Coleman has noted, 'One of the most striking features of much, although not all, youth policy is that it seems to be constructed more to meet the needs of adults than of young people' (1992, p.25).

There is a risk of 'conspiracy theory' to my argument. Davies (1986) has certainly argued forcefully that the space for dialogue over the nature of the 'problem' and the form of appropriate 'solutions' has been steadily closed down; alternative 'centres of power' have been eroded as youth policies in the United Kingdom have become centralised and subjected to prevailing economic and political concerns. In particular, evidence has been drawn from the policy areas of youth training and juvenile justice to demonstrate the coherence of government thinking in relation to youth questions. For example, Finn has argued,

> *The young working class are not just accidental victims of the recession; they are in fact being redefined as an aspect of the state's solution to the recession (1983, p.22).*

In the context of criminal justice, Pitts has likewise contended,

> *The State in its law and order policies is not benign - it is going to show the social dynamite that it is a tough state and unemployed inner city working class young people are going to have to swallow that discontent or pay dearly for it (1986, p.8).*

The price paid by young people may not, however, be the one intended. Nor may youth policies be as coherent and single-minded as the writers above would have us believe. For, in endeavouring to meet societal needs (as defined by the prevailing political ideology), many 'youth policies' have been patently *ineffective,* if their success is gauged, for example, by participation levels in youth training or the scale of youthful offending.

As ACOP (1989) has pointed out, there is a patent lack of coherence between criminal justice and social security policies affecting young adults. In criminal justice, they are the priority target group; in social security, they are the lowest priority group. Within these policy areas alone, attention is drawn to their interlocking effects which are detrimental to both society and the individuals concerned.

My contention is that, for certain groups of young people, the implications of the *range* of youth policies (coherent or otherwise) to which they are subjected propels them to the margins and destructively affects their efforts and aspirations to secure the necessary footholds on the transition to adulthood.

Although it would be quite possible to do so, it is not necessary to illustrate this argument from the complete spectrum of youth policy areas. I will draw examples from a selection of contemporary policy initiatives.

Education - turning a 'Deaf Ear'

The aspirations of the liberal-democratic consensus of the 1960s to deliver 'equality of educational opportunity' - even if such aspirations rarely materialised in terms of educational outcomes (see Halsey et al 1980) - have been radically overturned in the past decade. Legislation passed in 1944 provided the guiding framework for British education for 40 years. It was the product of two years' consultation which allowed all points of view to be given fair expression. Since 1988, however, there has been a succession of legislative and policy changes in the area of education which have addressed all facets of educational policy and practice: funding, management, staffing and curriculum. The rhetoric has been laudable: a national curriculum to promote the learning of 'key' subjects, greater parental choice (on the questionable claim that 'parents know best the needs of their children'), local management and autonomy. The reality has been rather different. Government powers over education (which had previously been largely the responsibility of local education authorities) have increased dramatically: between 1988 and 1991, the Secretary of State for Education acquired over 300 specific powers, compared to the three general powers previously possessed. Preoccupations with poor educational standards led to the establishment of a national curriculum and 'assessment tests' of progress, many of which have subsequently been criticised for either over-complexity or lack of reliability. The government provided incentives to encourage the 'opting out' of schools from local authority control; despite only 1% of schools having availed themselves of this option by 1992, a recent White Paper (Department for Education 1992) has prepared the way for this to be the pattern in the future. The 'Great' Education Reform Act of 1988 - which was supposed to establish new directions for the future - has lasted less than four years, having proved to be either 'unworkable or inadequate'. (Bogdanor 1992).

Throughout these developments, consultation has been minimal or non-existent. Educational policy has been ideologically-driven, ignoring increasing criticism from academics and educationalists. The rhetoric retains a populist appeal; the foreword to the latest White Paper, written by the Prime Minister himself, opens with the comment that 'The Government are determined that every child in this country should have the very best start in life' (Department for Education 1992, p.iii). Yet the accruing evidence points to the compounding and extension of existing inequalities in education. The failure of the government to attract sufficient private sector funding for its flagship City Technology Colleges led to substantial public investment in these centres of excellence, while neighbouring schools were experiencing financial restraint which meant that they could not afford to buy books for pupils or repair decaying buildings. Recent evidence suggests that 'parental choice' will mean that discerning (and concerned) middle-class parents will make the effort to 'shop around' in order to find the best school for their children, while working-class parents, with less time and resources to transport their children to school, will opt for the local school, irrespective of its quality (MacLeod 1992). The government's intent to produce 'league tables' of educational performance (based purely on examination successes) will pay no attention to the relativity of achievement according to the socio-economic backgrounds of pupils, but will influence judgments made by parents about 'suitable' schools, thus presumably 'confirming' pos-

sibly misplaced assumptions about 'good' and 'bad' provision.

Educational policy, more dispassionate observers have concluded, has come to be driven by 'principles and gut reaction, not argument and evidence'. The latest White Paper persists with the rhetoric of 'Choice and Diversity', while the likelihood is that young people's educational opportunities, far from the claim that 'every pupil everywhere has the same opportunities' (Department for Education 1992, p.iii), will depend on a school's capacity to secure investment, sponsorship and parental involvement. Well-resourced, high-technology schools will contrast sharply with those that have to do their own fund-raising in order to buy books. The fundamental issue of the funding of education has hardly been considered; the government's contention is that grant maintained status will ensure greater efficiency and effectiveness. It is a claim still to be contested. The claim that such changes in education policy have led to devolved, local and more responsive provision can, however, be challenged. It may be argued that lip-service to 'parental choice' conceals the establishment of what Hugill (1992) has described as 'one of the most centralised, undemocratic and bureaucratic education systems in the Western world'. It would be premature to conclude that this 'nationalisation' of British education will serve either young people's or societal interests any better or worse than previous structures of delivery, though emerging evidence suggests that it will be more selective and divisive. What needs to take place is some rational debate about the role and objectives of education, something that has not happened for a decade or more and is unlikely to happen while the newly-renamed Department for Education (DFE) is known phonetically as Deaf Ear.

Youth employment and training - regression not progression

The volume of academic literature which has been produced on employment and training programmes in the United Kingdom is quite staggering, though it is significant to note that compared to the plethora of publicly-funded research initiatives in the early 1980s (which invariably challenged dominant political assumptions about the 'needs' of young people and the 'quality' of training provision and usually highlighted critical conclusions), there is remarkably little external scrutiny of contemporary youth training measures.

The rapid growth in youth unemployment during the late 1970s led to massive state intervention under the auspices of the now defunct Manpower Services Commission. Its analysis of the 'problem' was firmly located around the 'deficiencies' of young people - their lack of skills and aptitudes, which made them unattractive to potential employers. The subsequent Youth Opportunities Programme consisted of a variety of training provision located in specialist projects, workplaces and community settings. Its espoused objective was to provide young people with a 'bridge to work', both through the acquisition of specific skills and through the provision of work experience. Its advertising slogan was 'I can't get a job without experience. I can't get experience without a job' and the Programme was designed to address the problem. The Programme soon became the subject of a significant ideological struggle, depicted by those on the political left as 'The Tories' Poisoned Apple' (Scofield et al 1983) and a 'gangplank to the dole' (Finn 1984). Evaluations of the Programme generally concluded that specific experiences made little difference to future employment opportunities (certainly not in

terms of providing 'compensatory' experiences for most disadvantaged young people - see Atkinson et al 1982), although some young people gained more personal benefits from participation in the Programme (Jones et al, 1983; Williamson 1982, 1983).

There were two significant features of this early state intervention into the youth labour market. First, it was forged out of a reasonable consensus between government, employers, trade unions, educationalists and those working in the voluntary sector, in response to economic, social and individual needs and aspirations. Secondly, it had an expressed *intention* of assisting more disadvantaged young people, even if - in terms of labour market outcomes - it had an only marginal effect. However, with the establishment of a new programme - the Youth Training Scheme - in 1983, 'social engineering' objectives were abandoned, as the *preparation* of young people for changing labour market needs became the priority of government and employers. The focus remained on the deficiencies of young people - and the failure of the education system to equip them with desirable skills and qualities - which took little account of the key work of, particularly, Ashton and Maguire and colleagues, which indicated that youth opportunities and transition problems were largely a product of local, segmented youth labour markets (Ashton *et al,* 1982; Ashton and Maguire 1983; Ashton *et al,* 1985). Political conviction that young people lacked a 'work ethic' was similarly undermined by the work of social psychologists, which argued that reducing the search for work when work was unavailable was not a sign of laziness or being 'work-shy' but a constructive coping strategy to conserve psychological well-being (see, for example, Banks and Ullah 1988). Moreover, claims for the high quality and relevance of youth training were challenged by evidence that many young people were located in the more traditional, and declining, sectors of the economy, acquiring soon-to-be or already redundant skills. This 'paradox of training' is epitomised by Gleeson's observation that,

> *Colleages have been seen to plead with local industries for donations of machinery no longer useful to local companies so that students on YTS can apparently develop new 'skills' - so much for the brave new world of tomorrow's technology (Gleeson, 1989, p.40).*

Such a pervasive critique increasingly strained residual efforts by government to portray developments as the product of consultation (challenges to much of the detail of YTS had scored few victories, but the 'tripartite' process was still, until 1987, precariously in place). By 1987, such arrangements had collapsed (See Ainley and Corney 1990) as the government decided that youth training should be driven forward by private sector employers (admittedly with substantial sums of public money).

The key word since then has been 'progressive':

> *It is in the interests of both employers and young people that, through the new Training and Enterprise Councils, employers should PROGRESSIVELY take over from Government and ownership and development of youth training and so raise the level of qualifications of new entrants to the workforce. (Department of Employment 1988, p.47; my emphasis).*

The historical track record of employers making adequate provision for training certainly does not justify this faith and, to date, youth training has offered little that is progressive to young people, particularly those who are more socially disadvantaged. The financing of the newly-formed Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) has been connected increasingly to the gaining of vocational qualifications by both youth and adult 'trainees', which provides no incentive for these employer-led bodies to make adequate provision for young people who may be more slow and less likely to achieve them.

The government has endeavoured to impose a 'sea change' in attitudes to training; to establish a 'training culture'. What it has failed to note is that the culture of young people themselves conveys their assessment of the quality of training, the key being whether or not it leads to stable and secure employment. Provision which has failed to offer such a 'bridge to work' has consistently been rejected, and recent evidence suggests that, if available, young people will continue to opt for 'real work' rather than unpredictable training programmes (Banks *et al.* 1992). In 1988, the government removed the 'option' of unemployment for all 16 and 17 year olds, providing a 'guarantee' of a youth training place for those neither in education or employment. With few exceptions, state income support for this age group was abolished. Even this *compulsion* to accept training 'opportunities' has been rejected by an estimated 30,000 young people every year since, and recent estimates by Youthaid suggest that there are some 100,000 16 and 17 year olds who are unemployed and do not have youth training placements. Some 80,000 receive no state income support (British Youth Council 1992). Although some have actively rejected training places, others are victims of the failure to meet the training 'guarantee'. The Unemployment Unit has maintained that the lack of employment and training opportunities has hit young people with such a 'ferocity' that many of them may remain outside the labour market permanently (Clement 1992). Quite how they will survive - materially and psychologically - in their transition to adulthood currently remains a matter for speculation.

Housing - homes or roofs?

Housing is an area of social policy which has never focused specifically on young people; the changing experiences of young people in the housing market is a product of broader policy change which has affected *general* housing provision for the entire population. My comments do not consider changing housing policy for special needs (amongst whom the single young homeless are included alongside several other 'categories' such as people with learning difficulties and women at risk of domestic violence), which merits separate attention (Shaw and Williamson 1992).

The emphasis placed on owner occupation by the Conservative government, its restrictions on local authorities in the provision of public (council) housing, and the dramatic decline in the private rented sector have all contributed to the narrowing of options available to young people seeking to leave home. The problem has been compounded by declining wage levels for those in employment, the pegging of training allowances for those in youth training which, if they had kept pace with average earnings since 1978, would be three times greater (British Youth

Council 1992). For those who are unemployed, changes in state income support and supplementary housing benefit allowances have made choices about leaving home almost completely illusory. Despite increasing evidence of youth homelessness (it is estimated that around 150,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 25 experience homelessness each year - Newman 1989; Shelter 1989), the British government persists in the view that 'the problem of youth homelessness is little more than a question of the individual responsibility of young people and their parents and a matter of little relevance to the state' (Killeen 1992, p.190). The government's assumption is that 'homeless' young people should return *home*; Margaret Thatcher once made the following observation in the House of Commons,

> *There is a number of young people who choose voluntarily to leave home; I do not think we can be expected, no matter how many there are, to provide units for them ... those young people already have homes to live in, belonging to their parents (Hansard, 7 June 1988).*

Yet all evidence points to the fact that either they have no homes to return to (having been brought up in public authority care) or that they had left home because of physical, emotional or sexual abuse (Killeen 1988; O'Mahoney 1988: Dibblin 1991; Young Homelessness Group 1991). The government's retort to such analyses has been to consider re-defining homelessness as 'rooflessness', thus reducing the statistical count to only those who clearly do not even have a 'roof' to return to, rather as it has altered methods of counting unemployment some 31 times since 1979 in order to conceal the real scale of the problem.

The government has declined to consider making housing provision for young people for fear of encouraging them to leave home. However, its conception that housing transitions should be based on personal decision making has been firmly circumscribed by social policy developments in other areas of government responsibility; employment, training, income support, and local taxation. Killeen has concluded that,

> *In order to form a separate household from their parents, young people need both a range of housing options from which they can select the one most suited to their needs and adequate resources with which to both acquire and maintain the housing of their choice. The evidence is that both the opportunities and the resources available to young people are increasingly out of step with their needs (1992, p.191).*

The visibly homeless (epitomised by Cardboard City in London) represent the tip of an iceberg; many more young people live a transitory existence on friends' floors, bus shelters and unoccupied buildings; many others experience stress and difficulty both in remaining in an unacceptable 'home' situation and in attempting to leave (Hutson and Liddiard 1991). Ainley (1991) has drawn attention to the importance of family support in assisting the transition from home; for those without such support, housing pressures are often the first in a sequence of experiences which often both marginalises young people in the training and labour markets

and renders them vulnerable to exploitation and drug misuse. The absence of public policy in this area and the abdication by government of responsibility for addressing such issues is yet another example of what Killeen (1992) has referred to as the Government's 'social experiments with youth' - to combat what it sees as a 'dependency culture' and to link social and transition aspirations to economic performance in the market place. Young people have been described by Conservative politicians as 'free-loaders' and 'abusers' of the Welfare State; yet, without access to sufficient material resources through training or employment, or adequate state support, young people will inevitably have to find alternative ways to 'survive'.

Criminal justice - just wicked

The growth in crime in general and criminal activity by young people in particular has been a major source of concern for a government committed to law and order. Half of all known offenders are under the age of 20 (Home Office 1991). Despite the notoriety of official criminal statistics and the persisting difficulties of accurately measuring the prevalence of crime, one consistent trend has been this predominance of young offenders. Criminal justice policy has had to consider questions of both causation and response; despite a wealth of inquiry and analysis (see Muncie 1984), neither has yet been adequately resolved.

Two facts are, however, quite clear. First, those most likely to be processed within the juvenile justice system are working class young people (Parker et al 1981). Secondly, punitive measures have consistently proved quite counter-productive in preventing re-offending (Wright 1982; Rutter and Giller 1983; Pitts 1990).

Idealistic 'individualised treatment' models for dealing with young offenders, which were favoured in the 1960s and early 1970s (and which ironically often proved more intrusive and punitive than more 'tariff-based' systems - see Morris *et al* 1980), have given way to more realistic 'justice' models (based on considerations of personal responsibility) and questions of economy (based on considerations of cost). As a result, there has been a range of policy initiatives designed to divert young people from the courts and from custody (Blagg and Smith 1989). During the 1980s, the number of young people being committed to custody fell by over two-thirds, from nearly 7,000 to around 2,000 (Pitts 1992).

This encouraging trend has been tempered, however, by the continuing emphasis on *individual* responsibility and the individual as the focus of policy intervention, a position firmly reinforced in the Criminal Justice Act 1991 (HMSO 1991). Yet, as Pitts has noted,

> *juvenile justice workers could not easily ignore the reality that they were dealing with children and young people whose chances and choices were increasingly limited by their rapidly worsening social, economic and personal circumstances (1992, p.178).*

Although the contention that 'broken homes' may in fact be an important contributory factor to deviant behaviour has been recently resurrected (Institute of Economic Affairs 1992), this should not divert us from the strong possibility that social and material circumstances may make criminal behaviour an attractive

option for some young people, for both 'instrumental' and 'expressive' reasons (Williamson 1978). The argument that delinquency is connected to (blocked) structures of opportunity is hardly new (Cloward and Ohlin 1961). There is a strong feeling, certainly amongst those in close contact with the disaffected young in the UK, that 'poverty of opportunity' exerts a significant influence on involvement in criminal behaviour. Young people already at the margins of employment and training opportunities, and denied income support by the state, are developing a 'nothing else to lose' mentality.

Yet the government obstinately persists in rejecting social explanations of juvenile crime and resists consideration of more socially-focused crime prevention programmes. It remains preoccupied with concepts such as 'wickedness', personal responsibility (*irrespective* of the real choices available) and the breakdown in moral self-control.

The Criminal Justice Act 1991 has re-affirmed the centrality of 'offence criteria' in sentencing offenders (including young offenders). While this may, in some respects, be viewed as a constructive development, it is unlikely to make any constructive progress in addressing either rising crime levels or the increasing marginalisation of those stigmatised by 'criminal careers', for whom the prospects of re-integration into law-abiding lifestyles (through employment, training and housing opportunities) become increasingly remote. One can sense the emergence of a spiral of disadvantage whereby already impoverished and excluded groups of young people become further marginalised through criminal justice interventions. Calls for the restoration of state income support for 16 and 17 year olds have become widespread, with the growing evidence that its absence has propelled young people into crime (COYPSS 1991). The government has remained indifferent.

Conclusion

I have endeavoured to illustrate the poverty of imagination in social policy interventions in the lives of young people, and the effect of current youth policy in the United Kingdom in fermenting poverty, demoralisation and disaffection amongst the young. It is hoped that the evidence presented conveys a strong sense of 'blaming the victim': those young people already disadvantaged become more vulnerable to processes which disadvantage them further. It is, of course, important to reiterate that more fortunate young people, with supportive family networks, find themselves propelled onto a more constructive path, whereby educational achievement opens doors to better quality training and employment futures, which in turn provides the resources to find routes into restricted housing markets, and thereby to personal, social and financial independence. For a growing minority of young people, however, the process of transition is both destructive and debilitating. Policies directed at young people have increasingly worsened the opportunities and possibilities for this age group. For them, the rhetoric of progress, choice and justice is meaningless; their social experience is one of educational exclusion and failure, ineffective 'govvy schemes', 'shit jobs', unemployment, homelessness, police harassment, criminality, sexual vulnerability and drug misuse. The examples I might have provided from the policy areas of health or social security would have further reinforced my argument. The negative consequences of much youth policy interact in a multiplicity of ways.

Untangling the political rhetoric surrounding policies for youth may be problematic, but the sheer absence of dialogue about the nature of the 'problem' is unforgivable. Government response to criticism is to ignore, suppress, or devalue what are often important contributions to the policy debate. Many political arguments and assertions have a resonance which attract populist credibility but bear little relation to the empirical reality of many young people's lives or aspirations. Furthermore, the hypocrisy of an ex-Prime Minister engaging in a one million pound 'political consultancy' to promote tobacco products in the developing world while those eking out a living through trading in small quantities of cannabis are persistently hounded by the police, is not lost on the young.

