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Youth & Policy, 10 Lady Beatrice Terrace,
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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN YOUTH WORK:

Editorial Introduction

SARAH BANKS

It is now 50 years since the 1944 Education Act which established the Youth Service. In the history of youth work and the Youth Service the themes of change, challenge and crisis are familiar. 'The Youth Service is at the parting of the ways' it was said in the mid-1950s (Wolfenden, quoted in Jeffs, 1979). This statement could equally apply in 1994, as Tucker in this issue comments 'the Youth Service currently stands at yet another significant crossroads'.

The reasons for this history of uncertainty, threats and missed opportunities are well-rehearsed in the youth work literature and also commented upon in some of the articles in this issue. They relate particularly to the fact that the Youth Service does not have a statutory base and is therefore vulnerable to funding cuts and variations in levels of service in different areas; also to its potentially conflicting purposes of education, care, and social control. The specific challenges facing youth work and the Youth Service at the present time relate to the broader changes taking place within local government - the reduction in the power and responsibilities of local authorities, their imminent reorganisation, management and organisational changes and cut-backs in funding. They also relate to the worsening economic and social conditions facing young people - high levels of long term unemployment and reduced benefit entitlements leading to increasing poverty, homelessness and dissaffection - and the policy responses of central government to this situation.

Tucker's article reports the results of his research on the impact of some of these threats and changes on the views and occupational identity of youth and community workers. Some of the main concerns expressed by the 116 professionally qualified workers responding to his questionnaire related to financial constraints, the effects of social deprivation on young people, and how work could be targetted according to equal opportunities principles. His research also demonstrated the uncertainty and lack of clarity felt by youth and community workers regarding their roles and functions, with over 35% of respondents apparently unable to characterise the professional identity of the youth and community worker. Although only 10% of respondents saw the youth work role as in a transitional state, with emphasis now being placed on work related to the needs of individuals and behaviour modification activities, Tucker sees this as a significant shift in perspective - presumably away from collective needs and social education. This leads to his question as to which of the many paths the Youth Service should follow: social education, crime prevention, 'soft' urban policing, or leisure provision?

According to Jeffs and Smith, the Youth Service and youth workers are already heavily involved in the policing and crime prevention roles. They point to the new and alarming ways in which central government policy, reinforced by academic and media influences, is creating the concept of an 'underclass', peopling it with single parents and young criminals, and then devising strategies for their control and surveillance. They argue that youth workers may be too readily adopting the new authoritarian agenda and recommend a 'democratic audit' of all youth policy

and programmes to ascertain in whose interest they are constructed. They criticise the new managerialism with its inappropriate language of 'customers' and 'markets' and the increasing centralisation of policy, advocating instead a rebuilding of local democratic institutions.

Hanbury, on the other hand, while acknowledging that far-reaching changes are afoot in the management and organisation of the Youth Service, disagrees that the value and essential purpose of youth work is under threat. He sees scope for the positive reshaping of youth work in a local authority context, located within a 'broadly based community services division'. He sees developing opportunities for partnership with other professionals working on a range of issues including youth crime, leisure, housing and town planning, and recommends that youth workers develop and expand their role as key players in these fields. He favours the current trends within local authorities towards centralised policy-making and decentralised service delivery via area teams. This, he argues, will better enable the Youth Service to achieve the three 'E's' of efficiency, economy and effectiveness.

However, there is a fourth 'E' which Hanbury does not consider, but which many would argue must be central to any organisation and may conflict with some of the other principles, namely ethical considerations. For example, the devolution of budgets to area teams, while giving more control to area managers and workers in deciding local work priorities, also devolves the responsibility for making cuts in youth work provision. It could be seen as a way of co-opting youth workers and reducing the likelihood of protest. Jeffs and Smith highlight some of the ethical dilemmas facing youth workers and managers when they state:

> *For youth and welfare workers the declaration of war on the underclass creates a genuine moral dilemma - it means they must make decisions as to which side they are on.*

For many youth workers there are no easy solutions to these dilemmas. For it may be a choice between Home Office funded crime prevention work (which can also incorporate more broad-based informal educational work) or no youth work at all in an area; or a choice between a job working with young offenders or no job. Given the already weak professional identity of youth work, it may be difficult to hold on to a set of common values.

Hendry and Love's research in Scotland shows how some of the key values of youth work - social education and participation - are not experienced in practice by the young people attending youth groups. Whilst the youth workers in their survey considered that discussing issues and organising the programme were the most important activities for those attending youth groups, young people valued playing games or sport much more highly. Similarly, youth workers and young people valued different qualities in a worker, and had different perceptions of who makes decisions regarding spending money and making rules. Hendry and Love suggest that:

> *the differing perspectives of workers and youth participants about the aims, practices and processes of youth work reflect a lack of clarity and true understanding about its role and purposes in present-day society.*

They also recommend that the 'hidden agenda' of social control should be acknowledged more openly. Some of the findings of this research may deserve more critical

scrutiny, since the 75 youth workers surveyed were not the same workers who worked with the 922 young people who were questioned. Further, the kinds of youth groups that these young people attended included uniformed organisations, activity/sports groups and after school groups, as well as youth clubs. It is debatable whether people running sports groups should be called 'youth workers', or indeed whether they would identify themselves in this way.

This raises the question of how we define 'youth worker' and indeed 'youth work'. Whilst the very titles are rapidly becoming obsolete as the occupation fragments and the Youth Service disperses into many different local authority departments and independent organisations, it may still be relevant to offer a working definition of 'youth work' as:

> *informal educational work with young people aged roughly between 11 and 25 with the aim of promoting their personal and social development (Banks, 1993, p.78).*

This distinguishes it from other types of work with young people such as formal schooling and training, purely leisure or social activities or what might be termed 'youth social work'. Work with young people may be categorised as follows:

1. *Leisure-based work* where any workers involved do not encourage or draw out learning, for example, a village football team.
2. *Personal and social development work* which may use leisure activities as a focus for informal education and learning aimed at a broad range of young people, for example, youth club activities.
3. *Preventive work* perhaps targeted at particular communities or groups aimed at reducing drug use or car crime through informal educational methods.
4. *Youth social work* working with young people to control or treat individual problems such as non-school attendence or offending, or offering counselling and advice on a range of problems such as sexual abuse.

Although these distinctions are inevitably artificial, and there is much overlap between them, it could be argued that only personal and social development and preventive work are strictly speaking youth work. Yet with the move of youth workers into leisure departments in some local authorities, there may be a danger that the personal and social development focus is diluted. Similarly the growth of preventive work tends to lead to work with individuals in difficulty and hence youth social work.

Whalen's contribution looks at the role of youth workers in working with young people who have been sexually abused. She describes a Young Women's Project based in a drop in centre which has developed counselling, support, advocacy and groupwork for young survivors. Interestingly, the work with survivors began in response to the needs of the young women using the project. Whalen suggests that many young women who have been abused are reluctant to contact social services, and find a familiar atmosphere in a voluntary organisation staffed by youth workers more secure. It also minimises stigma and avoids loss of control for the young person. This is an example of a youth work project undertaking what might be termed 'youth social work' in that it is working with individuals who have particular needs.

However, this is more on the 'care' side of social work, as opposed to control or treatment. It also stays within the youth work values of encouraging young people to participate in the runnning of the project, and trying not to disempower the young women. It shows youth work taking up the counselling and caring space left by the statutory social services, as the social work agenda is increasingly dominated by the 'new authoritarian' procedures for the investigation of child abuse and the identification and surveillance of 'dangerous' families (Parton 1991).

The articles in this issue of *Youth and Policy* demonstrate that the picture of the changes in youth work and the Youth Service is complex. Not only is the control agenda coming to the fore in new and more explicit ways, but also the care agenda. While decentralisation of service delivery is happening, policy making is becoming increasingly centralised. While partnership with other agencies may create more opportunities for the informal educational approaches of youth workers to have an impact, they also increase the danger of the corruption and insidious shifting of youth work values. Jeffs and Smith's advice to youth workers and agencies to reflect carefully on the broader purposes and impact of their work through undertaking a 'democratic audit' is important. This would represent a prioritising of ethical considerations over economy, effectiveness and efficiency.

***Sarah Banks** is a tutor in Community and Youth Work at Durham University and a member of the Youth and Policy editorial collective.*

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CHANGING TIMES, CHANGING ROLES?

An Examination of Contemporary Youth and Community Work Practice

STANLEY TUCKER

Pressures and influences

Rarely does an appropriate time present itself to undertake an examination of the condition of youth and community work. Historically the Youth Service has gone through its fair share of pain and on occasions self-induced malaise. In the 1980s alone, the Youth training Scheme, the Thompson Report, definitional problems concerning the practice of social education and the 'liberating' powers of community work, were just some issues which served to raise the collective blood pressure.

The 1990s have been heralded in by a new range of political conflicts. During the winter months of 1992 and into 1993, major cut-backs were proposed in public sector expenditure. Central government spending allocations proved inadequate to meet the needs of a significant number of local authorities in their endeavours to sustain existing services. Non-statutory provision, such as youth and community work, suffered accordingly and in many cases disproportionately, amidst moves towards voluntary sector decantation and the effective freezing of professional pay rates.

For many employed within public service sector occupations, feelings of disillusionment and disenchantment abound. In their efforts to 'roll back the state', central government bodies and various 'quango' organisations openly castigate local government personnel for their failure to deliver 'value for money' programmes that will bring about change. Yet such change has to be introduced in a severe economic climate, within which success or failure is largely governed by business-oriented philosophies and criteria, and where 'value' is determined by outcomes that often assist those processes concerned with short term social problem resolution.

Changes in direction - a historical perspective

Traditionally youth and community workers have been drawn from a variety of social and economic backgrounds. Work and training priorities have also tended to be influenced by various social policy concerns and developments. Not surprisingly, a range of differing ideas, issues and perspectives have helped to shape youth and community work practice. A brief analysis of youth work history illustrates this viewpoint.

Until the outbreak of the Second World War, youth work was largely the province of 'middle-class men and women, most visibly the clergy, educators and the military' (Gillis, 1981, p. 116). As a result, considerable time and energy was spent in promoting a wider social agenda, that concerned itself with controlling the educational and recreational habits of 'problematic' urban working class youth.

In the early 1940s attempts were made to extend the recruitment field to trained teachers, graduates of newly established youth work training courses and those from 'Borstal and Probation services, remand homes, child care work, moral welfare and the Youth Employment Services' (Jeffs and Smith, 1993). for this group of recruits, work priorities centred around the development of welfare and educational programmes, which would counter post-war instability and assist those processes concerned with social and economic reconstruction.

The 1950s saw further changes in youth service related policy ideas, amidst moves to extend the interventionist activities of the state through the provision of social welfare programmes. During the period, issues of youth affluence and 'rebellion' became the focus for media attention, with young people depicted as problematic, disruptive and troubled. State youth provision, it was argued, was needed to supplement the faltering efforts of the voluntary sector to control the leisure activities of young people. Through the Albermarle Report (1960), the government was able to legitimate its 'already planned expansion of local authority youth provision' (Jeffs, 1979), whilst arguing specifically for 'innovation' and experiments in 'new techniques and new modes of youth work', which would counter 'marked increases, in the number and proportion of young people found guilty of indictable offences' (Albermarle Report, 1960).

In contrast, the experiences of youth and community personnel during the 1960s and 70s reflected the consensus that existed concerning the value of welfare institutions in redressing the social and economic hardships of capitalism. Philosophies and practices were influenced by ideas of collective participation and action, democratic approaches to decision making and social education programmes that stressed experiential learning. Emphasis was placed upon 'freedom and even flexibility', which by the middle of the 1970s had produced some innovation in, for example, the area of 'girls-only work focussed on the participants' needs as young women' and support for various political education initiatives (Davies, 1986).

The 1980s and early 1990s have also proved to be periods of considerable challenge for youth and community work. There has been a significant expansion in anti-discriminatory work, promoted through a growing awareness of equal opportunity issues, whilst the developments of 'alternative routes' to qualifications, has helped to increase the numbers of qualified Black and women workers. Yet such changes have occurred within a political climate which has often been openly hostile to equal opportunity matters. Central government in particular, undoubtedly influenced by 'New Right' ideas, has been keen to pursue the development of 'contract cultures', based upon the ability of the Service to contribute to nationally defined social problem resolution. Policy ideas and initiatives in many cases, have only been able to gain official recognition and sponsorship, when their focus has been supportive of ideological images and perspectives that present young people as 'deficient' or 'deviant'. Youth and community workers have again found themselves responding to need, in a changing social, political and economic environment.

Matters of response and adaptation

Youth and community work personnel engage in work situations that are often influenced by long-established methods and ideas. Skills, expertise and knowledge are also developed from within a range of ideological and political standpoints that may have strong associations with previously defined historical priorities and concerns.

However, changes in contemporary social policy development, and youth work responses to them, need to be researched, analysed and understood. For example, how is professional intervention in community life to be pursued from within a social context where expenditure on education and welfare programmes for young people and the tackling of deprivation by other means than Victorian styled self-help, are disputed by a government which values self-reliance and choice based on individual wealth.

The power of social policy to influence professional actions and activities, is not just a feature of youth and community work history; it helps determine present priorities and future intentions. A range of political and ideological influences impact upon youth and community work, and demands are made at both local and national government levels to respond to changing community needs.

Yet youth and community work itself cannot even be described as a homogeneous activity. Various strategies and priorities are followed. In particular locations that accent is placed on offering community education services, or community development initiatives are followed, or youth work takes on a specific leisure orientation, or focus is given to youth social work and advice, information and counselling. However, professionally trained youth and community workers are to be found operating within such varying work situations. Is this a reflection of the adaptive ability and generic skill base possessed by youth and community work personnel? Or does it offer an insight into the somewhat confused nature and state of the professional youth and community work identity?

A major issue facing the Service is how it can chart its way through a variety of changing 'political tides' concerning the interpretation of contemporary social policy. For any changing social policy agenda must have an impact on how a profession views itself, as well as influencing external perceptions. A range of dynamic tensions exist, and differing philosophical and ethical positions are adopted, to justify policy and service developments. Youth and community workers appear to be both adaptive and at the same time resistant to change. Certainly a level of concern exists as to what the future shape of the Service should be. Individuals and groups of workers find themselves caught up in various forms of resistance. However, new forms of work are also being embraced, many with a more individual casework-inspired orientation through, for example, crime prevention or youth homelessness work.

An attempt to analyse present concerns and issues

This was the climate then, within which it was decided to take the 'temperature' of the Youth and Community Service. Youth and community workers, like other groups of professionals, often become enmeshed in the social and political turmoils of everyday existence. However, what does that existence really contain and imply for the future? If emphasis is no longer being placed upon delivering universalistic models of social welfare (was it ever?), then what has been substituted - if anything? Is the Youth and Community Service in the 1990s centrally concerned with the management of the 'social' through strategies which seek to minimise urban disruption, or are attempts still being made to influence social change? It was hoped that through an active research investigation, such questions might be opened up for discussion.

In order to produce a research base, self-completed questionnaire responses were collated from a group of 116 professionally qualified youth and community workers in eight different urban and rural local authorities. The questionnaires allowed individuals to reflect upon their experiences of training, both at initial and post-initial levels, whilst also considering matters of professional identity construction, together with workplace influences, priorities and practices. A total of 320 questionnaires were originally issued. The survey was undertaken between November 1992 and March 1993.

Whilst the sample size is relatively small in relation to all qualified professional youth and community work personnel, it did offer the possibility of taking a 'snapshot in time' from a significant number of individuals with a direct professional interest in the functioning of the youth and community service. All respondents were actively working within a variety of social, geographic and economic communities. Of the group, 18% were drawn from ethnic minority groups, 36% identified themselves as women and some 65% indicated that they had worked in their present post for up to five years. Involved in the survey were youth workers, neighbourhood and area workers, community work personnel, officers and specialist post holders such as drama and outdoor education workers. The survey was largely conducted via the postal system, with limited follow up by telephone and face to face discussion.

Contemporary influences and current practices

Youth and community work policy and practice is not conceived in a vacuum, for it is subject to a variety of political, economic and ideological pressures. The survey, therefore, invited respondents to comment upon a range of contemporary issues currently helping to shape both local and national developments and priorities.

As with all surveys of this nature, there is a need to take account of the climate which existed at the time of its administration. An analysis of that climate, in terms of its social and political context, has already been presented. The strength of the questionnaire survey then, lies in its ability to 'link people who are spaced geographically' and who 'have an interest in the topic under survey' (Mann 1985).

Not surprisingly, considering the economic climate which existed at the time of the administration of the survey, over 80% of respondents saw the management of financial constraints as a matter of direct concern for them. In addition some 65% of respondents indicated that current reductions in budget bases had to be viewed, according to one respondent, as 'part of a long history of cuts and reductions, that throw forward planning and objective setting in turmoil.' Where new money is made available, increasing emphasis appears to be placed, at national government level in particular, on the financing of project -related work, which has a 'problematic youth' tag attached to it for example, homelessness or drugs education. The increasing relevance of such a policy strategy is captured below:

> *It still appears to be about 'funny money' for projects which are short term and crisis motivated, nobody seems interested in funding the main stream... it's all about the willingness of a service to take up the problems of society and live those out through the activities and actions of its young people. In a way young people are the easiest group to blame and spotlight, (Correspondent's response).*

Other factors that were viewed as having an impact upon the work of the Service, included matters of social deprivation (60%) and the development of equal opportunities, health education, sexism, the effective targeting of provision, unemployment, racism and youth crime prevention (all between 50-55%). Whilst many of these issues can be viewed as forming a legitimate part of the service delivery demands placed upon youth and community personnel, tensions do exist between them.

Often project based work with the young unemployed, and similarly youth crime prevention programmes, are placed within various social control contexts. Such

contexts can possibly contribute to those processes which amplify deviance from a stereotypical perspective. Stress is frequently placed within funding guide-lines, on the need to develop work which will help to modify or change individual behaviour. In this way, political and ideological linkages are forged and maintained - the problem becomes not the structure or functioning of the institutions of society, but a lack of personal responsibility, citizenship and moral values.

However, concern does exist about racially and sexually based inequalities, social injustice and deprivation. Yet it also needs to be recognised, that the pursuit of certain politically defined 'problems', does, on the surface at least, create internal tensions and dilemmas for the Service. Where, in any final analysis, do issues of control and the need to respond to particular social policy matters, stand alongside working ideals that maintain the importance of 'client centred' approaches which are liberating and participative? Local, and in particular, central government perspectives seem to be skewed towards the former position, whilst many youth and community workers find themselves struggling to facilitate approaches constructed around the latter position.

A range of other concerns also emerged, which appear to influence the development of youth and community work practice. Some 48% of those surveyed highlighted that there was a need to produce a greater understanding of disability issues - an obvious link to the expressed desire for equal opportunities development.

> *It's not about ramps and toilets alone, we need to change attitudes and policies -disabled kids have just as much right to be in centres (Correspondent's response).*

Matters of social unrest and the condition of buildings and equipment featured as issues of significance for up to 46% of respondents. In addition some 35% of personnel saw the development of welfare rights provision and benefits information as influencing their work, whilst less than 25% indicated that attendance levels at clubs and centres were a matter for concern.

The complexity of everyday existence is reflected within such findings. In many cases individuals are left to manage ageing buildings with declining revenue budgets, whilst trying to change attitudes and belief systems. The main thrust of the problems and issues experienced were summed up thus:

> *I could work wonders here, if most of the plant wasn't twenty years old, the building didn't resemble something from a Doctor Who time capsule and there was a political commitment to really getting things done (Correspondent's response).*

The Service has been criticised for the range of activities with which it involves itself. Much of that criticism has centred around the 'too thin' spread of resources, a failure to define working objectives and a lack of consistent evaluation. The strength, or equally, the weakness of youth and community work, is bound up in the tasks and activities it sets for itself. Through the survey it was revealed that there has not been any significant slimming down of work programmes, and in many cases new activities are taken on without jettisoning parts of existing work loads. Again the following quotation is offered to illustrate this particular point:

The pressures seem to be ever increasing, if you care and dare to show you are committed, then you can expect even more work to be heaped on to the pile (Correspondent's response).

Emphasis (75 - 80% of respondents) was also placed upon the need to respond to issues of social equality and justice; the production of management strategies which would produce a more effective and efficient service and the necessity to introduce work processes that could act as a stimulus to social change within a community.

There are choices to be made between the soft options of the social control models and those ideas that demand risk taking that might bring about some real change.... This is an educational service that should preach and show off real participation (Correspondent's response) .

Difficulties of balancing the demands of the state and local communities were also demonstrated. Of those youth and community workers who identified themselves as working in an urban environment (more than 70%), over 50% of this group accepted that part of their role was influenced by the fact that they had to act as a buffer between local government, young people and local communities. The youth and community workers concerned described themselves as being involved in 'helping to present policies', 'combating the results of limited and sometimes damaging political thinking' and 'linking the community and the authority - for good, bad or indifferent'.

The issues highlighted within this section serve to demonstrate, in part, the range of tensions and problems that youth and community workers encounter. Demands are made to interpret social policy -often for the benefit of particular institutions. A significant amount of intervention is also framed from within a 'problematic' youth perspective. The picture constructed is that of a Service under pressure, that wishes to present itself as client-centred, educational and participative. This occurs, however, against a background of increased governmental involvement in the production of policies which stress the importance of the individual and are anti-collective in their intentions.

