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SCOTLAND AND DEMOCRATIC RENEWAL

LYN TETT

Editorial Introduction

This special issue of Youth and Policy is unusual in that it focuses on a country rather than a social issue. The focus on Scotland arises from the vote, in September 1997, in a Referendum on devolution endorsing a proposal for a Scottish Parliament (74.3% support) with tax varying powers (63.5% support). This was part of the process of democratic renewal in Scotland that has to be understood in relation to the experience of a democratic deficit. Since the mid-1950s Scotland has been developing a distinct political identity as the voting patterns of the Scottish electorate began to drift apart from British trends (see McCrone, 1992). During the 1980s and 1990s this pattern reached a peak as the dominant politics of the rest of the UK resulted in a highly visible democratic deficit as Scotland consistently voted against the party in power at Westminster. As Martin (1999: 15) argues, the experience of a democratic deficit in relation to Conservative politics was also an expression of something else - a more positive image of an 'imagined community' with an egalitarian tradition. The vote for tax varying powers in the Referendum underlines the point that Scots were prepared to go against the grain of narrow, economic self-interest in order to build the type of society they aspire to live in.

With the advent of the Scottish parliament, existing differences from the rest of the UK in relation to youth policy have the potential to become even greater. Historically, Scotland has always maintained a significant degree of civic and cultural autonomy which has infused an important tradition of civic politics (see Brown, McCrone and Paterson, 1996). The national question in Scottish politics has been predominantly civic, rather than ethnic, seeking to build on a well established civil society which had grown incrementally over two centuries. The process of democratic renewal in Scotland has not been based on a narrow 'blood and soil' nationalism that has characterised the experiences of nation-state reformation in some parts of Eastern Europe. Despite assertions of Scottish identity with the kitsch of the kailyard, Rob Roy, Braveheart, tartan and heather - a mythological cultural heritage which has resonated with narrow forms of nationalist politics and the commodification of Scottish culture, on the whole these have had little widespread political resonance. Scottish politics has developed a high level of sensitivity to naive expressions of ethnicity as a differentiating factor in determining Scottish political identity. Despite its position of incorporation Scotland has, nevertheless, retained its own resilient cultures that have contributed to the formation of a new political settlement.

In the current context it is necessary to guard against having 'expectations too high and too low', as Martin (1999: 19) points out. As Gramsci advised, both 'optimism of the will' and 'pessimism of the intellect' is needed in order to maximise real and significant possibilities for social change. The process of democratic renewal opens a window of opportunity to create a more genuinely inclusive, egalitarian and democratic society that can generate solidarities out of differences rather than subsuming them. However, much will depend on what is made of this process. As Martin (op. cit.) goes on to say:

*What is needed now, therefore, is to construct a new kind of politics by assimilating some of the social and cultural capital generated in the politics of Scottish civil society back into the politics of the state - at all levels (local, regional, national and super-national)...Perhaps the crucial point is that the new politics of the state needs to be constructed in ways which strengthen civil society and political life **outside** the state. Indeed, the democratic state must learn how to foster the civic autonomy of communities - rather than seek, as all too often in the past, to co-opt and incorporate them. This is as much an educational as a political task.*

With the establishment of the Scottish Parliament there have been changes in the way in which the providers of youth work in Scotland are expected to set their priorities. The focus of a number of government reports (SOEID, 1998; Scottish Executive, 1999) has been on lifelong learning, active citizenship and social inclusion and the importance of collaboration with other agencies has been emphasised. The sense of a new start brought about by the end of the democratic deficit is reflected in the following quote from the Scottish executive.

Too many Scots are excluded... from full participation in society. Those of us who benefit from the opportunities of life in modern Scotland have a duty to seek to extend similar opportunities to those who do not. Social exclusion is unacceptable in human terms; it is also wasteful, costly and carries risks in the long term for our social cohesion and well being. This Government is determined to take action to tackle exclusion, and to develop policies which will promote a more inclusive, cohesive and ultimately sustainable society. (Scottish Office, 1998a: 1)

It is against this political policy context that the writers in this issue seek, in a diversity of ways, to consider the issues raised by the new Scottish context but also to address issues that are universal. John Bamber critically analyses dominant ideas about managing youth work in Scotland where, he suggests, the face to face practitioners of yesteryear have become the managers of facilities. He considers how two recent

reports on community education might lead to the release of highly trained professional workers into people centred development through favouring human agency in youth work. Fred Cartmel reports on the factors effecting long term unemployment which include family characteristics such as father's and mother's unemployment, educational background and labour market histories. He illustrates how young people are socially excluded through disadvantaged labour market conditions and argues that the social structure is to blame for the majority of young people's unemployment. Government training schemes, however, are based upon a deficiency model that assumes that young people lack the basic skills necessary for employment. He suggests that young people who are unemployed require their surroundings to change if they are going to be able to move from their disadvantaged position. Ken McCulloch argues the effective enfranchisement of young people will be a key element of the new civil society in Scotland. He outlines a typology of approaches to citizenship education, relating educational approaches to ideological stances and the associated understandings of citizenship. A case study of detached youth work is used to exemplify a social action approach, and he argues that such work has a vital role in enabling the least articulate and privileged young people to find a voice within their own communities. Ted Milburn continues this discussion of participation in civic society by reviewing how young people perceive conventional forms of politics and political activity and considers other ways of encouraging young people's involvement in decision making. In particular he looks at the development of youth councils and youth forums throughout Scotland and their connection to the establishment of a Scottish Youth Parliament. Lyn Tett takes a different aspect of policy by examining the limits and possibilities for partnerships between youth workers and schoolteachers in order to see if collaborative initiatives can address the Scottish Parliament's social exclusion agenda. She suggests that partnerships are potentially valuable if people are realistic about their possibilities and constraints. In particular account has to be taken of the difficulties of collaboration that arise from competing and divisive approaches to purpose, values, tasks and conditions. The final contribution from Sarah Loeb provides an example of how youth workers can actively confront and engage with pornography as a way of enabling young people to address imbalances of power and their damaging consequences.

In putting this volume together I would like to thank the independent referees for their critical comments on each paper. I would also like to thank Jean Spence for helping to keep me calm and my students for managing during the times when much of my attention was on getting this completed.

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MANAGING YOUTH WORK IN SCOTLAND

A Diversionary Tale

JOHN BAMBER

There is no doubt that many community educators are currently being under-utilised and silted up with tasks that others could take on, such as the administration of buildings, lettings and grants. As trained educators they have more to offer local communities and Councils in realising key learning and development agendas. This is not to make unrealistic claims about what community educators can deliver, but it is a call to focus their contribution upon that which they are better equipped to realise i.e. people centred development.

(Paragraph 2.8, Promoting Learning - Developing Communities)

This article critically analyses dominant ideas about managing youth work in Scotland. Because youth work has traditionally rested on a partnership between local authorities and voluntary organisations, it touches upon the governance and management of youth work in both sectors. In local authorities it focuses upon project and unit level practitioners who are now more likely to manage sessional staff and volunteers, run buildings and centres, train and develop staff, or inspect and support voluntary agencies, than work directly with young people. In voluntary organisations, the article focuses upon co-ordinators and project leaders whose work parallels that of their public sector colleagues, but often with additional fund-raising and strategic planning responsibilities. In short, the face to face practitioners of yesteryear have become the managers of youth work today.

The argument is that the trend away from direct contact with young people, though hardly new in youth work, is exacerbated by the currently dominant management practices associated with New Public Management (NPM). Far from securing good value for money, the trend will frustrate the recent policy initiatives concerning lifelong learning, social exclusion and active citizenship, because the realisation of these initiatives requires the face to face commitment of highly trained professional educators. If professional youth workers are to return to what used to be their primary task, senior managers and the policy makers to whom they are ultimately accountable, will need to radically overhaul the highly formalised procedures so characteristic of NPM. Whilst there are positive aspects to NPM, there is a need for credible counter-balancing approaches which stress human agency over hierarchical and paper-based systems. This article points towards a management paradigm, which, in freeing up professional workers to concentrate on their primary educational role, is more consistent with the conditions, tasks and purposes of youth work.

To locate the discussion in the current policy context, reference is made to four key documents:

- *Head and Heart - The Report of the Commission into the Future of the Voluntary Sector in Scotland (Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations: 1997)*
- *Promoting Learning: Developing Communities (Convention of Scottish Local Authorities: 1998)*
- *Communities: Change Through Learning, otherwise known as the Osler Report (Scottish Office Education and Industry Department: 1998)*
- *Circular No 4/99; which provided guidance for local authorities on provision for community education (Scottish Office Education and Industry Department)*

Analysis concentrates on the last of these, however, since it constitutes both a summary and a development of the previous COSLA and Scottish Office reports. A key question is the extent to which these policy documents can provide a platform to counter the negative effects of NPM. Before turning to this, however, it is necessary to explain something about the nature and influence of NPM.

The Nature and Influence of New Public Management

Many of the difficulties encountered by youth work managers, in both public and voluntary sectors, come not from personal or organisational failings but from financial imperatives to reduce public expenditure. According to the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA), for example, around 120 full-time and 1,000 part-time posts across Scotland have been lost since local government reorganisation in 1995 (1998: 2.9 and 2.11). The moves to reduce public expenditure have been closely associated with the rise of New Public Management (NPM) in the United Kingdom as a whole. Lane (1999), and Dawson and Dargie (1999) have sought to explain NPM as a response to the alleged inefficiencies in formal hierarchies, or bureaucracies, in the delivery of public services.

Lane's (1999) theoretical treatment of 'contractualism' has considerable explanatory power since it accounts for a number of prominent features in the 'landscape' of public sector governance and management today. Within the scope of this paper, however, it is necessary to limit attention to his central point that NPM places the contract, a private sector mechanism, at the centre of public governance and not traditional authority, or tiered bureaucracy. He states that, 'A contract is the legal outcome of a process of negotiation or bargaining, which may terminate in an exchange between two parties' (1999:181). In theory, 'In a pure public contracting regime, government simply acquires through ordinary civil law contracts the services that it provides the population with. There is no bureaucracy, no public enterprises,

because there exists only a set of contracts according to which the public provision of services is forthcoming and these contracts are enforceable with ordinary civil law courts' (ibid: 181).

The point about enforceability is central. Should things go wrong, or not get done, then the purchaser can legally enforce compliance or seek recompense for default. This is why close specification of what needs to be done is crucial. Once the logic is accepted, contractors resort to greater specification in their efforts to ensure the achievement of centrally determined policy objectives. If this is the case, there is a certain irony in the fact that, as Stewart (1990) has noted, the rhetoric against bureaucracy in favour of innovation and flexibility finds expression in forms of contracting, which exacerbate top-down, bureaucratic, paper and systems-based forms of governance and management. In the end, a bureaucracy of contract has replaced a bureaucracy of hierarchy, which similarly limits innovation and flexibility.

Dawson and Dargie's work (1999:1) extends the analysis by fore-grounding the ideological dimensions of NPM:

The core of the ideology which can be discerned as influential in the development of public sector reform programmes in the 1980s and 1990s is that public sector provision was inefficient and often ineffective: that it led to neither cost containment, nor quality improvement; that it opened the way to undue influence for employees (whether they were protected by virtue of their membership of professional associations or mass trade unions); and that if unchecked, it would see unacceptable growth in tax bills, an increasingly dissatisfied electorate, and declining standards of public service.

Dawson and Dargie (1999:3) aver that the introduction of these practices drew on two competing conceptual frameworks. One, 'Neo-Taylorism', or *formalisation* included attempts to manage professionals, and introduce performance measures along with incentive reward systems (see Mullins: 1993: 36-40, for a useful account of Taylorism). The other, *marketisation* led to an emphasis on decentralisation and competition, which was in tension with the centralising control tendencies encouraged in the former. Arguably this has led to a fault line in both the state's own activities and its dealings with the voluntary sector. Too much emphasis on formalisation can result in a stultifyingly bureaucratic operating environment in local authorities, which restricts the freedom of movement for managers and practitioners at all levels. Where this mode of management holds sway there is a tendency for it to be passed on to voluntary organisations in terms of required forms of practice with similarly debilitating results. As Taylor (1997:19) has warned with reference to her own review of research into small voluntary organisations:

Several of the studies caution against voluntary organisations recreating themselves in the image of their statutory purchasers or the more successful competitors in the voluntary sector and losing the very qualities which they are supposed to bring to the mainstream of welfare – what one voluntary sector director called cultural take-over by stealth’.

Too much emphasis on marketisation, as in contracting out services to successful ‘bidders’, on the other hand, can lead to SVOs being treated as businesses ‘trading’ in an open market. Effectively the result of formalisation and marketisation is the same in that if left unchecked they can divert both public and voluntary sector organisations away from their own chosen operating styles and social purposes. It is valuable therefore, to examine the potential consequences of this tendency for the management of youth work in Scotland.

Diverting Youth Workers Away From Face to Face Work

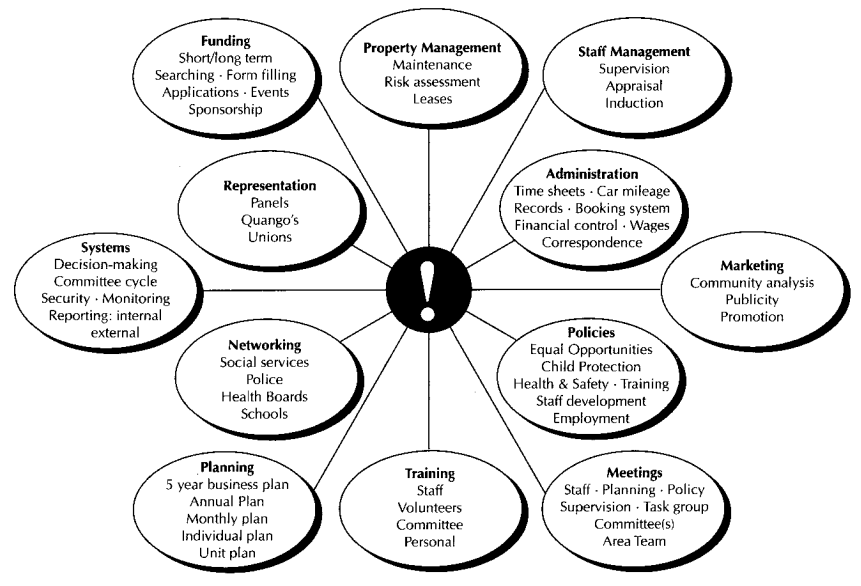
Managers of youth work organisations, in both public and voluntary sectors, are now subject to increasing demands to show, mostly on paper, that they are meeting specified requirements in terms of how organisations are run as well as what they achieve. Against a background in which local authorities are seeking to pass costs on to other providers, they find themselves being asked to ‘improve’ services whilst budgets and grants are reducing. The derivation of the pressures can be clearly seen, for example, in Edinburgh City Council’s, Edinburgh 2000 document (1997) which states that, ‘Spending will be reduced, through greater efficiency, alternative approaches to service delivery and service reductions.’ To meet the shortfall, council departments are expected to become more efficient and SVOs are expected to become more business-like in attracting additional sources of funding from hitherto untapped sources, including generating income from their own ‘trading’ activities. In this scenario, marketisation is apparently the answer. At the same time, however, administrative functions have come to be privileged over a more professional focus as key staff spend more time on such activities as managing accounts and systems, writing reports and lengthy application forms to secure funding, than on their own service activities. In this scenario, formalisation is apparently the answer. It is important to appreciate that formalisation and marketisation can divert managers from concentrating on the fundamental educational task at the heart of youth work.

Observation of Scottish voluntary sector managers (Bamber: 1999), for example, reflects Rochester et al’s (1999) central concern that small voluntary organisations should not be seen, as it were, as ‘little big ones’. In small organisations, managers are severely constrained in terms of the time available to accomplish their goals. Unlike middle managers in local authorities, they are often responsible for all the

key functions of an organisation including: employment, finance, personnel, training, fund-raising, writing grant applications, bidding for contracts, supervision and support, building maintenance, strategic planning, policy development, marketing, administration, networking, reporting to a board of directors and so on. This is by no means an exhaustive list. Delegation is rarely a realistic option since they do not sit on top of a hierarchy from which to direct others. They are also centrally involved in service delivery and without their involvement the service is diminished. The last thing that SVOs need, therefore, is an increase in activities, which divert their key staff away from essential, front-line work. Yet this is precisely what appears to be happening. The problem, as described above, is compounded when the imperatives of fund-raising, quality control and target setting, are both time-consuming and pulling managers in competing, sometimes contradictory, directions.

The effects of NPM on how managers spend their time in youth work organisations can now be elaborated with reference to Figure 1 - The Nightmare Scenario. The absence of any face to face work is a notable feature of what, on the basis of my own research, many practitioners will recognise as part of their daily reality.

Figure 1 The Nightmare Scenario for Youth Work Managers



The central point is that uncritically imposing NPM practices threatens to destroy youth work's remit to operate in pursuit of educational goals which are, to a significant extent, defined in voluntary association with young people. Stewart's (1992:26)

warning concerning developments in the public sector, therefore, can be extended to the voluntary sector. 'There are dangers, but the dangers lie not in an emphasis on management but in the models on which it is being built.' For, 'The unthinking adoption of the private sector model prevents the development of an approach to management in the public services based on their distinctive purposes, conditions and tasks' (Ibid: 27). The difference, ironically, is that the public sector is in danger of imposing its own 'unthinkingly adopted' practices onto the voluntary sector. The argument now turns to a brief elaboration of the nature of youth work since it is not possible to consider appropriate forms of management and governance without understanding its distinctive character.

The Distinctive Conditions, Tasks and Purposes of Youth Work

Youth work is a contested field of activity in the sense that there are different and competing views as to its fundamental purposes and nature (Murphy: 1999). The scope of the debate, however, is well charted. Perhaps the most intellectually cogent statement of its terms was made some time ago by Butters and Newell (1978) when they traced three major approaches to the work in terms of: character-building, the social education repertoire and self-emancipation. Their achievement was to define the areas so accurately but, as I have argued elsewhere (Bamber and Murphy: 1999), their weakness was to draw such clear-cut and pejorative distinctions between them. Whilst it is possible to paint the character-building approach as reactionary, for example, it is neither useful nor necessary to reject the emphasis on moral and personal development associated with it. Similarly, although the self-emancipatory approach can be linked with radical intent, suggesting that it should be the favoured youth work approach owes more to the authors' own ideological and theoretical convictions than to any clear consensus in youth work or to the felt needs of many young people themselves. A different way of conceptualising the matter, as Williamson (1995:12) has stated, is to appreciate that, '...there is a developmental process in all youth work practice, starting with a focus on the individual, evolving into group formation, consolidation and growth, and perhaps culminating in the group effecting change for itself in one way or another.' In my experience there may well be no such end point without the formative, personal development stage. A crucial question concerns the extent to which this beginning, however, opens up the possibility of the later phase. This is a more inclusive and holistic approach, which valorises the contributions made by the wide range of organisations that make up the field of youth work today. Describing this process helps to clarify the distinctive conditions, tasks and purposes of the work.

Conditions

Youth work needs to be flexible to fit with the varied circumstances and requirements of young people. It must be responsive to felt need or run the risk of seeming

irrelevant to the concerns and wishes of the young people themselves. It should also be imaginative and attractive if it is to successfully compete for attention amidst the high tech, instant gratifiers, of today. Workers must demonstrate their long-term commitment to young people, some of whom are disillusioned with society and some of whom have been rejected and marginalised by society. If it is not to be seen as another agency of the state seeking to martial and control young people, however benevolent the intention, young people need to feel that it is, in some important sense, theirs. To achieve this, the work needs to be genuinely participative in taking heed of and acting upon young people's wishes and concerns. It also means that the engagement of young people should be voluntary. In the end they should be able to take it or leave it. Coercion, in any form, cannot be part of mainstream youth work. Youth workers then can only carry limited forms of authority. If the engagement and participation of young people cannot be assured, neither can the ultimate outcomes of the work. What young people learn and take from this engagement is, in some important sense, unpredictable. Though it is possible to state the broad goals and likely learning, the actual outcome can never be guaranteed. The positive side to this is that learning often exceeds the boundaries of any particular curriculum. These conditions set the parameters for the distinctive tasks of youth work.

Tasks

A fundamental task for youth workers is to ensure that programmes and activities are enjoyable if they are to be attractive. Alternatively, those in adverse circumstances are not likely to engage unless they can see concrete and immediate gains in terms of alleviating their difficulties. Another task is to make provision developmental since young people come with a range of previous experience, needs and abilities. The task here is to provide a 'ladder of opportunity' which may begin with relatively undemanding but enjoyable leisure activities, through to opportunities which engage young people in high level analysis of current social issues, and beyond this to demanding forms of engagement in social change activities. Whilst leisure and activity based provision can be met by part-time and sessional workers in the typical one or two night per week youth club or group, the engagement in more demanding educational work requires a full-time, or equivalent, professional commitment. This is because of the need for intense contact with young people over an extended period, requiring careful planning, preparation of materials and organisation of structured experiences, and high levels of skill in working, usually, with small groups. It requires knowledge of social structures and policy as much as a deep understanding of educational theory and methodology. A central task of work at all levels, however, is to connect the interests and felt needs of young people with a broad curriculum which enables an ever deepening inquiry into aspects

of themselves within the social order. To these tasks the increasing requirement to work in cross-disciplinary settings, can also be added.

Purpose

The full extent of the educational purpose of youth work is revealed in the developmental process outlined under tasks. The curriculum arises out of youth work's commitment to certain fundamental values such as justice, equality and democracy and the engagement with young people, in particular social circumstances, to undertake a joint inquiry into aspects of the social order which support or negate the realisation of such values. This is where youth work has prefigured the new policy environment of tackling social exclusion, encouraging lifelong learning and promoting active citizenship. Yet just when its time has come, as Williamson (1998) warns, there is a danger of over-emphasising youth work as a means of delivering 'capable' young people into the worlds of work and training, and other such current social agendas concerning housing, drugs or health education. Youth workers can contribute to the work of other agencies in cross-disciplinary settings, since there are certain aspects of the methodology and process, which are transferable. What may be described as mainstream youth work, however, has its own distinctive purpose, which is to engage with young people in situations and on terms with which they feel comfortable. This is why voluntary association and the informal approach are so fundamental and cannot be separated from mainstream youth work.

