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MAKING RESEARCH USEFUL:

Experiments from the Economic and Social Research Council's Youth Research Programme

LIZA CATAN

The imperative of evidence-based policy and practice (EBPP) will have bypassed few involved in the fields of youth research, youth policy and services. Most will be aware of different definitions and approaches to EBPP by a variety of institutions and projects,[1] but haven't had an opportunity to think through the issues which follow on from a commitment to one or other model. What does the EBPP imperative imply for their work? Which research should provide an evidence base for it? How to decide between conflicts of research opinion? Researchers, too, have been bombarded with imperatives: research must be responsive and useful to the society which provides basic funding; it must be policy relevant; it must be accessible to professional and general audiences, not only to academic colleagues. For both sides, the question remains, how does one achieve *change* or *influence* on the basis of what research has shown?

As an ESRC Programme Director, my duties include 'ensuring that the research is meeting the needs of users and beneficiaries' and 'providing input into public policy debates, to highlight the contribution of a major social science investment to issues of public interest.' In this paper I will first examine a range of models of EBPP, then in this wider context, set out the approach adopted by the ESRC youth research programme to making research relevant. I will present some 'headline' outcomes of the programme's work with its 'users and beneficiaries' and end by returning to the question of change and influence.

Models of Evidence-based Policy and Practice (EBPP).

One of the earliest, and most clearly specified, attempts to ensure that the tax payer's contribution to research was used in policy-relevant ways, was embodied in the 'Rothchild customer-contractor principle.' This envisaged the role of the user of research as that of customer and the researcher as a contractor. It described their relationship in starkly economic terms: 'The customer says what he *(sic)* wants; the contractor does it (if he can); and the customer pays' (Rothchild, 1971).

Historically, it is doubtful that the Rothchild principle ever operated in its pure form. It soon became clear to those commissioning and managing Government social research that their task was not comparable to that of procuring tanks or prisons, as Rothchild had implied. Researchers have never acted as though they were merely skilled technicians who realized customers' plans without adding their own thoughts or thinking critically about the remit. And the division of labour

between customer and contractor was never as clear as Rothchild assumed; civil servants needed in-house and external research expertise to design effective briefs for research commissions, and researchers began to understand that they needed a good understanding of policy and the issues of the day in order to design the research needed by Government. However, an important principle was established, which was that the process of using social research was best conceived and conducted in partnership between those within the Government policy process and independent social scientists with specialised research expertise. This was to some extent recognized in the gradual evolution of economic metaphors about customers and contractors into a more complex discourse of 'users' and 'providers' of research, where the nature of the relationship was open to discussion, variation and negotiation.

Since Rothchild, several models of the relationship between research, policy and practice evolved in advance of the current interest in EBPP. These can be ordered along a continuum according to whether they are controlled mainly by the 'customer/ 'user' end of the relationship or by the 'contractor'/'provider' end, with an important dimension being the extent to which arrangements are built-in to mediate (or foster, or facilitate) the user-provider relationship.

The most striking examples of mainly customer-controlled models of EBPP are the large programmes of social research commissioned externally by all the major Government Departments. The content of these programmes is determined by an initial Department-wide trawl of policy customers, which is finessed by in-house research managers and ordered by senior policy makers and Ministers according to Departmental priorities. The assumption behind this model is largely Rothchildean. It assumes that if Government commissions research to its own specification, the business of extracting messages will be unproblematic, and the research will by definition be both useful and used. However, it is clear that Government's use of research is a more mixed and patchy story, ranging from earnest and honest use of research findings in decision making and policy development, through to selective quotation to back decisions reached by other means and, upon occasion, distortion and even suppression of research findings which run counter to decisions taken for entirely other reasons. These assumptions about what it is to commission research at the Centre are echoed at the periphery, in Local Authorities, Health Authorities and the larger voluntary organizations.

Nevertheless, it is evident that some 'customers' recognize that the relationship with contractors is not unproblematic and is unlikely to function smoothly without some facilitation. Many Government Departments now consult on their research programmes at the draft stage, involving research experts and a wider, extra-Departmental array of users, especially practitioners. All employ in-house research managers to mediate

the relationship with contractors, whose work involves modifying, on pragmatic grounds, the demands of policy customers regarding content, costs and timescales, feeding back researchers' views to the Department, and persuading researchers to present their final products in user-friendly formats.

At the opposite end of the spectrum of EBPP models are the international networks of the Cochrane and Campbell collaborations, which are essentially researcher-initiated and controlled. The Cochrane collaboration was initiated in 1992 to facilitate the task of extracting clear messages from research: 'to help people make well-informed decisions about healthcare by preparing, maintaining and promoting the accessibility of systematic reviews of the effects of healthcare intervention.' (Cochrane Collaboration, 1997). It is composed of an international network of research organizations, gathered into 50 Collaborative Review Groups and more than a dozen Cochrane Centres across the world, who prepare and maintain reviews of research relevant to healthcare. Considerable resources go into developing and disseminating methodologies for the reviewing process, especially for assessing the validity of studies and drawing out recommendations from the data reviewed. The Campbell Collaboration extends this principle into providing systematic reviews of research relevant to social policy. Initiated in 1999, it is as yet at the developmental stage, but will no doubt take root and grow into a central tool for synthesising and extracting value from completed research.

The great strength of such models of EBPP is that meta-analysis provides the most thorough way of overviewing and validating research evidence to date - Cochrane reviews comprise compendia of best possible research evidence. *Provision*, however, does not entail intelligent use and while the Cochrane collaboration is committed to promoting access to and dissemination of its reviews, the emphasis is on provision and bringing reviews to the attention of policy makers and practitioners. But taking horses to water does not ensure they will imbibe, swallow down, digest and make good use of it. While there may be pockets of effort within the Collaboration to help users understand reviews and think through the use that might be made of them, users are generally assumed to be well educated about research and rationally motivated to seek out and apply the best, so the user-provider relationship is rarely seen as needing active support.

Between these ends of the spectrum of EBPP models are a number of approaches which acknowledge the difficulties of the relationship between users and providers of research, and seek to mediate or facilitate that relationship. An early precursor, and a source of inspiration for the ESRC youth programme, was the Department of Health's initiatives Child Protection: Messages from Research (DOH, 1995) and Caring for Children Away from Home: Messages from Research (DOH, 1998).

These began with the appointment of an expert panel of researchers, policy makers and practitioners who were charged with meeting regularly to discuss Departmentally commissioned research and to draw out implications for both centrally and locally located policy regarding the provision of services for children and families. Their conclusions were published and actively disseminated across the country in a series of regional launches, conferences and workshops which created the opportunity for policy makers and practitioners to understand the research and think through the implications for their work.

Other models of EBPP fall at intermediate points along the spectrum, between the approach of the Cochrane Collaboration which can be characterized as 'simply provide accessible information,' and models which actively foster users' understanding and use of research, as in the DOH childcare initiatives. Among these intermediate models I will mention only two. The first is the pioneering efforts of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation to develop formats for summarizing research which make it highly accessible to non-research specialists. These have long been acknowledged to reach users whom other formats fail to reach, and have been sincerely imitated by every research programme and initiative of the past decade. The second is the ESRC UK Centre for Evidence-Based Policy and Practice and its Evidence Network, which was set up in 1999 'to bring social science research nearer to the decision making process' (Evidence Network, 2001). This model combines the strengths of the international collaborations for systematic review and validation of social research with a more active approach to fostering relationships between the users and providers of research. The Centre co-ordinates several independent research institutions or 'nodes' which conduct systematic reviews and develop methodologies for recording and disseminating findings, and is developing electronic data bases of research findings. It also offers opportunities, in the form of seminars, workshops and non-technical publications, for users and providers to learn about the needs and realities of the other end of the relationship, and to develop the skills needed to make better use of each others' contributions.

Models of EBPP which include attempts to mediate the relationship between research and the use of research, and which actively foster a learning relationship between users and providers, formed the foundation for the dissemination work of the ESRC's youth programme. The model developed for the programme is described in the next section, followed by some headline findings.

Disseminating findings from the ESRC Youth Research Programme

As the 5 year research programme drew to an end, a series of 1-day dissemination workshops was planned in order to facilitate policy makers' and practitioners' understanding of the research and to incorporate their thinking about its implications

for their work into the wider dissemination of the programme's findings.[2] The rationale behind the workshops was that they should provide an opportunity for two-way influence: for the researchers to present key findings to relevant policy makers and practitioners; for policy makers and practitioners to have the time and space to debate the implications of the research and have a chance to broaden their understanding of the research by questioning the researchers; and for the researchers to benefit from understanding better the applications of their work. Thus we were able, for a short while, to realize the user-provider relationship in a personalized and interactive way, and the events acquired the informal title of 'digestion' workshops, reflecting the fact that the intention was to reach beyond dissemination of findings - a somewhat passive process for users - to more active understanding and incorporation of the contribution of both users and providers.

The two dissemination workshops reported here cover central areas of the programme's research: the school-to-work transitions of disadvantaged young people, and young people's perspectives on citizenship and social participation. The first task was to form a working relationship with a key organization in the policy/practice sphere, who would advise on the content of the workshop and a list of invitees who would represent key individuals in the relevant statutory and voluntary bodies tackling the issues of the workshop.[3] The titles of the workshops and the partner organizations involved were:

Hard Times: Youth, Disadvantage and Transitions to Adulthood, held in Newcastle on 1st November 2001 in conjunction with the Foyer Federation and the Government Office of the North-East.

Tomorrow's Citizens: Young People's Understanding and Engagement in the Idea of Citizenship, held in London on 21st January 2002 in conjunction with the Carnegie Young People Initiative.

Between 45 and 60 delegates attended the workshops and similar procedures were followed each time: summaries of pre-publication findings were circulated in advance and presented briefly on the day; a series of plenary and structured small group discussions provided a forum for the delegates to explore and discuss the implications of the research for their work. The main points of the discussion were recorded and are in the process of being prepared for publication and distribution.

The remainder of this paper sets out brief accounts of the research content of the workshops and headline conclusions from the discussion.

Hard Times: Youth, Disadvantage and Transitions to Adulthood

The *Hard Times* workshop was held in Newcastle, as the major city of the North-East, because the research had indicated that while some young people in all areas are

disadvantaged and undergo problematic transitions to adulthood, youth disadvantage is exacerbated when concentrated in regions characterized by the collapse of traditional manufacturing, poor employment, training, and education infrastructures, and long-standing unemployment and under-employment. Two of the workshop's six research studies were based on Tyneside and Teesside, two presented data on young people growing up under additional conditions of disadvantage - coming from ethnic minority communities, growing up in care - and two studies examined the role of basics such as money and housing in creating the hard times experienced by disadvantaged young people in the period between leaving school and seeking further education training, and work.[4] The main findings from the research concerned:

Income and dependency on families. Low and uncertain income is an issue for all young people until around 23-25, but there is a persistent minority of 16-25 year olds who are unemployed, whose incomes are significantly lower than those engaged in full or part time work. Unemployment and low wages are more common for young people living in the North of England, who even when employed, are poorly paid, relative to other parts of the country. Reduced incomes have profound effects on the quality of young people's lives, excluding them from social and economic networks. Parents play a pivotal role, lending money, providing transport, board and lodging, material resources and help e.g. with childcare. Nevertheless, young people on low incomes, in training or unreliably employed, easily become disconnected from the mainstream when income from employment and family support fail. Young Afro-Caribbean people from Birmingham were particularly at risk of limited family support, due to family breakdown and poor economic circumstances of parents. Both they and young Asian people from Bradford felt that not having money underpinned everything and was at the root of their inability to engage as adults in wider social networks.

Housing and family support. Despite the policy imperative to remain in the parental home, significant numbers of young people attempt to live independently, though with a high level of mobility. Independent living depends on the affordability of housing in one's locality, but young people living independently face poorer living conditions than those living at home, suggesting that housing may be affordable for them only because of its poor quality. Young people's housing costs are often supported directly or indirectly by parents; without family support, young people are not able to meet the costs of independent living. Those from severely disadvantaged backgrounds are most likely to experience loss of material and economic support from families who are themselves economically stressed.

Education, training and work. The limited availability of steady work and solid training opportunity propelled poorly qualified school leavers into a cycle of low-level

training, often uncompleted further education courses and episodic employment/unemployment. 16-18 year olds in Newcastle had passed through an average of four activities, acquiescing serially to the instructions of careers advisers, New Deal advisers and benefits officers. Their chances of escaping from this cycle seemed poor, despite high levels of motivation and optimism. In particularly disadvantaged localities in Teesside, this held regardless of usually formative differences in family backgrounds and educational achievement: 'economic marginality was the starting point for some and the end point for most.'

The impact of drugs. Poverty and exclusion provide the context in which heroin markets and careers take root, with devastating effects on families and individuals. Drug use exacerbates all conditions of disadvantage. The influx of cheap heroin into an area of high disadvantage and poor infrastructure often creates the push into complete exclusion for some individuals. Supposed solutions to this devastation, such as taking children and young people into care, exacerbate this further; high levels of drug use are common among 'looked after' young people and goes largely unchecked due to the lack of training of care staff. These young people's educational careers are fragmented and largely unsupported. On leaving care, engagement in education and training is marred by the instability of their housing and incomes.

Critical moments/incidents. Several studies in the research programme emphasised not only macro-structural influences on young people's lives, but unpredicted incidents which, on their own seem insignificant, but in the context of stressed lives, can tip the balance into success or failure at a particular time. Examples of critical incidents are bereavement, parental separation or remarriage, failure or success of friendships or romantic relationships.

Conclusion. Education and training leading to steady employment is the cornerstone of the Government's policies to tackle social exclusion. This may work for the majority, especially for those living in areas with a buoyant job market, high quality training opportunities, good educational and transport infrastructure and the prospect of steady, well paid employment. But the research showed that this policy is not a solution to joblessness, poverty and benefit dependence for all young people. Complex and ongoing forms of support are needed by a significant minority most at risk of social exclusion, for them to secure a foothold on the education/training ladder.

Delegates to the *Hard Times* workshop were recruited by snowballing out from the social inclusion network formed by the Government Office of the North-East, and was composed mainly of representatives from statutory and voluntary organizations involved in building strategic partnerships to deliver the recently announced Connexions service. Perhaps most significantly, at the time of the workshop, they

were more preoccupied with difficulties of putting together Connexions partnerships, seeking funding and trying to tackle the difficulties of joint working in the early Connexions environment, rather than in Connexions' ability to tackle the particular issues affecting young people not in education, training or work. It seemed that yet another paper initiative launched from the Centre had forced an inward-looking period where local professionals struggled to create new real-world structures and ways of working. The highlights of their deliberations are outlined below.

Difficulties in forming and maintaining strategic partnerships. The tremendous diversity of organizations involved in Connexions partnerships, each with different aims, ethos, ways of conceiving and measuring 'performance', organizational cultures and legal responsibilities, make working together difficult. Those who had been involved in previous strategic partnerships, e.g. Youth Offending Teams, were enthusiastic about this approach but thought at least 18 months was needed before partnerships began to function smoothly to ensure continuity of care. However, many partners are on very short-term funding and there is often pressure to make bids affordable by not requesting funding to facilitate cross-agency working. The main concern raised by the research was: would Connexions partnerships be sufficiently broad and 'seamless' to tackle the range of interlinked problems experienced by disadvantaged young people?

Keeping in touch with young people and other agencies. General problems of keeping track of young people, monitoring progress, and hand-over between agencies, while maintaining confidentiality and the trust of young people were discussed. It was acknowledged that the fluid, mobile, even chaotic, lives of very disadvantaged young people would pose special difficulties in tracking and keeping in touch. No-one yet had special plans for tackling this and service providers spent too much time seeking information on clients held by other agencies. There is a need to develop information systems between agencies, though the uneven quality of record keeping in different agencies is problematic. There needs to be a policy on young people's access to their records. The whole issue of collecting and sharing information would, it was felt, benefit from guidance from the Centre.

New ways of working with young people. Agencies need to develop new ways of working which 'stop doing things to young people and start doing things with them.' The difficulty was acknowledged of involving the most disadvantaged, whose lives are stressful, in policy or service development. There is a need to work with organizations like the National Youth Agency and the British Youth Council to learn how to work with young people, and good practice needs to be shared. This takes time and funding, with a possible role for the Connexions central unit.

The programme's findings on critical moments suggested that only close and sensitive working with young people would enable Personal Advisers to work effectively with them. The need to be flexible and individualized was stressed amid worries that many of the most disadvantaged continue to need support after the age of 19, that many young people need help to switch courses of action, not just be found jobs, and that the number of agencies likely to be involved with individual young people could inhibit the development of close working relationships with Personal Advisers: 'young people form relationships with individuals, not with organizations!' Above all, there was a concern that Connexions will be dogged by the need constantly to demonstrate to the Treasury that it is adding value to existing services, and that this pressure could undermine the goal of flexible, individualized working: 'There needs to be a change away from the Whitehall-imposed culture of meeting targets to one which prioritises individualized, flexible working with young people.'

Constraints from the Centre. There was a strong concern that arrangements for Connexions were getting off the ground at a tremendous pace without adequate preparation. In these early stages workers are unsure about their roles and feel they are starting work without adequate training. Line management arrangements are often not in place and arrangements for communication between front-line staff and managers are very bureaucratic. Complaints procedures are not yet clear and it was generally felt that timescales regarding funding, bedding down and operation of services might not be long enough. Evaluation, in particular, was felt to be too short term; acceptable if service development is the aim, but real outcomes will be clear only several years hence.

Constraints of local labour markets and training opportunities. The difficulties of providing good training and employment opportunities in the North-East was fully recognized. It was accepted that it was not up to Government agencies to create jobs, and that initiatives such as Connexions and New Deal must manage within the constraints of local labour markets. However, concern was voiced about the role of Learning and Skills Councils, and how they could be more responsive to the needs of young people. There was concern that training providers are not planning sufficiently to meet shifts in local job markets and are insufficiently attuned to current local labour needs. There was also concern that the training provided is insufficiently generic and not in line with the needs and expectations of employers.

Conclusion. Given the depth and severity of the problems, especially of working with severely disadvantaged young people and the difficulties of organizing partnerships and re-creating or reforming existing agencies, there is no chance of a quick fix. There is a very real discrepancy here between the views of those on the ground at local level and those at the Centre. As one delegate put it, 'they just compose

things on paper and send it out. Out here, it's like turning a tanker around and Ministers don't have the time!' Nevertheless, many of the difficulties identified are not specific to youth services, which suggests that more thought needs to be given within Central Government to the structural issues - timescales, funding mechanisms and monitoring/evaluation - which underlie these problems.

Tomorrow's Citizens:
Young People's Understanding of and Engagement in the Idea of Citizenship

Issues of citizenship and the social participation of young people were very much to the fore in the research programme, which began around the time that policy makers acknowledged the implication of the UN Convention on the rights of the child, that young people's views on issues concerning them must play a central role in the development of new policies and services. During the programme's life both local and central government initiated a wealth of schemes to involve young people in the development of youth-related policies and practice, mainly consultative, but sometimes also seeking to involve them in decision making. The Crick report on Citizenship education also found its way into legislation and the school curriculum during the programme's life. At the same time, politicians' anxiety about young people's disengagement from formal politics increased and the media fanned public anxiety about the possibility of mass disengagement of young people from society and the political process. *Youth, Citizenship and Social Change* produced a wealth of information about citizenship issues from young people's point of view, emphasising the nature of their understanding of citizenship and modes of participating in society. The programme made a point of not examining young people's perspectives on citizenship in isolation from broader issues of social exclusion and inclusion and broader trends in education, training and work. Three of the studies explicitly explored different views about citizenship among advantaged and disadvantaged young people, ethnic minority young people, and young people generally caught up in the current trend towards extended periods of dependency or semi-dependency and deferred adult status. One study examined young people's active participation in social action and the conditions affecting the success of social action initiatives. A final study examined the wider picture of young people's perspectives on issues of global security and citizenship. The main findings are outlined below:

Youth citizenship issues cannot be understood in isolation. Discussions about citizenship usually see it in a limited way, as a package of formal rights and obligations, which belong universally to those who are citizens of a nation state, and which find expression in voting and active campaigning for political parties. But the research showed that young people's views about citizenship are influenced by their perceptions of structural factors within society determining the extent to

which they feel likely to be socially included now or in the future in terms of jobs, income, housing and family life. Disadvantaged young white people talked about 'first and second class' citizens, ethnic minority young people felt their citizenship status to be 'less weighty.' 'Haves' and 'have-nots' engage in different ways; those on a professional track engage in more remote expressions of citizenship, such as financial contributions to international causes and campaigns, those not on clear education/training or employment tracks become more interested in local campaigns, which are not recognised as acts of political or social participation by themselves, the media or politicians. Deferred adulthood means that for most young people, many traditional markers of feeling adult are not available until late into their 20s. But they see participation in education and training, and future earning prospects, as the key to future citizenship status.

Young people's own perspectives and experiences are central. Young people's understanding of citizenship is based principally on subjective and emotionally tinged issues, rather than on an understanding of formal status and rights. Citizenship as lived experience draws attention to its links with a sense of identity and the notion of respect, which tie in with young people's experience of growing up in particular groups and communities, peers and families, and the sense of belonging that evolves from it. In practice, distinctions between voluntary works, informal political or social action and neighbourliness break down. The personalizing of citizenship issues was also seen when young people were asked to think about larger questions of national security and identity. Young people in the UK, Germany and Russia all start from a sense of their own concerns and futures, and see international and global issues in terms of impact upon their personal futures.

All the studies identified social action, volunteering and campaigning activities engaged in by significant numbers of young people, which official and popular thinking rarely view as opportunities to develop a sense of commitment to social issues and the skills to pursue influence and change. Many of these activities are set up to campaign against, or fill gaps in, official provision, creating ambivalent attitudes among official bodies and creating the notion of 'dissident citizenship.' Thus while politicians worry about why young people fail to vote or join political parties, and the media hypes ideas of generational 'apathy,' young people do engage in a variety of activities from preparation for the labour market, to campaigning, social action and volunteering, engagement in communities, friendship groups and families. These are rarely accorded recognition so fail to modify the popular belief in general 'apathy' and 'disengagement' among the young.

The nature of citizenship education. Young people have strong views about what the school citizenship curriculum should contain, though few at the time of the

research had received such lessons. Their view is that more preparation for adult life and independent living was needed, so information about tax, benefits, pensions, money management, childcare, preparation for job interviews were among the topics mentioned. The most common reason for not voting in elections was not that they 'couldn't be bothered', but lack of knowledge about political issues and personalities, political institutions and the mechanics of voting, and dissatisfaction with politics and politicians. The research studies concluded that citizenship education needed to build on young people's own preoccupations and ways of engaging in the community and wider society.

Delegates to the workshop came from statutory and voluntary bodies involved in youth citizenship, social action and youth empowerment. The main themes of the discussion are outlined below.

Broad and narrow concerns views of 'citizenship.' Delegates were very receptive to the programme's messages about broader, holistic views of 'citizenship', encompassing tackling social inequalities on the one hand, and more subjective foundations of belonging, based on friendship, family, trust and respect, on the other. On the macro-structural side, it was felt that debates about 'citizenship' needed to be linked with efforts to tackle school exclusions, since that was when children and youth first started to experience exclusion from society. The post-16 division between vocational and academic routes was also seen to foster the sense of first and second class citizenship among young people, which should be tackled with better investment in training, giving academic and vocational routes equal-but-different status.

On the 'subjective' aspect of citizenship, delegates were concerned to counter the damage inflicted by generally biased, negative and dismissive representations of youth in the media, by politicians' emphasis on young people's 'disengagement' from formal politics, and their lack of recognition of the ways in which young people do engage in families, communities and the wider society. Policy and practice need first to acknowledge, and base initiatives on, young people's understandings and actual ways of engaging, then make links to formal definitions of citizenship and participatory actions, such as voting. There is a grave lack of funding for young people's social participation and virtually no publicly funded youth organizations as is common in Europe.

The role of adults. Adults' involvement in empowering young people and helping them to learn about citizenship and their own agency, was seen as problematic. Delegates' view was that adults are necessary as inspirers, mediators and facilitators at a practical level, but need to know when to step back and let the young people lead. Their role was compared with 'scaffolding,' which enables young people to

learn, sometimes through reflecting on their mistakes. But the scaffolding should be dismantled when young people can operate on their own. Although politicians, the civil service, media and agencies like the electoral commission are keen to consult young people, they have little idea how to go about it. Agencies such as the youth service could be employed to advise.

Citizenship education. There were several debates about whether school was the only place where citizenship education should take place. There was a strong feeling that citizenship is first, lived practice, only secondly a curriculum. Will schools build on young people's own understandings and activities, do they have the time to develop participatory activities, which inevitably lead pupils outside the school? Will young people's sense of belonging in their communities be built on by developing working relationships with local voluntary and community groups? Will the teaching of ideas about participation in society be paralleled by actual participation in decision-making in schools and families? Will 'citizenship materials' be used in a participatory manner? Citizenship needs to be seen as core curriculum, with records of achievement including volunteering and citizenship-type activities and Connexions advisers involved in young people's volunteering and participatory activities. All these questions will need to be examined as Citizenship education is introduced into schools in 2002-3. A further debate questioned why citizenship education was limited to the secondary school; there was a strong sense it needed to start earlier, and also to be introduced into post-16 provision in FE colleges and local communities.

Conclusion: Youth participation and empowerment - talk or muscle? One delegate reminded us of the potentially radical nature of citizenship education: 'Serious citizenship would involve a massive change in the way schools and colleges are run. Crick envisaged it as a change of ethos for society.' Despite this, delegates questioned whether there was a serious commitment to the ideals of participation for young people. Politicians come to concerns about young people and social participation with their own agendas; fighting youth crime or drug misuse; are they talking about citizenship for all or are they only concerned about the misdeeds of the minority? There was a sense that they are happy for young people to be involved in 'small' issues, rather than the essential ones, such as training and employment, to have their voices heard, but not to push for change in essentials.

Conclusion

Reflecting on the outcomes of the digestion workshops, the overriding impression was of independence from official views and very radical perspectives on the implications of the ESRC research. This contrasts with the caution with which many officially approved reports from Government research funders phrase recommendations based on the research they support. Of course, delegates to the workshops were

not answerable to Departmental policy or Ministerial commitments, and the few who were from Government Departments tended to defend official initiatives from criticism. However, many of the delegates' conclusions are in line with other independent assessments of current youth policy and the situation of young people today e.g. in Coles, (2000) and Jones (forthcoming).

This raises a final question: how may the conclusions of non-Departmentally initiated EBPP activity be delivered to mainstream policy arenas where they can play a part in the deliberations of those who develop and implement policy? Such a question is not answerable in this paper but it indicates a need to extend the idea of facilitating the user-provider relationship into on-going cycles of mutual influence; in other words, to more dynamic, long-term models of EBPP.

***Liza Catan**, Director, Youth, Citizenship and Social Change and Trust for the Study of Adolescence.*

Notes

1 Most approaches to EBPP assume that 'evidence' is synonymous with 'research', and 'evaluation', and tend to privilege research and evaluation over other types of evidence. Others, such as the Connexions Service, employ a broader definition which includes research as one of a range of permissible types of evidence, such as case notes used to aid reflection on practice, consultation with young people and mapping (Dickinson, 2001). Since *Youth Citizenship and Social Change* was a research programme, the evidence referred to in this paper is based on research studies.

2 This paper will concentrate on two of the three workshops which had taken place at the time of writing. Three further workshops are planned. The workshops were funded by the research programme; delegates were non-paying.