Professional identity-construction and maintenance

The issues facing youth and community workers reflect aspects of both social continuity and change. In response to such matters, the Youth and Community Service has attempted to develop and maintain, over time, its own professional image and identity. That image and identity, however, has been constructed from within a shifting and dynamic social agenda.

The professionalisation of the Youth Service occurred at the same time as 'the growth of the much larger professions of school teaching and social work, and other areas such as career work, and probation work' (Holmes, 1981). In defining itself as a professional body, the Youth Service, along with other occupational groupings, attempted to create for itself a 'specialist knowledge and technique base', through which it could show 'its capacity to acquire and demonstrate the trappings of professionalism' (Esland, 1980). Claims were made at a symbolic level, for the ownership of particular traits and abilities. The youth and community worker, it was hoped, would come to be viewed as an academically-trained spe-

cialist, who used a variety of skills such as social gorup work, counselling and informal education techniques, to construct a sense of professional social belonging, whilst using powers of abstract thought in social problem resolution (Bertilsson, 1990).

The task of identity construction and maintenance, however, has not been without its own particular problems. In part, some of these problems have developed because of the external pressures that have been applied to shift the focus of work away from its traditional educational base and towards, in some cases, leisure or social work perspectives. In other instances internal disputes have taken place concerning the purpose, direction and scope of youth and community work. It was hoped, therefore, to use the research survey, to build up a picture of how full-time personnel view their professional identity. In addition, it was considered important, that an understanding was developed of the perceptions held by others concerning the youth and community work role.

In order to build up such a picture, the research explored the impact of particular social and political influences, and the persistence of certain ideologies, work styles and methodologies. Specific questions were asked, which allowed respondents to summarise the professional 'characteristics' of youth and community work personnel, whilst commenting on 'images' held by the public, and local and national government bodies.

Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, over 35% of those replying could not offer any kind of perspective on the professional youth and community identity. In addition, a further 10% gave extremely 'sketchy' responses such as that it is 'so varied as to be too difficult to pin down' and 'it's whatever is demanded by young people at the time.' These comments help to frame a key question which requires consideration - who is the Service supposed to be working with and why?

It is difficult to pin-point the reason for the existence of such a situation. Perhaps it is connected with the historic failure of the Service to negotiate for itself a unique position as to the services it is able to offer to young people. There may also be a connection between 'fire brigade' approaches to social problem resolution, cash-limited project based work and the development of consistent working practices and approaches. A willingness to adapt, sometimes with only limited questioning of motives and intentions, can, without doubt, create its own difficulties.

For the remainder of the respondents, the characteristics described, produced a picture of the youth and community worker as someone who

a) is a manager;

b) possesses well-developed communication skills;

c) works mainly with young people and community groups;

d) is involved with developing processes of work which encourage empowerment.

To a lesser degree (15-20% of respondents), characteristics concerning flexibility, the adoption and development of enabling strategies, the need to understand matters of inequality, show care and concern, and plan and evaluate work programmes, were also seen as indicators of the professional youth and community

work role. However, very few respondents saw themselves as counsellors, adolescent specialists, trainers, challengers of institutional behaviour or advocates on behalf of young people.

The core of the identity is being pushed more and more to management and away from face to face work with young people (Correspondent's response).

For approximately 10% of respondents, the youth work role was seen to be in a 'transitional state'. Emphasis was now being placed upon the pursuit of work programmes which prioritised individual need and focussed on behaviour modification activities.

More and more I seem to be caught up with work that tries to sort out personal problems. It's like sitting on the lid with some youngsters - you just wait for them to go off bang! (Correspondent's response).

The purpose of highlighting this shift in perspective is to point up a potential signpost for change in relation to youth and community work priorities and practices. For as Torstendahl (1990) argues, there exist phases in 'socio-economic and political development which have close relations to the phases in the development of the standing of professionals and their activities.'

Currently the political ideology governing social policy intervention is strongly influenced by ideas of 'personal inadequacy' and 'special needs'. In the longer term, those employed in youth and community work, may find that their prospects for survival lie in a willingness to abandon collective education approaches, for work programmes that are seen to offer (on the surface at least) *individually orientated* solutions to complex problems and issues. After all, policies which emphasis 'characterised standards' and personal responsibility are themselves threatened by professional interventions which encourage collective acts of strength and assertions of community rights!

Linkages can also be constructed between the issues outlined above and the images gained through the survey of the public and political perceptions held concerning the professional identity of youth and community workers. Evidence emerged which supports the view that youth and community work personnel need to develop strategies that will actively counter existing negative perceptions.

Almost 40% of respondents indicated that a lack of understanding exists concerning the role and functioning of youth and community work personnel in the eyes of the general public, whilst 38% also argued that many individuals were indifferent as to the nature of the work being carried out.

Most people haven't a clue ... they remember youth clubs from 20 years ago they think they have stood still ... maybe they have! (Correspondent's response)

Some 20% of respondents suggested that there was a link in the public perception between youth and community work and social work. Others pointed to connections associated with leisure provision management, acting as agents of social control and forming 'part of an army of public do-gooders'. Less than 10% presented views which had positive viewpoints attached to them.

The difficulty as I see it is that the only people who see this as an educational service are ourselves (Correspondent's response).

A similar picture also emerges concerning professional identity issues and their relationship with local and national political concerns. The Service was consistently described as having a 'low political priority', being 'easily susceptible' to cuts and 'under valued'. Various 'images' connected with policing, crime prevention, socially related 'trouble shooting' and 'urban gatekeeping' for the local and national state, also featured heavily. Conversely, a group of respondents (approximately 30%), presented the view that workers are viewed, at a political level at least, as being 'Lefties', political activists and revolutionaries. Issues relating to the lack of a statutory legislative base, a failure to identify clear objectives and consistent service underachievement, were also outlined as influencing current political ideas about the Service.

The nature of the struggle, over the professional youth and community work identity, was undoubtedly demonstrated within the survey findings. A whole range of concerns were revealed for consideration that appear to have an influence upon how youth and community work is viewed, both from within professional boundaries and by those outside. Together with this, there is also a need to reflect upon the feelings of demoralisation, demotivation and dissatisfaction experienced by many working within the public sector. It is this range of factors and influences, which will partly help shape the future of the Service and the professional identities of those working within it.

Training for what?

The changing nature of the demands placed upon youth and community work, make it imperative that limited resources, directed toward professional training, should be used effectively. The Youth and Community Service has in place a reasonably comprehensive system of professional endorsement for both initial and post-qualifying training. It was hoped that the survey could be used to gain 'consumer' reaction to the quality of current training opportunities, whilst highlighting training needs that remain unmet.

Initial youth and community work training has been the focus of significant change in recent years. Alterations in relation to 'qualification' rules for teachers, the introduction of Apprenticeship Schemes, distance learning opportunities, the Diploma of Higher Education (DipHE) and the development of degree level courses, have all had an impact on the education and training experiences of those joining the youth and community work profession.

Over time, criticisms have been voiced concerning the perceived quality of initial training. Fieldwork personnel have argued for the inclusion of planning, administration and management inputs within courses of study. Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) has questioned the quality of fieldwork placements, describing a significant number of them as 'humdrum, ordinary and based on simple recreational activities' (DES, 1990). Individual ex-students responding to the questionnaire criticised the nature of the curriculum on offer, the quality of tutorial experiences and pointed to a failure to link theory with practice.

In the light of the criticisms outlined above, it is worth noting that the survey results tended to point to a high level of satisfaction with the quality of initial training opportunities. Almost 80% of respondents expressed a 'reasonable level of satisfaction', with less than 5% showing themselves to be 'very dissatisfied'.

Improvements in 'quality' reactions were also discernible, when specific account was taken of the views of recent entrants to youth and community work. Almost 90% of those qualifying since 1988, declared themselves to be satisfied with their initial training.

Certain aspects of the content of youth and community work initial training appear to 'stand the test of time'. Particular subjects form a prominent part of the training agenda. For example, a grounding in group work and youth work theory was offered to approximately 80% of respondents, counselling (57%), management training (56%), community work theory (56%) and issue-based work (55%). Offered with less frequency were courses in advice and information work (32%), work with Black young people and multi-racial communities (31%), health education (30%) and work with young women (30%). Furthermore, less than 20% of respondents identified themselves as having inputs in the areas of volunteer training, adult education, the training of young people and community groups, environmental issues and strategic planning.

Also present within the survey findings, were indications that changes in initial training delivery patterns have occurred in recent years. The results offered reinforcement to the views expressed by HMI, that the content of courses appears to be divided between those with an accent on the use of 'academic material' and others which 'select a set of issues for study'. (DES 1990). For example, of the group trained since 1988, which represented almost 40% of the total survey sample, the training profiles produced indicated that over 75% had training experiences which were primarily directed through issue-based approaches.

Conflicts over both approaches to, and the content of, initial training, were captured in the comments of various respondents:

> *The problem I see is this, they are trained to recognise the 'ism's', but they don't know how to do accounts or manage staff.*
>
> *I really enjoyed my training, but when I came out I was told to forget all that, as I would now find out what the 'real' job was all about.*
>
> *It's peculiar when you think about it, you're taught to recognise and fight oppression, only to walk into an institution that's dominated by it (Correspondents' responses).*

So what of the position in relation to the provision of post-qualifying in-service training? The format of in-service training appears to be heavily influenced by individual involvement in short courses. Almost 70% of respondents had been on at least one such course since qualifying. Participation also seems to be governed by workplace demands which are reflected in course selection. Short course involvement was dominated by the pursuit of management and supervision skill-based activities (70%), whilst equal opportunities (39%), counselling (35%) and health education (31%), represented the next most popular grouping for in-service activities. Less than 20% of respondents however, had received any kind of training in recruitment and selection, disability awareness or child abuse. There also appears to be a demand for the development of in-service courses in the areas of work with young women and men, self-defence, the arts and curriculum development.

The precarious state of the finances of the Youth and Community Service nationally is reflected in the opportunities which are given for staff to follow training courses of longer duration. Less than 30% of respondents had attended at least one training course of 20 days duration or longer since initial qualification. Over 60% of such training opportunities were used to gain postgraduate certificates and diplomas and specific management qualifications. Some 60% of respondents indicated that they had training needs which required longer course involvement. In particular, demand was expressed for management training opportunities and the development of financial and supervision skills. The suggested curriculum content for such training opportunities, however, varied considerably. A range of interest areas were reflected in the 'topics' identified. These included 'peer group supervision', 'the management of political change' and 'coping with stress and personal time management'.

It does appear that demand is being 'frustrated' by virtue of a number of key factors, namely finance, time, course availability and relevance. The underlying impression gained indicates that opportunities for training are diminishing at a rate which appears to correlate with budget reductions. This is happening at a time when external and internal pressures are being created for changes in work styles and content.

> *In my authority we are lucky to get more than a couple of secondments. We have to make do with short courses and then we have to find someone who actually understands and can train youth and community workers (Correspondent's response).*

In terms of the quality of training opportunities offered overall, only 35% of respondents thought that their training had helped them to develop strategies and ideas which equipped them to carry out their work effectively. Crucially, 'relevant' management training opportunities were seen to be largely lacking for over 50% of respondents. Others pointed to the fact that the changing nature of the work had not been sufficiently recognised through training, and that there was a 'mismatch' between training and work-based priorities.

The issues raised in this section require consideration and reflection by youth and community work personnel, employers and training agencies. Many individuals exist in workplace situations which are potentially isolating and demotivating. Training is often used as part of a process of philosophical and ideological 'renewal'. It can also be used for the further development of skills and the clarification of actions and priorities.

To offer a fixed or traditional menu of training is not always helpful. Consideration has to be given to how new training demands can be researched and met. For one individual the problem of post - initial training was described thus:

> *When you first qualify you're full of hopes and ambitions, then many get abandoned to their fate ... you get called in for the annual staff conference about a topic someone else wants to discuss (Correspondent's response).*

Changing times, changing roles? - some concluding thoughts

There can be little doubt, that the climate within which the youth and community worker must now operate, is somewhat different to that encountered in only the immediate past. Those structures which make up the institutions of the welfare state are the subject of ever increasing scrutiny and criticism. Traditional notions concerning the value of

collective action, the redressing of the social consequences of capitalism, and the provision of services to promote equality and justice, have been effectively side-lined, in the pursuit of the 'minimum state' and its accompanying ideology of self-sufficiency.

Yet the picture produced through the survey results is a complex one. For whilst the service may have had to embrace many of the criticisms laid at its door concerning matters of effectiveness and efficiency, individuals and groups still exist who are willing to challenge the supposed wisdom of central government ideologies and practices. Clearly the representations and images produced are only partial for they arise out of a limited research project. It would be easy, therefore, to dismiss them as being largely unrepresentative. Yet in doing so, the point of the paper would be lost. For by considering a range of perceptions and attitudes concerning contemporary youth work practice and training, the lid is removed from a sometimes over-protected box. Perhaps there does exist a lack of purpose, direction or understanding as to the needs and aspirations of young people. Indeed many young people may have already abandoned the Youth Service due to its perceived irrelevance. However, in many local authorities the 'rump' of a Service remains, which if extensively examined and prioritised, could still fulfil certain expectations and demands.

Whatever the future may hold, there can be no doubt that the Youth Service currently stands at yet another significant crossroads. Choices have to be made as to which of the differing paths to follow - social education, crime prevention, 'soft' urban policing, leisure provision development, etc. Within the survey findings then, issues and concerns of survival were demonstrated, ambivalence and uncertainty reflected, and the strength of commitment held by many to support young people and community groups displayed. Effort remains widespread, as attempts are made to respond to complex social problems and issues. Long term survival, however, may depend upon the ability of the Service to engage the wider support of those who might potentially use it. It is my contention, therefore, that there is a need to create opportunities for a wide based dialogue concerning the future of the Youth Service. The time in fact, may be more than ripe for another, perhaps far reaching and radical, national review.

Stanley Tucker *lectures at the Open University in the Department of Health and Social Welfare.*

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YOUNG PEOPLE, YOUTH WORK & A NEW AUTHORITARIANISM

TONY JEFFS AND MARK K SMITH

Introduction

The UK has never had a coherent youth policy. Policy has, therefore, always been fragmented and subject to drift. However, at certain junctures clear trends have been discernible. We argue here that this is just such a moment. There appears to be a growing cohesion within government policy, one underwritten by an agenda of control. A new authoritarianism is abroad. This is eclipsing alternative traditions within youth work and other areas of welfare, including schools and further education, that emphasized participation, autonomy and equality.

Given the timescale over which implementation has occured, and that change has largely been incremental, no clear point of departure or demarcation exists. Consequently authoritarian practice and policy is often based upon the corruption of earlier forms of intervention as much as new initiatives. This layering and process of transition means that a new language (largely borrowed from the world of the large corporation) has been created to explain and capture the essence of new forms of practice. The fashionable argot embraced by many welfare workers and managers includes items such as business plans, mission statements, inputs and outputs, it transforms members and clients into customers; workers into managers; and officers into executives. However, where it is perceived as helpful even the most devoted satraps of the new authoritarianism incorporate elements of the language and philosophy of progressivism. This frequently confuses opponents and deflects criticism from those who might recoil from supporting programmes designed to control and manage 'dangerous and threatening youth', but are less certain about their stance á propos one presented as being designed to 'target those with special needs'.

Ministers, policy and centralization

Lack of a coherent youth policy is, for some, a perennial source of regret. For decades the case for a Ministry of Youth has been pressed on the grounds that it will provide cohesion (Macalister Brew, 1953; Ewen, 1972; Warren-Adamson, 1992). Advocates see substantive benefits in creating a department to

> *look after the whole life of the adolescent, and which shall neither exploit them on the one hand nor coddle them on the other ... In order to accomplish this and in order to prevent wastage and overlapping, all the influences which affect their lives - school, industry, employment bureau, youth organizations, health services, should be regarded as one Ministry (Macalister Brew, 1943, p. 272).*

Despite its longevity this proposal has never attracted substantive support amongst politicians, administrators or youth workers. The first two recoil from the imposition of a Ministry dissecting traditional lines of jurisdiction. They recognize this would erode the authority of established ministers and departments. Pressure groups may persuade administrations to appoint 'special interest ministers' but these are invariably attached to major departments and singularly ineffective - none more so than the junior minister in the Department for Education with responsibility for Youth Affairs. Entrenched structures have left the current occupant tinkering with a small budget and responsibility for

the Youth Service but no authority to influence policy in the key areas of employment, schools, training, income maintenance, youth justice and policing.

Demands for a Ministry of Youth with substantive powers are predominately articulated by those strutting the national stage. Face-to-face workers' and local managers' (statutory and voluntary) lack of enthusiasm for greater centralisation was reflected in their failure to collaborate in recent attempts to create a 'national curriculum for youth work'. It reduced the three ministerial conferences to farce and eventually forced the Minister to conclude that the service wanted:

> *the process of planning, delivering and evaluating a curriculum determined locally, in individual organisations, not nationally. This demonstrates that the strength of the youth service lies in its diversity and ability to respond flexibly to local needs at local level (Forman, 1992, p. 3)*

However retention of local control over the Youth Service remains problematic and would run counter to dominant trends that are creating a British state which is 'unequivocally unitary and centralist' (Kingdom, 1991, p. 258). For historical and pragmatic reasons partial local and other forms of autonomy survive. Pluralism has always been a feature of welfarism. The balance between public (local and central), private (for profit), voluntary and informal sectors has never been fixed nor are patterns encountered in one sphere of welfare commonly replicated in another. Regarding informal education with young people the substantive contribution of the voluntary and informal sectors has always tempered the predilection of governments to centralise and manage. Consequently wide variations occur between localities with regards to patterns of provision and levels of expenditure (Jeffs and Smith 1990). Youth workers have long benefited from, and exploited, the resulting autonomy - some seizing the opportunity offered to initiate innovative practice and high- quality youth work, often achieved on a pittance; others to indulge their hobbies, foibles, fantasies and self-image.

Within youth justice limited but nevertheless significant 'autonomy' has fostered practitioner-led innovation and policies which may have reduced rates of incarceration, re- offending and ameliorated some of the harsh, retributive elements of central government policy (Rutherford, 1989; Nellis, 1991; Pitts, 1992). It has enabled alternative, some would argue preferable, systems to develop in Northern Ireland (Caul, Pinkerton and Powell, 1983; McQuoid and Bloomer, 1991) and Scotland (Murray and Hill, 1991). Equally it has spawned glaring inconsistencies in sentencing to the extent that where you live may determine the disposal as much as what you have done (Rutherford, 1993; Harris and Timms, 1993). Similar disparities regarding standards of service and provision within local authority social services departments have been identified by the Inspectorate. They noted recently that the quality of what was offered ranged from 'the outstanding to the inexcusable' (SSI 1994).

Devolution and local autonomy will always produce variabilities, just as subsidiarity sustains and begets inequality between countries within the European Union (Walker and Simpson, 1993). Workers must therefore always ask if such inequalities are defensible on the basis of long-term gains. We would argue an analysis of the history of youth work, education and youth justice supports the affirmative. In all these areas of welfare it has consistently been the local, not the central state, that has initiated reform and innovation; a pattern replicated in the voluntary sector. In both sectors high standards of provision in key localities appear to have served as the catalyst for and key precursor of subsequent national reform (Smith 1988, p.1-47).

Youth policy

Convenience encourages use of the collective term youth policy but application should be regularly encased with caveats. At best it refers to a collection of inputs emanating from central and local government and voluntary and state sponsored agencies, such as TECs, Urban Development Agencies and the National Youth Agency (NYA). These agencies operate according to strict governmental guidelines or within parameters that may or may not be spelt out in detail but which nevertheless ensure they behave in ways which meet with the approval of 'official funders'. Agencies and practitioners inevitably seek to re-interpret and modify both explicit and implicit policies which in many instances, given that they emanate from different sources, can be contradictory. This again bestows opportunities for autonomy and negotiation.

Youth policies like those relating to other group and welfare sectors must be seen as part of a continuum. Incrementalism ensures that

> *The more we do, therefore, the more there is for us to do, as each programme bumps into others and sets off consequences all down the line. In this way past solutions, if they are large enough turn into future problems (Wildavsky, 1979, p.4).*

No end point exists, therefore youth related policies 'bump into' each other because government and voluntary agencies alike all have competing and complementary agendas.

In relation to young people, government control of deviance, education and training are pivotal. The focus upon these three is founded upon a belief that young people simultaneously pose a threat to social stability and order, whilst embodying the future aspirations, well-being and security of the nation. The inter-play of these concerns leads to policies that often veer between the 'authoritarian and liberal' (Davies 1986: p.10). Which of these acquires ascendancy is pre-eminently determined by the perceptions of government and service providers as to what constitute priorities and needs. Those decisions are rarely arrived at as the culmination of a detached and rational policy process. Governments survive by securing legitimacy. Therefore they must always equate and balance the benefits accruing from long-term planning with the interminable need to respond strategetically to the immediate concerns of voters and demands of powerful lobbyists. Given that young people have little or no capacity to influence decision-making processes, 'youth policy' amounts to an amalgam of what others, such as politicians, employers, parents, voters and police officers, judge to be the needs of young people and perceive to be the most effective means of controlling the deviant and criminal behaviour of 'threatening youth'.

