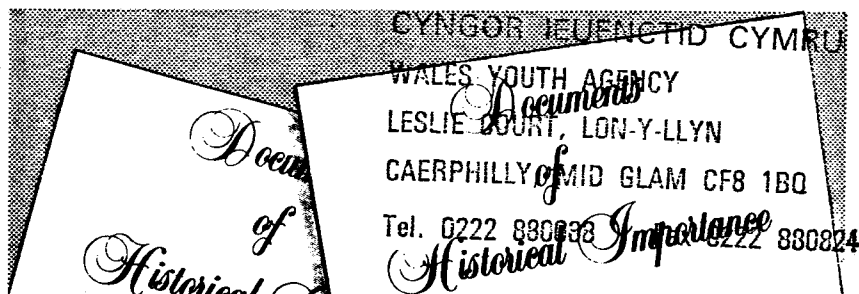


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THE YOUTH SERVICE AND OTHER YOUTH PROVISION

Extracts from section three of 'Young People, the Youth Service and Youth Provision',
September 1981

The written evidence of the National Youth Bureau to the Department of Education and Science
Review Group on the Youth Service

The Youth Service: Its History and Development

The Youth Service is one of the most complex of British institutions — an enigmatic reflection of its origins and haphazard development. The administrative title 'Youth Service' is used to denote a wide range of provision for the leisure time, social education and recreation of young people between 14 and 20 years through a partnership between the voluntary organisations and the statutory sector. Characteristically it includes, for example, a Ranger Guide unit, a group of young church members, and a youth club, but it also stretches beyond these to include cultural organisations and bodies which cater for the recreation of young people through the encouragement of activities such as travel, camping or community service projects by the young. To date, however, it has only been seen to be appropriate for students' organisations or the youth wings of political parties to be part of the Youth Service through membership of the British Youth Council.

Such a brief outline of the Youth Service's administrative parameters does not do justice to its heterogeneous and contradictory nature. There is a lack of unity about its purposes and boundaries: age limits are not fixed — many voluntary youth organisations have substantial pre-adolescent membership and users of much statutory provision are in the lower adolescent age band; in a number of local authorities the Youth Service is subsumed within a community education service — with a resultant loss of identity; work with handicapped or unemployed young people will not just relate to leisure or recreation purposes; community service may become community development or community action; the role of the Secretary of State for Education is not precisely defined and in any event the shape of the Department's policy and practice on Youth Service is influenced by the wider and organic relationship between central and local government on educational matters.⁽¹⁾ At the local level the notion of partnership has come to mean in practice the ensuring of 'one's share of the cake'. Organisational survival takes precedence over jointly established priorities with a view to complementary and integrated provision.

This confused mixture arises out of the history of the Youth Service in which it stands as a classic example of at first private and then public intervention. Motives for intervention were variable and occurred alongside the haphazard and uncertain emergence of wider social policy. To understand the present Youth Service demands an understanding of its origins and its growth over time.

Origins and growth: the 'received dogma'

The roots of the Youth Service are in the pioneering and voluntary initiatives of individuals towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Their initiatives and approaches at that time were a response to the urban unrest resulting from industrialisation, to the new phenomenon of an 'in between stage' for which the term adolescence was coined, and particularly to adolescent leisure — an issue which both appealed to and frightened Victorian Britain. The appeal lay in the sense of humanitarian duty. The fear lay in the political and social repercussions of the creation of a concentrated labouring population, the decline of the hold of organised religion, the growth of class consciousness and an assumed national deficit of moral discipline caused in part by the lack of support for the traditional character-training role of the family. The practice of most of the early pioneers involved preparing young people to accept the political, economic and religious society as they found it. The providers were in positions of social responsibility and blinkered by their own experience. Though carried through with humanitarian concern, their programmes were prescriptive — indeed they could not be any other since they were designed to achieve a high measure of social control and socialisation. In consequence youth work was as much about corralling youthful energies as developing them.

What we do not know is whether the articulated, recorded and publicised statements of the 'Smiths, Baden-Powells, Russells, Carpenters and Pelhams' which led to the formation of nationwide organisations were the sum total of initiatives by individuals for young people. If the working class was capable of sponsoring insurance societies, co-operatives and working men's clubs then it is also possible

that they engaged in localised and spontaneous youth work. If it took place, however, it has not yet been uncovered.

As a result, the 'received dogma' of youth work, as with other forms of social welfare of the period, was an intervention by those outside both the age group and very often the class of their clients. Particular approaches gained the support of 'influential society' for a variety of social, political and religious motives and the form of intervention, the approach and programme of activities, reflected their underlying philosophies.

Until the second World War the voluntary sector was essentially the Youth Service. However, the administrative title Youth Service was coined for the first time in Circular 1486 through which the Board of Education called it into being.⁽²⁾ This circular noted the Board's decision to take direct responsibility for Youth Welfare as part of the education service, defined youth as the age between school leaving and 21 years, and urged all local education authorities to establish youth committees and seek the co-operation of voluntary organisations in providing a comprehensive Youth Service. Two main reasons were highlighted for statutory intervention: the poor physical condition of military conscripts and the disruption of family life expected in wartime conditions. It must be assumed that it was the former which was the more threatening since it appears to have determined funding through the Social and Physical Training Grant Regulations 1939 which were controlled by the Board of Education.

The importance of this 'historical accident' may now be more crucial to a review of the Youth Service than has been recognised hitherto. For first it would seem that the Youth Service's departmental location was determined more by which 'pocket' was appropriate to the primary motive than because the programmes and approaches of the organisations with which the State was forming a partnership were seen to have educational purposes. However this location, reinforced in the 1944 Act and at points subsequently did influence both the policy and the practice of the Service particularly during the 1960s. Second, there is the distinct possibility that it both led to and reinforced the view that the Service's role was to provide social and physical recreation generally associated with leisure time. This image was consolidated by two main inter-related factors.

First, and characteristically, the statutory provision was in the form of youth centres with full-time leaders and part-time instructors to 'run' them. Often it saw itself as 'gapfilling' in places where provision by the voluntary sector was seen to be insufficient. Second, and inevitably, the majority of the full-time staff recruited by the statutory service during the period 1939-60 brought with them unappraised experience gained as leaders or members in the voluntary youth organisations. They also brought their ideologies, approaches and programmes. This consolidation of the 'received dogma' was further reinforced by Maude's statement of aims in 1951, and less directly by the neglect of officially commissioned enquiries into staffing and training. The result was that very few of the 700 full-time staff in 1957 were specially trained as youth workers.

Thus, at a time of statutory intervention when a critical appraisal of role, approach and provision would have been both possible and opportune, the policy and practice of the statutory sector generally assumed the characteristics of the purpose and practice of the voluntary organisations. These in turn rested on ideological philosophies arising out

of a primary concern for societal needs rather than the needs of young people. The Youth Service has wrestled to break with the characteristics of this 'received dogma' ever since. The push and pull of social control and social change has continued to dominate Youth Service debates and consume much of its energy — increasingly as specialist training has engaged with other perspectives, and with even greater agony during the past two years.