This brief account gives some indication as to the nature and style of youth work. At root is an informal educational process concerned with deepening young peoples' understanding of the social order and of their capacity to be active within it. If this is what is needed, then management's role is to ensure that it is done to the highest level of quality within a given set of resources. Fundamentally, it entails the engagement of professional workers with young people. It is appropriate to consider the extent to which changes in the policy context, therefore, are seeking to address the tendency of NPM to draw workers away from this process.

The New Policy Context - a Platform for Management Change?

Head and Heart (SCVO: 1997) set out to provide the Scottish Office, Local Authorities, and the new Scottish Parliament with a basic framework for thinking about the future development of the Voluntary Sector. The report unequivocally stated that, 'the *increasing complexity of management* (my emphasis) in the voluntary sector means that it is no longer a task that volunteers and management committees can be expected to perform without training and support' (8.2.10 and 11). But why should the 'increasing complexity of management' be accepted as a given? On analysis it turns out to be a human construct and can, therefore, be unmade. The managers in my own research (Bamber: 1999) argue that there has been a failure to address the

peculiar needs of the small organisations that comprise the vast majority of the sector (85% of voluntary organisations have an income of less than £100,000 and 65% have an income of less than £25,000 (3.2.3)). This happens because ideas in the report are bound together within a taken-for-granted discourse about management practice, summed up succinctly in the following quote, 'The sector must try to achieve professional standards of management, to ensure accountability, evaluation, openness and best practice' (1.8.2). So dominant is this view, and so uncritically is it accepted, that it has acquired hegemonic force in becoming the 'common-sense' of our time. Who would argue with the need for such obviously sensible practices as the need to ensure accountability or best practice? The problem lies in what it now means to be 'professional', as has been illustrated above in Figure 1, since this effectively determines how the practices are interpreted. Head and Heart itself is heavily influenced by NPM, at one point leaning towards formalisation and at others towards marketisation.

Concerning local authority provision, Scottish Office Circular No 4/99 takes the findings of the 1998 Osler and COSLA Reports further by requiring (5.3) that, 'Each local authority should, in consultation with key partners including community representatives, prepare and publish an authority-wide strategic plan for the development of community learning.' The community education provider may be responsible for a significant part of the Strategy but will have to work in consultation with other council services, voluntary organisations and others (5.5). The first strategies should be sent to The Scottish Office by 31 March 2000 and every three years thereafter. Within the strategies, 'Authorities should describe clearly the principles which govern the development of Community Learning Plans and the decision-making procedures which the execution of the plans will require. These principles should promote community involvement, partnership and educational innovation. Decision-making should be open and fair, and should stimulate a feeling of shared ownership' (5.11).

The Circular notes (3.1) that, 'The context for the development of community learning has never been more positive and the Government expects a strong commitment to it from local authorities.' It is also clear (4.1) that by community learning it largely means informal learning opportunities. It pointedly refers to the recently published Social Inclusion strategy document '*Social Inclusion - opening the door to a better Scotland*', which states that 'the benefits of action to promote inclusion will only be sustainable if they enable individuals and communities to take up new opportunities, and to take control of their own situations' (3.2). The emphasis on participation is reinforced (5.16) by the need for, 'Authorities (to) establish systematic ways of taking into account the views of participants...

Reaching and involving non-participants will be essential. The audit and planning process should stimulate communities by extending their awareness and possibilities of needs.' Furthermore, it states (4.2) that, 'People should be well equipped to play an active role in civic life and voluntary organisations and to work as volunteers; but if they are to do so their needs for learning must be clearly identified.' Concerning youth work specifically it pronounces (4.2) that work with young people is one of four areas said to be at the heart of community learning. It requires,

...engagement with young people to help them experience positive personal development - whether they are of school age or beyond. This applies particularly to those at the transition stages who are, or who are at risk of becoming, alienated from society, whose educational experience has left them dissatisfied or whose lifestyle makes them vulnerable.

The main point concerning the Circular's views and recommendations is that the emphasis on active citizenship, participation, the identification of learning needs, and the provision of appropriate and innovative learning opportunities for those 'at risk' or alienated, entails the commitment of highly trained, professional educators. Of course, young people may progress towards active participation by moving up the 'ladder of opportunity' to which I have referred above. All aspects of provision will play a part and youth work depends, perhaps uniquely, on the contribution of part-time, sessional and voluntary workers to sustain its broad provision. But the conclusion is inescapable that involvement at the more demanding end of the 'ladder', requires intense contact with young people over an extended period, involving careful planning, preparation of materials and organisation of structured experiences, and high levels of skill in working, usually, with small groups. As previously acknowledged, it requires knowledge of social structure and policy as much as a deep understanding of educational theory and methodology. To these tasks others can also be added, 'Community education must continue to develop as a discipline so that skills are available to meet new demands, including the need to work co-operatively with other disciplines' (5.23).

Encouragingly, the COSLA report (2.19) detected movement in some local authorities towards the release of professional workers from facility management. If this process is not enhanced significantly, however, the full intentions of the recent policy initiatives will not be met. It is the prime task of policy makers and senior managers to ensure that this sea change occurs. The question then becomes what needs to be done to bring this about? Whilst COSLA is clear about the need, neither it nor the other policy documents directly address the fundamental issue of management style and approach. Indeed the stress on target setting in the Osler Report (6.2 and

6.9), whilst understandable in the present climate, is worrying if this aspect of the work is allowed to get out of hand. Yet the new policy environment clearly presents the opportunity to raise fresh questions about the impact of management on practice. At the very least, it provides a new platform for debate. It should be possible, therefore, to raise the subject higher up the policy-making agenda. It is crucial for this subject to be considered in the process of developing the new Community Learning Strategies. There is also the opportunity to think afresh when authorities, or voluntary organisations, are undertaking strategic organisational reviews, as is the case with Edinburgh City Council at the time of writing. None of this activity will achieve the desired results, however, if those involved are unable to break out of the 'common-sense' of management thinking in our time. It is necessary to appreciate, therefore, that there are alternative conceptions of management, which can be more consistent with the distinctive purposes, conditions and tasks of youth work. One such approach, it is suggested here, would favour 'human agency'

Favouring Human Agency in Youth Work

The recent research conducted by Rochester et al (1999) is useful in helping to illustrate the parameters of such an alternative. Based, as they state (1999:6), on the 'messiness' of real life organisations, as opposed to models of the perfect agency found in organisation manuals, it sought to identify the key themes and issues for SVOs in managing efficiently and effectively. Table 1 draws something from their analysis in contrasting aspects of NPM, incorporating the formal and market approaches, with those of a putative alternative management practice stressing 'human agency'.

Table 1 Comparing Aspects of NPM and Human Agency

Aspects of NPM	Aspects of Human Agency
Boundary setting · Authority and responsibility	Creative individuals · Creating 'helpful' work environment
Clearly defined roles · Clear accountability	Giving workers scope · Trusting relationships
Procedures and policies · Routines and standards	Equality of status amongst peers
Staff supervision · Delegation · Mission statements	Commitment to common purpose · Concentration on core business
Quality standards · Monitoring and evaluation	Focus on face to face work · 'Missionary' zeal
Workplace model for volunteers	Sense of vocation · Flexibility and opportunism
Business like governance · Planned cycle of meetings	Volunteers as active members · Multi-tasking
Staff training · Financial control systems	Communication skills · Minimal job descriptions
Fund-raising strategies · Planning tools	Organisational niche · Broad aims · Intuition
Development through planning	Development through discussion
Marketing · Strategic collaboration	Informal networks · Ad hoc collaboration

The choice is not necessarily about one or the other. It is a reasonable supposition that as organisations come into existence and develop over time, especially if they become larger during the process, that there is a corresponding need for a change

in style. At the beginning they might be open and entrepreneurial whilst later they may need to become more stable and formal. Similarly, different situations and circumstances require the capacity for a range of responses. As Maranville (1999) shows, in an interesting analysis of performance in American voluntary organisations, those that lack a 'requisite variety of strategic modes' are unlikely to be the most effective. The problems caused by an excessively informal approach have been well documented in the voluntary sector (see Landry et al: 1991) and need no repeating here. In the end it is a question, as Rochester et al posit, of finding the right balance.

But balance, in this sense, does not mean giving equal or the same emphasis to both approaches. Balance ought to mean adopting the strategy, which on the whole is best for securing the organisation's objectives. What may be appropriate, on balance, for some organisations may for others be inappropriate. SVOs have few staff and resources upon which they can draw, and in such circumstances their effort needs to be focused primarily on delivering the services or undertaking their core activities. Whilst SVOs may exhibit some characteristics of formal bureaucracies or private sector businesses, it should be self-evident that they are distinct from both of these organisational types. To over-emphasise the former is to stifle their flexibility and freedom to operate. To over-emphasise the latter, is to cast them adrift in a competitive market to which, rightly, they are unsuited. If local authorities are serious about the need to extend democracy (see Edinburgh City Council's consultation document, Edinburgh 2000, para.5.9, p19, for example), then the time has come to think differently about managing youth work.

Conclusion

If the worst excesses of the 'nightmare scenario' are to be avoided, there needs to be a reduced commitment to the dictates of new public management. The fundamental principle at stake here is that youth workers engage with people, not inanimate objects, who turn out to have minds of their own! In the end, it is neither desirable nor possible to be too specific about processes and outcomes in such developmental work. The over specification of work arising from the inherent logic of contract (Lane: 1999) cuts against the reality of the emergent strategy that should arise out of the 'unpredictable' agenda building with young people.

The central question remains, therefore, as to whether the wholesale imposition of the dominant paradigm is actually to the benefit of youth work organisations in Scotland. In the end its particular emphases, competing tendencies and potential contradictions may well be to the detriment of their distinctive tasks and purposes. In the words of Wilson, 'Anything, which distracts a group from the role they have decided to take, is co-option to someone else's agenda' (cited in Taylor: 1997: 27).

There is a need to construct a counter discourse which can, as Martin says, 'help us to become more strategic about our visions and more visionary about our strategies' (1999:6). The aim of this argument, therefore, in pointing tentatively towards a different view based on the idea of 'human agency', has been to explore the negative effects of NPM within the current discourse because:

The danger is that as they do their work in us, so we come to discipline ourselves within the terms of an alienating discourse. We become, in short, the agents of our own surveillance and self-censorship (Martin: 1999: 3).

Whilst senior management, policy makers and professional bodies need to take up this challenge, youth workers in Scotland also bear some responsibility themselves for addressing the situation. What Furlong et al (Scottish Council for Research in Education: 1997) have recently called the 'methodological conservatism' of youth work practice, where changes in youth work have failed to keep pace with those in the lives of young people, must also come down to a lack of dynamism and direction on the part of the cadre of professionally trained workers. As I have argued elsewhere (Bamber and Murphy: 1999), this conservatism needs to be challenged with a methodological and epistemological radicalism, or critical youth work practice.

Change in the direction suggested here would also challenge the downgrading of professionalism, which is, to some extent, inherent in formalisation (Dawson and Dargie: 1999). Put more positively, there needs to be a renewed faith in the efficacy of human agency, the ability of professional workers to get on with their work in productive ways. Finally, whilst what has been argued here considers important matters of management style and approach, it does not directly address the funding issue. The gloomy note on which to end, therefore, is to suggest that attempting major changes in the delivery of youth work at the same time as reducing overall expenditure is likely to end in failure.

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STRUCTURED CHAMELEONS

Matching the Environment

FRED CARTMEL

Chameleons are reptiles that change their appearance to match the environment; young people have similar transformations in the school to work transition where structural factors influence their future labour market destination. A period of unemployment is a common experience for a majority of young people in Scotland during the transition from full time education to work and represents a temporary stage in an otherwise smooth transition. For others, a period of unemployment when leaving education can increase the probability of young people experiencing long-term unemployment. Long term unemployment has dire consequences for young people, with many facing severe difficulties entering the labour market, financial hardship and strained family relationships. Two broad alternative explanations for the causes of long term unemployment among young people have been posited. One explanation used by politicians in the 1970s when youth unemployment was first raised as a problem blamed the young people's individual deficiencies for their failure to find employment. This 'individualistic' notion has been criticised by structuralists who argue that changes in the capitalist economy have inevitably led to economic recessions, where young people are the principal losers and are squeezed out of the labour market, especially at a time of economic recession. The structuralist approach places the responsibility for high youth unemployment on the cyclical nature of the capitalist economy and industrial restructuring over the last thirty years. The main factors affecting young people's drift into long term unemployment which will be examined include: family characteristics (fathers' and mothers' unemployment experiences, household composition) educational background and labour market histories.

Youth Unemployment

Previous research into youth unemployment in Scotland has concentrated upon secondary analysis of the SYPS (Scottish Young People's Survey) which later changed to the (SSLS Scottish School Leavers Survey). The SYPS is a longitudinal survey that enables social trends among school leavers to be tracked from 1979 through to 1997. Analysis of the early SYPS surveys highlighted the 'frictional' nature of unemployment, with the majority of those young people unemployed in the spring of the year after leaving school having experienced a period of employment (Raffe 1984). The young people achieved a settled labour market status of employment, but subsequently relinquished that position. Later surveys, however, showed there were few unemployed young people in the following spring who

had experienced any employment in the intervening period since leaving school (Raffe 1986). The nature of youth unemployment had changed from being frictional, where young people chose to leave employment, to 'structural', where employment opportunities for young people had diminished and in many areas were non-existent due to the economic recession. Structural unemployment disadvantages young people more than older workers due to the collapse of the distinct youth labour market, which means young people are now competing with older workers with previous work experience for scarce job opportunities.

There are several factors that have been blamed for young people failing to gain employment after leaving school. Main (1985) contended that parental education level had an independent influence upon young people's employment prospects. Young people whose parents have lower educational attainment are more likely to become unemployed. Young people from families with higher educational qualifications are argued to have higher levels of 'cultural capital', which is then transmitted to their children inculcating them with the importance of gaining a 'good' education. The cultural and social capital accumulated by young people is then exchanged for economic capital within the market place. Scottish school leavers with lowest educational qualifications had increased chances of becoming unemployed (Furlong 1988). Indeed, previous quantitative studies of youth unemployment have highlighted the importance of educational qualifications on the employment chances of young people (Furlong 1992, Bynner 1996). The significance of educational attainment and chances of unemployment among Scottish school leavers relates to the wider issue of social class and educational attainment.

Main and Raffe (1983) contended that father's social class influenced young people's chances of gaining employment. Indeed, young people whose parents are unemployed face a greater risk of unemployment themselves (Raffe 1988). Garner et al (1987) explored the geography of unemployment, concluding that even though the range of opportunities varied between local labour markets, family background and educational characteristics could explain the employment chances of school leavers. The 'social reproduction' of life chances in late modernity has been challenged by post modernists who argue that the power of social structures has weakened and that young people's future labour market destinations can no longer be predicted through older social characteristics such as social class, gender and 'race'. I have refuted this analysis elsewhere (see Furlong and Cartmel 1997) and contend that social reproduction continues, with young people's life chances being moulded by their gender, ethnic origin and social class position.

The structuralist approach in analysing young people's transition into the labour market permits the measurement of continuity and change in young people's

experiences over time. This approach has advantages for policy makers as the success or failure of labour market intervention policies can be measured in terms of their effectiveness for different social groups. The implication for policy makers is that in a rapidly changing world research can assist in influencing decisions made about future labour market interventions. The success or failure of training schemes in preventing young people from facing long-term unemployment can be measured through analysis of longitudinal data to ascertain the employment experiences of participants after completion of a training course. The threat of unemployment and actual unemployment among young people has had a strong impact on recent labour market experiences. As Mizen (1995:2) contends,

Today, in the 1990s, far from being easy, finding a job directly from school has been the exception rather than the rule and many young workers are now forced to confront realities of a hostile labour market in a way unimaginable even twenty years ago.

Although young people face greater difficulty finding employment today, old social cleavages remain as young people from working class backgrounds and ethnic minorities face the greatest problems.

The reasons for young people failing to gain employment when completing education have been attributed to several factors. First, young people coming from families where other family members are unemployed have less contact with informal networks that provide information about forthcoming job opportunities or recommendations for jobs. Raffe (1985) argues that as employment opportunities decrease informal networks become more important for young people to gain employment; therefore young people from families with an unemployed member are more disadvantaged through having less contact with influential informal networks. Second, changes in the economic structure - the decline in manufacturing employment and the increase in service sector jobs - have decimated the youth labour market, which minimum age school leavers once relied upon for early labour market entry.

The early careers of young people in the labour market are clearly important in predicting their later labour market positions. The SYPS has provided sufficient evidence about the importance of family characteristics and educational attainment of young people who fail to gain entry to the labour market to demonstrate that these are the two most significant factors for predicting success. The major drawback with using the SYPS survey to consider youth transition is that young people are surveyed in the spring after leaving school in the autumn of the previous year. This hinders analysis of protracted transitions among young people based upon earlier labour market information and educational attainment. The transition from education

to work has been elongated over the last ten years, with increased participation in post compulsory education that has postponed young people's entry into the labour market. The advantages of considering the young people's early labour market position and educational attainment on their labour market position in their twenties enables researchers to consider the bridges and barriers into employment. The sample provides access to data on early labour market history and present employment status, where the hypothesis that early labour market experiences impinge on future employment prospects can be tested.

The sample

The analysis is based on a unique sample of 817 18-24 year-olds from Scotland, all of whom had recent experience of unemployment of at least three months' duration. The sample composition is 65% males and 35% females with an average age of 20.6 years. Postal questionnaires were completed six months after sampling, at which time some young people had found jobs, entered schemes or returned to education, while others remained unemployed or were experiencing a further spell of unemployment. Retrospective data was collected on labour market histories through specific questions on jobs and unemployment as well as through a diary question, which sought information on main labour market activities over a six-year period at six-monthly intervals.

The majority of respondents lived in the parental home, with few having made the transition into independent accommodation. In comparison to national statistics, a relatively high proportion of the sample left school at an early stage. The majority of males (60%), along with four in ten females (41%) left school at age 16 or under: a majority of both sexes had left by the age of 17 (77% of males and 58% of females). With the sample being drawn from those who have recently experienced unemployment, the qualification profile of the group is somewhat below that of the age range in general. Almost one in four males (24%) and more than one in ten females (11%) had no O grade or equivalent passes. Overall, more than half of the males (56%) and four in ten females (40%) were not educated beyond O grade standard. However, the sample does include some relatively highly qualified young people: almost one in five females (18%) and one in ten males (8%) had university degrees.

Family characteristics

The young people's families had experienced a high level of unemployment with 41% of fathers experiencing a period of six months unemployment and 44% of mothers in a similar position. The social class position of respondents' fathers was skewed towards the lower status jobs with 52% of fathers in manual employment and 38% in non-manual work. Fathers' educational levels were low with 37%

having O Grade passes or below and 10% having a university degree. The educational qualifications for mothers were similar, with 60% having O Grade passes or below and 8% holding university degrees. Over 56% of fathers were working full-time and 35% not working. There was a lower percentage of mothers working full-time 37%, with 20% having part-time employment and 41% not working, 13% of fathers were self employed, compared to 4% of mothers.

Young people's experiences after leaving school.

In order to test the hypothesis that young people who experience instability in their early labour market careers are more likely to face long-term unemployment, the young people's age on leaving education was coupled with immediate destination after leaving education to create categories of post education experiences. Six categories were created through analysing the six-year labour market status diary to judge where young people spent the first six months period after leaving education. The six status groups created were:

- *leaving education under 18 + first labour market position as unemployed*
- *leaving education under 18 + first labour market position as employed*
- *leaving education under 18 + entering training scheme*
- *leaving education 18 or over + first labour market position as unemployed*
- *leaving education 18 or over + first labour market position as employed*
- *leaving education 18 or over + entering training scheme*

The creation of these categories permits assessment of the importance of education and the extent to which immediate labour market position influences future unemployment, especially long term unemployment.

Table 1 Young people leaving school under 18 Total and Continuous Unemployment

<i>Months unemployment</i>	<i>Under 18 unemployed</i>	<i>Under 18 employed</i>	<i>Under 18 training scheme</i>
Total	24	12	20
Continuous	19	6	13

Table 1 shows the length of total and continuous unemployment of young people who left school under eighteen and entered different labour market positions. The young people who left education and became unemployed endured twice the level of unemployment as those who entered employment. The importance of early labour market position is compounded by the continuous unemployment experiences of respondents, with those entering employment experiencing a mean of six months' continuous unemployment compared to nineteen months for the unemployed group. The young people leaving education under 18 who were unemployed after completing education had experienced over three times as long

a period of continuous unemployment. Young people experiencing unemployment after leaving education found difficulty in gaining access to the labour market and faced long periods of subsequent unemployment.

Youth training schemes were designed to alleviate young people's difficulties in establishing a foothold in the labour market, but respondents who left school under 18 and entered training schemes experienced on average a total of twenty months' unemployment, which is more than any other category of young people. This highlights the failure of training schemes in assisting young people into stable labour market positions. These young people were more disadvantaged than any other group within the sample in terms of total unemployment, but less disadvantaged than the unemployed group suffering a mean of thirteen months' continuous unemployment. Entering employment straight after leaving school diminished the chance of future unemployment, with those in this position suffering less unemployment than young people who had entered the other two labour market positions. Young people who left school under 18 and entered employment were the least disadvantaged group among the under 18 year olds, with the lowest levels of total and continuous unemployment. This shows that young people's first destinations after leaving education had a significant influence on their future work prospects. Indeed, previous evidence has shown that young people who are susceptible to long term unemployment are distinguishable by their early career instability. (Roberts et al 1981)

Table 2 Young People Leaving School 18 and Over: Total and Continuous Unemployment

<i>Months unemployment</i>	<i>18 and over unemployed</i>	<i>18 and over employed</i>	<i>18 and over training scheme</i>
Total	16	11	11
Continuous	11	6	7

Table 2 shows that young people who left school at the age of eighteen or over who had either entered employment or joined a training scheme had on average less than a year's total unemployment. The young people leaving school after eighteen and who were unemployed had sixteen months' total unemployment showing that increased duration in education does provide a degree of protection from long term unemployment. The Government's solution to youth unemployment includes encouraging increasing numbers of young people to remain in school beyond compulsory schooling, but unless more employment opportunities are forthcoming these young people will face disadvantages through unavailability of work.