The negative effects of so many aspects of youth policy - the removal of income support irrespective of material circumstances, the compulsion to participate in youth training irrespective of its quality, the requirement to pay a standard local tax irrespective of income level - have led not only to the clustering of disadvantage but also to increasing disenfranchisement. In order to avoid the attention of official agencies, a growing population of young adults in particular are failing to register to vote; it is estimated that overall some 1.8 million people (3.5% of the population as a whole) have 'disappeared' from official records (Waterhouse 1992). Registered or not, without legitimate resources through the wage, training allowances, or state or family support, the only remaining option is to beg, borrow or steal. It is within this shady world of personal survival that sexual exploitation and drug misuse can flourish (COYPSS 1991; Newman 1989; Green 1992).

It remains risky to allege the emergence of an underclass of marginalised young people in the United Kingdom. One might, however, contrast the 'culture of contentment' depicted by Galbraith (1992) with the invisibility of the discontented youth who, unless they proclaim their visibility by spilling out on to the streets (as has happened in urban areas in the last two summers), have been written out of the policy agenda. Their problems have been cast as individual ones; the workless have not made sufficient effort to find work (even though it may not exist); the homeless simply do not wish to go home (even though they may have no home to go to).

As a result, there is a growing population of homeless and rootless young people, whose stake in the social order is precarious. Their 'social condition' is a long way from the political rhetoric which so often prefaces legislative and other policy documents affecting young people, which describes young people as our future, as worthy priorities for constructive social investment.

With the exception of the 1989 Children Act, which uncharacteristically consulted with young people leaving public authority care on the detail of its implementation, the voices and perspectives of trainees, pupils, offenders, claimants (and, often, also those who work with them) have largely fallen on the deaf ears of a government ideologically committed to reducing social intervention and proclaiming the need for personal responsibility.

The voices of the young do, of course, need to be connected to and reconciled

with wider social aspirations (a trained workforce, safe communities) and attached to political priorities. It is *how* these different interests can be negotiated and connected that seems to be the central issue for the whole youth policy agenda.

What is clear is that the political *dogma* which underpins youth policies has patently failed not only young people but also wider society; employers are still appealing for better trained young people; the general public complain of visible homelessness and begging on the streets; youthful crime has not only increased but has also spilled over into rioting on the streets. At a recent international conference on crime and social policy, David Donnison commented on policies to regenerate a decaying council estate in Glasgow,

> *Perhaps the most important thing which the professionals were taught by the residents is that in a situation like this you have to start by getting to know those who commit, and experience, the crime, and listen to what they tell you (Donnison 1991, p.14).*

It is the absence of listening and dialogue which has contributed to the marginalisation of many young people in the United Kingdom. What most young people want - sooner or later - in the process of transition is quality training which will lead to secure employment and in turn to independent living and adult autonomy. Denied the resources to pursue this path, they will find some other way which is often socially divisive and invariably personally detrimental to their identities and futures:

> *... it is impossible to ignore the alienation of young people, in many cases experiencing social deprivation, which results in their having no commitment to the values of a property-conscious society, not least when they are subjected to an unremitting barrage of consumer advertising for goods they can only dream of having by honest means (Morris, 1992).*

The futility of incurring ever-increasing expenditure on law and order, repairing damage, sophisticated security systems, and so on, when similar resources could be distributed more constructively in the interests of both social harmony and young people's futures should by now be self-evident.

Sociologists and social researchers have ample evidence of the generally conformist aspirations of young people, but they can also fuel the polarisation which has been described - and thereby contribute to the 'deaf ears' of the policy makers - by exaggerating claims about the disaffection and cultural resistance of the young. Sociological work on youth culture backfired because its focus on the spectacular, deviant and bizarre was patently *not* applicable to the vast majority of young people; its policy consequence was both to romanticise the cultural condition of the young and to elicit knee-jerk policy responses.

We must constantly remind ourselves - particularly in a discussion of 'integration or polarisation' - that the 'acute anxieties of adolescence' experienced by many young people are essentially transitory, and the majority still move with relative

ease into adult society. For a growing minority, however, these acute anxieties are compounded by structural inequalities of opportunity, which have been worsened significantly by British youth policy development throughout the 1980s. For them, their condition is transformed into a 'chronic crisis of young adulthood' (Williamson 1985), with implications for training and employment, housing, relationships, criminality and drug misuse. It is that crisis which needs to be more constructively addressed.

References

ACOP (1989), *Surviving Poverty - Probation Work and Benefits Policy,* London: Association of Chief Officers of Probation.

Ainley, P. and Corney, M. (1990), *Training for the Future: the Rise and Fall of the Manpower Services Commission,* London: Cassell.

Ainley, P. (1991), *Young People Leaving Home,* London: Cassell.

Ashton, D., Maguire, M. and Garland, V. (1982), *Youth in the Labour Market,* Research Paper No 34, London: Department of Employment.

Ashton, D. and Maguire, M. (1983), *The Vanishing Youth Labour Market,* London: Youthaid.

Ashton, D., Maguire, M., Bowden, D., Dellow, P., Kennedy, S., Stanley, G., Woodhead, G. and Jennings, B. (1985), *Young Adults in the Labour Market,* Research Paper No 55, London: Department of Employment.

Atkinson, P., Rees, T., Shone, D. and Williamson, H. (1982), 'Social and Life Skills: The Latest Case of Compensatory Education?', in T. Rees and P. Atkinson (eds.), *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention,* London: Routledge.

Banks, M. and Ullah, P. (1988), *Youth Unemployment in the 1980s: Its Psychological Effects,* Beckenham: Croom Helm.

Banks, M., Bates, I., Breakwell, G., Bynner, J., Emler, N., Jamieson, L. and Roberts, K. (1992), *Careers and Identities,* Buckingham, Open University Press.

Blagg, H. and Smith, D. (1989), *Crime, Penal Policy and Social Work,* London: Longman.

Bogdanor, V. (1992), 'Government of the people by the Government', *The Guardian,* 8th August.

Brake, M. (1980), *The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Subcultures,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

British Youth Council (1992), *The Time of Your Life? The Truth about being Young in 90s Britain,* London: British Youth Council.

Burton, P., Forrest, R. and Stewart, M. (1989), *Growing Up and Leaving Home,* Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

CBI (1988), *Building a Stronger Partnership between Business and Secondary Education,* report of the CBI Business Education Task Force, London: Confederation of British Industry.

Clement, B. (1992), 'Number of young people without jobs 'has doubled'', *The Independent* 28th August.

Cloward, R. and Ohlin, L. (1961), *Delinquency and Opportunity,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Coffield, F., Borrill, C. and Marshall, S. (1986), *Growing Up at the Margins: Young Adults in the North East,* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Cohen, S. (1973), *Folk Devils and Moral Panics,* London: Paladin.

Coleman, J. (1992), 'The nature of adolescence', in J. Coleman and C. Warren-Adamson (eds), *Youth Policy in the 1990s: The Way Forward,* London: Routledge.

COYPSS (1991), *Young People and Severe Hardship,* London: Coalition on Young People and Social Security.

Davies, B. (1986), *Threatening Youth: Towards a National Youth Policy,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Davis, J. (1990), *Youth and the Condition of Britain,* London: Athlone Press.

Department of Employment (1988), *Employment for the 1990s,* Cm 540, London: HMSO.

Department for Education (1992), *Choice and Diversity,* Cm 2021, London: HMSO.

Diamond, J. (1992) 'Diary', *New Statesman and Society,* 7 August.

Dibblin, J. (1991), *Wherever I Lay My Hat: Young Women and Homelessness,* London: Shelter.

Donnison, D. (1991), 'Crime and Social Policy', in *Crime and Social Policy,* papers from an international seminar held at Edinburgh University, 31st July-2nd August, London: NACRO.

Eppel, E. and Eppel, M. (1966) *Adolescents and Morality,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Finn, D. (1983), 'The Youth Training Scheme - A New Deal?', *Youth and Policy* 1, No 4.

Finn, D. (1984), 'Leaving School and Growing up: Work Experience in the Juvenile Labour Market', in I. Bates, J. Clarke, P. Cohen, D. Finn, R. Moore and P. Willis, *Schooling for the Dole? The new Vocationalism,* London: MacMillan.

Furnham, A. and Gunter, B. (1989), *The Anatomy of Adolescence: Young People's Attitudes in Britain,* London: Routledge.

Furnham, A. and Stacey, B. (1991), *Young People's Understanding of Society,* London: Routledge.

Galbraith, J. (1992), *The Culture of Contentment,* London: Sinclair-Stevenson.

Gillis, j. (1981), *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations 1770-Present,* London: Academic Press.

Gleeson, D. (1989), *The Paradox of Training: Making Progress out of Crisis,* Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Green, J. (1992), *It's No Game: responding to the needs of young women at risk or involved in prostitution,* Leicester: National Youth Agency.

Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (eds) (1976), *Resistance through Rituals,* London: Hutchinson.

Halsey, A., Heath, A. and Ridge, J. (1980), *Origins and Destinations: Family, Class and Education in Modern Britain,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Home Office (1991), *A Digest of Information on the Criminal Justice System,* London: Home Office Research and Statistics Department.

HMSO (1991), *Criminal Justice Act 1991,* London: HMSO.

Hugill, B. (1992), 'Patten's Dads' Army can't save our schools', *The Observer,* 2nd August.

Hutson, S. and Liddiard, M. (1991), *Young and Homeless in Wales: Government Policies, Insecure Accommodation and Agency Support,* Swansea: University College, Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Institute of Economic Affairs (1992), *Families without Fatherhood,* London: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Jones, P., Williamson, H., Payne, J. and Smith, G. (1983), *Out of School: a case study of the role of government schemes at a time of growing unemployment,* Special Programmes Occasional Paper No 4, Sheffield: Manpower Services Commission.

Killeen, D. (1988), *Estranged: Homeless 16 and 17 year olds and the Social Security Act 1988,* Edinburgh, Shelter Scottish Campaign for the Homeless.

Killeen, D. (1992), 'Leaving Home, Housing and Income - social policy on leaving home', in J. Coleman and C. Warren-Adamson (eds), *Youth Policy in the 1990s: The Way Forward,* London: Routledge.

Lee, G. and Wrench, J., *Skill Seekers - black youth, apprenticeships and disadvantage,* Leicester: National Youth Bureau.

Llangollen Declaration (1991), *Llangollen Declaration,* 2nd European Conference on Local and Regional Youth Policies, Llangollen (Wales, United Kingdom) 26-28 September 1991.

MacLeod, D. (1992), 'Parental choice is reinforcing class barriers', *The Independent,* 28 August.

MSC (1978), *Young People and Work* (The Holland Report), London: Manpower Services Commission.

Morris, A., Giller, H., Szwed, E. and Geach, H. (1980), *Justice for Children,* London: MacMillan.

Morris, T. (1992), 'An enterprise culture of youthful crime', *The Observer* 23rd February.

Muncie, J. (1984), *'The Trouble with Kids Today': Youth and Crime in post-war Britain,* London: Hutchinson.

Mungham, G. (1982), 'Workless Youth as a Moral Panic', in T. Rees and P. Atkinson (eds), *Youth*

Unemployment and State Intervention, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Mungham, G. and Pearson, G. (eds) (1976), *Working Class Youth Culture,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

NEDO (1988), *Young People and the Labour Market: A challenge for the 1990s,* London: National Economic Development Office/Training Commission.

Newman, C. (1989), *Young Runaways,* London: The Children's Society.

O'Mahoney, B. (1988), *A Capital Offence: The Plight of the Young Single Homeless in London,* London: Routledge/Barnardos.

Parket, H., Casburn, M. and Turnbull, D. (1981), *Receiving Juvenile Justice,* Oxford: Blackwell.

Pearson, G. (1983), *Hooligan: A History of Respectable Fears,* London: MacMillan.

Pitts, J. (1986), 'Thinking about Intermediate Treatment', *Youth and Policy* 17, Summer.

Pitts, J. (1990), *Working with Young Offenders,* London: MacMillan.

Pitts, J. (1992), 'Juvenile Justice Policy' in J. Coleman and C, Warren-Adamson (eds), *Youth Policy in the 1990s: The Way Forward,* London: Routledge.

Rees, T. and Atkinson, P. (eds) (1982), *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Roberts, K. (1984), *School Leavers and their Prospects: Youth and the Labour Market in the 1980s,* Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

Rutter, M. and Giller, H. (1983), *Juvenile Delinquency: Trends and Perspectives,* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Scofield, P., Preston, E. and Jacques, E. (1983), *Youth Training: The Tories' Poisoned Apple,* London: Independent Labour Publications.

Shaw, I. and Williamson, H. (1992), *Management and Welfare: An Evaluation of Special Needs Housing in Wales,* Cardiff: Housing for Wales.

Shelter (1989), *Hard Times,* London: Shelter.

Waterhouse, R. (1992), '1.8 million Britons "disappear"', *The Independent on Sunday,* 13th September.

Williamson, H. (1978), 'Choosing to be a Delinquent', *New Society,* 7 November.

Williamson, H. (1982), 'Client Responses to the Youth Opportunities Programme', in T. Rees and P. Atkinson (eds), *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

Williamson, H. (1983), 'WEEP: Exploitation or Advantage?', in R. Fiddy (ed.), *In Place of Work: Policy and Provision for the Young Unemployed,* Lewes: Falmer.

Williamson, H. (1985), 'Struggling beyond Youth', *Youth in Society,* February.

Willis, P., Bekenn, A., Ellis, T., and Whitt, D. (1988), *The Youth Review: Social Condition of Young People in Wolverhampton,* Aldershot, Avebury.

Wrench, J. (1991), 'Gatekeepers in the Urban Labour Market: Constraining or Constrained?', in M. Cross and G. Payne (eds), *Work and the Enterprise Culture,* London: Falmer.

Wright, M. (1982), *Making Good: Prisons, punishment and beyond,* London: Burnett.

Young Homelessness Group (1991), *Carefree and Homeless,* London: Young Homelessness Group.

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY:
Staking the Terrain for European Youth Research

LYNNE CHISHOLM

1. Introduction

This discussion takes its cue from a report on young people, youth research and youth policy which was recently prepared for the EC Task Force (Chisholm and Bergeret, 1991). Its remit was perforce defined by the Community's current club of twelve - a group that bears no particular or necessary relationship to any concept of Europe and its citizens that any of us may have in our heads. Nevertheless, EC membership is not immaterial: the prospect of a 'Fortress Europe' may well lend an existential significance to external Community boundaries for those on the other side of the drawbridge in the coming decades.

Describing young people's situations and prospects in the twelve Member States is not the aim of this paper. Indeed, the report concludes that we cannot presently draw a comprehensive, useful and - above all - meaningful picture of young people's circumstances and orientations across the Community. This has implications both for what needs to be undertaken in the future and how we ought to go about it; we return to this question later in the discussion.

My main purpose is rather to consider how we might begin to conceptualise genuinely transnational (and not merely comparative) perspectives in youth research. In other words, how might we begin to move from a disconnected and rather amoebic 'youth research in Europe' towards a more organic, integrated and inclusive 'European youth research'? The natures of, the directions taken by, and interrelationships between youth policy and youth research in national contexts serve as a starting point for reflection. This does not mean drawing up a league table which 'ranks' Member States as individual entities. It is self-evident that youth research communities across Europe all have something positive to contribute to the 'European youth research project'. In the same way, nationally formulated approaches to youth policy all comprise a mixture of laudable and more controversial principals, practices and consequences.

The discussion opens with an interlude on Europe as an imaginary idea, and follows on by juxtaposing the social attributes of youth and foreignness in relation to mobility, exclusion and citizenship. Against this backdrop, we can propose at least some of the fundamental elements of youth policies across (at least EC) Europe. This leads into a consideration of research-policy linkages in the light of existing comparative youth research in Europe (and its shortfalls). Finally, suggestions are made for the principles upon which a future-oriented European youth research might be based.

My intention is to open a debate, but one in which my own starting position is clear; we stand at a watershed in our social and political history, and we find ourselves in an intensified phase of cultural and economic change. Youth research must find an appropriate response, not only so that it may remain in intellectual touch, but also because it is properly linked to a field of practice - working with and for young people and their interests.

2. Interlude

Questioning, sceptical and desperately scathing commentaries on matters European are currently plentiful. In a recent - arbitrarily selected - example of the genre, Gerhard Kopf (1992, trans. LC) remarks acerbically that this inflationary twaddle about 'Europe' properly belongs between the entries 'Euralia' and 'Eusapia' in the Dictionary of Imaginary Places. Instead, it parades its wares through our newspapers and creeps its way across the forked tongues of politicians, only to end up ensnared somewhere in the bureaucratic intestines that link Strasbourg and Brussels. Klaus Wahl (1990) adds that it is Europe's more senior citizens who are busy orchestrating the contemporary cacophony into a prospective symphony – secretaries of state at European summits, Brussels bureaucrats and Strasbourg MPs, employers and trades union officials. All the available evidence to date (for example, see: CEC, 1991; Chisholm, 1991; Bendit, 1990; DISKURS 1990; Weidenfeld and Piepenschneider, 1990, IFPO, 1989; and innumerable opinion surveys in newspapers and magazines across Europe since the turn of the decade) indicates that this feverish excitement is not shared by the population at large, including young people, who, after all, will be enjoined - in these individualised hard times - to carry through the ensuing festivities largely under their own steam. Not only are many uninterested in what surprises may lie under the tree, but a not inconsiderable proportion of those involved do not even know where the tree is.

And where, indeed, is it? Europe, writes Gerhard Kopf, after looking at the Down Under Map of the World, is all a question of perspective. From New Zealand's point of view, Europe is most definitely somewhere else - and, at least cartographically, little more significant than an appendix. But even where the map is the right way up; the British have always thought that Europe was somewhere else (and good riddance to it, too). It seems that the Portuguese (that is, until they gained access to the Brussels honeypots) thought analogously; when sons (and later, daughters) migrated north to be Gastarbeiter, their parents said they had gone to Europe. What the Danish typically have to say about the concept of an European identity may be unprintable. Denmark, I read the other day, is the Gateway to Europe. Hamburg, I heard on the radio recently, wants to foster its image as the Gateway to the East. Milan, an Italian youth researcher told me last year, is the outpost of Europe in the Mediterranean. Everywhere is the gateway to somewhere else. Just so. But we all seems to want to emphasise where the gate is, and, above all, to make it clear which side is *ours* - and no-one else's.

In pared-down, abstract terms, the definition of cultural self can adopt one of two standpoints. On the one hand, it can focus upon that which oneself is not, i.e. not one of them. Here, the sense of cultural belonging is built upon an external referent. So, for example, it has often been remarked, with some justice, that the essence of Canadian identity lies in a rejection of the United States. (When Canadians start focusing on what they themselves might be, they tend to run into internal conflicts, *vide* the 'Quebec problem', 'western separatism issue', etc.) It is plausible to suggest that this standpoint inclines to the culturally inclusive, since it does not automatically presume homogeneity with the group. On the other hand, in the Old World (is this a more inclusive, more acceptable term than Europe?), definitions of cultural self appear to rest upon what the other is not, namely, not one of us. Here, the sense of cultural belonging starts from an internal referent. It is

all, indeed, a matter of perspective: of the way we come to understand the relationship between self and other. It might be argued that this standpoint inclines to exclusionism, since it demands that group members display similar profiles across a wide range of attributes. As Gerhard Kopf puts it; for all Europeans, all Europeans are automatically foreigners (and heaven help those who are not of European origin, whatever their citizenship). The German term *Auslander*, 'out-lander', catches the sense well; and, as English speakers know, to behave *outlandishly* means to behave in a socially unacceptable manner. Young people are, of course, well-known to behave outlandishly.