The 1960s: The Albemarle Period

Established society was again feeling threatened by the emergence of a distinct teenage culture allied to the bulge in age range and the need to end national service because of the anticipated needs of the labour market. It was in this context that the Albemarle Committee was set up.⁽³⁾

The opening of the 1960s was an influential and expansionist period for the Youth Service and helped usher in a continuing debate between those who wanted the Youth Service to remain a universal leisure service with broad educational aims for the young and those who wanted the Service to be more concerned with the disadvantaged and alienated. Or, to put it more tendentiously, between those who wanted to work with young people who readily accepted adult prescribed values and adult approved activities and those who wanted to work with and in the interests of youngsters who, at least temporarily, rejected or simply ignored those values and who wanted different forms of activity.

The expansionist period which Albemarle heralded created an illusion that the long overdue critical appraisal of philosophy, approach and provision had been done. But did Albemarle offer a new Youth Service? Or did it just offer a more liberal-pluralist, more sophisticated, relatively better resourced version of the same package? On closer inspection the Albemarle package can be seen to contain many of the characteristics of the 'received dogma'.

Albemarle's principal recommendations for a ten-year development plan were speedily and enthusiastically accepted.⁽⁴⁾ Several key elements stood out: the training and establishment of a professional core of youth leaders; the starting of a building programme which would ensure purpose built youth centres designed to place greater emphasis on social interaction than physical activity; an experimental programme of projects to reach the 'unattached'; the continuation and consolidation of the voluntary-statutory partnership. To oversee these arrangements a Youth Service Development Council was set up and all the elements were subsequently implemented to some degree.

The concept of the statutory-voluntary partnership which Albemarle advocated was best illustrated in the Bessey report of 1962 on the training of part-time youth leaders and assistants and in the YSDC's review of progress in 1965.⁽⁵⁾ The recommendations in the Bessey report were based on the notion of a common element in training needs for 'the new Service' irrespective of organisational location. The report also assumed that training would be seen by all to be a priority and would take the form of appropriately resourced joint training agencies. Research during the 70s found that the momentum created by Bessey had reached its peak by the time the YSDC's review was published in 1966 and that by 1975 only eight joint training schemes were in evidence and not more than 50% of local education authority Youth Services had a specialist training officer.⁽⁶⁾ It seems that Bessey both misjudged and confirmed the ideological pull of training in the voluntary organisations and also failed to persuade the statutory

sector of the importance of training. This is not surprising, however, since neither Bessey nor the YSDC saw it to be important enough to set up any national machinery to promote and assist continuing developments in training for part-time/voluntary workers. As a result much training provision for them in 1981 follows the Bessey syllabus of 1961.

The approaches to youth work recommended by Albemarle came out of the liberal-pluralist view of society. Theories about adolescent psychology and leadership saw 'group work' and counselling as the appropriate method to facilitate the personal and social development of young people. The report, however, faced in two directions at the same time. It affirmed the competence of young people to find and formulate their own values and life-styles but fixed this within a view of social education, through leisure time activities, which assumed acceptance of social and cultural institutions. A happy marriage, traditional sex roles, a settled place in the market for wage-labour, loyalty, co-operation and respect for authority, strong personal convictions and the maturity to act on these judiciously all formed part of this view. The report retained the term 'youth leader' and saw their task as 'irrigating the choices' and helping them 'search for values which can inform their lives and give them meaning'. Youth leaders were to embody in their practice the principles of a liberal-pluralist philosophy whose adoption in the young mind would enable the evolution of a society with a more developed sense of fellowship, of mutual respect and tolerance. It stated firmly that the young must participate and recommended that 'young people should be given opportunities for participation as partners in the Youth Service and particularly in the development of self-programming groups'. It further stated that 'young people are greedy for adult status' but this was followed quickly by the view that 'a sense of adult responsibility is quite another thing'.⁽⁷⁾

Although the Albemarle perspective was different from the character-building approach used by the founders of the voluntary organisations, much mainstream practice may have been allowed to achieve no more than a blurring of the two ideologies. Twenty years on, for example, there is still little sign of young people as partners in the Service.

What there can be no doubt of, however, is that 'Albemarle' put the Youth Service 'on the map'. It led to many more buildings; more professionally-trained youth workers and, ipso facto, a growing body of experience, expertise and literature; new approaches to serving the young were developed, there was a greater awareness by the statutory and voluntary sectors of each other's existence and they were nearer 'the corridors of power'. However, whilst the Albemarle development plan for the 60s was being implemented the pace of social change continued undiminished and had out-distanced Albemarle before the end of the decade. With hindsight, it is possible to see that, for all the sensible sentiments expressed in the report, the major building programme and use of the terms youth leader and 'unattached', for example, were little more than the social control and containment functions of the Service at work. The emergence of a stronger professional basis for the Service made for a more effective helping relationship with the young. But it also created a communication gap between trained and untrained and between practitioners and employers which may now be seen as the beginners, for good or ill, of the increasing professionalisation of the Service. The experimental projects were often under-resourced and seldom monitored. Those that were written up and published suggested the need for forms of youth work and for a commitment to 'disadvantaged young people' for

which the Service, generally, was not ready. The Report's advocacy of partnership between statutory and voluntary bodies was well received but in practice the latter saw themselves treated as the subsidiary partner and there was little real co-operation or attempt to achieve complementary provision. Diversity of provision continued to be more apparent than real.

Over this same period the voluntary sector did not stand still, however, and in the 1960s most of the major organisations undertook a re-appraisal of their aims and methods. The Guides remained single sex but made their programme more member-centred. The Scouts retained but amended their uniform and developed a self-governing section for its older members. The National Association of Boys' Clubs continued to offer physical activities for boys but developed forms of intermediate treatment for young people at risk and affiliated the boys' sections of youth clubs. The National Association of Youth Clubs continued to serve 'mainstream' youth clubs but developed experimental projects for disadvantaged and unemployed youngsters, initiated work on sexism in the Youth Service, and created opportunities for members to participate in management of the Association.

The Youth Service Development Council set in train major studies on Youth Service and young immigrants, on community service by youth, a notable study on the use of Youth Service and similar provision, and another on 'adolescence and community'. The first of these studies, the Hunt report published in 1967, warned of things to come when it said, 'If England is not to be the scene of race riots . . . the time for action is now. Tomorrow may be too late'.⁽⁸⁾ It recommended a multi-racial and integrationist approach for the Youth Service and viewed separate provision as desirable only as a precursor to mixed facilities. Those who disagreed with this approach were called 'separatists' or 'segregationists'. The passage of time, however, has illuminated the fact that the recommendation was in pursuit of a socio-philosophical aim and not based on the expressed needs of black young people. Five years later in 1972 the (then) YSIC undertook a survey which produced little evidence that the Hunt strategy was working although it had been fully endorsed by the YSDC in its 1969 report which dealt with the subject in three paragraphs.