The employed group experienced eleven months' total unemployment, highlighting the fact that gaining employment immediately after leaving education reduces the length of time of unemployment. The unemployed group suffered eleven months' continuous unemployment, compared to six months' continuous unemployment

among those who entered employment immediately after leaving school. The total unemployment for respondents who entered a scheme at over 18 was eleven months, and seven months' continuous unemployment. Young people who left school at an older age had far lower unemployment histories, but their first destination influenced their future employment prospects. The higher rates of unemployment among the respondents who left education before they were 18 indicates that increased educational attainment acts as a safeguard against future long term unemployment, but immediate labour market destination also figures in young people's future employment prospects.

Where are they now?

While young people who experienced poor labour market integration have suffered longer periods of unemployment since leaving school it is important to consider their current labour market position to ascertain if they have gained employment or remain unemployed. Young people who left school and became unemployed were more likely to be currently unemployed (62%) than those who left school under 18 and entered other labour market positions. The early insecure labour market position continued to disadvantage the majority of these young people, with only one in five having made the transition into full time employment the lowest in any of the groups. The young people who left school under 18 and entered employment were more likely to remain employed (45%) than any other group. The highest proportion of young people presently on training schemes (13%) came from the employed group, indicating that although these young people had gained employment this had failed to materialise as a permanent job. Many young people who enter employment immediately after leaving education enter low skilled manual employment without formal training. The young people in low skilled manual employment who subsequently become unemployed have to re-enter training schemes to upgrade their skills to enable them to be competitive in the labour market. A high proportion of respondents who left school under 18 and entered training schemes were unemployed (42%), indicating that training schemes are ineffectual at enhancing young people's future employment prospects.

Young people who left school under 18 are less likely to have escaped unemployment than those who remained in education until 18 or over. Surprisingly, the young people most likely to be working are young people who left school over 18 and were unemployed immediately. This can partly be explained by the number of graduates within this group who were unemployed after completing their studies for a short period. Young people who left school and entered schemes have a greater chance of securing employment than young people who entered unemployment. The figures point to the advantages of young people remaining within the education

system in assisting their chances of securing employment. They also show that early labour market position is important. The routes out of unemployment in Scotland are narrow, with very few young people returning to education.

Family unemployment

The family background of respondents is important for identifying the unemployment experiences of other close family members. Father's economic position can be important for their children as they can provide information about forthcoming employment opportunities available in the local labour market and provide personal recommendations for their siblings. Father's economic position is especially important in assisting young people to gain their first job in the labour market. Young people who left school before the age of 18 have the highest percentage of unemployed fathers, compared to young people who left education over the age of 18. Young people who left education under 18 and became unemployed came from families where 52% of fathers had experienced unemployment, with 33% being presently unemployed. Young people who left school at 18 or older are more likely to have a father who has not experienced six months' unemployment; only 18% of fathers of young people over 18 who entered employment had experienced any unemployment, with only 8% of fathers being presently unemployed. All the young people who remained within education until 18 or over have family backgrounds that have been less affected by long term unemployment. Young people whose father had experienced unemployment were more likely to be currently unemployed, due to living in area of high unemployment and lack of access to informal social networks that provide information about future job vacancies. The high numbers of long-term unemployed young people coming from families who have also experienced unemployment does not suggest individual deficiencies or indeed a 'culture of unemployment' but a concentrated lack of labour market opportunities within their locality. In other words, young people face the same problems gaining access to the labour market as their parents, highlighting the continuity of poor employment opportunities within their local environment.

The young people who became unemployed immediately after leaving school were more likely to have a brother or sister who had experienced six months unemployment, especially those leaving school under 18 (54%). In families where young people entered employment after leaving school at 18 or over brothers' and sisters' unemployment dropped to 29%. The concentration of unemployment in families increases the length of time that young people experience unemployment, due to poor local labour market opportunity structures. The young people who have had a member of their family unemployed have higher total unemployment spells (33 months) than those not experiencing unemployment (15 months).

Having a family member unemployed increased the duration of young people's unemployment twofold. The figures are similar for continuous unemployment, with respondents with no family members experiencing unemployment having been continuously unemployed for 10 months, compared to 24 months for young people who have had a family member experiencing unemployment. There are few gender differences in the figures. Males' continuous unemployment among young people from families with unemployed members was 26 months compared to 11 months among families with no experience of unemployment. The figures are similar for females, with 18 months continuous unemployment for respondents from unemployed families and 8 months for females from the other group. Having family members in employment was important for the future employment prospects of the young people, through the transmission of cultural capital.

The outcome of this is the reproduction of existing social inequalities through a family member's position within the labour market. Other evidence points to unemployed young people being disadvantaged from birth by the labour market position of parents. In Britain, Stafford (1980) and Payne (1987) found that it is more likely for an unemployed young person to have a parent who is unemployed than it is for those in employment. Payne showed statistically that there is significance between young people being unemployed and parental unemployment when compared to working young people. He explained this phenomenon by showing that young people with unemployed parents had less access to labour market opportunities, employers held negative attitudes towards young people with an unemployed parent and that young people adjusted more easily to unemployment if one parent was unemployed.

Evidence from Sweden also highlights the significance of having an unemployed parent. Nordenmark (1999) when comparing a group of unemployed young people with those in employment in Swedish research, found that 17% of young people in work had an unemployed parent compared to 23% of the unemployed. The results indicated that young people from families who have suffered unemployment have a greater probability of becoming unemployed than those with no unemployed parent.

Labour market histories

A diary based upon six-monthly labour market positions over six years was completed by respondents and was analysed to explore young people's previous labour market history. The young people's experiences of unemployment and work experience in the last six years were aggregated to provide characteristics for each individual. The young people who had experienced the most unemployment in the previous six years were young males with no qualifications (5.78 spells of unemployment)

followed by females with no qualifications (4.68). Young males had experienced longer spells of unemployment than females, irrespective of educational attainment.

The effect of family characteristics was analysed with young people who had a father who had experienced six months' unemployment during the year of study being unemployed for 4.77 six monthly periods, compared to young people whose father had not experienced unemployment recording 2.76 periods. Once again young males recorded longer duration regardless of their fathers' unemployment experience. Young males whose brother or sister had experienced previous unemployment averaged over 4 six monthly spells with young males whose brother or sister had never been unemployed averaging 3.10. The situations for females were similar, with the average of those whose brothers or sisters had experienced unemployment being just over 3, and those with no unemployment being 2.05. The results indicate that family characteristics are important predictors for young people who are likely to experience long-term unemployment.

The young people who had experienced differential rates of unemployment in their labour market history were split into quartiles, by dividing the unemployment history into the employment history, which provided all respondents with a ratio score. The ratio method of calculation takes into consideration the different age groups and the amount of time possible in the labour market. This provided four typologies of labour market history among young people. Further analysis was conducted into the top quartile (integrated group) and the bottom quartile (the excluded group). The integrated group had few periods of unemployment with a long duration of employment, the excluded are in an opposite position and had all experienced a continuous period of unemployment of at least one year's duration.

The family structure can affect employment opportunities: through levels of contact with influential informal networks or family contacts that can provide information about jobs available locally. This finding was strongest in the excluded group where there was a high percentage (25%) who were raised in re-constituted families or with one parent. In the integrated group only 10% had been raised in such families. Family structures were important with regard to unemployment of other family members. Young people in the excluded group were more likely to have a mother who had suffered long term unemployment. This could be explained by the fact that more young people in the excluded group were raised in single parent families, with problems accessing the labour market due to the lack of childcare facilities. Another explanation for mothers' high unemployment and links to long term unemployment could be that young people raised in single parent families were more likely to live in areas of high deprivation. Young people raised in single parent families were more likely to be raised in areas of poverty where there are

few opportunities; 21% were raised in areas with a deprivation postcode score of 7, compared to 10% of respondents raised in two parent families. The unemployment history of mothers of the excluded showed that 42% were presently unemployed, compared to 25% of the integrated group. The current high unemployment rates of mothers points to depressed labour markets where women are unable to access part-time employment. Young people who had experienced long term unemployment were more likely to have a father who was unemployed.

There were stark contrasts between the integrated and excluded groups' present labour market positions, with 63% of the excluded being presently unemployed compared to 31% of the integrated. The young people who had suffered long-term unemployment were far less likely to find employment than the group who had experienced shorter terms of unemployment. Only 8% of the excluded group were currently employed in a full time permanent job compared to 29% of the integrated group. The pathways out of unemployment are narrow, with few employment opportunities being open to young people, with the long term unemployed being disadvantaged through lack of work experience and few local contacts from which to gain information about job opportunities.

Multiple regression was conducted to analyse what factors led to young people being positioned in the excluded group. The R value .201 indicates that 20% of the variance between excluded and the integrated can be explained through several factors that were significant at an individual level. The factors significant at an individual level in the regression were: young people being raised in single parent family, mothers' present and past experience of unemployment, participation in a Government training scheme and leaving education to become immediately unemployed.

Table 3. Long-term unemployment regression.

<i>Adjusted</i> <i>R²</i> <i>0.200</i>	<i>Standardised</i> <i>Beta</i>	<i>Standard</i> <i>Error</i>	<i>p</i>
Mothers Unemployment	0.135	0.023	0.000
Age	0.159	0.023	0.000
Under 18 Unemployed	0.206	0.130	0.000
Single Parent	0.083	0.096	0.000
Over 18 Unemployed	0.218	0.169	0.000
Under 18 Work	- 0.349	0.117	0.000
Government Scheme	0.070	0.061	0.027

The educational attainment of young people did not affect the long term employment chances of the respondents, but what was significant was that leaving school and becoming unemployed immediately was likely to lead to long term unemployment.

Attending Government training schemes also led to long term unemployment. The positive factor that decreased chances of long-term unemployment was leaving school under 18 and becoming employed immediately. Thus early labour market integration can provide protection against future long-term unemployment through providing young people with work experience and contacts in the labour market.

Discussion

The educational qualifications and early labour market positions of young people who experience unemployment are important in predicting future employment prospects. The young people leaving school at an early age and whose first labour market position was unemployment are predominantly from families where other members have experienced periods of unemployment. Family characteristics are important for predicting young people who will leave school under 18 and experience long-term unemployment in their years of transition. Unemployment in the family can lead to future disadvantage among young people but this is related to their education and early labour market position. The effect of unemployment in the family on future educational performance has virtually been ignored in Britain. Evidence from Belgium (Decks et al 1996) concluded that fathers' unemployment affected their children's school performance and this was independent of the social background of the family. The effect of having an unemployed father has lasting consequences. Decks and colleagues concluded that:

Children of fathers who have been unemployed for a significant amount of the time have a much greater school lag than other children and the greater probability of being in the vocational track. The latter makes unemployment to some extent heritable since the graduates of the vocational school generally do not go on to study beyond the secondary level and have a relatively weak labour market position
(Deck et al 1996: 100).

The authors contended that father's unemployment is more important for predicting young people's outcomes in the education system than social class. This present research reinforces these findings, with young people from families where unemployment is predominant leaving school at an earlier age due to the lack of stimulus to engage in post compulsory education. These young people have precarious labour market positions in later life due to their failure to become integrated into the labour market after completing their schooling.

This research evidence suggests that young people who are susceptible to long term unemployment come from families with experience of unemployment who lack the 'cultural capital' to assist their offspring to get into the labour market when leaving school. Stafford (1999) found that young males most at risk of unemployment

had one of the following indicators: a single man not living with a parent or other relative; lack of educational qualifications; health problems that affected the ability to work; not possessing a driving licence; having no previous work experience; and having a mother with no formal educational qualifications. The young people who faced long term unemployment in this study had little work experience, many never having worked and others only being employed for six months in their labour market career.

The early labour market position of respondents was important for future employment opportunities and minimising chances of long-term unemployment. Young people who left school without formal qualifications were disadvantaged in their search for employment and many faced long-term unemployment. Young people who came from families where other members were unemployed were more than twice as likely to face long term unemployment than those from families with no unemployment. The reproduction of disadvantage is continuing within Scotland, especially for young people who have a family member who has experienced a six-month period of unemployment. The young people who have family members who have experienced unemployment are predominantly from the manual working class showing that old social cleavages still remain. Young people from working class backgrounds remain disadvantaged in the labour market due to lack of educational qualifications and the changing industrial structure within society, which has eradicated the traditional employment of this group in Scotland.

Conclusion

The detrimental effects of long-term unemployment on young people's future labour market careers are difficult to measure without longitudinal data that tracks young people into their late twenties and early thirties. The evidence presented considers the future long term unemployment prospects of young people who leave education and fail to become employed, with those who are immediately unemployed becoming extremely disadvantaged in later years. Employment opportunities for young people leaving school with few educational qualifications have diminished over the last twenty years, through structural changes that have drastically reduced the number of permanent labour market positions. Young people from disadvantaged backgrounds who have been failed by the education system have borne the brunt of industrial change, with large numbers facing the prospect of long term unemployment and movement from one training scheme to another. The 'New Deal' that has been introduced since this research was conducted shows little sign of assisting the severely disadvantaged (see France and Hoogvelt forthcoming). Government training schemes remain based upon a 'deficiency model' whereby the young person lacks the basic skills needed to advance into employment; but in

Scotland the social structure is to blame for the majority of young people's employment, especially in Glasgow where there are few job opportunities. Numerous new initiatives are proposed by the Scottish Executive including paying young people to remain within the education system, in order to enhance their employment opportunities. The Beattie Committee has recommended sweeping changes in Government intervention in the transitional phase from school to work. The recommendations include: inclusiveness; mentoring schemes; key workers and agencies working together to assisting young people through their transition. The recommendations are based upon individualistic ideas and only time will tell if they are implemented or indeed if they assist young people living in disadvantageous labour market environments. Chameleons change regularly to match their natural environment; young people who are unemployed require their surroundings to change to enable them to move from their disadvantaged position.

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YOUNG CITIZENS

Youth work, civic participation and the renewal of democracy

KEN McCULLOCH

Two unrelated events prompted the research of which this paper represents the outcome. Firstly, a conversation with colleagues at the Edinburgh Streetwork project suggested the significance of work undertaken over the Summer of 1999, as deserving of a wider audience. Secondly, an invitation to review some citizenship education materials renewed a long standing interest in the issues of power and participation affecting young people. The latter resulted in a short article (McCulloch 2000) in which some of the main themes of the present paper began to emerge. I begin by considering some contemporary approaches to the idea of young people as citizens, and the contemporary Scottish context of democratic renewal and new policy initiatives on 'social inclusion' as a context for possible shifts in the balance of power in favour of young people. An examination of contemporary approaches to citizenship education reveals a range of approaches, with political ideologies and their accompanying understandings of citizenship leading to distinctive emphases and fundamentally differing methods and content. The problematics of young people's political participation are highlighted through consideration of the aims and practice of youth work, but also in relation to structural concerns with poverty and inequality.

A case study of detached Youth Work undertaken in 1999 in a group of Edinburgh housing estates forms a central focus and is used to illustrate both some of the difficulties in engaging young people in meaningful participation, and to indicate some potentially creative avenues for such work. The work described was sponsored as part of a community safety and crime prevention strategy but the practice which emerged had a strong focus on the enfranchisement of young people in relation to their own immediate interests and concerns.

The theoretical focus is on the development of a typology distinguishing three distinctive models of citizenship education. This allows a distinction between a consensus view of the world where citizenship is understood as concerned with enfranchisement and voting activity, a more pluralistic view which values active participation in established (and new) political or debating forums, and finally a more radical view where citizenship is understood in terms of the right to dissent. Each of these implies a different emphasis for educators. In the first, citizenship education is understood primarily in terms of a knowledge framework, in the pluralist model as legitimated participation in youth forums, and in the radical view citizenship education is construed in terms of social action, as the right to campaign or

protest. Representing as it does potential challenges to the status quo it is this last approach which is at one and the same time the most problematic for established institutions to endorse, and the most potentially fruitful in catalysing the democratic participation, as young citizens, of the least engaged and articulate of Scotland's young people.

Contextual issues

A key element in the debates about democracy in the 'New Scotland' is the notion of citizenship. Horizons are widening and long standing ideas and feelings about our individual and collective relationship to the state and to government are coming under new scrutiny. We are, as Scots, perhaps beginning to think of ourselves no longer as subjects but as citizens in a rejuvenated democracy. There may still be a House of Lords and a monarchy in London, but previously unthinkable notions are now the subject of everyday debate; absentee landlords are under critical scrutiny and many Scots aspire to a more democratic and egalitarian future. This new feeling raises many questions about the way we treat and think about particular groups. My concern here is with the way this new climate is changing the ways we think about young people, and particularly with the possibilities that may appear in the current context for youth workers to facilitate young people's active engagement in political processes and, most particularly, political and social action.

The emergence of specific policy targets in relation to young people and social justice (Scottish Executive, 1999) is in many respects a matter for celebration. There can be little doubt that some of the key impulses directing this and related policies are humane, caring and optimistic in a way that we have been quite unused to in social policy over the previous decades. However the construction of social justice is limited and limiting in some very important respects. Participation in existing institutional frameworks of work, training and education is the whole extent of the vision, insofar as it is expressed in terms of the long term targets: 'Every young person leaves school with the maximum level of skills and qualifications possible' and; 'Every 19 year old is engaged in education, training or work' (ibid). There is an argument to be made regarding the essential economic basis for social justice and citizenship. Nevertheless the lack of concern with the legitimacy of young people's (historically commonplace) dissent from such pressures to conform must be seen as a significant weakness.

During the last quarter of a century a dominant view in relation to young people was that social welfare and state intervention had had many negative effects on the attitudes of youth in general, and young working class men in particular. Far from being seen as acquiring adult status, the transition through adolescence was to be understood as increasing the threat which these young people present to social

order. Many young people, it was argued, choose to abstain from work, because life on the dole is more attractive. In this framework they are understood as a threatening phenomenon 'because they are [perceived as] immoral and have little respect for others or their obligations.' (France 1998:109)

Public policy in the 1980s and much of the 90s was essentially driven by this kind of view. Those young people who were unable to access work opportunities or post-school education, were seen as a dangerous liability, requiring control rather than support. Nowhere was this clearer than in the ways social security legislation was used to force unemployed young people to remain in their parental homes well into their mid-twenties.

...it has been estimated (1992) that 80,000 16- and 17-year-olds who have left full-time education had no source of income. These changes not only affect 16- and 17-year-olds, under the new regulations young people do not receive the full benefit rate until the age of 25. With the replacement of unemployment benefit with the jobseekers allowance in 1996, 18-25-year-olds will be faced with a further £10 per week reduction in benefit which the government justifies through the claim that young people in this age group often live with their parents and have low wage expectations.

(Furlong & Cartmel 1997:41)

Young people's exclusion from adult status and independence was, through such policy mechanisms, made visible and unambiguous. If the Poll Tax legislation of the same era had been deliberately designed to disenfranchise the young and poor, it could hardly have done a better job of completing the process. Young people who had been excluded from educational progression and from the labour market were, by very direct economic pressure forced to withdraw from one of the most fundamental roles of the citizen in a democracy, that of voter.

More recently, communitarian influences in social policy have become evident. Since May 1997 things may well have got better in some limited ways, but it still appears that young people are seen as a problem rather than as members of the body politic entitled to rights. Obligations are given a much higher priority than rights in the communitarian discourse, and although the language has softened, to allow us to talk about socially excluded young people rather than about an underclass, the message is not so different. Young people are still often understood as existing somehow 'outside' normal society. Rights are seen as contingent on the fulfilment of obligations; as a reward for conformity rather than as an absolute moral entitlement. In this understanding of our relationship to one another and to the state, there are no unqualified or universal rights. What is more, even universal rights are not universally accessible. As Crimmens and Whalen (1999) have argued,

Universal rights, applied without reference to inequality and tied up with notions of responsibility, will favour those who are middle and upper class, white, male, economically active, heterosexual and not disabled. We argue against a universal, blanket approach to rights, on the basis that everyone might have rights but accessing them is dependent on individuals' and groups' positions of power in society. Extended dependency for some groups of young people results in them retaining many of the characteristics and vulnerabilities of younger age groups. They continue to suffer discrimination on the basis of their class, ethnicity, gender, ability and sexuality, as well as their age.

Rights and citizenship, in this interpretation, are structurally determined. It is as meaningless and simplistic to think of all young people as 'equal citizens' as it is to imagine that other opportunities are distributed equally. If the new Scottish civic society is to be more rather than less inclusive, the key priority so far as young people are concerned must surely be to reduce inequalities, in access to rights and the exercise of citizenship alongside the reduction of more obvious inequalities. The key concern must be firstly with the reduction of poverty and material inequality, alongside which should run a concern to see all members of society treated with parity of esteem. Poverty itself, according to Lansdown, 'denies children the rights of citizenship; the right to respect and value as a member of society' (Lansdown 1995:116). In 1999, 17 per cent of 16-19 year olds were not in employment or education, and the proportion of 16-19 year olds not in employment or education has remained fairly steady over recent years. (Scottish Executive 1999) The enfranchisement of this significant excluded minority is a major task and one that must be at the centre of both democratic renewal as a social policy objective and of the attention of youth workers in their daily struggle.

Youth work and citizenship education

Youth Work can be understood as, *inter alia*, a significant contributor to citizenship education. There is nevertheless a debate to be considered about the form and purpose of such work. Citizenship is nothing new as a concern in relation to young people, or as a theme in Youth Work. To make a historical comparison I would begin in the middle of the last century. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, a formulation of the purpose of Youth Work (more specifically of The Youth Service) that gained a wide currency and prolonged use was:

To offer individual young people in their leisure time opportunities of various kinds, complementary to those of home, formal education and work, to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit and thus the better equip themselves to live the lives of mature, creative and responsible members of a free society.