Social control has consistently provided the justification for investment in, and support for, youth work and education by government and many voluntary organizations (Jeffs 1979: Smith 1988). Many early youth workers unapologetically laid claim to specialist expertise in controlling working class youth, viewing as their duty to apply their skills in the interests of society. For example, Hannah More, founder of possibly the first modern youth club, said:

> *Is it not a fundamental error to consider children as innocent beings, whose little weaknesses may, perhaps, want some correction, rather than as beings who bring into the world a corrupt nature and evil dispositions, which it should be the great end of education to rectify (quoted in Hendrick, 1994, p. 24)*

A more recognisably progressive tradition did exist from the onset and is identifiable in the work of Owen and Lovett (Jeffs, 1994a). This, however, scarcely survived the defeat of the Chartist movement and failure of the Owenite communities in the 1840s. Subsequently it required almost fifty years of agitation and struggle to create viable alternatives to the crude social control models that dominated youth justice, schooling and youth work. In these and other areas of welfare we encounter constant ideological conflict regarding ends, role and purpose. In youth work, for example, this is highlighted by clashes between practitioners who are content to follow More legitimising their existence by promising to contain and control young people; and, those who identify themselves as educators seeking to promote learning through 'dialogue, critical engagement and political consciousness' (Smith 1988, p.153). Neither tradition of course is ever encountered in a pure undiluted form. Even in the most repressive centre, project or school survival demands that attention is paid to sustaining informal relationships. Whilst hierarchy and control are never absent for long within the quintessentially 'empowering' youth group.

Eventually, whatever the context, one tradition comes to dominate. Within schooling, training and youth justice, social control models have always prevailed. Progressive and liberal practice may regularly encroach but victories all too often seem partial and easily reversed. A recent example of the slowness and vulnerability of reform relates to the use of corporal punishment in British schools. This practice has eventually been outlawed following a European Court decision that made hitting children a legally risky practice for teachers, school and government (Jeffs, 1994b). The latter, out of self-interest, reluctantly banned corporal punishment a mere 170 years after Owen forbade its use in the New Lanark school. Owen's decision was overturned by his Christian partners who drove him out because they found his atheism unacceptable. Now it is the courts who are undermining the legal protection offered in the Children Act declaring that smacking by child-minders is acceptable - a judgement the government have endorsed by refusing to support a Bill to strengthen the Children Act to close this and future loop-holes. We are not arguing that nothing changes, or that reform is rarely on the agenda, but that youth policy has been consistently dominated by 'adult fears and pity' (Griffin, 1993, p. 23). Both of which fuel demands for social control and the management of young people.

Davies (1986) persuasively argued that by the mid-1980s central government resolved to become more interventionist in the management and control of the behaviour and experiences of young people. At the time some were sceptical as to the validity of the case presented by Davies, especially his belief that we were moving towards the implementation of a national youth policy (Troyna, 1986, Jeffs, 1986). Such scepticism lingers because the historic impediments to the imposition of a national youth policy largely remain intact. Some may have been weakened by the process of centralisation which we will be discussing later, but the impact of those changes has to be set beside others. These include the growing popularity of devolution, regionalism and federalism in the UK and elsewhere; the increasing influence of the European Union on policy formation; and, closer to home, the failure to impose a national curriculum on the youth service and testing on schools, both of which imply a weakening rather than strengthening of the writ of Whitehall. However, significant trends are discernible which endorse many of the worst prognostications of Davies. In particular these can be viewed as betokening the emergence of a new policy 'consensus', one built upon what we designate the 'new authoritarianism.'

Underclass theory and authoritarianism

Appreciation of the current situation requires a consideration of various discourses constructed around 'youth', and, more broadly, social questions. Griffin (1993), for example, highlights a number of key domains or systems of representation with regard to 'youth'. Each includes a collection of powerful discourses linked to education and training, criminality, and clinical concerns. All rest:

> *on the construction of individual young people, their families and/or cultural backgrounds as 'deficient', 'deviant' or otherwise inadequate, and each discourse carries with it a set of associated prescriptions for 'dealing with' these presumed inadequacies (Griffin, 1993, p. 200).*

Amongst policy makers in the UK and the USA the discourse concerning social policy during the last decade (and by implication youth policy) has come to be increasingly shaped by the underclass thesis. Macnicol's (1987) history of its origins highlights the extent to which it comprises a re- cycled version of discredited theories that sought to explain the causes and persistence of poverty in advanced industrial nations. Tired and predictable it may be but that has not inhibited the growing popularity of the thesis amongst politicians, political commentators and welfare practitioners. Originating in the United States, importation into Britain owed a great deal to generous support from News International for its principle exponent Charles Murray (Murray 1989: 1990).

Existence of an underclass as a social reality is not solely promulgated by right-wing social theorists (see for example Mead, 1986) but accepted by many identifying themselves as liberals (Galbraith, 1992), even socialist (Field, 1989; 1993; Dennis, 1993; Dennis and Erdos, 1992). In the United States in particular leading Black scholars have been prominent in identifying its existence (Glasgow, 1980; Wilson, 1987; 1993). Fukuyama in the influential *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992) suggests following the defeat of Russian Communism that only the disruptive power of the underclass poses a serious threat to the triumphalism of the capitalist system and liberal democratic state. Galbraith (1992) agrees. In the *The Culture of Contentment* he suggests the comfortable and contented majority are responding to rising levels of underclass crime and social disorder in two ways. Initially they are retreating into their own private, protected worlds of suburbs, out-of-town shopping malls and entertainment complexes from which the poor are excluded by their poverty, lack of transport or where necessary security guards. Then they are perceiving the problem to be a consequence of 'the inferior, even criminal, disposition' (ibid, p. 172) of the underclass who justly deserve their poverty.

Whatever the political perspective, commentators on the underclass focus on familiar characteristics such as inner-city poverty; dependency on welfare; crime; teenage pregnancy; high truancy rates; permanent or long-term unemployment and drug addiction. Murray in particular believes that illegitimacy rates are the firmest indicator regarding the size of the underclass.

He warns that the British underclass is growing apace and that without the role model set by fathers, in the family and the community, adolescent youths can become barbarians. The civilising process that begins in infancy and is completed by marriage cannot occur in societies where the two-parent family is not the norm (quoted by Williams, 1994).

The use of the emotive term 'barbarians' is significant but also noteworthy is his description of the underclass as the 'New Rabble' characterised as follows:

- Low-skilled working-class, poorly educated;
- Single-parent families are the norm;
- Largely dependent on welfare and the informal economy;
- High levels of criminality, child neglect and abuse, and drug use;
- Impervious to social welfare policies that seek to change their behaviour;
- Will not enter legitimate labour force when times are good, and will recruit more working class young people when times are bad;
- Children attend school irregularly and pose discipline problems;
- Large and lucrative market for violent and pornographic films, television and music (Murray, 1994).

Central to this and other accounts of the underclass is a belief that it is growing. Firstly this is because of irresponsible and promiscous sexual behaviour amongst young women. Secondly it is growing via recruitment of young people who because of inadequate and negligent parenting (or genes) 'get into trouble', truant, reject training opportunities and 'real work' and finally opt for the more attractive option of dependency upon state benefits and criminal activity.

As Murray explained

> *If illegitimate births are the leading indicator of an underclass and violent crime a proxy measure of its development, the definitive proof that an underclass has arrived is that large numbers of young healthy, low- income males choose not to take jobs (1990, p. 17).*

All solutions to the problem, apart from simply encircling the underclass in their ghettos and controlling their movement in and out, lean towards initiatives directed at radically altering the attitudes and behaviour of young working class people. A belief that the underclass and especially the younger members are dangerous and dissolute buttresses this thesis. Some may be reformable; some may be discouraged from breeding, for example, by the imposition of financial disincentives (removal of benefits or imposition of charges); but others are so depraved and dangerous that only their total removal from society, possibly on a permanent basis, will do. The most recent Clinton initiative on crime blatantly reflects that analysis opting for the recruitment of an additional 100,000 police officers over the next five years and a policy of 'three strikes and out' (automatic life imprisonment without parole for those convicted of a third serious felony conviction). In similar vein is the Bill proposed by the Democratic Senator Joseph Lieberman to abolish welfare for single mothers and transfer the funding to orphanages and fostering services.

Before proceeding to a consideration of how this analysis has become embodied within UK and USA social policy it should be noted that the underclass thesis is not without its critics (Macnicol, 1987; Walker, 1990; Deacon, 1991). British research, for example, into the lives of teenage mothers (Phoenix, 1991); the home lives of unemployed young people (Hutson and Jenkins, 1989; Allatt and Yeandle, 1992); patterns of teenage drug use (Plant and Plant 1992); truancy (O'Keefe, 1993; 1994); patterns of

lone-parenthood (Ermisch, 1990); the attitude of young people to work (Banks et al 1992); and the social attitudes of single parents (Campbell, 1993) has all indicated how mistaken crude assumptions about the 'differentness' of the poor and especially the young poor are. American research questions simplistic notions of an underclass living by different rules and alternative values (Ruggles and Marton, 1986; Levitan, 1990; Berry, Portney and Thomson, 1991; Handler and Hasenfeld, 1991). A belief that the underclass are 'morally different' is not de rigeur (Field, 1993) but most writers and commentators on the subject share Murray's conviction that this is so and therefore that policy must be directed to re-acquainting a morally degenerate underclass with traditional British virtues of 'fidelity, courage, loyalty, self-restraint, moderation and other admirable human qualities' (Murray, 1994b). Self-delusion on this scale is difficult to comprehend. Once the moral deficit of the 'underclass' is spelt out in this way it becomes possible to comprehend the extent to which it is a theory which simultaneously blames the victim and bolsters an unwarranted collective smugness amongst the prosperous. When the proprietors of *The Sun* and *Daily Star* advocate a programme to restore 'fidelity', 'moderation', 'loyalty' and 'self- restraint' all but the most credulous know they are in an Alice-in-Wonderland world of unbridled self-deceit. Yet, as Peter Kellner points out, one also has to grasp that the management, funding and construction of such policies would be undertaken by a political and business elite who 'have most ostentatiously deserted those values' (1994). The whole underclass thesis is built upon crude assumptions regarding the behavioural norms and ethical values of the poor resonant of the monumental hypocrisy abroad during Victorian times.

To quote Kellner again

> *Robbery and mugging are on the increase. Drug-taking is rife. Many young people cannot find work. The gap between rich and poor is widening. Britain's economy has grown more slowly since 1979 than any of our rivals. In his articles for the Sunday Times Charles Murray blames the underclass for many of our ills. My target is different. I blame the overclass (ibid).*

The challenge for both academics and welfare workers, especially those involved with young people, is not to wring their hands or acquiesce when, for example, attention is focused on the problem of 'teenage mothers'. Rather it is to counter this de-humanising of the poor by citing existing research evidence challenging the smug assumptions of the better-off, to gather energetically yet more evidence to expose those myths and by articulating their own experiences to reveal how teenage mothers, who although generally poorer, are in other respects neither better nor worse. Second it is essential to combat the stigmatization of teenage mothers, oppose any discrimination against them on the basis of their age (i.e. differential treatment under the Homeless Persons Act) and begin to affirm the right of young women to choose to have children. It is acceptable to highlight the plight of such groups, but not to reinforce images of inadequacy or deviance even if that is the only route to secure funding for projects holding out a promise of 'a service' to disadvantaged groups. As Field reminds us with reference to another long stigmatized group of young people - 'the homeless' - it is essential to undermine the negative labels. To commence an analysis from a standpoint that asks

> *not why are there so many crimes committed in inner-city areas; it is, rather, why aren't there more? It says something extra-ordinary about the English character that these armies of young people sit peacefully to beg. They similarly make extraordinary attempts to keep clean. They queue quietly in super-*

markets to get their sliced white bread and margarine and then walk peacefully away. Some drink. It is amazing that they don't all want to stay drunk all the time. It is equally amazing that most of us shuffle past them in embarrassment (Field, 1993, p. 72)

Control culture

Over the last decade or more there has been a concerted attempt to dismantle local government, to undermine local democracy. It has been 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 local democratic institutions to be weakened and, in the case of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) or metropolitan counties eliminated, for the simple reason that they may be controlled by opposition parties. Conservative governments have been infuriated by the legitimate use of such bodies to implement alternative policies and challenge the unbridled power of central government. They intend to prevent any re-occurrence of such behaviour in the future. Second, the government wishes to extend the involvement of the private sector by handing over the delivery of services, wherever feasible, to corporate concerns. Finally, there has been a desire to distance central government from direct responsibility for unpopular decisions such as school and hospital closures. Through the creation or evocation of 'markets' the political nature of decisions has been disguised.

Power has been concentrated in Whitehall through the overall control of budgets and via hand-picked appointees to run the boards to whom the 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 dissatisfaction playing into their hands. Erosion of public support for locally elected councils fuels demands for services to 'opt out' of local authority control. We may well have reached the stage where, in the words of one commentator, 'the government might as well abolish local authorities and move over to the French system of centrally appointed prefects' (Brittain, 1991). If we have not, then all the indicators are that such a juncture is not far away.

These changes have fuelled the rise of managerialism in both the public and voluntary welfare sectors. Deliberately so, for as Kenneth Clarke boasted 'A measure of the success of our first ten years is that we have restored management to its proper place in our society' (quoted in Newman and Clarke, 1994, p. 13). Transference of control from front-line workers has not been easy to achieve or enforce. The resistance of workers and the inapplicability of simplistic hierarchical models borrowed from the school, hospital ward, army or MacDonalds cannot be painlessly transfered to work with young people, especially where attendance is voluntary and contact optional (Jeffs and Smith 1988). Therefore in many areas of social policy work with young people has been based upon the incorporation of targets. Important similarities are to be found here with the national curriculum imposed on schools. Like teachers who still retain tangible autonomy within the classroom, youth workers find themselves constrained as to what must be achieved but may have considerable flexibility regarding

their mode of operation. Thus NHS agencies will employ informal educators to work with young people in an area after setting targets for a reduction in the number of teenage pregnancies; Development Corporations appoint community and youth workers to 'get young people off the street' or 'slim down offending levels'; Fire Services to reduce arson and false alarms; schools to improve behaviourial standards and curtail truancy; City Challenge funds detached workers to cut vandalism; and housing departments to stem the flow of young homeless in a given locality. Those contracted to undertake such work retain significant autonomy with respect to their daily round, indeed many argue their terms of employment may have altered (in particular they are often on short-term contracts or sub-contracted), but everything else is 'much as before'. This is only superficially the case. For a pivotal change has occured; the focus of the work has been shifted. Whereas from the 1940s onwards the orientation of most youth initiatives was educational this is gradually being replaced by control. Workers are increasingly forced into modes of intervention located within a tradition of behaviour modification rather than education for autonomy and choice. The new managerialism, imposition of targets and an authoritarian agenda are collectively reconstructing youth related policy and informal education with young people. Those workers who are least amenable to such approaches are leaving, retiring or trying to find backwaters offering friendly obscurity. Others comfortable with the new 'house style' are doing very nicely busily recruiting a more mouldable workforce. This workforce comprises those cowed by the threat of short-term contracts or trained into the new ethos via employer led training programmes and National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) style 'performance criteria' training packages designed to produce service deliverers rather than independent-minded educationalists.

The landscape of youth policy, informal education and youth work are changing in ways that are often difficult to comprehend. In particular a managerial structure and ethos has been created within little more than a decade which poses no threat and offers no serious impediment to further centralisation and the imposition of highly authoritarian policies directed at young people. The only question mark hangs over the extent to which they have constructed a workforce willing to do their bidding and whether alternative social and political movements will arise capable of pushing welfare and youth policies in more liberal and egalitarian directions before the new orthodoxy becomes embedded.

The new authoritarianism and young people

The family, school and workplace have traditionally been the prime sites for the socialisation of young people. For example Foucault (1979) notes in relation to the school, the organisation of the classroom and structuring through the timetable converge to create the 'docile bodies' of a disciplinary society. These are augmented by various surveillance mechanisms such as examinations. Donzelot (1977) similarly shows how the working class family during the nineteenth century was 'turned back' on itself 'in vigilance against the temptations from outside' and being isolated from the social field 'was then exposed to the surveillance of its deviations from the norm' (ibid, p.45). Where surveillance showed family, school and workplace had failed to discipline and induct state and voluntary agencies intervene to curb 'the deviant imagination' (Pearson, 1975). With industrialisation - the separation of work and schooling from the home - and the increased surveillance of these areas, leisure time came increasingly to constitute a dangerous void. Unsupervised leisure was the space in which youth 'got into trouble', 'acquired bad habits' and 'risked contamination'.

It was in this context that youth work developed offering a promise of control through acceptable leisure and supplementary education. There were, as noted earlier, initiatives and movements that sought to develop a more critical perspective (see Harrison, 1961; Smith, 1988) but it is those concerned with containment and surveillance that occupied the central ground. Except during the second world war when mass mobilisation, bombing and the disruption of industry appeared to threaten the capacity of the family and workplace adequately to socialise young people, the state has avoided compulsory monitoring of leisure time (Gosden, 1976). Then it was a viable policy option largely because war conditions made unprecedented levels of surveillance - identity cards, registration documents and black-outs - necessary and acceptable. Even so it required investment in youth work on a scale never encountered before and since, and jettisoned within months of hostilities ceasing. From that point onwards only those convicted of a serious criminal offence found their leisure time monitored or controlled in the same way.

Such perceptions of crisis encourage moments of deepening authoritarianism that involve the quietening and disciplining of individuals through the adoption and imposition of various routines, regular monitoring and threats of punishment for those who transgress. Essentially these require a state powerful enough to execute direct interventions in people's lives and create the generalised conditions for compliance. They also require a political determination to prioritise the transference of resources to these tasks. Although substantive funding is still essential, new technology is constantly reducing the costs of surveillance, bringing the possibility of ever more comprehensive monitoring of the behaviour and movements of the young into the political frame (Christie, 1993).

We argue here that we are witnessing a further period of deepening authoritarianism in policy and public attitudes towards young people. This flows from deep-seated concerns over the appearance of mass youth unemployment, which denies access to the workplace; the shift towards short-term temporary and part-time employment which fragments the experience of work and erodes loyalty; the growth of divorce and single-parenthood, which it is assumed undermines the steadying influence of the family; and the increasing availability of drugs, upon which is based an alternative youth culture and economy. Each of these has generated fears similar to those encountered between 1939-45 and during earlier debates on the 'boy labour problem' (Hendrick, 1990). Whilst sharing many characteristics with earlier forms of authoritarianism there are however new features. These are linked to inter-related developments in technology, especially in the fields of surveillance and information processing; the expansion of state involvement in the daily lives of individuals; and what social theorists have dubbed time-space distantsation (Giddens, 1984) or compression (Harvey, 1989). In relation to the changing experience of time-space, young people in the industrialised world have gained potential access to an unprecedented and common range of goods, services and cultural artefacts. Access to which becomes less and less dependent upon being in a particular place at a particular time. The video, satellite disc, personal stereo and information highway all provide greater flexibility and access. Simultaneously, however, modernity compels individuals to learn to handle an increasing number of relationships across distance. Exchanges previously conducted face-to-face now increasingly involve the use of technology and negotiation of systems - getting money requires a cash card; advice a telephone; and entry to college or school a switch card. These exchanges and myriad others not only change the relationship of the individual to time-space or both - money can be taken from the bank as easily at midnight as mid-morning; advice secured without leaving

the house; entry to the student union disco becomes dependent on paying fees and passing exams - but equally they create ways in which the state and corporations can monitor and scrutinise the movement, behaviour and opinions of the populace.

Paradoxically the rise of mass youth unemployment and involvement of young people in post-school education and training have created the motivation and opportunity for extending the scrutinization of young people's lives. Partial or total dependence on state transfers, entry onto government-funded training programmes, extensions in the categorisation of offending behaviour and affiliation to institutions of mass education all expand the opportunities for an intensification of the monitoring of the young, whilst simultaneously fuelling demands for it. To illustrate this point we will briefly consider some examples of current policy initiatives and widely canvassed options specifically directed at young people.

Young Offenders - the causes of offending appear obvious to the Home Secretary: 'diminution of respect for authority. Less discipline in the home and schools. I think those are the factors to which you have to look' (Michael Howard interview - Lawson, 1993). The solutions are therefore clear: more discipline in schools and a curriculum replete with moral absolutes; and for those who offend punishment rather than reform. Echoing the American 'three strikes and out' policy we will soon have a secure training order for 12 to 15 year olds convicted of three imprisonable offences in operation. There will be five secure training centres to house these offenders (Cavadino, 1994) and greater emphasis on parental liability, with courts encouraged to bind over parent (s) to control their children or face fines and/or imprisonment. There will be increased Home Office funding for youth work directed at crime prevention (Young, 1993) and new criminal justice and public order legislation imposing harsh legal controls on the movement of 'travellers' to prevent young people adopting a nomadic lifestyle as an alternative to unemployment. This includes draconian measures to prevent squatting thereby driving young people back to the parental home or onto the streets; much stricter controls on the right to protest and assemble which will help push young people from the streets; and specific legislation aimed at making it virtually impossible for young people to organise raves, festivals or 'unregulated' entertainment.

Young homeless - reform of the Homeless Persons legislation will discriminate against young mothers by withdrawing their automatic rights under the act. According to the Minister responsible they are better-off at home with their parent(s) or ' in hostels or centres with wardens and caretakers' (BBC, Today Programme, 11th July 1994).

