

Power and Competence in Professional Education:
A Study of Youth Workers

A thesis submitted towards the examination of Doctor of Philosophy

by

Simon Bradford

School of Education, Brunel University

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Abstract

This thesis explores shifting ideas of youth work, and the changing notions of professional competence that have shaped it since its emergence at the end of the last century. It begins by discussing Foucault's distinctive conception of power. This analysis is applied later in the thesis to youth work itself and to its forms of professional education and training. It is argued that modern professional practices illustrate the changing nature of disciplinary techniques in modern societies. These techniques are employed to discipline both professions themselves (by 'normalising' professional practices), and their client groups, and are also part of the contemporary problem of 'government'. Indeed, it is argued that models of professional education reflect the historically changing rationales on which British society has been organised and managed. The thesis identifies three phases of this: 'emergent welfarism', 'social government' or 'welfarism' and 'neo-liberalism'.

Drawing on a range of historical sources, a number of changing assumptions about young people in the context of youth work are identified, such as their characterisation as an inherently and naturally problematic social category. The 'discourse of adolescence' which draws on a range of knowledges about young people (from scientific to moral) is seen as providing a powerful justification for the expansion of youth work over the last hundred years or so. The youth worker's modern role in managing groups, offering counselling and acting as a 'broker' of social and moral knowledge is discussed. The progressive development of the professional education and training of youth workers since the 1930s is examined together with its curriculum content and the techniques and practices through which youth workers have been socialised into their occupational roles. After the initial tendency towards leadership training through apprenticeship, the professional model became organised on 'technical-rational' principles, with various 'techniques of the self' by which youth workers became disciplined into their professional identities (for example by 'surveillance' and 'confession'). Focus is given to the paradigmatic development and deployment of such techniques at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders in the 1960s.

The thesis concludes with an analysis of the intense criticism to which professional education and training in youth work has been subjected in the last decade, including the separation of theory and practice, unclear curricula, academic and professional elitism, and the marginalisation of learners' experience. The 'discourse of competency' is identified as being important in shaping current approaches to professional education and training in youth

work. Finally, it is suggested that the emergent model of professional education is, ironically, characterised by an increasingly intense and invasive application of the techniques of disciplinary power identified earlier in the thesis. Competency practices we suggest facilitate the attempt to govern professionals and professional practice.

The thesis is broadly structured in four parts, and in the following way:

Chapter 1 provides a broad introduction and context for the thesis.

In Part One, Chapter 2 discusses Foucault's concept of power which informs the thesis.

In Part Two, Chapter 3 discusses the managerial and disciplinary functions of the human service professions, providing a context for the subsequent analysis of youth work. Chapter 4 goes on to identify models of professional education in their political and social contexts and concludes with a discussion of the 'competency model'.

In Part Three, Chapters 5 and 6 explore the distinctive contribution which youth work has made to the regulation and disciplining of young people. In these chapters links are made between broad political objectives and the evolving knowledge and practices of youth workers.

In Part Four, Chapter 7 identifies the earliest attempts to identify and enhance competence through the training and education of youth workers. Chapter 8 explores youth work training in the 1960s and 1970s, identifying the essentially humanistic discourse which subsequently dominated youth work and the training of youth workers. In the context of political shifts beginning in the 1970s, Chapter 9 analyses the emergence of a 'discourse of competency' in youth work, and its challenge to the prevailing humanistic orthodoxy which characterised the professional education and training of youth workers.

Finally, Chapter 11 draws general and particular conclusions to the thesis.

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Chapter One An Introduction:

Setting the scene

This thesis aims to explore the development of professional competence in youth work. The research on which it is based started with interests in what seemed to be two distinct and separate areas. The first came from a continuing fascination with the concepts of power and ideology which had been generated by an earlier piece of work (Bradford, 1988).