(Sir John Redcliff-Maud circa 1950 quoted in HMSO 1960)

A more recent statement of purpose comes from the National Youth Agency's current work on occupational standards for youth work:

To facilitate and support young people's growth through dependence to interdependence, by encouraging their personal and social education and helping them to take a positive role in the development of their communities and society.

(NYA 1998)

These utterances might be separated by half a century but some of the sentiments seem remarkably similar. There is a continuing concern with individual development and growth, and a strong reference in both cases to a concept of youth as a process of 'becoming'. Young people are not seen as full citizens but as proto-citizens, taking on citizen status only once they have been helped as required to acquire the skills and resources to deal with the responsibilities of interdependent adulthood. The two statements may also however be understood as representing shifts in understanding from a more individualistic, conservative world view to one with a greater emphasis on the social. Such a shift of emphasis does not of itself signify a fundamental change in the purpose and practice of workers in the field but it does provide some support for the view that understandings of purpose have moved significantly over time.

In the recent past there has been a growing interest, in Scotland as well as further afield, in the securing of young people's participation in quasi-political decision making process, particularly but not only in the context of youth work practice. Hendry et al (1992) accumulated a considerable body of evidence strongly supportive of the view that positive participation, decision making and taking responsibility can be positively rewarding for young people both as individuals and at a group level. More recently Downie (1997) suggests that young people may frequently be found to have a strong and active interest in being consulted and involved in decision making in local neighbourhoods.

There is a significant tension between these expressions of positive ambition for young people in this process of becoming, and some of the mechanisms which operate to control teenagers, particularly in the public sphere. Teenagers and young adults are placed in an ambiguous position as Staeheli and Thompson (1997) demonstrate in an American context and Dee(1995) describes in Australia, in relation to the 'ownership' of public space. Curfews and other policing measures are commonplace throughout the modern world where public space is seen as being unduly and improperly taken over by large groups of young people. The South Edinburgh Streetwork project was conceived in response to those very familiar

expressions of concern, by adults, about the congregation of young people in public spaces and the threat to order which is so often perceived as flowing from such gatherings.

The following case-study offers an alternative approach to youth work as citizenship education in contrast to the often dominant concern with youth forums, youth councils and parliaments. The focus here is on citizenship less as concerned with conformity to a pattern of institutions and behaviour, more as concerned with the right to dissent and to seek change. It may seem unduly dramatic to suggest that youth workers should be supporting young people in efforts 'not simply to extract concessions from the state or to rescind some intolerable measure, but to change the government and the very structure of power' (Foucault, 1991:273). Nevertheless, for youth workers to justify claims or to seek the realisation of an ambition to be concerned at least in part with progressive social change, we must support young people's struggles for a voice outside the formal, officially sanctioned structures for 'participation'.

The South Edinburgh Streetwork Programme

The Edinburgh Streetwork Project (ESP) has been in operation since 1991 as a detached Youth Work or Streetwork project based in central Edinburgh, working with young people mainly on the streets of the city centre but also in peripheral areas. These latter activities have for the most part been specific, time limited activities; the particular work considered here took place over the summer of 1999 in conjunction with the South Edinburgh Partnership (SEP), which brings together a range of public sector services, including the Police, with a range of locality interests.

The project's work is done outside the settings of youth clubs or community centres and usually takes place on the street corners, outside 'chippies' or in the parks where young people hang about. ESP workers are interested adults who will sit with young people in their space, on pavements or park benches and listen to what they have to say. Project workers recount how often young people will talk with remarkable frankness about their experiences, about their hopes and worries, about their families and relationships, about sex and drugs, about their physical and emotional health and about life in general. The emphasis of the work is to actively encourage young people to assess risk-taking and law breaking for themselves using their own experiences as a starting point. In this way young people are encouraged to make more informed choices, to appreciate the consequences of their actions, and to value themselves, their bodies and other people. Workers seek to grasp these moments, to explore topics, to provide good information, and to encourage the young people's exploration of the issues.

ESP was commissioned to carry out a programme of detached youth work in South Edinburgh with an emphasis on crime prevention and community safety. Young people were hanging around the streets and it was believed residents felt themselves at risk from 'the threat of violence from young people, damage to property, opportunistic theft and burglary, as well as suffering the very real problems of noise and nuisance.' (Edinburgh Streetwork Project 1999:1) The perception was that teenagers were becoming involved in crime, posing a threat to themselves and others and may be at risk from 'drugs, alcohol, bullying, extortion or abuse and losing direction, reputation or ambition resulting in social exclusion' (ibid).

The young people who became involved in the Streetwork programme were all met on the streets of the various housing schemes in South Edinburgh. Many of the young people were eager to talk about their involvement in a range of risky behaviour (identified as such by the young people themselves) and about their emotional and family lives. They saw themselves as more often the victims of violence than adults were. Being moved on was a cause of tension and mistrust between young people, adult residents and the Police. Risk taking behaviours discussed included sexual activity, territorialism and gang violence, motorcycle riding on poorly maintained machines and poly-drug use particularly mixing alcohol and other drugs; it emerged that heroin was easily available and often easier to obtain than cannabis. (ibid:3)

ESP workers assisted these teenagers to articulate their concerns. Workers are keen to point out however that these young people supplied the energy, ideas and did the work in drawing together their proposals. They began the process of identifying resources and new services, and outlined the way some existing services could be made more accessible. Young people were apparently aware of being seen as a problem while they were hanging about. They were also quick to point out that they had nowhere else to go. (ibid:3) These issues and the young people's own efforts to bring about change in relation to their own immediate and pressing concerns became the most significant aspect of the project as a whole:

When we spoke to them, the Gilmerton crew, they wanted right away to write to their councillor. They knew who their councillor was and they wanted to write to her. The suggestion that our workers made was that they might also want to write to some of the council officials who would be responsible for some of the services that they were talking about. So they wanted to know who that was, we were able to [tell them]. There was a two way process going on. They wanted to write, they did it and produced the goods the following week for us to type up. Right from the start they were keen to get moving on it. Our workers' role very much with that group was to pass on information about how else they might use their voice to be more effective. (Interview, Senior Project Worker).

Many of the young people who were contacted by the project were very conscious of their 'place in society' and were aware that they were seen as a problem or nuisance by older people. Their argument that lack of money and suitable, affordable local resources meant that they could not participate fully in the life of their communities was very persuasive. What surprised even these very experienced youth workers however was the effort which these young people were willing to expend to help create services and resources for their areas.

A group of young people from five different housing estates in South Edinburgh came together as a result of interventions on the streets by workers. They wrote to their local Councillors, the Manager of the SEP and their MP about the lack of services in their area. They became involved in drawing together ideas to create services and resources for themselves and other young people like them in the wider community. In response to letters they wrote, a meeting was organised which allowed them to learn about the proposed regeneration of their area. The young people grasped this opportunity to put forward their ideas for resources and services, which they argued should be included in any redevelopment plan. The main areas which the young people concentrated on included establishing a Disco for over 14s, setting up a youth cafe and better access to existing facilities. There are nevertheless many problems for this particular group still to overcome. Many of the local authority professionals whose responsibilities include concern for young people are reported as being at best, resistant, and often as actually hostile to the demands of these teenagers. The young people are perceived as difficult and uncooperative, and their exclusion from some of the local clubs and centres is justified on the basis of previous difficulties.

The funding for the South Edinburgh Streetwork Project came to an end at the end of September and since then ESP has struggled to maintain contact with these young people. Teenagers can quickly grow disillusioned, and the earnest belief that adults were listening to them is difficult to sustain. Some of the young people involved do understand that they are now part of a process and that things are not going to happen overnight. They are prepared to work with all the service providers towards getting the appropriate services in place for themselves and their young neighbours. To this end they have suggested a community youth conference which would consult widely on what services and activities for teenagers should be set up in the area.

The work of ESP in South Edinburgh may be understood in a variety of ways. It would be simplistic to claim that it represents a radical approach in every respect, arising as it did from concerns with social order and crime prevention. It does however demonstrate the possibility of work which values young people's right to

protest and dissent. The equivocal responses from some Councillors and local authority officials noted by the project workers strongly suggest that the campaigning element is genuine and necessary.

Educating young citizens: towards a typology of educational practices

The foregoing case study represents an example of practice which attempts to support some marginalized young people in acquiring a voice in decisions that affect their everyday lives. In the concluding part of this paper a wider theoretical context of ideas about education and citizenship is explored and the typology referred to in the introduction is described, providing a theoretical framework to explain such practice.

Hebert (1997) suggests 'a renewed citizenship education ... for the construction of a new flexible citizenship in a post-modern, multinational and polyethnic society characterised by multiple identities, mobility, openness and diversity'. In this formulation social participation is characterised as complementary to work, thus redefining the very basis of citizenship as bound up with economic participation. Citizenship education is explored in terms of civil and civic education; human rights; democratic education; social participation and production. Following from that, four interwoven principles for a process pedagogy of social participation and identity formation are proposed: the cohesion of human rights and democratic responsibilities; the respect and acceptance of diversity; the dialectic and participatory basis of collective identity formation; and the development of cultural consciousness and competence. (Hebert, 1997) This approach reflects a similar view to that described earlier in relation to contemporary Scottish policy, where the emphasis is almost deterministically focussed on the economic domain.

The Crick Report on citizenship education in schools in England and Wales (Advisory Group on Citizenship, 1998) proposes a tripartite definition of citizenship education. In this formulation the elements are: social and moral responsibility; political literacy; and community involvement. Political literacy reflects the common view of citizenship education often described as 'civics'. This focusses on the development of skills such as debate and argument, value stances and knowledge of political processes and institutions. The report characterises responsibility as an 'essentially political as well as moral virtue, for it implies care for others; premeditation and calculation about what effect actions are likely to have on others; and understanding and care for the consequences.' (ibid:16) Both these dimensions, Crick asserts, are amenable to incorporation in the school curriculum. Understanding of and engagement in the life of a community beyond the school gate must however take place outside the school and must involve some form, however limited, of engagement as a political actor. This represents a considerable step beyond the Lynch & Smalley's (1991:100) description of young peoples engagement in community

life as 'active voluntary participation in the wider community', described in terms of 'visiting or helping people, the elderly, the disabled, the ill and children, and working for voluntary or statutory services or bodies'.

Lister (1998) suggests that it is the nature of the British state, divided as it is both as a group of distinctive nations and by a still-pervasive class system, which is the root of contemporary concern with the problematic nature of citizenship. To understand citizenship as shared identity, Lister argues, is barely possible when such powerful divisions pose obstacles to the emergence of such a common sense of identity. The emphasis in this analysis is on the problematic nature of citizenship in itself, and the problem of citizenship education can be understood as a consequence rather than a cause.

Citizenship education has been undertaken in schools here and abroad for many years. There is however little evidence on which to base a belief that any of this sort of activity really does a great deal of good. Jeffs (1995) considers that while academically able young people, mainly but not exclusively the children of the middle class, tend to have a fair understanding and some interest in matters such as the mechanics of the electoral system, those already on the margins by their early teenage years are unlikely to recognise these matters as having much relevance for them.

What exists fails the test ... since it does nothing to prepare young people to participate effectively in the democratic process. Attempts to promote 'citizenship' and 'political literacy' therefore inevitably achieve little because as the Schools Council pointed out, schools do not 'practice what they seek to promote'. Even teachers, who are adults and professionals, find their rights of participation are a political ritual which lends support to what in reality is a system of autocracy.

(Jeffs 1995:28)

It may well be argued that participation in the decision making processes of a youth work agency or programme will provide a more enriching and positive experience than that. Most youth workers would, after all, claim to be actively attempting to practice what they seek to promote in relation to participation and distribution of power. Rowe et al (1998) make a range of observations about the practice of citizenship education in youth work settings, and they focus on, for example, information giving and youth consultation through the medium of youth councils. An alternative view of formalised youth councils is expressed in relation to the Australian experience by Maunders (1996) who argues that the state and federal youth councils which were established in the 1940s were 'instruments of state policy, intended to support youth organisations to maintain morale and social order and prepare young men for military service'.

The different models of citizenship education which can therefore be recognised as emerging in relation to contemporary youth work may be understood as falling broadly into three types or categories. Firstly there is the 'civics' approach, premised on notions of electoral enfranchisement and participation as a voter. In this category citizenship is understood as relatively unproblematic, and citizenship education as achieved primarily through the acquisition of knowledge, what Lister (op. cit.) characterises in terms of 'political education as political literacy'.

Secondly, and emerging as, one might say the active partner of civics, is the view of citizenship as representative participation in political forums. This leads to what could be called the controlled participation approach in youth work, where citizenship is symbolised through membership of youth forums & parliaments. Finally there must be a recognition of citizenship as the right to dissent. Social action approaches in youth work such as that described in the case study articulate a view of citizenship as the right to campaign or protest.

There are then three distinct approaches to citizenship education. The first might be characterised as 'teaching civics' and the second as 'modelling civics'. It has not been the intention here to dismiss these two approaches, concerned with knowledge and with sanctioned participation, but to point up the need for a 'third way' which helps to articulate the voices of those who are furthest from conventional centres of power. This might be best described as an 'anti-civics' approach, concerned as it is to enable voices to be heard that in the established order are most often ignored or even suppressed. No form of youth work is a universal remedy but if democratic renewal is to truly succeed it needs to reach all parts of the body politic, using and valuing all the talents and methods at its disposal.

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CONNECTING WITH YOUNG PEOPLE AND YOUTH ISSUES

TED MILBURN

Introduction

Young people are often a colourful and visible part of community and neighbourhood, but they are generally not seen in the decision making groups which meet to allocate resources and plan community development and change. In the past they have been perceived by many adults to be at the heart of community problems (Cohen, 1972) and seldom considered as part of the solution. Even in areas of social and communal life which are planned specifically for young people, the school and the youth project or organisation, the involvement of young people in decision making has been low key, at best tokenistic and occasionally exploitative. There is some evidence that where participatory mechanisms do exist, many stop short of real empowerment for young people, and give the sense of participation downwards but legitimisation upwards (Hart, 1997). In the realm where social policy is being planned, developed or changed, a lack of consultation is often apparent

How many local authorities routinely ask children what they think of local play resources? Who asks young people whether the authority's housing provision is meeting their needs? When do children and young people get the chance to influence how their schools are run? Where are the opportunities for children and young people to plan their neighbourhoods.

(Willow, 1997:1)

Against this backcloth, it is important to recognise the significance of young people as a social group. There are 1.28 million children and young people in Scotland under 19, out of a total population of just over 5 million (HMSO, 1996). As the voters of tomorrow they are important to political parties and there is concern in the UK about their apparent alienation from mainstream politics.

Recent research provides an insight into the way in which young people perceive politics and political activity. The number of young people who are members of British political parties has fallen, and fewer young people today register to vote (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997).

Lack of interest in party politics should not be taken to indicate political apathy amongst young people. There is considerable empirical evidence that young people will strongly identify with issues which they consider to be worthwhile and worthy of support. Whilst not specifically party political, concerns about the environment, poverty, animal rights and anti-racism have captured their attention and activism. It is possible that, for young people, there is a disenchantment with conventional

systems of participation (Willow, 1996: 4) and an alienation from systems of participatory democracy which exclude them as voters (until age 18) and forbid them to stand as councillors until they are 21.

Whereas certain studies have pointed to the smaller percentage of young people, 24 years and under, reporting interest in politics (Walker, 1996), Smith (1996) and Downie (1997) indicate that young people have a strong interest in being consulted and in being involved in decision making in their local areas.

Organisational and structural responses

Despite these indicators, or, some may say, because of them, we have seen a proliferation of efforts over the past 5 years in the UK by voluntary organisations and local authorities to involve, consult and utilise the skills, energy and viewpoint of young people. It is by no means a universal policy trend and most authorities have yet to take the further step of engaging young people in the day to day decision making of local government. A number of studies exist which show the substantial moves which have been made to consult and involve young people (Fitzpatrick and Hastings, 1998) and (Willow, 1996).

In the light of traditional views held about young people, it is interesting to trace some of the factors which have encouraged a new interest in hearing their voice. After all, as a culture, we have tended to believe at worst that young people should 'be seen and not heard', or at best that they are not yet ready or able to comprehend the issues about which their opinion might be sought. Notions of citizenship have tended to be based upon the assumption that this status is equated with maturity and economic independence. Because of extended scholarisation and poor job prospects, children and young people today are denied independent economic status for a longer period than in previous generations.

At the same time, in educational, social and cultural programmes for young people there is a concern for social education, the learning of life skills and, however muted, an interest in young people behaving responsibly. Such paternalism is underlined in the joke relating to local councillors engaged in the appointment of a youth worker, where the chairperson of the panel reminds interviewers that they are looking for 'a youth worker who is young enough to know what young people want, but old enough to see that they don't get it!'

Despite this, youth work holds to the rhetoric (if not always the practice) of encouraging involvement by young people in decision making in youth organisations. The reality has often been the unprepared involvement of small numbers of young people on adult dominated committees. A common outcome has been lack of confidence and withdrawal by young people, leaving adults with apparent evidence that young

people are uninterested. Adults often deny the ability of children, and sometimes their right, to have reasoned views about their world which are valid and worthy of notice. Given this attitude, how can we account for the organisational interest in the engagement of young people and the willingness to hear their voice?

The youth involvement movement

There would appear to be four central imperatives for the move to engage young people in more meaningful participation and decision making in local government, voluntary organisations and community based programmes.

The first is a political imperative. As highlighted earlier, politicians in the UK are worried about the lack of interest of young people in party politics and concerned by their apparent alienation. For the past few years the needs of young people have been de-emphasised in social policy. Cuts in benefit, the effect of the poll tax, and housing issues have combined to result in the disaffection of young people. They are consumers of many government services. Schools, social work, youth work, child care, housing and health have been encouraged in national reports to consult and involve young people in delivering the services designed for them. More is needed than a simple consumerist approach, and many now cite the political advantages of a democratic approach where the involvement of young people is part of a move to empower.

The democratic approach is about more than having a voice in services, however important that is. It's also about how we are treated and regarded more generally, and with having a greater say and control over the whole of our lives...It is concerned with people having the chance to speak directly for themselves.

(Beresford and Croft 1993: 9)

Ledwith indicates the associated messages which may be transmitted by denying the voice of young people.

Not being taken seriously robs one of dignity, respect and self worth. Even simply not trusting people to act on their own behalf powerfully indicates a lack of confidence in their ability to take charge of their lives.

(Ledwith 1997: 72)

The political imperative is all about valuing young people (and adults), counteracting alienation and disaffection, harnessing their interest, creating a training ground for democratic involvement - and it is about encouraging positive citizenship.

The second imperative is legal. The UK in general has hardly been at the vanguard of nation states in the implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the

Child and has been criticised in the past for a lack of development in the area of young people's participation. Legislation in England and Wales, and separately in Scotland, still fails to fully comply with the spirit and intention of the Convention. What has happened is that local authorities have tended to use the Convention as a framework for revising strategies for those services which relate to children and young people. It is in local government that services are more closely related to the immediate needs of young people and their families and it is here that change is most marked .

The UN Convention is principally concerned with a range of children's and young people's rights - participation, protection and provision. It is customarily through local authority departments such as education and social work that the work with children and young people is focused, and where new mechanisms for participation, involvement and decision making are being sought. Traditionally, professionals in these departments have not previously been used to structured consultation with children, let alone encouraging decision making with and by young people on the nature and ethos of the service to be delivered. One consequence is a search for appropriate methods and systems which effectively work in this way.

The social imperative is the third justification and impetus in seeking to involve young people. There is considerable evidence that positive participation, involvement and the process of taking responsibility for decisions and actions can be enriching and enjoyable for young people (Hendry et al, 1993). This process is seen by many as a vehicle for empowering individuals and groups, and as a means of learning social and life skills (Milburn et al, 1995). In cultures such as those in Scotland where adolescents are socially, culturally and institutionally separated from adults in schools, leisure activity and social life, the creation of new systems of involvement and participation can widen mutual understanding and respect. There is some evidence that, through such processes, young people learn how to respect the rights of others (Lansdown, 1995). Although it is customarily believed that such processes may be most accessible to older adolescents, Hart (1997:90) shows that children as young as six years old can be actively involved in collective work relating to environmental change or development.

Opponents of the involvement of young people in decision making often argue that they do not have the life experience or personal maturity to make reasoned choices or decisions. Such views are premised on the notion that children and young people are distinctively different from adults - occupying a different world. Those of us who work with young people, are aware that for some their world is also one of poverty, unemployment, violence, racism, abuse, lack of opportunity and for many, social exclusion. There is no evidence that they are less able than

adults to make decisions based upon sound information and accurate predictions of outcomes. There is every social reason why they should have this opportunity. Further, adults do not necessarily make good decisions (e.g. nuclear weapons, smoking).

The fourth imperative is professional. Partly as a result of the legal, political and social encouragements to involve young people in decisions which affect them, and to seek their opinion as consumers of services, professionals are increasingly seeking ways of consulting young people and engaging them. The history of youth work in Scotland has moved on from the period where religious and philanthropic guidance and instruction resulted in adult led, welfare models of provision. The social education programmes which followed also often involved adults leading from the front, so to speak. Professional practice now expects workers to act as facilitators, involving young people in the design and delivery of their own projects. Previous paternalistic models of youth work, where they still exist, are considered professionally questionable. Corresponding changes in professional philosophy and practice are consequent upon this new focus (Smith 1994: 65). The empowerment of young people through participatory involvement, decision making and leadership, is now at the heart of youth work methodology.

Similar changes are apparent in social work, where professional practice in relation to social group work, adoption and fostering and certain forms of advocacy have embraced the right of young people to express their opinion and be in control of actions taken on their behalf. However, in schools indicators suggest that the views of young people concerning their well being are not sufficiently taken into account (Freeman, 1994). Further, some children are being denied their decision making rights in developing policy-making (Franklin, 1994). Some local authorities press teachers, social workers, and youth workers to establish consultative mechanisms with young people (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1988). The police are now also increasingly employing methodologies which consult and involve young people (Coopers and Lybrand, 1997). The involvement of young people in the planning and delivery of programmes is increasingly at the centre of professional practice in social work and youth work.