Young unemployed - for the young unemployed changes in the benefits system over the last decade have been designed to drive those not in full-time education or employment onto training schemes of an often dubious quality. Those who complete these and remain unemployed now face the prospect of 'workfare' style programmes. Borrowed from the United States and first introduced on an experimental basis in 1993 these are likely to make access to benefit ever more dependent upon loss of citizenship rights. The disturbing growth in the Foyer movement will for many young people tie accomodation to training and reflects the inability on the part of many youth agencies and workers to accept that young people should be allowed the same rights and choices as the rest of society. Finally the pressure continues to mount from all ends of the political spectrum for the introduction of 'voluntary' community service for young people. In the USA, the state of Maryland has already incorporated community service as a compulsory element in the High School Diploma.

Young people in education - the government is determined to contain young people in schools. Funding for anti-truancy programmes and the publication of attendance league tables are all designed to achieve that end. Truancy patrols comprising police, youth workers and Education Welfare Officers are already operating in some areas. These 'pick up' all young people believed to be of school age. The Secretary of State for Education has suggested all school students should be forced to wear a uniform to make identification easier. In the post- school sector moves are being made to ensure that funding is tightly linked to attendance; this will require firmer discipline and control. Schools and colleges are introducing electronic monitoring to enable managers to trace the movements of students and to enable other young people to be excluded from the campus. This is a trend that is also growing in both Britain and the USA within Higher Education. In HE the fortress campus is becoming ever more familiar, justified on the basis that it keeps 'undesirable young people' at bay and respectable students secure.

Exclusion and surveillance of the young - the most disturbing of all initiatives is the growing exclusion of young people from 'public space'. In the United Kingdom it is becoming increasingly commonplace to see shops displaying signs banning young people under sixteen unless they are accompanied by an adult. There are Truancy Watch Schemes which legitimize the harassment of young people in streets and shopping malls. In many public areas camera surveillance, as unpublished Northumbria police research shows, is used predominately to track the movement of 'groups of youths'. In shopping malls security staff deliberately track and monitor young people. In the United States developments have gone much further. Shopping malls and entertainment complexes have opened which specifically exclude young people under 17. Even more disturbing are the growing number of youth curfew ordinances and laws requiring young people (usually defined as 17 and below) not in the company of an acceptable adult to be off the streets from 23.00 to 06.00 hours Sunday through to Thursday and from midnight to 06.00 on Friday and Saturday nights. First introduced in smaller towns (Plotkin and Elias, 1977) these have been adopted in as many as 1,000 cities. In May 1994 the Supreme Court rejected a challenge to the Dallas curfew on the basis that young people do not have 'a generalized right of social association', upholding an earlier ruling that the city had a 'compelling interest' in reducing juvenile crime and 'promoting juvenile safety and well-being'.

Predicting policy is difficult and risky. However what is clear is that both here and in the United States, from where much of our recent policy has been imported, age specific discrimination is becoming increasingly enshrined in law and policy. Funding is being tied to control and repression. Working class and unemployed young people in particular are once again being defined as the enemy within and social policy is being calibrated to fight that enemy. Those young people are finding they are underprotected and overcontrolled. For youth and welfare workers the declaration of war on the underclass creates a genuine moral dilemma - it means they must make decisions as to which side they are on. The decision is not simply concerning the historic youth versus adult divide, but in terms of another equally unresolved conflict - that of the state versus the citizen.

Conclusion

The drift towards a new authoritarianism is often subtle and difficult to identify. Decision-making, even though increasingly centralised, remains diffuse and fragmented. The government also makes strenuous efforts to hide unpopular or controversial decisions. Changes are announced whilst parliament is in recess to avoid scrutiny;

enabling legislation allows ministers to introduce new policies without the need for a public announcement; and key responsibilities are transferred to quasi-official bodies meeting in secret to change policy at both local and national levels. The cumulative effect of these and other changes has been to make it increasingly difficult for journalists, practitioners and the public to gain a purchase on both the direction of government policy and the detail. In addition the sleight-of- hand by which profoundly reactionary policies are often clothed in radical or progressive rhetoric has enabled anti-democratic practice and a controlling ideology to become embedded in the discourse of youth policy and practice. For example, this has allowed some youth workers to justify involvement in highly suspect Truancy Watch programmes on the basis that rounding up truants and making life unpleasant for their older friends on the street improves school attendance and lifts educational achievement. It all seems so obvious, yet once these programmes are subjected to scrutiny, support can be seen to be founded upon either self-serving cynicism; a failure to interrogate taken-for-granted ideas; or an unquestioning belief in the inherent rightness of authority.

There is a need for the application of a democratic audit to all youth policy and programmes, to ask 'in whose interest' are they constructed and apply an analysis that commences from a recognition of Berger and Luckmann's (1967) principle that those who define reality are those who have the biggest stick. It would be a useful starting point if agencies and workers were to ask of all initiatives, interventions and programmes questions such as the following. Do they:

- enable all to share in a common life?
- encourage people to think critically?
- foster the values and attitudes of a free society?
- sustain and extend opportunities for political participation?
- contribute towards greater equality?

Such questions by implication point in an alternative direction to authoritarianism. They encourage both the exposure and rejection of practices and policies which embody contempt for democratic values. Opposition must be directed nationally at those policies designed to manage and discipline young people. Especially for youth workers such programmes should be anathema, for they mock the educational promise of youth work and informal education. Rejection is also vital for another reason. It is in the local youth project, the community centre and the daily round of relationships between welfare workers and young people that a love for democracy can be built and sustained; that individuals can discover routes to participation and a grasp of what it means to be a citizen, not a subject. Earlier accounts by workers such as Pethick (1898), Lane (1928: see also Bazely, 1948), Paneth (1944), Brew (1943), Gosling (1961) and Daniel and Maguire (1972) demonstrate what is possible by attending to the small and local. Eventually the question of re-building local democratic institutions and the re-opening of routes to participation will need to be addressed. The practice of youth workers, teachers and other community educators should be directed towards fostering the will and wherewithal for that to happen. For

> *Local institutions are to liberty what primary schools are to science: they put it within the people's reach; they teach people to appreciate its peaceful enjoyment and*

accustom them to make use of it. Without local institutions a nation may give itself a free government, but it has not got the spirit of liberty. (de Tocqueville 1994, p.63)

Tony Jeffs *teaches at the University of Northumbria and* ***Mark K. Smith*** *is Rank Research Fellow tutor at the YMCA, George Williams College, London.*

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ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE YOUTH SERVICE

KEITH HANBURY

Organisational development as defined by Woodcock & Francis (1981) is a process of change aimed at improving organisational effectiveness through systematic diagnosis and organisation wide interventions.

We are now entering a period of radical change in the structure of local government; change not entirely as a consequence of central government legislation and pressure, but change in which central government is clearly setting the pace. These developments are not totally attributable to government policy, as the setting up in 1992 of the Local Government Commission was supported to various degrees by all national parties who saw some virtue in playing with local government boundaries and structures. According to Jerry Marsh (1991):

> *Tories, Labour and Liberal Democrats want to avoid the mistake of previous reorganisations of shoving all areas into one structural straightjacket.*

The Department of the Environment consultation paper of April 1991 entitled 'The structure of local government in England' which argues the case for unitary authorities, identifies in paragraph 27 the need to achieve a local government structure which best matches the particular circumstances of each area and accepts that in some areas there could be a case for two tiers. However paragraph 44 makes it clear that:

> *The government would expect that subject to local circumstances and any changes in arrangements for service delivery, most local government functions would be the individual responsibility of new unitary authorities.*

The revised policy guidelines issued by John Gummer, Secretary of State in September 1993, re-emphasized the benefits of replacing the existing two tier system of counties and districts with single tier unitary authorities and established an accelerated timetable for the completion of local government reviews.

The move to reorganize local government is not merely based on political convenience but is part of a wider review of the organization and delivery of public services. In recent years whilst local government has lost its responsibility for some functions (for example, former polytechnics, Further Education Colleges and some schools) and gained responsibility in other areas (for example, care in the community and responsibility for children at risk) its role within all its responsibilities has undergone a fundamental transformation from being that of main provider of services to having responsibility for the securing of their provision. As Brooke (1989, p. 8) states:

> *The mission of central government is to move the local authority from being direct provider of services to stimulating, facilitating, enabling and monitoring. It is to become the enabling authority.*

This new role for local government has forced local authorities to think clearly and precisely about their role. Faced with the possibility of losing direct control of service provision they have had to sharpen their focus on service quality and perfor-

mance measurement. As Steve Rogers points out, as a consequence of these developments new terminology has been introduced to local authorities:

> *The changes which have and are taking place created considerable interest in the concept of performance, and as a consequence the vocabulary of local government has been filled with phrases beginning with that word - performance review, performance appraisal and performance indicators being but a few examples (Rogers, 1990, p. 1).*

Faced with having to interpret and implement extensive change, local authorities have the choice of attempting to conform to the requirements of the legislation while affecting minimum change to the overall policy and structure of the authority or, at the other extreme, to undertake a fundamental re-appraisal of their role and management arrangements.

This process of re-appraisal has been assisted by the emergence in the 1980s of a plethora of literature suggesting new principles of management based on the theme of excellence. Rogers notes:

> *Perhaps the development of greatest significance was the emergence in the early 1980s of what was to become a whole new library of management literature. Based on the theme of excellence, and starting with 'In Search of Excellence' by Tom Peters and Roger Waterman, the literature contained a set of principles which have had a remarkable effect on managers in all sectors of the economy and in many parts of the world. Many of the identified attributes of excellence were quickly perceived to be of relevance to local government but the theme of close to the customer has had a particular dramatic impact, both directly and by means of its development and extension into the 'Public Service Orientation' literature initiated by Michael Clarke and John Stewart (Rogers, 1990, p. 7).*

The Youth Service has quite naturally been affected by these developments. Apart from service cuts primarily resulting from financial cut backs, there have been a series of national ministerial conferences looking at the role and specific functions of the service. Other influences include the HMI/DES report entitled 'Efficient and Effective Management of Youth Work', the government sponsored Coopers, Lybrand, Deloitte reports 'Managing the Youth Service in the 1990s' and 'Youth Service' in Wales: management issues for the 1990s' and a number of other publications reviewing aspects of structure, organization and development.

As a result of all these influences one could be forgiven for thinking that the very rationale for the existence of the Youth Service is under threat. Indeed Jeffs and Smith (1993) do argue that as a result of varying factors including the growth of commercial and home leisure opportunities, the massive expansion of higher education, demographic changes and significant cuts in public expenditure, the work of the service is being undermined. I would suggest however, that what is under threat is not the value and essential purpose of youth work but, as with all other public services, its organisation, role and financing are under scrutiny.

Nigel Forman, as minister with responsibility for the Youth Service provided considerable clarity at the third national conference when in his speech he made it clear that whilst he could not speculate about the impact of any possible changes in the local government structure he could provide reassurance that:

local authorities will continue to have responsibility for education and that these responsibilities will include the Youth Service. Although structures may change in the years ahead, the Youth Service itself will go on, as it must, and youth work will continue to be delivered as part of the functions of local authorities. (NYA, 1992 d).

Quite clearly the skill and ability displayed by many youth workers are unique characteristics which are highly valued and respected both by other professionals as well as the wider public. However the value and nature of much that has been described as traditional youth work is, in the light of changes mentioned above, quite rightfully being challenged. Nigel Forman went on to make it clear that there was an expectation that:

At a time of change, it becomes all the more important that the service should be able to demonstrate its ability to deliver services of high quality in an efficient and effective manner. Some progress has been made, but more needs to be done to develop robust procedures for planning, monitoring and evaluation in the youth service (NYA, 1992 d).

Clearly it is now an opportune time to focus on the Youth Service's operational structure and to look at ways in which it can improve its impact on both young people and the wider community. This means exploring alternatives which will enable it to better achieve the three 'Es' of efficiency, economy and effectiveness, to improve partnership with allied agencies and to develop strategies which will keep the service, in the terms of Coopers, Lybrand, Deloitte 'ahead of the game and at the leading edge of progressive local authority management.'

What future within local government?

According to the NYA's briefing paper 'The delivery of local Youth Services' (NYA 1992 a) for better or for worse throughout the country the Youth Service is being reshaped. In many cases these changes are being pre-empted or initiated from within the service as a result of the recommendations of the HMI/DES (1991) report and /or the Coopers, Lybrand, Deloitte report (1991). In other cases changes are being made due to external factors including the wider changes in the organisation of education and proposed changes in the role of local authorities.

In identifying the wide ranging impact of recent legislation, Clarke & Stewart believe that local government in the 1990s is going to be subject to even more dramatic change:

Although some of the changes concern particular services or operations their combined effects leave few corners of local government untouched. Not least, the role of the local authority will be significantly different, with less emphasis on direct service provision and more on setting the framework within which a range of providers will operate (Clarke & Stewart, 1990, p. 3).

As we have seen, the role of local authorities as local government has been given expression as an 'enabling' role. This enabling role has been interpreted variously with distinction drawn between a narrow view of enabling and a wider view.

The narrow view is generally regarded as the contracting out of local government services to voluntary and private sector agencies. However, the wider view described by Ennals and O'Brien (1990, p.3-4) is that of a local authority using a

variety of means to meet needs: direct provision where appropriate; partnerships with public, private and voluntary agencies; or in less direct ways. They see the enabling authority not confining its interests to those areas in which it has a statutory or even a specific power but acting as a facilitator and on occasions as an advocate in its attempt to meet community needs.

It may appear from the concern and attention being given recently throughout the service to alternative forms of delivery including direct service organisations, contracting out and charitable trusts, that we are moving towards the narrow view of enabling. However a telephone survey by the NYA, whilst finding that most authorities are planning some degree of delegation of budgets, found that delivery options of the type mentioned still prove the exception rather than the rule.

If we are to look for reasons for the reluctance to move towards a contract culture then the research undertaken by Richard Gutch (1991) Assistant Director of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO), on contracting in the United States highlights the worst fears of the service. He identified a wide range of issues including the loss of provision to those in greatest need, lower levels of funding, lower wage rates, greater reliance on volunteers and an endless mass of paperwork to satisfy the needs of funding agencies. Contracting out work may be reasonably straightforward where there are existing agencies capable of providing services but problems occur where no such services exist or they are insufficiently developed to deliver the required provision. This is certainly the case for the Youth Service as recognized by Coopers, Lybrand and Deloitte (1991) who warned of considerable preliminary work needed in order to establish a contract funding model for the Service.

It would seem likely then, that as in the case of the Social Services, compulsory competitive tendering will be dismissed as unsuitable for the Youth Service. This, however, does not leave any room for complacency, for if we are to look at developments within the Social Services we can identify how funding, functional and organisational reforms are reducing direct provision by local authorities and increasing their enabling role. From April 1993 local authorities became responsible for designing and securing delivery of a relevant package of services from a variety of providers and competition has been promoted within a mixed economy of care based on the separation of purchaser and provider (Clarke, 1993).

If we relate these developments to the Youth Service it could well be argued that we are in fact ahead of the game. Youth Service provision is already made through a mixture of direct provision and through partnerships with public, private and voluntary bodies. Furthermore the wider view of enabling as described by Ennals & O'Brien contains many terms and concepts which are familiar to the Youth Service. The Youth Service supports, stimulates and influences various public and private agencies and facilitating, advocating and enabling are, or should be, common practice within youth work.

However, if we are to look at the Youth Service's organisational structure, what we find is not a horizontal split between purchaser and provider, but a vertical split between statutory and non-statutory sectors. Rather than the multiplicity of agencies working together to enable a plurality of provision and a holistic approach to meeting needs, there is strict agency and departmental divisions which act to reinforce traditional monolithic and hierarchical structures.

The new role of local government clearly calls for more flexibility and responsiveness, supposedly made possible by disaggregated systems of service delivery. This means that those working within local government will have to learn to work within new frameworks and to adapt to the role of the enabling authority if the Youth Service is to remain as a directly provided public service. This will entail reducing the pre-eminence of the single professional department and developing a pluralistic approach involving work alongside and in partnership with a number of other allied agencies, both public, private and voluntary. As a single professional service the Youth Service has not always been very good at this. Professionalism brings great strengths but it also introduces rigidity into the local authorities by reinforcing boundaries, maintaining outdated and/or unnecessary practices and creating barriers to learning. As Clarke & Stewart point out, in the enabling authority a wider and more holistic provision is required and inter-agency work becomes the norm rather than the exception:

> *the requirements of the enabling role challenge the conventional structures and procedures which have been built for the continuing stability of direct service delivery. Organisational boundaries build barriers for the public. What is needed is not a simplification of structures and rules, but a collective attitude of mind which is about innovation and experiment (supporting those who try, whether they succeed or fail) and encourages the search for examples of good practice which can be stolen, adapted and enhanced (Clarke & Stewart, 1990, p. 32).*

Very often the dominance of the professional principle in the working of the Service is so readily assumed that alternative patterns of organisation are rarely considered. However the new emphasis on local government challenges this principle. It emphasises the need to respond to communities' perceptions of their needs in a way that will call for a multi-disciplinary approach. This does not reduce the need for professionals; indeed it requires more professionalism in the way in which we relate to and influence the work of other agencies. For whilst in the past the Youth Service has often appeared reluctant to be involved in forums and working parties which are working on youth related issues, quite clearly youth workers must now develop and expand their role as the key players working with others on a wide variety of issues which may include: juvenile crime, leisure and recreation, housing and town planning, for example.

What location for the Youth Service within local government?

The debate concerning location within education, leisure or elsewhere has been an issue for the Youth Service for many years. However to fulfil the role as identified above it is important for the Service to be located appropriately within new local government structure. Coopers, Lybrand and Deloitte who were given the task of looking into the structural location of the service concluded that the client services division of an education department best serves the functions of the Youth Service. However, considering the changing nature of education departments and the increasingly central role being played by central government within formal education, this issue is perhaps open for further debate. Many have argued that location within a leisure services department undermines the centrality of the educational philosophy that underpins the service. However, it has perhaps not been recognized that many other local authority services, for example, libraries, may feel just as strongly about their educational role yet they are seldom located within education departments.

Considering the need to fulfil a wider enabling role I would suggest that both education and leisure departments present unnecessary strictures to the full development of

the Service's potential. Within an enabling authority the 'department' as it has been known need no longer be taken as the key building block; professional boundaries need not be so rigid and hierarchies of control need no longer dominate.

In order to fulfil its potential within an enabling authority the Youth Service needs to be able to move outside of the organisational assumptions of self sufficiency, uniformity, direct control, professionalism and continuity. Clarke and Stewart describe these as:

> *grounded in past experience and reinforced in the present. They determine future experience because they limit the consideration of organisational possibilities to those that lie within their boundaries and grasp. Possibilities that lie beyond them will probably not even be considered. Such assumptions build continuity into the working of the organisation. The problem only comes when change is more important than continuity (Clarke & Stewart, 1990, p. 40).*

Considering the many changes being forced upon local authorities what the Youth Service needs is not simply a move to a different department but a fundamental change in attitude and structure to affect every level of the Service. To initiate this, as new local authorities are established it may become more appropriate for the Service to be located within a broadly based community services division which will bring together a number of allied agencies enabling a new holistic approach to community development.

Moves in this direction appear to be already happening in some authorities, for example Birmingham, Rochdale and Kirklees all locate their Youth Service under the Community Services banner within departments of leisure and community services, recreation and community services or community development services. As Jeffs and Smith (1993, p. 100) identify, the problem within a multi-disciplinary department is always that of being submerged and lost but a reorganization of this nature is inevitable.

What structure for the Youth Service ?

In their book 'Organising for Local Government' Barrett and Downs (1988) used the term *'synergy'* to describe the successful working together of separate agents so that the results from the whole are greater than the sum of the parts.

In a small scale organisation the basic operational structure can be very simple and easy to vary successfully. However, large and complex organisations tend to separate into specialised departments which are often not concerned about end results. This leads to less targeted and co-ordinated work for the organisation as a whole as energy is expended in dealing with internalized priorities of role and status (Barrett & Downs, 1988, p. 21). Clearly, organisational arrangements within local government can create or defeat synergy hence the ultimate aim must be to create a structure which empowers individual people to act on the council's behalf in achieving its intended purpose without creating confusion or abuse of power.

In their research into Youth Service management Bradford and Day (1991) identified unnecessarily complex organisational structures and a proliferation of managerial levels as the principle factors promoting great tension and confusion within the Service:

> *Uncertainty about who one is really accountable to, bypassing, excessively long chains of command, protracted decision making, a sense of insecurity on the part of those directly involved, role confusion, a feeling of organisational clutter and stepping on other peoples toes are all experiences which*

result from such doubtful and inappropriate systems of accountability (Bradford & Day, 1991, p. 30)

At service delivery level, existing structures emphasise the low esteem of service users and front line staff alike. Both are at the bottom end of a hierarchy which circumscribes their own ability to institute change and procedural correctness is often seen to dominate at the expense of innovation and flexibility. The result is a learned helplessness of users and front line staff alike with the service and its management being perceived as profoundly disabling rather than enabling.

Bradford and Day's analysis based on a work levels and work strata theory concluded that an appropriate organisational structure for the Youth Service is to return to a traditional hierarchical structure consisting of:

1. Part-time staff
2. Centre-based Youth Worker (main line manager)
3. Area Youth Officer (main line manager)
4. Principal Youth Officer (main line manager)
(Bradford & Day, 1990, p. 21)

Whilst their conclusions may address the issues raised in their research I would suggest they do not take into account:

a) the strategic planning and underlying purpose behind the establishment of other levels within the hierarchy.
b) the outcomes in relation to overall purpose as a consequence of establishing alternative levels of work.
c) the movement away from the narrow confines of centre based work as being the primary vehicle of service delivery.
d) the wider changes within local government and their effect on organisational structure.
e) the current developments in organisational theory and practice (see Peters & Waterman, 1982; Brooke, 1989; Clarke & Stewart, 1990; Flynn, 1990; Fowler, 1988).