3 The success of the workshops was due largely to the help and support of these organisations and key individuals within them, to whom I an enormously grateful. However, the content of this paper is entirely my responsibility.

4 Full acknowledgement of and further information about the research teams and the studies presented in all the workshops is available on the programme's website at http://tsa.uk.com.ycsc, and will also be available in the reports of the workshops. Many thanks tot he researchers for their hard work and professional commitment to producing high quality research and to the principle of EBPP.

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TOWARDS HOME AND SCHOOL INCLUSION FOR YOUNG D/DEAF PEOPLE:

Ways Forward

TRACEY SKELTON AND GILL VALENTINE

A perusal of youth studies and youth policy literatures reveals little about young D/deaf people. An investigation of D/deaf studies material reveals little about young people (with the notable exception of Gregory *et al:* 1995). Hence D/deaf youth are 'missing' from two key sets of literatures which means that there are relatively few spaces in which their experiences and the impacts of social policy on them have been discussed.[1] This paper is an attempt to re-dress some of that imbalance and to consider some of the aspects of social exclusion faced by, and the impacts of social policy on, young D/deaf people in the UK. It presents young D/deaf people's discussions of two key spaces in their lives: home and school.[2] The paper also provides discussion of potential ways forward.

Much research with young people places an emphasis on the concept of 'transition', and increasingly of 'transitions' to recognise the diversity of these experiences (Allat, 1997; Coles, 1995; Macdonald, 1998; Morrow and Richards, 1996; Roche and Tucker, 1997; Wallace and Cross, 1990; Cieslik and Pollock, 2002). In more recent work there is discussion of the concept of 'do-it-yourself' or 'individualised' biographies (Beck, 1992; Kelly, 1999; Skelton 2002; Wyn and Dwyer, 1999). Just as other young people are experiencing prolonged transitions so too D/deaf young people face problems in finding appropriate trajectories for their futures. However, due to a range of factors stemming from policies and processes of marginalisation, young D/deaf people are likely to find it much harder to develop their own biographies (see Tisdall (1996/7) on disabled pupils and Coles (1997) on young people with disabilities).

In some ways D/deaf young people's experiences trouble the notion of transition as 'passing through, becoming adult, progress, achievement, improvement' (Skelton, 2002). If this notion is the accepted norm then what happens to young people who do not/cannot follow the required trajectory? Establishing adulthood as the goal to be achieved through successful transitions means that it is possible to talk of 'failed' transitions; young people who do not follow expected paths are blamed for their own failures (Beck, 1992; Evans and Furlong, 1997; Kelly, 1999; Skelton, 2002; Wyn and Dwyer, 1999). Structural and social inequalities are not presented as part of the explanation but they need to be, especially when considering the experiences of young D/deaf people. In a society which already denigrates young people, which excessively interferes with their lives through state policy (Wallace and Cross,

1990), the added concept of 'failed transitions' reinforces negative representations of young people. The fact that, in so many cases the purported failure to make a successful transition is much more about failures of adults, systems and structures than the young person themselves, is often hidden when transition is perceived to be the norm.

What follows is an examination of some of the particular difficulties faced by young D/deaf people in two key social institutions which play a significant role in their transitions and future biographies.

Research with young D/deaf people and definitions

The research project this article draws from is called *'Living on the Edge: Understanding the Marginalisation and Resistance of Vulnerable Youth'*.[3] The research explored the ways in which three groups of young people aged 16-25 experienced social exclusion and inclusion through processes of marginalisation and their resistance within a range of socio-spatial institutions: home, family, school, college/university, employment/unemployment, community. For the qualitative research, which formed the main element of the project, three groups were interviewed: young lesbians and gay men, D/deaf youth and D/deaf lesbian and gay young people (15, 15 and 5 people in each group respectively). The project also conducted thirty-nine retrospective interviews with people in each of these groupings who are over 25. Twenty-nine people representing a range of professional personnel working with the groups of young people were interviewed. Elsewhere in this journal we have focused on the exclusions and policy debates relating to young lesbians and gay men (Valentine *et al*, 2002). Hence this paper will focus on young D/deaf people's experiences with specific emphasis on the home and school as sites of potential marginalisation but also where positive policy interventions are being, and can be, made.

Research participants were recruited from within an area we have called *Midlands* to provide anonymity for what is a relatively small community.[4] We used a range of methods to contact people: snowballing from a range of sources, advertisements on the Internet and through specialist newsletters, contact with support, advice and social groups, contact with, and through, public and voluntary sector professionals. The D/deaf young people involved in the project come from a wide range of social backgrounds (relating to parental social class, educational qualifications, housing situation, employment status).[5] Only one young D/deaf person was born into a D/deaf family, all the others grew up in hearing households. Interviews were conducted in a place of the participant's choice and in their preferred style of communication (British Sign Language, Sign-supported English, interpretation of the questions but using their own voice to answer, lip-reading and speaking).

Throughout this paper, and others emerging from the research project, we write the term D/deaf. There are particular political and ethical reasons for this. We write D/deaf and D/deafness in this way to indicate that there are two meanings, interpretations and processes of identity at play for a definition of being D/deaf and D/deafness. This dual way of writing the word D/deaf is connected with two discourses around D/deafness. These discourses are taking place in both academic debates about D/deafness (which involves many D/deaf academics) and within D/deaf communities. There are of course significant overlaps and interconnections between the two. On the one hand because of the D/deaf people involved in both worlds and, on the other, because of the academic research carried out with D/deaf people. In some ways these mirror the medical and social models of disability (Davis, 1997; Parr and Butler, 1999; Shakespeare, 1993). The 'medical model' of deafness defines the deaf person as having an impairment when compared to their hearing, 'normal' peers. Deafness is tested and measured against 'normal' hearing levels. The 'social model' of Deafness recognises that it is the hearing world that excludes Deaf people. The hearing world's lack of Deaf awareness and ability to communicate with Deaf people renders the latter at a significant disadvantage.

Some of the young people we worked with defined themselves and their deafness in terms of a positive sense of self-identity, stated that BSL was their first or preferred language and felt part of a Deaf community or culture. Other young people described themselves as disabled rather then deaf, relied on oral methods of communication (lip reading, speaking) and did not appear to feel part of a particular culture. To reflect this fluidity of self-definition and to render this discussion inclusive of the different identities and positionalities articulated by research participants, we use the convention of writing D/deaf in the dual form. This recognises and captures the tensions and differences in identities claimed by the young people involved in the project.

Home: stories of support/ problems of communication

Longer and interrupted transitions, which are part of the youth experience in contemporary Western society, enforce young people's extended dependency in their place of upbringing and on those who have brought them up. For D/deaf young people a heightened sense of protectiveness on the part of their parents has often meant heavy reliance on their families - even without the current economic crises facing many young people. The closeness of the parent-child relationship can make the transitions from the family home to independent living more daunting. Several D/deaf young people felt that their families were extremely supportive, sometimes a little over-protective. Sophie went D/deaf when she was five years old. When asked how her family had reacted to this she stated:

I don't think they were worried, they just said 'well, you're deaf now' they

wanted to help me as much as possible and make sure that everything worked out for me. They weren't ashamed of me or anything like that, I went everywhere with my family, there wasn't a problem at all...they weren't happy that I was deaf because they knew that things would be difficult for me, but it didn't change how they treated me or anything like I was just the same [as my brother and sister]...they would help me a lot.
(Sophie, 17, student, residential college)

My father was worried about my security, he was very protective of me and he has been all my life...he's very protective of me.
(Bernice, 21, student, living at home)

I can remember my mum cried, she told me that she cried when she learnt I was deaf but after that they brought me up as normal, there were no problems as far as I know, just looked after me well.
(Sean, 23, student, housing association resident)[6]

Tina talks about her attempts at transitions into paid work and independent living but that her mother is finding it difficult:

When I was about 17 I moved to X college...My mum was quite upset, she's quite protective you know me being her only child...I did college and then came back home for a couple of years and have arguments, I got a job in my home town but twenty four hours with them everyday...it's much better living here, you know I guess my mum's just very protective, I prefer being more independent.
(Tina, 23, voluntary worker and part-time student, housing association resident)

Professionals working with young D/deaf people within the public and the voluntary sector identify the barriers that face the young people who have hearing parents. Two social workers for the D/deaf stated that they found young people with D/deaf parents are in fact extremely well adjusted and that they see very few D/deaf people born to D/deaf parents. One adds:

I think one of the biggest, biggest barriers...is that the majority of deaf young people have got hearing parents, and the hearing parents are very protective, largely can't communicate with their child, don't understand the ability that the child has got, and will protect them, so we've got a lot of young people that are still living at home, and don't actually, you know, make that break.
(social worker for the D/deaf)

What is clear from the above excerpts is that family support is very evident for D/deaf young people, something they recognise and find valuable. However, there are also significant tensions at play for many families with a D/deaf young person in them. These tensions have profound effects on communication within the family and also the confidence which young D/deaf people are able to develop within such a context.

Ninety-five percent of D/deaf children are born into hearing families. This means that parents are introduced to a definition of deafness by the medical profession. Their children are presented as 'not normal'; their hearing compared to that of a 'normal child' and found to be lacking. There is an initial sense of shock and disappointment, followed by a lack of understanding about what this actually means for the child and for the family. They absorb all the advice that comes to them from the medical profession. For many this advice is that the child should be encouraged to speak, to learn to lip read, gesture and sign are strongly discouraged. They are also increasingly encouraged to opt for a cochlear implant for their child.[7] Often this decision is based on information solely from a medical point of view and not all the negative aspects of the surgical operation and the continued aftercare support required are explained to parents. The choices (or in many cases lack of choices through gaps in advice and no contact with D/deaf adults and D/deaf professionals) can profoundly shape young people's future biographies.

The lack of communication between hearing parents and D/deaf children can be acute, although mothers tend to develop some system of engagement. In contrast, for D/deaf children born to D/deaf parents the levels of communications and sign language acquisition are as sophisticated and developed as the spoken language of hearing children born into hearing families. This problem of communication and the ability to express themselves fully leaves D/deaf children in hearing families feeling isolated, excluded and frustrated. Such feelings invariably continue as they become young people. Many interviewees accepted that they would never be able to fully communicate with their families in the way they could with their D/deaf peers and other D/deaf adults. They often talked about the fact that their parents wanted to bring them up as 'normal', that is with encouraging speech and lip reading:

> *My mum and dad didn't really think I should be brought up signing because it would be hard for my mum and dad to learn sign language...so they tried to bring me up talking as normally as you can, you know it's a lot easier on them and I have to say they've done a really good job bringing me up so I owe it all to them. But then I've met quite a few D/deaf people throughout my life and I've missed out because I haven't been able to sign so when I was sixteen I went to college and I thought, 'well I'll learn to sign'.*
> (Heidi, 22, full-time employed, living independently)

It was hard, it was hard to understand...I couldn't understand what was going on, and they [parents] do, you know, they gesture...I'd have to try and guess [edit] I mean I wanted to know everything that was going on...I wanted to join in the conversation, but I couldn't talk, I wanted them all to use sign language, that's what I really wanted, I really wish that had happened.
(Liam, 16, student, living at home)

[Communication] was so-so, I mean you'd have a huge family dinner, everybody chatting with each other, most of the time I'd just read a book or play on the computer because to be honest if I'd ask people what they were saying my mum would say 'well just hang on' and I'd get it second hand and always later than everybody else so in the end I just forgot about it and played on the computer and mum said that it was rude and I said 'well what do you expect, you're all talking and I don't know what's going on!'
(Sean, 23, student)

While all of these students maintain some degree of contact with their families, as they have grown more confident about their use of BSL they find the return home often frustrating. The young people are the ones who have to work through a diversity of communication styles to be able to interact with their parents, this they find tiring and laborious. In some families siblings have been more willing to develop a form of sign language, but once the young D/deaf person moves away from home (boarding school, college) the siblings often forget their skills. None of the young D/deaf people talked of their families getting involved with the D/deaf community or culture in any way – most would drop their children at the local Deaf Club for children's activities and pick them up later (with the exception of the person born D/deaf into a D/deaf family). Some of the older D/deaf people we interviewed had broken communication with their parents altogether because they were so tired of the lack of effort and commitment to develop a common 'language'.

Ways forward for policy relating to the family and young D/deaf people

During the lifetimes of the young people we interviewed, dependent on where they grew up, there have been significant changes in attitudes and policies relating to support for families with a D/deaf child. Diagnosis of deafness is now extremely sophisticated and takes place much earlier, hence parents gain a diagnosis much sooner than in the past. Some young people talked of their parents' anxieties when they felt sure their child was D/deaf but couldn't get the medical profession to diagnose this.

In two of the Local Authorities a neo-natal diagnosis is passed to the managers responsible for special educational needs of pre-school children and family support

as part of the Education Authorities (City and County). This then triggers a scheme whereby a D/deaf professional begins to work with the family and the D/deaf child at a very early age. This has a two-fold function. Hearing parents meet an active, competent, professional who is D/deaf dispelling the negative stereotypes of D/deafness as isolating and debilitating. Second, the D/deaf child gains confidence and support from working with someone who begins to teach them sign language. The same LEAs have negotiated with a FE college to have BSL classes specially designed for hearing parents with D/deaf children. This is part of the bi-lingual policy that the LEAs have formally adopted both in pre-school support and in the mainstream education system. Such bi-lingual support at an early age is extremely important and provides the parents with wider information about the communication and educational choices they can make for their child than the medical profession provides.

Supported connections with D/deaf adults and D/deaf children in hearing families can help these parents to recognise that D/deafness does not mean their child will face insurmountable difficulties as they grow up. It might also encourage their increased use of signing which can help them make sure their child feels a full member of the family. Children would grow up with positive role models and an awareness of D/deaf culture. Many young people talked about learning about D/deaf culture in their later teenage years and felt that they had missed out on so much.

Co-ordinated support from LEAs, social work services, careers services and housing services directed towards young D/deaf people within their family context would provide extensive guidance and support for the young person's transitions into different aspects of adulthood. Protective families would feel more confident to let go and young D/deaf people would feel enabled to make a move towards independent living.

There is a dire need for more qualified interpreters.[8] There is a national shortage currently which means that meetings between young D/deaf people, their families and professionals can be complicated by a lack of communication. In some cases social workers or parents have to act as interpreters rather than be active participants in the process, in others young people can be marginalised and their views and ideas overlooked.

Out-reach work is required to encourage more fathers to learn to sign and communicate with their D/deaf children. All young people reported that their mothers were the key communicators in the family and several stated that they found it extremely difficult to communicate with their fathers. Few of them criticised their fathers citing their work as the reason they did not have the time to go to classes, nevertheless they clearly regretted their lack of relationship with their fathers.

If hearing young people are having difficulties at home then there are a range of personnel and services they can turn to, including a range of telephone helplines. Such resources are not equally accessible for young D/deaf people. It is essentially therefore that at a minimum those involved in the provision of support and services for young people have taken D/deaf awareness courses and ideally should have some BSL skills. Many of the young people we worked with noted how wonderful it was for them when they went into a new environment and found someone who could communicate with them in their own language, even at a simple level.

Education: Learning from the back?

The young D/deaf people we worked with had experience of a wide range of educational institutions. This in part reflected the range of provision within the *Midlands* area but also the fact several young people had grown up in other parts of the country. The types of compulsory education experienced broke down into five types:

- *Signing D/deaf boarding/ day schools*
- *Oral deaf boarding/ day schools*
- *Partial hearing units (PHUs)*
- *Integrated mainstream education*
- *Special schools*

Some of the young people had left education at the age of 16, others were continuing in some form of further or higher education, a very small number were in employment.

The majority of young people reported that primary education had been very positive, whether with mostly D/deaf or hearing pupils. They had managed to cope fairly well with communication and had made friends easily. Some in mainstream education or in an oral school if they were profoundly D/deaf found learning difficult. However at secondary school common experiences included: bullying (especially in PHUs and mainstream settings); a narrowing of subject options, work experience and careers advice; a mismatch of communication between pupils and teachers; lack of appropriate life skills training, including sex education; lack of, or inappropriate, post-16 support. As a result many of the young people did not feel that they had achieved their full academic potential - many were currently 'catching up' at FE colleges. The following quotes from several young people illustrate these points.

> *I can remember being three...I can remember the first time mixing with D/deaf children...I can remember they'd got a different sign language from me and I copied their signs...I mean it's natural as a child you pick things up and then I'd go home and I'd realise I was signing differently from my parents [who were both D/deaf] and my parents felt that it wasn't proper signing.*

[At secondary school] It was pretty hard trying to lip read the teachers, I struggled for quite while...I couldn't understand what was going on and I would ask the teachers to repeat it and the teachers could be pretty negative in their response of me...so there was some discrimination some harassment but I just tried to get on with it so I was there eleven to sixteen
(Tina, 23, D/deaf signing primary school then oral boarding secondary school)

We weren't allowed to sign or anything, we had to talk, had to speak all the time. At juniors everyone wants to be friends with you and wants to get to know you and how [being] D/deaf works and it was all right at juniors. At [secondary school] you get a bit bullied but just ignore it don't bother you. They bully you because they can't understand D/deaf people, they think you're D/deaf and they think you're mental because you can't hear 'owt.
(Jessica, 17, mainstream primary and PHU at secondary)

[When I went to school] I was very nervous...because all my family were hearing, we wouldn't sign and going to school that was different, so that was when I started to learn to sign...there was a teacher there in the room and you'd have a communicator in the room next to you that would sign what the teacher said to you [edit] some of the hearing kids they were bullies you know...there was one boy he'd bully some of the deaf kids and say 'you're signing rubbish' and 'why are you waving your hands about?'
(Lisa, 16, 5-16 in a deaf unit within a mainstream school)

I went to X primary school but it was bad we wouldn't be allowed to sign, had to talk...some of the deaf signed and they [got] smacked [edit] I had to wear a hearing aid it was embarrassing I was like a robot with that thing on....[at secondary school] hearing and D/deaf used to fight all the time, it was a hell school...they always used to say they are better than us...they used to take our football and so we chased them and fought them...all of the teachers were hearing but they used sign...I used to love arguing with the teachers [edit] I had a work placement at the milk factory...look at the milk and everything, packing them into lorries and that, but it was the teacher's choice, it wasn't my choice...I wanted to do painting and decorating but they didn't, they put me in the milk factory for one week, crap.
(Karl, 22, oral school for the Deaf, PHU at secondary school[9])

I went to a [signing] school for the deaf...it was good, it was very hard work...the lessons were interesting and lots of the teachers were D/deaf, they gave you lots of support, we were all D/deaf in that school...I was happy there
(Ruby, 18, signing school for the deaf from 5 to 18)

[When] I was about eleven or twelve the staff would be having a talk with each other and decided that when I was about thirteen I should drop English, I wanted to carry on with it but they decided for me that I should drop it...by the time I was fourteen I'd forgotten all the English I'd had so I came here to college at eighteen, seventeen...and I was really stuck because I just hadn't learned enough and I was really nervous just the first stage and then when I had the exam I was really, really relieved to pass it, I got ninety percent in the exam so I was really pleased, I managed it...at school they decided I couldn't do it because I was profoundly deaf [edit] I was really furious I was upset too, it took me while to get over it.
(Bernice, 21, oral school for the deaf, PHU at secondary school)

Unless the young people attended signing oriented D/deaf schools they often experienced isolation and communication difficulties. Most of the young people were never taught by a D/deaf person and so even those who had been exposed to BSL felt that it was rather limited in expression. In mainstream schools the lack of D/deaf awareness was not only detrimental for their education but they also felt excluded from the wider school culture. Bullying in mainstream schools or schools with PHU units was common and those who experienced this talked of feeling isolated and unprotected. Some young people identified teachers who had been both supportive and inspirational providing encouragement and advice, however, many teachers seemed to have a negative attitude towards their D/deaf pupils and to be reluctant to tackle problems like bullying.

Both teachers and careers officers seemed to have low expectations of D/deaf pupils. They often made limited efforts at communication and made inappropriate decisions on behalf of D/deaf pupils. Transitional reviews were often conducted without an interpreter, parents often having to fulfil this role and the young people feeling that they were being talked *about* rather than talked *with* (Tisdall, 1996/7). Many of the young people we talked to were doing practical based courses, almost all of them involved in art and design in some shape or form. Older D/deaf people talked about the fact that they had felt channelled into manual jobs because of the stereotype that D/deaf people are good with their hands. It would appear that aspects of this stereotype remain.

Ways forward for policy relating to school experiences for young D/deaf people

There needs to be a dramatic improvement in D/deaf people's experiences of mainstream education. LEAs need to demonstrate a genuine commitment to inclusion and a bi-lingual policy. Hearing children should have the opportunity to learn BSL; bi-lingual education should be for all pupils. Both D/deaf and hearing children should be taught about D/deaf culture and hearing culture - it cannot be assumed

that because they are both within the same educational space they will learn about each other's life experiences. All participants in the school environment should have D/deaf awareness training as a minimum requirement. School bullying policies need revision to ensure understanding of the practices and effects of harassment related to D/deafness. Educators and careers officers who work with children in these settings need specialist training to enable them to recognise and build upon the skills of young D/deaf people. Within mainstream settings it is important that D/deaf adults who can act as positive role models are involved. This could challenge negative stereotypes of D/deaf pupils and so have an effect on bullying and also provide mentors for the young D/deaf people in the schools.

In view of the difficulties in learning and the acquisition of classroom based information that young D/deaf people face, continued support for them post-16 as they try and catch up with their hearing peers is essential. Currently LEAs have no statutory duty to provide post-16 support. One of the LEAs we worked with did do this - but this was dependent on the political commitment of key individuals to provide some degree of continued support. The young people who were receiving this as they entered FE found it extremely valuable. In view of the extended transitions to employment faced by many young D/deaf people such continued support should become mandatory.

At FE or HE institutions young D/deaf people make full use of the Disabled Students Support Grant and acknowledge the value of this grant in their continued education. However, what they often miss out on, as they do in schools, is the social culture of being at college. For students who cannot communicate with their peers the sense of isolation is what can cause them to leave, not the difficulties of their studies. Once again D/deaf awareness among college students and tutors combined with schemes such as buddying or mentoring could help young D/deaf people begin to feel at home.

Quite a few of the young people we interviewed had been involved in demonstration marches in *Midlands* and London as part of the campaign for the official recognition of BSL. This is a major and ongoing campaign among the Deaf community because it is argued that D/deaf people can best achieve their potential through a language which they have full access to and which allows them to develop linguistically, personally and socially. There are about 70,000 people in the UK who have BSL as their preferred language. More D/deaf and hearing people use BSL than speak Welsh or Gaelic and yet these are both officially recognised languages which BSL is not. BSL is central to the UK D/deaf community and hence its recognition would be an important step in ensuring that all D/deaf people have their rights respected and can play a full role in British society. Many of the young D/deaf people had

actively chosen to learn BSL, especially if they had been prevented from doing so in their schools. They talked about the ways in which they found the language exciting, that they could always improve on their skills and that it gave them a sense of belonging. If BSL were to be an officially recognised language those in LEAs who are struggling to establish or deepen commitment to bi-lingual policies within schools would have a much easier task. With the current education commitment to mainstream education for as many children as possible, a change to genuine bi-lingualism would enhance D/deaf children's and young people's education experiences considerably.

Conclusion

What we have demonstrated in this article is that there are intense complexities within young D/deaf people's experiences of two significant social spaces - the home and school. While families can be very supportive and some school environments are extremely positive, most of the time there are considerable problems which young D/deaf people have to overcome. The fact that they battle through the isolation, exclusion and lack of communication is a testament to their determination to survive in a hearing world. However such survival comes at a cost with reduced communication within their families, lost educational chances and the possibility of not achieving their full potential. We have shown that there is a range of policy changes, both at the local and national scales, which would bring major improvements to young D/deaf people's lives. Support for young D/deaf people should not be seen as an extra expense but rather part of a widespread investment in all young people as the future of the nation. With effective and adequate support in their youth, D/deaf people can make successful transitions and significant contributions to society as many D/deaf people have done before them.

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Notes

1 This is also true of our own discipline, geography. While there is a growing field of research collected under the title 'Geographies of young people' (Aitken, 2001; Skelton and Valentine, 1998) there is relatively little about young people with disabilities of any kind. Within geographical work on disabilities (Butler and Parr, 1999; Gleeson, 1999) there is little to nothing about D/deaf people and D/deafness (although see Skelton and Valentine, forthcoming). In back issues of this journal we could only find one article that referred to young people with disabilities (Tisdall, 1996/7)

2 As this was a qualitative research project the depth and range of material that came forth from the interviews with young people was extremely rich. However, there was also a great deal of the material. What is reported here are selected elements of young D/deaf peoples experiences in their homes and at school. There is not the space here to cover the total complexity of the young people's discussions.

3 The research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council project (award number L134 2 1032) and formed part of the Youth, Citizenship and Social Change Programme.

4 All the names of participants in the research have been changed. In most cases interviews were with a BSL interpreter, however Karl and Jessica spoke for themselves with an interpreter helping out where needed.

5 The diversity of backgrounds for the young people involved in the research demonstrates that conventional definitions of the 'family' are problematic because they can hide the complexity and dynamism of household formations (Stacey, 1990). We use the term 'family' in this paper as a collective term for the diversity of social relations the young people experienced, it reflects the fact that they all used the term 'family' when narrating their growing up experiences and their current familial relationships.

6 In one of the cities where we worked there was a housing association which provided accommodation for D/deaf people. Many residents were young people living independently for the first time. The residences were all set up with appropriate technology for D/deaf people (flashing lights for door bells, telephones, smoke and fire alarms). There was also a D/deaf key worker who was the association representative for the scheme.

7 A cochlear implant is an electronic device that can be surgically implanted in the cochlea (inner ear) of someone who is profoundly or completely deaf to give them a sensation of hearing. A cochlear implant has an externally worn part containing the processor. The processor is linked to electrodes that are inserted into the cochlea where they transmit the signals to the nerve of hearing. These signals are recognised as sounds by the brain. The operation is a highly controversial one within the Deaf community as they feel it is conducted on children too young to give their consent and premised upon a medical definition of deafness which is that it is something to be cured. The British Deaf Association has a clear policy document on cochlear implants and the Royal National Institute for the Deaf provide a fact sheet at the following Internet addresses: www.britishdeafassociation.org.uk and http://www.rnid.org.uk/html/info_factsheets_med_cochlear_implants.htm respectively.

8 The British Deaf Association makes the following statement in their Annual Report for 2000/2001 in relation to the need for more interpreters: 'A British Sign Language interpreter provides an important link between Deaf and hearing people. However, there is currently a serious shortage. There are only 117 registered qualified interpreters and 228 registered trainee interpreters in the UK. The growth of demand for interpreters has not been matched by increased supply. This is a major obstacle to Deaf people's social inclusion'. (www.britishdeafassociation.org)

9 Karl left the PHU without any qualifications. He went on to a YTS scheme but left after four months. He then went to a FE college with a good reputation for support of D/deaf students and improved his basic education over a three year period. After a two year period of unemployment Karl was enrolled on a two year painting and decorating course - something he had wanted to do while at secondary school but had never had the opportunity.

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LINKS IN THE CHAIN:

An analysis of the participatory methodology being used to develop the role of Connexions Personal Adviser

BILLIE OLIVER

This paper explores the principles of involvement and participation behind the methodology espoused by the Connexions Strategy in developing the role of the Connexions Personal Adviser (PA). Participation and involvement are contentious terms, the use of which often leads to inconclusive debates as to their real meaning, and of how to achieve them in practice. In this paper I will examine the rationale behind the apparent methodology involving PAs in a learning approach to the development of their new role and consider whether this approach can achieve its goals of empowerment, motivation and commitment. Although my focus in this paper is on the PAs and their role, the conclusions to be drawn about effective participation, will have relevance for the wider work of Connexions, with change management and for the development of inter-agency practice.