3. Visions of the young foreigner?

There are (at least) two qualities that foreigners of all kinds share. Firstly, they have moved from 'elsewhere' to 'here' and they might move on again. Secondly, they are different from us, if only because they have not always been 'here'. Foreigners are therefore marked by *mobility* and by *exclusion*. As it happens, these are also the two key concepts that inform European Community perspectives with respect to young people's situations and prospects post-1992. The following extract, drawn from the published transcripts of evidence given to the British House of Lords Select Committee on European Communities early last year, sheds some light on how mobility and exclusion might be differently understood in relation to young people.

(Note: Those invited or having requested to give evidence to a Select Committee are asked questions by its members, who are peers in the Lords. In this extract. Mr Coyne, from the European Commissioner's Task Force, is responding to questions which are directed towards finding out about the Commission's involvement and programmes in the youth affairs field.)

Lord Northbourne:

> *... This question looks at the implications of increased youth mobility, such problems as crime and housing, which are.... certainly not within the specific competence of the Commission, but which are obviously going to arise particularly as a result of the sort of work we have been talking about this morning. The sort of groups that could be increasingly mobile, I suppose, are young workers on the one hand and perhaps at the other extreme of the spectrum some young groups of troublemakers?*

Mr Coyne:

> *The Commission does not set out... to seek a competence in matters such as housing or crime. These are quite clearly outside the scope of the Community. ...So far as mobility is concerned ... the best estimates that I have seen are that the mobility of the unqualified will probably reduce somewhat, but the mobility of the highly-qualified can be expected to increase...*

Lord Northbourne:

> *What I am saying, I think, is that... all the activities that you are undertaking to promote and facilitate the exchange of youth is going to increase that mobility on the transfrontier basis and that this could give rise to problems; and, if I was being provocative, I could say that it might even be irresponsi-*

ble for the Commission to be encouraging all this mobility without actually looking at the problems that it might create in respect of housing and crime, for example?

Mr Coyne:

There are two things to say there, I think. The first is that I suspect that the sort of person who is homeless is not likely to be the sort of person who is going to make that jump to go into another country ... (The other is that) so far as the mobility of people within Community programmes is concerned one of the things we shall look for ... is that ... there is somebody on the spot to make sure that there is housing available and ... that there is a person ... to whom they can turn if they are in trouble or... unhappy.

Lord Northbourne:

You have dealt with the workers. Now can we look at football hooligans, yobbos, people sleeping in the streets; how are we going to handle that?

Lord Northbourne:

... if within the Community there is no international unity of purpose on the law and order issue, on the housing issue of people sleeping in the streets - and we are talking about youth now in general terms, youth policy - are we not going to run into problems?

Mr Coyne:

It would be ridiculous ... to say that we were not running into problems already with the football hooliganism ... That however is a problem that is specific to a certain number of countries at present ... If the Member States were consulted I think they would certainly be able to produce a unity of purpose; whether they would be able to produce common activities is another matter.

Lord Brain:

My Lord Chairman, may I make just a small point. We had some evidence in 1968. I think of where student problems started in one section of the Community and seemed to expand rapidly throughout the major part of the Community. I think that may be what is happening - that is all. (Select Committee on the European Communities, 1991, pp.23-24).

This extract alone offers ample opportunity to dissect the quality of well entrenched ideological discourses about (as ever, largely male) youth and young people (ditto, young men) - discourses which may find their way largely undiluted into policy formation and provision (see here, for example Brake, 1990; Wallace and Cross, 1990). As far as Britain's young men are concerned, Geoffrey Pearson's **Hooligan, A History of Respectable Fears** (1984) offers a salutary analysis thereof. Three points from his conclusion (ibid, pp.224, 230, 231) are especially apposite here, and not only for Britain. Firstly, the consistent predominance of young people in the crime statistics has much to do with the fact that *young people's lives*

are subject to more public regulation than are those of other age groups. (The modes of that regulation differ sharply, of course, along the usual parameters of social division.) Secondly, recurrent *political preoccupation* with mounting social disorder and lawlessness always focuses upon themes that have to do *with the production and reproduction of consent and social discipline among socially subordinate groups, especially among their younger members* (in other words, turning Lord Northbourne's aforementioned 'yobbos' and, we could add, 'tarts' - into respectable grown-up citizens.) Thirdly, at the root of these concerns lies the continuing ideological *struggle within and against democratic rule-by-consent in contrast with pre-democratic rule-by-might.*

There is some analytic mileage in viewing young people as foreigners in their own lands (see Breyvogel, 1987). Foreigners are not citizens, and are hence excluded from the community of those who are eligible for rule by consent; they are ruled by might, as legislative provisions will readily reveal. One of the fundamental tensions, then, that underlies youth policy is that between pre-democratic and democratic principles of the regulation of young people. In other words, contemporary youth policies are typically a rather uneasy mixture of social control measures and citizenship rights, both of which are inclined to be morally legitimated by appeals to young people's need for care and protection on the basis of their immaturity. This fundamental tension is a consequence of the long-term historical emergence of childhood and later, youth as distinct, socially constructed life stages (see here Buchmann, 1989, ch 3: Chisholm and Hurrelmann, 1993). Marlis Buchmann writes (ibid., p.86) that children and young people acquired many membership rights in the larger society as a consequence of the expansion of the welfare state. Social welfare legislation and social policies address young people directly as holders of rights and as recipients of services and benefits. They therefore become more directly integrated into the commonwealth and are no longer regarded solely as family dependents. In other words, young people become subjects with individual rights as citizens, perhaps more accurately as proto-citizens.

4. Contours of youth policies

At any one time, the balance held within the elements of this fundamental tension between social control and membership rights is by no means similar across nation states. In our review of EC Member States' approaches to youth policy, it was no coincidence to find that in those countries in which social democratic welfare state principles have found their most consistent development and application, the balance is tilted towards membership rights. This does not mean, however, that young people in - to be specific - Denmark or The Netherlands are less subject to social control than in other EC countries. It means that the modes of social regulation of young people are differently constituted and expressed than they are, for example, in Spain or in Greece. Social policies with respect to housing access for young people provide us with an example. Social policy provisions in Denmark explicitly recognise young people's rights to independent accommodation, although in practice the supply remains inadequate to meet the demand. In public sector housing projects, however, existing residents have much say in new lettings, and there is some indication that young people - especially those under 20 - are disadvantaged in the process. (For example, residents may fear that young tenants will make too much noise late at night.) In Greece, only the housing prob-

lems of young couples attract social recognition. Before marriage, living independently from one's parents is uncommon, except amongst those studying at higher education institutions away from their home. The operation of the Greek housing market and the nature of its stock mean that suitable accommodation for young people is scarce. This situation results not only from economic factors but also from cultural values. Most young Greeks' activities and emerging lifestyles thus remain within the purview of parents and kin. In this way, specific cultural traditions inform policy profiles. This is a little-researched area, but one which deserves more attention. There is reason to suppose that social constructions of the life course and its constituent stages differ in subtle but important ways between European societies. In other words, the definitions and meanings attached to childhood, youth and adulthood are not necessarily alike, and certainly the boundaries between these life stages differ both in their timing and their clarity. (cf. Chisholm and Bergeret, op.cit., pp.7-11).

Overall, however, we were able to distinguish four political orientations, or axes, within perspectives on youth affairs in the Member States. These four orientations are not mutually exclusive, but co-exist in varying patterns in each country. Their features can be summarised into sets of principals, strategies and objectives - as shown immediately below.

Principles	Strategies	Objectives
Social progressivism	progressive-participative	mutual preparation for an equal open, changing society
Solidarity and social justice	redistributive-corrective	countering persistent social inequalities
active citizenship	reform-modernisation	facilitating social and economic evolution
social integration	integration-insertion	optimising transition mechanisms and processes

Briefly, these co-existing orientations may be distinguished as follows. **Social progressivism** is inspired by the principle of partnership. Young people, their organisation and their representatives are seen as co-actors within an integrated youth policy (viz. *une politique horizontale*). Young people may constitute society's future, as it were, but simply 'preparing' them for adult citizenship is only one side of the coin. They are equally a positive resource in their own right - young people's distinct perspectives and life strategies are important contributors to the shaping of the policy and its social practices, and not merely those which have an immediate bearing upon youth affairs. **Solidarity and social justice** emphasises the improvement of young people's social circumstances and their life chances, seeking to establish equality of opportunity and to assist the socially dis-advantaged. The promotion of **active citizenship** comprises a third orientation, in which social and political participation is fostered and practiced, providing sites for self-socialisation into the contemporary demands and values of the polity. Finally, concerns for **social integration** place the 'march of the generations' within a framework of stability and social continuity. This principle appeals to the transmission of values, to

effective 'absorption' into social and economic life, and to finding ways to reduce the incidence of problem behaviour and exposure to social risk.

A particular balance between membership rights and social control can be struck by policy measures falling within the scope of each dimension. For example, in the case of active citizenship, policy measures may foresee a 'structured curriculum' of social participation for young people in which they effectively act out given parts in a play controlled by adults. Alternatively, policy measures may promote grassroots activities initiated and directed by young people themselves. Equally, social policies for youth may emphasise, in their totality, one (or more) of the four dimensions over against one (or more) of the others. In this sense, policy approaches that emphasise the principle of social integration offer particularly broad scope for social control measures, precisely because their main concern lies in preserving continuity. In contrast, policy approaches that focus upon social progressivism are especially amenable to the expansion of membership rights, because they accord young people to independent *raison d'etre sociale.*

I want to emphasise once more that it is the *relational patterns between these dimensions* in any one polity that characterise its approach to youth affairs. This principle applies equally to the comparative analysis of youth policies across Europe. The contrasting patterns that emerge are embedded in very dissimilar and unequal social realities between the Member States, as well as *both within and straddling* their individual borders. These relational patterns of similarity and difference seem to be the only appropriate basis for the development of genuinely transnational perspectives with more beyond the additive towards the integrative.

Member States' policy positions towards youth certainly differ – in the first instance,according to whether or not they have an explicit 'national youth policy'. But regardless of this, in practice, all Member States undertake a series of measures directed at youth. In broad terms, what we might term 'social policies for youth' exist in all Community countries, although their character and scope vary quite considerably, as do their forms of oversight and execution. With the exception of the United Kingdom and Italy, all Member States have some form of distinct ministerial responsibility for youth policy and youth affairs. Only in Portugal, however, does this take the form of a (recently established) relatively autonomous ministry. Incorporation within a wider set of ministerial responsibilities – typically one or more of education, cultural affairs. social affairs, public health, other special interest groups (such as women and children) – is characteristic of the youth affairs policy field at national level. In turn, this produces a noticeable *fragmentation* of perspective on youth affairs, despite attempts in most EC countries to establish links between the various relevant government agencies through interministerial co-ordinating committees.

Youth questions inevitably cut across the competences of other policy making authorities, agencies and providers of services in such fields as education, employment and vocational training, health, justice, housing and so on. There will always be, therefore, a genuine need for consultation and co-ordination. It is significant, however, that youth affairs adminstrations are inclined to be *subsidiary* to 'vertical' policy domains such as those listed immediately above. The United Kingdom offers a particularly clear example of this pattern, in which formal responsibility for

youth affairs lies within the Department of Employment. An inter-ministerial co-ordinating committee exists to provide for communication and liaison between the various ministries whose policy measures have implications for young people. The established formal position of the UK government is that a distinct and independently formulated youth policy would be superfluous; the problems faced by young people are not materially different from those faced by other age groups.

The role of youth affairs adminstrations is typically one of encouraging other adminstrations to take youth into consideration, but they cannot usually demand that something be done. Such demands are much more likely to emerge intermittently as moral panics in the wake either of youth unrest, or of youth social problems that attract recurrent waves of media, public and political attention. The subsidiary, partly submerged positioning of youth affairs in the polity is not, I think, accidental. It is mirrored by the tendency (but not the inevitability) for youth research as a specialist field to be marginally positioned within national intellectual discourses and professional communities. Just as the transition between the spheres of education and production is a highly significant, neuralgic *Schaltstelle* for social reproduction and change, the transition period between childhood and adolescence – i.e. youth – holds the processual key to the production and reproduction of cultural and economic power. Fragmentation of discourse and action can be seen as a powerful strategy for ensuring that young people grow up, which as Jenkins (1990,p.135) points out (in considering the concept of adulthood in relation to the young disabled and the long-term unemployed), most 'have got' to do.

In consequence, young people in general are not represented by a powerful formal lobby within government (although they may have influential interest group lobbies outside government). The weakly bounded field of youth affairs frequently offers a vulnerable space for political infighting, where the underlying agenda has little to do with young people's needs and much to do with jockeying for position. At the same time, youth affairs does not (yet) fall within the specific competence of the European Commission. As in the case of housing and crime, youth affairs is not a sphere of policy making that is included in the terms of the Treaty of Rome. Commission activities relevant to young people have therefore had to find a place under other policy making headings for which Brussels does possess formal competence, for example, under European Social Fund activities or in vocational education and training programmes. The result has been a repetition of what we see at national level: fragmentation of over-all perspective, together with internal territorial dog fights and, in addition, the playing out of Member States' concerns for the protection of national sovereignty. The Task Force itself is, amongst other things, an attempt to deal positively with these difficulties, and it does not have an easy task in doing so.

Just how, and to what extent, young people in general are included into and excluded from the polity and its concerns is a critical question for any society, not to mention an important element of youth researchers' efforts to describe and understand young people's circumstances and orientations. Since young people are by no means a homogeneous group in this or any other respect, the term 'in general' begs the specification of who is included and excluded from what, how and when. If this is evidently so at national level - within which most youth research remains encircled - then how much more must this be so at European

level. To date, however, we have very little research that begins to address such issues adequately - in other words, by seeking to *map relational patterns of similarity and difference in young people's lives and their trajectories of transition.* So, for example, should increased rates of mobility - in the very simplest socio-spatial sense of the word - indeed occur, then this implies a multiplication of the dimensions of inclusion/exclusion that young people may experience, both in their milieux or origin and in those to which they move temporarily or permanently. The kind of homogenising perspective than is only too readily encouraged by surveys such as those in the **Young Europeans** series (CEC 1982, 1989, 1991) is not particularly useful in responding to such questions, which require a precise definition of groups and access to patterns of meanings. But where does youth research stand at present in relation to the project at hand?

5. European youth research: a rather utopian challenge?

Manuela du Bois-Reymond and Sibylle Hübner-Funk state (1991) quite plainly - and rightly - that both 'European youth' and 'European youth research' are fictions. Both terms are constructs, fluid in nature and dependent upon the political, historical, economic and cultural interests of those who are busily engaged in the work of their construction. In other words, both terms are but projects about which we can think, and upon which we can embark. They do not correspond to anything that actually exists, least of all in the present day lives of almost all young Europeans (howsoever one defines this category). What, then, does exist?

Comparative youth research in Europe, they go on to explain, has its contemporary origins in the largely United States financed studies of postwar western European youth, especially in West Germany and, to a lesser extent, in Italy. The focus of these studies lay, not surprisingly, in political culture and democratic stability. The concentration of American funding and personnel resources upon the Federal Republic that extended well into the 1960s has been one important contributing element to the continuity and strength of youth research as a specialist field in Germany through to the present day. Under postwar eastern European state socialism - *vide* equally European national socialist and fascist regimes pre and post war - overwhelming concern for the social integration of potentially disruptive groups led to the use of youth research as an instrument of surveillance and control (Chisholm and Bergeret, op.cit., p.101). All Warsaw Pact countries established central youth research institutes, which were linked in some way with the Party youth section, which were relatively generously funded, and which also conducted comparative studies within the eastern bloc (Friedrich, 1990).

In the interests of brevity but at the risk of over-simplification, we might summarise the state of national-level youth research in European Community countries as follows. In terms of scale and sophistication, youth research is most well-developed in France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the FRG. In some cases (most notably Germany), youth research has a long established specialist tradition; in others (for example Portugal), it is of very recent origin. Youth research is also much more highly-institutionalised in some countries (such as Spain) that in others (such as the UK). In Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg and The Netherlands, youth research takes place on a lesser scale. This is not surprising, since these are also the smaller Member States. But whilst the scale of youth research may be modest, its quality may still be high (as in the case of The

Netherlands, for example). A lively tradition of youth research can develop even where, as a specialism, it does not attract a high level of institutional and funding support (as in Denmark, where integration in the Nordic youth research network provides a broader framework of resources and communication).

Across the Community, the major constraints upon the development and the scale of youth research are, predictably, funding levels and poor institutional support frameworks. When it comes to developing comparative work, lack of professional networks and relevant skills are significant barriers (Chisholm and Bergeret, op.cit., pp. 72-80).

Du Bois-Reymond's and Hübner-Funk's (op.cit.) review of the kind of comparative youth research work that has been carried out in the postwar decades produces three thematic clusters: *economic questions* surrounding young people's education-employment participation patterns; *cultural questions* focusing upon youth policies and young people within processes of modernisation; and *political questions* concerned with young people as a source of social unrest. They conclude that all three clusters reflect a view of young people as a social problem (for the rest of us). The job of youth research has very much been to provide the data upon which the problem can be managed, optimally to offer a strategic early warning system for socio-political explosions. In any event, the interest clusters of comparative youth research have never afforded much space for the study of youth as cultural expression, as collage of lifestyles, as forms of everyday life, as producer of meanings. What happens when youth research does march off in another direction altogether is instructive, as in the case of the cultural studies transition. Insofar as foci of theoretical and empirical attention render youth research uncomfortable, its practitioners become perhaps less immediately useful for policy making purposes. This remark is not designed as an opposition sideswipe at neo-conservative social policies, in the UK or elsewhere. It is rather an acknowledgement of sober fact, with which researchers no less than policy makers must come to terms. Who regularly funds their worst critics, who seem only to offer destructive contributions to the debate?

Most comparative youth research to date does not move beyond an essentially additive model. In other words, most frequently, the results of independently conceptualised and conducted studies are compared post-hoc. This might look ideal to the natural scientist, but in the social sciences the consequences are usually nightmarsih, given the non-comparability of the material on a number of levels. This does not mean that there is no useful work of this kind, but that its potential harvest is relatively meagre. Where studies are designed and conducted in some form of co-operation, it has frequently been the serendipity of funding sources and conference contacts that have motivated the partners. The research rationale for the societies and cultures being compared is all too often unclear. Here, the potential empirical harvest is richer, but the theoretical problematics addressed remain underdeveloped.

The challenge of European youth research is to populate what du Bois-Reymond and Hübner-Funk (ibid.) term the *expanded-integrative* terrain, but – needless to say – this is a wholly uninhabited region on the map! We cannot, therefore, expect to find a well-charted account of what it might look like. from our point of view,

one clear prerequisite would be that 'Europe' itself becomes the core problematic: Europe conceptualised as a highly divergent *Kulturraum,* in which young people's situations are highly differentiated but equally in which modernisation processes and political changes are producing lines of potential convergence. In other words, European youth research worth its name would address itself to questions that, above all, do justice to the complexity of social and cultural realities. In the light of European harmonisation and integration processes, we require systematic and transnational analyses for at least the following themes:

- the socio-political, socio-legal and socio-cultural *regulation of youth transitions*
- the intersections between *life cycle and social policy* for young people in specific regional communities and cultures
- the future basis of *social solidarity, conflict and cultural identity* amongst young Europeans, against the background of a potential 'reshuffling' of social and cultural groups
- adducing the intersecting dynamics of social advantage and disadvantage (ethnicity/race, community/region/citizenship, disability, socio-economic status, gender, sexual orientation, disability,...) in the context of changing structures of opportunity and risk
- charting the direction and meaning of changes in young people's values and orientations towards their lives and futures.