Clearly the solution to the weaknesses they identify requires a fundamental reappraisal of the Youth Service's organisational principles and a search for a structural model that will enable it to adapt to the new role of local government.

The NYA's briefing paper 'The Delivery of Local Youth Services' (1992 a) identifies decentralisation as the prevalent theme throughout the Service nationwide, as indeed it is within local government generally.

According to Willmott:

aided by new information technology, decentralized forms of organisation are rapidly developing within private sector companies across the world and these managerial innovations are now being imported into the public sector. Additionally we know that different forms of decentralisation are proving attractive, in varying degrees to all major political parties in Britain and that a number of local authorities are now committed to a decentralization strategy of one kind or another (Willmott, 1987, p. 8).

Coopers, Lybrand and Deloitte in recognising the complexity of existing structures

and funding within the Service, recommend that the budget should be delegated at the least to a service delivery level and the NYA's briefing paper illustrates how many local authority Youth Services are adopting various models representing different decentralized structures.

The fundamental issue here is that the emphasis is on the delegation of budgets, not the fundamental restructuring of the service which is required to meet the needs of the enabling authority. Rather than the delegation of marginal responsibilities, decentralization as a managerial process involves a fundamental change in structure, roles and relationships. As Fowler points out, discussion for or against decentralization is often over-simplified, and centralization and decentralization are not in fact mutually exclusive.

> *there is a general trend of thinking which is being reflected in many authorities' redesigns of organisation. In the private sector this has been described (in 'In Search of Excellence', Peters & Waterman 1982) as simultaneous loose - tight properties. What this means in the words of one local authority which has taken a conscious decision to restructure on this principle, is centralization of policy, decentralization of practice (Fowler, 1988, p. 29).*

Clarke and Stewart pick up this same theme demonstrating how the role of central departments needs to change from that of detailed control and support to that of strategic control and support.

This alternative representation of an organization which is described by Rogers is one which distinguishes between those core staff and functions which are essential to the organisation and those peripheral staff and functions which are currently performed by the organisation but could be performed by external bodies (Rogers, 1990, p. 103). This model represents a fundamentally different way of designing a local authority organisation and most closely represents the loose - tight properties of an authority seeking to centralize policy, strategic planning and control functions whilst decentralizing practice. It is also a model which is relevant in relation to the enabling concept of a local authority role. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the differences between pyramid (hierarchical) and core-periphery models.

Figure 1: Pyramid

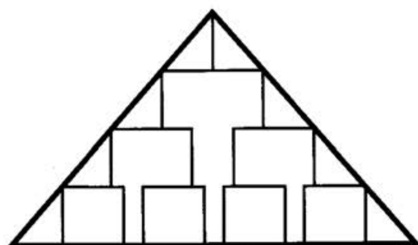
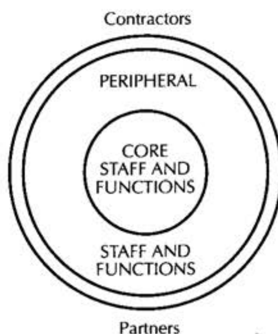


Figure 1: Core - Periphery



In applying this structure to the Youth Service we would have a management team whose primary role would be that of establishing overall policy, defining strategy, allocating resources, monitoring performance, and evaluating outcomes. At service delivery level, teams of youth workers normally based on defined geographical areas, would be responsible for the co-ordination of service delivery, assessment of need, and the negotiation and distribution of resources within a framework agreed with them and monitored by service managers. The key to the success of this organisational structure at both management and service delivery level is effective team-building. Once developed the team is a potent and resourceful unit which can play a vital part in creatively coping with change, allowing members to grow together and change as individuals whilst also overcoming the isolation felt by many youth workers and so clearly identified by Alan Rogers (1988).

Conclusions

Making recommendations for growth and expansion at a time of stringent public expenditure constraints may seem somewhat absurd. However, ignoring the changes happening within local government would be equally foolish. As has been identified earlier, the current review of the functions and responsibilities of local government presents a unique opportunity which must be grasped firmly, not only to ensure the future of a 'professional' youth service, but to assert itself as a central agency within the new enabling authority.

In exploring current trends in relation to the changing role of local government I have concluded that wide ranging changes are needed to keep the Service at the 'leading edge of local authority management'. The change in organisational structure recommended requires a fundamental change in many basic and deeply-held organisational assumptions. This change will not be easy, for it is well-known that the success of the introduction of new management systems depends more on the attitudes of those involved than on the structure itself. Old work cultures are tenacious and resistance to change is typical within large bureaucracies, hence the retention in any shape or form of existing hierarchical structures will act to resist the development of new organisational assumptions and culture.

In conclusion I would make the following recommendations:

1. The Youth Service must remain essentially as a directly- provided public service. To do this it must establish itself as one of the lead agencies, skilled and experienced in the functions required of an enabling authority.

2. To encourage joint operations, the Youth Service needs to come together with other allied agencies either within new Community Services Departments or by establishing strong informal inter-agency partnerships which are able to support a holistic approach to community development.

3. The existing organisational structure needs to be radically changed. Moving away from the present multi-tiered hierarchical, monolithic and centralized structure a totally new framework should be developed which encourages flexibility,innovation and experimentation at all levels of the organisation.

4. A core - periphery structure which centralizes policy whilst decentralizing practice would enable the required segregation of roles and functions. Within this structure a central management team would be responsible for setting service policy, allocating budgets and monitoring provision whilst field work teams would be charged with service delivery.

5. Devolved management would then enable the field work teams to be more responsive in meeting local needs, it would promote flexibility in service provision, encourage better use of service resources and provide opportunity for young people to have real influence on the delivery of local services.

6. Within this new structure both the management and field work teams need to establish mechanisms to ensure working partnerships develop between the statutory and non-statutory sectors. These partnerships need to be based on mutual respect and understanding, celebrating differences as strengths and enabling the meeting of the diverse needs of the community they serve.

Keith Hanbury *is a youth work practitioner working for Nottinghamshire Youth and Community Service.*

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YOUTH WORKERS AND YOUTH PARTICIPANTS:

Two perspectives of youth work?

JOHN G. LOVE AND LEO B. HENDRY

Introduction

From a recent historical perspective, the findings of the Albemarle Report (1960) in England and the Scottish Kilbrandon Report in 1973 gave a boost and new direction to a youth work focus within community education in Scotland. Henceforth, it was proposed, youth work should emphasise informal education and the personal and social development of young people. These laudable, if unspecific, aims originally manifested themselves in vague policy statements: encouraging 'personal growth'; the 'development of character'; 'association' and 'challenge'. Later, in the early 1980s, under increasing pressures to demonstrate the effectiveness of youth work, policy makers within community education were encouraged to spell out its aims more clearly. Accordingly Strathclyde Regional Council, the largest local authority in Britain, produced a somewhat more explicit statement of its aims for youth work, in which the community education service was called upon to be

> *responsive to the personal educational needs of the individual whether social, intellectual or recreational and within a community development context, so that it is concerned with the individual's role in relation to the wider society and his or her active participation in it (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1984).*

Grampian Regional Council (1988) offered further details and suggested that community education should attempt to

> *support young people to gain self-confidence... and to make informed choices. (Also) to make the process of learning as important as reaching the goals.*

More recently national statements have reflected similar views:

> *Youth work is essentially educational and interventionist. It has as its aims the personal and social development of young people. While it must adapt to meet changing needs, there are certain unchanging principles which form the core of youth work. Youth work must always help young people in:*
>
> *the formation of attitudes to life*
> *the formation of standards*
> *the testing of values and beliefs*
> *the development of skills for involvement in society (SSCYO, 1989).*

If then, as these statements propose, youth work is about informal education for personal and social development, it is important that those involved in youth work reflect upon the processes and outcomes associated with particular methods in practice in working with adolescents. Claims made across a variety of types of youth provision, from uniformed groups through to detached youth work programmes deserve careful consideration and scrutiny. These can be usefully evalu-

ated from two main perspectives; from youth workers as informal educators and from young people as users of, and participants in, the service. The present paper offers some Scottish insights into this dual perspective, based on a research project 'Measuring the Benefits of Youth Work' (Hendry et al, 1991)[1]. It is important to note that in this paper the term 'Youth Worker' is used to refer to people who work with adolescents. In Scotland this may include people whose job title is community education worker, or community worker.

Six main areas were examined which allowed for comparison to be made between what youth workers *claimed to be doing* in a variety of settings and what they considered to be important factors associated with youth work and what young people *claimed to experience* in different youth work settings and (equally) what young people considered to be important. The six areas were (1) reasons given for attending youth groups; (2) the content of group activity; (3) the learning claimed in different settings; (4) the attraction of youth groups; (5) the qualities needed in youth workers, and (6) decision-making in youth work settings.

Methodology

The research study involved a large scale survey of 922 young people aged 12 to 18 years drawn from three secondary schools in Grampian Region. The schools were located in urban, rural and suburban environments. Also 100 young people drawn from five contrasting youth settings (representing project based organisations, rural voluntary youth clubs, uniformed organisations, statutory youth work provision and 'alternative' youth groups) were made the subject of in-depth investigation (observation and interviews) over a six months period. The findings presented here report little of the five case studies but rather focus on the large scale survey. Finally, in addition to the two groups of young people, a group of 75 youth workers (both full-time and part-time) drawn from these five settings completed a questionnaire.

Following a pilot study in the autumn of 1990, the large scale survey of young people was carried out during the months of January and February 1991. The questionnaires were completed under supervision from school staff (previously briefed about the design and aims of the study) during school hours. A response rate of almost 100% was thus achieved.

The survey of youth workers was carried out between March and May 1991. A 'mixed' approach involving the hand delivery of questionnaires (for self-completion) and the option of a postal reply or re-contacting by fieldworkers was employed. Telephone calls were used to follow up late replies. One hundred youth workers were approached initially and invited to take part in the study. A response rate of 75% was achieved.

Samples

The young people who took part in the large scale survey were almost equally divided by gender, with males comprising 49% of the sample and females 51%. The (mode) average age of respondent was 14 years for both males and females. A full distribution of the age and gender composition of the sample is shown in Table 1.

Males:	Number
16-18	176
14-15	213
12-13	42
Females:	**Number**
16-18	171
14-15	211
12-13	67
Total	**880***

** 31 young people did not state their gender*

Table 1. Age and Gender of Young People

The young people who took part in the study were drawn from a variety of social backgrounds, defined according to their fathers' (occupational) social class. The distribution of responses (Table 2) suggests that the sample comprised an over-representation of young people from non-manual home backgrounds compared with national statistics.

Social Class	Sample %	Scotland[1] %
Professional	8	5
Intermediate	35	19
Skilled non-manual	5	10
Skilled manual	26	38
Semi-skilled	23	19
Unskilled	3	8
	100	100
Number	777	1,030,614

[1]Census Statistics, 1981

Table 2. Social Class of Young People

Out of the total sample of 922 respondents, 83% of the young people were involved in some type of youth group. Four main types of group were identified: youth clubs, uniformed organisations (eg Scouts, Boys Brigade, Girls Brigade), activity groups (eg football clubs, netball clubs, swimming clubs) and after school groups (eg drama, music or sports groups). Involvement in the activities of such groups varied, with youth clubs attracting 39% of all young people, uniformed groups attracting 20% of all young people, activity groups attracting 68% of all young people and after school groups 42% of all young people.

Analysis by age, gender, social class and youth club membership shows the universal appeal of such groups:

Youth Group Involvement (Monthly)				
Type	**Uniformed %**	**Activity %**	**After school %**	**Youth club %**
Age:				
16-18 years	13*	66	44	30*
12-15 years	25	72	42	47
Gender:				
Male	21	69	43	39
Female	19	70	42	42
Class:				
Non-manual	23	69	46	37
Manual	17	71	41	42
Youth club membership:				
Member	19	79*	44	-
Non-member	20	60	40	-

**P<.001*

Table 3: Youth involvement by age, gender, class and youth club membership

As Table 3 shows, only three (statistically) significant differences were found. Firstly, young people aged 12-15 years were far more likely than their older counterparts, aged 16-18 years, to belong to uniformed groups. Secondly, younger people were more likely to belong to youth clubs. Finally, youth club members were far more likely than non-members to belong also to activity groups (ie groups involved in sporting activities such as football, netball, hockey, outdoor activities, golf, swimming and dancing).

As such, group involvement was not differentiated by gender or social class, with males as likely as females to belong to uniformed groups, activity groups and after-school groups. Similarly those from a non-manual home background shared similar group experiences to those from manual home backgrounds.

Finally, the extent to which overlapping membership is a feature of youth group involvement was investigated.

Types of group involvement	Number	%
Youth, Uniform, Activity, After school	36	4
Youth, Uniform, Activity	23	3
Youth, Uniform, After school	1	-
Youth, Activity, After School	110	12
Youth, Uniform	8	1
Youth, Activity	118	13
Youth, After School	12	1
Youth alone	55	6

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Types of group involvement	Number	%
Uniform, Activity, After school	56	6
Uniform, Activity	28	3
Uniform, After school	7	1
Uniform alone	21	2
Activity, After school	126	14
Activity alone	127	14
After school alone	36	4
Not involved at all	158	17
	922	100

Table 4: Multiple Youth Group Membership

As Table 4 shows, 83% of the young people were involved in some type of youth group. The majority were multiple group members; that is, they belonged to two or more different (types of) groups (57%). Around a quarter of the young people belonged to a single group only (26%).

Of the 75 youth workers who took part in the study, thirty were male (40%) and forty-five were female (60%). The majority were aged between 21-35 years and the (mean) average age was 34 years. Table 5 shows the breakdown of youth workers by age and gender.

	21-35 years Number	36-65 years Number
Male	17	13
Female	25	18
Number	42	31

Two females did not disclose their ages

Table 5: Age and Gender of Youth Workers

Youth Work Experience : Young People and Youth Workers

Reasons given for attending youth groups

Enquiries were made of both the young people and youth workers about reasons for attending youth groups; young people were asked why they attended and youth workers were asked why they thought young people attended.

Reason attend	Male %	Female %	12-15 years %	16-18 years %	Non-manual %	Manual %	All young people %	Youth workers %
Sent by parents	4	4	4	3	3	5	4	1
To meet friends	41	46	44	43	45	41	43	81
To play games/sport	44	29**	38	34	38	35	36	33
Nothing else to do	15	15	20	8**	15	16	15	25
To help run group	5	7	5	8	5	7	6	4
To enjoy myself	56	65*	61	59	63	61	60	64
Number	438	453	536	349	376	403	764	75

** P<.01; ** P<.001*

Table 6: Reasons Young People attend Youth Groups

As Table 6 shows a variety of reasons were advanced by young people and youth workers for attending youth groups. Many gave multiple reasons. The most common reasons given by young people for attending such groups were enjoyment (60%), followed by the opportunity to meet friends (43%) and the opportunity to play games and sport. Few attended for what might be termed 'negative' reasons such as compulsion (being sent by parents) or through lack of alternatives (nothing else to do). Finally, few young people saw helping to run the group as a reason for attending. Differences in reasons for taking part in the activities of youth groups were noted in terms of gender and age. Thus males were more likely to attend than females in order to play games and sport, while females were more likely than males to attend for reasons of enjoyment. With respect to age, younger respondents (aged 12-15 years) were more likely than their older counterparts (aged 16-18 years) to attend because they had 'nothing else to do'. Although minor social class differences were found in the reasons for attending youth groups for young people, such differences did not reach statistical significance. Comparing these responses to the responses of the workers it is interesting to note the similarities and the differences in reported reasons for attending. The clear majority of youth workers believed young people attended youth groups in order to meet with (and make) friends (80%). Around two-thirds also believed that young people attended in order to enjoy themselves (64%), and a third saw games and sport as a main reason for attending (33%). While there is some consensus among young people and youth workers about the attractions of enjoying oneself and the opportunity to play games and sport, the difference in emphasis about attending in order to meet friends and to avoid having nothing else to do, points to the limits of such agreement.

Content of youth group activity

Turning to the actual 'content' of youth groups (ie what people actually do at youth groups) evidence is found of a breakdown between the values of youth work held by youth workers and the application of such values, in terms of the youth work experienced by young people. In recognition of the diversity of activities experienced across different types of groups the findings are reported separately with respect to each group type. 'Exclusive' group membership was used in the analysis to further differentiate the content of separate group activities[2].

	Considered important by youth workers	**Experienced by young people in different groups***			
Activities	**%**	**Uniformed %**	**Youth Club %**	**Activity %**	**After school %**
Discuss issues	83	29	13	6	6
Play games/sport	51	81	58	48	36
Learn new skills	64	29	4	7	42
Meet opposite sex	45	24	36	12	19
Organise programme	53	29	7	2	-
Number	75	21	55	127	36

** Groups are 'exclusive'.*

Table 7. Youth work activities/experience

As Table 7 shows, while most youth workers see discussing issues and learning new skills as the two most important outcomes of youth group involvement, few young people experience these things in the variety of different youth groups attended. Playing games and sport is the most reported activity experienced by young people, irrespective of the type of group attended.

Learning in Youth Groups

Similarly, what young people claim to learn in youth groups does not match well with what youth workers consider to be the most important learning outcomes associated with youth group involvement. Table 8 indicates that, while the most important learning outcome considered by youth workers is 'learning to get on with others', only in uniformed groups and youth clubs is 'learning to get on with others' accorded similar priority and even here it is regarded as such by only half of those who attend. In the other two main types of youth groups attended more instrumental learning claims priority, no doubt associated with the particular ethos of the types of groups (eg 'new skills' are the learning priority of after school groups organised around specific interests, while activity clubs, mostly 'sports' in origin, teach young people sporting skills as a priority).

	Considered important by youth workers	**Learning claimed by young people in different groups***			
Things learned	**%**	**Uniformed %**	**Youth %**	**Activity %**	**After school %**
New skills	73	57	9	22	41
To enjoy oneself	60	38	42	29	31
To organise	49	43	9	5	11
To get on with others	93	48	38	24	28
Sporting skills	9	33	13	40	36
Art/Drama	-	-	6	1	34
Political knowledge	11	-	-	-	-
Nothing	-	19	26	9	3
Number	75	21	55	127	3

* *Groups are 'exclusive'.*

Table 8: Learning in Youth Groups

Attractions of Youth Groups

A greater measure of agreement between the views of youth workers and the view of the young people however can be seen with respect to the perceived attractions of youth groups for young people. It should be noted, however, that a much smaller proportion of young people, compared with youth workers, point to these attractions.

	Youth workers %	Young people %
Plenty to do	61	34
Opportunity to do sport	51	37
Opportunity to do art	23	4
Opportunity to do drama	19	3
Place to go	76	31
Good atmosphere	84	34
Chance to meet friends	95	53
Number	75	764

Table 9: Attractions of Youth Groups

The primary attraction for workers and young people was the opportunity youth groups provide to meet and keep in touch with friends (Table 9). It is interesting to note the consistency expressed by youth workers with respect to their perceptions of why young people attend youth groups (81% believe it is to meet friends, see Table 6) and of the attractions of youth groups for young people (95% considering the opportunity to meet friends as the main attraction). By contrast (see Table 6) fewer young people claimed that they personally would go to youth groups in order to meet friends (43%) although it should be noted that around half (53%) believe that the chance to meet friends is the major attraction of youth groups for other young people (Table 9)!

Description	Youth workers %	Young people %
Friendly	47	95
Someone trustworthy	87	92
Someone interested in members	67	89
Someone same sex as myself	1	44
Good at sport	1	72
Good at dealing with trouble	12	90
Paid for his work	-	59
Nearer my age	3	57
Older than me	1	78
Role model	9	46
Enthusiastic	59	89
Opens and closes building	1	NA
Organises activities	35	NA
Does nothing	-	NA
Keeps the peace	9	NA
The person who is paid	1	NA
The person who stops fun	-	NA
Old-fashioned	3	NA
Someone who sits and chats	36	NA

NA = not applicable; young people were not asked about these characteristics

Table 10. Descriptions of Youth Workers

Qualities of leadership
Youth workers were invited to describe themselves in terms of the four most important characteristics of a youth professional. Elsewhere in the large scale survey of young people, those who had had experience of youth clubs/organisations were asked to report on the characteristics they sought in community education workers.

As Table 10 reveals youth workers and young people apparently value different qualities in a youth worker. While there is some overlap in the desirability of 'trustworthiness', 'interest in members' and 'enthusiasm' as reported by both workers and youth participants, the importance of 'friendliness', the ability to 'deal with trouble', 'age' and 'sporting ability' are relatively neglected by youth workers while they rate highly in the assessments of young people

Decision-making
Comparisons were also made between youth workers and young people, in terms of the perception of decision-making within youth groups.