Connecting young people and youth issues in Scotland

With the legal, political, social and professional encouragements to involve young people in consultation and decision making in Scotland, and in the light of the imperatives discussed at the beginning of this paper, it is not surprising perhaps, that a movement has developed based upon youth forums and youth councils. A partnership between the Scottish Youth Work Forum, Community Learning Scotland, Youth Link, and the Principal Community Education Officers' Group led

to a period of four years research and consultation, which resulted in the creation of the Connect Youth programme commencing in 1995.

The programme, aimed at those between 14 and 25 years of age, seeks to

promote the effective involvement of young people in the decision making processes which affect their lives, and to engage with young people to seek their views on services and on how to develop a wider range of opportunities for their involvement in community life.

(SYWF, 1996)

This has been promoted through a wide variety of youth forums and youth councils. From the outset, however, it has been a central tenet of the programme that these aims would be guiding principles and that youth councils or forums were not to be seen as the only vehicle through which young people could be involved. A national imposition of organisational models or methodologies was avoided, as it is up to the young people in individual voluntary and statutory agencies to determine how these should be translated into practice. It was intended that the voluntary and statutory agencies which became part of the Connect Youth programme should encourage the establishment of aims which met the needs of young people, and structures which would be considered appropriate by young people, for their involvement.

The Scottish Youth Work Forum with which I was associated, undertook research to identify the ways in which this movement developed and was shaped. Young people who were 'officers' in all of the groups established within local authority areas and voluntary organisations were asked to complete self administered questionnaires concerning the participative mechanisms which had developed, their aims, work programmes and membership. Follow up interviews were undertaken in later national Connect Youth conferences and regional meetings. The research was limited in that it simply attempted to map the growth and development of groups across Scotland, and did not, for example, seek socio-economic data about those in membership. Some of the data which emerged is examined below, and later we critically examine some of the assumptions which underwrite the development of what have been, in Scotland, relatively new models of youth participation.

There is considerable reported variation in the conception and methodology of Connect Youth groups across Scotland. Some groups have sought to consult as widely as possible, with young people already inside (and others outside) formal organisations, channelling such views to local politicians through official representative meetings.

Others have structured youth forums from large scale public events to achieve some form of agreed representation and have formalised 'portfolios' for key responsibilities. They have sometimes appointed young people as a permanent civil service.

84 youth councillors were elected on the day (a launch event which 350 young people attended). One week later, they met again to elect a board of 34...spokespersons for local areas and spokespersons for specific issues (e.g. housing, health, education) Also, 5 support workers, - young people employed to work for the youth council,- were appointed in December and are now beginning to help us improve the overall efficiency and effectiveness of the organisation.

(South Lanarkshire Council).

In some rural areas, the use of information technology forms the basis of networking for young people, and has started the process of formalising an organisation of young people's representation to politicians and others.

The coordinating project for Connect Youth in the Borders with the First Base Trust (which will) develop a youth information point based in premises in Hawick to provide an access to information and the Internet for young people. It will be the coordinating group for linking the various projects, groups and clubs across the Scottish Borders area who wish to develop the 'young persons voice'

(Scottish Borders Council)

Recreating the image of young people, campaigning on issues and organising events emerge as a feature of many of the groups, in addition to the representation of a youth voice.

Objectives - to raise the profile of young people; to improve youth representation; to provide a collective voice for young people; to consult young people; to campaign on various issues; to inform young people ; to organise events.

(Shetland Isles Council).

Range of activity and the emerging influence of youth forums

Twenty three local authority councils and five national voluntary youth organisations reported the growth of forums as part of the Connect Youth Network. In reply to survey questionnaires concerning their activities and range of contacts, forums indicated a wide range of contacts with young people. It is reported that 20,000 young people have been 'connected' by the Connect Youth initiative over the last year throughout Scotland (SYWF 1998), but it is not possible from the data to make judgments about the nature or quality of that contact. These are reported to have been achieved through a variety of approaches such as roadshows, surveys, conferences, seminars, training events, local radio and press, petitions, drugs awareness groups, public rallies and protests, internet, annual 'youth parliament' in local area, international youth summit, Westminster training, raves, exchanges,

quizzes, school contacts and fetes.

Almost all respondents report involvement and representation on local council committees relating to service delivery. This representation seems to have been achieved in a relatively short space of time and in areas where youth representation was previously not commonplace. A number of groups indicated that, because of the newness of their forum, they did not yet have representation on council committees, but had spokespersons on issues such as housing, crime, music, arts, sports, employment, youth rights, education, health and the environment. There is evidence that training has been offered in local settings to support young people in these roles to which they were previously unaccustomed.

When linked to their reported recent activities, the responses show a wide variety of consultative and developmental methodologies and local growth which reflects a range of participatory mechanisms. In addition to the work above, forums report the following as part of their recent programmes.

- *The design and public launch of a Youth Charter.*
(Glasgow Y Network)
- *Four young people from the Youth Forum, two elected members of the Council and a representative of the Community Education Service have recently formed the Youth Challenge Fund Committee which considers grants to support activities by young people which contribute to personal, group and community development.*
(South Ayrshire Youth Forum)
- *Young people from Midlothian hosted some participants within, and contributed to, the Commonwealth Youth Forum in Edinburgh in October 1997.*
(Midlothian Youth Forum)
- *56 young people took part in a residential weekend to identify youth issues and develop the youth forum concept.*
(Highland Council)
- *The Youth Forum organised the week long 'Rock the Vote' Roadshow which travelled around Shetland prior to the General Election.*
(Shetland Youth Forum)
- *Progressing plans for the City Wide Forum and an Active Citizenship Project.*
(Dundee City Council)
- *Special project meetings with City of Architecture 99 consultant and Properties Department regarding the creation of a Youth Cafe.*
(Glasgow Y Network)

These are illustrative of a range of approaches reported by all youth forums, and portray a mix of enjoyable activity and fun, serious hard work, opportunities to develop planning, consultative and management skills, and the invitation to broaden horizons to national and international contexts. The issues with which young people have been engaging were local and they have taken a debate to some of the traditional gatekeepers in their own areas. It is possible that in combining fun and relevance, Connect Youth forums and councils are attempting to tackle two of the criticisms made by young people that politics is boring and not relevant, but it would be interesting to develop further research to explore this and other issues.

A national and international focus

National and regional conference have been a feature of the early development of Connect Youth. As a result of these, the young people involved have pushed for the establishment of a Scottish Youth Parliament. Henry McLeish MSP, Minister for Home Affairs and Devolution, met with over 100 Connect Youth young people in their Stirling Conference in 1999 and agreed to accept from them a proposal and business plan for such a body. Discussions are currently well advanced on the constitution, membership, representation and voting procedures for the proposed youth parliament which will consist of representatives from the existing Connect Youth network of councils and forums, together with other non structured groupings of young people.

A Connect Youth European Project has emerged with Youth Forum links having been signed with Portugal, Germany and Slovakia. Reciprocal visits have taken place between Scottish young people and those in a number of other countries to discuss and compare youth participation and consultative structures.

Discussion

What we have in this research is a snapshot of the reported development of youth councils and youth forums throughout Scotland at a time when there was strong local political pressure to be seen to consult young people. Some of the reasons for this are outlined in earlier parts of this paper. The notion of participation by young people in decision making had already been around for many years in youth work contexts but there is evidence that it was rarely successful and effective (SOED 1991). Some of the issues surrounding this failure have included the absence of trust between young people and adults; the existence of approaches which are insufficiently participative; inability to delegate real responsibility to young people; the lack of encouragement to reflect upon, review and take action on decisions; the importance of ensuring equal opportunities; and the necessary preparation of young people for decision making. Decision making in youth work settings invariably

related to domestic youth work concerns and were not necessarily directed to youth issues and the political position of young people within the community. Where young people have served on groups with adults they have often been tokenistic reminders of a youth presence, occasionally patronised and sometimes ignored or put down. There is some evidence that those young people who participated in youth work settings, were the more articulate, and that the marginalised were either not invited or felt they were not included. We need to know much more about whether such processes are also at work within the councils and forums of Connect Youth.

Criticisms have been expressed by some youth workers that the Connect Youth movement has been seen in their organisation as the flagship consultative mechanism, drawing resources and political consciousness away from other bread and butter programmes and developments with young people, which have at least an equal claim as an arena for the participation of young people in political issues. Detached youth work projects, peer education groups and youth issues groups are felt by some to have been overshadowed by this development. It is clearly important that all avenues of informal education are seen as settings within which sound principles of youth participation and governance are practised and that voices from these settings are heard in any Scottish Youth Parliament also.

Because this research did not examine the internal participative mechanisms used in councils and forums we can not be clear as to whether the above issues have arisen, but we have indications that they have tried to break with previous assumptions. These youth councils and forums have invariably been recruited from outside the normal constituency of formal youth organisations and groups, and there is evidence from the workers involved that the young people who form these local groups have not in general come from those groupings who have previously been in decision making structures, or have found themselves consulted by adults. Many of them are disenfranchised by reason of age. Because of their recruitment to Connect Youth forums through events such as road shows, street surveys, raves, day conferences, there are clear questions about the representativeness of such groups, especially in relation to those who will progress to membership of the Youth Parliament. It could be said that any system of self selection to membership would have similar characteristics. (However, even democratic systems do not ensure the representativeness of members of parliament!) The assumptions behind this approach have been that it is important to recruit young people who might otherwise not have been interested in such councils, and that their voice is appropriately representative of excluded young people for debates with local elected members, service providers and within a youth parliament. If they are successful in harnessing the

views of excluded young people and are able to cause elected members and politicians to meet them to discuss youth issues, the issue of representativeness may be less important than the opportunity to campaign on behalf of this group.

Young people who have previously been part of loose knit consultative and decision making groups could, of course, become anaesthetised by formal structures of youth council and youth parliament membership and another danger arises. By involving them in relatively formalised procedures and processes they may lose their crusading enthusiasm, weaken links with their constituency and be swamped by political devices which have been used on other pressure groups to defuse their impact. It is important therefore that the Connect Youth process should include the opportunity for young people to establish regular consultations, outside of formalised committee structures, with politicians and those officials who head organisations dealing with areas where youth issues are central (e.g. Schools, Police, Health, Housing, Benefits).

Major questions remain in this kind of development. How will the organisation or process survive becoming 'accepted' by politicians and senior officials? Will it be sufficiently resourced to allow some research and administration to be undertaken on youth issues between parliament meetings so that representatives will be informed sufficiently to permit their full participation? How will the educational advantages of such an approach be maximised, allowing training and support to be developed for Connect Youth officials? Will the involvement of politicians in discussions with young people lead simply to the sense of participation downwards, but the acceptance of legitimisation upwards? It will be very important for the youth parliament to be firm about its own agenda and to ensure that business is driven by the legitimate concerns of young people, protecting itself from becoming only a consultative mechanism for politicians who may have policy agendas which are different.

A central concern is sustainability. Many youth participation initiatives have failed in the past, possibly because the initial leadership has moved on in age and personal development, and new, younger replacements have not been forthcoming. Funding may not always be available from the Scottish Executive and local authorities, particularly if the parliament and youth forums prove themselves to be particularly successful in raising uncomfortable, real issues from young people. Training, support and adequate resources will be central to continuation and these may have to be fought for against the support of more safe youth activities which contain rather than empower young people.

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WORKING IN PARTNERSHIP?

Limits and possibilities for youth workers and school teachers

LYN TETT

There is a powerful belief in Scotland that its education system is not only excellent but is also democratic and open to everyone. Despite this belief, the reality is that the education system has only ever offered a meritocratic type of equality which 'could serve inequality by acting as a safety valve preserving social stability' (Maclean, 1994: 46). It is possible that the new Scottish Executive, through its emphasis on social inclusion, will go some way towards challenging this myth and attempt to move to an education system that goes beyond an equal opportunities approach. The possibilities for this are contained in the many consultation documents on education that have been issued since the opening of the Scottish Parliament. In these documents education has been identified as the most important way of tackling social exclusion. This concept has been broadly defined as can be seen from the Secretary of State's Foreword to the consultation paper:

Too many Scots are excluded...from full participation in society. Those of us who benefit from the opportunities of life in modern Scotland have a duty to seek to extend similar opportunities to those who do not. Social exclusion is unacceptable in human terms; it is also wasteful, costly and carries risks in the long term for our social cohesion and well being. This Government is determined to take action to tackle exclusion, and to develop policies which will promote a more inclusive, cohesive and ultimately sustainable society.

(Scottish Office, 1998a: 1)

The final version of the Social Inclusion Strategy for Scotland, published a year later, stressed the range of projects that were being developed. It suggested: 'the Government is investing heavily in programmes to promote inclusion among school-age children, including "New Community Schools", "Early Intervention Schemes", "Alternatives to Exclusion from School" and "Family Literacy"' (Scottish Office 1999a: 7). An important part of this strategy is the recognition that schools on their own can not solve the problems associated with social exclusion. 'The long-term objective is to develop ways of working which integrate programmes not just within Government, but at all levels of action right down to local neighbourhoods and communities' (Scottish Office 1999b: 1). In order to achieve this objective schools are expected to work with other agencies both to prevent social exclusion taking place and to help reintegrate those who have been socially excluded into mainstream society.

Partnerships between schools and other organisations are therefore at the heart of most of the programmes designed to tackle social exclusion. This is particularly true of the 'New Community Schools' (NCS) initiative which draws on the concept of the 'Full Service School' in the USA. Such schools aim to 'provide integrated, school based health and social services as a means of supporting individuals and families in combating educational underachievement in disadvantaged areas' (Scottish Office, 1998b: 21). Research has shown (Ball, 1998) that multi-agency projects, especially those which are based outside any one school, have been able to provide a structure where access to, and take up of, services can be addressed and encouraged. Projects that have involved social and health services, housing, police, community education and voluntary sector agencies collaborating together with parents and schools have focused on providing integrated services at the point of need. A particular emphasis in NCS schools is 'Integrated provision of school education, informal as well as formal education, social work and health education and promotion services [which] will require a new approach and level of inter-disciplinary team working' (ibid. : 8). Clearly there are important implications for community educators, youth workers and others engaged in informal education in the community for this new form of collaborative partnership. It is too early to comment on the NCS initiative which, at the time of writing, is still at the pilot stage. However, this paper can draw on an earlier study into the links between schools and community education in Scotland to examine the limits and possibilities for collaboration between schools and youth work agencies in tackling social exclusion. Case studies from two schools that were collaborating with other agencies in order to work with troubled young people will be used to investigate the implications for partnerships of the kind envisaged in NCS. Before I turn to these, however, I will examine the issues that are raised by collaborative partnerships.

Collaborative Partnerships

What does research tell us about the limits and possibilities for collaborative partnerships? Partnerships have long been considered an important way of working in schools (see Dyson and Robson, 1999) but collaboration can be difficult because of a number of inherent hazards. Huxham (1996) points out that collaboration's serious costs can be perceived as negating apparent financial gains. A key hazard is collaborative inertia, which occurs when complications are magnified across organisations. Such complications include differences in aims, culture and procedures: although these differences can provide the leverage that is to be gained from collaborating, they can also mean different organisations' reasons for collaborating may be different - or may even conflict. Communication difficulties can arise in collaborative situations, and time is needed to reach agreement and understanding. Analysts agree that collaboration seems to work best where organisations have

compatible aims; involve similar professional groups; and share similar cultures, procedures and perceived power. With such structural barriers to be overcome, it is not surprising that collaboration between organisations is not more widespread.

Mordant (1999:4), however, has argued that partnerships are 'not necessarily between equal bodies [and]... are concerned with trade-offs and compromises'. She suggests that 'inequality within a partnership, far from being a bar to a fruitful alliance, is actually common to most partnerships. ... Of much greater significance than inequality is the recognition of the unique contribution each partner brings to the relationship' (ibid.: 15). From this perspective it is important to recognise that collaboration can take place in a variety of contexts and to examine the barriers that systems of education themselves create. This will then enable some consideration to be given to the possibilities for collaboration that the New Community Schools initiative provides.

Systems of education, like all social systems, are typically oriented to realising the *values* and *purposes* of those that create them. These purposes are expressed in distinctive *tasks* of planning, providing, and co-ordinating education. The organisational arrangements support the roles and relationships within the system and establish the rules and procedures that give coherence to activities. The effective delivery of these tasks depends upon the appropriate *conditions* being available. Without the necessary resources, or professional capabilities, or institutional support it will be difficult to realise the purposes which educators strive to achieve. Youth workers within the community education system are distinguished from other sectors of education by their own distinctive values, purposes, tasks and conditions. These dimensions will, however, typically not form disparate elements but cohere together, informed by common beliefs and *traditions of practice* which have their own structural forms (see Nixon and Ranson, 1997). Whilst community education does have its own special characteristics there are often different and competing traditions of interpretation about how practice should be understood and delivered. These differences within and between educators can lead to conflict, but it is also possible for such differences to become complementary and mutually reinforcing.

The activity of working with troubled young people, for example, forms a specialised practice involving collaboration between schools, Social Work Departments, Community Education Services and voluntary agencies. Each of these professions will bring their own perspective to the task they are engaged in. When young people are referred to them specific programmes of learning will be created involving active educational strategies designed to respond to particular learning needs. The values and standards embodied in these practices of education derive from the professional communities of the teachers, youth workers, community educators

and voluntary organisations involved. Practitioners cannot escape the history of their practice, although they may wish to engage with it so as to change the practices they inherit from the past. For example, because the focus of community educators has been upon adults in the community or on young people in trouble, the practices that have ensued have developed into a distinctive tradition of learning. This tradition is of responding to expressed needs, inviting participation of the learner in negotiating the purposes and processes of learning, and developing flexible patterns of provision to accommodate the pressures that are faced by the learner. These practices of community educators reflect a tradition of progressive pedagogy. As Martin (1987: 17) argues:

'Community education' is about evolving more open, participatory and democratic relationships between educators and their constituencies.... The reciprocal quality of these relationships is crucial: community educators claim to work with people - not for them, let alone on them.... This fundamental element of role redefinition and reversal has wide ranging implications for the nature of educative relationships, the context of learning and the potential for redistribution of educational opportunity.

While traditions develop their appropriate structural forms in support of their educational purposes, they also embody the wider cultural codes of their time. 'A fruitful way to think about schools is to see them as structures that are intricately and irrevocably woven into others, all of which serve political, economic, cultural, religious and social aims' (Rigsby, 1995, p.7). Given, as Peshkin (1995) suggests, the multiplicity of constituencies served by schools it is not surprising that varied interpretations of purpose have developed over time. Two different kinds of rivalry between traditions of education are appropriate to highlight for discussion: the first is between professionals, and the second is between professionals and the public or community.

The differences between traditions typically have their roots in professional training and socialisation about how the needs of clients are to be understood and which practices are appropriate. This has been emphasised by Rigsby (1995) in an American study of education and community who suggested that 'different professions and organisations possess unique vocabularies and perspectives to their work. For example, teachers and schools define their relationships with children differently from the way [youth] workers and agencies define their relationships with children' (Rigsby, 1995, p.8). The professional tradition of the school often emphasises the community as a site for enriching the curriculum. It has developed an understanding of the significance of parental participation for improving pupil motivation, behaviour and achievement. The school reaches out to the community to enhance traditional

goals of pupils' progress and performance but the institution remains the source of the educative value and process.

In contrast, the youth worker is typically an 'outreach' worker serving the learning needs of young people where she finds them. The task of working as an educator with individuals and groups in the community leads to boundaries being perceived as permeable in order to achieve the flexibility required to support learning where it is most appropriately located (see Smith, 1994). Figure 1 exemplifies the different traditions of teachers and youth workers.

Table 1 Tradition

Teacher	<i>Values Purpose</i>	Youth worker
personal development individual needs	————	community development individual and community development
knowledge-centred teaching emphasis	————	Person-centred experiential emphasis

The foregoing discussion indicates that there will always be tensions between educators about their professional knowledge because such specialisation helps to distinguish one profession from another. It appears that these tensions also arise both from the different priorities that agencies establish and the different definitions of pedagogic purpose and practice that govern their work. Different partners will understand collaboration differently. For example, research has shown (see Dyson and Robson, 1999; Shiver and Newburn, 1996) that from the perspective of the school effective collaboration stems from the capacity of other partners to add value to the schools' efforts. Schools are also more likely to welcome collaborating partners in areas that they may regard as 'peripheral' such as drugs education, as opposed to 'core' activities such as the teaching of reading.

So far I have shown that collaboration is difficult but it has enormous potential for creating a more inclusive education system especially when the different contributions of the partners are recognised. In order to see how collaboration works in practice I turn now to a detailed examination of two collaborative partnerships between schools and youth work agencies.

Methodology

This paper draws from a study of collaborative initiatives between schools and community education agencies. It analysed these in terms of the values, purposes, tasks and conditions under which collaborative activity takes place (see Martin et al, 1999; Tett et al, 1998). The research was undertaken in two stages to provide breadth and depth. The first stage provided a statistical overview and a map of local community education initiatives within the changing local authority contexts

through analysing the results of three national postal surveys to: headteachers of all the state Primary and Secondary schools; Principal Community Education Officers; Chief Executive Officers.

The second stage of the project studied in depth the links formed between ten case study schools and their local communities. It focused on four different categories of collaborative activity: school-home-community links; health education; work with troubled young people; adult education. These activities were known to provide challenging opportunities for partnership and collaboration in many schools, as they frequently required particular kinds of expertise that most teachers did not have. Moreover, these activities were areas of policy interest when the research was undertaken in 1997/98.

A case study design was chosen as it provided a means of focusing on individual sets of complex relationships between schools and community education within the specific policy context of their local authority. It allowed for the exploration of perceptions of the relationship as experienced by different players in each case study context within a limited time period. The schools selected for case studies had taken part in at least one of these collaborative activities. Representatives of participants in the collaborative activity including the headteacher and teachers, parents and pupils, local authority managers, community and voluntary workers were interviewed in each of the ten localities. The interviews were transcribed and analysed.