Policy and Participation

Issues of empowerment, participation and equity have long been the corner-stones of Community Development and Youth Work practice. Interestingly, as Shaw (1997) has observed, in 'recent years, the issues of user participation and involvement have become increasingly key for most social care professions'. Braye (2000) suggests that this apparent shift in emphasis may also reflect a broader shift, taking place within wider society more generally 'on participatory rights, the responsibilities of citizens and of participatory democracy which aspires to put government in touch with the people, and promote the social inclusion of those traditionally marginalized within the power structures of society'.

There has, in consequence, been a welcome shift in political policy, post 1997, towards embracing participatory and social action principles. 'Social Action', it has been argued, is an approach to inclusion and participation that 'aims to focus on (people's) aspirations and capacities rather than on deficits and negative stereotypes' (Ward, 2000:54). It is an approach described as having three main distinguishing characteristics: 'a recognition that all people have the capacity to create social change and should be given the opportunity; professionals working with people in partnership; and the agenda for action handed over to the people themselves'. Furthermore, it can 'assist the development of forms of participation and involvement which do not deceive or unwittingly contain and control' (Ward, 2000). Government policy, in recent years has claimed to support such values as these. The government white paper 'Modernising Government' (Cabinet Office, 1999) asserted that professional

policy-making needed to change in order to respond to the 'increasingly complex, uncertain and unpredictable' world, and that to achieve this change policy should be:

- *'Forward looking - taking a long term view, based on statistical trends and informed predictions;*
- *Outward looking - taking account of factors in the national, and international factors*
- *Innovative and creative - questioning established ways of dealing with things and encouraging new ideas;*
- *Use Evidence - from a wide range of sources and involve key stakeholders at an early stage;*
- *Inclusive - taking account of the impact on the needs of all those directly or indirectly affected by the policy*
- *Joined Up - looking beyond institutional boundaries, and establishing the ethical and legal base for policy*
- *Evaluative - and build systematic evaluation of early outcomes into the policy' (Cabinet Office, March 1999)*

These values have become the cornerstones for all key 'New Labour' policy, a major part of which, has been the Connexions Strategy (DfEE, 2000). The concepts of inclusivity, of involvement and of questioning established way of doing things that are contained within this strategy, are ideas that have been informing the work of informal educators and community development workers for many years. Many Community Youth workers trace these principles back to the inspiration provided by the ideas of Paulo Freire (1970) who described an approach that he called 'problematizing', which involves working from a person's own understanding and engaging with them to challenge their 'taken-for granted' social relations. It has been encouraging, therefore, to observe such values beginning to move towards the centre stage of policy-makers thinking.

Theory and Participation

The concept and definition of terms such as 'participation' and 'involvement', however, are notoriously difficult to unpick and one of the main difficulties with any such exploration is that the language is complex and that 'the same term means different things to different people' (Braye, 2000:18). Too often the words are used with an assumption that there is agreement over their meaning, whereas, when examined more closely, one begins to uncover a confusion that suggests more support for the rhetorical principles than for examining the reality of how to make it work in practice.

Many models have been proposed, which attempt to describe the differences and nuances in meaning in these terms - and most conclude that 'true' participation is difficult to achieve in practice. Arnstein's (1969) well known 'ladder' model refers to a hierarchy of participation ranging from 'manipulation' or 'tokenism' on the bottom rungs, through consultation and involvement to 'citizen control' on the top rung. Arnstein designed her typology in order to clarify the confusion arising from 'innocuous euphemisims' and 'misleading rhetoric' surrounding much policy driven initiatives on participation in America, claiming that 'participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless' (Arnstein, 1969). Taking a similar hierarchical approach, Brager and Specht (1987) offer a model for 'defining and actioning degrees of community participation', which describes 'low', 'medium' and 'high' degrees of participant 'control'. Biggs (1989) attempted to define these conceptual differences, arguing that 'shallow' participation can be characterised by arrangements which involve some degree of compulsion within a predefined agenda, which may on occasion progress to a more consultative approach in which the opinions of participants are sought, but where recommendations and subsequent action are largely researcher or funder led. 'Deep' participation on the other hand is characterised by increasingly collaborative arrangements within which participants work jointly. The final level in Biggs' analysis is 'collegiate' participation where the participants work together in a process of mutual learning and problem solving and have some control over the process and outcomes. This 'collegiate' level of participation, as Kemshall and Littlechild (2000) have observed, is rarely achieved due too often to the power held by funders or commissioning bodies.

More recently, Beresford and Croft (1993) have proposed a model which describes a typology of 'democratic' participation as being that which seeks to challenge professional dominance and has as its purpose, 'achieving greater influence and control' for participants. This is an approach which works to a wider, more social agenda than their other typology - the 'consumerist' approach to participation, a perspective that has been described as being about 'influencing individual consumption of service' and is a model that can, according to Braye (2000) be observed in 'much policy driven participation initiatives'. Twelvetrees (2002:60) offers yet another typology of 'horizontal', or community initiated activities and 'vertical' or government initiated activities and further identifies three different levels within 'vertical participation' of 'informing', 'consulting' 'involving'. That so many writers, after a period of 30 years, are still grappling with trying to define and clarify what is meant by 'participation' and 'involvement', gives some indication of the problematic use of the term and of any policy or strategy that claims to be embracing it.

Connexions and Participation

Sloper et al (2001) found that involving workers in a 'learning approach to implementation (of a changed role), reflecting on progress and reviewing plans accordingly' was highly effective at increasing commitment to change. Carey (1994:240) also reported that the opportunity to have a voice in the topic of study 'makes participants feel important and empowered'. A reflective and participative approach such as this appears to be the model adopted by the designers of the Connexions Personal Adviser Training Programme. It is likely, that this model has been informed, by the Connexions Service National Unit's (CSNU) stated commitment to the principles of user involvement and participation, empowerment and reflective and evidence-based practice (DfEE, 2001). The Connexions strategy has been built around eight key principles, (see box a) which inform Connexions thinking and practice, development and design. There is a high level of similarity to be observed, between these principles and those informing current government policy as outlined in the 'Modernising Government' white paper (1999) discussed above. The Connexions Strategy then can be seen to be central to New Labour's vision of social inclusion and social action.

The Connexions Eight Key Principles: **Box A**

- Raising aspirations - setting high expectations of every individual
- Meeting individual need and overcoming barriers to learning
- Taking account of the views of young people - individually and collectively, as the new service is developed
- Inclusion - keeping young people in mainstream education and training and preventing them moving to the margins of their community
- Partnership - agencies collaborating to achieve more for young people, parents and communities than is achieved by agencies working in isolation
- Community involvement and neighbourhood renewal - through the involvement of community mentors and through Connexions personal advisers brokering access to local welfare, health, arts, sport and guidance networks
- Extending opportunity and equality of opportunity - raising participation and achievement levels for all young people, influencing the availability, suitability and quality of provision and raising awareness of opportunities
- Evidence based practice - ensuring that new interventions are based on rigorous research and evaluation into 'what works'

(DfEE, 2000)

The government first announced its intention to set up a support service for young people in *Learning To Succeed: a new framework for post 16 learning* (DfEE, 1999), the aim being to ensure a 'smooth transition from compulsory schooling to post-16 learning' and to the world of work. These ideas were published soon afterwards in a report entitled *Bridging The Gap: new opportunities for 16-18 year olds not in education, employment or training* (Social Exclusion Unit, 1999) which indicated that the service would take the form of a single national agency, The Connexions Service, employing staff with a range of professional backgrounds, such as careers officers, youth workers and counsellors. The Connexions strategy built on research (Bentley and Gurumurthy, 1999) suggesting that there was room

for a new professional grouping - a 'youth broker' or personal adviser - and the setting up of the Connexions Service was seen as representing a significant change in the way support was to be provided to young people. There was to be a focus on 'coherence across current service boundaries', so that 'someone' has an 'overview of the whole of a young person's needs' (DfEE, 2000). Within this vision, the 'someone' evolved into the conception of a 'new professional role' (DfEE 2001) - the Personal Adviser - seen as key to the delivery of the strategy. This new role has not been described or delineated in any precise terms and the strategy envisages that it will be the Personal Advisers themselves who will contribute to the clarification of the role description. This kind of involvement in the determination of one's own role has the potential to be both exciting and frightening. Managed effectively it could be an extremely exciting, developmental and enriching experience with the potential to create a deep ownership of and identification with the strategy. Managed ineffectively it could become an extremely confusing and alienating experience leading to fear, vulnerability and de-motivation.

Participative reflective inquiry

Since July 2001, staff at the University of the West of England, have been involved in delivering the Diploma for Connexions Personal Advisers, presently the only route to becoming a fully qualified PA. The design and delivery of this national training programme contains many features of what Shaw (2000) has described as 'participative reflective inquiry', defined by Shaw as a methodology that sets out to be 'committed to empowerment ... and (includes) some degree of emphasis on an explicitly liberationist strategy, an educative dimension ... and an integrated commitment to political action and social transformation'. The national Connexions training programme is designed (together with the Connexions Strategy more generally), to be part of an iterative process - an ongoing cyclical evaluation and developmental exercise. The route to achieving this is through a programme of supported distance learning with 'live training days' and 'action learning sets' (Connexions, 2001) which are designed to encourage both individual and group reflection on, and participation and engagement with, the development of the Connexions strategy and of the Personal Adviser role.

As part of this iterative process, a feedback loop has been established that returns participant feedback generated on the live training days and action learning sets, directly to government and which (theoretically) informs the shape and development of the strategy, the training programme and the PA role. In this respect, Personal Advisers have the potential to play a crucial part in the design and development of their own professional role and of the service within which they will operate.

This is a model of learning that has many similarities with the Community Development approach to Community Education and is recognised as an empowering approach.

Brewer (1993:165) has defined 'community education' as being about 'people learning together to improve the quality of their lives as individuals and for the communities in which they work'. The Community Education Training Unit have further defined the 'community development approach' as having three key values, which directly affect style and content:

1 *People joining together to have more control over their lives and more real participation in the decisions that affect them;*
2 *Appreciating and building on people's own skills, knowledge and experience;*
3 *Challenging oppression and helping to develop more equal relationships between people' (CETU, 1994)*

This bottom-up approach and participative methodology then, is intended to 'make participants feel important and empowered' (Carey, 1994:240). And yet, as the Diploma course progresses (we are currently about to begin delivering module 4) we have observed a noticeable increase in anxiety expressed by Personal Advisers about their role and the service within which they operate. Much of the feedback being generated, indicates that they are feeling 'vulnerable', 'un-motivated' and 'unsafe'. So what is going wrong?

Participation or Consultation

Cornwall and Jewkes (1995:1668) have noted that genuine participation involves more than just taking part; it involves 'activeness, choice and the possibilities of that choice being effected'. These are important considerations in an analysis of the participatory methodology being used to develop the Personal Adviser role.

This role has been described in broad terms as being about engaging with, supporting, advocating on behalf of and brokering services to young people (DfEE, 2001). Turning this vision into a reality has been devolved, in part, to the Personal Advisers who are engaged in an exploration of what the facets of this role might mean in practice. However, whilst they have been invited, through the Diploma course to be involved in shaping their new role and the new service within which they will operate, feedback from our PAs suggests that they may be experiencing this involvement as superficial and tokenistic, and that the design and development of their role is not, in reality, something that is within their control. Their feedback suggests, that they would welcome a greater sense that the issues with which they are engaging are being heard and responded to both on a national and a local level. They are beginning to question whether the process that they have been invited to participate in is a truly cyclical one since evidence of any response to their concerns is slow in appearing. The Diploma course on which they are engaged on lasts for ten months and whilst it is probable that some evidence of the

benefits of their involvement may become clear during that time, participants would feel less anxious and vulnerable in their role if there were more evidence that their feedback is being addressed and engaged with, as they go along. These are early days in the life of Connexions and the role of the Personal Adviser is likely to go through much change and development before the role becomes clear. However, if PAs are to be truly involved in the development of this role, then they need to gain a sense that they are part of the change process, and not just being used as experimental guinea-pigs. A further question that is raised by this methodology, and the reality in terms of the time needed to bring about change, is 'How will PAs' continued involvement in the development of the role be facilitated once they have completed the course?'

The frustration reported by the PAs is caused, in great part, by the lack of involvement by other key players in this exploration. Personal Advisers report that they are working in environments where others, including in some cases their managers, do not understand what their role is supposed to be. If Personal Advisers are to make an impact on developing the role and the strategy, they will need to be supported by an environment that is also engaged with them in exploring how to develop the Connexions Strategy. Sloper et al (1999) found that in order for practitioners to take on a new role successfully, a clear understanding of the role and a supportive multi-agency organisational context were needed. This depended on the involvement of 'different levels of the hierarchy within agencies' and on 'effective communication throughout the development and implementation of the service'. Fleming (2000) has also asserted that to be effective, 'people at all levels must have close links with the (development of the process) and a commitment to take on the process and its results in their own activities'. These seem to be highly relevant conclusions that can be applied to the development of the Personal Adviser role. If active participation and continuing development of the role and of the service is to be maintained, a mechanism will need to be established that will assist communication between all levels and all agencies and will ensure that all key players remain involved and committed to the development taking place. If a 'bottom-up' approach is to be more than merely consultation, there needs to be visible evidence of the impact of feedback in local and national decision-making. As Atherton (1999) has observed, participants will not become fully involved unless the agenda 'addresses their concerns and delivers the results in a manner that is both understandable and cognisant of the way they might be used'.

Action Learning

One of the more successful elements of the Diploma course is the emphasis on reflective practice and action learning. Course participants take part in a half-day action learning set during each module of the course. Based on the principle that

learning is about recognising, not what we know, but what we don't know, 'Action Learning' involves participants meeting regularly in small groups and becoming 'comrades in adversity' (Revans, 1971) as they 'problematize' their practice and seek workable solutions.

> *An action learning set can be likened to a personal think tank, in which members learn from each other, and, by testing out ideas between meetings, create a cycle of learning through reflection and action.*
> (O'Hara et al, 2001)

In an Action Learning Set, the agenda is developed by the group themselves, and in consequence the issues under exploration are of more relevance to them and have more meaning, than those determined by the training course materials which are delivered on the 'live training days'. In an Action Learning Set the trainer acts as facilitator, whose concern is to manage the group process, allowing the group to reflect on and explore issues and practice difficulties collaboratively and in any way they choose, and is not there to lead the agenda or direct the learning. An action learning set is concerned with action as a result of understanding, rather than discussion, speculation and interpretation alone. Participants on our Diploma course have experienced these Action Learning Sets as a valuable opportunity to gain new insights into the context of their practice, develop additional ideas and gain new information from engaging in these multi-professional action learning set.

One of the acknowledged benefits of action learning is its potential for overcoming organisational barriers and promoting a multi-agency problem solving context (Connexions, 2001) and in this respect it has considerable merit within the Connexions Strategy. Currently, however, the only personnel involved in the action learning sets are participants on the Diploma programme and this seems to me to be a major flaw in the design of the strategy. Extending the action learning set methodology to incorporate staff at all levels within the local partnerships would facilitate the incorporation of multi-agency and practice insights at a strategic level and disseminate learning more widely throughout the local partnerships and national service. Sloper et al (1999) found that one of the key factors contributing to effective involvement in the shaping of a new service was 'effective communication with all those involved in the project throughout the development and implementation of the service'. Action learning sets could possibly be a useful tool for encouraging this continuous engagement, involvement and communication. Extending action learning in this way could provide an opportunity to be involved in shaping the strategy once they have completed the Diploma course.

Clearly there are considerable practical and resource issues that need to be addressed if such an approach is to be effective and empowering and not just yet

another demand on staff resources. Good facilitation has been acknowledged as a key factor in creating successful action learning sets (Sloper at al, 1999), and can help to ensure that the set does not degenerate into an unfocussed discussion group. However, as O'Hara et al (2001) point out, the high costs involved in appointing facilitators is a barrier to its widespread use in many organisations. They found that self-facilitation could be successful, as long as the set members were equipped with the necessary skills.

For Arnstein (1969), the essential criterion to ensure 'real' participation was whether participants had 'real power to affect the outcome of the process'. The Personal Advisers with whom we are working claim to feel 'powerless', and this, it seems, is an indication that their involvement in the participatory methodology of Connexions is experienced as tokenistic, and as operating in a vacuum rather than their being truly involved in an active process. Connexions aims to provide 'coherent, co-ordinated and consistent support for all young people who need it' (DfEE, 2000). If Personal Advisers are to be the key to the delivery of this vision, then they will need to feel that they are participants within a service that can listen to them, support and empower them to overcome the obstacles to making this a reality.

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INDIVIDUALISATION AND YOUTH WORK

TONY JEFFS AND MARK K. SMITH

What makes good society? I answer, in one word, real fellowship.
(William Hazlitt - *On Coffee House Politicians*)

During the early years of the Industrial Revolution a new pursuit surfaced - youth work. Gradually it developed a distinctive mode of intervention and focus so that by the end of the nineteenth century it had acquired a recognisable style and élan. It embodied a distinctive approach to work with young people. This approach was characterized by an emphasis on relationships and voluntary participation; a commitment to association; a belief that practitioners should be approachable; have faith in people and be trying to live good lives; and a concern with the education, and more broadly the welfare of young people (see Jeffs, 2001; Doyle and Smith, forthcoming). Here we will explore the nature of that uniqueness and the extraordinary extent to which contemporary practice in Britain and Northern Ireland has lost touch with key aspects of this heritage.

Pioneers of youth work entered a burgeoning field of activity. The late eighteenth and nineteenth century witnessed a phenomenal growth in charitable work. Many, especially women, gave prodigious amounts of time and money to charity. One study of middle-class family budgets, for example, found more was spent on charity than on rent, clothing, servants' wages or any other item apart from food (Prochaska, 1980: 21). Motives varied but predominately individuals were responding to the problems of poverty, family disruption, poor housing, disease, ignorance and 'spiritual decay' emanating from rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. Groups and organisations proliferated many of whom catered specifically for the social, educational, welfare and spiritual needs of young people. Some were local enterprises, others offshoots of the emerging national youth organisations such as the Sunday School Movement or the YMCA. Wisely neophyte youth workers learnt from predecessors and contemporaries. The more adventurous avoided unthinking replication - partly because they perceived weaknesses in the ways existing programmes functioned, but also for the reason that many aimed to engage with young people untouched by other agencies. This independence helped ensure youth work emerged as a discrete entity distinctive for reasons besides the age of the clients. Eventually a form of intervention sufficiently unique to secure a niche of its own emerged. As a consequence it became realistic to talk of youth work (and youth workers) in ways that assumed a listener (or user) understood what it did, what it sought to achieve and what values it embraced.

Schooling and visiting

The niche youth work occupied was located between two more self-assured and substantive forms of intervention into the lives of working class young people. The first of these was the institution and, in particular, the school and residential home. Both were designed to control, manage and reconstruct working class young people. Prior to the 1870s school attendance was not compulsory and a high proportion opted for independent 'dame schools'. These operated on a flexible basis that acknowledged the needs of the family, and the desire of both children and parents for the former to move in and out of the labour market as and when work became available, and when family poverty stipulated they earn a wage. By 1870 employment opportunities for young people were rapidly declining. This resulted in widespread alarm amongst reformers and the 'respectable classes' that the majority of young people were neither in work or school but out on the streets. Calls for the introduction of compulsory school attendance eventually became irresistible. However, where employers still required cheap malleable child labour to sustain profit levels part-time schooling was retained or schools combining work with instruction were established. Compulsion and the wholesale warehousing of young people led to the creation of a battery of laws and an army of officials to enforce observance. Schooling on this scale also required unprecedented state funding. This was tied to the adoption of a bureaucratic, standardised curriculum enforced by a malevolent system of inspection designed to ensure compliance and the cowering of the teaching force. It produced a brutish, anti-intellectual, cut-price contemptible system for the schooling of working class children (Roberts, 1976; Horn, 1979; Hendricks, 1994; Davin, 1996). For those whose parents were too poor or unwilling to care for them, who transgressed the law, or refused to attend regularly there existed a parallel system of residential institutions. Run by the Poor Law Guardians or religious organisations these places were even more brutal, more terrifying than the worst state school. These Bastilles, along with enforced migration provided the ultimate deterrents for keeping working class youngsters in order.

Alongside these activities there emerged a range of educational initiatives aimed at reaching those who did not attend, or had limited full-time schooling – and two of these are of profound significance for the emergence of youth work. Sunday schooling often entailed the use of more informal and engaging programmes of activities (after the work of Hannah More and others) – and involved elements that we could now name as youth work. These schools attracted substantial numbers of young people. In 1851 over two million children were enrolled in such institutions (around three-quarters of working class children aged 5-15 years) (Laquer, 1976: 44). Also arising out of an evangelical stream, ragged schools were an important site of innovation. Working in the very poorest areas, and often with little money,

those involved in running ragged schools often displayed a comprehensive interest in, and care for, people. Significantly, they also went to meet people in their own neighbourhoods frequently using stables, archways or rooms in pubs as their classrooms. Many of those central to what we now know as youth work began their work in ragged schools and the like. This included George Williams (of the YMCA), Tom Pelham (the writer of the first handbook on boys clubs) and Quentin Hogg (founder of the Regent Street Polytechnic) (see Smith, 2001).

On the other side of the niche that became youth work were the visiting societies. Offspring of the historic practice of 'visiting the poor', these formalised and rationalised the process. Towns and cities were segmented to ensure few escaped the attentions of charitable visitors who:

> *Armed with the paraphernalia of their calling – Bibles, tracts, blankets, food and coal tickets, and love – these foot-soldiers of the charitable army went from door to door to combat the evils of poverty, disease, and irreligion. In other words, they sought to reform family life through a moral and physical cleansing of the nation's homes.*
> (Prochaska, 1980: 98)

A large number of the early schemes were based on a model developed by Thomas Chalmers who, beginning in 1819, set about visiting families in the Tron parish of Glasgow. Many of the earlier visitors were deeply troubled and affected by what they saw and experienced. They also were prepared to take significant risks with their health, driven by a concern for what they saw as the debilitating effects of poverty and urbanisation. Sectarian rivalry was often intense but visitors provided care for the sick and dying as well as material help. A result of this particular combination of factors was some significant innovations in practice. Ellen Ranyard, for example, developed groundbreaking visiting programmes that looked beyond the traditional forms of middle class philanthropy. While still believing that social distress was the outcome of individual failings or personal misfortune rather than something more structural, she recognized that a great deal of local knowledge was required if visiting was to be successful. As with many others she looked to the adoption of Christian 'ways and beliefs' as being central to change. Combining these elements, she hit upon the idea of the 'Bible Woman'.

> *This missionary cum social worker,a working class woman drawn from the neighbourhood to be canvassed, was to provide the 'missing link' between the poorest families and their social superiors... Given a three month training... in the poor law, hygiene, and scripture, Mrs Ranyard agents sought to turn the city's outcast population into respectable, independent citizens through an invigoration of family life.*
> (Prochaska, 1988: 49)

By 1867 there were 234 Bible women working in London. Ranyard had recognised that in order to undertake this activity, working class women would need to be paid and as a result Bible Women were the first group of paid social workers in Britain.

Visitors also undertook research that exposed the plight of the poor along with advice and informal education. Mary Ward, a pioneering settlement worker, chronicles the harrowing nature of this work in her novel *Marcella* (1903). In order to maximise the value of visiting, reduce fraudulent claims and guarantee continuity many societies trained visitors, produced guidelines and maintained accurate case records. From this tradition social work, probation and social casework emerged as coherent activities. Some visitors, for example Hannah More, Octavia Hill, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and Maude Stanley, were active in youth work. Indeed, many youth work initiatives, especially those aimed at girls and young women arose out of visiting. Stanley, for example, started to set up clubs and groups in the 1870s in the neighbourhoods in which she was a visitor as a response to what she saw – and went on to play a key role in the promotion and organisation of the work (see, for example, Stanley, 1878; 1891).

Youth work

While developments in district visiting, ragged schooling and the like provided some important elements to what we have come to know as youth work, it wasn't really until the 1860s that the case came to be more widely made for specific forms of intervention aimed at 'youths' (aged 13 to 19 years) (see, for example, Sweetman 1863). Often linked to churches, a new agency - the youths' institutes and clubs - was designed to supply 'recreation, companionship, reading, instruction ... all of a pure and healthy kind' *(op. cit.)*. The utilisation of the notion of the 'club' was an especially important organising idea – both for work with young people and adults. Of special significance here was the advocacy of working men's clubs by Henry Solly. He defined clubs as:

> *Societies of working men formed to promote social intercourse, innocent amusement, mental improvement and mutual helpfulness embodying the conception of a Brotherhood for the completest possible culture of its members as human beings – for their whole development as men.*
> (Solly, 1867: 45)

Like Sweatman and others involved in youths' institutes and clubs he sought to combine fellowship, recreation and education. He also brought a belief in self-help and the full participation of members in running and organizing their clubs.

In the organization and orientation of the youth institutes and clubs we can see 'youth work' taking shape. From visiting and ragged schooling (and other places)

there was an emphasis on the character of the workers. For them to be able to speak with authority and integrity, they had to be seeking to live life well. These workers had also drawn upon a commitment to education and to the welfare of young people. When brought together with the notion of club (and the associated responsibility to others) we can see how youth workers came to be understood as important pioneers of group work (see Young and Ashton, 1956).

To better appreciate the nature of the youth work that emerged it is helpful to contrast these workers' developing practice with those involved in schooling and casework. Club and centre workers certainly undertook visiting, for example, going to the homes of members who were sick; deemed potential victims of abuse; had 'dropped out'; or were apprentices and servants 'living in' and therefore at heightened risk of exploitation. Youth workers also engaged in individual casework, just as they organised formal educational classes to supplement school provision, and residential accommodation where members could live or recuperate after illness. However such blurring of the boundaries waned as formal education for post-school age students developed; social, court and after-care work expanded; state income maintenance was introduced, and the provision of both institutional and community health care spread (Spence, 2001). Mainstream youth work as a consequence acquired a discernibly different persona from institutional provision and individualised casework. Unlike the former, it:

- *was based upon a voluntary relationship. Young people were always free to join and free to severe all links;*
- *did not operate according to a pre-ordained externally imposed and inviolate curriculum or structure. Young people were offered an educational and social programme that was to a greater or lesser degree negotiable. They were also often able to use the centre or club on their own terms for relaxation, sport or study in the library or quiet room;*
- *was not employment led. Youth work was dominated by a liberal education ethos prioritising what Ryan (1998) characterises as 'spiritual emancipation'; an education designed to cultivate freedom of thought and prepare young people to participate in an intelligently self-governing society.*

In contrast to 'visiting' and social casework it;

- *focussed on the group or collective experience rather than that of the individual;*
- *rejected the casework client- worker relationship in favour of the club-member one;*
- *saw both individual and social change as being best promoted via collective rather than personal endeavour.*

Differences between youth work and both schooling and social work were not merely the result of 'cussedness'. They emerged from two headstreams. One was instinctive pragmatism. This told youth workers that there were some things and some young people that could not be taught via schooling. Therefore, alternative ways of working were needed. The upshot of this was that individuals and groups with widely divergent aspirations turned to youth work. Irrespective of whether the ambition was to convert young people to a religious or secular faith, save them from a life of crime, sin or bovine vapidity, the techniques of youth work appeared to offer a route to salvation. Then, as now, it promised to rightly or wrongly deliver where others had wholly or partially failed.