The examination of the use of Youth Service and similar provision carried out by Bone and Ross in 1969 found that most young people of 14-20 years (65%) went to a club, team, society or similar group, and nearly all (95%) had passed through such groups before the age of 21. The prevalence of attachments amongst young people had not changed markedly from the 1940s. Only a minority (26%) of the age group attended what they called 'youth clubs' (a definition which excluded some Youth Service organisations) but most (68%) described themselves as having passed through 'youth clubs' before 21. Use of clubs of all kinds varied according to the social and demographic characteristics of the young people. The least likely to use clubs were those who intended to leave or had left school at the minimum age, girls (8% of 17 year olds), older teenagers (15%), those at work, and working class youngsters.⁽⁹⁾

In some important respects, therefore, the Albemarle 'solution' of more sophisticated leisure provision to attract the older and most disadvantaged adolescent had not worked. With hindsight and a closer analysis it is clear that the setting up and brief of the Albemarle Committee was 'established society's' response to feeling threatened by a 'moral panic' — the manifestations of the teenage movement which, generated by an assumed affluence and

mood of optimism about the future, was beginning to make itself felt in the late '50s and eventually impacted on society in the early '60s.

Without examining the validity of the data the Committee admitted to being made intensely aware of a new climate of crime and delinquency by the 'significant public warnings of judges and police chiefs'. It talked of 'bragging lawless teenagers (who hope) that their contemporaries will accept them as stronger than society'; and, at another point confirmed its underlying class and ideological perspective in saying, 'every teenager in congested areas knows of offences committed in the neighbourhood and not discovered. He hears them boasted about in public places. He knows that a life of crime rarely discovered is possible, and this shakes his faith in the order and dignity of the society in which he lives'.

The report, a rushed document ('we have . . . been meeting in conditions of unusual urgency and with a sense of working against time'), was a consensus document which was uncritically received due mainly to the fact that it recommended expansion and not contraction as many of those directly involved had feared. Completed in barely 12 months its main recommendations were accepted by the Minister in the House on the day of publication without even the most cursory public, professional or parliamentary debate. It is to be assumed, therefore, that one reason why the government was able to approve the report so quickly was because it saw Albemarle's recommendations as appropriate to enabling the Service to play an important role as an agency for the control of adolescent deviance.

Albeit in a more sophisticated form the 'received' ethos of the Youth Service was kept intact. It was again given the role of supplementing and compensating, during leisure time, for the tendency on the part of policing, schooling, welfaring and neighbourhood systems to produce deficiencies in the socialisation of young people and their incorporation into particular social, occupational and political places in society.

At the level of practice the 'association' prong of Albemarle's trident of 'association, training and challenge' was given most attention. Getting alongside young people became the main thrust of training with a view to making practice 'person-centred'. The appropriate skills identified for such person-centred work were group work and counselling and allied principles and attitudes. The development and educational value of person-centred work must be viewed as an important shift in youth work practice — less authoritarian, directive and prescriptive, more inductive and persuasive. But a preoccupation with developing and refining these professional skills during the 1960s led to the neglect of any examination and analysis of the constraints placed on maximising their use. Inadequate resources and broader economic and political issues all played a part. There was the developing contradiction of extending young people's state of dependence at the same time as they themselves increasingly aspired to adult status and were increasingly viewed by business and commerce as a significant section of consumer society. The public, and sponsors, continued to expect the Service to play a 'custodial, socialising, moralising and reformatory role' rather than an educational role.⁽¹⁰⁾ In varying degrees these constraints led to little evidence at the end of the decade of implementation of Albemarle's prompts towards the need for participation by young people as partners and they registered their view of the provision by 'voting with their feet'.

The 1970s: Milson-Fairbairn

The next decade was launched in Youth Service terms by the publication of the Milson-Fairbairn report on Youth and Community Work in the 1970s. This was prepared for a Labour government by a YSDC divided between those who mainly favoured a continuation of the policing and schooling role of the Service through informal education approaches, and those who favoured a change of direction and approach. It was received for consideration and decision by a Labour Minister but having been shelved for several months was eventually dealt with by the Conservative Government.

This report recognised the difficulties of the Service, not least in endeavouring to provide for separate age-groups and its uncertain relationship with schools and the wider community. It expressed the need for liaison with social services for young people at risk and in this respect was reinforced by the Children and Young Person's Act of 1969 which emphasised intermediate treatment including youth club membership and youth work type activities. It stated that the YSDC's overall priority was 'with helping those young people who have left school and who are socially deprived'.⁽¹¹⁾ Signs of such liaison, however, remain few and far between.

In terms of provision the report separated 'the younger teenage group' and 'the young adult'. The sub-committee concerned with the former, given the imminence of RoSLA and the chairmanship of Fairbairn, Director of Education for Leicestershire, opted for a mixture of provision much as in the past, the 'received dogma', but with schools playing an increasing role. 'We expect, therefore, in the long term, that much of such leisure provision will be made, if not within the school, in close association with it and its resources by the school itself and by voluntary organisations working within the school programme'. The basis for this view seems to be located in this committee's stated assumption in para. 184: 'As in youth organisations, schools are encouraging young people to create and be responsible for their own social and recreational affairs. These developments together with the concept and practice of pastoral care which is firmly established in the schools are making it possible for a wide range of personal relationships to evolve. With the extension of the school into the affairs of the community and the trend to link informal further education more closely with schools, many of these relationships will be able to continue beyond the stage of leaving school.' In para. 182 of the report the received ethos of Albemarle can be seen in the view that '... it is fundamental that the work with the younger group must increase the opportunities for experiences in two main areas — in addition to providing opportunity for formal education, cultural, recreational and social activities — first, opportunities for involvement and responsibility and second, opportunities for establishing satisfying relationships'.

The Milson part of the report on 'the young adult' offered a break with the past. It was based on a critique of the Albemarle perspective on the grounds that the report's neglect of the factors which restrict opportunities for young people to be active in their society, and to press claims for new rights and responsibilities, invalidated its claim to and chances of helping youth. The Milson committee's work can be seen to rest on a perspective of society in which alienation arises out of a deficiency of participation opportunities. This in turn led to a strategy for involving people in existing systems and institutions, with a view to their re-integration within society but not, it should be stressed, the transformation of these systems and institutions themselves. Like Albemarle, Milson-

Fairbairn contains many messages, some of them contradictory. The Milson section went far beyond the Albemarle 'trident' and Fairbairn approach. It saw the main role of the Service as providing education and experience for membership of 'the active society'. The task of the Service was to complement the role of the school in educating young people for this active, participating role. It stated its commitment thus: 'We are concerned to help young people to create their place in a changing society and it is their critical involvement in their community which is the goal'.⁽¹²⁾ However, the model for change towards the more open and democratic 'active society' which the report promoted failed to specify how community development was going to change national institutions in order to give young people a better life in society. It also failed to acknowledge that a strategy directed at the assumed needs of adults in communities neglects the specific needs of young people who are often the most powerless and alienated group.

Even so, the report was apparently sufficiently threatening to government for it to be given the coup de grace, along with the YSDC, in 1971 by the Secretary of State for Education. It also provoked a furore among some voluntary organisations because, they insisted, it '... decried the traditional idea that youth leaders should attempt to give any kind of lead to the young and argued that in any case clubs were no longer valid'. The report did not, in fact, do this although it did leave a number of loose ends and lack of clarity about the full-time worker's role as facilitator in community development with young people. This was one of the main shortcomings in the report and the policy vacuum left by the Secretary of State's rejection allowed organisations, particularly those in the voluntary sector, to carry on 'as before' but with a gradually reducing age group, which, they could claim, had been endorsed by the blurring of age boundaries recommended in the report.