	Decision-makers	
	Youth workers' view	**Young People's view**
Planning events	Jointly (80%)	Jointly (62%)
Fund raising	Jointly (69%)	Jointly (64%)
Spending money	Jointly (39%)	Workers (59%)
Making rules	Jointly (70%)	Workers (69%)
Enforcing rules	Workers (54%)	Workers (71%)
Appointing leaders	Workers (73%)	Workers (57%)

Table 11. Decision-making

Overall, as Table 11 shows, there is clear agreement between workers and participants about who makes decisions concerning the planning of events (jointly) and fund-raising (jointly). Agreement is also reached about who is responsible for enforcing rules (workers) and appointing youth workers (workers), although there was a tendency for youth workers to regard themselves as more 'liberal' in such matters compared with young people's perceptions of practice. There was clear disagreement however between youth workers and young people with respect to decisions about spending money and making rules. While the workers saw both activities as subject to joint decision-making, young people were clearly of the opinion that control in these matters rested solely with youth workers. Significantly neither workers nor youth participants identified an area which was solely the responsibility of young people themselves.

Discussion
Reflecting on the findings reported above it is perhaps most instructive to highlight the similarities and differences in attitudes, beliefs and experiences among youth workers and young people in youth groups. Looking firstly at reasons for attending youth groups the findings suggest that workers and young people bring with them different expectations to such settings. As proposed in most official regional and national documents in Scotland, youth workers rationalise their involvement in terms of youth work being variously described as informal teaching and learning in order for adolescents to develop personal, social and inter-personal skill[3]:

... self-confidence, the ability to talk to/form relations with others
... (an) ability to test, build and sustain relationships ....

... acceptance of others ....
... the ability to get on with others, particularly their peer group ....

Hence the vast majority see 'meeting friends' as a major attraction of youth groups for youth participants. It has been known for some time however that although most young people are introduced to youth groups through the influence of friends – Bone & Ross (1972) discovered 87% of young people went to a group in the company of others – meeting friends is not the main attraction of youth groups for many adolescents. Indeed in the Bone & Ross study the chance to meet friends ranked third behind the opportunity to pursue a particular interest and (more negatively) of having nothing better to do. The fact therefore that just over half the young people questioned in the present study claimed to attend youth groups in order to 'meet friends' and that the majority do so to 'enjoy' themselves, raises the possibility that youth workers and young people perceive quite different values for participating in youth groups. The implications of such differing perspectives may be far reaching. If young people can get by on having fun – seeing youth work settings as an alternative leisure outlet – whither youth work? Alternatively, of course, the differences in expectations may in part reflect the contrasting values found in any 'professional adult-adolescent' relationship, wherein complementary rather than identical motivation underpins the learning context. For instance, the school teacher's desire to instil a thirst for knowledge may be effected through the pupil's desire to pass exams; either way a habit of study is promoted. For youth work, however, concerned as much with process as with the outcome of learning, is there a need to make its aims and purposes more explicit to its youthful participants?

In a critique of the youth service, Jeffs (1979) concludes rather pessimistically that provision which originated as a leisure facility for working class young people in the 19th century has changed little over the past century and remains essentially recreational. Similiarly youth work as a form of 'alternative' leisure – adult organised and led – is hinted at again in the present findings on the content of youth work activity. While youth workers may be ideologically committed to providing contexts in which personal and social 'issues' (eg poverty, discrimination, the environment) can be discussed, the delivery of such opportunities to young people is missed if the reported experience of young people is to be believed. It was the minority of young people across a diverse range of youth groups (ie uniformed, youth club, activity group and after school group) who reported 'discussing issues' as a component part of their youth group experiences. Indeed 'discussing issues' was the least reported activity out of five activities asked about. By contrast, playing games and sport was the most reported activity experienced by young people attending youth groups. Once again youth work is equated with recreational activity by young people.

The findings on 'learning claimed' in youth groups reinforces the impression that youth workers and young people may perceive themselves to be engaged in different enterprises. Consistent with the rationale of informal education and the development of interpersonal skills the most reported learning outcome claimed by workers was '(learning) to get on with others'; 93% of youth workers considered this to be important. However, amongst young people only between a quarter and (less than) a half of those who attend a range of youth groups, claimed that learning 'to get on with others' was an outcome of involvement in youth groups. Learning 'to enjoy oneself' was the most consistently reported experience across the various groups. Youth groups appear – at least on the surface – to be about fun and leisure for those young people who attend.

The differing perceptions held of youth work by youth workers and participants can be seen further in the response to a series of questions about the attractions of youth groups. While the majority of youth workers cite a variety of positive attributes such as the 'chance to meet friends' (95%), the 'good atmosphere' (84%), a 'place to go' (76%), only between a third to a half of young people concur with such beliefs. As such far fewer adolescents can see what workers perceive to be the benefits of youth work. Once again this raises the issue of the extent to which the beliefs and views of youth workers and young people *should be* in agreement. It may be that young people can still benefit from the context provided by youth workers in the various groups, without explicitly recognising the informal social learning opportunities afforded them. The possibility of 'parallel agendas' operating as a 'hidden curriculum' within youth work settings is an attractive explanation of this phenomenon for the providers of such services and this was further evidenced in the responses of a number of workers to a question about the major benefits of youth work to society.

> *... keeps them off the streets and allows them the chance to take part in activities and mix.*
>
> *... keeping trouble off the streets – social control.*
>
> *... keeps them off the streets, away from their parents, gives them the opportunities to enjoy themselves ...*
>
> *... can be an agent of social control. It should allow young people to discuss issues affecting society and thus foster a better understanding.*

Nevertheless the suspicion remains that the differing perspectives of workers and youth participants about the aims, practices and processes of youth work reflect a lack of clarity and true understanding about its role and purposes in present day society. It raises the question of whether or not youth work aims should remain implicit or be made more explicit and put 'up front' so that as young people grow older within youth organisations they are enabled to develop an understanding of the underlying objectives of the activities they engage in and are given greater awareness of the social control function of youth work described above as 'Keeping trouble off the streets'! This stresses the importance of 'reflection on learning processes' aimed at developing young people's strategies to discriminate, and assess values within youth work's hidden agenda: it enables choice rather than conformity.

Asked directly about the valued qualities of youth workers the difference in perception between young people and adults about the nature of youth work, becomes clearer. In their national study of the youth service in England and Wales, Bone & Ross (1972) report high levels of satisfaction among adolescents with respect to adults who run clubs for young people. However, although 88% felt that their youth workers were interested in their (young people's) ideas, around a quarter (22%) felt workers were bossy and a third (32%) believed that the workers attempted to 'push' their own ideas at adolescents. A study by Hendry, Brown & Hutcheon (1981) also looked at the attitudes of young people who attended youth groups to their youth workers. Hendry *et al.* found that although perceptions were 'mixed', young people tended to hold favourable rather than unfavourable views of these adults. It was concluded that these 'clubbable' adolescents were basically conformist and related positively and well towards adult workers and had a willingness to accept their rules, reg-

ulations and authority. The present study showed that youth workers and young people apparently valued different qualities in a youth worker. Thus, although both young people and professionals value 'trustworthiness' in a youth worker, many fail to appreciate the importance to young people of workers being 'friendly', 'good at dealing with trouble' and (not surprisingly in the light of evidence cited earlier) being 'good at sport'. Accordingly the 'enthusiasm' and 'interest in members' which ranked highly with some workers, may be insufficient in themselves to satisfy the needs of those adolescents for whom youth work is provided. The characteristics prized by youth workers reflect a desire to become affectively involved with young people, a desire rooted in the paradigm of social development and community involvement, yet the instrumental and practical skills looked for by young people may derive from a different set of priorities linked to a desire for a safe recreational environment in which to pursue a variety of leisure activities.

The last area of youth work activity looked at in this study was decision-making. In a national community education report on aims and objectives of youth work in Scotland (SCEC, 1989), stress was laid on the importance of shared responsibility and joint decision-making in youth work settings. The evidence on decision-making from the present study however suggests that much is still to be achieved in this area. Indeed the findings simply confirm the perceptual mismatch of workers' beliefs and young people's reported experiences in this crucial area of youth work practice. While young people perceive themselves to be involved in the decisions surrounding the planning of events and fundraising – with workers agreeing about joint decision-making in these areas – in the other areas of decision-making (ie spending money, making rules, enforcing rules and appointing leaders) young people considered adults to be solely responsible for the decision-making. In two of the latter areas, spending money and making rules, youth workers disagreed with young people's perceptions and claimed that joint decision-making *was* practised. However, the agreed absence of areas where young people themselves take responsibility for decision-making calls into question the extent to which adolescents perceive and are made aware of a genuine commitment to informal education and empowerment within youth groups. This awareness and knowledge of purpose are vital if adolescent participants are to be 'enabled' to act on their own behalf and to develop self agency. After all claims were made by youth workers in the present study that youth work:

> *... encourages young people to develop their full potential ... (in order to) make a more meaningful contribution to the society in which they live.*
>
> *... is an essential investment to produce responsible, participating citizens.*
>
> *... (develops) young people who are well-balanced and have a stable outlook on society.*
>
> *... (encourages) young people to learn to live within a community and become a part of the community rather than against it.*
>
> *... allows young people to participate in projects in the community and giving them the skills to enter into life outside school ... as responsible adults.*

Yet it would appear from this research project that in some aspects of its operations, as reflected by the perceptual mismatch of workers and participants, youth work may be falling short of providing for adolescents the social relationships

which allow them to challenge, engage and question the forms and substance of the informal learning process in which they are involved.

Dr Leo B Hendry *is Professor of Education at the University of Aberdeen. He has published many research papers and books on adolescence, including 'The Nature of Adolescence' (1990) and 'Young People's Leisure and Lifestyles' (1993)*

Dr John G Love *is a Lecturer in Sociology at The Robert Gordon University in Aberdeen. He was formerly a Research Fellow in the Department of Education at the University of Aberdeen.*

Notes

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2. Consequently and henceforth, given the small numbers in each category of membership it was considered inappropriate to further analyse the experience of young people to take account of age, gender and social class.

3. All quotations in the Discussion section are taken from the five qualitative 'Case Studies'.

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WORKING SPACE

Youth Work and Sexual Abuse Survivors

ANNA WHALEN

Introduction

The following is based upon the experience of working with young women at The Warren in Hull. It contains some anonymous quotations directly related to their experiences.

As youth workers we have all, by the laws of probability, worked with children and young people who have been sexually abused. In various youth work forums all over Britain we discuss the many issues affecting young people's lives - crime, drugs, homelessness, HIV/AIDS...hardly insubstantial, trivial topics. Yet child sexual abuse (from here on termed 'abuse' in order to save space) as a mainstream youth work issue has yet to emerge. In effect, youth work currently mirrors society's mixed emotions to abuse -disbelief, fear, revulsion and anxiety. The worry of responding inappropriately understandably leads to a desire to place the matter firmly in the hands of 'experts' (i.e. referral to Social or Health Services).

The secrecy of what happens 'behind closed doors' is slowly ebbing. However, the statutory services responsible for responding to abuse, operating on ever scarce resources, are in a position of unintentionally perpetuating the mystery of abuse. Under pressure to develop and maintain child protection assessment teams and services to children who have been abused, finding resources for raising public awareness is unlikely to be a high priority.

The media compound our ignorance, shocking us with reports of 'satanic' abuse and celebrities accused of sexually abusing children. The messages children and young people who have been abused get from society are very mixed as a result. Freely available educational information, which could put the tabloid reporting of abuse into a context, is scarce. The health education department produces clear, accessible leaflets on a wide variety of health topics, yet there appears to be little for the general public on child sexual abuse, its effects, where to go for help, the law and so on. The effect of the lack of information available to the general public is a continued shrouding of abuse in mystery, which in turn confirms our beliefs that only experts have the skills to 'deal with it'. Youth workers have to examine this belief and the role we could play in what is now recognised as a significant feature of many people's childhood experience.

Work with Young Survivors

Early in 1991 the Young Women's Project, a partnership between Save The Children Fund and The Warren began. The Project was designed to encourage more young women to use the Centre. Very quickly a number of young women began talking to the Young Women's worker, asking for support on their experiences of abuse. A full time youth counsellor in The Warren was finding the same issue continually cropping up in her work with young people. At an assertiveness training weekend for young women some of the participants shared their experiences in a group setting and then decided they wanted to start a survivors group at The Warren. Since 1991, The

Warren has, worked with several hundred young people on their experiences of being sexually abused as children.

The work the Centre currently does with survivors ranges from:

- 'chatting' - listening, supporting
- individual counselling on a regular basis
- practical support/advice/advocacy e.g. putting in claims to the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board, working with housing organisations to get appropriate accommodation for young people fleeing abuse
- survivors groups, (at this stage for young women only), which to date have run for 15 sessions, with 2 facilitators.

Why The Warren?

Why should so many young people seek support on this issue at a Centre such as The Warren? What does this tell us about the needs of young people who've been abused?

The ethos of much youth work today is about young people participating and feeling empowered in their lives. The Warren works very much along these lines, and the work with survivors reflects this in the key values the workers have:

- believing young people
- young people being the experts in their own 'healing' process
- working with young people at their own pace
- placing the responsibility for the abuse firmly on the shoulders of the abuser
- putting child sexual abuse into a context of power over children in society and an understanding of gender relations in this

Many statutory agencies have pretty much the same values in their work with survivors, but we find that many young women are reluctant to use these services. The Warren appeared to be more acceptable because it was a familiar environment where they feel safe. This is of great importance for all young people, but for survivors, who have had no power in determining what happened to them whilst being abused, it plays a crucial part in using The Warren as a way into sharing their experiences.

> *It's a building I know, and feel quite safe in. As safe as I possible can. I was nervous enough, but I would have been worried about going anywhere else.*
>
> *It didn't make a difference at first that I was at The Warren, but as time grew I realised it has made an immense difference. There is a relaxed, safe atmosphere, where no prejudices are held, and its central and easy to get to. I just felt OK being here.*
>
> *I wouldn't have gone anywhere else for help - I would have been frightened not knowing anyone. The Warren is familiar, so I felt a little bit secure, as I knew there was no one there to harm me.*

Another reason why some young women were reluctant to use statutory based services was the association made with the power these agencies have to intervene. Unfortunately many young people we work with describe negative experiences of

statutory agencies. These range from the breaking up of their family as a result of 'disclosing' the abuse, receiving no support or help on the effects of the abuse whilst being looked after by the local authority, actually being abused whilst in care (physically and sexually), compulsory admission into hospital under the Mental Health Act, continual changes of social worker and as a result not being able to identify a trusted adult to talk to, feeling stigmatised by compulsory appointments to see child psychologists or psychiatrists and so on. The list is not exhaustive.

Many young people say the interventions made by statutory services, rather than being helpful, are in their own way, abusive. Control was, yet again, removed from their hands, and given to someone who knew better. Often the trauma a young person is experiencing is a combination of the effects of the sexual abuse and then the effects of an intervention which has been experienced as harmful not helpful.

> *Sexual abuse is a very bad thing to happen to anyone. It ruins your life. Maybe the abuser has got a sentence, but he or she is never left with the guilt or mental and physical scars. You are usually taken away from your family and put in a foster home or some other form of care. Social Services never usually offer any counselling, they just take you away from your brothers and sisters and split that bond. When you are aged 16-19 you come out of care and are left to learn about life yourself, but you still have painful memories of your childhood.*

Young people may very consciously look for support from an agency where any contact is of a voluntary nature, and relationships with 'professionals' is of a more equal nature:

> *I wouldn't have joined a group elsewhere because it would mean talking to people that I didn't know and it takes me too long to trust people. Other groups are mainly run (in my view) by professional people, i.e. social workers, community psychiatric nurses etc, and they seem to have power over us.*

Clearly youth agencies are a possible place young people may look for help.

Ignorance of what is available is another barrier to seeking help from statutory services. For some young people, who have never told anyone that they've been sexually abused, knowing where to go for help can be a problem.

> *I never told anyone, not for years. I left home when I was just 16, and I had nowhere to go, but anything was better than what he used to do. After being homeless, I got into a hostel. Then slowly I began to sort myself out.*

Services in the statutory sector are not advertised and often need a referral from a G.P. or social worker. So finding out what options are available is not an easy process if you don't know the system. Using a youth agency may be the only contact a young person has with any organisation other than the DSS and Housing Department. A good relationship with a youth worker may be the first positive experience some young people ever have of a professional or an 'adult' figure. Someone who listens and respects them, is interested, has time, is on their side... all these fundamentals in our work with young people make it very unsurprising that this can lead to a young person sharing very personal information.

Finally, asking for specialist help within a generalist youth facility helps minimise stigma and avoids loss of control for the young person. A young person walking into a

multi-purpose youth centre can be going in for anything - a coffee, meeting friends to do an activity or see a counsellor. There is no obvious label attached to anyone. Social and mental health services are, by definition, for people who have problems of one sort or another. In order to use such services one has to compromise individual identity and be labelled. The only stigma attached to a multi-purpose centre for young people is the stereotyping of youth, the predictable 'its full of dropouts, criminals, homeless and drug takers...' The freedom to be yourself, and not be identified by the problems you present is clearly important.

The Warren has a policy of not keeping records on anyone, (unless child protection procedures are involved). For young people who may have had years of notes on their 'case' building up, (and often no access to those notes) this is another way of feeling in control - the expert in their own situation.

Implications For Youth Agencies

Knowledge - a basic understanding of the effects of child sexual abuse is helpful. This is not so a youth worker can 'spot' or diagnose young people who've been abused, but so any worker is at least aware of some of the emotions and experiences any young person who talks to them may have, and ensure they respond appropriately, rather than adding to a young person's distress. One reaction to hearing a young person talk about their experiences of being abused and how it's affected their lives is to try to *Do* something, it helps the worker feel better somehow. Often young people say they don't want anything except to be listened to and *heard.*

Skills - for each youth worker to be clear and honest with young people about what they can and can't offer - a clear set of boundaries. This is especially important in working with young survivors, all of whom will have experienced a forced removal of all boundaries by the abuser. We can't promise to be there forever, to 'cure' someone, to take away their pain, to be there 24 hours a day... clear boundaries not only help us as workers, they also give young people realistic expectations and a sense of safety.

Procedures - there are some steps that *any* agency in contact with any young people is likely to take: - developing clear child protection and risk assessment procedures and a confidentiality policy. For example, Child protection procedures at The Warren apply to anyone under 16, and are primarily used in the creche and work with young families. The Risk Assessment procedures are referred to and may be used if a youth worker, (particularly in the Counselling and Advice area,) feels that as a result of what a young person has told them, either the young person themselves or someone else is at risk.

Involving young people in developing/amending these is helpful, the benefits being:

- understandable language and layout
- the process being discussed in depth and thus information and concerns being voiced by both workers and young people
- young people feeling that there is joint ownership of the procedures, that they aren't being 'done to them', but that they have a say and some control

Staff Support
The Warren has needed to think about staff support and development. Whilst young survivors may use The Warren because the workers are not 'experts', that does not mean that youth workers shouldn't be encouraged to further their skills and knowledge in this area. So, the youth workers involved have identified their training needs and sought to meet them, for example, counselling and group work courses, or specific training weekends around work with survivors of child sexual abuse. Like many other areas of training, skills are transferable and adaptable.

Support needs have been met through supervision, peer support and regular counselling supervision with external supervisors.

Resources
Buying in outside supervision and training has meant The Warren has had to look at resources. Running a survivors group takes up a lot of worker time. Once word got around other agencies in Hull that The Warren was working with young survivors, referrals increased to the counselling service. There is now a counselling waiting list at The Warren for young people wanting a regular counselling relationship.

Partnerships With Outside Agencies
A local knowledge of agencies that may offer services to young survivors, (both voluntary and statutory) so young people have as much choice as possible, and can access more specialist help if they want to.

Being part of a local practice network enables the Centre to find out what is going on and build up personal contacts in agencies. It is also an opportunity to encourage other agencies to develop services that are more acceptable to young people. Plus there could be possibilities for joint working - for example, a partnership between two agencies to run a survivors group for young people.

Conclusion
The Warren did not, as a youth agency, make a strategic decision to try to work with young survivors. The 'client group' identified itself and asked for support. The needs of young survivors and the gaps in services already in existence in Hull were such that the Centre looked at possible ways of responding. It is easy to get hung up on the 'I'm not an expert, I can't do this.' Certainly we have experienced that feeling. This is, as mentioned earlier, a mirroring of society's fears around sexual abuse. This article is not advocating that every youth worker should be getting involved in work with young survivors. Some youth workers are survivors of abuse and may not wish to focus on this area, others may want to. The right to say no is important, without having to explain why. But if, for whatever reason, a worker is in a position of wanting to do something, the feeling of not being equipped to handle the situation is awful. Young people confide in a youth worker because they want to - they have chosen to tell you, and they are the experts in making that choice. They feel the worker has something to offer - probably primarily a young person feels comfortable, safe, respected and that they'll be listened to. How youth workers (and ultimately youth agencies) respond to this issue of sexual abuse will vary. It could be a referral to a another agency. But it can be responding to the need within the agency. Isn't it time we discussed this in an open way, instead of behind closed doors?

Anna Whalen *works for Save The Children and is based in The Warren, Hull.*

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MALCOLM PAYNE

Maggie Challis makes many claims for the Accreditation of Prior Learning (APEL). It is essentially learner-centred; it can offset the disadvantages that many adult learners face in returning to learn; it can ensure that, when flexible educational systems are in place, learning is more closely tailored to needs and abilities; it can assist in providing a better learning environment; it is a liberating and empowering process. Fundamentally, a system which sets out to give credit for learning which has taken place outside of educational establishments challenges many academic assumptions which emphasise *input* rather than assessing output.