The other headstream was more significant. From the onset youth work was enriched by a relationship with other political and social movements. Again the origins and ambitions varied. However, each shared a belief, held to varying degrees of intensity, that the new economic and social order sponsored and sustained individualism thereby weakening civil society and organic communities. Therefore these sought to cultivate ways of working to alleviate poverty and offer educational experiences that perpetuated rather eroded kinship; fostered not obliterated a sense of community; spawned fellowship not individualism. Attitudes to state sponsored mass schooling amongst them varied from the downright hostile to the enthusiastic but mildly critical. Similarly, whereas some loathed 'visiting' as a manifestation of a mind-set that perceived the rich and 'respectable' as being in *loco parentis* over a child-like poor, others accepted it as an expression of Christian love or social conscience that relieved suffering and cemented relationships between the classes. Each considered however that it was vital to find ways to protect and sponsor a sense of community and prioritised this; all to varying degrees turned to youth work as a way of achieving this end.

Building community, vanquishing individualism

As Lukes (1973) reminds us, 'individualism' is a nineteenth century word, usage of which grew during the same period as youth work expanded. Both emerged during a half-century when the locus of production shifted from the domestic sphere to the factory; Britain changed from a rural to an urban society; the population doubled; and an all-conquering capitalism imposed its writ on the social fabric; an epoch when:

> *A traumatically acute sense of the making and breaking of connections came over Western Man and culture. A great tectonic shift seemed to be taking place under the hitherto apparently settled continents of life and thought. It proclaimed itself in an omnipresent, even compulsive, concern*

> *with the snapping of ties, the unchaining of all established verities and social arrangements. Before this shift, Men felt more or less linked to God, Man, and the earth around them. They knew their 'place'. Afterwards, they knew only that the earth had moved, and, with it, everything upon it. To some, this was cause for celebration: new possibilities were opened up, old restraints gone. To others, it meant the falling apart of society and the self: an occasion for lamentation.*
> (Mazlish, 1989: 12)

It was an epoch during which, in Marx's memorable phrase, 'all that is solid melts into air'. The previous social and economic order laid great emphasis on order, continuity and duty, the new one stressed competition, change and individualism. Although the prosperity it bestowed on many and the Empire it bequeathed the British nation might be celebrated, severe reservations were articulated regarding the price paid for these and other benefits. In particular sceptics and opponents were nervous regarding the impact of this 'tectonic shift' upon society, the family and relationships between individuals. These fears J. S. Mill shared, regarding a 'society' where 'making the good of each depended upon evil to others, making all who have anything to gain or lose, live in the midst of enemies' (1963: 444).

Debates concerning the 'conflict' betwixt individualism and community formed a backcloth for controversy. Within the emerging discipline of sociology, pioneers seeking to interpret the new world materialising around them were fascinated by the decline and demise of community (Nisbet, 1966). British philosophers, in particular the Idealists of whom T. H. Green was the foremost, also struggled to find ways in which the individual autonomy underpinning the economic market place might be tailored to co-exist with the bonds of community (Nicholson, 1990). Likewise some of the most influential literary figures of the period, for example Mary Ward, Benjamin Disraeli, Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Kingsley, John Ruskin and George Eliot shared the latter's fascination with the impact of the cash nexus and a distrust of those who believed 'that all social questions are merged in economical science, and that the relations of men to their neighbours may be settled by algebraic equations' (Eliot, 1866: 29).

These concerns and debates had a profound impact on the development of youth work and community work. The relationship between the individual and a dominant market economy was not an abstract academic affair left by practitioners for others to wrestle with. Not least because youth work, adult education and community work attracted those struggling to address this issue precisely because each seemed to offer a partial solution to the conundrum. Key individuals moved between the different polarities of the debate. The networks were complex and close. For example

Robert Owen who established at New Lanark the first community centre, community school and primary school during the second decade of the nineteenth century proceeded to be a key figure in the development of the Co-operative and Trade Union movements. Jane Nassau Senior, the educational reformer active in the formation of both the Girls' Friendly Society and the pioneering outreach project, The Metropolitan Society for Befriending Servants, was a personal friend of George Eliot and Octavia Hill, whilst her brother was a leading co-operator. Hill, a co-founder of the first Cadet Force, the earliest children's playgrounds, the National Trust and innovative community centres and girls' clubs was, in turn, close to John Ruskin who was possibly the most influential critic of unbridled industrialisation during the Victorian period. Finally Hill's friend Henrietta Barnett, with her husband Samuel, established the first Settlement and pioneered the New Town movement.

Those involved in the development of youth work came from a range of religious, philosophical and political traditions. These traditions shaped the practice of organisations and individuals but above all melded to bestow upon youth work a unique essence. Five overlapping responses to industrialisation in particular percolated practice creating a discrete entity – youth work. They laid the basis for divergent strands of practice extant today:

Romantics – these lamented the destructive power of industrialisation upon the countryside and the rural way of life. They loathed the 'ugliness' of the new urban milieu and rejected as unnatural the way of life it spawned. Young people growing up in the new conurbanations were viewed as victims of an abnormal environment that spiritually, emotionally and physically stunted their development. Influenced by writers such as Rousseau and Wordsworth those close to this tradition fostered back-to-the-countryside communities and outdoor programmes. Contact with the 'great outdoors' and physical activity were perceived as self-evidently possessing a redeeming quality. Adherents, besides direct involvement in their own organisations such as Outward Bound, had a profound influence on mainstream youth groups especially the Boys' Clubs and uniformed groups.

Conservatives – who deeply mourned the loss of the pre-industrial social order, the old certainties. As a counterweight they placed great emphasis on patriotism and a sense of nationhood. By instilling in the young a love of country, god and Empire it was anticipated class divisions and social fragmentation might be set aside and a sense of common purpose and unity fashioned. Many held fast to a belief, well articulated by Disraeli in his popular novels, that a natural alliance waited to be forged between those born to command, the 'aristocracy', and a leaderless proletariat who mutually distrusted the up-and-coming capitalist class. Inevitably they settled for the uniformed organisations but they also saw all clubs and centres as sites

where the natural order might be re-asserted and gentlemen and ladies of quality might 'raise up' the working class through example and sacrifice. More recently this model has under-pinned interventions such as Connexions founded upon an ardour for guidance and leadership.

Socialists and radicals – were involved both in autonomous working class community and youth work and initiatives linked to national organisations such as the Co-operative Movement and the Chartists who sponsored clubs, centres and Sunday schools. There were also significant examples of radical 'top-down' provision, for example, the community centres, clubs and institutes funded by enlightened employers such Owen, Cadbury and Leverhulme. Autonomous groups incessantly struggled owing to a paucity of resources (by definition members were living at best on the margins of poverty) and the unremitting determination of the state and employers to eliminate credible opposition to the hegemony of capital. Some like the Clarion Clubs and Socialist Sunday Schools flourished for decades. Most however, only enjoyed a fleeting existence. Political radicals, often heavily influenced by writers such as Ruskin, Morris and Marx, also founded clubs or became involved in the work of existing youth organisations, centres and settlements both as a way of converting young people and of experiencing for themselves social relationships not dominated by the 'cash nexus'. The aims of the South Wales Federation of Miners' Boys' Clubs captures their motivation:

> *The training of good citizens. This means a wide programme of activities, involving culture as well as physical pursuits. Body, mind, and soul should find their place in the Club's aim. The ideas of service, comradeship, and esprit de corps should be in the forefront. Our ideals must be high –although we should not talk too much about them.*
> (quoted Russell and Russell, 1932: 16)

The most successful exponent of this model remains the Woodcraft Folk but workers who adhere to it are scattered throughout youth work.

Evangelicalism – provided the impetus and basis for many of the early youth work initiatives – as it did for much of the philanthropic activity in the nineteenth century (Prochaska, 1988). District visiting, Sunday schooling, ragged schooling, associations such as the YMCA and YWCA, and many of the early clubs and institutes had strong evangelical strands. This included an emphasis upon personal conversion, activism, Biblical authority, and the significance of the cross (Bebbington, 1989). Significantly, there were contrasting orientations with some evangelicals being linked to individualistic and conservative ideals (often within the Anglican Church) and others to more collective and critical concerns (often within dissenting churches

and Methodism). There was also a powerful class dynamic here with the former more likely to be dominated by the middle classes and the latter having a much stronger working class membership. Key figures within youth work came from these poles: Maude Stanley was a conservative Anglican with an evangelical orientation, and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence was a Methodist strongly committed to political and social reform (Doyle and Smith, forthcoming).

British Idealists – were a group of philosophers who wielded considerable influence during the second half of the nineteenth century. Leading members included T. H. Green, Bradley and Bosanquet. They devoted considerable attention to the relationship between the individual and the state seeking a way in which everything converged 'on the free life of the individual in a free state' (Bryce, 1903: 97). They looked to restructure the state so it became 'the focus of a sense of community and citizenship, an institution in which a good common to all classes and recognizable by all interest groups could be articulated' (Vincent and Plant, 1984: 2). Abhorring coercion, Idealists preferred to create a good society via education, conveying as much by example and experience as instruction. They endeavoured to foster self-help, co-operation and a love of democracy, the goal being a society comprising individuals freely choosing to be 'good citizens'. They sought to conduct themselves in ways that sustained and built a vibrant democracy and community wherein the individual acquires their individuality from their community and the community acquires its character from the individuals. In this way individualism and collectivism were not to be viewed as incompatible, residing at opposite ends of a continuum. Green in particular had profound influence via both personal contact and his writings upon key figures in the settlement, club and adult education movements. Toynbee, Ward and the Barnetts were especially close to him and sought to create clubs and projects fostering democracy and sense of community. In particular, the thinking of this tradition can be seen to have had a profound influence on the development of the New Town and Community Centre Movements, community schools and, above all, the settlements (Gordon and White, 1979).

These five traditions were never discrete, each impacted on the others, coalescing to manufacture mutual modes of practice. Profound antagonisms and intense rivalries existed within youth work from the outset. Deep fissures separated, for example pro- and anti-suffrage girls clubs; the political left from the right; and religious groupings of various hues. However, embedded within all segments were abiding continuities of practice. Disagreement raged, then as now, as to the desired outcome, the type of young person and by implication, society, practitioners and funders hankered after, but a yearning to preserve and foster community and association afforded an essential element of commonality. Consequently the starting point was

the group and collective activity. Reactionaries and revolutionaries, conservatives and reformers alike embraced the club and centre as a motif for youth work. For the former as a place where the old verities might be re-constructed with both the 'leader' and the 'led' learning their respective roles and rank in society, for the latter a site where experiments in democracy might be undertaken. It was a niche wherein women and the working class might encounter not merely new ideas but could enjoy moments of liberty and equality, a haven where the barriers of class and gender might be temporarily dismantled.

The group

The collective had many names. A club, troop, band, centre, battalion, institute, settlement or co-operative; variations in nomenclature reflected differences of emphasis but the fundamentals were constant. Emanating from the desire to create or re-create what Mazlish (1989) designated 'connections' a sense of community or esprit de corps, clubs *et al* grew from what Henriques described as the 'natural instinct for association' (1933: 8) and a desire on the part of their promoters to foster fellowship, friendship, fitness and citizenship. Consequently group work lay at the conceptual heart of youth work. The focus of youth work was on the group and the collective. Stress was placed upon the learning and growth that flows from the interaction and inter-play of relationships within the group. Although individual activities might be encouraged, these always took place within a group or 'club' setting. The worker meets the group and primarily focuses attention on establishing his or her relationship with the collective and helping the group to develop and handle the conflicts and feelings, positive and negative that emerge from within it. In so doing, members were allowed to secure full maturity and achieve the 'good life' within, as one club put it, a 'co-operative endeavour' that counteracted the 'individualistic point of view' (Russell and Russell, 1932: 16). As two American writers explained, it is 'the importance which the group plays in the process' (Kingman and Sidman, 1935: 17) that differentiates youth work from other educational provision. Little wonder then that so much of the literature of youth work has focused on how to build, sustain and manage the group.

The emergence of the group as a central concern of practice within youth work and settlement work in Britain was soon picked up by workers in the United States. Along with this came a considerable flowering of research and theorisation. The emphasis on research and investigation that had characterised early social work initiatives and the settlement movement, the growing impact of psychology and developments in thinking about human relations, the emergence of psychoanalysis, and a developing literature about the group and the crowd, all made their mark. Crucially, from within education the growing influence of pragmatists such as

Dewey and Kirkpatrick was also very significant. What began to emerge was a concept of social group work as the promotion and leadership of what Neva Boyd in the 1930s described as 'mutual participation groups in which the members participate collectively in the feelings, thinking and action involved in carrying out communal interests' (quoted by Glassman and Kates, 1990: 21).

Three basic ideas regarding the use of groups took shape – and have persisted.

> *The first has to do with the value of the small group as a means of maintaining a democratic society. By involving individuals in group action and decision-making within their neighbourhood and larger community, they can become more knowledgeable and skilled citizens. The second idea highlights the importance of the group as a means of socialization. Through the small group experience, an individual's development can be enhanced and the members can learn both the social skills and the values of the larger society. The third, and historically the most recent, idea underscores the potential of the group as a vehicle for ameliorating maladaptive behaviour. Through the small group, individuals can be assisted to change behaviours that are both self-defeating and classified as 'deviant' by society.*
> (Reid, 1981: xvi)

Each of the three strands can be found within British and Irish youth work – but it is the first two that have predominated and which came to be understood in the language of club and association.

The idea of association - joining together in companionship or to undertake some task, and the educative power of playing one's part in a group or association (Doyle and Smith, 1999: 44) appears and reappears in the literature of informal education. For example, the landmark *1919 Report* on adult education looked to the educative power of social movements and voluntary associations. They saw the value of 'the imponderable influences which spring from association in study' and the significance of 'the informal educations which come from sharing in a common life' (1956: 76). Similarly, in 1960 the Albemarle Report (HMSO 1960) declared that the primary aims of the youth service should be association, training and challenge (*ibid.*: 36-41 and 52-64):

> *To encourage young people to come together into groups of their own choosing is the fundamental task of the Service... (W)e want to call attention to:*
>
> *a) an opportunity for commitment....*
>
> *b) an opportunity for counsel....*
>
> *c) an opportunity for self-determination.*

For Matthews, writing a few years later, the purpose of youth work neatly matched that of Green and his followers, being 'to help young people develop their potentialities more fully as individuals and become better able to contribute to the life of the community' (1966: 103).

More recently Konrad Elsdon and his colleagues (1995) undertook a large scale survey of local voluntary organizations in Britain which demonstrated the growth in confidence that involvement brought. People talked about the way in which participation enabled 'self-discovery, freedom in forging relationships and undertaking tasks, belief in oneself and in one's potential as a human being and an agent, and ability to learn and change both in the context of the organization's objectives *and* in others' (*ibid.*: 47). Alongside these socializing effects, there are also important political gains. It isn't only that participation in groups and associations is a means of learning about democracy, they are a crucial means of participating in larger political processes. Frequently, they are part of wider networks and have some representative function. What is more, many local groups can be thought of as mutual aid organizations. They involve 'organizing around enthusiasms' - people joining together to produce goods and services for their own enjoyment (Bishop and Hoggett, 1985).

The growing literature of the group work movement in the United States was picked up in various ways in Britain and Ireland. The work of writers like Mary Parker Follett (1918; 1924) with her concern for group life, local democracy and creative experience made a considerable impact on key practitioners within the community centre and settlement movements. In groups, she wrote:

> *... the centre of consciousness is transferred from our private life to our associate life. Thus through our group activities does neighbourhood life become a preparation for neighbourhood life; thus does it prepare us for the pouring out of strength and strain and effort in the common cause.*
> (Follett 1918: 368)

Later, Grace L. Coyle's work (1930; 1947; 1948) was influential among some youth workers, and Wilson and Ryland's (1949) classic discussion of social group work practice, for example, was a key reference point in some social work circles. However, it was not until the mid 1950s that developments in North American group work theory found a proper place in British youth work discussions – for example through the work of Peter Kuenstler (1955) and Josephine Macalister Brew (1957). With growing professionalization there came a flood of influential texts (Batten, 1967; Button, 1974; Davies, 1975; Matthews, 1966; Milson, 1963; 1973) – and the emergence of a range of training programmes for part-time youth workers, and the inclusion of group work within qualifying training programmes.

Subsequently, there has been relatively little written about the process of group work within youth work, and the training for group work that exists for part-time youth workers is now usually linked to work around some moral panic such as drug abuse and sexual health. There has been a general movement away from a concern with groups as a means of democratic advance and socialisation within youth work (i.e. a fully-rounded understanding of social group work). Where groups now feature the rationale for their existence is increasingly linked to ameliorative ends and case-management. To some extent this is a result of a loss of faith within youth work in the notion of 'club' and in the ideas of process (Robertson, 2000; Smith, 2001b) – but it is also, we believe, part of a wider movement. This reflects social changes that are re-ordering the environment within which youth workers and informal educators operate. It is to these changes we will now look.

The new individualism

As noted earlier a conviction that 'community' is in terminal decline has been commonplace for at least over two centuries. Youth workers and community workers alike have for much of that time engaged in an ongoing, some might say fruitless, campaign to protect and resuscitate 'communities'. During the last two decades or so the case regarding the erosion of community has acquired renewed vigour (Sennett 1974, 1996, 1998; Lasch 1979; Etzioni 1993; Bauman 2001). Tempting as it may be to dismiss such pronouncements as ahistorical and repetitious it would be cavalier to do so. Youth workers certainly would be wise to pay attention to the prognostications of these new prophets of doom. Their pessimism flows from what are perceived as three overarching social transformations - globalisation, the emergence of a risk society, and the appearance of new forms of individualisation. All are intricately inter-woven.

The first, *globalisation*, refers to a process of convergence and compression with the boundaries between individuals and between states becoming ever more porous. Economic, cultural and social differences are decreasingly visible as the world shrinks and trans-national organisations, social movements, cultural phenomena and businesses come to dominate, creating global markets, cultures, and so on. The second, *risk*, refers to a shift that is producing a world that is ever less secure and predictable in terms of outcomes. It requires individuals to place themselves at the centre of their plans and reflexively forge their own 'biographies'. They must survive in a 'post-modern' and globalized environment where all are obliged with regards to every segment of their lives to make choices, even regarding the social groups and communities they affiliate to and lifestyle they opt for. Less and less is determined by birth, family or place of origin. The downside of being blessed with such choice is that we are as a consequence perpetually at risk of making an erro-

neous selection. Failure and misfortune, therefore, become explained not by structural causes but as the direct consequence of personal failings and ill-informed choices. Poor health becomes the result of a failure to exercise, eat properly or adopt a 'healthy lifestyle'; unemployment is seen as a result of a lack of skills, the wrong attitude or laziness. Risk never leaves one's side: failure awaits at every turn. Risk, like danger may be a good teacher, but the lessons learnt may not be those that make for a 'good society' or 'virtuous life'.

These two foster and breed the third, *individualism*. As the global economy erodes difference it imposes a universal culture no longer linked to place, producing in its wake not just the eradication of autonomous cultures, but simultaneously the elimination of the boundaries within which communities are or were constructed. Paradoxically 'sameness' does not cultivate security, it spawns the opposite. For individuals a precarious life results, devoid of the certainties once imparted by mutuality, community and emotional commitment and attachment to place and locality. This manufactures what Beck (1999) terms 'rootless new cosmopolitans', obliged to live in a world wherein 'no one stops anyone from being what one is and no one seems to stop anyone from being someone other than one is' (Bauman, 2001: 61). Fragmentation, we are told, leads to matters relating to meaning, identity and ethics being removed from the public domain and recast as the responsibility of the individual. Yet individuals must increasingly co-exist with these responsibilities whilst, as noted earlier, building their own biographies and charting their own destiny within a world where more and more aspects of life are marketized; where global forces erode the agencies that offer the promise of collective control; where risk sets individuals at war with each in a constant struggle for advancement and survival; where the safety nets of family, community, state welfare and friendship are destabilised and commodified. Consequently, the individual may gain a spurious independence from the old ties that bound – the family, the local community, even the nation state – but they become manacled to and dependent upon a market that invades every aspect of their lives. They must consume to be free, but that dependency enslaves them to a market bent upon restricting their choice and closing down their options in the interests of efficiency and product standardisation.

As individuals within this context construct and re-construct themselves, so youth itself, although it may remain linked to chronological age, is no longer axiomatically 'determined by it' (Miles, 2000: 11; see also Jeffs and Smith, 1998, 2001). As a growing number of experiences are uncoupled from locality and age so youth is dispersed across different ages (Oswell, 1998). Not only do those seeking to target a discrete youth market find it ever more difficult to hit their target so too do youth workers anxious to identify their client group (Jeffs and Smith, 1999). As 'youth'

becomes a commodity which can be purchased and that seemingly stretches into the mid- to late 30s, where can the youth be found, how can they be categorised? According to Bennett youth culture and identity are being speedily eroded to the extent that young people no longer relate in traditional ways to sub-cultural groups. For:

> *... the group is no longer the central focus for the individual but rather one of a series of foci or sites within which the individual can live out a selected, temporal role or identity before relocating to an alternative site and assuming a different identity. It follows then that the term group can also no longer be regarded as having a necessarily permanent or tangible quality, the characteristics, visibility and lifespan of a group being wholly dependent upon the particular forms of interaction which it used to stage.*
> (1999: 605)

Within this context youth workers who wish to do so must create, rather than as in the past, find, groups to work with. No longer will they have off-the-peg youth sub-cultures to fasten their practice to, nor even youth as an unproblematic concept to focus upon. Similarly the community worker is recast as someone who constructs communities, perpetually required to sustain as much as service them, rather than someone who attaches themselves to long established groupings. Workers may perceive these changes as creating individualised young people who have no need for either group or community experiences, who wish merely to be left alone to negotiate the lifestyles unimpeded by ties of locality, family or community.

It is through recognition of factors such as these that researchers like Robert Putnam (1995; 2000) have made the case for public policies that foster civic engagement. His research revealed growing levels of disconnection amongst Americans from family, friends, neighbours, and social and political structures. He found that, for example, voting, political knowledge, political trust, and grassroots political activism were all down. Declines were equally visible in non-political community life: membership and activity in all sorts of local clubs and civic and religious organisations have been falling at an accelerating pace. In the mid-1970s the average American attended some club meeting every month, by 1998 that rate of attendance had been cut by nearly 60 per cent. He discusses various factors that have led to this shift – especially the growth of television watching and the movement to the suburbs – but the impact of inter-cohort change was very significant.

The downside of this for democracy is obvious – but there are also very significant personal and social costs involved. There is a decline in social capital – and this is of great significance. For example, Putnam (2000: 307-18) was able to marshal

evidence to show that in high social-capital areas public spaces are cleaner, people are friendlier, and the streets are safer (even when we strip out traditional 'risk factors' such as high poverty). He was also able to show a strong relationship between the possession of social capital and better health. Regular club attendance, volunteering, entertaining, or church attendance, Putnam argued, 'is the happiness equivalent of getting a college degree or more than doubling your income. Civic connections rival marriage and affluence as predictors of life happiness' (ibid: 333). Given the growing mass of evidence with regard to the membership of groups it is all the more surprising that government youth policy in Britain and Northern Ireland – especially in England – has taken a major turn away from the fostering of associational activity. Policy-makers have chosen instead to re-brand youth work as a form of individualised case-management, and youth workers as specialists blessed with skills or personalities uniquely fitting them to control, monitor, distract, 'develop' and oversee 'troublesome' young people.

It is a shift that reflects a deep pessimism, on the part of this and the previous government, regarding the capacity of social welfare and education to change the behaviour and social mores of what has been termed the 'underclass' (Jeffs and Smith, 1994: Jeffs, 1997). As we note elsewhere it has led to the wholesale jettisoning of social group work in a variety of settings including the youth justice system, social work and Probation. This rejection emanates from a conviction that everything has been tried to 'convert' the underclass and it has failed (see Murray 1994: Wilson, 1987; 1996). The result, according to such writers, is that after fifty years of 'universal welfare' those with the ability and talent to 'escape' the working class did so long ago, leaving behind a virtually irredeemable residue. This thesis nourishes a belief that the families, communities and groups our 'troubled and troublesome young people' affiliate with or emerge from are essentially dysfunctional and debased. It follows from this that the optimum that policy-makers (and respectable taxpayers) can hope for is that, via a war of attrition, some will be weaned away, some will be put away, and what's left cowed into submission and discouraged from procreating.

This profoundly bleak analysis leads inexorably towards 'individualised' intercessions such as mentoring, advice work, guidance and counselling. Such interventions are designed to bring 'socially excluded' young people into direct contact with the 'model' adults they should aspire to emulate. The individual, not the group, according to this analysis, becomes the centre of attention. The group, the gang, the community, the collective are seen as beyond redemption. They are impediments to individuals 'moving on', 'becoming socially included', 'achieving their dream' and so on. Consequently, if the group is worked with, or upon, according to this model it is to manage the anti-social behaviour of members or as a pre-requisite to wean away

only the better elements. Little wonder, then, that so many contemporary youth workers are bemused and amazed when they encounter the enthusiasm of earlier practitioners such as Baden-Powell or Macalister Brew for the gang and group. These were men and women for whom the adventure of youth work lay in studying and working with the natural groupings that young people propagate, and around which they construct so many of their leisure and learning experiences. As Baden-Powell explained, educators should 'become the students, and ... study the marvellous boy-life which they are at present trying vainly to curb and repress'. He went on 'why push against the stream, when the stream, after all, is running in the right direction?' (1930: 40). Indeed.

From members to clients; from connections to Connexions

Before the Labour Party came to power in 1997 there was some talk of reforming the careers and youth services in England. This was given fresh impetus following the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit by the new Government, and their much-trumpeted concern with 'joined-up thinking'. By 1999, the Government was indicating that it wanted to establish a 'comprehensive structure for advice and support of all young people beyond 13' (DfEE, 1999: 51). The idea was that every young person would be allotted a personal adviser who could provide one-to-one support, and information, advice and guidance. However, talk of a universal service was largely a matter of rhetoric. The primary interest laid in those young people who were deemed to be at risk of social exclusion – and what was seen as the ineffectiveness of then current provision (due in significant part to the proliferation of specialist agencies and a lack of coordination between them). It was out of this that the Connexions strategy was developed (at the heart of which is the Connexions Service). Attention was to be given to 'those facing substantial, multiple problems preventing them from engaging with learning' or 'those at risk of not participating effectively in education and training'. This means, that resources are being taken away from the vast bulk of young people who do not pose a threat to order and to economic development. It means they will receive less guidance and help around career choice, and that fewer resources are channelled into their leisure. It also entails a shift of resources from young women to young men – for it is the latter that are largely seen as problematic in terms of behaviour and educational achievement. Third, it involves an increasing focus upon targeting interventions at named individuals.