Milson-Fairbairn in referring to the need for and importance of the counselling approach to work with young people said that 'the process is valuable in itself in developing the client's general capacity for decision making'. This outcome would seem to be an important if not the most important aim of education, yet agencies which provide a counselling service to young people remain neglected by the education service, having to obtain resources from whatever source proves to be sympathetic to their purpose and approach. At national level the DES has maintained its resistance to viewing youth counselling agencies as part of the education service and any funding is provided by the Voluntary Services Unit at the Home Office. In this way the report's recommendation in connection with the need for a substantial increase in counselling services has gone unheeded. In practice the main results of the report were organisational. 'On the one hand youth work became linked much more closely to schools, in part, it would seem, because these would supply not only additional facilities, but also a more coherent and controlling structure for practice with this fractious age group. On the other hand, the report led to a strengthening of the administrative links between youth work and more formal kinds of adult education. In part this had a similar rationale to that offered by the link-up with schooling. But it occurred, too, because a closer and earlier contact between young people and their elders would, it was believed, help close the so-called "generation gap", and in this way help towards the re-integration of the young'.⁽¹³⁾

Although the report emphasised that it was not talking about 'community provision' many local authorities immediately renamed their services as 'Youth and Community Service' and were quickly followed by similar changes in their titles by the professional associations and

the full-time training agencies. Rather than examine needed changes for practice in keeping with the main thrust of the report — youth in community, the main change in practice was to maximise use of Youth Service buildings through a 'cradle to grave service' resulting in neglect of its primary clientele. Such practice was less and less questioned following local government reorganisation in 1974, the emergence of corporate management and the beginning stages of the cuts in public expenditure. Whilst the report and its ideas consolidated the use of the term 'worker' rather than 'leader' at least in the statutory sector, the number of non-building-based community based youth workers barely increased.

The report also added political education to the role of the Service. In doing so it recognised the distinction between this and political indoctrination and that 'it is hard to distinguish always between politics and party politics'. It went on, 'yet whatever the difficulties the result is that we exclude from the educational process and from discussions across generations many moral issues. Politics is concerned with life and how people live together. We see the new Service providing many opportunities for young people to discuss matters of controversy and to share in the formation of public opinion. These opportunities will be even more important when, as we anticipate, the voting age is lowered to 18'.

In this context it also registered its concern that the political youth groups had so little contact with the Service. It summed up its concern by saying 'If our oft-repeated hope of the new Service — 'the critical involvement of young people in their society' — is to find any fulfilment then we (the Service) cannot be isolated from political issues nor from political youth groups, for in doing we would be avoiding some of the major issues of our time'.

It was left to an organisation which had emerged out of the 1967 YSDC report on community service, the Young Volunteer Force Foundation, to test the extent to which policy makers were in accord with the perspective and commitment of Youth and Community Work in the 70s. The outcome of that team's attempt to be critically involved is well documented and eventually led to it being replaced by a more research orientated organisation no longer specifically concerned with young people — the Community Projects Foundation. The 70s, especially since the Secretary of State added political education to the Service's social education role, is littered with cases where individuals were quickly made aware of the policy limits when they attempted to involve young people in community processes and politically educational experiences. This occurred even though implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, the apparent policy was that 'there is no policy'. Most of the models of such practice, though not specifically with young people, are to be found in the work done in communities, mainly by community workers employed by Social Services Departments, which has led to the setting up of community-based voluntary agencies. Ethnic minority groups have found that political engagement of this sort has been the only way, albeit with limited results, that they have been able to obtain resources for community-determined projects. However, as Gus John points out in his study of the political culture of youth and community work with black people in English cities, the short-term and non-local source of the funds (Urban Aid, Partnership Fund, Royal Jubilee Trusts) illuminates the limitations of the Milson-Fairbairn strategy in that it allows the overall structure to remain unchanged.

During the 70s, especially the second half, an increasing number of workers who have undertaken specialist youth and community work training and have been introduced to

perspectives for people work other than those so far used in official reports have opted to seek posts outside the Youth and Community Service. At the same time employers in the Service have increasingly chosen to appoint teacher-trained personnel. Alongside this, management accountability has become the more recent catchword but implicit in its use and application seems to be the taken-for-granted assumption that it is hierarchically upwards. Some specialist trained workers now argue that 'people work' only makes sense if and when the workers are accountable to the community they are serving. The suggestion is that there has been a growing divide between employers as functionaries of policy-makers, and the professionally trained workers and the training agencies through which they passed. However, there has been little sense of urgency on the part of DES to set up machinery to bring into the open these and many other issues to do with the training of full-time youth and community workers, and with the authority to resolve them.⁽¹⁴⁾

The decade between Albemarle and Milson-Fairbairn has been portrayed as one of movement from consensus, simplicity and confidence to dissension, complexity, confusion and doubt. The bureaucratic outcomes of local government reorganisation in 1974, the steady reduction in resources in real terms during the 70s allied to a gradual realisation of impotence in the face of worsening economic and social problems and the emergence of the MSC as a massively resourced state agency to deal with them, all served to restrict the Service to the Albemarle approaches. Working generally with a younger age group for the provision of social and recreational activities — mainly by workers trained to be neutral and politically uncritical — the Youth Service remained locked into a perspective based on a society long gone, and therefore it retained the assumption that leisure was an influential feature of life through which major personal and collective changes could be achieved.

As a result it failed to make any serious contribution or give a lead in diagnosis and co-ordination along the lines outlined in paras. 373-378 — 'A Social Relations Team' — in Milson-Fairbairn or in the 1975 DES Discussion Document, Provision for Youth. In this document the DES restated the Youth Service's primary role as an education service but highlighted an important secondary role in the diagnosis of the overall needs of young people in the community and the encouragement of a process of co-operation and co-ordination of youth and allied services to meet them. It concluded by saying: 'The two functions might be regarded as both complementary and disparate'. The debate, which could have led, with DES support, to the needed authority and credibility and resources to fulfil both roles, never got off the ground and was hardly encouraged. The document, it might be said, was the DES expressing its own and the Service's uncertainty rather than its confidence in the Service for whose sense of direction and support it has for so long been responsible.

The Immediate Past and Present

It should now be clear from this discussion that although many of their recommendations for practice are still valuable, some of the assumptions on which Albemarle and Milson-Fairbairn based their reports are clearly no longer valid. Problems of crisis proportions rooted in fundamental class, gender, and racial issues have led to young people being at the sharp end of the suffering, hopelessness and sense of despair being felt by an increasing number of people, and which those young people have done nothing to deserve.