Certainly, APEL's close association with competency, and with the collection and demonstration of evidence as the basis of assessment often, in my experience, brings a sneer to the face of many educationists who not only distrust the process itself, but are cynical also about the essential narrowness of the learning agenda which arises from it. Furthemore, the Close alliance which has been struck between APEL and the government's rationalisation of post-16 vocational training: National Vocational Qualifications; TECs and LECs; output-related funding and so on, place it firmly within a social policy framework which will, for many, add to their unease.

But do not expect an analysis of social policy in this book. the author sets out to provide a practical introduction to the subject, primarily in the context of Further Education, not to examine its philosophy. Her approach is detailed and enthusiastic: case studies and check-lists for action abound, as do the bewildering array of acronyms associated with the vocational training industry (each carefully explained for the uninitiated).

The book begins with the expected testimonials from the gurus of learning from experience, Norman Evans and Michele Bailleux of the Learning From Experience Trust. There is a hint of the philosophical dilemma here when they refer to 'the tension between using...APEL for personal development and as a component of liberal education, and seeing them as part of the provision for Vocational Qualifications'. But this is quickly put aside in favour of the main agenda: the future survival of FE colleges through the introduction of *flexibility* which, we are informed, 'needs to be the hallmark of successful colleges in the future.' Flexibility: in admissions, curriculum, modes of learning, student guidance and support, assessment - in fact, in everything - is the *leitmotiv* of APEL, and returns with ominous regularity in every succeeding chapter.

Chapter 1 then offers a history of APEL, where we learn that its roots can be traced back to the United States (where else?) and to the work of Kolb

(who else?) et al in the 70s. History is presented here in matter-of-fact fashion, from the American pioneers through to the British acronym industry as represented by the FEU, CNAA, MSC and NCVQ. Maggie Challis allows a further hint of an underlying value-base to emerge fleetingly -its philosophical and psychological origins 'reappear in Britain as an integral part of a new rationalisation of vocational education and training' -before a series of case studies is presented as evidence of its usefulness as an approach to the task of providing learning or qualifications (or both).

The book is well grounded in the needs of adult learners. Challis has a sure grasp of her subject matter and she attempts to ensure throughout that APEL is designed, first and foremost, with these needs in mind. By Chapter 2 however, we begin to see just how resource-hungry this approach is likely to be in a privatised, market-orientated, cost-conscious FE sector. Here she takes us through, step-by-step, each of the stages of accrediting prior experiential learning: initial counselling; recognising and identifying skills; relating these to agreed outcomes and criteria; gathering evidence and so on through to accreditation. As she passes, each of the academic cynic's likely questions are dealt with pragmatically: and, no, APEL is not a short-cut to qualifications; yes, assessment standards can be maintained, and authenticity of evidence guaranteed!

Chapter 3 attempts to offer a process for kick-starting APEL in an organisational context. Again, the right questions are asked: why? who for? what resources? This is where the check-lists begin: the enlightenment of vocational training will bring forth modularisation, open and flexible learning, workshop-based provision, year round provision, work-based assessment and short courses. Staff development and organisational development priorities are offered, as are check-lists for developing relationships with employers, the voluntary sector and the accreditation bodies. It *is* a very thorough approach. It *does* provide a persuasive logic.

It is, of course, the same basic logic which was pursued in relation to *Starting from Strengths* in a youth work context: first define your competencies; next allow and support (part-time) youth workers to identify what they can already do, and what else they need to learn; then provide the opportunity for that learning to take place. A similar formula has since been adopted in community work training. And for me, the same basic flaw is present: learning, growth and development does not occur only by design. People look back (often some years after) and discover how much the learning experience changed them, not simply as a result of conscious efforts to define and meet competency requirements, but because of (I believe) the intercultural encounter which occurs in educational settings (between learner and learner, learner and teacher, teacher and institution, learner and institution). This implies an equal emphasis upon inputs and processes, as well as outputs. The danger of APEL is that it makes valid only that which leads to an assessment competence - often narrowly defined. And released into a market hungry FE sector, one has to wonder how long its intended philosophy: supportive, rigorous and personal, can survive.

It does not have to be like that: APEL can certainly provide access to educational opportunity for those who might otherwise be denied; a learner-centred

approach which validates people (not just their competence) is a laudable ideal. But educationists who want to increase access and to work in more learner-centred ways must beware considering only the *technology* of accrediting prior learning. The philosophy and social policy contexts need to be made explicit too.

Introducing APEL is about the technology.

***Malcolm Payne** is a freelance lecturer, trainer and consultant in youth and community work.*

Hilary Pilkington
Russia's Youth And Its Culture:
A Nation's Constructors and Constructed
Routledge, 1994.
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pp 358

ROBERT MACDONALD

This is an ambitious and impressive work which achieves more than can be mentioned here. In essence, it seeks to chart the position of youth within Russian society, from pre-revolutionary days through the decades of Soviet communism to the political upheavals of the late 1980s and early 1990s. It possesses a wealth of historical information and argument and it struck me that *Russia's Youth and Its Culture* is likely to be as of much interest to students of Russian society as it will be to those interested in youth per se.

Speaking shortly after his return from exile earlier this year, Alexander Solzhenitsyn remarked that the 'iron curtain' had been lifted just enough to allow a stream of liquid manure to seep into Russian youth culture. Hilary Pilkington points out that this theme - that Russian youth are the potential victims of the degrading and demoralizing cultural influences of the West - has a well established place in Soviet and post-Soviet hand wringing about the state of their youth. She describes in great (occasionally ponderous) detail the way that different political discourses of youth - particularly of 'youth as constructors of the Soviet revolution' versus 'youth as degenerate victims of Western influences' - have emerged through the past century and given shape to state policy towards young people.

This lengthy analysis is supported by impressive scholarship (there are glossaries of abbreviations, terms and youth cultural slang, methodological appendices, pages of footnotes, tabular representations of Moscow's youth groups, photographs, and in addition to the bibliography of western academic output there are thirteen pages of references to Russian lan-

guage source material). The author correctly points out that much of Soviet youth research has been empirically and theoretically weak, unsophisticated and directly linked to the concern of the ruling political class for social control of youth.

Thus, much of her account takes the form of a critical, discourse analysis which seeks to reveal the way that official rhetorics (e.g. within party newspapers and youth organisations) have constructed the varieties of 'problems of youth' in Russia. In this way, her argument is not dissimilar to that employed by people like Hebdige who have done a similar job in exploring (in his case) British discourses on youth ('as fun' and 'as trouble').

If this was all there was the book might have turned out to be a rather dry, dull affair. There is, however, more to it than this. In the latter third, the author goes on to 'deconstruct the constructed' via an ethnographic study of one of the many informal youth cultural groupings *(neformaly)* that exist in Moscow. Through research visits in the late 1980s and early 1990s, she investigates groups of staliagi (a sort of rock and roll revivalist sub-culture with no direct comparison in Britain). The ethnographic account which develops is engaging especially as it is located firmly within the broader theoretical themes which have been developed earlier in the book.

Qualitative interviews with young men and women are not left 'to speak for themselves' but are integrated in a sophisticated discussion of post-structuralist social theory (ie. how can we understand the socially contextualised accounts given by informants?), the role of the state in youth politics and policy, political history before, during and after the research enterprise and how the rapid transitions experienced in Russian society in the past ten years have impacted upon the sorts of youth culture studied.

Throughout comparisons will be made by readers between Russian youth and those in Britain. There are many continuities but equally there are, not surprisingly, significant discontinuities and Pilkington finishes with a discussion of the way that a study like this can contribute to youth studies in the West. She suggests, for instance that alongside issues of class, gender and ethnic identity questions of centre/periphery and placement/displacement may become of equal importance, especially as we turn to study youth within the wider European context.

Furthermore, she argues - perhaps a little too briefly - that Western (particularly British) youth sub-cultural studies have been too quick to classify activity as conformist or resistant. Pilkington's ethnography shows how what may appear to be resistance -and is certainly taken to be such by the state - cannot be so readily categorised. Rather, youth cultural activity can be for pleasure. The final chapter documents the involvement of an array of *neformaly* in apparent political opposition to the failed coup of 1991. Pilkington's closer reading suggests that things were not as simple as this and that such events had more to do with 'libratory pleasure' and the spectacle of the carnival, than with organised resistance. These lines of thought could have perhaps been developed more fully; they suggest a

promising way of conceptualising youth cultural activity not only in Russia but also more widely.

This is a substantial book which is worthy of wide readership but which, owing to its specialist topic, may not receive it. It will certainly appeal, as I've suggested, to students of Russian society. There are also sections which will be of great use to undergraduate students of youth and youth culture - for example, a succinct, up-to-date and accessible first chapter on the way that youth has been theorized and studied in the West could become essential reading - and the reflective discussion of methodology later on will give much food for thought for those embarking upon youth research. The argument and detail is at times laborious but more often it is fascinating and rich in detail; for those with a serious interest in the sociological, historical or political study of youth the effort is worth it.

Robert MacDonald *researches and teaches at the University of Teesside.*

Marjorie Mayo
Communities and Caring: The Mixed Economy of Welfare
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pp 242

JUDITH GREEN

For many community activists and community workers up and down Britain this is a very confusing period. Never have there been so many opportunities for 'community involvement' and 'participation' or so many policies offering the 'community' a greater role. Demonstrating outside the closed doors of council meetings or dropping dead rats on the steps of the town hall seem like dim memories of a less enlightened and more conflict-ridden past. It is more a case these days of choosing which agency or department to be consulted by or which particular meeting or committee to participate in today. Official policies and pronouncements are full of the language of 'partnership', 'participation' and 'empowerment' and references to the 'community' are everywhere.

And yet, despite this, real improvements are increasingly difficult to gain and sustain. The social conditions facing real communities in poorer areas, especially in cities, are evidently worsening, and the welfare and other services available to support them are diminishing. Moreover the ability of communities to organise effectively to tackle their problems is being undermined by changes in the financial, legal and policy context in which they operate.

Marjorie Mayo's book is a timely contribution to the understanding of the confusions and dilemmas of community activism and community development today. Despite its title, *Communities and Caring: The Mixed Economy of Welfare*, its scope extends far beyond the issue of community care to consider the relationship of community development not only to the changing welfare state but also to the wider processes of social and economic change. The book's main concern is to 'explore some of the competing and contrasting ways in which community-participation, self-help, community-care and community-development strategies have been developing and re-emerging in widely different contexts across the First, Second and Third Worlds since the 1970s', and in doing so Mayo touches on some of the most significant social and political debates in contemporary Britain.

This book is a very useful and highly readable assembly of theoretical, analytical an empirical material relevant to its chosen themes of community development and the welfare state, and all the more impressive for its comparitive and international perspective. Mayo carefully unpacks the complex and confused arguments surrounding a number of key current debates, and marshals a considerable array of evidence taken from the literature and also supported by new material drawn from the experiences of community and voluntary organisations in Britain. Through a balanced and undogmatic assessment of the arguments and evidence, she quietly but forcefully develops a clear case for pursuing community-based strategies for welfare and planning, but within a framework of collective values whereby voluntary and community activities is systematically and appropriately resourced in order to complement and influence public provision.

Communities and Caring begins with a review of conservative government strategy since the 1970s, with specific reference to the restructuring of the welfare state. It also introduces the broader social and economic context, and in particular the key features of increasing globalisation and polarisation. One of the book's achievements is to locate its detailed accounts of community-based strategies within the wider political and social setting, without losing sight either of the specificity and detail of community action or of the context within which its strengths and limitations have to be understood.

Mayo's account of the history of ideas and practice around the British welfare state shows that the economy of welfare has always been mixed, and in fact very diverse. She argues that community care cannot be understood as an abstract principle, but must be assessed as part of the new right project of reducing the state's role in welfare provision to a residual one; this, she shows, is contrary to the intentions and practices of most community and voluntary organisations, which have generally sought to improve or complement state welfare provision and not to replace it. Furthermore, she argues, the resources are not being made available to enable increased welfare provision by voluntary and community organisations to become a reality.

The book traces the main ideological, organisational and policy shifts of recent decades in respect of the 'community'. It illustrates how key terms in contemporary debates - notably 'community' and 'empowerment' - have been actively contested, and also reviews developments in community and voluntary activity and in local and central government strategies towards communities. Mayo shows how, historically and currently, community development has tended to be linked with economic development goals. She reviews a range of local and community-based policies around jobs and training, showing that they have a definite albeit limited value. She also points up the critical relevance of these issues today, particularly in light of the new challenges posed by Britain's increasing integration into Europe.

International forces have become increasingly important in setting the context for community development at the local level, and there are important lessons to be learnt from the experiences of community and voluntary organisations elsewhere in the world. Two chapters of *Communities and Caring* are devoted to international comparisons from countries of both north and south.

The final chapters of the book focus once again on the British experience, looking at the impact of welfare state restructuring on the voluntary sector in general, and self-help, mutual aid and community organisations in particular. Mayo shows how we have now reached a seriously contradictory situation in which there is apparently widespread official sympathy for community development principles but inadequate and declining resources for implementing it in practice. Using detailed case-studies as well as general arguments, she explores the particular dilemmas faced by community and voluntary organisations trying to operate within the changing boundaries of the mixed economy of welfare, especially those who are shifting from the role of campaigning group to service-providing organisation through the mechanisms of community care. A number of key question emerge. Is it possible for an organisation to be at the same time advocate, campaigner and service provider, or are these roles necessarily in conflict? Is genuine partnership between the voluntary and public sectors still possible, or must the growth of voluntary sector provision necessarily undercut public services? Will there be limits to the willingness of voluntary and community sector organisations to cooperate if they feel they are being used as a substitute or a cover up for inadequate public services or policies? If adequate public provision is not an option, what is the real value of community participation and choice?

Mayo concludes that the reality of the new 'community' policies is highly complex and contradictory. There are substantial examples of positive partnership between voluntary and community organisations and the public sector, and also for genuine and productive community participation in planning, suggesting that new relationships are possible and desirable. However, the evidence also points clearly to the conclusion that effective community development requires significant resources and that attempts to implement it as a cheap and easy substi-

tute for adequate public services are doomed to failure. Mayo also stresses the limitations of community development, and insists on the need to link debates on community development and participation with debates on alternative agendas for social and economic change at the national and international level. Community-based strategies that ignore broader questions of social and economic change may end up being a recipe for alienation and anger.

Judith Green *is currently a researcher at the Social Welfare Research Unit, University of Northumbria at Newcastle. She previously worked in various community development roles in West Newcastle for nearly 20 years.*

Tony Gibson
Danger:Opportunity
A Report to the Joseph Rowntree
Foundation on Meadowell Community Development.
Social Welfare Research Unit, University of Northumbria 1993.
pp 72

BRIDGET GARDINER

Danger:Opportunity states clearly that it has two purposes. Firstly the reader is introduced to the events that led. over a period of three years, to the concept of a Community Village becoming a clearly defined action plan. Secondly it is intended to pass on experiences and guidelines that can be utilised in Meadowell and other community led projects. The layout of the report reflects these purposes and consists of two parts; 'Working Things Out On Meadowell' and 'Community Led Development: Some Guidelines and Strategy'. There are twenty two pages of appendices which include an abridged version of the five year action plan, a monitoring report and several specimens of leaflets used as part of the implementation of the action plan. The report is illustrated throughout by Jonathan Bean whose atmospheric line drawings add humour and occasionally a subtle sense of pathos.

Part One provides a detailed account, including five pages of photographs, of the history and processes of events on Meadowell. In spite of, or maybe because of, the detail, I found the style a little irritating and difficult to follow. This difficulty may have arisen from the use of a variety of techniques mixing chronological narrative, commentary and a selection of quotations, put together in a way that leads one to wonder whether the report was written to be of interest to an ill-defined or too wide an audience. When producing reports of this kind it seems necessary to decide whether the purpose is to interest funders and potential funders, be of interest to academics and professionals or to have a more general appeal. This is not to say that these groups are mutually exclusive but that it is possible to fall between two, or indeed several, stools.

However this section clearly highlight some of the potential hazards in such a scheme and how they can be overcome. For example it is too easy to talk about participation, either as a method or as a goal, and then fall into the trap of thinking that having a few meetings with local people, and giving them the opportunity to put forward their views, is the way that this can be achieved. Tony Gibson, for the Neighbourhood Initiative Foundation, has avoided this on Meadowell by emphasising that 'Alternatives to endless talk (including double talk and malicious gossip) are essential to good communication ...visually stimulating techniques make it easier for people to show each other what they mean, sorting out options and priorities, sharing out responsibilities, planning ahead'. What follows is an interesting account of two techniques, 'Now, Soon', Later and 'Planning for Real', which allow for meaningful participation in decision making and planning sessions. Also included in Part One are Examples of the Neighbourhood Talent Survey which is presented in such a way that it is accessible, produces informative results and is visually fun. Such methodology is an example to all those who undertake consultation exercises within a community setting.

Part Two of this report concentrates on guide-lines for community led projects such as Meadowell and provides step by step structure for designing a strategy for development. This section is packed full of useful information and thought provoking ideas but again is written in a way that does not flow easily. However, Tony Gibson and Meadowell have demonstrated an awareness of some of the difficulties that can arise in community development projects. The technique of 'Now, Soon, Later' is a planning tool which, not only allows anyone to participate without being deskilled by endless meetings and too much talk, but also provides a structure for clear goals and plans of action. The role of the enabler is discussed and it is clearly demonstrated that 'the more directive the enabler becomes, the less useful he or she becomes - because the whole point is to help people on the spot to make the most of what they already have - common sense, local knowledge, intuitive understanding of what makes people tick.' This is, in my view, essential for anyone working in such a project but it is also the most difficult to achieve in a setting where the temptation is to take over the initiative (usually with the best of motives).

In general the report points out a number of hazards that have to be negotiated when dealing with short-term funding and responses to available pots of money. The strains between the politics of funding and real community involvement are clearly demonstrated as is the need to work with achievable goals, that will build up, rather than with over-large schemes that are liable to fail. For anyone working with such a scheme the Five Year Plan of Action makes fascinating reading and acts as a stimulus for creativity coupled with practicality. Overall an interesting publication but definitely with a feel that a more in depth book should follow.

Bridget Gardiner *is Development Manager at Hardwick Tomorrow, a community development and regeneration project in Stockton on Tees, and part time lecturer in Criminology at Teesside University.*

Barry Krisberg and James F. Austin
'Reinventing Juvenile Justice'
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pp 209

STEVE ROGOWSKI

On initially reading this book I thought I had come across something which was going to outline a radical way forward in terms of dealing with juvenile offending or, as it now seems to be called, providing youth justice. Krisberg and Austin imply that they adopt a conflict view of society whereby the state and its institutions, in this case the juvenile justice system, operate on behalf of those with wealth and power so as to ensure social order and preserve the status quo. In short, there is continual conflict between the rulers and the ruled and this has to be mediated by the state institutions. What is more there is not, as conservatives would have us believe, some harmonious, consensual relationship between the two sides. As such the authors adopt a critical view of the development of the juvenile justice system in the U.S.A. and note that, for example, critics who advocate narrow reform measures such as diversion, decriminalisation and de-institutionalisation do not go far enough. Although such measures are to be welcomed they do not confront the relationship between the inequities in the juvenile justice system and the inequities within society as a whole. It is pointed out that correcting the inequities of the juvenile justice system will only come about from 'broad changes in society' and that the quest for juvenile justice is tied to the pursuit of social justice in general - 'the maldistribution of wealth, power and resources throughout society has to be addressed'. Agreeing with much of this I was, however, rather disappointed with the direction the book took and my initial optimism proved to be misplaced. In particular , the conclusions, the attempts to 'reinvent juvenile justice', are rather tame and surely do not go far enough, but more of this later.

Drawing on the experience of the U.S.A. but obviously having relevance to what is happening in Britain, the Blurb notes that as youth crime increases as a result of, for example, global economic transformation, weakened family, school and church, and with an inefficient juvenile justice system, this presents a doomsday scenario for troubled and troublesome young people. The book, therefore, aims to give an examination of the current state of juvenile justice for young offenders asking the question whether the current juvenile court has outlived its usefulness. It also looks at juvenile justice laws and court procedures, the influences of race and gender in dealing with young offenders, before ending with possible ways forward for the future.

Chapter one sets the scene noting that the juvenile court uses concepts such as 'compassionate care' and 'individualised treatment', and yet in reality operates as an assembly line for the disposing of cases. Conservatives attack it for being too lenient and liberals because it incarcerates too often. If it is to survive, the argument goes, it will need to be reformed.

Chapter two gives a history of the control of juvenile delinquency in the U.S.A. ranging from the control of young African slaves and North-American Indians, to the first institution - the House of Refuge in New York in 1825, the first juvenile court in Illinois in 1899, the growth of the social sciences during the early twentieth century and their influence in dealing with delinquency, to the more community/development/organisation/action projects including the War on Poverty of the 1960s. It probably goes without saying that as soon as some of these latter projects began questioning the status quo these were in effect wound up, and this, of course, happened to the community development projects in Britain in the 1970s.

The contemporary juvenile justice system in the U.S.A. is examined in Chapter three, and this includes its philosophy, various state laws and the practitioners who make up the system. It is noted that the system intervenes, often unnecessarily in young people's lives, in many cases leading to extensive abuses in the handling of children by the social control agencies. Examples are given from the U.S.A., and these bring to mind, for example, the abuses that took place under S.7vii Children and Young Person Act 1969 in Britain. S.7vii enabled the making of care orders on young offenders following the commission of, an often trivial, offence. Young people could then be sent to community homes with education for extensive periods, ostensibly for treatment and education, but in effect this amounted to being incarcerated.