This paper will focus on the findings from the two schools that were collaborating with youth work agencies in order to work more effectively with troubling and troublesome young people. It begins with a description of the activities that took place and moves on to develop an analysis of the issues that arose from the collaborations.

The Case Studies

Case study one was in a secondary school, with a community wing attached, situated in a medium sized town and case study two was a community primary school in a rural area. In both locations the collaboration was with a specialist voluntary sector agency that worked intensively with a small group of young people who were troubled and/or troublesome in order to develop an individually focused programme.

In case study one the basic aim of the voluntary sector agency's work in schools was to offer close, specifically negotiated, support to individual students in order to maintain or re-establish school attendance. The agency's core funding came from the Social Work Department and it also received income from a variety of other sources, including the National Lottery. Its small staff, all of whom were on short-term contracts, came from a variety of professional backgrounds, mainly in

social work and community education. What they had in common was a specific interest in 'difficult' young people and a shared philosophy of practice that informed how they worked with them.

The agency's work with the school was a combination of collaboration and sub-contracting within an internal market. The collaboration stemmed directly from the personal concern and contacts of the Assistant Rector at the school and the co-ordinator of the voluntary agency. The activity consisted, essentially, of supporting particular students at the school whose behaviour and/or attendance were considered problematic. This included, for example, cases of extreme school phobia and persistent truanting and involved agency workers escorting individual students from home to school or even from one class to another, agreeing 'release' from particular subjects, and working closely with students' families. Referrals to the agency could come directly from the school or, if the young people had got into trouble outside school, from other agencies such as the Social Work Department. In each case, an individualised, tailor-made contract was drawn up in which the student and his/her parents agreed a negotiated pattern of attendance/behaviour. This was 'rewarded' by periods of alternative education outside of the school which varied from non-attendance at individual school lessons, one afternoon a week out of school or, in exceptional cases, complete withdrawal for a limited time. An agency worker supervised each student and time out of school was usually spent at the agency workshop on an industrial estate in the main town. Here a range of 'alternative' activities was offered, including woodwork and motor cycle riding and maintenance. The agency's programme was systematically structured and delivered as a progressive, modularised curriculum targeted on individual pupils. In this sense, it represented an alternative kind of education to that offered by the school through offering intense, carefully negotiated support to these individuals (based on one-to-one casework methods) in order to maintain, or re-establish, school attendance.

In case study two the focus was on pupils aged 9 upward who were in difficulty in school or with the police. The agency with which the school worked was in the voluntary sector but with strong links to the Social Work Department. One of its posts was funded through the Children in Need Appeal. The collaboration stemmed from the head teacher who was keen to be proactive in the area of disruptive behaviour and worked jointly with the senior voluntary sector agency worker to offer a planned programme of group work.

The provision took the form of a group that ran for two hours a week and was planned and delivered jointly by the agency worker and the Primary 1 teacher in the school. The sessions were run as typical social group work sessions, with various games and activities designed to build trust and confidence among group members

themselves and between adults and group members. The aim was to find out the issues that were important for the young person and what action needed to be taken. The agency team and the school head teacher chose group members from amongst a list of young people referred to the agency by teachers, social workers, educational psychologists etc. The criteria for selection included: i) people who would benefit from small group work; ii) people who would work together as a group; iii) age, from 9 - 12; iv) children who were shy and withdrawn as well as those showing disruptive behaviour. At the end of term there was a joint assessment of progress by the group worker and teacher against the aims that were agreed with the young person. This was fed back to the original referrer to the group so that he/she was kept informed and areas were identified where further work was needed. Sometimes this was done in the mainstream class and sometimes existing provision out of school was identified as being potentially helpful in sustaining progress, for example, a youth club or befriender scheme. Most children stayed in the group for two terms, sometimes for three.

Comparison of the two case studies

Although these two case studies look very similar on the surface they differed in several ways. These are discussed below in terms of: the values and purposes of the educators who were working together; the tasks of planning and co-ordinating the educational practices; the conditions in terms of financial and human resources and institutional support under which the collaborations took place. It is the coalescence of all of these aspects, I argue, which limit or facilitate collaborative partnerships.

Values

Perhaps the most significant point to make about the relationship between these two case studies was the differing values that underpinned the work. In case study one the over-riding priorities of the school were about the effective academic education of the majority of its students. Case study two, in contrast, saw the school as being for the whole community and for the whole child and there was as much emphasis on social, as on academic, development. In both cases there was a desire to improve the overall educational outcomes for the young person. In the secondary school, however, this was seen as being most effectively achieved by working with the small number of troubled young people separately, thus enabling the school to go on working in the normal, traditional way. In the primary school these interventions reflected a view of the need to be proactive in creating time to work with all children in as supportive a way as possible. As a result, it was expected that a reasonably high proportion of pupils might be involved in some work of this nature, however briefly, rather than it being seen as for very exceptional cases. Case study two had an overall orientation to the community which was seen

as including parents, adults participating in the school's community programme and the geographical community and a head teacher that was committed to giving 'ownership to the community'. In case study one the priority was the development of the academic potential of its pupils and this was seen as best achieved through strengthening links with parents and using other agencies to provide expertise that the school did not have.

Purposes

Because the case studies were dealing with different age groups - 12-16 in case study one compared with 9-12 in case study two - there was a stronger focus on attendance and preparation for employment in the former and on disruptive or withdrawn behaviour in the latter. In both locations, however, the purpose of the activity was essentially to provide support for young people who were in trouble at school or with the police because of their problematic behaviour. There were differing views in the case studies about how this purpose was best achieved. Case study two viewed the key issue as involving young people in making decisions and thinking about what they are doing, whilst case study one was more concerned about dealing with problematic behaviour and minimising its effect on the rest of the school. In case study two, the active involvement of the well regarded primary 1 teacher in the group work was designed to embed it in the everyday work of the school and to extend her repertoire of pedagogic skills.

Tasks

It was the way in which the programmes are developed and delivered that provides another major contrast between the two locations. In case study one, the school was fully committed to the comprehensive principle, and seemed to be ready to confront the logic of this in terms of working as positively as possible with the small minority of students who were both troubled and troublesome. However, the form of the collaboration in essence was a sub-contracting arrangement whereby the school temporarily handed over responsibility for particularly troubled young people to a specialist agency since there was no joint development or delivery of the programme. This was partly because of the perceived complementarity of the distinctive ethos, purposes and skills of the school and the agency. This reflected a view that the school was not particularly well equipped in terms of either expertise or inclination to deal with exceptionally difficult pupils. In contrast, case study two provided an example of joint participation in decision making at all levels from planning through to delivery and on to evaluation. This close collaboration had resulted from an approach to young people that saw the school as doing something to develop children socially as well as academically. The joint working, therefore, was seen as giving opportunities for both the school and the agency to provide a better programme than either could do on their own.

Conditions

In terms of resources, in the Primary school case study the school input was 'funded' by the head teacher teaching the Primary 1 class of the teacher taking the group. She was officially designated as a non-teaching head in the staffing allocation so this allowed her to do this, although at some personal cost in terms of catching up with other work. In the other case study funds were available to refer disruptive pupils and the current arrangements were therefore seen as cost effective in ensuring that the smooth running of the school was not disrupted. Funding for both the voluntary sector agencies was short term and dependent on applications to external bodies such as the Lottery and the Children in Need Appeal. The nature of this funding meant that programmes had to be planned for a limited period of time with a clear beginning and ending so that, in the words of one head teacher 'people wouldn't be left high and dry if funding wasn't obtained'.

In relation to professional expertise, the head teacher in case study two saw the voluntary agency as having the skills that the school did not yet have but, by releasing a teacher, a staff development opportunity was provided that enabled the acquisition of some of these skills for the school. In the other case study it was assumed that the professional expertise held by the voluntary organisation's workers was so different that it was neither possible nor necessary for this to be shared with the school's teaching staff.

These comparisons show that the influence on these four dimensions of practice of values, purposes, tasks and conditions result in clear differences between apparently highly similar activities. These may be summarised as follows. See Table 2.

Table 2

Values	<i>social and academic education for all</i>	vs	<i>academic education for majority</i>
Purposes	<i>involving young people in decision making</i>	vs	<i>minimising effect of problematic behaviour</i>
Tasks	<i>developing all pupils socially and academically</i>	vs	<i>sub-contracting out of difficult pupils</i>
Conditions	<i>collaborative sharing of expertise</i>	vs	<i>complementarity of expertise.</i>

The case studies have confirmed that tensions exist between educators but also show that they can be dealt with in two differing ways. The partners in case study 1 had separate spheres of operation which enabled the teachers and youth workers to operate, undisturbed, within their own traditions but also meant that the advantages

of drawing on both types of expertise were lost. In contrast, in case study 2, there was an appreciation of the strengths to be gained from the complimentary roles of the different professional workers even though such a position of trust had taken time and effort to build up.

Conclusion

The literature (e.g. Dyson and Robson, 1999; Huxham, 1996; Shiver and Newburn, 1996) and the case studies detailed above point to the very real possibilities of collaboration between schools and other agencies. They suggest that where professionals share a common purpose, where they are able to work jointly and where they are able to build up trust over time then partnerships are successful. Collaboration, however, has endemic problems. These arise both from the different priorities that agencies establish and the different definitions of 'need' that govern their work. The two case studies illustrate how different conceptualisations of values, tasks, purposes and conditions will influence the possibilities for developing collaborative partnerships between schools and youth workers in order to benefit young people. Each partner brings their own tradition that sets limits about what they can contribute to the whole and it is essential to recognise the strengths that each can bring.

The Minister for Children and Education in Scotland has stated that 'New Community Schools are at the leading edge of our policies. ... [It] is a radical initiative to modernise schools, raise attainment and promote social inclusion' (Scottish Office, 1999c: 1). He also suggested that 'The NCS initiative aims to develop productive partnerships that 'will work with the local community – strengthening both the school and that community' (ibid. : 16). The findings from the study of collaborative partnerships on which this paper is based and from work on developing 'inclusive' schools in the UK and the USA (see Ball, 1998; Merz, and Furman, 1997; Rigsby, Reynolds, & Wang, 1995; Smrekar, 1996; Tett et al, forthcoming), suggests that:

A multi-agency approach to the needs of children and their parents provides added value, extends the range of provision available and provides the means of dealing with complex social situations such as those leading to social exclusion.

Collaboration between the school, other professionals, parents and the community in multi-agency projects is difficult and requires time, effort and a sharing of perspectives if it is to be successful.

Inter and intra professional training and discussion is essential if people are to understand the strengths to be gained from the complimentary roles of the different professions.

It is important that all agencies share and are committed to the aims of the project and that a holistic approach is taken that recognises both the internal school community and the external wider community.

The wider research on which this paper is based confirms that interprofessional collaboration is difficult and therefore not very widespread. It was found that very few schools took part in collaborative practice and those that did tended to collaborate with other schools and on issues relating to the formal curriculum. Such practice was designed to enhance as far as possible what schools saw as their core business of educating children (see Blair et al, 1998). It may be that the broader conception of education contained in the New Community Schools brochure that 'the potential of all children can only be realised by addressing their needs in the round' (Scottish Office, 98: 2) will open out the opportunities for collaboration.

However, if such partnerships are to work towards the development of an inclusive education system that involves all children, parents and the wider community there needs to be agreement about its meaning and purpose. Such a system requires, as Lloyd (1999: 267) points out in the context of school exclusion, '[schools] emphasising both social and academic goals rather than narrowly academic aims, [having]... flexible and open pupil-teacher and home-school relationships, ... strong interprofessional relationships, a supportive senior management and a responsive local authority'. However, despite the commitment of some teachers and schools to reach beyond the institution to serve and draw in the community, this conception and practice of education remains under the influence of professionals rather than the wider community. A study from the USA contends that strategies of 'school based management', 'co-ordinated services for children' and parent participation have not achieved their potential because they remain under the dominant influence of the professionals.

Service co-ordination programs differ widely from setting to setting ... However, it was primarily a connection among professionals across community agencies, rather than between schools and community members. It was an elaboration of the school's structure rather than a way to change the bureaucratic hierarchy, which (can be) a source of intimidation to parents (Merz and Furman, 1997, p 59).

If New Community Schools are to achieve the hopes that have been invested in them then it is vital that these factors are taken into account. Partnerships are potentially valuable if people are realistic about their possibilities and constraints. Community education, youth workers and other informal educators have a significant

role to play in this but first potentially difficult and divisive questions of purpose, values, tasks and conditions have to be tackled. On the evidence of the case studies, and a critical reading of the relevant literature, policy makers and practitioners need to be aware of the issues detailed above if they are to contribute to the move towards a more inclusive education system. Otherwise the NCS initiative becomes just one more way in which those who are already marginalised become further excluded rather than included.

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WORKING SPACE

PORNOGRAPHY, SEXUAL HEALTH AND YOUNG PEOPLE

SARAH LOEB

Pornography is a notoriously hard issue for women to grapple with. Feminists who campaign against it find themselves in an uncomfortable alliance with the moral right. For community and youth workers it is an issue that is often left untouched and not debated, it's a slippery subject, difficult to get hold of, difficult to object to without being accused of damaging the gift of free speech, self expression, or quite simply - being labelled a prude.

In this article I want to confront the issue of pornography - to talk about my own feelings about pornography and the issues that pornography created in my work as a sexual health worker. I shall explore the different ways that I saw pornography affecting the young women and young men that I worked with - and the consequences that this had for their self-esteem. Lastly I hope to write about the way that I as worker met the challenges of pornography, and ways in which the project that I worked for tried to combat its effects.

I worked as a sexual health worker for 3 years (2 years in a full time capacity) for an urban aid project. The project works with young people under the age of 25 in a variety of settings (schools, youth clubs, and street work) on issues that are related to sexual health. A comprehensive sexual health programme, aiming to encourage young people to make informed choices about their own sexual health is provided to all years at a local Community High School. The project mainly works with groups, although when I was there a large portion of my work also involved working with young people on an individual support basis.

The project was based in a part of Edinburgh that has very high unemployment rates, poor housing, overcrowded living conditions and high instances of poor mental and physical health. Living in that area has a very profound affect on the young people who stay there. In one year of work I dealt with 117 young people who 'dropped in' to the project. All presented with problems that were symptomatic of low self-esteem. The self-esteem levels experienced by these young people have stemmed from political, social and personal factors, all of which inter relate. I believe that pornography contributed to their low levels of self-esteem.

It is important to note that the effects highlighted in this article do not occur simply because of pornography on its own, but from the way that women are represented

in a patriarchal society by the government, law, mass media, family, and religion. Indeed it would be true to say that pornography only exists because of an imbalance of power in our society.

It is also important to point out that I am only reporting my own experiences and interactions with young people; what they have told me, or behaviours that I have observed by them. In no way am I trying to claim that their experiences account for all young people, or that all young people react to, or experience things in the same way. I would bet, however that most women, at some point in their lives will encounter some adverse effects because of pornography.

Why is it hard to take issue with pornography?

As a worker trying to engage other workers in a critical dialogue about the adverse effects of pornography I often found myself up against a brick wall. Why? Well there are a number of properties that make pornography difficult to object to. Many liberals do not take issue with pornography because they believe that to ban it would encroach upon the right of freedom of speech. Freedom of speech is a basic human right but not when it can be shown to be harmful towards others. Taking a stance against pornography also may involve uncomfortable alliances with the moral right. This can be off-putting to a lot of feminists and liberals since the objectives of the moral right in attacking pornography are usually at odds with their own ideologies. Finally, it is not uncommon for those of us who do take issue with pornography to be dismissed as being frigid, repressed or prudish with unhealthy attitudes to human sexuality. This has the effect of stopping all discussion, so that workable solutions to the problem are rarely evolved. Often the onus is thrown back to the original worker.

I found that it was important to be clear about what pornography is and what it isn't. The definition of pornography that I have found to be most comprehensive is Catherine MacKinnon's (1983) that was used in Minneapolis public hearings on the Links between pornography and acts of sexual violence. She describes pornography as a category that is quite distinct from sexually explicit material or erotic material generally.

We define pornography as the graphic, sexually explicit subordination of women through pictures or words, that also includes women dehumanised as sexual objects, things or commodities, enjoying pain or humiliation or rape, being tied up, cut up, mutilated, bruised or physically hurt, in postures of sexual submission or servility or display, reduced to body parts, penetrated by objects or animals, or presented in scenarios of degradation, injury,

torture, shown as filthy or inferior, bleeding, bruised, or hurt in a context that makes these conditions sexual. Erotica defined by distinction as not this, might be sexually explicit materials premised on equality.

This distinction is frequently ignored. Often there is an assumption that people who are anti porn are against exploring issues related to sex and sexuality in an open, honest and productive way. The sexual health workshops that I ran included a lot of 'frank discussion' about sex that could be very sexually explicit. I did not facilitate workshops from a moral standpoint but from a harm reduction standpoint, believing that if we want to promote positive changes in the sexual health of young people we have to be prepared to talk about sex in a very open and positive way. I wanted to discourage young people from being ashamed of their sexuality and sexual health.

To me pornography damaged this process. It presents deeply rooted attitudes towards sex, and often represents sexuality as dirty and shameful, where women exist purely to be dominated and degraded.

Susan Griffen makes a superb point in her book 'Pornography and Silence' (1988) where she sees pornography as splitting the body and mind, preventing the integration necessary for good healthy attitudes to ensure women's sexuality is respected and not open to abuse and degradation. Bearing this in mind I find it ironic that those seen as campaigning against pornography are seen as having unhealthy attitudes to human sexuality.

The effect of pornography on young people

Our sexual behaviour is influenced by the culture around us, and with the flourishing of the Internet pornography is becoming increasingly accessible. In my years as a sexual health worker I heard pornography most mentioned by young men, who as a matter of course talked and bragged, about all the 'porno' films they had seen.

Sex is a subject that is often mystified. Young people often find it hard to get access to honest, accurate information from which to make informed choices about their own sexual health. Many look to magazines (both pornographic and those aimed at young people) and pornographic videos for their information. This generates a lot of misinformation and can be both damaging and confusing. Although the young people who I was in contact with did have access to good open and honest information about sexual health, there was still an anxiety about things like 'sexual technique' or worry over sex in general. Overwhelmingly there was a lot of peer pressure to say (even if it was a lie) that they had had some sexual experience, and to give some proof that they knew what they were talking about. Consequently a lot of young men and women watched pornography to educate

themselves about 'sex'. The result was that they developed a warped perception of their own sexuality, and some young men cultivated harmful ideas about the sexual rights of potential partners. It seemed that pornography prioritised male need, and gave young men a very bad idea of what women are really like. There was no consideration of women's need to be loved and valued.

For the young men the images that pornography depicted were often at odds with their experience. For example pornography often displays man as dominant, a master, and very experienced. The reality for most young men is that they are young, afraid and inexperienced.

Pornography also stimulated worry over penis size. This, I know, sounds stereotypical, but I found that young men disclosed anxiety about their own penis size, after watching pornography.

The videos the young people reported watching showed women writhing and begging for more sex, that from their description, sounded painful and degrading. A lot of young men actually believed that this is what women liked and that this was the way to operate to get respect from a woman.

Sometimes young people would talk to me about not being able to enjoy sex. From what they told me this was due to a poor knowledge of foreplay or the person concerned not feeling comfortable about being in a sexual relationship. One young woman I spoke to was courageous enough to discuss this with her boyfriend. His response was disappointing: 'you must be a freak- the women on films dinnae need all that to get them going'.

The question 'why is sex sore?' often came up in anonymous question sessions within groups. In responding I usually encouraged the group to talk about the importance of feeling 'ready' for sex and the importance of foreplay. Responses like 'nae one does that here' or 'they don't dae all that in films' were common.

It is no exaggeration to say that pornography had a catastrophic effect on the self-esteem of the young women I worked with. Many of them were unhappy when their partner watched porn; often they believed that a partner had turned to pornography because they weren't good enough.

Pornography also cultivated poor body image and young women often internalised the images that it portrayed believing that 'I must look and act like that to enjoy sex'. It also caused young women huge concern and worry over sex: they worried that they might have been frigid because 'it looked really sore on film, I didn't want to do it and he called me frigid'.

Worryingly I saw young women accept things that are not acceptable. There were incidents of unconsenting sex accepted with statements like 'it was my fault, really, I should have been in the mood, you know like all them women in the films'. I even heard it said that women who wore short skirts were 'asking for it' or that women were always 'up for it'. Young women sometimes emphatically voiced this. Sometimes 'wisdom' gained through pornography was cited.

In one exercise I frequently conducted, young people were asked to construct a 'Bill of Sexual Rights'. Typical responses were troubling. Rights were often confused with controversial responsibilities; 'to look and smell nice, to be there for him, to be good at sex, and to keep a clean and tidy house' were but a few examples.

As a sexual health worker I tried to redress this balance, by including in my work, a focus on the principles of respect in relationships, self-esteem, equality, assertive communication and respect for self and respect for others. I helped to develop a school programme that had a focus on gender issues, relationships, respect, assertive communication, feeling good about yourself and celebrating male and female sexuality in positive ways.

A self-esteem programme was introduced for second years, and for third and fourth years, role-plays that explored issues like respect in relationships. The 'Jenny Minger Game' was a take on the Jerry Springer show. It harnessed the obvious enthusiasm that the young people had for the show into discussing a subject that young people found hard to engage with. Before the game stereotypical attitudes like 'She was probably asking for it' or 'She's stupid for staying in that type of relationship' were prevalent. The show's host 'Jenny Minger'- who had a lot more savvy than the real Jerry Springer - interviewed characters - played by the young people- on issues that related to violence in relationships. The characters held points of view representing all sides of the debate, allowing young people to voice opinions without owning them. After the role-play the young people were desperate to discuss issues relating to violence in relationships and did so in a compassionate and enlightened way. This was one of the most successful parts of the programme.

Other effective 'games' that my agency conducted in schools were: 'Ok or Out of Order' a game that used real life scenarios of young people to look at rights in relationships and 'Hollywood Versus (insert school name here) wood' which asked young people to identify differences between an imaginary first sexual encounter of two young people who were virgins and the same situation portrayed on film. Discussion about real life anxieties and film myths often led to discussion of pornography.