Not only has the position of young people changed — the

response of policy-makers and decision-takers has changed also for they seem to be informed by a new set of dominant values no longer in the humanitarian and liberal tradition. Instead, economic values wedded to a 'new illiberalism' are becoming predominant and carrying with them new responses to youth. An unstated, unargued for, youth policy is emerging, implemented by non-educational agencies with massive and expanding resources which overshadow the diminishing resources available for the Youth Service. Youth work based on voluntarism and humanitarianism declines in the face of the expansion of agencies whose relationship to young people is organised more around coercion, compulsion and punishment. These new developments and the persistence of older issues give rise to a number of problem areas which need to be faced by the Service.

These problem areas can be grouped into three sets concerned with first, aspects of philosophy and policy; second, the relationship of mainstream youth work to other types of youth work interventions; and third, the availability of resources for the Service. These three areas can be examined in turn.

Philosophy and Policy

Within the area of philosophy and policy three issues emerge from the foregoing discussion. First, there is no systematic and unambiguous policy made explicit and laid down for the Service. This does not mean that there is no policy however, for it is clear that policy boundaries do exist but they can only be identified when they are transgressed. In these cases the transgressors are left in no doubt that they have stepped over the invisible line by the nature of the subsequent retributions. However, the fact that the line is invisible leaves the Service uncertain and confused and this leads directly to the other two issues. The second is that the Service is clearly and at times bitterly divided as to its purposes. The 'received dogma' of a universal leisure service with broad educational aims remains largely intact yet conflicts sharply with those who argue for a Service that meets the needs of groups of disadvantaged young people and clearly relates to the issues they face. The third issue, which also arises from the 'absence' of policy, surrounds the question of whose interests the Service represents. To the extent that it claims to represent the interests of the wider society then it must exert a controlling function over young people. If it stands four-square with young people representing their needs and defending their interests then it performs a liberating function encompassing social change and personal development — but for how long before it conflicts with other powerful groups with different interests? In reality the Service sits unhappily between the two camps and sometimes loses credibility with them both.

Mainstream and Other Youth Work

The second main problem area again connects to the 'policy problem', but at a different level, and concerns the relationship of mainstream provision to other types of youth work, the appropriate roles for youth workers, and the involvement of young people.

Project workers and other specialised workers exist within or closely allied to the Service. Detached work has established itself as an important element in the Youth Service in some areas. On other fronts, for example in political education, participation, work with ethnic minorities, or work with girls, the record is far from good. Counselling allied to information and advice giving is not fully recognised as a legitimate area for Youth Service involvement and the role of community development within

the Service remains obscure. If the Youth Service is to persist with the formula of clubs or centres being the 'backbone' of the Service supplemented by the employment of project workers, then the question of the relationship between the two and the impact that the second has on the first will need urgent attention. Whilst 'project work' can stimulate innovation and development it also invariably points to the deficiencies within the mainstream Service. However, it is often written off as the 'latest fad', perhaps because the resistance to change within the Youth Service is so entrenched and powerful that such issues can be dismissed as 'only the current bandwagon' ensuring the mainstream youth work remains untarnished.

Cutting across the question of mainstream and other provision is the problem of the division of roles between full-time and part-time workers. Currently the Service is staffed by approximately 300,000 paid or unpaid part-time staff and approximately 3,500 full-time youth workers. This reliance on part-time workers is clearly a major factor in the capacity of the Service to respond to the needs of young people. In parts of the country 'face-to-face' work with young people is in the main carried out by part-time staff. Now, and for a long time, a major part of the job of full-time staff has been to provide what might be called the 'infrastructure' within which part-time staff work. It can no longer be assumed that being a full-time youth worker automatically means working directly with young people, even though this may be their main motivation and preference. This, in turn, raises two questions about the role of full-time workers and the nature of training in the Youth Service.

Full-time workers are a scarce and valuable resource. They form the fulcrum around which either units of provision or a local Youth Service develops. For the Youth Service, either locally or nationally, to develop in ways which relate to the issues and problems that young people face at any one time, full-time workers in addition to the role outlined above need to extend their work into analysing and understanding the needs of the young people in each area, location or community. Without constant reference to 'the needs of young people' the Youth Service will quickly become both outdated and outmoded. The full-time worker's work cannot stop at this however. Preferred options about how to meet these needs and the gaining of resources that will be necessary to do so must also be directly informed by their opinion. Crucially however, the centrality and vital contribution to a local Youth Service that full-time workers can and should make is not universally recognised or accepted within the Youth Service hierarchies. Indeed there is evidence of distrust and lack of co-operation between full-time youth workers and officers within the Service.⁽¹⁵⁾

Following from this is the question of how closely is the training that is available to both full and part-time workers related to the roles they carry out? In the case of part-time workers criticism has been made elsewhere of the limited and dated nature of the training they receive, if indeed training opportunities exist at all. Yet the bulk of direct work with the young people in the Youth Service is carried out by them. It cannot be said too strongly that a curriculum that meets their needs as face-to-face workers on a scale commensurate with their contribution and numbers is urgently needed. With respect to full-time workers, the question can be asked: do the initial training agencies adequately prepare full-time workers for the role they play in supporting the face-to-face work of part-timers? The person-centred curriculum developed in the 1960s and including counselling, group work and relationship building, needs now to be supplemented by a curriculum which includes an emphasis on the managerial

and administrative skills associated with supporting non-professional staff, and the diagnostic skills associated with analysing and understanding the needs of the young people they serve.

The final issue under this second problem area concerns the role of young people. Currently it can only be presumed that for many young people the Service is an irrelevance, for the vast majority at any one time have little or no regular contact with it. This is particularly the case for 'older' teenagers about whom the Service claims to have a special understanding. In short, the Service as a whole may be more out of step with young people, particularly working class and black young people, than ever before. At the same time, the expanding role of the MSC, together with the development of what has been called youth work based on coercion, may signal the severest crisis of confidence that the Service has faced in Government and policy making circles for some time.

In addition the Service has failed to confront the issue of participation and control by young people. Proposals for increasing the control and influence that young people have over the Youth Service have reverberated around the Service since Albemarle at least. They are very familiar. The consistent failure of the Service as a whole to grasp this nettle has given calls for 'participation' a hollow ring. The case for increased control by young people is both well documented and well argued.

The lack of contact of young people with the Service and the failure of the Service to confront the issue of participation are both severe faults. What should be clear, however, is that *these two faults are not unconnected*. It is not only what the Youth Service offers or why it offers it, but also the way it is offered that is important, particularly to the older adolescents. It can be argued that the only certain way of ensuring that the Service remains relevant and attractive to young people on a scale much wider than at present, is to provide opportunities for young people to create it and ultimately control it. Following from that argument it is clear that an 'adult ordered' Youth Service 'sponsoring' provision for young people will always remain marginal to the vast majority of them.

Availability of Resources

The third main problem area for the Service concerns the availability of resources. The stuttering expansion of the resources the Service has had at its disposal, for example, an increase in full-time staff from 700 in 1957 to approximately 3,500 today, has come to a halt.⁽¹⁶⁾ The current widespread cuts in public expenditure, however, should not be used to mask the continuing marginality of the Service within the Education Service as a whole and its consequent failure to attract sufficient resources.⁽¹⁷⁾

The continuing marginality of the Service has been confirmed by its restriction to 0.8% of the total local authority budget for education. Viewed slightly differently in 1978/9 the English authorities spent an average of £10.44 for each young person aged 14 to 20 years. In other words, the Youth Service spent 20 pence a week for each of its potential clients. Even this, however, conceals the meagreness of much provision for there is considerable variation between different local authorities. The lowest spending authority spent £2.56 for each young person which was one fourteenth of that spent by the highest spending authority. It is not clear how a coherent Youth Service can be provided in the face of variations of this nature.