6. Towards transnational youth research

Perhaps the most important point to make is that, currently, it is possible to offer only a very partial, selective view of the situation of young people in the European Community. We intentionally rejected a perspective predicated upon young people as a 'problem' or as 'having problems', although this has traditionally been a dominant policy concern and, hence, is well-represented in national research literatures too. European-level co-operation in both policy and research might start more profitably by considering youth as a social category for *itself;* and by constructing a valid, meaningful map of young people's lives in the full complexity that this task entails. The data that is currently available does not readily help us to catch the heartbeat of our young people, as one youth researcher with whom we discussed these questions aptly put it.

We found that the only practicable way to begin sketching the social construction of the youth phase across European Community countries was to draw on cross-sectional aggregate statistical information, despite its inherent disadvantages for assessing complex social processes that vary widely by cultural context. Even in their own terms, these data are highly partial in their coverage. Whether national or cross-national in origin, these sources focus upon simple educational and labour force participation and distribution together with basic social demographics indicators. Additionally and inevitably, the process of simplification for broad comparability means that important specifications are lost from view. Whilst such data are indispensable to the task of building up a picture of young Europeans' lives, we cannot assume that they constitute a sufficient resource for doing so.

Longitudinal and cohort studies of young people's lives and transitions would be of considerable assistance, but these are wholly absent at European level. (There are a number of attempts at present to dovetail elements of various nationally based cohort studies; these are to be welcomed, since they are a step along the way towards a more integrative approach to genuinely transnational research.)

There is, of course, a sizeable youth research literature of a more qualitative and ethnographic nature, some of which explicitly sets out to create a processual, relational analysis of the kind we lack at European level. However, if we are concerned to build up a balanced, transnational approach to youth affairs, its use presents a number of problems. Firstly, some countries have very few such studies, others a considerable number. This in itself produces an imbalance of information and perspectives available for European-wide comparisons. Secondly, such studies are generally directed towards addressing particular theoretical or practical problems within a nationally defined context. Cross-national and cross-cultural comparisons therefore rarely have the potential to move beyond the expanded-additive point on du Bois-Reymond and Hübner-Funk's (op.cit.) proposed continuum. At this level of integration, learning about what happens elsewhere acts as an illuminating impetus towards a deeper understanding of young people's situations in one's own country and cultures, but does not further our knowledge at transnational level. As another youth researcher pointed out to us, the problem is one of finding an appropriate framework. The prospect of doing comparative work properly is a frightening challenge, since it is easy to do the kind of comparative work which neglects that which is crucially explanatory. The development of sophisticated cultural competence (including, of course, language proficiency) is essential in order to undertake the task well - as anthropologists have known for some considerable time - yet very few researches indeed are in a position to do so. These points have a wider relevance than for youth research, but if we consider that Europe's future lies importantly with its young people, then fostering the development of a transnational tradition in this field has some significance.

A productive European youth research tradition must place *inter relatedness and multidimensionality* at the core of the analysis of life circumstances and value orientations. This is why, for example, it is important not to equate youth transitions with transitions to the labour market, however this element may be for economic and social planning as well as for individual biography. Indeed, if there is one matter on which youth researches in all Member States speak unanimously, it is precisely to say that youth research has concentrated much too narrowly and exclusively on this aspect of young people's lives in the past decade. Our understandings of young people's situations must encompass the wider, more fluid elements of social and cultural context, such as changing orientations towards family and private life, the spread of post-modern values, and the importance of lifestyle as cultural expression. The social worlds in which young people will grow up after the 'watershed' year of 1992 will not suddenly and dramatically change; young people's prospects and practices will not be transformed overnight, except in a highly abstract legislative sense. But we should begin from the assumption – and how could we do otherwise, after the tumultuous events of 1989 and since? – that Europe as a whole (and the European Community itself) is entering a new era, politically, economically, socially and culturally, which will have consequences

for future young Europeans' lives. In the process of engaging with this problematic on its own terms, perhaps Europe, at last, will emerge from the Dictionary of Imaginary Places into the tangible worlds inside and outside all of our heads.

References

Bendit, R. 1990 *Jungend in Europa – Europäische Jugend? Lebenslagen und Orientierungen Jungendicher im Europa der Gemeinschaft.* Paper presented to the DJI/DFJW Working Conference Wandlungen der Jugend sowie der Vorstelungen von der Jugend in Deutschland und Frankreich, in Vaucresson/Paris, October (mimeo).

du Bois-Reymond, M. and Hübner-Funk, S. 1991 'Jugend und Jugend-forschung in Europa' in Krüger, H.-H. (ed.) *Handbuch der Jugendforschung.* 2nd edition. Opladen, Leske & Budrich.

Brake, M. 1990 'Changing Leisure and Cultural Patterns among British Youth'. Ch. 14 pp. 213-225 in Chisholm, L., Büchner, P., H.-H. Krüger and Brown, P. (eds.) *Childhood, Youth and Social Change. A Comparative Approach.* Lewes, Falmer Press.

Breyvogel, W. 1987 *Young People as Foreigners in Their Own Society.* PSEC European Perspectives No. 1, London, University of London Institute of Education Post-Sixteen Education Centre.

Buchmann, M. 1989 *The Script of Life in Modern Society: Entry into Adulthood in a Changing World.* Chicago/London, University of Chicago Press.

Chisholm, L. 1991 *Duestchland und Europa im Umbruch: Wie stellt sich Britannia dazu?* Anregungen zur europäischen Jugendpolitick in den 90er Jahren. Paper presented to the annual conference of the Evangelischen Trägergruppe für gesellschaftpolitische Jugenbildung, at the Akademie Bad Boll, January (mimeo).

Chisholm, L. and Bergeret, J.-M. 1991 *Young People in the European Community; Towards an agenda for research and policy.* Commission of the European Communities Task Force Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth, Brussels, June (available in English, French and German from the European Community Youth Exchange Bureau, 2-3 Place du Luxembourg, B-1040 Brussels).

Chisholm, L. and Hurrelmann, K. (1993) 'The Social Context of Development Processes' in Rutter, M. (ed.) *Psychosocial Problems of Youth in a Changing Europe.* Academia Europe Study Group, Zürich, Johan-Jacobs-Stiftung.

CEC (Commission of the European Communities) 1982 *The Young Europeans. An explanatory study of 15-24 year olds in EEC countries.* Directorate-General for Information, Brussels, December.

CEC 1989 *Young Europeans in 1987.* Luxembourg, OOPEC.

CEC 1991 *Young Europeans in 1990.* Luxembourg, OOPEC.

DISKURS 1990 *Das neue Europa und seine Jugend* Issue 0/90, Summer DJI/Juventa, München/Weinheim.

Friedrich, W. 1990 'Jugendforschung in den sozialistischen Ländern'pp.59-76 in Markefka, M. and Nave-Herz, R. (eds.) *Handbuch der Jugend-forschung* Vol. 2 Newied, Luchterhand.

Jenkins, R. 1990 'Dimensions of adulthood in Britain; longterm unemployment and mental handicap' pp.131-146 in Spencer, P. (ed.) *Anthropology and the Riddle of the Sphinx. Paradoxes of Change in the Life Course* ASA Monographs 28, London/New York, Routledge.

IFOP 1989 'L'Europe oui, mais du Pacifique à l'Oural-Sondage' *Libération* 11/12 November, pp.24-25.

Köpf, G. 1992 'Europa eint der Haß' *Zietmagazin* No. 3, 10 January, pp.6-13.

Select Committee on the European Communities 1991 *Young People in the European Community; With evidence.* House of Lords Session 1990-91, 14th Report, HL Paper 63-11, London, HMSO.

Pearson, G. 1984 *Hooligan. A History of Respectable Fears.* New York, Schocken Books.

Wahl, K. 1990 'Jugend in Europa: Europäisch oder nationalistisch? Akteur oder Opfer der Entwicklung?' *Diskurs* 0/90 Summer. pp.4-6.

Wallace, C. and Cross. M. 1990 'Introduction: Youth in Transition' pp.1-11 in Wallace, C. and Cross, M. (eds.) *Youth in Transition: The Sociology of Youth and Youth Policy.* Lewes, Falmer Press.

Weidenfeld, W. and Piepenschneider, M. 1990 *Junge Generationen und Europäische Einigung.* Bonn, Europa Union Verlag.

YOUNG PEOPLE IN EUROPE:
A Youth and Policy Round Table Discussion

CHAIR: KEITH POPPLE

This paper is based on a discussion between youth policy analysts and youth work practitioners from the Netherlands, Germany and England. The group met in Plymouth to reflect on the issues and problems that affect young people in their countries and in Europe in general.

Keith Popple: I would like to begin by asking each of you to consider what you believe to be the main issues facing young people in your country. Inkeke, perhaps you can start us off.

Inkeke van der Zande: In my view the main issues facing young people in the Netherlands are related to gender differences and to ethnicity. These issues also feature in a number of European countries. However, I want to focus on the problems as they relate to the Netherlands. There is no doubt that the women's movement has been influential in assisting in the considerable changes in the lives of women. Consequently, the ambitions of modern girls are changing, with a sizable group of women in the Netherlands aiming for a combination of motherhood and a career. In one respect then it could be possible to interpret these changes as a success for the women's movement. However, when one looks at the position of adult men and boys, this success becomes less clear-cut. In fact, it is questionable whether these changes are a success at all, and it may turn out to be a misreading of success for the women's movement.

In reality, most Dutch men have not changed at all. They have full-time jobs, are reluctant to share in the household chores, consider the greater part of children's education to be a woman's responsibility, still give priority to their own careers, and seems to be unwilling to share power, money, status and care responsibilities on an equal basis with women. Similarly, most boys pay lip service to the idea of their girlfriends and future wives being available in the labour market, and to the notion of sharing household duties. They do not, however, see any changes in their own working lives once the children are born. So even though there is a change in attitude reflecting the modern relationship between men and women, there seems to be no change in actual behaviour.

The other major problem facing young people in the Netherlands is related to the position of those from ethnic groups. There are difficulties concerning cultural identities, but the main challenge facing us is how to solve the lack of economic opportunities. Migrant families live in big city slums with high unemployment, sub-standard accommodation, and little or no chance to get out of it. This is complicated by the feelings of the indigenous white inhabitants of inner city areas who are living the new diverse cultures. They are the ones living with a mixture of cultures, they must decide whether to enroll their children in so-called black schools or not, while all the time they are living the fundamental social changes taking place. There exists an enormous gap between the government policy of integrating ethnic minorities and the daily life experiences of those people who are expected to implement it. By not reacting to exactly these everyday problems the danger of nationalism and racism arises.

Keith Popple: There are similarities here with the position in the United Kingdom. Jan, does your experience bear out Inkeke's views?

Jan Hazenkamp: There is indeed a real problem in the Netherlands for young people from ethnic groups. For example, my own research indicates that a large number of young Moroccan boys living in Amsterdam use their homes only for eating and sleeping. They don't consider their home as a reference point, and instead they spend their days roaming the streets and frequenting coffee shops, gambling halls and so on. Young people from the Dutch Surinam (Creoles) and the Antilles populations living in Amsterdam face a more complex situation than their parents. For instance, the education system is not geared to their needs and consequently they are unable to secure a regular job.

They turn to the grey and black market which is becoming more professionalised and where they also find themselves marginalised. Moreover, the local government is more severe in checking welfare benefits and is putting the financial squeeze on young people. I have also found that a large number of migrant girls are not attending the appropriate level of school. In many cases they are attending lower grade school than they should. This stems from the girls not receiving the right advice from the education authorities. As a matter of interest, the total population of Amsterdam is 800,000 of which 55,000 are of Surinam origin.

I agree with what Inkeke said about gender differences. Research demonstrates that school girls have aspirations to develop a career and to be mothers. However, there is a large cleavage between these aspirations and the practical opportunities to realise them, especially from girls from the lower social classes.

But I want to comment on the analysis that Inkeke has given me about Dutch men. I want to stress the *ambivalence* of lots of young men and women on how to share careers and household chores. It is almost impossible to develop a career in a part-time job and up to now in most jobs women earn less than men even if the job is the same as that undertaken by a man. Those political and economical mechanisms explain that even if young people discuss together how to share, they don't know how to do it.

A further issue that needs noting is the development during the last 20 years of a gambling culture in the Netherlands. The dominant Dutch culture is based upon Calvinism and does not encourage gambling, but there has been a growth in the numbers of gambling addicts, which is now the same as the number of alcohol (approx 800,000 in a Dutch population of 15 million). Many young people belong to both these categories and I believe it demands an urgent response from youth policy, youth work and the helping agencies.

KP: Trude, the situation in Germany is I know little different. For instance, young people are defined by the government as those aged between 14 and 27 years. Also of course there has been the issue of German re-unification and its impact upon young people which perhaps we can touch on a bit later in our discussion. Firstly though, what are the issues which confront young Germans today?

Trude Hold: There are a number of issues that effect young people in Germany. A major one is unemployment, particularly for those who have been brought up in

East Germany or who are unskilled. In relation to the rest of Europe, our youth unemployment rate does not appear to be a problem, but of course if you are unemployed it is a handicap. So, in my view, it is a problem.

Perhaps the major issue that exists in relation to young Germans is the lack of orientation. Changing family structures, together with dominant forces and an ideology of a society that they do not subscribe to, has left young people feeling unconnected with German culture and life. This could be considered to be the result of modernisation and the increasing industrial risks such as environmental threats and nuclear threats. Another point is the growing instability of material living conditions both economically and politically. The ability to plan and calculate their lives seems to be out of the reach of many young people. Thus many of them feel isolated, without any clear view of themselves and their future. They lack the opportunities to participate in society while their trust in politicians and the state has decreased. Many young people I have worked with express a real boredom of life and if they do not have sufficient resources to conform to the consumer society, they either become passive or turn to violence and cause trouble both at school and on the streets. This is borne out by the crime statistics which show that approximately 50% of victims of bodily injury in Germany are under the age of 17.

KP: There seems to be a convergence of problems in all our countries. The issue that is causing us all a good deal of concern is the rising nationalism and racism amongst young people in Europe. What are your thoughts on this in relation to what is happening in Germany, Trude.

TH: First of all I believe that nationalism in Germany is not a phenomenon on the fringe of society. Rather nationalism in the context of the previously mentioned developments is any easy explanation for a complex problem that is located in the centre of our society, becoming more and more acceptable through the election of extreme right-wing parliamentary parties. Nationalism in Germany is also due to the fear about, and the competition for, people's own territory, jobs and resources. In a competitive, individualised world that is encouraged and supported by New Right thinking there is a fear of losing one's culture. Additionally, the Germans living in the West feel they have, and often in reality do have, exclusive rights compared with those from the East.

The Germans from the East are also the victims of scape-goating for the country's ills and failures. Individual East Germans have for instance been blamed for the country's economic recession, when it should be clear to most people that this is not the case at all. Also, there has been a lot of sensational reporting by the press which has failed to address the problems facing the whole country. Young people who are victims of the recession selectively use the information they receive to blame each other for the difficulties and this in turn leads to the nationalism we see exhibited in the streets.

KP: Inkeke, how do you view the rise in nationalism and racism amongst young people in Europe. What do you think can be undertaken by governments and youth organisations to combat the threat?

IZ: Well, firstly I would like to make a general statement on Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe was initially established on boundaries reflecting the complex power relations in central Europe. Later on, Eastern Europe borders mirrored the power blocks resulting from the second world war. Western Germany for example, has kown six constitutions since the nineteenth century, including its recent reunion with Eastern Germany. Many years of suppression of religions, languages, and other aspects of original cultures, combined with rigid political systems exhorting central control, are now leading to intolerance, revenge and the overemphasis on the quality of one's own culture and goods.

In order to build democratic states, we need time, tolerance, economic development, and a less ethnocentric attitude in Western Europe. The role of youth organisations in trying to combat the threat of nationalism differs from country to country. In Western Europe their contribution could be to pay a lot of attention to the variety of cultures and nations that exist within the country in question. It is certainly useful to organise exchange trips for young workers and youngsters, but as the number of trips are usually limited, we cannot expect too much from these international understandings.

JH: Yes, I would agree with Inkeke and Trude. Young people are having to cope with a climate of individualism and the promotion of self. Collective organisations such as trade unions, churches, youth organisations and political parties hardly have any influence now. Young people are not embedded in larger collectives and they do not share collective opinions. Moreover, politics is seen as irrelevant in relation to young people's personal lives. This has led to what I consider to be a dangerous state of affairs where young people are prone to act negatively towards foreigners. This is compounded by the recession which has led to enormous shortages of work and good housing and in turn a lot of marginalised young people who are looking for reasons for their situation. In response, governments have a role to play in providing good and appropriate education. On a local level there is a need to encourage and stimulate youth participation. According to many surveys, young people have no interest in conventional politics, and yet they have a lot to say and a desire to be involved in the affairs of their local communities. In one of my research projects I describe a process involving young people in youth politics. That means that adults have to go to the young people, and not expect the young people to adapt to the rituals of bureaucracy.

KP: There is much to be said for the politicalisation of young people and this is an issue that exercises the thinking and action of youth workers in the UK. What role do you think youth policy and youth work can play in some of the problems we have discussed, both in your own countries and Europe?

IZ: My own work with youth workers in the Netherlands indicates that they often display a good deal of ambivalence and contradiction about their role. Yet youth workers play an important part in the transition youngsters make to adulthood.

Youth work is one area of pedagogical praxis. This means that the youth worker can look upon his or her profession as the fulfilment of a cultural role.Education implies among other things that children and adolescents are introduced to a culture. The strength of the professional youth worker is his or her capacity to be a

cultural inheritor, someone who challenges young people to achieve the unknown and the possible.

However, the potential of youth work should not be exaggerated. It can be very important indeed, but it is of equal importance to realise that youth work is a small part of pedagogical praxis compared to, for example, education and the helping professions. Politicians seem to pay a lot of attention to youth work when they are debating the difficulties society has with its youngsters. On each occasion youth workers are more than willing to listen and react to new groups, and new problems. However, all this attention is not translated into better working conditions for youth workers, and more money for youth work in general. Compare, for example, the number of teachers and the number of youth workers.

One of the most important features of youth work practice is its actual knowledge of young people's everyday lives. Youth workers are aware of the circumstances of 'their' youngsters, their problems, their desires, and more often than not, youth workers succeed where educationalists fail.

JH: My view is that youth work can provide a safe place for young people to develop new social and material skills. It is an arena for young people to get to know and learn about each other, and about different cultures and ways of life.

I am fiercely against those who prophesy that we can say goodbye to youth work. These critics claim that the attraction of the commercial market for young people is great and therefore, young people do not want youth work any more. In my opinion, they are blinded by the myth and glamour of advertising and forget that a lot of young people are in need of attention, some point of reference and a little support. Growing up was and is often a lonely affair, even if you are in a peer group. I think youth work can inter-link young people to opportunities at the local level, and at the same time give them the experience that people can be caring.

KP: Trude, you have recent direct experience with young people, both in youth clubs and on the streets, what role do you think youth work has?

TH: I think youth work has two roles. On the one hand it is what I would call an emergency service. That is youth work is there to deal with young people's immediate expressed needs and problems. In some senses in this role it is engaged in crisis intervention and the follow-up that is required. On the other hand, youth work is about the young people and in relating to the wider society, the needs of youngsters. This aspect, and especially political involvement, at least at a local level needs much more promotion. Otherwise, we are left dealing with the problems on an individualistic level which will not create structural change.