Essentially a form of case management is seen as the dominant way of working within the English Connexions Service. Instead of being members of clubs, groups and projects, young people are clients, being given 'individually tailored support' (Lewis, 2002: 12). Individuals are identified who are in need of intervention so that

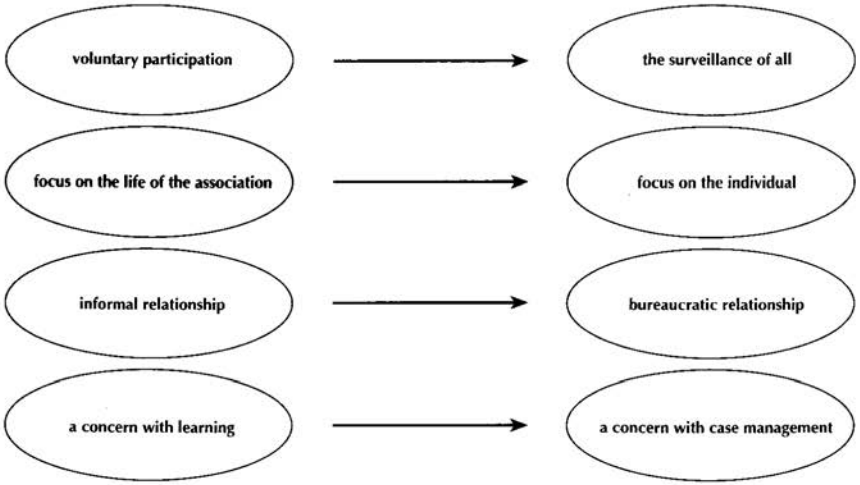
they may re-enter education, training or work. Action programmes are devised and implemented, records kept. Personal advisers and workers associated with the Connexions Service may well use groups – but the central concern is not the development of group life and learning but rather the enhancement of individual functioning. Programmes are then assessed on whether these named individuals return to learning or enter work - rather than on any contribution made to the quality of civic life, personal flourishing or social relationships that arise out of the process.

Alongside the rise of Connexions has appeared something dubbed 'Intelligence Led' youth work. This is frequently, but not exclusively, funded by YOTs and entails assigning youth workers to target individuals or groups. Police surveillance, which sometimes amounts to officers driving around an area in an unmarked van filming young people or studying CCTV footage, identifies hot spots of juvenile activity and 'threatening' young people. The names and haunts of these young people are then supplied to youth workers who are required to contact and befriend them in the expectation that the workers will discourage their anti-social behaviour and offer alternatives to 'hanging about in public areas'. Another example of this orientation is the Youth Inclusion Programmes funded by the Youth Justice Board. The YIP manager asks schools, police, youth organisations, social services and housing officers to identify the 'worse fifty young people' in the area. These are then invited to receive, in the terminology of the programme, 'a dosage' of intense contact with youth workers. Similarly, the Prince's Trust xl Programme is 'delivered' in schools where the 'most troublesome' are selected for intensive contact with 'youth workers' in order to:

- *improve attendance;*
- *encourage individuals to take responsibility for their own learning and development;*
- *change attitudes and behaviour so that performance is improved.* (Rhodes and Kirk, 2001: 3)

Not surprisingly research showed that this programme gained the reputation of being a 'sin-bin' or last chance before exclusion amongst the young people in the schools where it operates.

The emphasis on surveillance and control, case management, and on individualized ways of working, in these and so many other programmes, run counter to the key characteristics of youth work we discussed earlier. Within them we find a shift from voluntary participation to more coercive forms; from association to individualized activity; from education to case management (and not even casework); and from informal to bureaucratic relationships.



(diagram reprinted from Smith 2001b)

This movement is not simply a change within youth work – it is a leap away from it. It serves to remind us that we have allowed the definitional boundaries of youth work to be breached. Not everyone who works with young people is a youth worker; that has always been taken as self-evident. What has not been acknowledged, because it is much less comfortable to do so, is that many of the activities undertaken by individuals qualified and trained as youth workers can no longer be legitimately categorised as youth work. Rounding up truants is the job of the police and EWO not youth workers; sitting beside bored pupils in a classroom to persuade and prevent them from misbehaving is not youth work, it is the function of a classroom assistant, a security guard or at best a school counsellor. Little wonder that one researcher, when looking at partnership between schools and the youth service, found that 'the youth workers were unable to articulate any desired outcomes other than the school's – that is, outcomes relating to attendance, behaviour, exam entries and pass marks' (CEDC, 2001: 15). You can't find what isn't there.

Conclusion

Should youth workers follow the path of least resistance? Must they accept as inevitable the triumph of individualism and abandon social group work as irrelevant? Likewise should they bow to a barely restrained free market and a risk society in which a disproportionate share of the risks fall upon the shoulders of the economically and socially vulnerable? Within social work and Probation this process is not merely underway but virtually completed. In both spheres during the last two decades we have witnessed the virtual destruction of social group work as a mode of

practice. Workers have found their forms of intervention to be both more regulated and standardised, or as Ritzer (1998) might put it, MacDonaldized. Output driven, the educational and democratic elements linked to social group work have been eradicated leaving the workers to enforce management-determined behavioural norms upon clients coerced into obedience by fear of the loss of their freedom or access to essential financial or welfare support, or leisure resources. Indeed so low have some projects fallen that they are willing to bribe young people to attend and 'deliver' specified outcomes. Much as the COS and other organisations reigned in 'visiting' in the nineteenth century to reduce the autonomy of the practitioner, so a similar process has been taking place within social work and Probation. The eradication of the creative and humane elements drives many from working in these areas and discourages the most talented, innovative and potentially most committed from entering in the first place. Pay has never been the lure attracting people to social work, teaching and youth work. The finest workers were always fascinated by the prospect of joining a crusade for social justice, an opportunity to help create a fairer society, to save souls - to 'make a difference' via the creative use of their accomplishments. That was what drew workers to the Ragged Schools, clubs and Settlements located in the 'Courts of King Cholera'. Until recently it still worked it's charm but now less and less so. The National Curriculum, OFSTED and centralised control in teaching and regimentation plus crass managerialism in social work have broken the link. The inevitable result is that a vicious circle of decline has set in. More and more training places go unfilled, resulting in the less well qualified and less well motivated being drafted in to fill the gaps. This inevitably justifies the expansion of managerial control, the further erosion of personal autonomy from workers and the imposition of more standardised procedures and practices.

It is not inevitable that youth work will go down the same path: it has avoided doing so in the past. However all the signs are there that it might not escape the same fate. Youth work courses are beginning to follow a pattern already entrenched in teaching, Probation and social work. These are falling numbers, course closures, a servile willingness to deliver 'easy-option' routes of entry, such as the Connexions Advisors Diploma, and pressure to collaborate with employer-led centralised bodies anxious to remove the educational elements from professional education and replace them with 'skills training'. The flight from theory and rigorous standards in training is reflected in the field. There, many services and agencies, like Pavlov's dogs, are now trained to respond to the bell activated by financial incentives and government pressure. In so doing they have lost sight of youth work essentials.

One of the frustrating things about the situation is that there is a clear associational alternative that has strong empirical support in terms of its long-term impact upon

the lives of communities. Robert Putnam's discussion of social capital, for example, provides youth workers and informal educators with a powerful rationale for their activities. His evidence and analysis also provide a striking case against those who want to target work towards those who present the most significant problems and tie workers' activities to the achievement of specific outcomes in individuals (Smith, 2001b). However, it takes a particular mindset (and some courage) to pick up on these arguments and to make them work for youth work.

Patrick and Schuller (1999: 84) are probably right when they argue that citizenship (and we would add fellowship) cannot be learnt in the formal sector. Therein lies the importance of youth work and community work. Clubs and groups are places where individuals can apply 'principles and maxims which have for their reason of existence the common good' (Mill, 1977: 412). They are settings where dialogue, conversation and what Samuel Johnson called 'good talk' can flourish. For most people it is still, as Mary Parker Follett found, 'in the small group ... where we shall find the inner meaning of democracy, its heart and core' (1924: 225-6). Only by creating opportunities for groups to prosper will we overcome what her seminal work, called 'civic apathy' (1918). Yet if 'citizenship' and democracy are offered by youth workers and community workers it must be by those passionately committed to such ideas for they cannot make others 'what they themselves are not' (Mill quoted Garforth, 1980:114). For democratic governance is ultimately government by discussion, at all times deliberative, demanding the engagement of autonomous, argumentative, tough-minded citizens. Consequently education of the type required to prepare people for a liberal democracy is never 'painless'. Nor as writers from Aristotle onwards have warned can it be left to the mercies of those whose desired end is profit or military aggrandisement. For genuine democracy requires people with attributes such as scepticism, critical intelligence and tough-minded independence, not those desired by employers or generals.

Democracy is largely excluded from all the major institutions that shape our lives – work, schools, health services, even parliament where MPs are whipped into subservience. Therefore, most of us only encounter genuine democracy in autonomous organisations, clubs and associations, where profit or 'servitude' is not the prime objective; settings where strong leadership is mistrusted and dialogue nurtured. Little has changed since Cole wrote that

> *The real democracy that does exist in Great Britain ... is to be found for the most part not in Parliament or in institutions of local government, but in small groups, formal and informal, in which men and women join together out of decent fellowship or for the pursuit of a common social purpose –*

> *societies, clubs, churches, and not least, informal neighbourhood groups. It is in these groups and in the capacity to form them swiftly under pressure of immediate needs that the real spirit of democracy resides. (1941: 162)*

Whilst there may well have been a decline in involvement in such groups and associations, the scale of participation is still significant. Around 12 million women and men are involved in running 1.3 million bodies or 'small democracies' (Elsdon, 1995: 39). The challenge must surely be to sustain and extend those levels of involvement.

John Dewey held that individualism must be restructured around the principle that the moral development of each separate self in a democracy is in a profound and specifiable sense dependent on the collective contribution of all other selves (Gunn, 1992: 75). 'The individual in his isolation is nothing; only in and through an absorption of the aims and meaning of organized institutions does he attain true personality' (Dewey, 1916: 94). As we noted earlier the brutality of nineteenth century industrialisation, the first stage of the globalisation we are coming to terms with today, stimulated a range of responses one of which was the struggle of many involved in early youth work to foster community and association. Fear of the dangers posed by unbridled individualism produced a well of creativity that practitioners still draw upon. In some ways that reservoir still serves us well, for many of the old problems they sought to tackle remain, not least poverty. However changes are taking place that mean some of the old strategies by which association and community might be fostered will no longer suffice. That is why the warnings of writers such as Putman (2000) and Sennett (1998) must be taken seriously. The intermediary social institutions and those elements that made for a vibrant civil society fashioned in Victorian times, often as a direct result of the intervention of some the same people who pushed forward the youth work project have, as Gray points out, become for the new modernisers hindrances. They are obstacles that threaten to de-rail their project of reconstruction.

> *Professional associations, local authorities, mutual societies and stable families were impediments to the mobility and individualism that are required by unfettered markets. They limit the power of markets over people. In a late modern context re-engineering the free market cannot avoid weakening or destroying such intermediary structures, and such was their fate in Britain.* (Gray, 1998: 36)

Globalisation scatters inherited traditions and constantly corrodes the agencies and structures fostering association and community leaving in its wake insecurity and a fear and distrust of neighbours that sustains individualism. A risk society, globalisation

and individualism, except for the very rich cocooned in their gated communities, creates alarm and uncertainty. It can be observed in the fear of young people on the street; a fear of the migrant seeking your job; a fear of the homeless accosting you on the street; a fear of the next wave of technological innovation coming to sweep away white collar jobs (just as blue-collar ones disappeared during the final quarter of the last century).

These corrosive emotions produce unpredictable outcomes. In Europe a sense of loss, and mourning for community, has contributed to the rise of far right parties. Unlike the Fascists of the 1920s and 30s the fast growth has not been linked to the rise of mass unemployment and political conflict. This time it has occurred in some of the most prosperous corners of Europe, Austria, Denmark, Holland and Northern Italy. These are places where unemployment is lowest; where welfare is of a standard way above the international norm. The new far right are sophisticated advocates of community. Unlike BNP activists on the terraces of Millwall they avoid the obvious pitfalls by being social liberals on issues such as drug use, sexuality and in the case of the Danes and Dutch 'race'. It would be naïve to imagine the BNP or similar groups will not learn the lessons that have served their compatriots well. After all, one of the three seats they secured in Burnley was in a prosperous middle-class area.

This poses a new challenge for informal educators and youth workers who must find ways of working towards building association and community that avoid buttressing exclusivity and distrust of those 'beyond'. For a start this means youth work, community education and adult education must return to being universal services. The dangers of working exclusively, on and with the 'underclass' and the excluded are simply too great. Targeted work fuels resentment amongst those denied the service, stigmatises those who receive it and confirms in the minds of a majority the prejudices they already hold concerning groups of young people and the 'poor'. What is more, it fails to encourage service by, and the social participation of those who have the required social and cultural capital. Dewey argued that 'society is strong, forceful, stable only when all its members can function to the limit of their capacity' (1920: 208). In many respects 'all' is the key word. As youth workers and informal educators we ignore it at our peril.

We will also have to attend to creating (or rediscovering) ways of working with groups that take account of a new environment. One element of this is coming to terms again with the notion of the club. Here three areas present themselves immediately for exploration: the 'club-like' qualities of spontaneous groups; the potential of 'organizing around enthusiasms' especially the enhancing of mutual aid in leisure; and working to open up associational spaces for young people in

existing organizations and groups. (Smith, 2001b). We need to look beyond the individual to the possibilities that flow from fostering group and associational life.

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DOES AMERICA HAVE A YOUTH DEVELOPMENT POLICY?

ANDREW B. HALM

This article examines barriers to a strong national and state role in shaping youth development policy in the USA. These barriers to creative policymaking reflect the immaturity of the youth field itself, a field that can be described in the American context as 'in the making' rather than fully evolved with a set of consistent and adequate policies in support of local initiatives. Readers of *Youth and Policy* may identify with some themes, for example, the fragmentation of funding in support of non-formal youth education, while in other areas, such as policies that structure credentialing of youth workers, the UK experience will appear more evolved.

Defining Youth Development in the American Context

The phrase 'youth development' is a rather elastic and multi-dimensional term. It is a popular phrase in the United States used to refer to policies, programs and advocacy in support of a wide range of activities than can help pre-teens, teenagers and even young people in their early 20s to secure the competencies needed to contribute in a meaningful way to a complex and technologically oriented society. The term 'youth development' brings particular meaning to the field of practice and a different conceptualisation from 'regular' youth services that reflect singular interventions such as substance abuse prevention or youth job training. There are actually three common usages of the phrase that Americans employ.

First, the term is often used to describe a process of human growth and development. This is the classic social psychological meaning, namely the idea that individual development through the teen years needs to be understood in maturational terms and that this knowledge should be reflected in program designs that can nurture growth and healthy development of young people, especially in the non-school hours. People who think of youth development in this way bring in the idea that young people are not just a collection of challenges or 'deficits' but instead have competencies and assets that are developmentally based and that these need to be understood in order for effective youth work to take place.

A second meaning of youth development reflects a philosophical orientation to social process and community. In this usage, the healthy maturation of teenagers is seen as part and parcel of healthy neighborhood and even national progress through a web of reinforcing connections and relationships. Youth workers in the United States are fond of making reference to social capital; young Americans are seen as human assets that make communities work better through the young peoples' engagement in healthy activities. Appearing under this definition are new journals

such as that published by the Center for Youth and Communities, Brandeis University (Waltham, Massachusetts, USA) in partnership with a national youth practitioner network, *The Community Youth Development Journal*. This journal, along with various reports and books argues that achieving healthy youth development goals will contribute to stable families, stronger neighborhoods and a more participatory civil society through empowered young citizens (Chalk and Phillips, 1996; Hughes and Curnan, 2000).

The third definition of youth development is a programmatic framework for youth services. Generally youth development programs are those that are comprehensive and attempt to meet a range of needs and interests of young people, for example, by exposure to the arts, recreation and culture and not just, to cite one example, teaching about substance abuse prevention or other specialized youth services. In other words, youth development is a set of principles used by youth program advocates to design comprehensive models, to bring in 'soft' programming (such as arts and recreation) in addition to 'hard' programming such as basic literacy training. The programmatic framework attempts to design and deliver 'holistic' youth programmes. Youth programmes typically will add services and activities that address what one American non-profit group has described as 40 developmental assets needed by all teenagers (Search Institute, Minneapolis, Minnesota). Another group calls for programming designs in support of : social/emotional development, moral/spiritual development, civil development, career development, physical development, cognitive development, and personal/cultural development (Forum for Youth Investment, Washington, D.C.)

National Youth Policy

One can find elements of each of the three definitions of youth development in various American policies. Yet overall, the policy field mostly uses the phrases and rhetoric associated with these terms but does little to truly act on them through tangible policies and regulations.

Similarly, youth development in the United States is an emerging, vital field but it pays inadequate attention to the social policies shaping the programs that in turn give life to the field. Few youth-focused policy-oriented groups exist at the state, local or federal level; the magnitude of policies at the state and federal levels is limited; and most private grant making - the best signal of what ideas and priorities are in vogue - concentrates on service providers, programs and other investment areas rather than the policy environment itself.

As a paradigm, youth development in the United States has captured the imagination of practitioners and advocates, as noted above. The youth work profession in the United States has become self-conscious about traditional ties to problem or deficit

'categorical' areas (such as youth unemployment, juvenile crime, and substance abuse) and instead many youth workers have come to embrace 'positive youth development' rhetoric that turns on concepts of 'assets,' holistic programming, and developmental perspectives. Behind this is a commitment to change the field of youth services, from one focused on problem-reduction to a new vision centered on the needs of all young people to be better prepared for adult roles through community supports, services and opportunities. As one writer suggests, all adolescents need to have structures in place to help them with the 'Cs,' namely competence, confidence, character, connections, and contributions as in service learning (Pittman et al., 2001).

Despite this movement toward youth development principles, national policy itself remains largely a set of categorical, deficit-oriented funding streams, each with its own fiscal calendar, targeting provisions, performance standards and the like. America has only residual national youth policies that are components of specialized approaches which have evolved from our War on Poverty begun in the 1960s decade. For example, in the United States Department of Labor youth career policies are embedded in the Workforce Investment Act. In the Department of Health and Human Services various youth prevention policies are spread out across a number of areas with little coordination much less a national plan. Juvenile justice policy is found in the Department of Justice and a program to support school leavers to learn construction skills is found in the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. No national youth policy exists per se, just a constellation of separate policies attached to traditional problem areas, each with their own traditions, target groups, funding requirements, rules and regulations (Pittman et al., 2001).

It is likely that policy is likely the last evolutionary phase in the professional maturing of the youth development field and at the moment the field is more preoccupied with what might be considered baseline, definitional or fundamental field-building challenges rather than ambitious policy developments or even debates over policy. There are several ways in which the field may be considered young and in a sense pre-policy or not quite ready or able to yield up formal policy implications. The most compelling example is that this is a field that remarkably is still trying to define its own parameters, for example, the ages and characteristics of young people included in the youth development paradigm. When considering, for example, the extensive research enterprise on youth development and compared to allied fields, such as health care, it could be argued that youth development research lacks conceptual clarity. Whilst health care as a field has definitional coherence, youth development is demographically fragmented and its scope and reach remain ambiguous. Key categories continue to be contested. For example, is 'youth' a continuum or a fixed category? Where does it begin and end? What are the boundary lines and essential properties (Bales, 2000; Hahn, 2002)? This characterization is not intended to demean

the rich tradition of American research on youth development and associated topics such as resiliency, community-youth development connections, and youth empowerment processes, (see for example, Besharov, 1999; Catalano et al., 1998; Chalk and Phillips, 1996; Gootman, 2000; McLaughlin, 2000; Newman et al., 2001). However many of these studies are in the mold of describing underlying human processes and the relationship between environments and individual adaptation, without yielding up clear signals on what are the policy implications, or indeed, what are the basic parameters of the field that should guide formal policy.

Along the same lines, the American specialization, even preoccupation, with program evaluation makes it possible to compile 'best practices' in youth programs yet very few rigorous studies have been designed that test the comprehensive youth development practices recommended by advocates and theorists as necessary to achieve youth development. In other words, most program evaluation in the youth field is of single services or limited, short-term interventions; few actually test rigorously the comprehensive and multi-year supports that are said to be necessary under a true youth development paradigm. So the research foundation for powerful policy has still not been made in an effective and compelling manner.

There are a number of indicators of a policy development gap. These include the following:

1. *Inability to account accurately for federal youth development spending and policies.*
2. *Lack of age specific provisions in policies.*
3. *Failure to confront tough policy choices.*
4. *Failure to provide multi-year funding in policies.*
5. *Confusion on what comprises the field.*
6. *Little attention on licensing, credentials, health and safety, as well as in-service and graduate degree education. There is no National Youth Agency in the United States; there is no group that assures common standards across youth work agencies.*
7. *Additional weaknesses in policy infrastucture at the federal and state levels for youth development.*

1 Inability to account for spending at the Federal level is a barrier to new policy development.

Estimates of total federal dollars spent on youth in the United States range widely ($6.7 billion, $40.0 billion, $54.4 billion, $119.6 billion, $144.0 billion, $177 billion, and $245.3 billion in separate studies), as Newman and colleagues show in 'A Matter

of Money' (Newman et al., 2001). In fact, the lack of precision and different estimation techniques used illustrate graphically the immaturity of the youth development policy field, a situation that would be embarrassing in other fields and one which cries out for a solution.

No group in the United States has successfully enumerated the various federal programs' eligibility criteria, compared universalistic to targeted goals, or addressed the significant administrative costs as the funds trickle down (Newman et al., 2001). No one has looked comprehensively at which states get youth development dollars from the federal government or legislate their own dollars. Most importantly, each list of programs varies by what the authors consider representative of youth or youth development initiatives. Some, for example, include nutrition, while others focus on youth action programs. Some include school-based activities while others focus exclusively on youth development in the non-school hours.

Even without accurate accounting, Newman, Smith and Murphy (2001) conclude that the programs are fragmented, mostly serving categorical groups, and are crisis-oriented rather than 'youth development' oriented. Clearly for policy to take hold in the United States a common set of definitions, a youth budget and analysis of spending, not to mention a clearer understanding of eligibility information and administrative requirements, must all be developed.

2 Lack of age specific provisions in policy

Most importantly, there is a critical need for policy makers and donors to use their influence to help the field think more on 'age-specific' terms within the general youth span. After all, this is the essence of youth development; age-appropriate practices which relate to the process of maturation as well as structural circumstances, are critical to the new youth development paradigm. Policies and regulations need to assure that 10- to 12-year-olds are not treated the same as 12- to 15-year-olds, 16- to 18-year-olds or even young adults up to age 24. Yet policies are mostly silent on age distinctions within the broad 10-to-24 year old range. In a recent update of a 1995 study on this issue (Hahn, 1995), I found most American policies continue to be reluctant to signal a mix of appropriate services by particular age groups (Hahn, 2002).

3 Failure to confront tough policy choices

Social policies that support moving from a 'deficit' to an 'asset' perspective are needed according to youth development advocates but along with an assets approach comes the rhetoric of serving 'all' youth or even all those in need. The big policy battle of course is who should be served when there is not enough money to go around. Unfortunately, the field lacks debate over real policy choices of this kind. A recently completed study leads to the conclusion that the field is largely unwilling to weigh in on these choices (Hahn, 2002).

Estimates of the 'at-risk' youth population in America vary depending on the ages covered and risk indicators used. An often-cited statistic is that 9.2 million to 15.8 million American children are considered at-risk (Brown, 1993). In 1990, 23% of American children ages 5-17 (10 million children) lived in poor neighborhoods (census tracts in which 20 % or more of residents lived in poor families). One in twenty (5%) children ages 5-17 live in very poor neighborhoods (where 40% or more people are poor). Another suggestion of the scope of need is the 7.5 million children ages 5-14 who are on their own after school. A final example is a Low-Risk Cumulative Index created for the federal government that measures avoidance of school suspension/expulsion, sexual intercourse, and use of illicit drugs, alcohol, and cigarettes. By their 15th birthday, 32% of American youth have not avoided two or more of these indicators. Considering the question of how much it might cost to meet the needs of these 'youth-at-risk' compared to all American youth, illustrates the type of analysis that youth advocates rarely consider.

Newman, Smith and Murphy (2001) examined the cost of different kinds of after school and youth development programs and estimated that the average cost of providing children with 'developmental opportunities and supports' would be $2.55 per hour, per child. A Brandeis evaluation of the Quantum Opportunities Program (QOP) found that comprehensive youth development programs for high school students would cost $2.77 per hour per youth, including the extensive outreach needed to make sure young program enrollees stick with programs long enough for them to have an impact (Hahn, 1999). Calculations using the $2.77 per hour of programming illustrate the policy choices that face the field but are rarely confronted in tangible ways.

Assuming that a good youth development program would provide youth with 9 hours a week of programming, a comprehensive strategy (far more time consuming than most programs today) should include 492 hours of programming per year. For simplification I will calculate costs based on 500 hours per year, a round number that could figure prominently in advocacy campaigns. At $2.77 per hour, youth development will cost $1,385 per child per year. Therefore, the total bill for a national universal youth development system for young people ages 10 to 19 is $54.4 billion. This figure is significantly reduced to $13.6 billion when programming is targeted to 25 percent of adolescents. When limited to the highest risk group (10 percent), program costs drop to $5.4 billion, as shown in the table below:

Table 1 Cost of a Youth Development System in the United States

United States	# of youth (ages 10-19)*	Total cost
Universal	39,296,407	$54,425,523,695
25% of youth	9,824,102	13,606,380,924
10% of youth	3,929,641	5,442,552,369

*Assumes 500 hours per year at $2.77 per hour cost of programming.

It is immediately clear from this exercise that a comprehensive youth development approach surely requires investment at the federal, state, and local levels, including school districts, parents and philanthropic organizations. It is possible to make assumptions on the share of financing for each respective group. The federal government is unlikely to spend more than seven percent of the total cost of youth development programming (regardless of whether the choice is a universal or highly targeted strategy), since seven percent is the current federal share of spending on public education. School districts could be expected to pay for about ten percent of community-based youth development program costs with the understanding that other issues, from school construction to disability inclusion will likely take precedence in the budgeting process. Parents too could contribute in a mix of sliding fee scales and the like. This contribution could be pegged as another four percent. This leaves 'other' local (City/County funds), philanthropic giving and state funding to make up the rest. Without any firm basis to estimate, a reasonable guess is that city/county funding would comprise another 10 percent (matching the investment of the local school district), philanthropy three percent, and state funding, the lion's share at 66 percent.

This speculative exercise is designed to highlight choices that advocates and others rarely consider. What are the total costs of a youth development system? Who should bear those costs? What contributions should parents make? Who would step up to the plate and become the most significant funder? What is the likelihood that states would really assume two-thirds of the costs?

4 Failure to provide long-term funding in policy

Policymakers have not acted on the widespread understanding that agencies need longer term funding (multi-year) to move the youth development movement from rhetoric to reality. Such funding would permit long-term services to youth; it would support infrastructure and program operations; professional development and other components that contribute to better youth development outcomes. Youth programs can not be expected to deliver multiple, friendly, customer-oriented, age appropriate and long-term services that meet the cognitive, social, physical, emotional and moral development needs of youth without funding that will support that level of programming and operations. Yet, nearly all funding in the United States is on an annual basis with no guarantees that the same child can be served over time.

5 Little attention on licensing, credentials, worker skills and health and safety issues

The youth development field lags behind allied fields such as early childhood and aging when it comes to policies in support of licensing of practitioners and facilities, not to mention rules on credentials or opportunities for training and skill development. Policy too infrequently supports in-service training for youth workers and when it

does support professional development, the location is often inaccessible to the workers in the communities where they work.

Another important component for professionalizing the youth development field is a system of accreditation, a feature of youth development policy today that is very uneven in the American context. Some states, such as Texas, have well developed systems of accreditation for youth workers, while others regulate youth workers as an after-thought and add-on to licensing procedures developed originally for early childhood care workers. The challenge of youth worker accreditation is made more difficult by the wide range of backgrounds and different entry points experienced by youth workers. Some come into the work from education, others from social work, healthcare, psychology, social services and many other fields including substance abuse, employment/training, foster care and the like. This fragmentation inhibits the development of policies in support of youth development principles and makes accreditation especially difficult to organize in policies.