Notwithstanding the limited resources available to the

Service it is clear that over a number of years the Service has seen these resources progressively cut back. Over the years 1976-7 to 1979-80 there was a 17% reduction in Youth Service staff and this was accompanied by a long-term decline in real expenditure. More recently the pace has quickened with planned cuts of around seven per cent for the years 1980 and 1981. The effect of these cuts has been to increase the disparities in Youth Service provision in different parts of the country.

As a non-mandatory service the Youth Service is particularly vulnerable to cuts at the local level. Even though central government public expenditure targets for local authorities assume no reduction in Youth Service funding there is, in fact, no way in which central government can ensure that Youth Service funding is maintained. So a pattern emerges in which Youth Service educational funding declines at the same time as funding for non-Youth Service provision such as IT increases, and non-educational financiers such as MSC or Urban Aid replace the traditional educational providers of resources. Both of these developments threaten to undermine the essential educational basis of the Service.

The straight-forward question of the scale of resources is a most important question but by no means the only one. It is also necessary to consider the ways in which the Service uses the resources it has at its disposal. In this respect it is necessary to look briefly at management, accountability and evaluation in the Youth Service.

Management, Accountability and Evaluation

The importance of the management role in the Youth Service is now being highlighted, particularly within voluntary organisations where the greatest challenges lie. Handy's report on effectiveness in voluntary organisations, NAYC's three year investigation of management in detached youth work, NCVO's management training seminars, and NYB's Management and Resources Project are evidence of that.

Although many management issues face the Youth Service, four can be identified as posing particular problems. First, in a field in which response to need is a primary concern there is a resource-management problem when those needs are not clearly defined and in a constant state of flux. Second, where individual autonomy is necessary to allow creative and rapid responses, the procedures of staff development involving supervision and performance appraisal can be difficult and appear as threatening. Third, there is considerable management tension between responding to local needs with the involvement of the community, and tendencies for staff domination in agencies coupled with decreasing management committee involvement and influence. Finally, funding agencies through the sheer weight of their funds can dictate the priorities of operating agencies which may well be attempting to be responsive to local needs.

Although changes are conditional upon changes in attitude, especially among those at the top, it is possible to identify areas for development which would go some way towards clarifying and easing some of the management problems outlined above. The starting point must be the area of agency philosophy, aims and objectives. The lack of clarity in this area leads to a confused perspective on community issues, uncertainty over priorities, vague job descriptions and wavering staff commitment. These, in turn, lead to a neglect of staff welfare, supervision and appraisal.

The second area for development must be in the

relationship of community, committees, staff and agencies. Within this area, committees are often not representative or are undeveloped, the involvement of the community is often restricted or non-existent and consequently there is little devolution of decision-making to local groups.

Finally, the maintenance of agency resources is an increasingly pressing task yet many workers lack the necessary skills or knowledge to carry out this work. Uncertainties and disputes over finance undermine the development of effective management structures.

Attention to these areas should lead to management in the Youth Service becoming more effective than it is, though it must be recognised that developments in one direction can create tensions in another. For management to be truly effective, this process of tension-displacement must be taken into account. In addition, though, there is a further area closely connected to management and accountability on which the Youth Service is notoriously weak and this is evaluation.

Notwithstanding the problems inherent in the evaluation of youth work it is probably true to say that the Youth Service to date has paid little attention to questions of evaluation.⁽¹⁸⁾ In consequence it now finds itself somewhat embarrassed, to say the least, when called upon to justify its expenditure and its provision. Yet this is increasingly happening as finance becomes tighter and the competition for resources heats up.

As a result of these developments the Service is now interested in evaluation but, of course, lacks the techniques, the materials, and the knowledge to carry it out. There is confusion between the evaluation of the Service, the unit and the individual and no clear understanding of the different approaches which can be employed.

In a situation such as this it is difficult to see how systems of evaluation can be developed, disseminated and implemented without the resources to create and develop the tools, disseminate them to the field and institute a system of training to ensure that the techniques become operational.

Allied and Alternative Youth Work

Local Projects

Since the early 1960s there has been a rapid expansion of local projects aiming to meet the urgent needs of special sections of the youth constituency. Most of these local projects have received funds from local education authorities, and often their workers have distinguished themselves from the mainstream youth service; most of them are independent charities.

Youth Counselling, Advisory and Information Services

Youth counselling and advisory services were started to supplement inadequate provision, and to reflect changed perceptions of need in two main areas: psychiatric and social services and youth and community services. Over the last 20 years, particularly in the last ten years, there has been an increase in the number of services, although there are still only 50 in Britain, mostly in England and with half of those in London. Over this period counselling services have also developed for specific problems requiring specialist practical help, particularly contraception, pregnancy and abortion, accommodation and drugs including alcohol.

Historically general youth counselling and advisory services emerged with one or two orientations. Either they drew on a rather pure notion of therapeutic and remedial counselling, developing centres very much on the model of Marriage Guidance Centres. Such an approach emphasised centre-based, appointment-based counselling, and eschewed information and practical advice. Or they were very much centres for young people which emphasised easy accessibility, informality, commitment to young people and provided both emotional support and dealt with practical problems. They also became involved in advocacy and representation but such centres knew little of counselling theory.

Over time the two main orientations referred to above have merged so that most successful youth counselling and advisory services embrace a range of counselling, support, information and advice work emphasising informality, accessibility and availability. They also emphasise the need for training, support and supervision for workers and the need to be integrated into a network of youth provision, including both Youth Services and health and social services.

Counselling and advisory services now also develop areas of work such as support and training for the counselling and advisory part of other youth work and social work; education and training for their users; provide accommodation; hold creative workshops; take action to influence community provision on the basis of what is learnt from individual and group work; produce information for local young people and provide day centre facilities for the young unemployed or mentally ill.

The agencies deliver these services from specialist centres, from bases in other agencies, through outreach and detached work, and in collaboration with other agencies. The 50 agencies saw over 30,000 young people for the first time in 1980 using 100 full-time workers, 150 part-time and 500 volunteers.

A number of agencies are part of the local Youth and Community Service, some are almost totally funded by the LEA Youth Service, often with seconded staff, whilst others are partnerships between youth, social and health services, formed into independent 'voluntary' organisations. Most services now have at least some financial support from the local Youth and Community Service and that Service is now always at the forefront of proposals for new agencies.