All these experiences convinced me that it is vital that workers actively confront and engage with pornography and the issues that it creates for the young people that we work with. Our unwillingness to take a stance against pornography adds to its destructive power. In working with young people it is essential that we are clear about our own stance and boundaries with respect to pornography. While it is important that we continue to respect the diversity of young people's experience it is vital that we don't collude with or reinforce the damaging effects that pornography brings. In ignoring the problem of pornography we are colluding with its effects. In talking about sex, sexuality and relationship issues in honest, open and accessible ways we can help young people develop positive attitudes towards their own sexual health. It is possible to find creative ways of using young people's own discourse to critically examine pornography's pervasiveness and negative effects. Workers need space to develop critical praxis that engages young people in addressing imbalances of power and the damaging consequences. Who knows - we may even counteract some of the damage caused by those repressed and prudish pornographers!

Sarah Loeb is currently working in a project based in Edinburgh dealing with drug misuse.

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BERNARD DAVIES

In time of war and the threat of war...

Who today would write such a book - so sweeping in its scope, so authoritative in its tone and judgements, so inexhaustible in its fascination with statistics 'hard' data? Though modestly claimed as 'a mere impressionistic picture' (p.5), here are over 400 pages of meticulously researched text lightened only by eight pages of photographs. The result: a huge panorama ranging from a summary of young people's legal status as laid down in a raft of 1930s legislation to a detailed exposition of how 'Messrs Sainsbury Ltd, provision merchants' treat their young employees; from arguments in favour of compulsory full- or part time education for all under 18 year olds to condemnation of the damage done to the young by industrial accidents and excessive overtime; from commendation for skittles and rounders to homilies on the risks of nits, teeth decay and too little sleep.

Subsequently described as 'the fullest and most authoritative study' of young people's needs, within a very few years its recommendations were being presented as ('in the main') the basis of 'the more recent developments of the national policy for youth' (Morgan, 1943, inside front cover). If ever a marker was needed of a society just about to cross from public confidence and presumptions of consensus to relativism and anguished doubt in its policy-making for the young, Morgan's book is surely it.

What weakened conviction and levered open uncertainty was of course the Second World War. Though not actually starting until shortly after the book's publication, this had for long been seen by many as inevitable. Build-up to it was shaped particularly by a deepening alarm over 'national efficiency' - often a coded term for the deteriorating state of the nation's youth. Here, the focus was mainly on the young men who would have to fight, though young women too, as the assumed guardians of personal morality and family life, found themselves the focus of what today we would call a moral panic. Lord Portal, Vice Chairman of the King George Jubilee Trust which commissioned Morgan's study, precisely captured this mood in his preface to the report. This was a time, he

declared, 'when ... the manhood and the womanhood of this nation may yet be tested as never before': (p.v).

Between the humane and the hard-headed

At first sight Morgan's experience as a first world war army officer and an academic specialising in English drama hardly suggested the best preparation for carrying out research of this kind. By the 1930s, however, he was immersing himself in social issues - as for example Commissioner for the Durham and Tyneside Special Area which, empowered by new legislation, had the task of tackling the fall out of 1930s mass unemployment in the North East of England. Though importing many of the class assumptions inherent to such a career, he also brought a humanity to his investigation which was liable at times to tip over into a challenging non-conformity and even iconoclasm.

When considering how to get more young people to return to study, for example, Morgan strove hard to enter into the young person's world:

... to urge a boy or girl exhausted by long hours of work to travel home, snatch a hasty meal, and then sit down to formal lessons involving intellectual concentration may be worse than even the highly undesirable alternative of loafing in a street or resting in a cinema. (p.25)

Remembering 'on the day when we do our first job ... the thrill of bursting out of the shell', he is clear, too, that 'to be won (young people) must be wooed' rather than intimidated or coerced into educational activity (pp.70, 34). Thus, despite the occasional wobble, he was willing to apply this voluntary principle not only to young people's attendance at youth organisations like the Scouts but also to their participation in evening institutes programmes, acknowledging that 'any lad is free to walk out when he will' (p.313).

Indeed, even when considering how to respond to the further ends of deviance, Morgan holds hard to some strikingly liberal positions. In terms which touch a number of contemporary nerves, he recognises that 'a lad may run away from home for many reasons' including 'for the great majority ... hopelessness of their condition ... homes broken in some way, loss of parents, and maybe a re-marriage and a step-parent' (p.75). When looking at how some hostels deal with such homeless young people, he insists that 'success ... can be secured only by personal treatment, based on wise sympathy and understanding' (p.159). For

juvenile offenders, too, he advocates adopting a potentiality model of youth on the basis that 'every delinquent is a challenge and also an opportunity' (p.171-2).

Nor does Morgan always assume that it is only the downtrodden young who must change. Attacking 'the brutal fact ... (of) the cheapness of juvenile labour' which had created so many dead end jobs, he even suggests to his no doubt overwhelming privileged readership:

The day may come when we shall have to open an hotel door ourselves and we may even be obliged to carry a few more parcels. (p.53)

Morgan's willingness to think the still largely unthinkable in this way does at times slip into something akin to romanticism. Thus, when discussing young people's leisure needs he takes it as given that 'a feature of the Victorian home was the amount of amusement which was made in the family circle' (p.204). Similarly, as in his view 'waste of leisure' is much less obvious in the countryside than in the cities, one of his throw-away conclusions is that rural youth clubs are less urgently needed (p.295). Meanwhile, Borstals are described as 'these remarkable places' capable of dissolving cynicism (p.184- 5) while psychologists are accepted as having 'done much to disentangle the more deeply seated conflicts which are sometimes the source of delinquency' (p.189).

The limits of non-conformity

In fact, when push comes to shove, Morgan emerges as a product - and particularly as a man - of his times, firmly constrained by his period's dominant analyses of society and definitions of social problems. Adolescence itself is explained as 'this perilous strait between childhood and manhood' (p.1), as 'this perilous age' (p.5), and as 'this stormy period of growth' (p.15). The young person's 'natural characteristics' are simply asserted as 'instability and irresponsibility' (p.49) and their 'bane' as 'volatility' marked by 'a kind of spiritual fatigue which grips him in the intervals of violent energy' (p.290). From such starting points it is only a short distance to endorsing often implicitly punitive individual pathological explanations of the young's behaviour assuming their 'sub-normal intelligence' (p.153), their inherent 'immaturity' (p.162) and their limited capacity for taking charge of their own leisure activity.

Given such starting points, it is perhaps hardly surprising that, as we have seen, 'loafing' and the 'spectatorism' which went with it get very short

shrift. So too, indeed does dancing - clearly, in Morgan's estimation, not what it used to be (p.244); gambling ('a menace because it encourages the most anti-social of all beliefs, namely that is it worth getting something for nothing' (p.260)); and the commercialisation of leisure generally (p.93-4). Here, as perhaps a continuing caution against knee-jerk judgements of newer cultural forms, film ('a silly picture in a stuffy cinema'), is contrasted dismissively with 'genuine art', ending up with a particularly heavy drubbing:

Is there any wonder that films are what they are? Take away eroticism and violence and little is left. From that little take away light comedy and the remaining balance is negligible. (p.195)

And again:

(The cinema) is a school of false values and its scholars cannot go unscathed. (p.242)

In this exploration of modern youth and its preoccupations, it is true that Morgan does at times show himself to be alert to the need to think about young women as well as young men. He for example gives specific attention to their leisure pursuits, work experiences and educational and training requirements as well as to their offending. He insists, too, that there is no excuse when young people go camping 'for leaving the boys to pitch the tents and the girls to cook' (p.336). Nor is there any reason 'why girls should not practice the art of democracy as well as boys (p.323-4).

However, as his casual language reveals, his perspectives, run through with the entrenched sexist preconceptions of his times, steer well clear of any recognition of the more deeply structured, especially economic, inequalities shaping differences in gender (and also class) experience. Thus, though the process by which the labour market of the day suctioned young women into domestic service is criticised, it is never systematically unpicked. Nor is young women's destiny as domestic labourers in their own homes questioned. Rather, Morgan concludes, because of 'the natural draining of the labour pool through marriage', 'progressive employment' is more important economically and socially for young men because they 'should be able in the twenties to shoulder the burdens of a husband and father' (p.49).

Such positions are rooted in a broader view of economic structures whose imperfect operation, though at times bluntly exposed, is in effect explained as the outcome of some unfortunate - and depersonalised -

CLASSIC TEXT REVISITED

fate. Morgan for example acknowledges 'the false value which is attached to work' - 'sought merely as the device by which we get ... money'. He makes much of the consequences of 'mechanisation' and its tendency to generate more and more low paid, dead-end jobs (p.40-1). He regrets that some apprenticeships are a sham, allowing employers to use apprentices as cheap labour (p.63). He traces the connection between these kind of work experiences and young people's passive use of their leisure (p.193). And, again resonating strongly with current concerns, he makes the link, if only glancingly, between low wages, young people's desire to live independently and the fact that some end up homeless (pp.71, 136).

Even as he opens up such issues, however, Morgan makes very clear the bounds to his analysis. His examination of mass youth unemployment gives detailed attention to only one of the two of its causes he identifies - 'the immobility of juvenile labour' (p.71). This leads him into a detailed (and far from uncritical) appraisal of the Juvenile Transference Scheme, set up in 1935 to allow the Ministry of Labour to move young people from 'places where unemployment is sufficiently acute ... to districts where there is a demand for their labour'. (p.76) He thus accepts that a danger exists of 'diluting the local labour market with unskilled juveniles and a resultant effect of displacing older men' (p.84). And - again touching such current sensitivities - he refers to doubts which he had not been able either to verify or disprove over the quality of the work on offer (p.90).

It is only in passing however that he concedes the impact of some major (market-driven) structural shifts - particularly a revolutionary disturbance in industry during the past twenty years, which has resulted in the rapid decay of certain areas and the equally rapid growth of other centres of industry. (p.71)

His treatment of recent moves to encourage 'a recreation of industry in ... denuded areas' (p.91) is then at best cursory, marginalising as unrealisable 'the alternative which organised labour prefers ... to bring work to the boys and girls' (p.85). Here apparently impersonal forces are at work wreaking damage for which no rational explanations can be advanced - and no human actor can be held responsible. Even then, the workings of capitalism were to be treated as an unchallengeable 'natural' order not to be diverted nor even much altered by mere human (even collective) intervention.

Faith in the state

And yet, contradictorily, not quite. For Morgan, urged on by the imperative of a looming war, does begin to play around with less free market possibilities. Unavoidably - especially at a time when totalitarian states were giving state intervention a very bad name - he has to struggle his way out of a taken-for-granted commitment to voluntary activity. Nonetheless, almost it seems in spite of himself, he prefigures more a substantial role for the state in key educational and welfare areas by offering as 'one of the main conclusions' of his study that:

While the voluntary system should be strengthened to carry on its valuable work, the (youth) problem can be solved only by largely increasing the supply of public funds and services. (p.3)

Most obviously and concretely, this aspiration is expressed by Morgan's strong and repeating support for secondary education for all, including demands that the school-leaving age (then effectively 14) be raised to 16 (p.27-8) and 'the educational process ... continue on a compulsory part time basis until eighteen'. (p. 4) Underpinning this is an advocacy of an extended role for state provision which appears in less dramatic form throughout the book. Thus, in dealing with homelessness in the provinces, Morgan argues that 'the only solution is for ... some public authority to assist in the provision by a voluntary body or to make the provision itself' (p.149). For him, too, 'the role of local education authorities in the provision of facilities for physical training is very considerable and is growing in importance' (p.215). Even in the realm of youth work, as offered for example by the boys' club movement, he asks his readers to

Imagine what would be the state of any school if the managers and headmaster - and perhaps a voluntary headmaster at that - had to spend their time combing the charitable community for contributions to keep the school alive. (p.293)

This, he concludes, is 'a makeshift system which is trying to carry a burden for which the nation as a whole refuses to take responsibility' (p.292).

Morgan does not flinch from facing some of the possible, albeit unintended, consequences of what he is proposing. 'As the care of adolescents becomes ... more the concern of the State', he notes, 'there is bound to be an increasing secularisation' (p.275). He recognises the need, too, to satisfy the critics of, on the one hand, 'the voluntary principle ... as the last stronghold of patronage' and, on the other, of 'a paralysing uniformity

calculated to reduce the individual to a devitalised state unit' and 'the erection of a bureaucratic system of cold-blooded salary-hunting officials'.

His own somewhat reluctant conclusion is that 'we shall probably run true to form and evolve some illogical, but not unworkable, compromise' (p.368) which would allow the state to act as the collective conscience of society and the stimulus and channel for garnering and distributing some of the resources required. Sixty years on, however, disturbing questions loom, particularly for those responsible for delivering youth work services. Is that compromise working - indeed, is it still workable? Is there really no alternative to it? Are perhaps the costs - of lost flexibility, of lessening control at the point of delivery, of punitive over developmental responses - becoming too great? Indeed, have those early trickles of state intervention into youth provision now become such a flood that only a Canute could believe they are containable?

Clearly the answer to such questions cannot be a return to the patronising assumptions of 1930s voluntarism. Nor can it include the propagation of 'particularist doctrines' or a reliance on 'a welter of muddling inexpert benevolence' offered 'as a palliative which only delays radical reform' which even Morgan saw as integral to it. Such versions of a voluntary - that is, a collective 'independent' - sector have little to offer the young as they struggle to deal with early twentieth-first century pressures.

And yet, maybe the time has come to look again, and more open-mindedly, at some of the stern qualifications Morgan and his contemporaries placed on the state's intrusions into youth provision. Indeed, as these become increasingly disdainful of the young's right to come and go as they please, to stay or leave when they choose, such a fresh confrontation with past reservations about the role of the state may be becoming very urgent.

So - even at the risk of offering hostages to fortune to free market proselytisers insisting that, in competition, individuals and families do it all for themselves - let the debate begin.

Bernard Davies was formerly the Sheffield Youth Service's Training Officer. He now does some paid and unpaid training and consultancy work.

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Challenging the Image

National Youth Agency - Youth Work Press 1999

ISBN: 0 86155 204 0

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Peter Little

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The cover has a bold title, 'Challenging the Image', with the sub-title 'Young people as volunteers and campaigners', along with a selection of positive images of young people. The sleeve note on the back begins 'Young people suffer from an image problem and a bad press'. This suggested to me that the book would examine some of the complexities of young people's image and how their roles as volunteers and campaigners impact upon this. The image that the book is attempting to challenge is probably best summed up by the quote from Wilkinson and Mulgan, which describes young people as a 'wholly apathetic generation'. This quote is repeated at least 3 times through the book. The book seeks to support practitioners who would contradict this view, by providing empirical research based evidence. As a practitioner who has worked with young people in care and those who are homeless, as both volunteers and campaigners, this sparked my interest in the book.

Essentially, this book is an account of a research project involving 1,160 young people. The research seeks to find out how many young people are involved in campaigning and volunteering, why they are involved, what form their involvement takes, what stops them becoming involved, and how their experiences vary because of gender, ethnicity, locality, religion and social background. The research was carried out in three state schools and involved all year 10 and year 11 pupils, 14 to 16 year olds. The findings were both interesting and informative. I liked the presentation, which was illuminated by the liberal use of young people's quotes. Details of high levels of involvement in campaigning and volunteering are reported, with up to 89% of the young people taking part in some activity. These activities ranged from giving money to charity, to going on a march or rally. The section on the outcomes of involvement contains wonderfully varied responses - under the heading 'practical events and experiences' young people had said 'I had a fight' and 'learnt to make a Christmas cake'. Evidence of practical skills was equally diverse, including 'writing letters to people abroad - how to be polite but firm' and 'how to ring and

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survey birds'. The book is full of interesting information about the activities of young people and, to a large extent, is successful in achieving the aims presented for the research.

For me, the problem with this book is to do with the claims it makes on the cover. I think the book demonstrates very well the ways in which young people contribute to society, and makes a useful contribution to the debate about citizenship, citizenship education and the role of schools. However, in my view the way in which volunteering and campaigning are treated and the impact these activities have on the popular image of young people, is the weakest aspect of the book. The idea of volunteering and campaigning are fundamentally very different. The book suffers from its failure to satisfactorily define the two. The young people's questionnaire provides definitions:

By voluntary work we mean doing things without being paid, like helping out in a hospital, school or youth club.

By campaigning, we mean trying to get something changed, or supporting a cause you think is important. People campaign about all sorts of things, such as the environment, human rights, or about things happening in the local community.

This is helpful but needs much more exploration in order to have a context for considering the young people's responses. One of the aims of the research is to examine why young people are involved, what their motivations are. For example, in Chapter 3, a table is presented which details the 'membership of campaigning organisations'. The list of campaigning organisations is diverse, including 38 different groups. The groups range between Stop the CJA (a campaign group against the Criminal Justice Act) and the Voluntary Police Cadets. I found it difficult to understand why these were listed together and wondered what campaigning activities the police cadets were involved in? The lack of consideration as to the nature of volunteering and campaigning made it very difficult to understand these issues. Clearly the young people perceived the two very differently, listing factors that discourage involvement in campaigning as 'you can get arrested' and 'you can get hurt'. These responses appear not to apply to volunteering. The confusion is extended when, under the heading 'Practical obstacles to volunteering', we have the response 'all campaign groups meet in town and I can't get there'.

This leads into the final issue, that of image and whether it is challenged? As one of the practitioners described in this book's introduction, who would contradict Wilkinson and Mulgan's view, I have a thousand anecdotes with which to create a positive image of young people. The book rightly points out how easily this is dismissed by those promoting a negative view of youth today. However, while I think this book succeeds in providing a good, positive evidence - based image of youth, it will not impact on the popular image of young people today. I do hope however, that it challenges the image of young people within the world of research, and encourages a far greater focus on young people as positive forces within communities.

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Hamish Murphy and Mae Shaw (eds)

Conceptualising Youth Work: Back to the Future.

Concept with The Scottish Youth Lobby 1999

ISBN: 0 947919 317

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George Stobbart

At the core of this book are nine articles selected from ten years of the Scottish journal *Concept*, a publication that seeks to engage in critical analysis of policy and practice within the youth work arena.

I anticipated that perhaps this was not the best book for me to review, I prefer to engage with the here and now and to look forwards, not backwards. I was not looking forward to a trip down memory lane to revisit issues and practice that I felt I had left behind as the dominant 'third way' emerges. Furthermore, as an English based practitioner, I approached this book with some trepidation. Yes I was sure that the writings may hold some relevance to practice in England, but expected the articles to reflect more localised conditions and thinking that surround Scottish practice.

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However, contrary to both of these assumptions, what I found were articles written for today, and, I found, a book that engages in youth work and equally applies to my experience as an English based youth worker.

The aims of the book are clearly set out by Mae Shaw, one of which is 'to celebrate the quality of youth work articles (in *Concept*), and consolidate them in one place'. Without doubt the overall quality of the articles are unquestionable. The mix of contributions from both academics and practitioners are complementary. I expected the articles provided by Bernard Davies and two from Tony Jeffs, to be of quality. I was not disappointed. The prophetic writing of Jeffs, relating to youth policy and future directions of youth work, were alarmingly appropriate to the year 2000. I kept returning to the beginning of the articles to double and treble check that the dates of publication were 1991 and 1998, and had not rolled off the printing press over the last few months.

Davies, set out to reassert the core characteristics and principles of youth work, and how they are relevant to 1997 (and today) more than ever before, given young people's declining status in society. Indeed, as I was reading this I could relate the theory directly into practice by reflecting upon Ann Morgan's preceding article. This related to the harsh reality of many young homeless women's experiences in which the statutory services were not geared towards addressing. Morgan unwittingly provided core principals and characteristics of youth work by describing real practice. Morgan, like most of the practitioner's contributions to this book, goes further than the academics by providing examples of workable strategies.

From my perspective, this book provided a lesson that despite my urge to move forward, basic conditions have not changed and cannot be ignored. The fact that there is, and probably always be, a 'marginalised youth' is a constant. Neil Ballentyne underpins this concept through citing opinion from 1906 and relating this to 1995 in a well-crafted essay highlighting society's moral panics directed at young people. What does change is how we in the youth work field, as well as the political forces within society, address these issues. This is illustrated by Jean Spence through her article on work with girls and young woman, who professed (in 1997) that the will for change and the militant tendencies of the 1980s have gone as workers keep their heads down in the climate of middle ground politics'. Thus suggesting that the middle ground (or even the third way) fails to recognise the inequalities of social justice; and the fight against it as just not 'chic'.

Andy Egan and Sally Millar, in their approach to the anti-discriminatory youth work in 1992 did irritate me. It gave credence to the notion of why we need to move on. For example, they cite their work, which aimed to 'bring young people together to share experiences of discrimination, and recognise the common and different causes of discrimination'. The majority of the young people I have engaged with would not, and in many ways, could not, engage in such activities. Egan and Millar tell us how managers should direct resources but did not contemplate where young people may be at developmentally, or may have a voice and ideas of their own. Perhaps this was the reason proactive politics gave way, as many who engaged in this activity, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, were uncompromising in their view in how oppression should be challenged. Although Egan and Millar did not relate to 'starting where young people are at', a key principal of youth work advocated in the book by Davies, and was a key theme in the other articles in the book. In particular the practitioners concluded this was the way forward in work with young people.

Egan and Millar's approach, and my objection to it, reflects the crux of this book, as suggested by Hamish Murphy in his summary. He identifies three models of youth work: coercive, consensual and critical. He also suggests that debate around the three models and approaches is in itself a way of reinvigorating 'good' youth work practice. It certainly has made me re-evaluate my practice. However, I would question whether youth workers and their managers can be relied upon to assert 'what is good, and be honest in acknowledging what is bad youth work practice', as Murphy suggests. Even if everyone could agree, have we got the skills to present and be heard? Perhaps this is a question for another discussion or publication. I can agree with the potential benefits that the youth service could bring to young people, if the service was universal in its funding and in recognition of quality. Murphy lays bare the arguments for this proposition, that practitioners can be often neglected and carry out our practice in a 'matter of fact' way. Here was a reminder of how young people are disadvantaged by previous and current government policies as young people are the new enemy within.