KP: There has been a lot of consideration in the last few years to try and develop a more unified approach to young people in Europe. For instance, there have been numerous European youth policy and youth work conferences, and cross country discussions which are aimed at both sharing ideas and approaches and in developing more permanent links. Do you think there is a place for coordinated efforts within Europe to deal with the common issues facing its young people?

IZ: I certainly see the necessity and the potential for coordinated efforts. There are a number of ways in which to achieve this.

Firstly, there should be an increase in the number of exchanges of practitioners. The international network is too often occupied by professional travellers. Every discipline, practice, and organisation has its European liaison person. Much more energy should be put into exchanging views, information, and possible solutions with practitioners. Secondly, the communication between European travellers should be much improved. Thirdly, it would be wise to form a small network of social scientists and practitioners on the subject of youth and youth policy. Youth work is often the first educational practice that is confronted with new problems, and its merits are acknowledged and recognised by young people. A permanent debate between practitioners and youth researchers in Europe can stimulate co-ordination. Naturally, some of the co-ordination should take place within the formal structures and organisations of the EC. However, the network I envisage would be organised by non-governmental bodies.

JH: There are in existence European programmes set up by the EC and coordinated by the Task Force for human resources, education and youth affairs. These programmes are: Erasmus (mobility of University students); Commett II (training for technology); Lingua (to improve the knowledge of foreign languages); Tempus (West and Eastern European student exchange at higher education level); Youth for Europe (for young people 15-25); Petra (Post compulsory education opportunities to attend courses for vocational education); Eurotecnet 11 (education for advanced technologies); Force (a new program for industrial vocational education); Iris (improvement of vocational programmes for young women).

I want to stress the importance of the Youth for Europe programme. It is aimed at stimulating exchanges between young people living in the EC. It is the only European programme in which disadvantaged young people get priority. From the evaluation of the exchange project we can see that the impact of the programme on young people's horizons is tremendous.

In February 1990 the European Parliament agreed a resolution in which it accepted that the success of European integration was dependent upon the enthusiasm of European young people. The European Parliament is worried that the youth programmes are narrow and favour only a small section of the younger generation. They have asked for research relating to the unequal opportunities for young people to take part in European youth programmes.

TH: I am not aware of all the various European youth exchange programmes although I have been a beneficiary of the work you Keith, and others, have undertaken in developing the exchange agreements between the Department of Applied Social Science at the University of Plymouth and the Fachhoschule Fur Soozialwesen, Esslingen. The benefit of spending six months on placement in a youth project in another country are enormous, although, of course, it is important to have some working knowledge of the language. The outcome is that I feel much more confident in the work I am now doing in Germany and can try out some of the many ideas learnt in England. I hope too that I gave new ideas and offered a different perspective to those I worked with during my placement.

KP: Finally, on a more general level, do you think the issues facing young people in Eastern Europe have any relationship to those in Western Europe?

JH: The most important issue for us to face is the need to improve the quality of our democratic societies. We need an active society as written about by Etzioni. I think education, and youth work can contribute to help give young people opportunities to be responsible, to be treated on an equal level and to stimulate their influence on policy matters. There is a lot of work to do in the East but also in the West!

TH: The breakdown of socialism in East countries has revealed substantial problems for young people such as unemployment, social and economic insecurities, boredom in leisure time and so on. These problems have been confronted by Western countries for many years and although we are far from solving them we do have views on catching up for the East by way of co-operation and exchange of ideas, information and professionals in this regard, which implies what we should also be trying to learn from the East.

IZ: In many ways I have spoken about the issues facing young people earlier in this discussion. I would, however, like to say something further on the impact of internationalism. Although many efforts are made to prepare the new generation for a new Europe, many youngsters are not in a position to travel abroad and/or learn a foreign language fluently. However, many aspects of youth culture are already international, for example pop music and many ethnic groups have an international dimension through their orientation to other cultures. Still, it is not unthinkable that the European fever will eventually lead to an egalitarian interpretation of internationalism.

KP: That seems a positive and hopeful note on which to conclude this discussion. I would like to thank you all for participating in what has been an interesting and helpful exchange of views and ideas. I only want to add that if policy makers and politicians genuinely want European integration to lead to greater social, political and economic opportunities and a richer form of democracy then they will need to respond more positively to the problems facing Europe's young people. In other words, they have to engage with the very people that will take this ideal forward. At the moment the response to young people from the EC has been piecemeal, elitist and removed. Perhaps our task is to be involved in changing this situation.

the magazine for everyone who cares about young people

YOUNG PEOPLE NOW

PRODUCED by the National Youth Agency, ***Young People Now*** is a monthly magazine carrying a lively and informative mix of:

- wide coverage of the latest resources for work with young people
- specialist sections on sport, health, environment, work, the youth service, and schools
- features on young people's lives
- news on legal and political developments
- ideas for residential weekends, outdoor centres, and holidays
- job opportunities in working with young people

Whether you are a researcher, policymaker, or face-to-face worker, you will find ***Young People Now*** an unequalled source of ideas and information.

For a free sample copy and details of how to subscribe contact:
Tim Burke, *Young People Now*, 17–23 Albion Street,
Leicester LE1 6GD.
Tel: 0533.471200. Fax: 0533.471043.

POPULAR FRONT

POST-PUNK NOSTALGIA

LAURA JOHNSTON

Platform shoes, flared trousers, love beads - they are all back with a vengeance. Abba is in and Abba-esque abounds! Top of the Pops features endless cover versions, re-releases and re-mixes, with new bands desperately turning out old songs in an attempt to achieve popularity and success. Who would have imagined a cover version of a Barry Manilow song would be the trendy hip sound of 1993?!!

So why is there such an interest in the seventies twenty years on? It is, as some argue, due to the similarities which the two decades share, for example, recession following economic boom and government authority shaken by a challenge from the miners? Certainly these parallells can be drawn, but prior to the current seventies revival, the styles and sounds of the fifties and sixties had also emerged at times throughout the eighties. This urge to recycle the past cannot be explained simply in terms of a depressed nation, gripped by recession, hankering after the perceived glamour of a recent time. Working in the arts and having recently graduated from a 'New University', I have become aware of the wider influence nostalgia has had over the last ten to fifteen years. Examining architecture and the arts it is clear that there has been a move away from the forward looking philosophy of Modernism and the more general search for the new which has, throughout history, been the concern of artists. Instead, art history has become the interest of many artists and past styles and images are re-assembled.

'Post-Modernism', the umbrella term associated with this change has its origins in the sixties. Irony, pastiche and eclecticism are all characteristic of the arts of this time and this has been reflected in the popular styles and trends which have emerged. The arts like everything else do not operate within a vacuum and it is clear that what we have witnessed throughout the eighties and into the nineties has strong links with the change in cultural mood and the massive shift in political ideology which occurred with the advent of Thatcherism in 1979. This shift was from collectivism to individualism and involved a restructuring of economic and social structures based on the philosophy of the New Right. An understanding of this, I believe, gives insight into the current obsession with the past and the lack of vision and optimism which goes along with it.

The seventies brought with them a breakdown of the world economy. Dissatisfaction with the Labour Government of '74 - '79, due to rising inflation and unemployment, led to a lack of confidence in the authority of the principles, policies and institutions which had shaped post-war consensus politics. The sixties building boom which produced endless numbers of concrete housing estates and high rise living in an attempt to improve social conditions, by the seventies, had proved problematic. These schemes, inspired by Modernist thinking, but determined by tight budgets, served to discredit the utopian philosophy which had influenced post-war building. Dissatisfaction and disillusionment bred a general

desire for change. So, whilst the Sex Pistols advocated 'Anarchy in the U.K.', the country moved towards a restructuring of a different kind.

With the election of Ronald Reagan in the USA and Margaret Thatcher in Britain, radical programmes of change were introduced which sought to achieve the aims of New Right philosophy. This involved the creation of a free economy and a strong state. Free market economics would, it was felt, increase individual choice and freedom. A strong state was necessary to guide this transition, defeat opposition and assist in the fundamental shift in belief systems required to achieve popular acceptance. Promotion of individualism and abandonment of collectivism was at the heart of this. The post-war consensus in the belief that the state had a responsibility to provide for its citizens had to be broken down. To achieve economic freedom it was necessary to shed the 'burdens' which hampered this. State provision of welfare, health and education were amongst the areas to be tackled. The acceptance that full employment was the goal to be achieved, no longer applied as the 'conquest of inflation' (Lawson, 1985) became the priority.

The first phase of change concentrated on the economic. The stability of Keynsian economic policy was replaced by the fluid diversity of monetarism. The consequence of shifting investment meant to some regions long term unemployment and the social problems this brings with it. Denationalisation, privatisation, public share ownership, along with disappearing employment as factories, shipyards and mines closed down, effecting whole communities. At the same time, high finance retail outlets, business parks and fast food chains sprung up all around them. The enterprise culture began to develop, with emphasis on personal freedom and the promise of new wealth and aspirations. The media and advertising were important in promoting this new spirit and at the centre of it all was the dominating leadership of Margaret Thatcher, who embarked on a personal crusade throughout the decade.

> *Not since Gladstone has Britain been led by such an opinionated and evangelical Prime Minister. (B Appleyard, 1989).*

Thatcher was driven by her belief that a complete change in public attitudes was needed for her vision of Britain to be achieved. Memories of her childhood and the influence of her Victorian grandmother invested in her a nostalgic view of the values of a bygone era. Self-reliance, self-respect, living within your income, cleanliness being next to godliness and pride in your country - '...All of these are Victorian values. They are also perennial values.' (Thatcher, 1983).

Emphasis on nostalgia and 'tradition' was promoted by the government in their adopted role of moral authority and tutor to the nation. The influence of this gathered momentum in the second phase of change as David Edgar explains:

> *So having disposed of socialist economics and politics, Mrs Thatcher's thinkers turned their attention to what they saw as socialism's cultural form, that complex of movements in the 20th century arts that sought to challenge and break down traditional vocabularies ... in the name of modernity. (D Edgar, 1987).*

The result was the promotion of Post-Modern art and architecture. Waldemar Januszczak argues that the plurality and lack of unity of this movement, without a binding philosophy or vision of the future, has left artists isolated with only themselves to draw on as subject matter.

> *Never has so much art been made on the subject of its maker ... Post-Modernism works on the me-generation principle of the lone genius, that most important of artist, whose subject matter is himself. (W Januszczak, 1986).*

The individualism, characteristic of the Thatcher years, encouraged this lack of unity amongst artists as it did at all levels of society. Competition rather than co-operation was the theme and, by nature, competition results in separation, in the race to achieve.

A reduction in the amount of government patronage for the arts in preference for business sponsorship effected the choice of arts promoted. The influence of the free market on work produced is clear.

> *What we have seen over the last several years is the virtual takeover of art by big corporate interests ... The return to painting and sculpture of a traditional cast is the return to commodity production and ... whereas traditionally art had an ambiguous commodity status, it now has a thoroughly unambiguous one. (D Crimp, 1987).*

Popular appeal, which would guarantee good attendance at exhibitions and greater exposure of corporate names became a priority. New ideas and works tended to represent a risk in this area and were less likely to attract the support and association of business. Big names and retrospectives were a more secure proposition. For working artists, a return to familiar forms and styles which would be more open to public appeal provided a route to success in the market place. Figurative painting and sculpture re-emerged and sold well, drawing on images and subject matter of the past.

> *Clearly such painting has abnegated art's historical ambition to change the way we see and understand the world ... an ambition which was evident in the Renaissance study of perspective as it was in the art of the Impressionists. (W Januszczak, 1986).*

Innovation and the search for the new represented a rejection of the traditional and, in the climate of Thatcherite Conservatism, was unacceptable. It is for this reason that Post-Modern Art was so successful in the eighties. As Januszczak stated, 'pastiche culture can hardly be a revolutionary force'.

In architecture too, traditionalism flourished, with Prince Charles entering the debate. The initial irreverence and sense of fun which some early Post-Modern architecture had, for example, the TV-AM building with its massive eggs and egg cups, was lost. Buildings were adorned with combinations of classical features, and style rather than purpose and planning became imperative. In its use of

facades and its classical references Post-Modern architecture resulted in buildings which had no intention of authenticity and in conjunction with the Thatcher boom, clothed the symbols of the time, the malls, etc, with an image aimed at the consumer, glitzy but paper thin.

Similar influences have been apparent in popular culture. Youth music, in the form of 'Acid House' and other dance sounds, have emerged which are eclectic, using as source anything from classical music to sixties beat. By means of collage, the various elements are assembled and re-assembled - sold and re-sold, serving the demands of consumerism. The media-image, generating changes in fashion, is used to sustain interest and create new desires and needs. Variety and change all help to support the production and consumption which have become a feature of contemporary, free-market capitalism.

Adam Sweeting, in his Guardian interview with Johnny Lyndon, formerly 'Rotten' of the Sex Pistols, states: 'The trouble with rave is it has no articulated ideology, no sense of purpose and, at the end of a long nights raving, the brains of a deckchair'. Lyndon rejects claims by the music media that rave is the 'new punk'.

> *It's such a con and it's proclaimed as a youth movement. Is it bugger! It's a load of extremely shady promoters trying every scam known to mankind with no real outlay and a huge cash return. (Lyndon, 1992).*

Equally, the current recycling of seventies style and music can be seen as another money making scam, demanding little in the way of imagination, effort or outlay. Without any ideology, youth culture becomes concerned primarily with style, as its importance as a consumer group is recognised.

How much longer, then, can this recycling of ideas and styles go on? Brian Appleyard, in his study of Post-Modern architecture, describes the 'exhaustion' built in to this approach. He describes it as a rebellion against the perceived restrictions enforced in post-war Britain, with the adoption of consensus politics and Modernist principles.

> *It was a reaction as of children let out of school. They ran around shouting and screaming. But then they grew bored and went home to do their homework. (Appleyard, 1991).*

He asserts that, although fun for a while, its superficiality and lack of meaning meant that serious architects could not sustain commitment to the approach.

If there was a growing sense of tiredness with the lack of vision and depth inherent in Post-Modernism, this was reflected in the gradual loss of support for Thatcherite principles which resulted in her demise in 1990. Research carried out by MORI in 1988 found that there had been no real shift in public attitudes and the impression of Britain as an 'uncaring society' had begun to take hold. 'The New Right has failed to come to terms with the limits of individualism. Collectivism is alive and well.' (D Piachaud, 1991). How much this will mean for the political and cultural mood of the future it is difficult to ascertain. The power of consumerism and the

media which has had such an effect on the arts may mean that commodity production will remain the imperative in this area. Popularity and salability thus determining the form of works produced. However, the preference for collectivism and the reassertion of early Modernist principles by designers like Richard Rogers, demonstrated in his plans for a new Shanghai, may signify the potential for a more positive and forward looking spirit. At present though, with Britain stagnating in the depths of recession and yet another seventies re-release in the charts, there appears to be little sign of change. Youth culture and music, however, have a relatively short history. The potential to recycle this must, therefore, be limited. When at last the demand for the seventies is exhausted, let us hope that there will be an opportunity for new ideas and a new direction to emerge.

References

Appleyard, B. (1989) *The Thatcher Effect*

Appleyard, B. 'When the Laughing had to Stop' - *The Times Saturday Review* 5/1/91.

Crimp, D. (1987) - 'Art in the Eighties: The Myth of Autonomy', in PRECIS 6.

Edgar, D. (1987) 'The New Nostalgia' - *Marxism Today.*

Januszczak, W. 'Decline and Fall of Modern Art' - *The Guardian* 2/12/86.

Manwaring, T. and Sigler, N. (1985) - *Breaking the Nation - A Guide to Thatcher's Britain.*

Margaret Thatcher from an interview with LBC Radio 15/4/83.

Piachaud, D. 'The God That Failed' - *The Guardian* 31/7/91.

Sweeting, A. 'Still Packing a Pistol' *The Guardian* 2/11/92.

the

• dEPARt

design and print

mENt •

***The Art Department** · 1 Pink Lane*

Newcastle upon Tyne · NE1 5DW

*Telephone Number: **(091) 230 4164***

CIRCULATION

Youth & Policy is issued quarterly. It has a circulation of 1,000 not only throughout the United Kingdom and Europe, but also as far afield as the USA and Australia. Many academics and professionals subscribe to what has proven to be a valuable contribution to those involved in various forms youth work.

RATES

Advertisements *(where finished artwork is supplied)*

Full Page	£160
Half Page (landscape only)	£80
Inserts	Price negotiable

Where other journals wish to place advertisements or inserts in Youth and Policy, we would be open to negotiation.

MECHANICAL DATA

Full Page	113mm wide x 182mm deep
Half Page	113mm wide x 89mm deep

COPY REQUIREMENTS

Artwork format:	Bromide/PMT or Negative Film (right reading, emulsion down)
Screen:	133dpi

Advertisements can also be generated by our graphics department. We require a bromide or PMT of your logo, any other logos, photographs and copy you wish to be included in your display. Please specify typeface where exact match is needed. Price subject to examination of copy.

FURTHER DETAILS PLEASE CONTACT

Judith Cocker (Promotions)
Youth & Policy
PO Box 10
Tyne and Wear
NE21 5LY
England

WORKING SPACE

THE SIERRA NEVADA EXPEDITION

- an innovative project which aimed to assist in the rehabilitation of young offenders in North Tyneside.

LUCY FORD

The Probation Service in North Tyneside, in partnership with the Outward Bound Trust, ventured to new and dizzy heights last year with The Sierra Nevada Expedition Project. Work on the project began in April 1992 and is to be concluded in the Spring of this year when a full evaluation report will be published. In writing this article I hope not only to outline the work of the project but also to highlight the achievements of the young people who worked hard to make the Expedition succeed.

The idea for the project arose out of a longstanding and successful partnership between Northumbria Probation Service and the Outward Bound Trust. The latter is a leading organisation in personal development training, with long experience of working with young people in their own urban settings and in the challenging environment of the outdoors. The Probation Service in North Tyneside had also been a longstanding supporter of outdoor development training. Although recognising it may not be suitable for everyone, for many young people it has proved to have a high impact on their lives and a long term value.

The Sierra Nevada Expedition project was divided into three phases - the preparation period; the Expedition itself; and Post-Expedition work. It provided a challenging forum for work and it aimed in the long term to assist those involved in moving away from criminal behaviour into alternative activities and, where possible, employment.

The Expedition itself, an 11 day back-packing hike in the Sierra Nevada mountain range of Southern Spain and including a summit of 11,000 feet, was chosen deliberately to be challenging and demanding. This meant that each person involved would have to work, during the preparation period, towards a required level of responsibility, team work and commitment and would have to learn and develop skills in order to ensure the successful completion of the Expedition task. The foreign element of the Expedition provided the opportunity for an understanding of a different culture and language. This was a unique experience for the majority of the group, many of whom previously had not travelled outside of the North East and one of whom had been to Newcastle (the nearest city, 10 miles from his home) on only one occasion.

The staff group for the project consisted of two male Outward Bound Trust Instructors; myself - a Probation Officer; and my male colleague - a Probation Service Assistant. It was decided the rest of the group should be a minimum of 8 and a maximum of 12 people, all at that time subject to statutory supervision of

the Probation Service. Some of the group have since completed their period of statutory supervision but they remain in contact with us on a voluntary basis. The minimum age was 17 years old (at that time the minimum age in North Tyneside for Probation Service Supervision) and although it was agreed there should not be an upper age limit the majority of the group members were aged 17-20 years. Both men and women were encouraged to take part in the project but it commenced in April 1992 with 10 men and only one woman. Everyone was interviewed individually, along with some others who after learning exactly what was involved and what would be expected of them decided to withdraw. This was not a 'handpicked' group; quite the contrary. It was a diverse group of individuals with various needs and sometimes difficult behaviour such as gas-sniffing, violence, homelessness, severe depression, isolation, estranged from family, struggling with independence having left Local Authority Care, etc .... All were considered to be 'serious offenders' the majority with significant criminal records and experience of custody.