Support is also needed for basic training in financial controls, organization development, human resources, planning and development. These critical pieces of program infrastructure must be but are rarely supported in policy. Policy makers prefer supporting the direct action components of programs rather than the infrastructure and organizational needs of the sponsoring agencies. Furthermore, the more grassroots the youth-serving organization, the more severe are the operational challenges. Policy should, but often doesn't address these challenges.

Finally, attention to what might be called 'micro-policy' or the impact of regulations such as facilities, health, and safety rules are an essential component of policy reform as yet highly undeveloped in the United States. States and local communities may treat youth programs comprised of teens with the same regulations designed to regulate childcare centers serving 4 year olds! On the other hand, effective micro-policies and practices are not shared across the vast United States, so that individual youth development programs and policymakers must reinvent the wheel with the attendant result that innovation occurs locally but not necessarily nationally or at the state level.

6 Additional weaknesses in the policy field

Interviews conducted with a broad group of experts, policymakers and program operators by the author (Hahn, 2002) reveal confusion on who should dominate the youth development field in the United States: should it be the schools, child development, criminal justice, second-chance programs, the eclectic after-school or community-schools movement? This poses a fundamental challenge for states interested in developing new youth development policies: which groups will lead the policy efforts? Who will bring their resources to the table and what will be the

dominant culture and aims of the policies? In a related theme, I found ambivalence about the lead policy role of the large youth-serving agencies compared to the small community, faith, and grass-roots organizations. The large programs dominate policy advocacy work and questions have been raised about their responsiveness to single site, neighborhood projects. Other themes were also documented in the interviews that also speak to the still young and weak policy context for youth development. These included: the enduring legacy of the traditional policy silos; the critical policy challenges of finance, affordability and equity; the modest scale of initiatives relative to need; practitioner demands for flexibility vis-à-vis the accountability and outcomes movements; and the only casually considered choice between, on the one hand, 'Trojan Horse' legislative strategies that embed youth development principles in traditional approaches (such as criminal justice) and on the other hand, an 'omnibus' approach such as a proposed bill that was debated in Congress this year, the Younger Americans Act (an Act that significantly did not reach legislative action).

At the state level, my observations largely mirrored the results from the review of national policies. Five conclusions emerged from my state policy review:

1. *Policy development in youth development is young, underdeveloped and not even widespread across the 50 American states.*
2. *The size of state policy development grants is small compared to the states' lofty goals of universal systems that will (somehow) target groups at risk. A few states are beginning to allocate funds to after-school programs for teens, but the numbers are few.*
3. *Many state policy activities are in information, training and collaboration; there is far less support for tangible program services, especially true youth development programs that are comprehensive and long-term.*
4. *The bulk of state policy may actually run against the youth development paradigm. There has been a rise in categorical public funding, forcing agencies that had been oriented to youth development to cater to specialized groups of youth. The result is fewer overall programs, fewer youth development programs and smaller enrollments.*
5. *Finally, there are few sources of information on state policy initiatives, especially studies that move beyond the descriptive and present instead a 'critical' eye applied to the issues of adequacy, cost and so forth.*

Conclusion

In 'Youth Development: A Field in the Making' (Hahn and Raley, 1998), we argued that youth development in the United States is, at best, an emerging profession - in

its infancy. Doctors and nurses must pass board exams; lawyers must pass bar exams; most states now require social workers to be licensed. If youth development is to move into professional recognition, its practitioners will first be required to organize to advocate restrictions on practice, discerning those who may call themselves youth development professionals from those who may not. Armed with credentials and standards, youth development workers have a better chance of stimulating policies in support of their principles and work.

The concept of 'building a field, establishing a profession' is an excellent organizing principle for policymakers too. Just as policymakers led the way to create the professional standing of other professions - school teachers, microbiologists, and space scientists, to name a few - policymakers today, working with private donors, might do the same in youth development. There is precedence in related developmental fields. American state laws requires child development practitioners to be credentialed or licensed, and the child development field itself has been nurtured toward true professional status through important legislative initiatives led by policymakers.

This article argues that youth development has provided an important rallying cry in the practice of youth work but that policy in support of these principles has lagged. I am not pessimistic about the prospects for genuine policy development in the future but right now America's youth development policy infrastructure is anemic and serves only a 'field in the making.'

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MAPPING YOUTH JUSTICE:
What a difference a decade makes

MICHAEL PRESTON-SHOOT AND STUART VERNON

This article, the first of two, uses the concept of mapping to identify and explore developments and trends in youth justice legislation. It reviews the key statutory provisions in the decade from 1991, and then identifies and considers themes to help practitioners and managers read the youth justice map. The article also evaluates the legislative developments of the last decade against the Human Rights Act 1998 and concludes by raising questions about the coherence and underlying philosophy of the youth justice system.

Development and change in youth justice policy and practice has often been discussed within a context of historical time frames. For example, the 1960s are represented as a period of welfarism culminating in the de-criminalising provisions of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969; the 1970s as a time of retreat from the welfarism of the 1960s; the 1980s as a period of bifurcation between the punitivism of government rhetoric on youth crime and the decriminalisation, diversion and decarceration that characterised youth justice practice. How are we to characterise youth justice in the 1990s, a decade that takes us from one millennium to another?

This article maps the legislative initiatives and changes to the youth justice system from 1991 to 2001. It charts the speed and rapidity of change that has become one of the dominant characteristics of youth justice in this decade and offers some understanding of these changes. The uneasy tensions between welfare and justice that mark the youth justice contexts of the Children Act 1989 (not implemented until 1991) and the Criminal Justice Act 1991[1] have been almost swamped by the policies of subsequent legislation. Punitiveness in adult and particular categories of youth sentencing is provided for in the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, Crime (Sentences) Act 1997, and Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000. The Sex Offenders Act 1997 and the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 establish the continuing supervision of the lives of offenders of all ages. Orders under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999, and the Criminal Justice and Courts Services Act 2000 involve significant intervention into the lives of youth offenders and their families. These recent trends are reflected in the youth justice elements of the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001.

The supposed oppositions that have characterised histories of youth justice policy and practice: welfare v justice, care v control and treatment v punishment, have now also to accommodate the complex and often confusing messages from the plethora of youth justice legislation that has been initiated and implemented in the last decade.

The opposition of prevention v punishment needs to be acknowledged; the three Rs of restorative justice (reparation, responsibility and rehabilitation) are an important underpinning for much new youth justice law; managerialism is an important contemporary imperative. In many ways the three Cs of change, complexity and confusion have come to characterise youth justice policy and law.

Mapping a decade of youth justice legislation

The decade to be mapped begins with the implementation of the Children Act 1989 in 1991 and concludes with the provisions of the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000 and the Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001. This time frame of ten years has witnessed at least three important initiatives in youth justice – the split of the historical link between care and crime in the juvenile court by the Children Act 1989 and the Criminal Justice Act 1991; a return to punitiveness in the middle of the decade represented by the Criminal Justice and Public Order 1994 and the Crime (Sentences) Act 1997; and the claims of the Labour government, elected in 1997, to have constructed a new youth justice system implemented in the provisions of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 (Fionda, 1999).

The Children Act 1989 split the care and crime functions of the old juvenile court that had co-existed since 1908. From implementation in 1991 the juvenile court (renamed the youth court by the Criminal Justice Act 1991) administered an exclusively 'criminal' jurisdiction, whilst the family proceedings court held responsibility for Children Act matters, including care orders. Consequent upon this split, the 1989 Act formally abolished the power of the juvenile (youth) court to make a care order as a 'sentence' for a young person's offending. However, the Act continues a welfarist contribution to youth justice by requiring each local authority to take steps to reduce the need to bring criminal proceedings against young people (schedule 2(7)) and to take reasonable steps to encourage children not to commit criminal offences (Ashworth et al, 1992). Though achievement of these provisions is restricted by resource limitations, they are situated in that part of the Act concerned with children in need. By doing so the Children Act 'thinks about children' in a way that 'children in trouble' may also be children in need (King and Piper, 1995).

In contradistinction the Criminal Justice Act 1991 reflected a move away from 'welfare' and a growing concern with 'justice', a shift evidenced in the government's White Paper (Home Office, 1990). Though these terms are problematic both in themselves and in the way that they have traditionally been posed as alternative models of youth justice, the different emphasis of the 1989 Act and the 1991 Act is reflected in part by describing just such a shift (Muncie, 1999). The Act imposed a set of common sentencing principles on the adult and youth courts and proportionality

became established as the central criteria for sentencing in all criminal courts, including the youth court. The Act established three categories of sentence to reflect offence seriousness: discharges and fines; community penalties (supervision and attendance centre orders for the full youth court age range; probation orders, community service orders and combination orders for offenders aged 16-17); and custody. True to the principle of proportionality, the Act severely restricted the court's ability to take a defendant's history of offending into account when deciding on an appropriate sentence. Significantly 17 year old defendants and offenders were brought within the jurisdiction of the youth court.

The familiar and recurring principle of parental responsibility was enhanced by strengthening the requirement of parental attendance at court and by imposing parental bind-overs where the court is satisfied that to do so would be desirable in the interests of preventing the commission of further offences.

The Criminal Justice Act 1993 amended some of the more controversial provisions of the 1991 Act. It abolished the unit fine system and dispensed with the requirement that, when considering the seriousness of the offence and the appropriate penalty, the court could only take into account the offender's current offence and one other offence associated with it. The 1993 Act thus marks a rapid move away from a strict form of the principle of proportionate sentencing.

The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 very much reflected the 'back to basics' shift in criminal justice policy, led by the then Home Secretary, Michael Howard (Wasik and Taylor, 1995). In an era dominated by the social crisis engendered by the Bulger case, the Act represented a clear move toward populism and punitiveness. It doubled the maximum sentence in a young offender institution. Restrictions on the defendant's 'right to silence' (ss.34-37), allowing a court to draw appropriate inferences from a suspect's failure to answer questions or a defendant's refusal to give evidence, were introduced for those aged 14 and over. The Act lowered the age range for custodial sentences in the youth court by introducing secure training orders for young people aged between 12 and 15 (s.1)[2]. Section 16 also extended the list of grave crimes[3] thereby allowing more children and young people to be sentenced to long custodial sentences in the Crown Court under the provisions of section 53 Children and Young Persons Act 1933 (now consolidated into the Powers of the Criminal Courts (Sentencing) Act 2000).

The Crime (Sentences) Act 1997 reinforced the populist and punitive drift of the 1994 Act. Taking its rationale from the United States, it introduced mandatory and minimum sentences for a limited range of offences. Though these provisions only apply to the sentencing of offenders over the age of 18[4] they can be triggered by offences committed while the offender was under the age of 18. The Act extended

electronic tagging to those under 16 to enforce curfew orders and allowed youth offenders to be identified where the court was satisfied that the public interest would be served by such naming and shaming. 'Youth justice once more turned full circle, away from diversion and decarceration and back to an emphasis on punitive custody' (Muncie, 1999:286).

A moral panic about (mainly) adult sex offenders was reflected in the Sex Offenders Act 1997. Offenders, including children and young people, convicted or cautioned for certain sex offences must notify the police of their names and addresses for a period of time that varies according to the length of their original sentence. The police are required to compile a sex offenders' register that is to be used as part of a process of risk assessment and management. Disclosure of information on the register is lawful where it is necessary to protect vulnerable members of the community from people who have served their sentence but are considered to be a danger to the public (Home Office Circular (39/1997)).

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998[5] was the first criminal justice legislation of the Labour government elected in 1997. It has had a significant impact on the youth justice system and reflects a complex confusion of policy. This ranges across intervention and prevention to restorative justice, but also includes managerialist and punitive initiatives. The youth justice provisions of the Act were largely informed by the conclusions of the Audit Commission (1996), three government consultation papers and a white paper published in 1997 (Home Office, 1997a; 1997b).

The White Paper (Home Office, 1997b) articulated the government's aims and programme of reform:

- *a clear strategy to prevent offending and re-offending;*
- *that offenders, and their parents, face up to their offending behaviour and take responsibility for it;*
- *earlier, more effective intervention when young people first offend;*
- *faster, more efficient procedures from arrest to sentence;*
- *and partnership between all youth justice agencies to deliver a better, faster system.*

To support these objectives the Act established a range of orders exclusive to children and young people: police reprimands and warnings to replace the system of juvenile cautioning; parenting orders to extend the principle of parental responsibility; detention and training orders as the 'custodial' sentence for the youth court; action plan orders; and reparation orders. Child safety orders are only available for children under the age of 10; local child curfews are now available for children up to the

age of 15. The Act also introduced a series of new orders available for all offenders: sex offender orders, anti-social behaviour orders, drug treatment and testing orders.

The prevention of offending is established as the statutory principal aim of the youth justice system and its practitioners. The Act promoted the notion that children and young people should be understood as personally responsible for their crimes by abolishing the principle of doli incapax. The government increased central control of the youth justice system by establishing the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales but at the same time imposed local accountability by requiring local authorities to create Youth Offending Teams and to publish an annual youth justice plan.

In a significant innovation the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999[6] established referral orders and youth offender panels to deal with the vast majority of first time young offenders who plead guilty. The panel seeks to negotiate a contract with the young person, designed to prevent further offending, the terms of which are supervised by the youth offending team. If agreement cannot be reached or the offender fails to sign, the matter is referred back to the youth court. The panel does not have a pre-sentence report to consider, nor is legal representation before the panel possible. Thus, a person as young as 10 can be asked to enter into a binding agreement when, in other areas of law (such as contract law, or applying for section 8 orders under the Children Act 1989), they might well be disqualified because they do not have sufficient age and understanding.[7]

The Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000 evidences an increasingly supervisory and interventionist element in individual sentencing. It strengthens a number of existing sentences and orders and creates a new National Probation Service for England and Wales, with an exclusively 'criminal' responsibility. Probation, community service and combination orders are respectively renamed as community rehabilitation orders, community punishment orders and community punishment and rehabilitation orders. The Act introduces a new exclusion order prohibiting an offender (including a youth offender) from entering a specified place or area for a specified time. Such orders may be included in community rehabilitation orders and community punishment and rehabilitation orders. These orders may also have curfew requirements attached to them. The requirements of community orders may be electronically monitored. The Act provides for reprimands and warnings to be given at places other than a police station thus allowing them to be given as an element of a restorative conference with parents and victims present.

The Criminal Justice and Police Act 2001 extends provisions relating to so-called disorderly conduct for adults and extends the use of secure (custodial) remands for children and young people by widening the criteria for remanding children and young people to secure accommodation when refused bail. Electronic monitoring is

extended to young people on bail or remanded to non-secure local authority accommodation who would otherwise have been remanded into secure accommodation. The Act extends local child curfews to children up to the age of 15 and enables the police to make curfew applications to the Home Secretary.

The decade chosen is not presented exclusively as if it constitutes a particular and distinct era in the history of youth justice legislation. Though the decade surveyed is characterised by the speed and frequency of change, this feature of youth justice shows no sign of abating. The Home Secretary has recently announced new initiatives in youth justice, including an emphasis on persistent low level crime committed by 10 and 11 year olds and ways of enabling parenting orders to be issued in response to pre-offending behaviour (Home Office, 2002).

Reading the Map

Surveying such legislative change in youth justice reveals disturbing levels of change, confusion and complexity. Indeed, Garland (2001) refers to volatile, even schizoid policy developments, puzzling and perplexing. What keys are available for understanding a legislative map that has redrawn the penal-welfare landscape?

Shifts in fear and risk

Garland (2001) and Young (1999) locate the transformation in social and economic change that provided a fertile ground for policies founded on the experience of crime and insecurity. They chart how an inclusive society and assimilative state has been replaced by economic and social exclusion. An economic context of employment, material certainty and growth is replaced by a world experienced as transient, risky and precarious. Family and community changes coterminously reduce social control and provide additional experiences of exclusion. Young (1999) suggests that these changes promoted intolerance and punitiveness; Garland (2001) that politicians sought to fit crime policy into the new social and economic context in which it operates, a context that challenged the effectiveness of penal-welfare agencies and created new problems of crime and insecurity.

Pratt (1997) maps these changes by tracking the decline in risks associated with poverty crime, given the availability of security measures and insurance, which allowed a redefinition of danger. Brown and Pratt (2000) argue that the need to calculate and tame risk has become the organising dynamic of criminal justice policy-making because people are concerned about how to protect themselves from either the actuality or fear of danger and threat to social order.

Pervasive media revelations and representations of youth crime and disorder heavily reinforce this picture. This imagery confronts people with uncertainty about location and level of risk, and can result in fear disproportionate to actual risk (Young,

1999). This imagery also prompts rising expectations that the state will manage the risks and protect the public, even if that requires enlarged powers of regulation and intervention (Pratt, 1997), such as CCTV, erosion of legal traditions, and sentences that were once on legal and ethical boundaries (Brown and Pratt, 2000). Ironically, however, the more the state intervenes to protect its citizens, the more noteworthy becomes its failures, which expose the illusory nature of quick fixes and the limitations of preventive, welfare and just desert models (Sparks, 2000). The outcome is further unpredictability and anxiety, which prompts an escalating rather than a reflective response.

Disillusionment

Another key is loss of faith in penal-welfare agencies. Smith (2001) charts a collapse of confidence in professional child care practice, to which government has responded with increasing regulation of professional intervention, such that practitioners are in danger of losing control of the ends and means of their professional activity (Preston-Shoot, 2001). Similarly in youth justice, Freiberg (2000) points to the persistence of problems apparently intractable to traditional interventions, prompting a philosophy of despair that sanctioned special measures. These have challenged established legal rules of proportionality, separation of powers, strict construction of statute and due process.

Thus, beginning when the 1991 Act replaced welfare with just deserts as the sentencing guide, legislative developments have responded to discontent with the effectiveness of the rehabilitative ideal (Garland, 2001) and with the poor predictive power of the human sciences (O'Malley, 2000). Not only had welfare failed to end poverty and crime (Young, 1999) but such problems seemed greater and more intractable (Garland, 2001). Political scepticism is then expressed through managerialism, increasing regulation of practice through national standards and refocusing of the roles of penal-welfare agencies, and curbs on both the powers and roles of psy-professionals and sentencers (Pratt, 1997).

Beyond welfare and justice

The old opposition of welfare and justice is an insufficient key to understanding the contemporary youth justice system. Indeed Muncie (1999) has suggested that it has always over-simplified the complexity and ambiguities of youth justice. The imperatives of managerialism, the impact of political expediency, the acceptance of the principles of restorative justice and the emphasis on the prevention of offending, must now be understood to overlay the old contrasts between welfare and justice. The 1994 Act limited the requirement for courts to consider pre-sentence reports prior to sentencing a young person and extended the availability of custody for young offenders. The 1998 Act evidences the new multi-dimensional complexity

of youth justice policy. Together with the youth justice provisions of the 1999 Act, it represents not only a new moralistic tone but also an authoritarian view of youth crime. Offending may trigger punishment or support or intervention, or any permutation of these responses to offending.

Goldson (1999) argues that child safety orders and child curfews prioritise surveillance and regulation over childcare. Jackson (1999) notes a relentless drive towards increasing punishment, whatever the evidence for its counterproductive consequences. She argues that government is reluctant to acknowledge the link between welfare and justice, preferring to ignore the fact that young offenders are also children in need. Davies (1999) concludes that policy towards young offenders vacillates between welfare and punishment without resolving the key principles to guide intervention. Put another way, are young people in trouble children first or offenders first?

The search for security may account for the co-existence of and oscillation between different approaches. Various commentators (Young, 1999; O'Malley, 2000; Brown and Pratt, 2000; Garland, 2001) contrast welfare (matching punishment to offender) and proportionality (matching punishment to the crime committed) with the focus on prevention, risk assessment and offender management (matching punishment with calculation of future risk). The balance will be struck differently at particular points. Currently the shift is away from faith in the perfectability of individuals towards belief in people as motivated by self-interest. It is away from optimism about correction to overcome deprivation and difficulty, having seen most offenders as little different from other individuals, towards perceiving offenders as 'other', to be controlled and where necessary excluded.

Control and Authoritarianism

Criminal justice policy in the last decade reflects, among other themes, the objectives of an increasingly authoritarian state to exercise control over groups that are perceived to represent a threat to government's responsibility and reputation for social order. As Muncie (2000) and Goldson (1999) note, measures such as anti-social behaviour orders, parenting orders, child curfews and child safety orders institutionalise intolerance towards people who are "different", allowing structures that perpetuate oppression, exclusion and inequality to be ignored. The juxtaposition of help and support with requirements to control children, and sanctions for failure to comply with the orders, betrays the authoritarianism of the provisions.

The principle of proportionate sentencing established by the 1991 Act, has been limited in relation to youth offenders by the emphasis on prevention and restorative justice, so that the state can more readily control and influence the lives of offending children and young persons, and their parents. Goldson (2000) criticises the 1998 Act for its abandonment of well-established and effective diversionary policies and practices.

He argues that, in a climate of evidence-based practice, the new interventionism of the reprimand and final warning system is at odds with research findings. He also suggests that proportionality is at risk in this new system, which will also 'up-tariff' young people who re-offend whilst subject to a final warning. The 1999 Act represents further erosion of the principle of proportionality. Indeed the making of a referral order and the consequent contract between the youth offender panel and the offender may be disproportionate to the offence (see also Goldson, 2000). The consequences of a first offence will be considerably greater than hitherto. Though the terms of the contract are to be agreed between the offender and the panel, it is likely that the panel will determine them. Indeed, experience in Scotland (Scottish Office, 1998) suggests that young people make only brief contributions to their system of panel hearings. The package agreed and/or imposed may well not reflect the seriousness of the offence. Indeed, the concentration on preventing re-offending switches the established initial focus for sentencing from the offence to the offender.

Control also extends to those who operate within the youth justice system. Firstly, youth offending team members, including probation officers, must act in accordance with the National Standards for Youth Justice (2000) when assessing offenders before sentence, writing pre-sentence reports, planning supervision in the community, maintaining contact and ensuring enforcement of court orders. Secondly, responsibility for sentencing first time guilty plea young offenders is effectively transferred by the 1999 Act from the youth court to the youth offender panel. The consequence is a transfer of responsibility and accountability for sentencing from the lay magistracy as representatives of the community to panel members who have undergone significant training in the ideology, principles and practice of the new youth justice system (Home Office and Youth Justice Board, 2000). Thirdly, the 1998 Act replaces the system of cautions for young offenders with a system of tightly specified reprimands and warnings, thereby introducing more rigidity into police practice. Indeed, Goldson (2000) is critical, on ethical and legal principle grounds, of locating within the police alone, investigative and decision-making responsibility concerning reprimands and final warnings.

Demonisation and Moral Panics

Muncie (1999) argues that the media portrayal of the murder of Jamie Bulger had three related consequences. Children were constructed as demons rather than innocents; there was a moral panic about youth crime, and a tough law and order response was legitimised. These negative attitudes towards young people generally had the effect of especially targeting the minority of young people who offend (Haines and Drakeford, 1998).

The 1994 Act is a reactive response in relation to children who commit serious crime and to groups whose behaviour outraged 'middle England'. The 1998 Act

continues this trend by allowing local authorities (and now the police, 2001 Act) to apply to the Home Office (s.14) to establish a local child curfew scheme. Such schemes enable a ban to be imposed on unsupervised children (not under the effective control of a parent) under 10 (now under 16, 2001 Act) being in public places within a specified area between 9pm and 6am. However, there is little or no evidence that children under 10 are a particular cause for concern in this respect. Indeed, the relative criminality of certain groups of young people has been exaggerated. For example, working class young people who face a greater risk of arrest because of class bias in the treatment of young people and a greater police presence in areas of high deprivation (Muncie, 1999; Walsh, 1999). Statistics demonstrate clearly how 'troublesome girls' have been socially constructed as deeply maladjusted misfits and dangerous folk devils (Worrall, 1999).

The invocation of monsters illustrates the increasingly narrowly drawn specificity of dangerousness (Pratt, 1997) and the impact of local events on youth justice politics (Brown and Pratt, 2000). Identifying deviant 'others' allows stigmatisation of groups and individuals as different from ordinary people. Accepting this binary division (the normal and the monstrous) allows non-offenders to deny the monstrous in themselves and sows the seeds of blame and projection in the search for cohesion and security (Young, 1999). It allows the perpetuation of dehumanisation (lesser eligibility, human rights violations), distancing (social and economic exclusion) and condescension (labelling as uncivilised and/or irrational). It takes crime out of its structural context.

Emphasising the interests of the individual and the community as victims

Criminal justice policy has for some time promoted the rights and interests of the victims of crime, arguing that such a focus redresses a balance which had historically more often concentrated on the offender. The growth of victim support schemes, the publication of the Victims Charter (Davies et al, 1998), and provisions in the 1999 Act relating to victims and witnesses evidence this shift. So, too, does the requirement for courts to explain why, in a particular case, they are not making a compensation order (Criminal Justice Act 1988), and the introduction of reparation orders in the 1998 Act. The 1999 Act provides for the signing of a youth offender contract. Guidance suggests terms and conditions that include reparation to victims and others affected by the crime, mediation involving them, exclusion from designated areas and curfews, and unpaid work for the community. Together with the imposition of local child curfews and anti-social behaviour orders, these orders provide evidence that recent criminal justice legislation is promoting the rights and interest of the community as the victim of offending.

This is not just a recalibration of the tension between individual offenders and victims for, as Garland (2001) observes, victims are no longer unfortunate citizens but representatives of everyone who is entitled to protection and to uneventfulness.

The drift from due process rights to public safety interests

Very much connected to the last theme, is an increasing emphasis on the interests of public safety and order, often at the cost of the due process rights of 'offenders'. This trend can be seen in provisions for local child curfews, child safety orders, sex offender orders, anti-social behaviour orders (Crime and Disorder Act 1998) and curfew orders and the creation of the sex offender register (Criminal Justice Act 1991, and Crime (Sentences) Act 1997). Additionally, under the referral order provisions (1999 Act), a young offender does not have a right to a legal representative nor can a pre-sentence report be commissioned. It is questionable, therefore, whether any child subject to such an order will receive a fair hearing as required by the European Convention on Human Rights and enforceable under the Human Rights Act 1998 (see also Goldson, 2000, for a similar argument). How will the panel acquire sufficient and appropriate information about the offender, the offence and the circumstances surrounding them to construct an effective programme?

Anti-social behaviour orders (1998 Act) define behaviour widely and imprecisely and can be granted ex parte. Child curfew schemes could breach the European Convention right to liberty besides ignoring the fact that, for some children, home is not a safe place. Atkinson (1996) has noted a similar theme in another field, mental health. Priority has been given here to constructing public confidence in public safety and order as opposed to the rights and interests of those with a mental disorder, particularly where their disorder is thought to be linked to dangerousness. In the balance between public safety and defendant and offender rights, between public order and individual freedom in youth justice, the more recent youth justice provisions appear to prioritise political objectives rather than young people's rights (Haines, 2000).

Managerialism

Discussion of models for understanding the operation of the criminal justice system has accepted the importance of bureaucratic efficiency (King, 1981). Managerialist imperatives have assumed a greater significance in the 1990s and are having an increasing impact in the youth justice system.

Sections 43 and 44 of the 1998 Act provide for time limits and expedited proceedings for young defendants (Home Office, 1998). Faster prosecutions may achieve the government's objectives of tackling delays in the youth justice system and reduce the time between offence and sentence, but they may also undermine the legitimate due process rights and interests of young defendants. These concerns are exacerbated

in the case of persistent young offenders who are singled out for fast track proceedings. Legal Action (February 2000) expressed concern that the imperatives of efficiency and streamlining may undermine fundamental principles, such as the presumption of innocence and the onus on the prosecution to prove guilt. Fairness and justice should not be sacrificed for speed and efficiency.