This is a book that seeks to engage with reflective concepts and practice. The sleeve sets out that *Conceptualising Youth Work* is aimed at a wide audience such as those working face to face with young people, education and welfare professionals, policy makers, students and academics.

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My assumption is that many of us have hectic workloads and lifestyles, and particularly for the reasons that I set out in my introduction, the book is unlikely to be priority reading for its audience. However, the strength of the book is in providing a thorough understanding of the importance of youth work and the issues that are explored, particularly in relation to anti-discriminatory practice including young people's political standing. For this reason, this book should be high on the list of all students undertaking study related to the education and social welfare of young people.

As a project manager and face to face worker, I have benefited from reading this book, through reinforcing my experience, values, and concepts rather than it bringing something new to my approach. Importantly, this reinforcement has been a timely reminder as to the strength of youth work to a project manager, such as I, jostling for position in the new order brought about by the impending Connexions strategy. At a time when statutory youth services are unsure as to their standing or role as the new Connexions service begins to role out, the arguments on the benefits of a youth work approach are laid out. Ironically, this book, a reflection of practice and thinking targeted at Scotland, may have come too late, at least for the English, to use in arguing for the preservation of a recognisable youth service.

George Stobbart is Project Leader at the *On Course Project*, a multi-disciplinary school-based project in Houghton-le-Spring, County Durham.

Janet Shucksmith and Leo B. Hendry

Health Issues and Adolescents: Growing up, speaking out.

Routledge 1998

ISBN 0 415 16849 X

£12.99 (pbk)

pp 142

Sue Bloxham

Health promotion interventions with young people clearly need to be based on good quality analyses of their health beliefs, choices and behaviour if they are to be more than general exhortations to a healthier lifestyle or public relations exercises which waste large sums of money. Consequently, the subject matter of Shucksmith and Hendry's book is very welcome. Last summer's Social Exclusion Unit report on teenage pregnancy is perhaps the most contemporary example of public and government concern with the health behaviours of young people which feature regularly in policy and press, but which continue to elude us in terms of effective, acceptable and cost-effective interventions. The SEU report is notable in being a major government policy document which tackles young people's lives as they are, rather than as we might wish them to be.

Hendry and Shucksmith's aims for their research echo this recent concern to put 'young people at the centre' and allow them to 'speak for themselves', and they stress the extent to which young people's voices aren't heard, relying instead on adults' views about what adolescents think. They were also concerned to investigate health issues in a more holistic way, investigating the health implications of adolescent lifestyles and youth cultures. The research is based on a combination of reviewing previous research, 10 discussion groups and interviews with 44 young people in their mid-adolescence. The researchers attempted to use a representative sample of young people and there is a useful discussion of appropriate methods for gathering qualitative data from young people.

The book is divided into a number of chapters which eschew the approach of tackling one health topic after another in favour of addressing the different levels of influence on young people's understanding of health. Unfortunately, the authors intentions to portray adolescent health within a much wider picture of their lifestyles and relationships, whilst admirable, is too large a task for a book this size. There is so much research on, for example, young people's friendships and peer activity that I felt the book

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struggled to add anything to our existing knowledge. It reinforced the well-understood influences of gender, class, race and other differentiating factors on young people's lives but this is hardly new: 'Young people's age, gender, social class ethnicity and life experience all combine to give them as varied a set of "voices" as would be expressed by the adult community' (p137). The space devoted to reviewing and describing this broader understanding of young people's lives, relationships and attitudes left little space for the important interpretation of this material for our understanding of their approach to health issues.

However, there were some important messages in the book for professionals and policy makers concerned with young people's health. For example, the role of parents in health information and role modelling behaviour is apparent as is the important role of mothers in providing first-line support to young people. The book reviews the research on the links between forms of parenting and positive developmental outcomes for young people. It is interesting to note that parents seemed to approve the use of alcohol, not because of its low risk per se, but because of their fear and ignorance of other drugs. Surely, this must indicate that extensive intervention with parents might be a more effective approach to providing young people with timely advice and support; for example, evaluated experiments using school newsletters, parents' evenings, and drop-ins.

At the same time, the young people in this study are extremely condemnatory about the failure of health education and PSI in school which they see as lacking meaningful discussion of issues. Shucksmith and Hendry acknowledge the problems for schools in dealing with these issues and other studies have revealed how ill-equipped many teachers feel in relation to this area of their work for which they often lack the specialist training that they will have received for their 'subjects'. However, there are excellent examples of schools drawing on other professionals in health and youth services to contribute to this work using their different relationships with pupils and their up-to-date knowledge of health matters. Unfortunately, research on the long term impact of such approaches is very thin on the ground.

Health Issues and Adolescents also identifies the isolation many boys experience in relation to their developing sexuality. It contrasts the positive role of girls' friendships in providing the opportunity to share and discuss some of the most intimate aspects of their lives as well as their access to information through magazines, with boys' need to hide

their feelings and disguise their lack of experience in an area which 'troubled them greatly'. Peer groups, thus, have different influences on the different sexes and 'the boys' isolation and need for knowledge is not served well by the health education methods in common use in schools' (122).

The book ends with a tantalisingly stimulating discussion of 'empowerment' and the changing nature of professional interventions. There is no doubt that efforts to attend to clients' 'voices' alters the relationships between education and welfare professional and those they wish to 'empower'. This seemed a central element of this project if its attempt to let young people 'speak for themselves' is to be anything more than an academic exercise, yet like so much in this book, it is only briefly touched upon and leaves you wanting more!

Sue Bloxham is course leader for Community & Youth Studies at St Martin's College, Lancaster.

Ian Stuart-Hamilton

Key Ideas in Psychology

Jessica Kingsley Publishers

ISBN-85302-359-0

£11.95 (pbk)

pp 336

Celia Bark

Key Ideas in Psychology aims to tell people about psychology-its main areas as it is traditionally taught. It provides an introduction to the central concepts and research findings in these areas and gives the reader an overview of the main arguments and debates. The book's target audience are those who are new to the subject of psychology and simply wish to know what it is or those who want a guide through an area of psychology in order to make up their own minds.

The author's choice of which topics to include or leave out has been guided by the frequency with which these topics appear on the syllabus of A level or degree courses. Within these areas he has referred to experiments

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and theories familiar to most (ie Pavlov's dogs) and others, perhaps less well known, but of major theoretical or historical importance.

This book is not long in comparison to many psychology text books. It aims to be a book that can be comfortably read within a few hours. Each chapter, however, concludes with a list of texts for further reading should the individual be particularly interested in further study.

Some fundamental issues such as nature-nurture debate are dealt with in depth because the author believes that this will help the reader in their development of an understanding of psychology. He argues that such debates underpin much of the work that the reader will encounter.

Chapter one provides a valuable introduction to the study of psychology from a definition of the word to an overview of the principle topics:

- *Intelligence and personality - the study of individual psychological differentness.*
- *Social Psychology and the study of how people behave in social situations.*
- *Language - its acquisition and the relationship between thought and word.*
- *Developmental psychology and the study of development through the life cycle.*
- *Learning Theory and how learning is rewarded when successful.*
- *Memory and its relationship to learning; perception and our mental interpretation of sensory information.*
- *Biopsychology and how the mind controls the workings of the body.*
- *Comparative psychology across species and the influence of evolutionary pressure.*
- *Mental Illness - its classification and treatment.*

These subject areas provide the headings for each chapter with the additional subject, statistics that provide a gentle introduction to the world of statistical measurement. The final chapter, 'Some Concluding Thoughts' is a provoking and stimulating essay which encourages the reader to reflect critically on the book's contents because a universal set of laws do not govern psychology. This chapter discusses the conflict of

realism and objectivity, accuracy and artificial construction set against the certainty of human diversity. This book examines the role and relationship of psychology to philosophy and the sciences as well as its applied function in clinical or educational settings. The author also acknowledges the use of animal experimentation and the ethical issues surrounding their use.

This book had instant appeal to me. As a lecturer in social welfare and social work, my subject is underpinned by psychological theories. Many interventions and social work methods are informed by the debates and concepts rooted in behavioural analysis and explanations of social activity. The nature-nurture debate could for example be argued to lie at the heart of the thinking behind equal opportunities policies and anti-discriminatory practice. Many students in social work confuse theory and method and this book helps to demystify the psychological theories that are implicit in social working.

I review this book therefore not as a psychologist but as a member of its target audience. A reviewer with a psychology background may have held opinions regarding the content based on a more informed knowledge base and may have evaluated it against different criteria. I however feel able to comment on this book on the basis of its expressed aims and objectives and feel that it fulfils its stated roles and purpose. We are bombarded with popular psychology in magazines and the media in general and this book allows the reader to discover the theoretical basis for these issues and debates.

Celia Bark, Senior Lecturer and Programme Leader for Social Work/Learning Disabilities Nursing University of Teesside.

Carol Hayden, Jim Goddard, Sarah Gorin and Niki Van der Spek

State Child Care: Looking after Children?

Jessica Kingsley Publishers

ISBN 1 85302 670 0

£16.95 (pbk)

pp 240

Paul Smyth

The question mark in the title encouraged me to read on. It gave the expectation that this book would examine, query and assess state provision for 'looked after' children and would draw constructive conclusions. I have great personal commitment to this area both as Project development worker with 'Care in Durham'⁽¹⁾ and as one who has fifteen years of 'lived experience' within the care system. This book did not disappoint me.

The current Labour Government has a clear commitment to providing a better future for 'looked after' children and young people. The Children Act, numerous government papers and research projects have produced a plethora of reading material in a climate where practices reflect inconsistencies of interpretation and implementation. I therefore welcome this book. The concise introduction provides a clear framework for the reader. The book moves from a brief history of state child care, through policy developments against changing philosophies and practice since 1945, into a well referenced and researched series of chapters each critically examining a key area affecting 'looked after' children and young people. The systematically structured chapters are inter-linked and cross referenced for the reader who wishes to be informed of the wider picture but each chapter can stand alone for the reader who has a specific interest in a particular issue.

The authors acknowledge that there are omissions (p12) resulting from limitations of space and the priorities of their own research but claim that the issues contained in the book relate to the majority of 'looked after' young people in England and Wales. The research priorities of Carol Hayden a Senior Research Officer at the Social Services Research and Information Unit at Portsmouth, are care and control for children and young people, particularly the education of 'looked after' young people; Jim Goddard, Lecturer in Social Policy at the Department of applied Science at the university of Bradford researches public policy, criminal justice and child care policy; Sarah Gorin, who has had 5 years experience of working with children in a wide range of settings, is completing a

PhD at the University of Portsmouth on the role of foster care in services for 'looked after' children and Niki Van Der Spek is a qualified social worker working with children and completing a PhD on the post education and training of 'looked after young people.

The authors, initially (chapters 1 and 2), put their work into context by giving a concise, clear overview of the historical development of state childcare and a brief analysis of policy developments since 1945. These include the development of a children's rights perspective, the often crisis-driven nature of policy change, the background to and guiding principles leading to the Children's Act 1989 and developments since its implementation in 1991. Major and enduring themes are identified that are still key influencing issues today including tensions between family-based and institutional care, between 'early' and 'late' intervention in child protection cases and perceptions held by some about 'important links between childhood deprivation, delinquency and later criminality (p 29).

Chapters 3 to 9 give an account of the practice of state child care, drawing from a wide range of references (p 223) and from the four research projects of the author (summary in appendix with details of full report accessibility). The major chapter themes are; Coming into care, Family placement and residential care; Developments in foster care; Managing the behaviour of looked after children; The education of 'looked after' children; Leaving care; Training, support and service quality and involving children in decision making, (the last written in conjunction with Dee Lynes, policy assistant to the director of Community Services, York City Council and who has experience of campaigning for children's rights).

Each chapter is well referenced and researched, the author's individual research projects offering evidence as to the current situation. The book does not fudge issues. Each chapter positively acknowledges areas where progress has been made but equally openly identifies issues and situations where provision is unsatisfactory and changes need to be made.

One element that is of particular interest to me and to 'Care in Durham' is the active involvement from the outset of 'looked after' young people in all aspects of policy and practice development, rather than perhaps as a later consultation exercise, after decisions have been made on their behalf. This book devotes a whole chapter to examining the real involvement of young people in decision making, to listening and responding to them as the ones who are on the receiving end of the service. It is particularly

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important that areas covered include not just larger policy decisions, but also whether young people 'have a say' in decisions of day-to-day living on issues such as pocket money, bed times, clothes etc. Whilst recognising positive changes, the chapter also identifies and seeks to understand area of resistance.

The conclusion brings together lessons that can be drawn from the evidence provided in each chapter and looks to the future, examining the current Labour Government's policy agenda and proposals in this field, particularly the Quality Protects Initiative. The authors particularly highlight the willingness to support an independent voice for child care service users (p 221). There is a note of cautious optimism but the current uncertainties, discrepancies, resistances and variable practices are highlighted.

The style of writing is clear and the book is well structured, researched and evidenced leaving little excuse for the professional reader to avoid facing up to work still needing to be done to answer an unqualified 'Yes' to the question in the book title. I would recommend everyone with a genuine interest in the provision of a state care system that offers children and young people in its care an appropriate, high quality parenting experience with all possible positive opportunities, to read this book and work for further action.

Paul Smyth is the Development Worker with 'Care In Durham'.

Note

- 1 'Care In Durham' is an independent organisation run by and for the benefit of young people who are, or who have been in care in County Durham.

John Pinkerton and Ross McCrea

Meeting the Challenge?

Young people leaving care in Northern Ireland

Ashgate Publishing Limited

ISBN 1 84014 328 2

£32.50 (hbk)

pp 134

Paula Keenan

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We in Northern Ireland are currently looking enviously across the Irish Sea at, what appears from this distance to be a rich seam of exciting social policy initiatives concerning care leavers. The envy springs from the fact that we are unlikely to see such developments replicated here. 'Me, survive out there?', Beacon Council schemes, Quality Protects, new guidance on the education of looked after children and a variety of proposals from the Social Exclusion Unit, may be far from ideal but they have triggered debate and should herald many improvements for care leavers. Those who are currently engaged, quite properly, in scrutinising and offering criticism of the new proposals, appear from our policy-starved perspective to be in the risky business of conducting a dental examination on a rather wonerful gift horse. We do not, it has to be admitted, always harbour such ill feeling with regard to our exclusion from Westminster social policy initiatives, the Poll Tax immediately comes to mind.

It is evident that thoughtful and rigorous research has a vital part to play in the formulation of effective policies. In Northern Ireland that essential piece of the policy jigsaw, in relation to leaving care, is now firmly in place. The Pinkerton and McCrea study describes the challenge of leaving care in Northern Ireland, considers how far that challenge is being met and makes a range of suggestions for developing effective responses.

'Meeting the Challenge?' will be of interest to anyone working in the care field and not just to those based in Northern Ireland. It provides a wealth of information about the 110 young people who left the care of Health and Social Services Boards during the latter half of 1992. We learn about their personal characteristics but also about their care careers and what had been done (or more often *not* done) to prepare them for the transition towards adulthood and to support them through that journey. The findings on the outcomes for these young people make for grim reading

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...at six months after discharge, almost half had left care without any qualifications, only a handful had got work, a third were in government funded youth training projects and a quarter were employed. One in five of the young people had been [pregnant] or had been responsible for, a pregnancy, and some had a child living with them. Three quarters of them were dependent on income support or training allowances and were living on less than £40 per week.

pg 118

A sub group of the study population were followed up two years after leaving care. These were young people who had received formal preparation and after care, the authors note no improvement in their situation.

Movement from home increased. Unemployment increased as young people became too old for training schemes. There was no pick up of involvement in further education or specialist training. More young women became pregnant, and took on the responsibility of parenthood. Incomes provided by state benefit continued to be low. Formal support became limited and reactive.

pg 118

The experience of First Key (Northern Ireland) in undertaking evaluations of, and consulting young people about, local leaving care provision suggests that there has been little movement in relation to outcomes in recent times. We have certainly found the baseline established by Pinkerton and McCrea to have been invaluable in pursuing our own, smaller scale, research.

However, 'Meeting the Challenge?' provides much more than research data and analysis. The authors offer a number of conceptual frameworks which will be of interest to a broad range of those involved in social sciences. One of the most useful of these is the policy model for research. In this, the research subject is seen as the interplay between needs generated in civil society and services provided by the state. The interaction between needs and services, according to the authors, is charged by decision-making and power relations which evolve as a process of events leading to certain outcomes.

When applying this model to leaving care ... needs are grounded in troubled and troublesome adolescence, services are specified as personal social services, process is focussed on care career and the outcomes in question are material and psycho-social characteristics associated with coping with transition to adulthood.

pg 13

Pinkerton and McCrea conclude that future services must include preventative and community orientated elements. They argue for specialist provision for care leavers within generalist adolescent support services. Based on the detail of their research findings they itemise issues to be addressed in both preparation and after care work and they advocate for more comprehensive through-care planning.

There is no doubt that this thought provoking study not only advances our understanding of the theoretical frameworks underpinning leaving care practice and policy in general but also makes a seminal contribution to the articulation of the leaving care agenda in Northern Ireland for the foreseeable future.

Paula Keenan in the Director of First Key (Northern Ireland).

Alan Marlow and Geoffrey Pearson (eds)
Young People, Drugs and Community Safety
 Russell House Publishing, 1999
 ISBN 1 898924 38 4
 £14.95 pbk
 pp 170

John Tierney

Most of the chapters making up this edited collection are based upon papers presented at a conference, with the same title as the book, held in the summer of 1998. As it says on the cover, the book has been written for 'policy makers, professionals and practitioners engaged in this fast-expanding field'. There are three sections. The first is concerned with the development of the present government's drug policy, and the theoretical and ideological assumptions on which it is based; the second explores issues surrounding research and evaluation; and the third focuses on projects involving young people and drug misuse. Thus the various contributions to this book have been written within the context of the general policy framework established by the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act and, as far as drugs are concerned, the principles laid down in the government's ten-year strategy document *Tackling Drugs Together to Build a Better Britain*.

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As Marlow points out in the Introduction, drugs policy is now to be 'joined up', that is, to involve inter-agency partnerships as part of a general emphasis on community safety (an approach endorsed by the book's contributors). And the concepts associated with this 'joined up thinking' recur (though not without critical discussion) throughout the book: audit, strategy, monitoring, evaluation, evidence-led, best-value, performance indicator, and so on. For those involved in community safety - or intending to be involved - this is the conceptual language they have had to become fluent in. At the same time, of course, there is intense pressure on them to put this language into practice, by developing strategies capable of having a significant impact on drug misuse among young people and on drug-related offending (though with no increases in resources). Home Office Minister, George Howarth, outlines the main aims of the new strategy in his contribution on this book:

To help young people resist drug misuse in order to achieve their full potential in society,

and

To protect our communities from drug-related anti-social and criminal behaviour.

The editors of this book have put together an accessible and balanced set of readings that those involved in this field will find very useful. The five chapters making up section one provide a well-informed discussion of the issues and debates associated with drugs policy. The chapters by Pearson and Ashton respectively (the latter previously published elsewhere) offer particularly good, critical overviews. As well as plotting changing patterns of drug use and their contexts, Pearson illustrates the complex nature of recent policy responses, and in the process makes a strong case for shifting resources towards health care/welfare and addressing problems of social exclusion. Ashton provides a measured, realistic discussion of responses to drug misuse among children. The chapters by Spruit and van Laar (drugs policy in the Netherlands) and Stevens (drugs services in European prisons), and also published elsewhere, add to the value of this collection by including a European dimension. However, the research reported by Stevens was somewhat weakened by the fact that only 189 questionnaires, out of 3,000 sent to prisons across Europe, were returned completed.

The succinct quality of the writing continues in the second section, which examines research and evaluation. Policy makers mindful of the government's stress on monitoring and evaluation, and their purported commitment to drawing on research findings, will gain much from reading the chapters by South and Teeman and Tilley. While South and Teeman argue in favour of the creation of an evidence-based culture, they emphasise the importance of using the social capital inherent in a community, and involving practitioners in research. Tilley's chapter is based on what he calls the 'sobering experience' of sifting through evaluations of 3,500 Safer Cities schemes whilst on secondment at the Home Office. The result is an erudite and extremely useful overview of the problems associated with carrying out an evaluation. Finally in this section, Marlow presents the results of a localised study of police stops and searches, pointing to the disproportionate attention given to members of minority ethnic groups. These findings are of particular salience when we consider that stops and searches are now used as government performance indicators (and linked to, for instance, numbers entering drug treatment programmes via arrest referral schemes).

The third section, containing the largest number of chapters, is something of a mixed bag. As well as offering descriptions and analyses of actual projects aimed at young people and children, it also contains chapters based upon research into poverty, homelessness and prostitution. Arguably, Marlow's chapter could have logically found a home here. Again, all of the contributors write succinctly (though one or two typos make an appearance) and the work adds to the overall value of the book from the point of view of policy makers and practitioners and students taking courses in youth and community-related studies. One problem with the chapters that examine various projects is that none of them develops fully an analysis of whether or not they 'work'. In his evaluation of two drugs education projects, Porteous suggests that a different research methodology would be required in order to assess whether or not the first project discussed - one utilising peer education- achieved its aims. However, when discussing the second project - based upon photography - he writes:

As with the school-based project, the evaluation suggests that the photography project successfully achieved its stated aims and objectives.

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Having said that, he does pose a crucially important question relevant to all interventions aimed at providing children and young people with information and advice about drugs:

If more young people know about drugs, will fewer take them?

John Tierney is Lecturer in Criminology, Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Durham.

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Banks, S. (ed) (1999) *Ethical Issues in Youth Work*, London and New York, Routledge.

For an article:

Hall, S. (1995) 'Grasping at Straws: The Idealisation of the Material in Liberal Conceptions of Youth Crime', in *Youth & Policy*, No 48, pp 49-63.

And for a report:

The Thompson Report (1982) Experience and Participation, CMND 8686, London, HMSO.

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