Race and gender and how they affect the quality of juvenile justice are examined in chapter four. Thus, for example, African-American young males, like black young men in Britain, are increasingly being arrested and incarcerated. Also young women continue to be arrested and incarcerated for behaviour which would not trigger a similar response for young males.

Chapter five looks at the by now well known Massachusetts Experiment (though as it has been in existence for over twenty years and has been copied in other states, surely it is no longer an experiment!) Thus, Jerome Miller closed the large, inefficient training schools in the state, successfully replacing them with community-based programmes.

Finally, chapter six outlines future directions for juvenile justice and unfortunately as I indicated earlier this is the weakest part of the book. The increasing problems of poverty, unemployment, etc. affecting young people, as well as continued cutbacks in resources devoted to social welfare are rightly emphasised. This will mean more young people are going to come into contact with an already overloaded juvenile justice system and as such the juvenile court is going to face even more ferocious critics. For it to survive changes will be needed and various reforms are mentioned. The authors want a rediscovery and updating of the juvenile courts historical version in emphasising the best interests of children, true individualisation of treatment meaning a range, a continuum, of dispositional options for the court with incarceration being a last resort. Also called for is a removal of young people from gaols and for

delinquency to be seen as a public health issue meaning an exploration of environmental factors that generate delinquency. The legal rights of young people have to be protected and the 'whole child' has to be treated. All this is covered rather vaguely and briefly, but for Krisberg and Austin it amounts to reinventing juvenile justice.

But what about the 'broad changes in society' that are needed, and what about confronting the relationship between injustices in juvenile justice with those in society as a whole? Unfortunately there is little about how to achieve this in the book. Removing young people from gaols and the like is all well and good but does not address the fundamental inequalities of wealth and power in society. As the 'new criminologists' said[1] crime and delinquency are inexorably and inextricably linked to these inequalities, and this has to be faced, difficulties notwithstanding. For practitioners, for example, politicisation and consciousness rasing are possible ways forward. The work of Friere[2] and, at the risk of repetition, my much more limited attempts to develop a radical intermediate treatment practice[3] is of relevance here. Concerning the latter one should deal with young people's individual problems and difficulties but locate their solution in the wider political and economic sphere, though unfortunately this is not the place to elaborate on this.

Despite the above shortcoming, this book is informative, not least about developments in the U.S.A. and is easy to read. It may not be the radical manual that I was initially hoping for (and in any case that is perhaps too much to hope for) but it does have something to say to all those who work in or have an interest in juvenile offending and ways of dealing with it.

Steve Rogowski, *Social Worker (children and families)*

References:

(1) Taylor I., Walton P. and Young J. *The New Criminology - for a social theory of deviance.* Routledge and Kegan Paul 1973. Incidentally, although the new criminologists are positively referred to by Krisberg and Austin, this is only done via a footnote!

(2) See for example Friere P. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Penguin 1975.

(3) Rogowski S. 'Intermediate Treatment - towards a radical practice' in *Youth and Policy* No. 31 1990.

Richard W. Barker
Lone Fathers and Masculinities
Avebury 1994
ISBN 1-85628-522-7
£35.00 (hbk)
pp 281

KEITH PRINGLE

At one point in this book Richard Barker suggests that his study is designed to counter an unfortunate feature of social science: while most of it is about men, not much actually focuses on masculinity. One has to admire

Barker's intention to do something about this and it is true that he sheds some light on the important subject of lone fathers which has too often been ignored in the past. However, there are major problems with his enterprise and some of them are indicative of wider difficulties which can occur whenever men attempt to interrogate the concept of masculinity.

One might question the extent and depth of Barker's study. After all, he was using quite a small sample of lone fathers (35), all from one very specific part of England (the North East), and all of them white and relatively 'able bodied'. He does acknowledge these points himself: but such acknowledgement does not prevent him from drawing conclusions which I am not sure his evidence fully supports.

In particular, one of his main conclusions is to posit a conceptual division within his sample between those he terms patriarchs and others whom he labels gender 'pioneers'. Yet the validity of that division can be questioned given the data presented within the study itself. For instance, we find that in terms of the extent of child care assistance provided to lone fathers by ex-partners, relatives and others (almost all female, of course), the distinction between the experience of patriarchs and pioneers is not easy to make (p. 73).

Similarly, on page 180 we are told that as far as contact with ex-partners is concerned, the patriarch/pioneer divide again breaks down: the latter's contact was no more positive than the formers - in fact, it was probably more unfriendly. Barker explains this anomaly by suggesting that ex-partners might pose a threat to the parenting commitment of his gender pioneering lone fathers. This seems to be a remarkably tortuous hypothesis and I would offer a much simpler possibie explanation: that the conceptual distinction between patriarchs and pioneers is flawed.

Barker himself clearly recognises that the dichotomy cannot be sustained in any pure form since he notes in the concluding chapter that individual members of the sample expressed patriarchal views about some aspects of their lives and pioneering views about other aspects. He then conjures up a complex image of competing masculinities with each man struggling to resolve that competition within himself in the context of a patriarchal society.

I do not want to deny that social relations are often complex. However, I do want to suggest that this more complex formulation in the concluding chapter tends to rob Barker's initial dichotomy of patriarchs and pioneers of analytical value.

I also want to suggest that there may be an alternative explanation for the contradictions in the evidence thrown up by the study which undermined that dichotomy. My explanation is rooted in questions about the way male social scientists interrogate the issue of masculinity.

Feminist scholarship has clearly demonstrated the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and some of the major oppressions in our society. It is vital that male social scientists should reflect upon that relationship

and suggest ways of generating anti-oppressive practice. What is less clear is how to do all this. It seems to me that if men are to interrogate masculinity, it must always be an analysis informed by the voices of those groups whom masculinity frequently oppresses: especially women and children.

My real concern about Barker's study is that it is not sufficiently so informed. To a large extent we hear only the voices of the fathers: we do not hear the voices of their ex-partners, their current or past sexual partners, nor indeed of their children. In the conclusion Barker notes how useful it would be to hear those voices in other separate studies. My point is that any study of masculinity must itself include those voices if it is to have any hope of giving an authentic portrait of what it is to be masculine. It is not enough to simply give men a voice: the world is full of men's voices.

Let me give some examples of what I mean. We are told that: a large minority of Barker's sample had no forewarning of the break-up of their marriage from their partners (p. 57); in an overwhelming majority of the divorce cases, the unpreparedness of the children for the disruption is laid at the door of the mothers (p. 74); some of the men were now constructing a version of heterosexual relationships without the desire for patriarchal dominance (p. 191); some were better off financially as lone fathers because of their former partner's profligacy (p. 162); custody decisions in favour of fathers did not appear to be an assertion of patriarchal power on the part of the courts (p. 233).

All these observations and judgements are based on the versions of reality generated by the men in the study. Without the voices of the women and children, we can neither test the validity of these judgements nor can we add depth to an understanding of why these things might have happened as they did.

Most worrying of all, the lack of a discourse based on the voices of women and children banishes any virtually in-depth discussion of sexual abuse from this study because 'there was no indication in any of the families studied that child sexual abuse was occurring, or had occurred..' (p. 46). The question is who is telling us it did not occur? The fathers? The children? Ex-partners? Who has been asked?

Moreover, even if no sexual abuse has happened in those specific families, how can such a discussion be omitted in a major study of lone fathers when the best research on both sides of the Atlantic indicates that male perpetrators account for 90% of child sexual abuse and that perhaps 20 - 30% of children endure some form of this abuse, albeit not necessarily in families?

Looking at the study more broadly, the contradictions in the patriarch/pioneer dichotomy with which Barker grapples might also derive from his exclusive focus men's discourse without the essential contextualisation which could have been provided by women's and children's voices. Perhaps the men's discourse about themselves, rather than their actual behaviour, produced the contradictions in the evidence? And would an

alternative discourse about the men generated by their ex-partners and children actually reveal far fewer contradictions than are portrayed in the study, by giving us a more coherently patriarchal picture of them

We cannot tell from this book. For Barker has not escaped the problem of social science which he himself identified and with which I began this review: to a large extent, Barker has told us about men rather than about masculinity.

***Keith Pringle** is Senior Lecturer in Applied Social Studies, University of Sunderland.*

Peter Raynor, David Smith and Maurice Vanstone
Effective Probation Practice
Practical Social Work Series
MacMillan 1994
ISBN 0-333-5824-0
£9.99 (pbk)
pp 174

JACKIE GILCHRIST

'Effective probation Practice' is another in the now familiar format of the Practical Social Work series which attempts to place practice in a theoetial framework. The book succeeds in this aim but is perhaps not as immediately accessible as others in the series due to a discernible difference in writing styles. It is however well worth the effort. The authors of the book have attempted to cover the subject by looking at probation work issues and relating current practice to the issues rather than trying to cover all areas of practice in probation work and attempting to relate the issues to them. This means that although most of the issues raised are relevant to, for example, Pre and Post Release Supervision (P.P.R.S) the reader will not find specific references to the practice of P.P.R.S. The authors have also aimed at a permeation model of addressing anti-oppressive practice throughout the book although this is addressed specifically in chapter 5.

Although there is much to recommend the book in that it does give students and practitioners a good survey of the issues involved and how these issues have impacted on practice I see two flaws. The first can be said to be a pet hate of mine which is that issues of homophobia are seldom, if ever, dealt with in writing on probation work, In this case the authors have said in the introduction that they have little to say on the subjects of 'ageism, disablism, homophobia .... but at present there is no substantial research on how they operate within the criminal justice system which would allow us to discuss them helpfully' (p. 1). This ignores the legally hostile environment in which both Lesbian and Gay probation officers and clients of the service have to exist.

The second problem is that the authors, although discussing in detail the

issues raised by the 1991 Criminal Justice Act, do not incorporate the changes made in the 1993 amendments. This impacts on discussions in chapters 3 (Influencing Sentencers: Just Desserts and System Strategies), 4 (Consistency and Quality in Pre-Sentence Reports) and 7 (Community responses to Crime: What Role for Probation) particularly.

The above comments notwithstanding there is a lot to recommend in this book. The discussion on gatekeeeping of Pre-Sentence Reports is accurate in its comment that 'the term "gatekeeping" tends to be used for scrutiny by a senior probation officer' (p. 67). In an atmosphere of 'key performance indicators', appraisals and performance related pay, issues of gatekeeping and quality assurance will be viewed by suspicion by probation officers whose commitment to excellence is not matched by management's commitment to a really egalitarian corporate staff policy.

Having first hand knowledge of two of the groups mentioned in chapter 5 (Some Things Do Work: The New Evidence) and working in a service where there is an active anti-poverty strategy devised during the Thatcherite years when it was unfashionable or even dangerous to make links between poverty and crime. I welcomed the description of the group activities and how these were evaluated. This chapter will, I hope, inspire other officers to make the effort to have their initiatives monitored and evaluated in order that they remain part of the organisation's service rather than an individual initiative which will fade away when that particular officer moves on.

I would recommend this book to students, jaded probation officers and those in related fields who want to know why their colleagues in probation look alternately super-efficient or mega-depressed. The authors have addressed many of the issues of importance in today's probation service and in places provide useful and readable historical background to these issues.

***Jackie Gilchrist** is a Probation Officer working in Cleveland.*

Leslie Rae
Techniques of Training
Gower 1993
ISBN 0-566-07432X (pbk)
£12.95
pp 277

MALCOLM PAYNE

Many of us involved in the broad youth and community development field would, I suspect, share with me some level of suspicion about a book on training techniques whose author's main claim to fame is his past role in

the now defunct Manpower Services Commission and Training Agency. Rightly, I believe, we might question whether such a book is likely to reflect the political position which we came to expect that institution to represent: unthinking, uncritical vocationalism; the creator, or at least facilitator of what Lee[1] has referred to as 'surrogate employment' in a 'surrogate labour market'. An institution so caught up in the 'skills revolution' that it almost completely abandoned the value base inherent in the training task: people learning.

When it was first published in 1983 as *The Skills of Training*, the book had its admirers. It was (relatively) systematic; it did present a range of training techniques; it did help to put training on the agenda. It was and is aimed at the commercial and industrial training sectors but its approach is intentionally generic. By republishing in 1993, the author has sought to update by adding sections under such headings as 'team building', 'the use of new training technologies', 'more on experiential learning', 'more information about evaluation and validation'. He also attempts to acknowledge the growth of Human Resource Development approaches which have generally expanded the training role and connected it more closely with personnel and management development functions.

If you are searching for a book which is useful in practical terms, or which offers real insight into the nature of training, then I suggest that you look elsewhere: *Techniques of Training* fulfils neither of these functions. Indeed, it is actually damaging: it presents training as no more than a set of techniques - to be applied or not as appropriate: skills, knowledge and attitudes, but no explicit values. Of course the values of the book's author emerge at every turn: all trainer and all trainees it appears, are men; there is no apparent conflict between what the organisation might want, and what its staff might need; no consideration of *who* might get the benefits of training -apart from the organisation itself; no recognition that training might contribute to - or effectively deny - equal rights to those who face discrimination. Similarly, we are offered no systematic information about the potential consequences for the effectiveness of learning, of a range of factors which we know are critical: the expectation of learners or how and why people learn; equal opportunities considerations which should be considered, such as the composition of groups, gender and race dynamics, ability and disability, power; confidentiality; what training can do, and what it cannot do.

Perhaps these are unfair criticisms about a book which is about training *techniques*. But I think not. Training is not, in my view, primarily a technical task. In the words of Kerry Young[2] 'trainers are in the business of helping people to learn. People learn positively when they feel acknowledged and respected. They learn to trust when their specific needs have been taken into account, when they feel cared for, when they have been fairly treated, and when they feel recognised for who they are and all that means to them.' This does not mean that organisational or other imperatives must be ignored, but that the training task is to find the means by which the technology of learning can be drawn upon to meet what are essentially human needs.

Given my scepticism, the book addresses many of the subjects which might be expected: a brief review of how training techniques have changed; the relationship between training and management; training roles. A chapter on each of the core forms of training: lectures, self-development, on-the-job training; learning in groups. Two chapters address human relations training where Rae collects together and provides some rationale for the use of structured, semi-structured and unstructured models such as team management resource (TMR), SWOT analysis, assertiveness training, action learning and quality circles. There is a chapter each on feedback, evaluation and trainer training. A resource list at the end presents quite a wide range of texts with a brief commentary on each.

In all, it is a traditional and eclectic diet, competently assembled from the shelves of the management and human development supermarket.

No doubt Leslie Rae knows his market. The book is likely to be widely used on courses in Personnel and Human Resource Development. In doing so, it will perpetuate most of the inequalities which already exist in the efficiency-and-effectiveness-is-everything school of thought by ignoring more critical approaches to management and organisations.

1. Lee, D.J. (1990) 'Surrogate Employment, Surrogate Labour markets and the Development of Training Policies in the 80s' in : Wallace and Cross *Youth in Transition*, Falmer Press, London.

2. Young, K. (1988) *Learning to Deliver* Council for Education in Youth and Community Work (now NYA), Leicester.

***Malcolm Payne** lectures part-time on a number of courses for youth and community workers and is a freelance consultant and trainer.*

Paul Burton
Local Authorities And Children's Play
SAUS Publications 1993
ISBN 1-873575-49-1
pp 44

JIM CLARK

Paul Burton's research report based upon a limited range of case studies is both timely and useful. It is a paper which will help to bring to the attention of those who may not be so centrally involved in playwork current key issues for debate. It highlights what playworkers and local authorities in England, Wales and Scotland are trying to achieve through a range of differing models of practice and development activities. It gives the reader easy access to key concepts, practice and ideas from the playwork field.

We are given a brief, but well-structured, review of the development of play provision and the positive achievements of playworkers. The way that playworkers have taken and continue to take their role seriously is reflected in the mentioning of their organisation of networks and training materials, specially designed for playworkers, to enable them to continue their personal and professional development.

The author sets out what he believes the role and responsibilities of the local authorities could/should be in relation to play provision, providing examples of practice through the section on case studies and setting this within the context of the new Local Government Acts and the Children's Act. The case studies element gives an insight into the state of play across areas of the country, both the good and the less satisfactory.

Overall, this is a well-structured working paper, illustrating different approaches to play provision and the support given to the development of play policies. In doing so Burton shows good practice, whilst highlighting for us the unevenness of provision which must be a key issue for all of us involved in the field of meeting children's needs. It usefully highlights the relationship between policy and practice but at the same time acknowledges in the conclusion that good policy does not always equate with good practice and vice versa. It is a paper that will stimulate debate and discussion, if read by those who need to read it. Any paper that, in the current climate, creates such debate is useful in the continuing struggle for coherent and well-thought out play provision that helps to 'create a climate where there is a coming together of services for children where their needs can be met in a holistic way, not fragmented as has been the case historically' (p. iv) has to be useful.

This paper will be of use to more than just local government officers. For workers in the field, trainers and their students alike this is a useful resource.

Jim Clark *works in the Department of Education Studies at the University of Northumbria, Newcastle upon Tyne.*

Fiona Earle, Alan Dearling, Helen Whittle, Roddy Glasse and Gubby
A Time To Travel?: An Introduction To Britain's Newer Travellers
Enabler Publications 1994
ISBN 0-9523316-08
£7.99 (pbk)
pp 178

KEVIN HETHERINGTON

This book is written by Travellers and their sympathizers for a lay audience. The book also purports to be an authentic voice of those involved and not, by implication, an inauthentic account produced by academics, as the quote on the front cover reveals:

> *This is not an academic book, or a research study. It is the words and opinions of Travellers themselves, punctuated by photographs, pen and ink drawings, poems and songs from the 'road'.*

As an academic who has researched with and written about so called New Age Travellers, I am probably not the sort of person for whom this book is intended - the butterfly collector who seeks out, labels and displays his exotic collection for an expert audience to ponder over-apparently. Those reading this journal also are not the target audience for such a book. Such publications as this, like the fanzines and small press publications found amongst youth subcultures and new social movements seek not to offer an analysis of what they are doing but promote themselves by trying to convey the enthusiasm that they have for their lifestyle. This book seeks to justify and defend the Traveller way of life by giving a positive account of the day to day things that Travellers do and why they do them. Its audience is an idealised open minded public that wants to be informed about something that is usually presented to them as an exotic and dangerous phenomenon. The book seeks to dispel myths about Travellers and give an account that seeks to normalize their way of life. The book would be useful to the ever increasing number of students setting out to do a dissertation or thesis on New Age Travellers. In fact, such a student audience is probably the closest approximation of the ideal that the authors seem intent on reaching. One suspects that most of the audience for this book is likely to be those already sympathetic to the Travellers' cause and their way of life.

As a small press publication this is a well produced account of Britain's newer travellers. The book starts by situating the origins of the Traveller lifestyle in the 1970s counter culture and its association with free festivals, notably early festivals at Stonehenge between 1974 and 1985 and the original Glastonbury festival. The next chapter deals with the key events that have occurred from 1985 to date. The following chapters offer an account of why people take to the road, their life on the road and the various aspects of daily life ranging from vehicles, sources of income, patterns of travel and so on. The only notable omission here is that there is nothing on divisions of labour, especially their gendering. It would be

interesting to know whether the gender division of labour in 'straight' society is being replicated or challenged by Travellers.

The following two chapters consider issues of welfare and education. The book suggests that Travellers are interested in combining elements of state provision in terms of such things as education, health services and welfare with their own forms of communal support and recognised alternatives. The book then goes on to discuss the impact of existing and future legislation, notably the Criminal Justice Bill on Travellers and how they have coped or not coped in the past and their hopes and fears for the future. The conclusion is largely upbeat suggesting that the Traveller way of life will survive state attempts to stamp it out because it is an adaptive and ever changing lifestyle that will alter to find the best ways of coping with new situations.

Without wishing to provide the sort of detached analysis that has no bearing on the Travellers is the time ' own experiences I will say that there were two things that struck me as I was reading this book. Firstly, my previous reading and interviews amongst Travellers had revealed how their way of life is sustained through a distinct process of narration. Key events and stories about significant places are continually retold by Travellers in all accounts of their way of life as here in the first couple of chapters. The consequence is that new information or analysis is not given (except to those who know very little) but a confirmation and reiteration of existing and pre-established facts, a common feature of oral histories, is provided locating the teller of the narrative within the account - as witnessed by the quotes and interjections by Travellers found throughout the book. Secondly, it is the normality and everydayness of this way of life that is described here. There is, for example, no attempt to describe the sorts of syncretist rituals that were performed by some Travellers at gatherings and festivals at sacred sites, but there are short sections on dental care, disposal of excrement and watching 'Neighbours' on battery powered televisions. Such emphasis on everydayness is most likely intended as a means of dispelling myths about the 'exoticness' by which Travellers perceive themselves to be perceived. While this is informative, a little more on the *difference* of this way of life and its obvious appeal to those who become Travellers would have been useful and interesting as there is a difference between living on the margins, either by choice or necessity, and being marginalised. As it stands, the book brings together views and opinions found in many existing small press publications, offering also a detailed small press bibliography and list of contact addresses. It would be a useful starting point for anyone wishing to research among Travellers but it is not an academic book which is a pity in some ways, as it would have been informative if Travellers had attempted to give their analysis of what they do and why they do it rather than leave it up to us academics to get it all wrong.

Kevin Hetherington *is a Lecturer in Sociology in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Keele University.*

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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.

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