Community Involvement by Young People

Work which enables or encourages young people to become involved in their communities has only recently been officially recognised as part of youth work provision and as having a strong element of social education. This work has its origins in the voluntary community service boom of the 60s and early 70s. At a national level this was seen in the development of Voluntary Service Overseas (1958), Community Service Volunteers (1962), and the Young Volunteer Force Foundation (1967) and it was given added impetus by the raising of the school leaving age in 1973. Its main characteristic, however, has been that it has largely developed from strong local roots. During the period 1963-1973 some 150 local organisations were founded in the UK, all of them voluntary or independent. This figure has not declined significantly in England where 101 exist now, but there has been some change in composition as agencies have ceased and others, in other areas, have replaced them. These processes of replacement and the increase in the educational side of this work have led to the situation where, although earlier

almost all agencies or projects contained the words 'volunteers' or 'voluntary' in their title, only 12 now do so with the rest preferring such titles as 'Youth Action'.

Originally the emphasis was on involving young people in basic community service tasks, often through the simple administrative machinery of a clearing house. Little of what could be called youth work or social education took place. This is reflected in the staffing of the earlier projects by young and very inexperienced staff who were seen to be getting as much out of their short tenure as giving to it, and in the salaries or allowances paid to them. At this time most organisations operated on very small resources.

The breakthrough on resources and salaries came with the creation of YVFF's local centres and offices, and with the creation of the National Working Party of Young Volunteer Organisers which brought together local workers to seek better resources and greater recognition and which enabled comparisons to be made and information to be shared. The NWPYVO's success in obtaining the Young Volunteer Resources Unit in 1974 marked the official recognition, at national level, of the value of this local work.

Since 1973 several moves away from basic community service towards a social education base have taken place. Some of these have been prompted by the use of community service as containment, distraction, or reparation/punishment, changes which have forced local workers to examine not only their values and philosophies but also their practice. In a number of areas the development of community involvement drew on the experiences of discrete social education projects, such as that of YVFF in Watford or of the Schools' Council in Nottingham. In some areas, the statutory Youth and Community Service identified community involvement as part of youth provision and either supported the voluntary agencies or made their own specific appointments.

Around this time many agencies realised that the short-term appointments they were making were not really successful; they lacked continuity, programmes changed from year to year, and workers were too inexperienced to deal with some of the more complex issues and projects. In consequence longer term appointments began to be made. For the first time, specific in-service training also became available through regional events, consultations, seminars and two residential courses sponsored by YVRU. In this way specific projects, training, other uses of community service and the appointment of longer term staff often with appropriate qualifications combined to create an atmosphere in which the development of philosophy and practice could take place.

Resources for this type of work are scarce. A recent survey in March 1981 covering 50% of agencies and projects in England, revealed an average salary of just £5,300. Although the number of projects had not declined significantly, many had been forced to reduce staff and spend extra time in fund raising. Some projects had benefited from the creation of the Queen's Silver Jubilee Trust but its criteria do not include staff salaries which are the main expenditure in this work. Even those projects within the statutory service suffer a lack of main resources and in some cases lack even transport or a meeting place. Funding for community involvement comes from an extremely wide range of sources. Urban Aid, MSC, Health Authorities, Social Services Departments, Education Departments, Trusts and other fund raising all contribute and very often to the same project. This multiplicity of funding, although having benefits for the projects'

independence, also creates vulnerability when total budgets are small.

There is no specific initial training for community involvement work. Youth and community work training is seen as appropriate, for example, but the worker will need in-service education about aspects of the community in which the young people are involved. Only recently have in-service opportunities been developed for specialist workers. There is little evidence of any community involvement content in teacher training establishments or social work training and only recently have a few youth and community work courses developed some work on this, in co-operation with YVRU.

Characteristically, therefore, community involvement can be seen as a nation-wide development but initiated largely from local bases. The emphasis is on a flexibility of response to the continually changing circumstances of both young people and the local community, and this flexibility is essential as processes of change continue apace.

Community involvement workers can often be in a unique position in relation to other providers. They work with other youth workers, teachers, social workers, health workers, planning officers, probation officers and officers in voluntary organisations as well as self-help and neighbourhood groups and other voluntary bodies. This is essential if community involvement work is to be effective and young people adequately supported.

Campaigning Organisations and Minority Cultural Organisations

During the 1960s several new pressure groups became prominent and were successful in mobilising large numbers of young people in local and national campaigning; the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Oxfam, Shelter and Mind being conspicuous among the pioneers. By the late 1960s these campaigning organisations were followed by special projects aimed at young people; holiday schemes, young volunteer work, social enquiries and school-based informal education projects are examples. The success of such youth work ventures, which was attributed to their appeal to local young people and adult leaders as well as imaginative school initiation, encouraged a second generation of campaigning bodies to direct resources into fund raising, voluntary service and educational work with young people from their inception. This second generation of agencies includes: Help the Aged, the National Association for the Care & Resettlement of Offenders, Friends of the Earth and the Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless.

Finally, a large and diffuse constituency of youth work and youth politics has recently developed amongst minority ethnic and cultural groupings. Initiatives for the protection and advancement of ethnic minorities' interests have been mainly based on local initiatives and organisations and incorporate many self-help centres and projects in most of the main inner city areas.

Related Youth Provision

The Youth Service is only responsible for a relatively small percentage of total youth provision; related provision now occurs in schools, further education, careers, education welfare, social services, probation services, leisure and recreation services, community work, police, MSC and commercial organisations, and minimally in health and housing. The most notable government funded growth areas in the last decade have been the youth programmes funded by the Manpower Services Commission and

intermediate treatment funded by local social services departments.

Although some provision and services may seem similar to those provided by the Youth Service there are often important differences in aims and philosophy, the content, of the processes and methods employed. For example, community service can be part of the curriculum, an order of punishment by the courts, work experience on YOP, or a voluntary leisure time activity. In addition the nature of the relationship of adult workers to young people may differ as may the context in which the learning or activity takes place. Related provision in some cases is complementary although it may be competitive or duplicative. In most cases provision and services lack co-ordination, particularly where different departments are involved. What is important to understand, though, is that Youth Service provision exists alongside many other types of youth provision and, in some way, interacts with all of them. For this reason it is useful to summarise some of the most important aspects of non-Youth Service provision for young people.

Within the field of education, schools in varying degrees undertake activities and responsibilities concerned with the personal and social development of young people. These include pastoral care, counselling, vocational guidance, leisure and recreation activities, links with home and industry, residential experience, humanities, social and environmental studies, moral and religious education, and community service. Some schools have youth wings and youth tutors or other staff who combine formal teaching responsibilities with youth work responsibilities inside and outside school hours. In addition to formal teaching staff, education welfare officers have contacts with both schools and the homes of young people. Beyond school many colleges of further education are currently undertaking non-vocational courses, liberal studies and, more recently, social and life skill programmes. Many, of course, are providing a wider range of leisure and recreational opportunities. For those young people able to gain places, universities and polytechnics have achieved very high standards of social provision for students. Grants and a guaranteed income are further privileges for advanced students and there is a current debate about whether these should be extended to all young people.

Linking school and the labour market the Careers Service traditionally assists young people to find jobs and provides careers counselling and vocational guidance. As jobs have become less available, the Careers Service has been increasingly drawn into recruitment and placement for the MSC Special Programmes. The majority of MSC funding for its Special Programmes is allocated to work experience on employer's premises and young people's allowances. Community service projects and training workshops do, however, play a significant part in all programmes, and although at present only 25% of young people on YOP receive education and training this percentage is planned to increase. Non-institution based learning and experience currently receives varying degrees of support from within MSC with most of it being undertaken by youth work personnel.