The Preparation Period

This was regarded as important as the Expedition itself. The task involved and the environment of the Expedition meant that very little could be left to chance. Group members not only had to learn to work together and to gain the self confidence to approach the task, but they had to learn particular skills in campcraft, navigation, cooking, mountain walking, budgeting, photography, communicating in another language, endless form completion (for Passports, Insurance, DSS applications), letter writing, etc. Physical fitness featured high on the priorities for training and, with the assistance of another partnership between the Probation Service and the YMCA Pyramid Project in North Tyneside, a programme of weekly training sessions was undertaken by all involved. In addition, group members attended regular meetings and groupwork sessions; training events, including the ascent of an overnight camp of Blencathra mountain in the Lake District; and numerous fundraising activities. As the group progressed, individuals clearly increased in self confidence and demonstrated, in their ability to work together as a team, an apparent understanding of each others needs. Public relations and publicity played a major part during this preparation period, again providing the opportunity for group members to develop some skills in this area.

Funding of the project was achieved primarily by numerous fundraising events and donations from businesses, charities and trusts. Northumbria Probation Service provided two staff; administration support; and an independent research and evaluation of the project. The fundraising activities required the participation of all group members and involved them in selling their own crafts and art work; tabletop sales; raffles; aluminium can recycling; a drama performance; sponsored events and, one which produced a few racing heartbeats, an abseil from the top of a Department Store in the local shopping complex. In total the group raised approximately £6,500 and, together with the loan of specialist equipment, this meant that the Expedition itself could go ahead.

Prior to the departure for the Expedition one group member had to withdraw due to family circumstances and another was withdrawn as he had not demonstrated the necessary basic level of commitment and responsibility. On the day of depar-

ture a third group member had to withdraw due to domestic difficulties. This left a group of seven men and one woman, in addition to the staff group. The degree of 'drop out' from this project is considered from previous experience to be low and is attributed to the significant period of preparation.

The Expedition

We arrived in Newcastle Airport at 6.00am on 20th September 1992, an achievement in itself for all eight young people to be there on time! Previous groupwork sessions explaining departure procedures paid off as we progressed slowly through the various sections of the Airport. It was clearly an overwhelming and unique experience for the majority of group members. We were glad at least to have got rid of the 50 lb back-packs for a couple of hours, not knowing that in the next few days they would become simply another part of our bodies. We were about to set off on a venture where the preparation and training of the previous five months would need to be put into action and where on many occasions we as a group of people would be totally self reliant.

On arriving in Spain we travelled by bus to Granada. Everyone was working together to help each other adjust to the heat, the heavy back-packs, the differences in culture, communicating with the Spanish people, the currency, the travel. Before commencing the project none of us in the group had any knowledge of the Spanish language. We had learnt some basic phrases prior to our departure and it was great to see all the group members throughout the Expedition period trying hard to learn more Spanish words and phrases, very rarely assuming they could speak English and expect to be understood. Funds for the Expedition were relatively low and we all knew careful budgeting would be essential. Again, the young people who had months before struggled with budgeting their own home, demonstrated new found skills in organising the food, travel and camping arrangements for the 11 days.

We spent our first two nights at a campsite in Granada, the nearest city to the Sierra Nevada mountains. This allowed us one final day for preparation and the group divided up to complete 'tasks' - buying food for the Expedition; organising travel to the mountains; buying fuel for the stoves, etc.

Another bus ride took us to Guejar Sierra, a small village on the edge of the Sierra Nevada mountain region. We had arrived during siesta and had difficulty finding essential supplies of fresh water. This was to be the last time for several days that we would have access to fresh water, or indeed on some occasions, any water. The temperature was high 70s and low 80s Fahrenheit and dehydration was likely to be a problem, particularly as we progressed up the mountain. Water was to be shared between everyone and was to be sipped and not gulped. This was yet another test of the groups ability to work together and to respect the needs of those around them.

Masked in suntan lotion and insect repellent we left civilisation, uncertain of what was to lie ahead. Some five hours later, hot, tired, and with lumps beginning to form on our shoulders from the back-packs we began to search for flat land on which to camp. This proved much more difficult than the maps had suggested.

Everyone was exhausted and irritable, but at the same time showing care and support for each other and a wonderful sense of humour which carried us all on to eventually finding our first camp - luckily beside a river and unluckily where the snakes were beginning to congregate for the Winter!

The next day began with a 6 hour gradual ascent along a mountain track. Snakes were in abundance, usually vipers. Lizards, some one foot long, climbed the rocks around us. This was a point when some group members were ready to quit and we decided to make time available for us to rest and talk and to utilise the support of the rest of the group. This was also important when two group members during the Expedition began to feel the effect of long term abuse of alcohol and gas an although both had reduced their level of abuse in preparing for the Expedition they were now having to cope without access to any at all. It is worth noting that after returning from the Expedition both group members sought assistance in continuing to reduce their use of alcohol/gas.

The next few days proved to be the most testing, both physically and mentally. We had left the mountain track and were ascending at an angle of 45 degrees on dry, loose ground. Teamwork was essential and leadership qualities began to emerge in some group members. As the days progressed my colleagues and I were able to withdraw our own leadership and hand over increasing responsibility to group members. The effects of high altitude were beginning to show, making the physical exertion even more arduous. At 6000 feet we made a 'base-camp' on what proved to be the last piece of relatively flat land on the mountain. We decided to aim for the summit (another 5000 feet up) and return to 'base-camp' in one day, allowing us to leave any unnecessary heavy items behind. It was a long and difficult day. Less than 1000 feet from the summit one group member suffered from altitude sickness which can be fatal. It can be eased by making a rapid descent and at this point the group divided, two members choosing to assist with the descent whilst the rest carried on to the summit. At the top the views were magnificent, but most of all I will never forget the faces of those young people who realised they had achieved everything they had been working for over the previous months. Even those who had not quite reached the summit were made to feel they had equally achieved.

There are many stories which could be told about this Expedition period but which space will not allow. In describing the way everyone worked together and the high levels of commitment and responsibility which were demonstrated throughout, it all seems a bit too good to be true. But that is the way it was! From the beginning of the preparation period to the end of the Expedition itself we saw a group of young people develop in self confidence and self esteem and, through their own hard work and determination, achieve an ambition. Since the riots of 1991 there has been much adverse publicity about the young people of North Tyneside, but this at least has shown how much those same young people can achieve when given the opportunity. One young person in the group said about the project:

> *Before starting this project I was unsure about the group I would be working with. For some reason I didn't think a group of offenders could work together positively. After coming back I felt a good sense of achievement, everybody*

worked together as a group, I think the reason for thinking offenders could not work together positively is because I've never really had the chance.

Post Expedition Work

This work is continuing, assisting group members to make use of the skills and confidence they have gained from participation on the project. As one group member said: 'I now know I can do something other than crime'. On their return, two group members obtained employment. Another has completed a City Challenge Course working with young people with special needs and has since become actively involved in a Community Outdoor Training Organisation, where he hopes to work towards obtaining qualifications in outdoor leadership skills. Two others have begun to re-establish contact with their families and the skills in budgeting, cooking, organisation, have been put to good use by those who have recently obtained their own tenancies. At the time of writing (January 1993) none of the group have reoffended.

In addition, some group members are involved in the making of a video about the Expedition, including composing and recording their own backing track, and they are to be assisting in a presentation of the project to local Magistrates and Court staff. It is anticipated that the video will be available in the Spring along with the publication of the full evaluation report of the project.

Clearly this is just one example of many different models of working, but there is no doubt in my mind that for the young people involved in this project it was a worthwhile experience with long term value.

IN THIS ISSUE

Barbara Kelly
Children Inside - Rhetoric and Practice in a Locked Institution for Children
Routledge 1992
ISBN 0-415-06247-0
£40 (Hbk)
pp 248

Lynton Gray
Marketing Education
Open University Press 1991
ISBN 033 509675 1
£9.99 (Pbk)
pp 183

Hudson, F. & Ineichin, B.
Taking it Lying Down: Sexuality and Teenage Motherhood.
Basingstoke: Macmillan 1991
ISBN 0 333 53177 9
ISBN 0 333 53178 7
Hbk £30.00
Pbk £8.99

James Lull (ed)
Popular Music and Communication
(Second edition)
Sage, 1992
ISBN 0 8039 3917 5
pp 247

Barry Meteyard
Getting Started with NVQ - Tackling the Integrated Care Awards
Longman 1992
ISBN 0 582 09597 2
pp.186

Dick Bradley
Understanding Rock'N'Roll: Popular Music in Britain 1955-1964.
Open University Press 1992
£37.50 (Hbk)
£12.99 (Pbk)
pp.191

Barbara Kelly
Children Inside - Rhetoric and Practice in a Locked Institution for Children
Routledge 1992
ISBN 0-415-06247-0
£40 (Hbk)
pp 248

The goals, values and principles on which social welfare practice should be based are being increasingly refined and comprehensively articulated. Yet the gap between official rhetoric and the reality of many users' experience remains daunting. At a time of increasingly market oriented welfare services and defensive practice, this book has compelling insights for policy makers, managers and practitioners in the health and welfare professions.

It vividly describes some of the processes whereby a system of containment and treatment in a secure unit for young people, could be sustained, in the face of evidence that it was contradictory, arbitrary and unable to achieve its goals. It examines the 'role of professional rhetoric in contributing to the growth of a system which required no tangible success as a means for justification'.

This is an exciting and challenging book, which adds to understanding of some of the problems associated with the residential care of children. Its wider significance needs to be emphasised, however, to try to ensure that it will not simply be used to add further weight to the continual scapegoating of residential care. The processes described in the book are highly relevant to current practice in child protection, in psychiatric services and in community care planning.

Kelly questions, for example, whether professional definitions of what are acceptable standards in child rearing are sometimes arbitrary and capricious. Her study considers the role of professionals in the creation of prescriptive systems. It raises questions about how far euphemisms in so called treatment regimes are often used to mask coercive and harmful practices, which ride roughshod over the rights of vulnerable individuals. Such processes were exemplified by the discredited 'Pindown' regime in Staffordshire, where a supposedly scientific approach by the professionals involved had been allowed to continue over a long period, until its frame of reference was challenged.

Kelly spent substantial time in the early 80s in a secure unit in Scotland. She observed referral and committal proceedings, the daily routines, staff meetings and meetings between staff and children. Staff and children were interviewed and asked to complete questionnaires.

The study considered:

- the staff group: characteristics and organisation;
- processes of referral and committal;
- characteristics of the chiildren;
- treatment and management of the children: theory and practice;
- assessment;
- the inmates views.

Kelly uses the secure unit as a case study to explore a central conflict within the juvenile justice system: that between control and treatment, or punishment and welfare.
She draws substantially on theoretical work by Foucault, Cohen, Edelman and others in exploring issues of power and control in society. She uses Foucault's interpretation of social control as 'transcending the immediate implications of its purpose and evoking a compelling role for power itself in human motivation'. She does not claim that her study can demonstrate the validity of Foucault's theory, only that his theory of a central relationship between power and knowledge provides an organising principle for the description of the material which emerged in her study, on the 'seemingly arbitrary sway of professional discretion in a system where professional knowledge could be seen to be spurious to the practical outcomes of the system in action'.

The proportion of the book given over to theory seemed rather high, particularly as some sections go over the same ground a number of times without reaching firm conclusions. Sometimes within chapters the range of material covered - information from the unit, a commentary on policy and legislative changes and analysis of shifts in ideology - can be difficult to follow. This is a minor criticism however, as the book generally lays out complex and demanding theory in a clear and critical way. Kelly manages to move confidently between abstract generalisations and the realities of concrete situations. She provides a strong impression of everyday life in a secure unit: a mixture of good, awful, perplexing and sometimes frightening experience.

The secure unit was funded by the government, but was managed by the same headmaster as a voluntary List D school in close proximity, which was mainly supported by the Roman Catholic church. Planned autonomy of the unit was undermined by the role of the head as manager of both institutions: in practice he controlled referrals.

The building was constructed with a strong priority to security and 'continuous and effective control'. During the period of the research there were few signs of any personal touches from children or staff.

Senior staff of the unit had teaching rather than social work qualifications, although the third in charge had a social work qualification. Care staff were mainly unqualified.

Since the social work (Scotland) Act 1968 the List D schools have been characterised by commitment to the best interests of children: this official view was influential from the inception of the unit. However, there was no clear view of a treatment philosophy which could achieve specific outcomes when the unit was set up. Rather, Kelly argues, 'a therapeutic ideology was expected to develop in an environment which must provide containment'. At the time of her work, her observation was that senior staff avoided contact with more junior staff. This led to tensions between them and the impossibility of developing shared ideology. Senior staff were more likely to talk in 'therapeutic terms' yet the most elaborate roles in relation to the children were with the care staff. They had the least defined responsibilities, and the least training. Kelly describes a confusion of roles linked to low staff morale and disillusionment. Two worlds appeared to be operating, one of ideology and talk (this was the one which controlled the interactions with the world outside) and one of reality and practice. Kelly described these as 'official rhetoric' and 'local talk'.

Local talk demonstrated inherent contradictions within the regime; paying lipservice to aspects of official treatment rhetoric, whilst simultaneously giving priority to the more punitive, coercive demands of a secure unit.
Children referred to the unit did not necessarily have high levels of offending. Truancy from school was a factor in many cases, but the only group who seemed consistently to be offered places were persistent absconders. Others offered places did not differ significantly from those rejected; reasons given for referral did not appear to be influential in whether or not they would be offered a place. However those referred from the adjoining school were much more likely to be offered places than those referred from outside. The unit appeared to be used as a clear control mechanism for the school. Kelly claims that there was also evidence that the unit was used to prevent an accumulation of under aged children in prison. Paradoxically, welfare oriented judges seemed prone to send young offenders to institutions, believing in the rehabilitative function of residential care. More children of limited intellectual ability were committed, but no effective service appeared to be available to them there.

Kelly found that there were huge amounts of information available about most of the children referred, yet this appeared to have little influence on whether or not they were admitted, or on subsequent treatment and handling of them. She describes the 'mythical nature of classificatory systems and treatment processes'. She claims that the involvement of psychologists and psychiatrists in the assessment process and day to day working of the unit offered a validation of the selection system, by reinforcing the impression that psychological skills were both relevant and utilised. In reality systematic diagnostic assessment and treatment planning were noticeable through their absence. Kelly describes the division between hard and soft, control and treatment, shifting endlessly

and concludes that the referral process and the unit's regime revealed little which could be squared with the official rhetoric of the unit's treatment orientation. Wider political processes within the juvenile justice system appeared to be influential, interpreted and mediated through the power and discretion of the head.

Not surprisingly in the light of these confusions and contradictions, children in the unit were unclear about why they were there, and what they might have to do to be released. They saw the unit as penal, though could relate to individual staff as though they were not. They showed a number of ways of trying to deal with the ambivalence and conflicting aspects of the regime. They saw conformity as the most valued attribute, but were mystified about its connection with what staff would interpret as progress. Many external factors appeared to influence whether or not they would be allowed home on leave, for example, and there seemed to be no consistent position about it in the staff group.

Surveillance and supervision were very high; letters and phone calls were monitored; there was little opportunity for self directed activity. Such intensive control might be justified by a crude behaviour management perspective, but Kelly draws attention to the lack of systematic study demonstrating its effectiveness within the juvenile justice system. Its incompatibility with the 'welfare' rhetoric is clear: yet that was the rhetoric which characterised much of the public and internal discussion.

The children appeared to find most difficult the swings they experienced in staff's behaviour : between 'casual informality and extreme displays of subordination and control'. Some talked of good one to one relationships with staff which encouraged confidences which they later felt had been betrayed.

Kelly builds up a complex account of contradictions, confusions, paradoxes within the unit, which she relates to the deeper conflict within the structure of juvenile justice. She demonstrates this in detail through the views of the children and in the 'local talk' of staff. Whilst not denying the undoubted difficulties inherent in responding effectively to children in trouble, she argues that these confusions and conflicts have 'ensured a lack of rights and liberties for juveniles'. The tendency for negative evaluations of the outcomes of such regimes to be used to argue for expansion and diversification is a particular problem. Another is the euphemistic language which surrounds such institutions where 'notions of treatment were unrelated to any tangible treatment programme'. In the unit Kelly describes staff could neither conceptualise nor operationalise effective programmes.

Analysing and facing the actual consequences of major interventions in the lives of vulnerable and powerless people is an essential skill for any professional.

Kelly's book provides a challenge and stimulus to improve the quality of services to some of the most disadvantaged and troubled children. The work is well researched, with a depth of argument to challenge any complacency within the welfare professions.

The difficulties inherent in combining control and loss of liberty with welfare goals are well documented - they are relevant wherever professionals have the power to define need and control intervention.

Norma Baldwin

Lynton Gray
Marketing Education
Open University Press 1991
ISBN 033 509675 1
£9.99 (Pbk)
pp 183

This is a well-organised and lucidly written introduction to the world of marketing in educational institutions. On the first page, Gray asserts his desire to reassure 'all those worried that marketing might damage education by introducing alien notions and harmful practices', insisting that he merely wants to put forward 'a set of perspectives to help all those wanting to use marketing ideas.' However, this 'native' reviewer remains sceptical about some of these perspectives and uncertain about his success in reassuring the Marketing Luddites. This may be partly accounted for by his broad sweep, attempting to use the same framework to analyse higher education as well as primary schools and adult leisure courses. In the present climate, course tutors in higher education institutions can at least relate to the concept of supply and demand, though this becomes more tenuous as we move into the compulsory sector.

The first chapter, which outlines why educational organizations are concerned about marketing, is convincing and whets the appetite for what one imagines could be an 'insider's' approach, clearly identifying a place for marketing while recognizing what many, probably most would consider its secondary importance to curriculum management. Here, Gray is on safe ground explaining that educational organizations display key differences from the commercial and industrial sectors of the economy.

The second chapter looks at service industries in the private sector for clues and comparisons - the travel industry and banking being taken as examplars. His contention that there are key similarities began to make me uneasy, referring to the Midland Bank where 'all staff are trained in the skills needed for effective customer contact through face-to-face

training undertaken in the branches and at local training centres .... the training schemes are complemented by incentive systems .... staff help to project the corporate image by wearing the "Midland Collection", a uniform designed for all staff dealing face-to-face with customers.' Perhaps of most significance to education, he says, is the centrality of the marketing function in banking - that marketing is not a tool or adjunct of good management, but is an orientation, a set of attitudes guiding the work of everyone in the organization.

Chapter 3 introduces the key elements of the Marketing Mix, to which more than half the book (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8) is then devoted - the variables of Product (i.e. Services, mostly courses), Place, Price, Promotion and People (staff and students).

Unfortunately, as a Headteacher in an 11-16 secondary community school, I found it difficult to relate to the concepts of Product, Place (in particular, choosing alternative venues) and Price, to which the largest chapter (Chapter 6) is devoted. Those involved in further and higher education would no doubt find this section of more benefit.