Partnership and Responsibility

The 1998 Act extends the notion of parental responsibility for the behaviour (and crimes) of their children. Parents and parenting are portrayed as a central component in understanding the cause of youth offending (Graham and Bowling, 1995 and Home Office, 1997b). Indeed, many of the provisions of the Act, and of earlier legislation such as ss. 56-58 Criminal Justice Act 1991[8], are designed to reflect the importance of this contested causative link, through the attendance of parents at youth court, the imposition of fines on parents and the binding over of parents. The 1998 Act significantly reinforces this commitment by the introduction of parenting orders. There are at least two problems with this position. First, it essentially omits from the primary focus other potential causes of crime and disorder, namely disadvantage associated with poverty, poor housing, and unemployment; it tackles symptoms rather than causes of crime (Muncie, 2000). Secondly it betrays an increasingly moralistic tone (Goldson, 1999; Cape, 2000), whilst failing to recognise that focusing on control, without attending to people's diverse needs, is likely to prove counter-productive in achieving change. Social structures and economic relationships limit the scope many people have to change.

However, these parental responsibility provisions are not without confusion. While the 1998 Act emphasises parental responsibility, the referral order and youth offender contract provisions of the 1999 Act place responsibility on the young offender without equivalent responsibility on older adults and the State. This is problematic, both morally and ethically (Goldson, 2000). Where, under the 1999 Act, the court makes a referral order, it may not also make a parenting order or bind over the offender's parents. It is strange that the referral order seems to almost 'by-pass' parents and to establish that the offender is accountable to the panel and to any practitioner who is involved in the administration of the terms of the programme imposed, rather than to or through their parents. This, like the 1998 Act's removal of doli incapax, raises the question whether treating children as if adult negates their special needs and ignores the fact that acquiring the cognitive ability to exercise moral choice and responsibility is a developing process (Jackson, 1999). Moreover, almost all of the provisions, which might form part of the programme, could be achieved by sentences already available in the youth court, in particular by use of supervision and probation orders, and by curfew orders, combination orders and community service orders. In these circumstances, it is disingenuous for the government

to argue that the youth court had not hitherto been concerned with preventing re-offending but had merely decided guilt or innocence and the imposition of a sentence (Home Office, 1997b).

Contours of the youth justice map 2001

A survey of youth justice in 2001 identifies a very different map from that which could have been drawn in 1991. What are the key characteristics of youth justice after a decade of change, confusion and complexity?

A commitment to the principles of restorative justice: the three Rs for a new millennium

Government has placed the principle of restorative justice at the centre of youth justice policy, with the provisions of the 1998 and 1999 Acts reflecting its underlying concepts. Restoration comes from 'young offenders [having] to apologise to their victims and make amends for the harm they have done'. Reintegration involves 'young offenders paying their debt to society, putting their crime behind them and rejoining the law abiding community'. Responsibility arises from 'young offenders – and their parents – facing the consequences of their offending behaviour and taking responsibility for preventing further offending'. (Home Office, 1997b)

The White Paper on reforming youth justice (Home Office, 1997b) argued for the impact of an acceptance of restorative justice principles. However, as Haines (2000) argues, the meaning of restorative justice is contested and unclear. There is also a disjunction between the types of intervention enshrined in the 1998 and 1999 Acts and the intended outcomes. For instance, it is doubtful if such provisions as parenting orders will tackle the disadvantages experienced by families, which contribute to offending rates. Punitive responses to young people, both custodial and some community sentences, are largely unsuccessful in reducing criminal behaviour.

Political expediency in youth justice

The criminal justice system, and in particular youth justice, is an area of public policy that has become highly politicised and is, therefore, subject to frequent change. Criminal justice policy is clearly fertile ground for developing voter support and has therefore become a site of and for political expediency. Populist politics, influenced by the media and by moral panics, generates an increasingly disciplinarian, controlling and restrictive attitude towards offending and sentencing. The 1994 Act exemplifies this trend, borne out of a 'back to basics' approach, where offenders were to be held accountable for their actions, without recourse to socio-economic factors. This reflected its time - horrific cases, disquiet about crime and government unpopularity (Wasik and Taylor, 1995). Populism also generates irrationality and confusion in policy-making, as reflected in the differential focus on children (1999 Act) and their parents (1998 Act) and the duplication of provision or orders

(Walsh, 1999). In such an era as this it is difficult to discern the degree to which research and evidenced-based policy initiatives still inform criminal justice legislation. Indeed, Garland (2001) argues that change is being driven by the need for political credibility rather than penological credibility. Political choices are heavily determined by having to avoid signs of abandonment by the state of responsibility for effectively protecting its citizens.

A widening youth justice net

This impact of the new politics of youth justice is demonstrated clearly in the abolition of doli incapax and the new orders available in the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. Parenting orders represent a significant initiative, extending the boundaries of the youth justice system further into the family. Non-compliance with the original order renders families vulnerable to the imposition of additional penalties, sanctions or injunctions, hardly likely to help to reduce re-offending (Pitts, 1999). Child curfew orders and child safety orders construct a new category of 'sub-criminals'. This is particularly problematic where the 'offender' is below the age of criminal responsibility, inevitably the case with child safety orders.

Detention and training orders reflect the government's aim of ensuring that custodial sentences are more effective in preventing crime; they widen the custody net. Additionally, by extending the availability of custody to all young offenders aged 12 and over[9], there could be a sharp and undesirable increase in the detention of young people, most of whom could be better dealt with supervised in the community (Penal Affairs Consortium, 1998; Russell, 1998; Pitts, 1999).

The 1998 Act specifies the criteria for the application of a police reprimand or final warning, thus limiting police discretion over the threshold of entry into the formal or court-based youth justice system. Where such criteria deny an offender a diversionary procedure they are processed through the youth court to a youth offender panel by means of a referral order. Such orders are the standard sentence for most first time offenders who plead guilty. They effectively replace the conditional discharge that was imposed on many such offenders and proved to have a high success rate in terms of reconviction rates (Penal Affairs Consortium, 1998). The contracts established by the panels will lead to higher levels of surveillance and control. Where the contract is breached, offenders will be returned to court with the impact of accelerating their progress into the core structures of court-based youth justice. Here the youth justice net has not only been widened but the gaps in the net have been set so that more young people will be caught in it.

Youth offenders are no longer vulnerable children

Contemporary youth justice policy appears to reflect muddled perceptions of childhood. In other spheres, such as child care and education, children are not

given party status at all, or only after leave has been sought. They have to earn their status. Within the criminal jurisdiction, however, they are all too easily ascribed their status as offenders (Brown, 1998). Legislation in different spheres contains different images of competence, capacity and responsibility. The implementation of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 significantly undermines the established view of children and young people as vulnerable. Section 34 abolished the presumption of doli incapax with the result that children aged 10 are equally culpable and responsible for their crimes as those aged 15, 18, 25 or 50. Section 48 empowers stipendiary magistrates (now District Judges, Magistrates' Courts) to sit alone in the youth court, without access to the experience and skills of youth panel magistrates. This undermines the presumption, long recognised in youth justice, that young defendants should be dealt with by a distinct court and by specially chosen and trained magistrates. Section 35 of the 1998 Act extends the limits on the 'right of silence' provisions to all those aged 10 and over. Sections 43 and 44 of the 1998 Act create fast tracking for young persistent offenders, prompted by the conclusions of the government's consultation paper (Home Office, 1997a), which recommended expediting proceedings from offence to sentence. There is a danger that this may undermine their legitimate due process rights and interests.

The old juvenile court, with its dual care and crime jurisdiction, was built on implicit and explicit recognitions of the vulnerability of children and young people. The 1998 Act has constructed a youth justice system that is very different from the adult criminal justice system in a number of important respects, for example in the imposition of a statutory aim of the prevention of offending. However in other, equally important respects, some of which have already been identified, the youth justice system treats children and young people in the same way as adults. Their vulnerability is denied in a confusion between the distinctness of youth offending and the commonality of criminality.

Blurring the lines between child care law and youth justice

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 blurs the lines drawn between the youth justice system and the child care system, and between crime and anti-social behaviour (Muncie, 2000). Precise distinctions between these systems can no longer be made. Applications for child safety orders are to be made in the family proceedings court, and a number of sentences or orders imposed in the youth court (such as action plan orders and referral orders) have a child care element.

This trend raises questions about the continued significance of the welfare principle (section 44, Children and Young Persons Act 1933). The provisions of the 1998 and 1999 Acts dilute principles of proportionality and welfare with intervention, prevention and restorative justice, centred on responsibility, rehabilitation and

reparation. These developments may challenge the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which requires that in all actions concerning children in courts of law the best interests of the child shall be the primary consideration.

From crime to disorder – creating a new category of 'sub-criminals'

The title of the Crime and Disorder Act indicates a developing governmental concern with 'disorder' as something distinct from criminality. The 1998 Act introduced four new orders to deal broadly with disorder: anti-social behaviour orders, child safety orders, local child curfews and powers to remove truants to designated premises. Though not criminal powers, their imposition and enforcement involves the police and youth offending teams. In this sense the use of such orders brings those subject to their administration within the ambit of the youth justice system even though they may not have committed any offence; they will belong to a new category of sub-criminals. There is concern that child safety orders only apply to children under the age of 10 and local child curfews may also apply to the same age group (Walsh, 1999). The youth justice system is thereby extended to those under the age of criminal responsibility. The incorporation of 'under-age disorder' within the boundaries of the youth justice system is another example of the net widening that characterises contemporary youth justice policy and law.

The Human Rights Context - Redrawing the Map (?)

The incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into UK domestic law by the Human Rights Act 1998 may have a significant impact on youth justice. Local authorities and their youth offending teams are 'public authorities' and, as such, must act in a way that is compatible with the rights established by the Convention and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights; if they fail do so, they are acting unlawfully. The same obligations face government, the Home Office, the Youth Justice Board, youth courts, youth offender panels and youth justice practitioners.

The decision of the European Court of Human Rights in the Bulger case (T and V v UK [2000] CrimLR 187) has already indicated the relevance of articles 5 and 6 to the trial of children and young people in the Crown Court and to decisions concerning the tariff for the sentence of Detention at Her Majesty's Pleasure. Subsequent trials of young defendants accused of serious crime should have regard to their welfare (section 44, Children and Young Persons Act 1933; Practice Direction (Crown Court: Trial of Children and Young Persons, February 2000)); they should be assisted to understand and participate in the proceedings; and they should not be exposed to avoidable intimidation, humiliation or distress. Additionally, and despite a ministerial declaration of compatibility with the Convention, a number of provisions of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999

and the Criminal Justice and Court Services Act 2000 may be challengeable as potential breaches of Convention rights. For example, do local child curfews breach article 8, the right to family life; article 11, the right to freedom of assembly; article 3, the right not to be subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment; article 5, the right to liberty and security of person; and article 6, the right to a fair trial? There are equal concerns about parenting orders; such orders and their attached sanctions may constitute breaches of articles 3, 6 and 8[10].

Government continues to declare its youth justice legislation as compatible with the Human Rights Act while the courts have proved somewhat reluctant to find incompatibility between Convention rights and primary legislation. In R v Turner (Ian) [2000] 5CL 56, the Court of Appeal commented that its sense of justice was offended by the mandatory sentences imposed by the Crime (Sentences) Act 1997. However, it did not declare the Act to be incompatible with Convention rights, preferring instead to extend the meaning of 'exceptional circumstances' that would enable judges to impose a lesser sentence. In Re K (a child) (secure accommodation order: right to liberty) [2000] The Times, 29 November, the Court of Appeal did not find that a secure accommodation order (section 25, Children Act 1989) was incompatible with article 5 of the Convention. The court defined 'educational supervision' broadly to include the exercise by a local authority of parental rights for the benefit and protection of the child concerned, in order to find that detention did not breach the right to liberty. The House of Lords declined to declare section 41, Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 incompatible (Regina v A [2001]), preferring to stress that 'rape shield' provisions should be read so as to make them compatible, with judges exercising discretion as to the relevance and admissibility of evidence.

Perhaps the next decade will determine the impact of human rights on youth justice policy, legislation and case law.

Conclusion

These features of the 2001 map raise a number of questions. Firstly, what is the core of youth justice rights? This article has provided evidence to show that in the decade we have mapped the focus of youth justice is moving away from a concern about the rights of youth suspects, defendants and offenders. In such an era it is important to remember the child centred principles incorporated in international conventions, such as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and relevant aspects of the European Convention. It is also important to challenge the negative view of childhood that emerged as a legacy of the Bulger case, with a recognition that children caught up in the youth justice system are both children in trouble and children in need, and should remain children first.

This leads us to consider how to strike the balance between the offender, the victim and the wider community. It is arguable, for instance, that despite their claims (Fionda, 1999), government is less concerned with the debate about the causes of offending than with the imperatives of cost effectiveness and efficiency (Pitts, 1992). Despite implicit claims to a new understanding of youth offending and more explicit claims to constructing a new youth justice system (Home Office, 1997b), youth justice legislation in our decade often owes more to 'half theorising' and to other more mundane imperatives. A number of shifts in youth justice can be perceived as organisational and managerial rather than a reappraisal of how youth crime can best be understood and addressed, or a commitment to an underlying philosophy of justice and children's rights (Brownlee, 1998).

Secondly, with governments legislating ever more frequently in the area of criminal justice, the rapidity of change makes for good politics, at least for a period of time before the media and other commentators begin to question the extent to which rapidity of change evidences a succession of failures of understanding and response. Rapid change alone does not make for a good youth justice system.

Thirdly, what should the response be from youth justice workers and legal practitioners, since a number of the map's features challenge professional values, such as the idea that young people are children first? Law only becomes real when implemented and administered; this involves decision-making by professionals not politicians (Haines and Drakeford, 1998). Working practices of diversion, decriminalisation and avoidance of custody (Brown, 1998; Haines and Drakeford, 1998) may remain the dominant ethos if professionals can utilise their change agent skills and apply knowledge and values to case loads in order to mediate the legislation in practice and to create sensible and imaginative services. One thing is certain as the map of youth justice is redrawn - journeying through the territory that is youth justice is a challenge to youth justice practitioners. That challenge is the focus of the second article.

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Stuart Vernon *Visiting Research Fellow School of Law, University of East London.*

Notes

1 Schedule 2 duties in the Children Act 1989 compared with the structure and philosophy of proportionate sentencing in the 1991 Act.

2 The use of these orders, where a young person has committed three or more imprisonable sentences, and is in breach of a supervision order or has committed an imprisonable offence whilst on supervision, was significantly delayed. Very few such orders were made before they were superseded by the introduction of detention and training orders under the provisions of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

3 These crimes include those where an adult can be sentenced to 14 years or more. Section 53 Children and Young Persons Act 1933 allows the Crown Court to sentence children and young people for grave crimes with the prospect of a long custodial sentence.

4 A minimum and mandatory sentence of life imprisonment is normally to be imposed for a second serious offence, including a number of sexual offences; a minimum of 7 years for a third offence of Class A drug trafficking; and a minimum of 3 years for a third domestic burglary.

5 The Powers of the Criminal Courts (Sentencing) Act 2000 has consolidated a number of the sentencing provisions of the 1998 Act. Nonetheless the article refers to the original legislation to reflect the coherence of the original legislative initiative and its familiarity to readers.

6 The Powers of the Criminal Courts (Sentencing) Act 2000 has consolidated a number of the sentencing provisions of the 1999 Act. Nonetheless reference is made to the original legislation for the same reasons identified in note 5 above.

7 This Act also prohibits the cross-examination of victims of rape by the accused and allows special measures to be introduced into court proceedings to assist vulnerable and intimidated witnesses, including young people. These measures include the use of screens and live links, together with the use of videos for evidence in chief and cross-examination.

8 Requiring parental attendance at court and imposing parental bindovers.

9 The legislation gives the Home Secretary power to extend the detention and training order provisions to 10 and 11-year-old offenders.

10 The ability of a court to draw inferences from silence, whatever the age of the accused (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 (section 35), amended by Crime and Disorder Act 1998, section 35) may violate article 6 (Condron v UK (2000) (No 35718/97) if the court does not strike a balance between the right to silence and the circumstances in which adverse inferences could be drawn.

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Nicola Sinclair

Teenage Kicks? is an easily digestible review of the literature relating to young people's drinking which will be of interest to those working with young people or in the field of alcohol education or service provision. It should be recommended reading for policy makers and those who make and sell alcohol because it indicates what is within their power to help reduce the harm associated with young people's drinking. It can be read in conjunction with Linda Wright's comprehensive review *'Young People and Alcohol'. Teenage Kicks?* builds on her approach and recommendations and adds recent supportive qualitative research data.

Teenage Kicks? soberly weighs the evidence and draws its conclusions avoiding the 'moral panic' so easily stirred regarding young people's drinking. When working with young people condemning their drinking as unacceptable behaviour seems inconsistent with the reality that in adult society 'drinking alcohol is widespread and socially accepted as a legitimate and pleasurable activity'. Young people identify this hypocrisy immediately. *Teenage Kicks?* acknowledges this from the outset. Far from presenting young people's drinking as deviant behaviour, the authors add to the argument that it is a normal activity. Binge-drinking and drunkenness, although presented as risky, are seen as part of the learning process of transition from childhood to adult patterns of drinking. Alcohol education and prevention should aim at reducing alcohol misuse rather than use *per se*.

The book is divided into two sections. The first looks at the patterns and interpretations of young people's drinking, the second the personal and social harms associated with it. They have included a wide range of literature, including 'grey literature' that often does not receive the attention it deserves in this field.

The average person is likely to categorise drinking patterns in terms of quantitative data, ie how frequently we drink and how much we consume. These quantitative measures of drinking patterns are the basis for the

terms moderate or heavy drinkers and the sensible drinking benchmarks of 2-3 units per day for women and 3-4 for men. *Teenage Kicks?* balances these quantitative patterns with qualitative data describing the reasons for drinking, and its social context.

Talking to young people about the *meaning* of alcohol in their lives has revealed a framework of drinking patterns charting a transition from childhood to adult drinking. Within a very short space of time young people pass from supervised sips, through experiment, exploring the limits and establishing personal tastes to developing a pattern of drinking that is 'adult'. The quantitative data supports this model showing a rapid increase in frequency of drinking and amounts consumed between ages 11 and 16. Various sources suggest the key point of acceleration is about 14 and 15.

At each stage in the transitional period different factors motivate or limit drinking. These largely link with the general pains of 'growing up': seeking adult status and developing personal awareness. No surprise here, but placing drinking patterns firmly within this transitional model helps provide a realistic context for those working with young people. A young person's patterns of alcohol use are just one expression of their development and the challenges associated with it. Patterns will change as their life situation changes. Marriage, stable relationships, parenthood and employment have all been shown to moderate drinking making it probable that young people will 'grow out of it'.

This first section also looks at a range of influences on young people's drinking including nationality, gender, ethnicity, religion, social class and family support, control and drinking styles. One of the strengths of the book is that it provides a balance of arguments for some of the key anxieties relating to young people's drinking such as the impact of alcopops and where young people drink.

An important omission is that not enough is made of some significant increases in young people's drinking over the past decade. Buried in the first section, it is revealed that the amount consumed by 11-15 year olds who drink rose from just over 5 units a week in 1988 to just over 8 units in 1996 - it has since risen to more than 10 units. There have been increases in the frequency of drinking, numbers of young people binge drinking and drinking to intoxication. It is important to recognise that most young teenagers drink modest amounts infrequently, with a minority drinking to excess and experiencing problems. However we should be

very concerned about what amounts to a doubling in young people's drinking. This, along with evidence that binge-drinking patterns are extending into later adulthood, poses serious risks in the short and long term.

Those working with young people may find the section on harms associated with drinking helpful in developing the key harm-reduction messages young people need to know, especially as the emphasis is on immediate short-term risks rather than long term health problems, Few die from the direct effects of alcohol - many more die from accidents, suicide and violence associated with it. The association between alcohol and crime is discussed, as are the often over-looked links between alcohol and other drug use and sexual risk-taking. It is rightly pointed out that the precise nature of the links between alcohol and these harms has yet to be established. Is there a causal link between drinking and committing a crime, or are there other confounding factors? What is particularly interesting is how alcohol is shown to be as harmful as a Class A drug, although this of course depends on how much is consumed.

What little evidence we have of 'effective' alcohol education suggests a harm-reduction approach is the most appropriate and this is certainly the message of *Teenage Kicks?* In their conclusions, the authors identify a range of things that could be done to promote safer drinking patterns. Rather than placing the onus simply on the individual young person's choices about drinking, the responsibility is placed on the shoulders of those who make and sell alcohol and the various government departments with responsibility for licensing, availability of alcohol and health education and prevention.

They offer convincing arguments that young people's 'drinking factories' have developed in towns, replacing the traditional pub where young and old can socialise. These factories churn out drunken young people using promotional marketing techniques, happy hours, loud music and few seats to encourage drinking rather than socialising. Of course, the drinks industry will dismiss these claims, but they are presented so clearly here that it is difficult for anyone with common sense not to acknowledge at least some truth in them.

Teenage Kicks? is certain worth adding to a library of books on young people's drinking, not least because it is so accessible and clear about its message.

Nicola Sinclair *is Development Officer Alcohol and Drug Education and Prevention team.*

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NB No ISBN or price given for any of the above. All can be obtained from Carnegie Young People Initiative, The Mezzanine, Elizabeth House, 39 York Road, London SE1 7NQ

Gordon Kirkpatrick

The Carnegie Young People Initiative (CYPI) was established in 1996 by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. The Scottish philanthropist Andrew Carnegie originally left money in trust 'to benefit the masses' and wanted the trust named after him to use these funds to 'identify new

needs as they arise'. CYPI, in particular, aims to improve the quality and increase the breadth of young people's (age ten to twenty five) participation in public decision making through research, evaluation and the development of standards.

Studies have so far been published on activities in Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Similar research is also taking place in England and there is also a mapping of activities in overseas countries which provides an international perspective.

Each study reports growing evidence of the disillusionment of many young people in the local and national organisations which serve their needs. Young people it found are becoming increasingly disenchanted with party politics, often choosing not to vote in either national or local elections. Yet at the same time there are positive signs that the situation could be changed. For example more young people than ever appear to be involving themselves in issues such as human rights and the environment.

These studies are the first published outputs from the three year programme launched by the CYPI. This initiative might best be described as being at the 'mapping stage'. A key theme for the future development of the project is to seek more independent evaluation of participation schemes. What is frequently called 'good practice' amounts to what adult practitioners view as 'what works'. The strength of these studies lies, to a considerable extent, in the way in which they offer a clear insight into the views of the young people interviewed and involved.

The final purpose for seeking this evidence will be the production of a set of standards for involvement of public and voluntary sector bodies at the national and local level. The aim of these will be to guarantee all young people appropriate opportunities to be involved in key decisions regardless of who they are or where they live.

Structure of Studies

Each of the UK and Eire reports provide a national context to young people's levels of participation in public decision making by surveying organisations and analysis of case study material. The international report examines the policies and programmes of a selected set of countries – Barbados, Denmark, Germany, Lithuania, Portugal, South Africa and Uganda. All of these were chosen on the basis of their claims to be 'progressive' with regards to seeking to secure the heightened involvement of young people at all levels of life.

The methodology and research agenda for the comparative study is similar to that employed in the UK/Eire studies: e.g.

- *The number and types of organisations which are currently involving children and young people in collective decision making within health, government, education and voluntary sectors.*
- *Analysis of groups of children and young people involved (who?).*
- *The methods (how?) utilised to involve both children and young people and to evaluate this involvement.*
- *The perceived impact of involving children and young people.*
- *Statistical data to compare levels of involvement.*
- *Specific examples and initiatives which provide evidence of good practice.*
- *Types of decisions young people are involved in making.*
- *Examination of what promotes and supports effective involvement of young people.*
- *Identification of initiatives and practice that might positively improve the levels of involvement of young people in future.*

Databases for the studies range from 214 to 386 respondents. Case studies are followed by a more in-depth look at some of the organisations that had responded to the survey, for example in key areas such as geographical location, fieldwork of the organisation, evidence of involvement in policy making, particular groups of children and young people involved.

Key Findings

Each of the UK/Eire studies provides a set of conclusions and recommendations. Although minor differences in findings occur there is a common core of recommendations which provide a useful agenda for future development. For example the following characteristics are important:

- *The importance given to human rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.*
- *National and regional government policies are key instruments for change.*
- *Such bodies as the National Children's Advisory Council in Eire and the suggested 'Children and Young People's Participation Development Unit' in Wales provide a national framework to further develop progress.*

- *Organisations need to develop 'a culture of involvement' supported throughout, particularly from the management level, by inventing new ways of working and giving consideration to language, jargon and the environment required to stimulate involvement.*
- *A key part of managing the process requires not only careful planning and structures but clear intentions, negotiated ground rules and boundaries, enabling the young people to feel empowered yet supported.*
- *The process of involving children and young people takes time, professional staff support, financial backing and good quality training to equip them and sympathetic adults with the skills needed to move forward.*
- *The contribution of young people within many organisations is being increasingly valued.*
- *Realism not tokenism is important, meaningful opportunities should be provided for young people to make informed decisions and have real responsibilities that result in tangible outcomes.*
- *Inclusion is important: marginalised young people with disabilities, from minority groups and the disadvantaged should be encouraged and supported to become involved.*
- *National and regional forums for young people are becoming established and a need exists to increase in the number of these.*
- *Funding: legitimate budgets need to be identified and provided in order to support not only these forums but also training and evaluation.*

International Perspectives on Young People's Involvement in Public Decision Making

This report is also a first mapping stage document. It looks at the work of the seven countries cited earlier, which as already noted declared a commitment to increasing the involvement of young people in all walks of life. The major part of this research flowed from a two day meeting in London in November 2000 hosted by the Commonwealth Secretariat, which brought the researchers, editors and partners together and gave all an opportunity to learn of developments in the other countries. Each country's socio-historical context is reported and then details of regional and local structures for young people's involvement is described together with rationales and principles underpinning these developments. Many

specific examples are reported and give a broad spectrum of initiatives and energies to further young people's confidence, skills and involvement. Despite the variables between countries, for example, their divergent religious and cultural traditions, this international report emphasises a number of common features:

- *Policy commitment – an overarching strategy for children and young people with participation at its heart together with specific objectives.*
- *National committees and central units in government for example the Institute for Youth 1993 Portugal, State Council of Youth Affairs Lithuania.*
- *Small central units can develop skills and values of young people; improve the quality of government work; stabilise youth policy; provide a more informed view of long term policies.*
- *Further education training or work.*
- *Neighbourhood regional and national youth parliaments with linkages between them.*

Finally this report uses the evidence from the seven countries to compare their approaches to those encountered within the UK. Although the Children and Young People's Unit was formed in England in 2000 and citizenship education has moved into the curriculum clearly there are lessons to be learned from the evidence of this report for national government, local authorities and particularly to those who work with the socially excluded.

Overall these studies and reports reflect the increasing interest in and development of young peoples 'personal involvement in decision making' which affects not only their own lives but the lives of others. The evidence and analysis provide a rich and telling spectrum of information and inference. They also give a clear voice to both the young people and those who work alongside them in these exciting and important developments. Any one of the reports or indeed sections of them provide positive and challenging agendas for the individual reader, families, schools, officials and conferences. Overall they are witness to a new direction and new systems to engage young people's minds and hearts in the future world that belongs to them.