Outside of school and work the social services, probation services, and the police have important links with young people. For the social service departments the increase in expenditure on intermediate treatment programmes by local authorities during the last five years is in sharp contrast to reductions of expenditure on the Youth Service. Intermediate treatment is meant to promote a shift from custodial care to community based provision. Incorporated within the programmes are individual and group

counselling, day centre learning programmes, social, leisure and recreational activities and residential experience. Many of these require youth work skills and expertise. On the other hand, the links of the probation service with young people have declined. Prior to the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 the probation service had considerable skills and expertise in dealing with youngsters with difficulties. They still have responsibility for young offenders over the age of 17 and in some areas the probation service still has responsibility for young offenders in the 14-17 age group. The probation service is responsible for supervising Community Service Orders for young people aged 17 and over and the recent Government White Paper has recommended this being extended to include 16 year olds. The probation service undertakes individual counselling, arranges befriending schemes and organises residential experiences. In contrast, the links of the police with young people are quite different. Their main responsibility lies in the prevention and detection of crime but a more extended contact can occur within juvenile liaison bureaux or through community relations schemes.

In the field of health care the provision of specialised services for adolescents by health authorities is fairly minimal. Many youngsters experiencing emotional, psychological or mental disturbances are in contact with local GPs or with hospital psychiatric services but there is little in the way of specialised provision skilled at dealing with young people's health problems. Similarly, although housing authorities are now aware of the increasing actual and potential demand for accommodation by young people, particularly for single person accommodation, in most localities only the most obvious hardship cases are dealt with and in many areas even these are not satisfactory. Single person accommodation remains a low priority for most local authorities.

For their leisure and recreation some young people have available a wide range of local authority and commercial provision as well as various adult clubs and organisations. Although these have expanded considerably over the last decade or so, financial constraints are making it increasingly difficult for young people to participate. This is less true of the clubs and organisations and, in those where young people are welcome, they often develop lasting interests and friendships.

This brief résumé of other provision is little more than a list of other services. Yet it is important as a reminder of the fact that the Youth Service does exist alongside them, may compete against them, and certainly needs to co-ordinate with them.

National and Local Co-ordination of Services

Coherent youth policies and resource allocation at central government level have been non-existent for two major reasons. First, the division of responsibilities between government departments with no effective mechanisms for inter-departmental co-ordination; second, two of the key departments concerned, namely the Department of Education and Science and the Department of Health and Social Security avoid responsibility in many instances in the name of local authority autonomy.

Within the Youth Service at a national level the Youth Service Forum had one redeeming feature during its short life — namely that of establishing a degree of trust and mutual co-operation between representatives of national youth organisations. Lack of resources or an effective secretariat were the major reasons for its inability to be

much more than a talking shop. The Youth Service Partners⁽¹⁹⁾ which has developed in its wake now ensures regular liaison between the major partners and provides a basis for joint action. It, however, relies entirely on its member organisations for servicing and follow-up and it has no established channels of communication with government departments. The Youth Affairs lobby with the same membership provides a political focus for issues affecting young people and, partly through the direct involvement of young people, has increased the commitment and support to youth affairs of many parliamentarians. It relies on part-time servicing by the British Youth Council but is not geared to pursue effective strategies for policy development or legislative change.

The three organisations with specific responsibility for co-ordination at national level — namely the British Youth Council, the National Council for Voluntary Youth Services and the National Youth Bureau are now much clearer about their respective roles and priorities, and work in close co-operation with each other. The networks which they exist to support and develop are still weak, particularly at local and regional levels. Their individual and collective ability to establish, develop and promote good practice and to formulate sound policies from experience and practice still needs to be improved considerably.

At a local level the structures for effective liaison, co-operation and co-ordination are weak and patchy. Inter-departmental co-ordination on youth affairs rarely exists; youth sub-committees exist in many areas, but normally have a narrow remit and little influence. Youth councils or forums are still few and far between, less than 30 are reasonably well-established, and local Councils of Voluntary Youth Service, where they exist, often become talking shops and only rarely lead to an improvement in services and provision.

The relationship between statutory and voluntary youth organisations has improved in recent years but a great deal of mistrust still exists. Lack of clarity and lack of understanding of each other's objectives and priorities undermine the effectiveness of the partnership in many local areas. In fact, whether at a local or a national level, it is clear that co-ordination, whether within the Youth Service or between the Youth Service and other services, is often largely undeveloped and this works to the detriment of provision to young people as a whole.

1 For further details and discussion of some of these points see DES, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*, HMSO, 1969, especially pp 65-68.

2 Board of Education, Circular 1486, *In The Service of Youth*, 1939.

3 See Chapter 2 of the Albemarle Report: *The Youth Service in England and Wales*, HMSO, 1960.

4 Ministry of Education, *The Youth Service in England and Wales*, HMSO, 1960.

5 See Ministry of Education, *The Training of Part-Time Leaders and Assistants*, HMSO, 1962; DES, *A Second Report on the Training of Part-Time Youth Leaders and Assistants*, HMSO, 1965.

6 Butters, S. and Newell, S., *Realities of Training*, NYB, 1978.

7 The prevarication of Albemarle was not matched by the Latey Committee, which took the view that young people had a sufficient sense of adult responsibility to be allowed to vote at 18.

8 DES, *Immigrants and the Youth Service*, HMSO, 1967.

9 Bone, M. and Ross, E., *The Youth Service and Similar Provision for Young People*, HMSO, 1967.

10 DES, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*, HMSO, 1969, p72.

11 *Op. Cit.*, p127.

12 *Op. Cit.*, p55. This could be seen as one of the three most pertinent paragraphs of that report for the present review 13 years later. See especially paras 152, 153 and 154.

- 13 See Davies, B., 'Policies and Priorities in Youth and Community Work: a Review of Two Decades', in Booton, F. and Dearling, A. (Eds), *The 1980s and Beyond*, NYB, 1980, p10.
- 14 See Holmes, J., *Professionalisation — A Misleading Myth?*, NYB, 1981. See also the submission to the present review of the Consultative Group on Youth and Community Work Training.
- 15 Holmes, J., *Op. Cit.*
- 16 The McNair Committee in 1944 saw the need for a minimum of between 5,000 and 6,000 full-time trained workers.
- 17 For the original reports on which this discussion of resources is based see *Local Authority Expenditure and the Youth Service 1975-1980: a short review*, NYB, 1979; *Local Authority Expenditure and the Youth Service 1979/80-1980/81*, NYB, 1980.
- 18 A recent survey of LEAs carried out by NYB as part of a process of advance planning of work on evaluation has revealed that, of the 81 authorities which have replied to date, 52.5% neither have nor have plans to implement systems of evaluation. How advanced the methods used by the other 47.5% are is not known. All the authorities wished to be kept informed of further work on evaluation.
- 19 An informal gathering of BYC, CYSA, NAYCEO, NCVYS, NYA and NYB.
-