But his treatment of Product left an empty feeling which might be shared by most teachers and lecturers. Following marketing textbooks, Gray defines the market as including products as well as customers. From such a definition, it is only natural to claim the centrality of the marketing function to all management, since products (courses etc) become, in effect, commodities to be traded. Course design is not so much an academic, or even educational task, but more a marketing skill. Consequently, epistemological and pedagogic issues which tend to be of considerable concern to teachers and lecturers tend to be viewed by Gray as obstacles reflecting the 'internal politics' or 'power struggles' of the institution. He later refers to the fact that Marketing Managers (in further and higher education) often have difficulty coming to terms with these.

In this sense, Gray is putting forward a coherent perspective for the Marketing Director. Some modern secondary Headteachers may feel sympathy with his claim that the Education Acts of the 1980s had produced an irreversible shift towards competition and an educational market amongst schools, and might find Gray's perspective valuable for its coherence. My experience however, is that the number of such Heads is commonly overestimated, and most are influenced more by what their experience tells them that young people want and need than by what vocal customers (particularly parents) may demand.

Schools can rarely afford to appoint a marketing specialist to the senior management team, but marketing managers are increasingly found among further and higher education establishments, and this book might speak more appealingly to these individuals, but one wonders whether it might be too general and even simple, as an introductory text, for such individuals who we might expect already have a fairly coherent per-

spective, and a sound grasp of the principles of product and price in relation to post-compulsory educational services.

If, as I suspect, the book may be of most value to those who have only recently become aware of the creeping influence of marketing in education and want to understand a bit more about its principles in order to use it as a tool when it seems helpful, Chapter 7 on Promotion and Public Relations may in fact prove most valuable. This conclusion represents a disappointment to me, and I have no doubt would be to the author, since marketing is clearly not simply or even mainly about these external manifestations of itself, even though many coming new to the topic latch on to these aspects first.

I have no doubt that his perspective would be more convincing to someone less wedded to the notion of being an educator or educational manager, and might find greater resonance among teachers and lecturers in further and higher education, but in the end I was not convinced that educational services are commodities, nor that the Government's legislation has made them so.

The most chilling chapter for me was Chapter 8, 'Involving Staff and Students', which one might expect to be a call for participation and democracy but is really concerned with what is termed 'Internal Marketing'. In this, the school or college comes to resemble nothing so much as a MacDonalds restaurant, with the aim being to secure total commitment to the institution's 'mission statement' and goals. Everyone - staff and students - must come to realise that every contact they have with outsiders constitutes a marketing activity, which can affect the success of the institution. Effectiveness in this regard can be rewarded through a variety of incentives.

I don't however wish to detract from the overall unity and coherence of this book. It represents several years of experience by the author in running training activities concerned with marketing in education, and it is a better attempt than many previous texts to develop a framework which is distinctive to education rather than a simplistic importation of 'alien notions' from the business world.

It is probably of very little interest to youth workers, and community educators may feel they already possess a more appropriate, instinctive understanding of responsiveness. But as a concise summary of a modern marketing approach within the education sector, it is well worth reading, if only in order to understand the language of the Marketeers and to prompt the clarification of one's stance towards them. In this way, it could be particularly interesting to higher education lecturers and even Headteachers beset by financial and other pressures undermining what we believe to be quality learning.

Bob O'Hagan

Hudson, F. & Ineichin, B.
Taking it Lying Down:
Sexuality and Teenage Motherhood.
Basingstoke: Macmillan 1991
ISBN 0 333 53177 9
ISBN 0 333 53178 7
Hbk £30.00
Pbk £8.99

Perhaps, given the title of this book, one should not be surprised by its message. The tone and content are totally familiar, constituting a moral panic about young women, both as mothers and sexual beings. The faintly double edged meaning of the title indicates two key aspects of this discourse. Young women as mothers are labelled simply as victims. And their sexuality, although apparently passive, is inherently problematic. This language is entirely consistent with the purpose and intentions of the book as they are outlined in the introductory chapter. The authors acknowledge that, given the sheer volume of work on this subject, another text needs to be justified. Their rationale is revealing of their values and their starting point. Initially their wish to bring together international material seems merely informative and relatively benign. However their view that, in the context of AIDS, 'for some teenagers, sex is fatal', (p.2) indicates an assumption that 'teenagers' constitute a straightforward and meaningful category with regard to sexuality and reproduction. This seems to me to be highly problematic. Young people are clearly a heterogeneous group, varied with regard to age, ethnicity, income, health, family and other relationships, as well as in many other respects. While there are also important common features about being young, this particular construction is linked firmly to a social problem category. The assumption that sexuality is a problem when connected with teenagers begs the question of whether all is straightforward when we pass the age of twenty.

One basic flaw in this book's overall thesis is also indicated in the brief introductory chapter. The authors' intention is to contribute to action both to prevent early pregnancy and, where this fails, to offer more support for young women with their 'unplanned' offspring. The context for these endeavours, is a belief that having babies relatively early in life 'is especially cruel at a time of hope, generally true of the last 30 years, that educational, occupational and financial success was becoming increasingly open to all.' (p.3). Although they recognise that teenage pregnancy does not necessarily lead to blighted lives the fundamental assumption of the book is that young mothers are missing out in terms of education and employment opportunities. Their view is that teenage mothers are failing to benefit from wider social progress. That they completely misunderstand the effects of social class is illustrated by their example of the noticeable contrast, observed by one of the authors, between teenage mothers and female medical students. The dramatic, rather

overdrawn, picture of worries about money, health, housing on the part of young mothers set against the heavier, taller, emotionally secure and educationally successful medical students, is of course one of market social class differences, rather than a product of early pregnancy.

Whilst the authors do not draw on any original research they make considerable use of personal experience, particularly that of Frances Hudson in running an educational unit for schoolgirl mothers. One would not, of course, wish to argue against attention to personal experience. Indeed the use of personal experience has become an important part of feminist research and of other anti-positivist methods. However, using personal experience in research requires that the impact of this on the author's perspectives are made clear to the audience and are fully explored and reflected upon. The use of undigested personal experience, where this has not been scrutinised for its implicit values and assumptions, can be used merely to back up the author's own prejudices and moral position. This appears to me to be the case here. There is no doubt of the authors' concern for, and commitment to, these young women. What is absent is the essential reflexivity concerning how their own views have been shaped in the context of a society divided by considerable social class differences in income and other resources. Teenage mothers are undoubtedly 'them'. There is no attempt to explore who 'we' are, and how our viewpoint might affect what we see. The text does not at any point attempt to allow us to see the world of young mothers through their own eyes, or indeed through any lens other than that of those who see early pregnancy as self-evidently a social problem.

The book is divided into nine chapters, from the process of becoming pregnant and the world of young mothers and their children through to an examination of current policies and what more needs to be done. I would suggest it is essential to place this book beside that of Ann Phoenix's study 'Young Mothers' published in the same year and based on research carried out through the Thomas Coram Research Unit. Pheonix's study disputes the notion that teenage motherhood in itself constitutes a social problem. She argues that this view has become a self-evident truth, a taken-for-granted part of professional discourse regarding mothering. Her language is in sharp contrast to the 'taking it lying down' discourse of Hudson and Ineichen. One example early in Phoenix's book shows us that we are in different territory:

The story told in these pages is not one of pathology or unalloyed sadness. The young women whose accounts are analysed were not pathetic creatures requiring compassion. Nor were they irresponsible or foolish young women deserving censure. They had not become pregnant because they were ignorant of how conception occurs, or of the existence of contraception ... They were caring, thoughtful mothers struggling to give their children 'the best' in circumstances often made difficult by poverty. (Phoenix 1991 p.5).

It is poverty then, on Phoenix's evidence, which draws young mothers together and makes them into anything resembling a category, rather than shared ignorance, powerlessness and despair as conveyed, albeit sometimes unintentionally, by Hudson and Ineichen. Pheonix sets out to examine the thesis that young women are disadvantaged by early pregnancy per se, an assumption which, as I noted above, is fundamental to Taking It Lying Down. Phoenix concludes that it is not early motherhood as such which damages women's employment and educational opportunities. Most of the young women in her study had already failed exams and did not see themselves as going very far academically. While being pregnant did sometimes create problems for young women at school and college, for some women having children early in life acted as an incentive to getting more qualifications and getting back into education. With regard to employment most young women had experienced poor employment opportunities before becoming pregnant, and there is little evidence that their employment experiences would have been any different had they had children when they were older.

Hudson and Ineichin's book can be seen as contributing to an 'underclass' thesis of poverty in the sense of seeing the behaviour of the poor, particularly as it is handed down through the generations, as in itself the cause of poverty. Teenage mothers are portrayed as the product of peculiarly feckless families, often themselves headed by single mothers. For example:

Many girls who, on becoming pregnant, decide to go through with the pregnancy and keep the child, themselves come from homes where decisions are often made as a result of limited judgement, and where deprivation on material, nutritional and emotional levels is prevalent, and where the father figure is either weak or absent. (p.111).

A young woman who has seen 'her mother (possibly herself a lone mother) doing "all right" ' (p.111) is similarly seen as a product of misguided thinking. There is a constant, although often subliminal, picture of a nice 'normal' family with a Penelope Leach well-stimulated baby. A family which never needs help from the state, and where mum (or occasionally) dad is always there to look after baby. In Taking It Lying Down babies being cared for by people other than their mothers, or being absorbed into wider extended families, are noted with disapproval.

The final two chapters of the book, concerned with policy, are somewhat more useful than earlier chapters, in that they are less preoccupied with building the case for teenage mothers as a social problem, and more with thinking about how young mothers might be supported. Some of their suggestions about making it possible for young mothers to continue their education are to be welcomed. However their preoccupation with sexuality rather than poverty is evident in these chapters as in earlier ones. Their conclusion sits rather oddly beside the rest of the

book. They argue that the way forward must involve changing the popular view of teenage mothers and that it 'is impossible for teenagers to control the discourse about themselves, and very difficult sometimes for them just to get a hearing' (p.225). Given my criticisms of their failure to engage with young mother's own experience this seems very odd indeed. Perhaps it can only be explained by reference to the gap between their obvious commitment to young mothers set beside their failure to recognise their own place within the dominant paradigm concerning teenage mothers as a social problem category. I can only recommend that this book be treated cautiously and examined critically. Perhaps where it has a place is in prompting us to think about very young mothers, those under 16, a group which Phoenix leaves out of her study. Even with this group, however, my reservations about the book remain.

See also Phoenix, A. (1991) Young Mothers Cambridge: Polity & Oxford: Blackwell ISBN 0 7456 0540 0 7 0 74560854 X price £39.50 hbk; £12.50 Pbk.

Pam Carter

James Lull (ed)
Popular Music and Communication
(Second edition)
Sage, 1992
ISBN 0 8039 3917 5
pp 247

In recent years, academic research into the significance of popular music has developed and multiplied, so that what was once considered inappropriate for serious study became recognised initially as a fascinating, if slightly eccentric, area of interest, and has more latterly evolved into a legitimate branch of (particularly sociological) investigation. In this sense popular music has much in common with sport. Degree-level courses exist in both, attracting huge numbers of applicants; conferences are organised, journals and books are published, at both general and specialist levels; and several key debates (the causes of soccer hooliganism, the relationship between music and youth culture) continue to afford obvious opportunities for interdisciplinary activity.

But while the study of sport has been relatively successful in defining a set of focal concerns and perspectives within which research activity is concentrated, this is not yet true of popular music. This need not be a deficiency; indeed, it may represent an essential and desirable stage through which emerging disciplines have to pass. However, the implications of such an observation cannot be ignored, and the collection of

essays in this book demonstrates the confusion that may result. In themselves the contributions are often (although not always) original, insightful and accessible. They range from the textual analysis of pop videos to the role of rock music in the disintegration of East Germany. The difficulty is typified in James Lull's rather unsatisfactory attempt in his introductory chapter to construct and impose some sort of theoretical unity where none exists. He asserts that there are two fundamental assumptions guiding the collection. 'First, participants in human communication that involves popular music .... act willingly and imaginatively. Second, the potential for exercising these communicative capacities is indeed influenced by structural circumstances.' (p.2). My objection is not that these premises are untrue, but that (a) they are self-evident, and (b) they are not consistently reflected in the various contributions. This book is therefore best used selectively as an introductory reader rather than a unified and comprehensive text.

Approached in this way, it becomes possible to comment on the more rewarding sections of the book. For example, the chapter by Stan W. Denski which investigates the ways in which popular musicians articulate the sources and functions of their compositions is especially enlightening, not least because it relies on the volunteered perceptions of musicians themselves. Denski reveals that from the musicians' point of view, making music can be experienced in a variety of ways - as a mystical, barely-understood form of communication that is almost magical (Neil Young, Van Morrison); as essentially political or social (Sting, Billy Bragg); as emotionally and authentically personal (Paul Simon, Joni Mitchell); as a formal communicative enterprise which raises questions about the very nature of music itself (Brian Eno, David Byrne); or as an opportunity to engage in adult-referenced debates (Bruce Springsteen, Lou Reed). And although Denski does not develop these themes, his findings indicate important correspondence between music and poetry, or literature, or art, and suggest valuable ways in which they might be approached.

Simon Frith's essay points out that the 'industrialisation of music', often criticised for somehow undermining and prostituting an area of essential human activity, is not something external that happens to music; it is, in fact, the critical component in the audience's reception of music. This argument is extended in Andrew Goodwin's essay which denies that the new technologies of popular music - notably the sequencer, the sampler and MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) - detract from the sense of making music, but in fact serve to democratise it by allowing for greater control, flexibility and participation.

The centrality of radio in the transmission of popular music is considered by Eric W. Rothenbuhler and Tom McCourt. They argue that radio is the principle vehicle through which the audience gains knowledge about available musical options, and that therefore such music is chiefly designed - in its form and content - to appeal to the radio industry rather than individual consumers. However, because their research is concen-

trated in the United States, where the geographical and cultural conditions of radio have developed very differently, it cannot be assumed that what they assert is equally true for the United Kingdom. Indeed, there is a serious drawback throughout this book for British students; the majority of essays draw from experiences in the United States which limits comparison and evaluation of the British experience.

A further example of this occurs in the article by George H. Lewis in which he examines the processes by which the musical tastes of adolescents are formed, leading to the conclusion that 'we pretty much listen to, and enjoy, the same music that is listened to by other people we like or with whom we identify.' (p.137). So far, so good. But when he quotes research which indicates that fans of heavy metal and country and western music are often unpopular within undergraduate circles, the relevance for British audiences is somewhat obscured since there is no one musical form in this country that corresponds (stylistically or politically) to country and western music in the United States.

There are two further weaknesses in this book. One is the very obvious lack of a historical perspective locating contemporary popular music on a developmental continuum which includes earlier music forms and also recognises other cultural activities which may be peripherally connected to music. Instead, there are repeated attempts to isolate the music of today aesthetically, historically and thematically. Lawrence Grossberg's account of the relationship between rock'n'roll and its audience derides suggestions that it can be treated as 'just another form of mass communication' (p.153), seemingly overlooking the fact that there are fruitful comparisons to be made between it and other forms (for example, the cinema) in terms of production, marketing, consumption, economics, and so on. Similarly, when he rhetorically asks of rock'n'roll, 'In what other cultural setting would it make sense to tell someone they are "too old" to understand or enjoy it?' (p.157-158) numerous responses spring readily to mind - fashion, art, comedy in the 1990s, jitterbugging in the 1940s, jazz in the 1920s.

In the same way, the essay by Cathy Schwichtenberg on music videos explores the imagery and messages within Madonna's videos, claiming that 'Madonna's sex-positive approach is remarkable'. (p.132). Indeed it is, but again the explicit assessment of her as historically unique is flawed. Madonna's powerful celebration of her personal sexuality which her videos (her songs) project is not a new invention, but an adjusted continuation of the sort of identity constructed by (among others) Mae West, Marilyn Monroe, Brigitte Bardot, Debbie Harry - yet there is no acknowledgement of this tradition in Schwichtenberg's analysis.

The second general weakness centres around the lack of a sufficiently defined theoretical perspective to illuminate the mass communication process. Put very crudely, the effects perspective asks 'What does the media do to people?'; the uses and gratifications approach asks 'What

do people do with the media?' The tension between these two positions exists as a central but largely unanswered theme throughout the book. This question must lie at the heart of any consideration of popular music and communication, and while it may not be easily resolved, I feel it should have been directly confronted.

Throughout the literature, authors' attempts to write about popular music seem increasingly to be constrained by an inability to be objective, which is not seen elsewhere in sociology. By and large, writers in the sociology of education do not entertain us with accounts of their own schooldays, nor do medical sociologists feel compelled to include anecdotal asides about their favourite doctors or hospitals. So when, as in this book, James Lull reveals that his favourite nightspot these days is the Club Oasis in San Jose; or Simon Frith reminds us that he loves soul music; or Lawrence Grossberg affirms that Bruce Springsteen has consistently produced some of the best rock'n'roll of the past decade (with no attempt to define how such distinction might be measured - Hit singles? Concert attendances? Grammy awards? Album sales?) I find myself wondering just why it is that these writers believe that their personal preferences are either of interest to me or relevant to their research.

Overall then, this collection of essays contains several original and illuminating additions to the study of popular music and communication, while its overall contribution is more generally restricted by a number of oversights and inappropriate emphases. Nevertheless, James Lull's efforts should not be dismissed. Any attempt to bring together analyses of the creative activities of musicians, the communicative role of music, the conditions of its transmission, and the circumstances under which it is received, interpreted and used (all in less than 250 pages) will inevitably be incomplete and partial. Trying to tell a stranger about rock'n'roll is no easier now than it was in the 1960s.

Ian Inglis

Barry Meteyard
Getting Started with NVQ - Tackling the Integrated Care Awards
Longman 1992
ISBN 0 582 09597 2
pp.186

On reading the title 'Getting Started with NVQ' my assumption was that the text would pull together much information about NCVQ and about NVQs, and so provide a basic introduction. However, the sub-title, 'Tackling the integrated Care Awards', made me rethink and so expect the book to contextualise and explain the integrated care awards within overall NVQ developments. But a third sub-title 'A candidate's handbook to help them prepare for assessment of their competence', gave the

book an altogether different flavour, and made me anticipate a different read.

In fact the book attempts to do all three things, and more; seeking to give to those beginning an integrated care NVQ award both background information about the process they're engaged in, and practical help in preparing for eventual assessment. In so doing however, it does too much and would undoubtedly overwhelm and perhaps even discourage a candidate who was just starting out.

Naturally, it contains much that is valuable. For example, it explains that the integrated project brought together residential, domiciliary and day care and health care support workers to combine the resources and viewpoints of both. This consortium went on to produce hybrid qualifications while still emphasising the more specific NVQs in the two separate fields.

Similarly, the detailed contextual and background information about the NVQ system and all the various roles and processes within it is useful and thorough if a little lengthy. Such information, however, should be available to candidates from other sources, that is from their workplace, their assessor or the approved assessment agency.

This book clearly recognises a gap between the assessment demands and the needs of the candidate and attempts to offer much needed support by way of information and materials. Despite its laudable intentions however, the book might actually increase rather than decrease a candidate's fears simply by the sheer amount of material presented and its loose targeting.

Perhaps a series of three or four linked booklets would have better served candidates' needs, and indeed the book is sectionalised in some attempt at this. In that way slimmer and focused booklets would have been available to assist candidates at particular points.

Such a breakdown however would have been insufficient. The book does not limit itself to addressing candidates but at times addresses assessors, verifiers, training managers and even assessment centres. One publication cannot usefully serve all these readers, frustrating all at some point by providing materials of little relevance. Frequently there is confusion over who is being addressed and while often their experiences might be two sides of the one coin, it is unhelpful to conflate their experiences. For example in 'general rules for candidates to prepare for assessment' they are told to 'praise, confirm, support (and show) warmth in your voice'!