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REVIEWS

Anne B. Ryan
Feminist Ways of Knowing:
Towards theorising the person for radical adult education
NIACE 2001
ISBN 1 86201 095 1
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Jean Spence

Any woman who has ever called herself a feminist and then attempted to live as such cannot fail to be aware that this is a life project fraught with tension, dilemmas and contradictions. Feminism, at its very core, is a political philosophy that requires a mobilisation of the self in the pursuit of gender equality. It strives for transformations which are not only material and redistributive, but which are also psychological and relational. In the gap between the real world of inequalities of wealth, status and power between men and women and the imagined world where sexual difference survives without injustice, feminists attempt to both accommodate themselves and to struggle for change. In doing so they must negotiate both femininity and feminism. Thus within feminist theory subjectivity is as significant as the objective world of social structures and relations, biography and identity are as important as social role and circumstance.

It is these questions which concern the author of this book, and it is therefore no surprise to read that the quest to articulate an understanding of the relations between subject and object, personal and political, is located within the inter-relationship between her personal and professional life. Working within the Irish context, Anne Ryan draws upon her professional experiences as a schoolteacher, a home-school-community liaison teacher and an adult educator to raise questions about the possibilities of developing a feminist pedagogy which offers opportunities for change whilst at the same time understands the dilemmas of women's lives. The significance of these questions for her is located within her personal feminism and her experience of counselling which helped her through a personal crisis despite her initial scepticism about its value as a means of affecting change. Through the counselling she was able to link her intellectual and her emotional life, to make connections between feminist post-structualist theory and her personal ability to effect change in her own life.

Ryan believes that the insights she gained from her personal/professional situation have implications for the manner in which adult education is

delivered for women. In particular, she is concerned to argue the case for the value of the personal development course, popular amongst Irish women seeking change in their own lives and so important as a first step back into education. Such courses have traditionally been offered mainly from a religious or human relations psychology perspective and as such have not developed radical or critical educational processes. Ryan's intention is to demonstrate that a post-structural theory of subjectivity would facilitate the growth of feminist pedagogies in these courses that might thus, in themselves, become a radical force for change in women's lives.

Thus the project upon which Ryan has embarked is one which might have value for any practitioner seeking a way forward for working with girls and women within an informal educational context. Her experiences mirror many of the dilemmas faced by those who embarked on a process of 'confidence building' but then wondered how to translate this into political organisation and action. Feminist practitioners will recognise the tensions involved in pursuing feminist methods of work out 'on the margins' of an organisation and the compromises demanded when seeking to effect change from within. They will relate to the author's difficulties in attempting to maintain a feminist perspective whilst being forced to operate within discourses excluding feminist knowledge from the conceptual landscape. They will no doubt endorse the desire to theorise subjectivity in a manner that seeks resolution between the personal and the political. Whether such practitioners will enjoy this book is another matter because although the author situates herself and her practice at an early stage, and undertook 'grounded' research to provide the empirical support for her thesis, the book is primarily a work of theory.

Feminist Ways of Knowing is to some extent a journey through a variety of theoretical positions associated with feminism. Particularly within the first part that sets the context, it critiques these theoretical positions from the post-structuralist perspective. Here the author's intention is to provide a theoretical framework within which feminist thought and action can move beyond the dichotomies and contradictions inherent in the disparate positions of radical feminism and liberal humanist feminism in an attempt to provide a theory of the subject which can be mobilised within radical adult education to provoke reflexivity amongst participants. The second half of the book continues the theoretical critique but takes the work forward using the results of interviews with professional feminists to indicate the

different levels of feminist understanding, finally applying this to the question of radical adult education.

It is implicit in Ryan's approach that the structuralism within her feminism initially gave her difficulties in acknowledging her empirical observations that dealing with subjectivity is a necessary feature of transformative education for women. The theoretical processes in this book pay particular attention to unravelling the problems of an untheorised subjectivity both for education and for feminism. Ryan explains how an uncritical approach to subjectivity ultimately compromises the feminist project by falling into the trap of essentialism. The essential female is the unitary subject of post-enlightenment thinking and as such corresponds with patterns of gender relations that signify a masculine-feminine dualism in which the feminine is always in opposition to and subject to the masculine. Essentialism is a particular problem for radical feminism which in extolling the virtues of women, is at risk of presenting those virtues as though they were natural qualities, thus reinforcing feminine stereotypes. However, the alternative structuralist position cannot in itself provide a different perspective because although it explains the inequity of gender in social life, it fails to address the question of subjectivity and thus fails to provide an adequate theory of human agency. Within structuralism, the personal is ultimately explained by material conditions and social roles. The separation of subject and object within structuralist thought also mirrors the dualism of post-enlightenment liberalism and as such succumbs itself to the problem of essentialism. Both radical and structural feminism revolve around each other in an inevitable tension but for Ryan, both positions are, at their core, variations of post-enlightenment liberal humanism. Because they conceive the subject as a unitary entity, neither position is able to move satisfactorily towards a dynamic theory of radical change.

In itself, the first part of this book can be read as a useful and well written introduction to the debates and models which have exercised the minds of social and psychological theorists in recent decades, culminating in the development of post-modern and post-structuralist positions. Ryan acknowledges her debt to post-modern thinking but prefers to situate herself as a post-structuralist, indicating her conviction that the material world is late modern rather than post modern. Because of this, she suggests that post-enlightenment thinking retains some relevance to the real circumstances confronting people. Radical feminism and structuralism

both have something to offer in terms of strategic thinking. If they are used sceptically, not regarded as representing absolute truths, then it is possible to use the insights they offer to deal with particular circumstances in particular times and places. Thus, for example, the suggestion within radical feminism that women's virtues enable them to mobilise differently from men, has had a real political effect and continues to provide a basis for feminist organising as witnessed by women's peace movements. Such movements build upon the reality of the feminine subjectivities of women in this society and acknowledge the real conflicts that emerge from mixed sex organisation. Post structuralism provides an opportunity to both use modern categories of understanding and to go beyond the limits of modernism in an-ever moving process of change and development.

Post-structuralist perspectives deconstruct the essential subject, question the idea of absolute truth, demonstrate the inequalities of power in dualism and offer a process view of history in which human subjects, though constrained by their social existence, are nevertheless thinking, feeling acting agents. The post-structuralist key to understanding relations, constraints and opportunities of power is offered by an understanding of discourse. Ryan offers a brief but succinct account of the positions of the major theorists, particularly Foucault, who contributed to discourse theory. However her concern with the gendered dimension of power moves her beyond Foucault's analysis to the feminist perspective offered by Kristeva which uses the insights of linguisitic theory and Lacanian psychoanalysis to ultimately refuse any definition of 'femininity'. In doing so, Ryan demonstrates the value of understanding language as a system of signs in which meaning is located in the sign, not in the object which the sign represents. This offers an opportunity to understand the value of different subject positions in social and personal histories, to disrupt traditional discourses and as she puts it 'remain grounded in the politics of everyday life'.

Within her empirical research, based on in-depth discussions with women who identify themselves as feminists, Ryan sets out to demonstrate that such women are often working at a number of levels to accommodate the reality of everyday life whilst at the same pursuing a feminist understanding. Oddly, although the form and content of the research is justified in terms of the relationship between pedagogy and research in feminist thinking, and although she cites grounded theory as the foundation of her approach, the women whom Ryan interviewed do not seem to have

been located professionally within education. She chose them simply on the grounds of their self-defined feminist identities and the objective of her textual analysis of the interviews is to demonstrate the significance of women's positioning within discourses of power and their modes of resistance to their subjective positioning within such discourses. It is only in the last two chapters that the reader is returned to the question of feminist adult education.

At last, the content of the book once again relates directly to experiences, processes and dilemmas which would be recognised by any feminist self-consciously attempting to apply her feminism in an informal or adult education setting. In these final two chapters we again encounter questions recognisable from practice. In particular, Ryan attempts to provide a resolution to questions about the need to deal with the realities of the lives of participants whilst at the same time engaging with change agendas. She discusses the significance of personal and emotional investment in educational processes and the responsibilities of the teacher/tutor to recognise the implications of her own power and authority within the educational setting. In doing this, Ryan presents some of the methods she uses within the self-development courses she facilitates in order to demonstrate the means whereby reflexivity might be achieved. She points to the manner in which a feminist pedagogy is embedded in women's biographies and life stories and how narrative processes can be used to change subjective positioning in order to enable women to achieve agency in their own lives. In this way she suggests that it is possible to achieve a politicised view of adult education which is applicable and adaptable in other educational situations where participants occupy structural circumstances of inequality.

I approached this book with some enthusiasm hoping to find within its pages theoretical discussion offering insights into my own practices as a feminist educator. I also anticipated the possibility of relating the analysis to the very real political, personal and professional tensions experienced by women working generally in the field of informal and social education. Ultimately, I was disappointed.

Although the author has made a brave attempt to relate theory to practice and to develop an analysis long overdue, her success is limited by the approach she adopted. It is theory which is the focus, and despite the efforts at grounding in relation to personal life, research methods and

pedagogy, the theory seems finally to be self-referential. The journey through the various related theoretical positions is interesting and useful, at a certain level, but in the end the critical analysis becomes tedious because there is no scope for dealing with any one theoretical position in any depth. Thus the complex analyses of authors such as Foucault, Derrida, Cixous and Kristeva are introduced, summarised, criticised or developed in a section of a chapter, sometimes even in a paragraph. Time and again the critique is offered from the perspective of post-structuralism, emphasising the problems of essentialism, dualism and the unitary rational subject of dominant western thought. It is true the benefits of a feminist post-structural understanding do unfold as the book progresses, but for me, it was difficult to hold on to the significance of this, to keep focussed upon the purpose until reaching the final chapters where the insights are applied to education.

Possibly Ryan has been too ambitious and the project too disparate. Because she has attempted to provide a personal justification, a theoretical analysis, empirical evidence for her theoretical position and then to apply all this to personal development education, it is has been impossible for her to present the book as a coherent text. Her analysis is coherent enough in itself, but the structure of the book is not. It jumps from one theorist to another and from one perspective to another. The relationship between part one and part two and between the chapters within each part was not made explicit and as a consequence, even those aspects of the book which are interesting and informative, are soon forgotten as the reader is launched into yet another subject area. The empirical analysis in particular does not sit easily within the framework of the book either in its conception and execution or presentation.

For those interested in theorising radical educational practices, this book might have some useful insights. However, it is possible that a more satisfying project would be to begin with the real, material dilemmas of practice, to identify those moments of subversion and transcendence and to consider the processes of engagement as the empirical basis for the development of theoretical understanding. Only then could the theory be said to be grounded in relevant practice. Only then would a reader interested in pedagogy be able to hold on to the theoretical insights and take them further as a means of legitimating or transforming their own practices.

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REVIEWS

Andy Bennett
Cultures of Popular Music
Open University Press, 2001
ISBN 0 335 20250 0
pp.194

Howard Williamson

At one level, this book is a relatively predictable run through the significant 'pop' music traditions of post-war Britain – from rock and roll in the 1950s, through rock, punk, reggae and heavy metal, to dance music and world music styles at the turn of the Millennium. At another level, Bennett connects this variety of musical genres to the critical social and political questions of their time and, indeed, prior to and beyond their 'time'. In this respect, he produces a fascinating, though not always inter-connected account of cultures of popular music over half a century. Designed essentially as a textbook, and drawn from his research and teaching experience, it will serve students of cultural studies and sociology well, which is the usual proclamation on the back cover of such books but which, in this case, is conspicuous by its absence.

Cultures of Popular Music could almost be subtitled 'around the world in eight youth styles'. It is a disparate and somewhat eclectic tour, though throughout Bennett conveys his encyclopaedic and often esoteric knowledge of music round the world. This can be illuminating for much of the time, but it can also be irritating, as he squeezes in a short section on some obscure music and style in Norway or Sardinia derived from one or another 'mainstream' genre but displaying its localised specificities. Indeed, each journey he takes us on, which usually starts in either Britain or the USA, invariably ends up in eastern Europe or Australiasia, demonstrating the global reach of youth culture and popular music. For example, he finds local manifestations of reggae within Welsh culture and amongst the Aboriginals of Australia, and traces rap and hip hop to, *inter alia*, both Sweden and Japan. Some such connections flow smoothly, but at other times they appear and feel rather forced, not really adding much to the analytic power of the book and arguably being somewhat self-indulgent.

Having said this, the book is extremely well-written, clearly structured and presented. Each chapter begins with a crisp and concise account of the origins and development of different musical forms before Bennett

embarks on his own and others' accounts of their relation to the wider social and economic contexts in which they have appeared. For example, in his useful commentary on the often neglected (despite its longevity) 'heavy metal', Bennett writes,

> *[In this respect], it is possible to see how frequently explored themes of extreme metal songs, such as destruction, decay and disease, disillusion, corruption through power, confusion and isolation resonate in varying degrees with the experienced problems, and resulting outlook, of growing numbers of young people in contemporary society.*

Indeed, the essence of his argument is that while certain dominant strands of popular music lend themselves to (different) broad generalised arguments, they are invariably also highly particularised: they are always linked to 'local cultures and political sensibilities'. Hence the ways in which punk manifested itself (anarchically) in the UK was very different from the ways in which it surfaced and was appropriated in Hungary, and different again in the USA.

My main criticism of the book is that some key theoretical debates about youth culture and popular music are parachuted in at different points when, for a textbook of this kind, it might have been more useful to have debated them in a separate introductory or concluding chapter. The influential work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the 1970s or, more recently, Beck's theory of 'risk society' are just two overarching threads which do not rest comfortably hidden away within specific chapters. The same might be said of 'folk devils and moral panics', the meaning and making of music by young people excluded at the margins, the place of music in shaping identity and securing a sense of 'community', and role of music in reflecting or influencing gender and ethnic relations. Bennett does highlight a range of tensions concerning prevailing theoretical assertions about the relationship between popular music and wider social and economic contexts, but these might have benefited from greater prominence.

Of course, Bennett is the latest in a line of academic commentators on 'youth and music' who maintain that musical forms are integrally bound up with the political and economic contexts in which they are (literally) 'played out'. His parting shot is that,

youth culture, and the musics and styles associated with it, cannot be separated from the particular socio-economic circumstances of its time. If contemporary youth is socio-economically contextualised, I have suggested, then, as with previous generations of post-Second World War youth, it can be seen to use musical and stylistic resources to actively engage with, protest against and collectively negotiate the particular socio-economic and political circumstances in which it finds itself.

For sure, one can always detect elements of this and there are always clearly illustrations of this taking place, such as the Exodus Collective in Luton which started as part of the dance party scene but subsequently turned its attention to questions of homelessness and unemployment. But these may equally be the exceptions that prove the rule: that for many young people, music and style is patently detached from politics and economy, a space within 'leisure' which was once described by Phil Cohen as the 'weak link in the chain of socialisation'. One has to beware of an intellectualised over-reading of the meaning of music; after all, Bob Dylan once said that he only wrote 'protest songs' because that's what everybody was doing at the time! But if we are persuaded of the politicised power of music, and of young people as active producers rather than just passive consumers, then Bennett's book will serve us well.

Howard Williamson, *School of Social Sciences Cardiff University.*

Nancy Lesko
Act Your Age: A Cultural Construction of Adolescence
Routledge Falmer 2001
ISBN 0415928346
£13.99
pp 260

Tony Jeffs

Hazlitt once opined that 'no one but a pedant ever read his own works regularly through'. Approximately two centuries on it still serves as an ominous warning to the vain and desperate. Not least academics seduced

into re-printing old material to accumulate Research Assessment Exercise points in Britain or elsewhere to enhance a tenure or promotion bid. Apparently known amongst the *cognoscente* as 'salami slicing', the re-packaging of old material already published or once rejected in order to survive the 'publish or perish' culture within the higher echelons of the university sector, is a growing menace. I have no hard evidence whatsoever that this text falls within this category but you do get a hint it may. First, because apparently nearly half the contents were previously published. Second, the uneven length of the chapters. Third, the absence of a coherent narrative or thread to the text. The result is a book that fails to live up to the promise of the title. And, one might add, the effusive praise heaped upon it by those quoted on the back cover.

Although the author claims to have adopted a method described as 'history of the present' that 'moves back and forth between the present and the past' intentionally violating conventional chronological historical work the chapters are all largely grounded in the era they relate to. Which is not a bad thing with regards the first two.

The opening chapters are basically well written accounts of the rise and fall of recapitulation theory and the emergence of adolescence as both a psychological concept and an idea that came to shape so much educational, welfare and youth policy. Valuable because they bring a new perspective to bear on long-running debates. G. Stanley Hall was a pivotal figure in the popularisation of both and rightly looms large in each chapter. Recapitulation theory Hall borrowed from earlier writers including Spencer and Haeckel. Adolescence however became, with more than a measure of validity, bracketed to his name. Indeed for decades he was in certain circles known as the 'father of adolescence'. Recapitulation theory held that the ancestral lineage of the human race was replicated in the developmental stages of the child and young person. Many youth workers operating during the early decades of the last century found this thesis highly seductive. Two Americans Forbush and Slaughter, in particular, popularised it and the concept of adolescence in books that reached mass audiences. Slaughter, who moved to Britain during this period, was like Hall ever ready to spread the gospel via articles in the press and public meetings. For a period they took whole swathes of youth work by the neck and spoon-fed it a theory. A theory that became quickly palatable and for some addictive. Groups as diverse as the Boy Scouts and the Woodcraft

Folk, according to their founders, used these theories as the basis upon which to assemble a curriculum and organisational culture. As Lesko rightly stresses, the work of Hall and others served to reinforce the view, long prevalent, that working class youth was dangerous and threatening; that non-Europeans were under-developed, child-like and if not controlled posed a permanent threat to Western civilisation. The work was steeped, as she shows, in specific interpretations of race, gender and nation. Manna from heaven, these ideas provided youth organisations with a working model around which an edifice of practice could be constructed. Incidentally they simultaneously gifted them powerful leverage. For they stimulated the phobias of the rich and powerful, the Imperialist and the Isolationist telling each that their fears of the poor and foreigners were based on 'solid science' and not prejudice. Fears that astute youth organisations brazenly exploited to secure funding and patronage. Lesko tells the story of the rise of these theories well and, without laying it on with a trowel, spells out the dangers inherent in the application of bad theory. Sharply observed and drawing upon extensive source material the author tells a salutary tale that those who now employ variants of the underclass thesis to secure funding and status ought to be confronted with.

Before moving on from these chapters two points deserve consideration. First, by the 1920s recapitulation theory was largely 'done and dusted'. For that reason, and others not worth lingering upon here, it is important to avoid exaggerating its influence. Lesko in writing a history of the impact of these ideas on policy and practice, understandably pays little attention to the pre-history of youth work, but others must. For many organisations (and policies) pre-dated the appearance of recapitulation theory and a coherent exposition of the concept of adolescence. Lesko does a fine job of showing how these were exploited and annexed by youth organisations and welfare agencies, sometimes with disastrous results especially for women and minority groups. But just how profound was their influence upon the development of youth work remains a moot point. Raikes and More had begun their work in the 1780s. The YMCA and YWCA were already well established for over a half a century before Hall published *Adolescence*. The youth work ethos, ways of working, organisational structures and aims were very much in place before the period Lesko focuses upon arrived. Second, Lesko rarely takes account of the other motives and traditions that inspired club and settlement

workers, and the pioneers of Scouting and the other uniformed organisations. That was not her task and she cannot be criticised for not seeking to unmask these. However it is something that those interested in the relationship between the intellectual traditions she focuses upon and youth work and policy must do.

After two lively, stimulating and worthwhile chapters the book visibly fades away. The following chapter is largely devoted to a discussion of two documents published by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development in 1989 that may arouse the curiosity of those with an interest in middle schools. Next is a rather poorly written effort that re-visits much of the material encountered in the first two chapters and seeks to put a new spin on what went before by discussing it through the prism of time. Interview material is also added for no apparent reason. The final chapters are shorter pieces on 'teenage mothers', 'high school jocks' and aspects of American schooling. Pity they were included. I put down the book dissatisfied and irritated, always a bad sign. Consequently it was only after re-reading the first two chapters that a sense of balance returned. This truly is a book of 'two halves'.

Tony Jeffs *Community and Youth Work Studies Unit, Department of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Durham.*

SHORT CUTS

E C Wragg and G. Brown
Explaining in the Secondary School
Routledge 2001 (2nd edition)
ISBN 0 415 24956 2
pp 72

E C Wragg and G. Brown
Questioning in the Secondary School
Routledge 2001 (2nd edition)
ISBN 0 415 24956 X
pp 70

Pamela Meadows
Young Men on the Margins of Work: An overview report
Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2001
ISBN 1 84263 022 9
£10.95
pp 35

Linda McDowell
Young Men Leaving School:
White, working-class masculinity
Youth Work Press 2001
ISBN 0 86155 248 2
£12.95
pp 43

Clarissa White, Sara Bruce and Jane Ritchie
Young People's Politics:
Political interest and engagement amongst 14 to 24 year olds
Joseph Rowntree Foundation 2001
ISBN 1 902633 64 4
£13.95
pp 60

Harry Wade, Anthony Lawton and Mark Stevenson
Hear By Right:
Setting standards for the active involvement of young people in democracy
Local Government Association/National Youth Agency 2001
ISBN 0 86155 256 3
pp 42

REVIEWS

Community Education Development Centre
Better All Together: A research study of partnerships between the youth service and schools to raise standards of achievement
Community Education Development Centre 2001
ISBN 0 947607 70 6
pp 40

Tony Jeffs

Both the Wragg and Brown texts were first published in 1993. Consequently some readers will have already encountered the earlier editions. Written with a school-teacher audience exclusively in mind they nevertheless deserve the attention of youth workers and other informal educators. Conversation and dialogue are the stock-in-trade of the latter but we pay astonishingly little attention to the mechanics and artistry of both. The text on questioning is a wonderful guide and corrective. It carefully takes the reader through the role of questioning and the different types of questions employed by educators. Then it offers a highly accessible chapter on the 'tactics of effective questioning'. The second on 'explaining' may judging by the title at first glance appear less worthy of attention. It is not. The short chapter on 'strategies of explaining' is a gem. Certainly it could be usefully adapted for inclusion within training programmes for part-time workers and others. Both are thoroughly recommended. Tight, direct and approachable these two texts one suspects would handsomely repay the attention of any educator, however seasoned or knarled.

Meadows has produced a summary of research funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation during the mid- to late-1990s looking at the changing experiences of young men entering the labour market. Reviews of some of these have already appeared in *Youth and Policy*. Profound changes took place in the youth labour market in the period covered by these reports. Fundamentally the concept of a discrete youth labour market became less and less sustainable as young people increasingly competed with older workers in a shrinking pool of jobs. Alongside the evaporation of a disconnected youth sector, young men found they were obliged to compete with women, of all ages, as gender segmentation within employment continued to wane. Predictably these shifts prompted the familiar talk of a crisis. Overall as Meadows indicates a great deal of the blather fuelling this raft of research was, as nearly always in relation to

youth studies, exaggerated. Few young men remained detached from the labour market for long, the majority secured work via formal and informal routes and the historical factors precipitating success or failure still applied. A helpful paper, summarising over a dozen papers, offering informative coverage of a range of debates.

Young Men Leaving School might at first glance be expected to fuel humdrum concerns regarding young working class men's ability to slot into a changing labour market. It does not. The study, carried out in Cambridge and Sheffield, is based on 23 in-depth interviews undertaken before, during and after leaving school. All selected because their school careers were coming to a less than glorious conclusion. Often attendance was so irregular you could not identify a point of departure. They were typical of the 'disaffected' 'marginalised' 'excluded' group now giving politicians nightmares and the public a severe attack of the vapours. For this reason it is worth reading. First because like so much earlier research it pulls the rug clean from underneath a 'moral panic'. Second because it shows how adaptable young people are. The findings are at times predictable. Interviewees, like most public schoolboys and Peterhouse men one suspects, had fairly rigid and outmoded views regarding women's place in society. In addition they had low expectations in relation to work and education having learnt their lessons well in that respect. Nothing unusual there. However McDowell graphically shows the extent to which 'local traditions' still shape the labour market and young people's experiences. Importantly the research allows us to spend time with a group of much mis-understood individuals who overwhelmingly abhor violence, have old-fashioned hopes for the future and doggedly pursue employment, and in some cases education, despite all the odds stacked against them. This is serious research with a human face. It is not unexpected that the author concludes that she 'came to both respect and admire the tenacity of the 23 young men whose voices dominate this report' (p 35).

When the Commons held an emergency debate in March to discuss the deployment of 1,700 British troops in what the Minister of Defence previously described as a 'war fighting situation' no Minister, let alone the Prime Minster, turned up. Indeed such is the contempt in which Blair holds Parliament he has cast his vote in less than 10 per cent of divisions since the last election, a far lower percentage than Churchill achieved throughout the war. Possibly a Minister not attending the debate was

reading a report similar to *White, Bruce and Ritchie's*. Or alternatively picking over the entrails of focus groups convened to discover 'the issues young people care about'. This pamphlet is based upon 24 focus groups, 16 paired and 20 individual interviews with young people entitled to vote for the first time in either the 1997 or 2001 election. The researchers found over 40 per cent reported no interest in politics, 10 per cent 'quite a lot of interest' and the balance 'some interest'. Those familiar with the literature on the subject are unlikely to learn anything from the report, whilst those working with young people are unlikely to be surprised by the findings. And the politicians? Well it will probably confirm a belief that they must re-double their efforts to create a new electorate willing to vote but otherwise comatose via compulsory citizenship lessons, youth parliaments, jamborees and any other gimmick that comes to mind.

Wade, Lawton and Stevenson have produced yet another document comprising a multitude of lists, an array of 'happy smiling faces' and acritical accounts of 'cutting-edge projects'. Drenched in New Labour management-speak it reveals little but surely delighted the funders by telling them exactly what they wanted to hear. Smug and self-congratulatory throughout, by accident rather than design, it conveys exactly what the problem is. The authors neatly avoid discussing why young and old alike are increasingly unwilling to vote in local and national elections; become (or remain) members of political parties; and involve themselves in traditional forms of political activity. Instead they opt to describe a number of 'success stories' established to enable local politicians and decision-makers to 'engage' with young people and ensure they 'are part of the community consultation strategy'. For those anxious to ensure that 'community partners joined up in active involvement work' are employed helping to create 'protocols' for 'capacity building' this pamphlet is a must. Given 'all stakeholders will benefit from young people learning to speak the "language of democracy"' (p 36), who could question the merits of the crusade? I for one! Partly because of the terrifying thought of the harm likely to be wrought upon the vocabulary of any tender soul spending more than a few minutes in the company of those promulgating this gobbledegook.

School-based and school-linked youth work is growing apace. Schools are ever more 'inviting' youth workers in to help with the 'difficult pupils' and transfer non-academic (that means everything outside the National Curriculum) education to them. This presence in school settings, along with school-based informal education, can be traced back

to the nineteenth century. However the context has changed, now almost every aspect of schooling is more directly controlled by central government than at any time in our history. The Community Education Development Centre report provides 30 brief accounts of youth work taking place in school settings and in close collaboration with schools. Worryingly much of the work described, although depicted as a partnership between schools and youth work, does not convey that impression. As one reporter noted 'the youth workers were unable to articulate any desired outcomes other than the school's - that is outcomes relating to attendance, exam entries and pass marks.' This is a helpful booklet for those seeking to develop such work and for someone looking for a snapshot of contemporary practice. However it never really begins to get to grips with the difficult questions facing informal educators operating in formal settings.

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