The materials were piloted fairly widely to test their usefulness, and I do not doubt that a range of people found them helpful. However, when collected together in this format, particularly with the stated purpose of

assisting candidates some of their usefulness disappears. I would think the collection of materials an important resource for approved assessment centres, and it is here that I think this publication should be targeted. Even the format lends itself to this end being easily photocopied for use by centre staff and candidates.

On registering for an Award candidates receive a workbook which lists the standards and units in detail. The author refers to areas which may fall outside the agreed award but which may be of interest to the particular candidate, but says that the award will itself be time consuming enough without focusing on what might be seen as irrelevant activities. So much for education, growth and development!

The book gives the complete list of units and elements in care, but disappointedly does not make clear the relationship between the value base unit or unit 'O', as it is also known, and the other units. Consequently, candidates would not understand the fundamental importance of this unit in all of their work. I was also left wondering whether or not the nine core performance criteria, 'which were not to be confused with the core units' was or was not the value base unit?

Candidates need to compile evidence for assessment against each unit of their chosen award which will be formally assessed and the summative evidence recorded in their workbook. A substantial section of the book is dedicated to helping those involved assemble the appropriate evidence for assessment, having first explained the NVQ approach to assessment.

Emphasis is placed on the validity of earlier learning where evidence can be provided and attested by current demonstration. Guidance is given on building a portfolio of prior learning for accreditation towards an award and useful exercises are suggested to help people get started on their portfolio. However, from my own experience of portfolio-based learning I recognise the vital importance of personal support and guidance and find this to be sadly lacking in the author's emphasis.

The assessor role is described fully and is emphasised as critical in helping a candidate prepare properly and to the appropriate standard for assessment. There is, however, little or no concern for the underlying process of learning which facilitates the possibility of assessment. Meteyard does have a section on learning but the emphasis is on study skills and on how an individual might best study to get to the desired level of understanding necessary for assessment. Nothing is said about an organisation's process of staff development and training which should be in place to support and train people in readiness for NVQ assessment. I regard this as a serious omission.

The emphasis within NVQs is on assessment, and not on training or learning, with the candidates having sole responsibility to get them-

selves to the specified level. NVQ's assessment-led approach, places the concern about delivery with others, but Meteyard might well have had something to say to employers and organisations about their roles rather than merely preaching to candidates to be good students.

Perhaps, in fairness, the book aims to describe only one side of the process, that is preparation for assessment. But in disregarding the learning necessary to acquiring competence which might then be assessed, it confirms my fears about the NVQ's system potential to undermine education and training, and weaken the need to offer support and training to workers seeking qualification.

In conclusion, the book attempts too much and in doing so achieves little, certainly for those for whom it was primarily intended. It contains little that is new and does not present what is in ways which illuminate. Indeed it serves overwhelmingly to reinforce views antagonistic to the NVQ approach with its emphasis on assessment without a similar regard for training and learning.

Miriam Jackson

Dick Bradley
Understanding Rock'N'Roll: Popular Music in Britain 1955-1964.
Open University Press 1992
£37.50 (Hbk)
£12.99 (Pbk)
pp.191

The decade from 1955 to 1964 contained the most surprising and productive years in the evolution of popular music in Britain. It began with widespread condemnation of rock'n'roll as the primary cause of rising rates of juvenile delinquency and its best known stars as little better than criminal degenerates; it ended with the British prime minister preparing to bestow political honours on its leading practitioners. During that time the American domination of British popular music had been overturned; from the mid-1960s onwards rock'n'roll, globally, was recognised and defined in British terms, and would continue to be so for some time, especially in the USA itself.

Like many authors before him, Dick Bradley has attempted to make sense of this history, choosing to concentrate on the reasons for the sudden and rapid growth of rock'n'roll in Britain, and its transformation from an incidental to a central role in the lives of many young people. In the midst of developing his argument, he extravagantly announces: 'I believe it to be a hypothesis which, if correct, must inform everything

else we can say or discover about rock'n'roll ... these hypotheses, or something very like them, will I believe prove to be the sine qua non or progress in writing and thinking about rock music.' (pp.131-132). Sadly, these remarkable claims are not justified.

A fundamental flaw in this book is its unease in distinguishing and separating the validity of a subjective experience of rock'n'roll from a subjective explanation of rock'n'roll. This unease prevails at several levels. For example, Bradley is quick to criticise what he calls the 'descriptive-evaluative mode' of rock writing as especially demonstrated by authors like Charlie Gillett. He dismisses this style, claiming that 'it consists of accompanying "facts" (usually assembled through an unexplained selection procedure) about particular artists, groups, records, labels, etc., with a type of description that is overwhelmingly adjectival and uses mostly such terms as "raw", "wild", "raunchy" .... (such) prose often disintegrates grammatically, becoming a semi-poetic attempt to "evoke" the impact of the music discussed'. (pp.6-7). But having undermined 'this merging of an inexplicit description and a subjective and narrow type of evaluation' (p8), he appears willing to rely on the same strategy himself, telling us of Elvis Presley's use of 'this "husky" voice' (p67), stating that Little Richard was notable for his "frantic" singing' (p70), or referring to 'the "frantic honking" of a saxophone' (p111) on Duane Eddy's 'Rebel Rouser'. Now either this style is problematic, or it is not - irrespective of its authorship.

Similarly, there appears to be relatively little consistency in the importance he is prepared to attache to musicians' own accounts of rock'n'roll. Of Bill Haley, he writes: 'Haley himself was no musicologist and we do not need to take his own bewildering account of the Comets' style too seriously.' (p.58). But he has no reservations about endorsing a comment from Pete Townshend of The Who, explaining: 'I think (Townshend's) quotation sums up nicely the very experience I have been trying to analyse, and confirms first-hand...' (p117). The only apparent difference between Bradley's willingness to accept or reject their relevance is that Townshend's argument supports his overall argument whereas Haley's does not.

In the same way, while he refers freely and with confidence to his own experiences as a teenager: 'I refer to my own memories of the early 1960s as well as to various writers' (p90) and to his own skills as a music fan: 'I can, by and large, tell British rhythm'n'blues from black American rhythm'n'blues of the 1940s and 1950s, though not infallibly' (p122), he is reluctant to grant any equivalence to the views of others. At one point he dismisses them thus: 'The young fans themselves tended to use only a very limited, evaluative vocabulary, of no great descriptive or analytical potential.' (p90).

Other instances of this sort of prejudice can be found in the book, but I think the point has been adequately made. No worthwhile cultural history can afford such a selective policy. Perhaps nowhere in the field of

contemporary cultural studies is it more important to suspend value judgments than in the study of rock'n'roll; but in its assessment of writers, musicians and audience members, this book is continuously flawed.

And this is unfortunate because Bradley clearly has some original and helpful contributions to make, particularly in his employment of the concept of 'jouissance' to illuminate the possibilities contained within that singular moment of music consumption which is 'untranslatable, irreducible and specific'. (p21). 'Jouissance' refers to the thrill, the intense, joyful release, the ecstatic delight which we sometimes know. Its counterpart is 'plaisir', the kind of everyday pleasure which is reassuring and comfortable. Bradley argues that rock'n'roll consumption may be characterised by a 'jouissant' sensation which acts to overcome feelings of boredom and loneliness in a world of atomisation and seriality - and which is all the more potent in that it is experienced collectively. Moreover, this collective experience (and those undergoing it) transform themselves - through challenge - into resistance. He writes: 'To claim "I am a rock'n'roll fan" or a "Beat musician" in 1960 was a gesture against the institutions, a claiming of personal autonomy, cultural rights, space to be different, time to "potentiate" oneself in a (relatively) new, exciting, deviant and pleasurable way'. (pp 169-170). In this way, debates over rock'n'roll and the debates over youth culture and youth subcultures are crucially linked.

But there are too many gaps in this book for it to become the standard work that its author hopes for. The most astonishing characteristic of British popular music in this period was the way it achieved world dominance, particularly in the USA - the so-called 'British Invasion'. Alongside this was a development of British influences in related areas like fashion and leisure, which soon re-defined British teenagers not as awkward mimics of American styles, but as the new models for teenagers worldwide. Yet these themes are ignored.

Equally important within these years was the toppling of the traditional Tin Pan Alley structure of the music industry in which professional songwriters composed songs which were recorded by artists under the strict control of a studio producer. Initially the Beatles, then the Rolling Stones, the Kinks, the Hollies, The Who, the Small Faces, and so on, successfully challenged this equation, demonstrating that by writing their own songs and (later) taking charge of the recording session, two of the most formidable elements of studio/managerial control were abandoned. Thus rock'n'roll became for many young people not just an act of consumption, nor even of participation, but essentially an act of production. This too is largely overlooked.

While it would be churlish to take issue with the examples that Bradley chooses to use, or some of his evaluations of specific artists and records, there is however one glaring omission. Cliff Richard had by the end of 1964

enjoyed no less than thirty Top 20 chart hits. In terms of sales and popularity in Britain he was second only to Elvis Presley. He was (and arguably still is) the British singer against whose achievements others are measured. It may well be that his musical and other styles do not fit easily into the sort of framework the author is proposing, but any historical account which purports to document British popular music in the late 1950s and early 1960s must, by definition, consider his career and his contributions.

On one point I agree completely with Bradley and that is over the unsatisfactory nature of much of the academic literature on rock'n'roll. Why is this the case? There are, I believe, several lines of explanation. First, the area under investigation is only forty years old. If, after four hundred years, scholars remain undecided about the origin of William Shakespeare's plots, and are still locked in argument about the supposed nature of Hamlet's madness, then perhaps it is too soon to expect the definitive explanation of rock'n'roll.

Secondly, there is a problem over the assignment of definitions. Does the quality of rock'n'roll reside in the artist or the song. A simple example might illustrate the point. Elvis Presley recorded numerous 'religious' songs in the late 1950s, including 'How Great Thou Art', an L.P. of hymns and gospel songs. Is that rock'n'roll?

A third obstacle, to which I referred earlier, is the difficulty of suspending value judgments. To many researchers it may seem inappropriate, even insulting, to refer to a genre of music which simultaneously includes the Beatles and Wee Willie Harris, or the Rolling Stones and Pat Boone.

Finally, there has to be a recognition - however unwelcome - that rock'n'roll does not easily lend itself to scholarly analysis. Bradley himself seems to realise something of this when he writes that 'it's very incomprehensibility to others, its secret character, have made it precious' and points to 'the distrust and rejection of "pseudish" criticism and scholarly treatises which have always characterised both the artist and audiences of rock'n'roll', (p172). This book has to be seen as an addition to that tradition. Although the author demonstrates a sophisticated mastery of theory, the book does not relate theory to practice in a way which is at all illuminating. This isn't helped by the fact that it derives directly and obviously from his PhD thesis. The book is titled 'Understanding Rock'n'Roll'. But to explain is not to understand; and understanding does not guarantee explanation.

Ian Inglis

IN SHORT...

BENEFITS

Uprating

Benefits will be uprated on 12 April 1993. The main increases and changes are given below.

INCOME SUPPORT

Personal Allowances

single	
under 18	£26.45 *or* £34.80
18-24	£34.80
25 and over	£44.00
lone parent	
under 18	£26.45 *or* £34.80
18 and over	£44.00
couple	
both under 18	£52.40
one over 18	£69.00
dependent children	
under 11 yrs	£15.05
11-15 yrs	£22.15
16-17 yrs	£26.45
aged 18	£34.80

PREMIUMS

family	£9.65
lone parent	£4.90
pensioner	
single	£17.30
couple	£26.25
enhanced pensioner	
single	£19.30
couple	£29.00
higher pensioner	
single	£23.55
couple	£33.70
disability	
single	£18.45
couple	£26.45
severe disability	
single	£33.70
couple (one qualifies)	£33.70
couple (both qualify)	£67.40
disabled child	£18.45
carer	£11.95

HOUSING BENEFIT

Applicable amounts ie: personal allowances and premiums as for income support except

single person aged 16-24	£34.80
lone parent	£34.80
lone parent premium	£10.95

COUNCIL TAX BENEFIT

Personal allowance and premiums.
As for Housing Benefit except that personal allowances are not payable for young people aged 16 and 17.

Non-dependent deductions

Aged 18 or over, and in renumeration work

gross income less than £105	£1.00
gross income £105 or more	£2.00
others aged 18 or over	£1.00

Alternative maximum council tax benefit

second adult on Income Support	25%
second adult's gross income	
up to £105	15%
£105 to £135	7.5%

Capital disregards and tariff income
As for Housing Benefit.

Earnings and other disregards as for Housing Benefit.

ATTENDANCE ALLOWANCE

Higher rate	£44.90
Lower rate	£30.00

CHILD BENEFIT

only/elder child	£10.00
each subsequent child	£8.10

ONE PARENT BENEFIT £6.05

STATUTORY MATERNITY PAY

Standard Rate	£47.95

STATUTORY SICK PAY

lower rate ie: earnings	
£56 - £194.99 per week	£46.95
standard rate ie: earnings	
more than £195 per week	£52.50

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT

Beneficiary under pension age	
single wife or other adult	£44.65
dependent	£27.55
Beneficiary over pension age	
single wife or other adult	£56.10
dependent	£33.70

HARDSHIP PAYMENTS

The Government announced an amendment to the Income Support Regulations from December 1992 to remove entitlement to hardship payments from most unemployed single people and childless couples who fail to actively seek work. *(Source: The Adviser, Number 35, January/February 1993, p5).*

CHILDREN

Child Support Act

From April 1993 the Child Support Agency will take on the responsibility for the assessment, collection and enforcement of child maintenance in all cases where no court arrangements have been made for maintenance. Claimants who are presently in receipt of social security benefits who have voluntary agreements with a parent of a child or who have no agreement for maintenance will have their cases transferred to the Child Support Agency. *(Source: Welfare Rights Bulletin, No 111, December 1992 pps 2-5).*

COMMUNITY CARE

Housing and Community Care

Anchor Housing Association's Director of Housing and Community Care Services, Peter Fletcher, has been appointed to advise the Health Department on the implementation of the government's community care plans. Commentators say it is a final, belated recognition of the importance of housing in care in the community initiatives. *(Source: Housing Association Weekly, No 296, 15.1.1993, p1).*

HEALTH

Cancer Vaccine

The first vaccine designed to protect against cancer is likely to go on trial this year following a clinical breakthrough.

The Editorial Group
regret to announce that
the

Youth and Policy Conference

due to take place on
16th, 17th & 18th April
has been

CANCELLED

We apologise for any inconvenience
or disappointment that this decision may cause.

Youth and Policy
'SPECIAL ISSUES'

In 1993 Youth and Policy
will be running
a Special Issue on
Youth, Rave Culture and Illicit Drugs
We are now welcoming submissions
on this topic.

CONTRIBUTORS

Norma Baldwin is a lecturer in Applied Social Studies at the University of Warwick.
Pam Carter teaches Applied Social Studies at the University of Northumbria at Newcastle.
Lynne Chisholm is currently teaching at the University of Marburg in Germany. She has previously lectured at the University of London Institute of Education and has published widely on youth issues.
Lucy Ford Is a probation officer with the Northumbria Probation Service.
Jan Hazenkamp is a senior lecturer in Sociale Pedagogiek (Youth, education, youth research, youth policy) in the Department of Education at the Vrije Universitet (Free University) in Amsterdam.
Trude Hold works with young people in Germany. At present she is studying in Stuttgart.
Ian Inglis lectures at the University of Northumbria at Newcastle.
Miriam Jackson is Training Development Coordinator with the National Youth Agency.
Tony Jeffs teaches at the University of Northumbria at Newcastle.
Laura Johnston is an artist and researcher in the field of Architectural Glass.
Bob O'Hagan is a research fellow at the Centre for Educational Sociology, University of Edinburgh.
Keith Popple teaches in the Department of Applied Social Science at the University of Plymouth.
Mark K Smith is a tutor at the Centre for Professional Studies in Informal Education at the YMCA National College London.
Howard Williamson is a research associate in the Social Research Unit at the School of Social and Administrative Studies, University of Wales, Cardiff.
Inkeke van der Zande is a senior lecturer at Leiden University in the Netherlands

Subscriptions: Annual subscriptions (of 4 issues) for statutory organisations, academic institutions and libraries £40 (individual and back issues £9 each); youth and community organisations and individuals £23 (individual and back issues £5); overseas rate £40. Contact Angela Fenwick.

Advertising: Details of rates, deadlines available from Judith Cocker.

Reviews: Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors to Chris Parkin.

Working Space: is aimed at those who may not normally consider writing an article and may be written in whatever style an individual feels comfortable with. Contact Meg Brown.

Articles: of between 2,500 and 10,000 words should be sent to Sarah Banks, Rob MacDonald or Bob Hollands. They should take an analytical approach to theoretical, practical and/or policy issues concerning young people in society.On receipt of the article the author will be notified whether it is being considered for publication. This process involves the editorial group seeking comments from three referees.

All articles must be typed with double spacing on white paper and authors should send three copies. We also encourage the submission of the final text on computer disk (3.5 inch) saved in 'text'/ASCII format (please enclose adequate instructions for our typesetters). Attention must be paid to our statement concerning equal opportunities and offensive language; contributors should adopt the house style of the Journal laid out below:

Single quotation marks should be used unless quoting within a quote, where double quotation marks should be used. Indented quotes do not require quotation marks but where a quote is presented within an indented quote, single quotation marks should be used. Abbreviations that have attained common usage can be used (e.g.USA) but those which are less well known should be spelled out in the first instance with the abbreviated form following in parentheses, e.g. British Youth Council (BYC). The abbreviated form can be used thereafter. Tables, graphs and diagrams should be set out clearly and included in the relevant place in the text. Subheadings should be clearly marked and underlined. References should be set out in the Harvard system. Thus, the author's name, date of publication and, if necessary, page number should be included in parentheses in the main text, for example, (Smith, 1984, p.10). All references should be listed at the end of the article, with the title 'References', in alphabetical order by author's surname and including publication details.

Thus, for a book:
Hutson, S., and Jenkins, R. (1989) *Taking the Strain: Families, Unemployment and the Transition to Adulthood*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.

For an article:
Willis, P. (1984) 'Youth Unemployment: Thinking the Unthinkable', in *Youth and Policy*, vol.2, no.4, pp. 17-24.

And for a report:
The Thompson Report (1982) Experience and Participation, cmnd 8686, London, HMSO.

Any information which is supplementary to the main text should be noted by a number in parentheses and listed in numerical order at the end of the article before the reference, under the title of Notes.

Notes on Contributors should go at the end of each article/review. eg. The author teaches at Teesside University.

Address for All Correspondence:
Youth & Policy, PO Box 5, Peterlee, Co. Durham, SR8 2EB.

CONTENTS

ISSN 0262-9798

Robert MacDonald, Sarah Banks and Robert Hollands
Youth and Policy in the 1990s - *Editorial* 1

Tony Jeffs and Mark K Smith
Getting the Job Done: *Training for youth work - past present and future* 10

Howard Williamson
Youth Policy in the United Kingdom and the marginalisation of young people 33

Lynne Chisholm
Young People in the European Community:
Staking the terrain for European youth research.. 49

Keith Popple
Young People in Europe: *A Youth and Policy round table discussion*........................ 62

Popular Font
Laura Johnston - Post-Punk Nostalgia 70

Working Space
Lucy Ford - The Sierra Nevada Expedition - a*n innovative project which aimed to assist in the rehabilitation of young offenders in North Tyneside*....... 76

Book Reviews 81

In short 102

Subscription Page 9