Second, as an academic involved in the professional education of youth workers, I had been reflecting on some of the recent changes taking place in this field. My work with novice professionals has focused on encouraging them to become 'critical practitioners', constantly checking their ideas and the assumptions that underlie their analyses of the situations they confront in their practice. To do this, they need to be clear of where they stand in relation to a range of often difficult moral issues. They must learn to be sensitive to the ways in which their own values shape their responses to circumstances arising in their professional work. This implies an approach to professional education which is concerned with developing the whole person, as much as it is with 'training' him¹ to undertake specific activities in the work-place. Thus, my work has been concerned with enabling students to develop and understand principles to guide their work, rather than simply routinely applying information or procedures in given situations.²

This paradigm has come under attack from an increasingly influential model of professional education (in my view more appropriately regarded as 'training') which derives from the 'competency' approach. This approach focuses almost exclusively on 'performance', rather than on the knowledge or understanding which informs practice. In this model,

¹ For convenience, the male pronoun is used throughout the thesis.

² In this, it mirrors my view of youth work as an informal but fundamentally 'educational practice' whose outcomes cannot be predicted in advance (Carr, 1987, p.173).

competence is defined normatively in terms of a repertoire of atomised statements of performance criteria or ‘competencies’ which in aggregated form are claimed to constitute competence. This reductionist perspective contrasts markedly with my own assumptions about professional education. On reflection it appeared to be little more than a means of regulating the learner and the content of learning by marking out the exact expectations of the learner in performance terms.

In thinking about this as a possible focus for a thesis questions about power emerged. If these practices were as regulatory as they seemed, how could power ‘work’ to do this? Given that competency was so often framed in progressive ‘learner friendly’ terms, what kind of power was able to encourage learners in this without *apparently* forcing or pushing them in particular directions? And, if power was present in competency-based approaches, was it also present in my own (and others’) ‘orthodox’ practices of professional education?

It was at this point that my interest in the work of Foucault seemed to have a bearing on the substantive issue of professional competence. Attempts to foster professional competence in youth work through initial professional education and training might be seen as examples of what Foucault refers to as ‘disciplinary’ power. This is a ‘productive’ power which works through practices of surveillance, observing and analysing individuals and encouraging them to change and modify themselves according to particular norms. Perhaps the individual construction of competence - through the acquisition of a repertoire of specific ‘competencies’ - could be seen in this way? This approach to power seemed to offer a rich resource which could be used to explore professional training and education.

In the thesis the construction of competence in the context of practices of power is explored. Questions are asked about how power works through professional education and training to shape the conduct of the novice, to form a professional who is subject to “... an

authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him, and which he must allow to function automatically in him” (Foucault, 1977, p.129). The various means by which disciplinary power is intended to work on the ‘self’ of the novice professional in his own construction of a professional identity are explored in the context of youth work’s history and in accordance with its shifting objectives. The research examines how the technical means of achieving individual competence appear to have entailed the ever more complex and invasive exercise of power often subjecting individual learners to intensifying surveillance. Following Foucault, connections are made between the techniques designed to shape individuals’ professional identity and their links to wider strategies of managing complex modern societies. These strategies constitute the practices of ‘government’. It is suggested that as the human service professionals (like youth workers) have become involved in managing (‘governing’) various sectors of modern populations (on the basis of acknowledged and accredited expertise), so have political authorities decided that professional groups themselves need to be managed (‘governed’). Their initial training and education - which provides the principal focus in this thesis - is one important aspect of this.

Competence and competency in context: ‘why competency and why now’?

The emergence of ‘competence’ on the contemporary education and training agenda is complex. It is briefly examined here and links are made with the particular significance of competence in the context of professional education and training for youth work. However, before proceeding with that discussion some schematic observations are made about the nature of competence itself. Although the thesis is not concerned as such with defining the competence required in youth work in any normative sense, or the most effective ways of acquiring it, three initial points are made about competence. These indicate something of the underlying position taken in this thesis. First a distinction must be made between

'competence' and 'performance'. In this context, the term competence refers to the underlying 'deep structure' of understanding which has the potential to generate (competent) performance. Second, competence in any cultural setting must relate to an individual's capacity to deal with 'uncertainty'. As Jaques puts it, work is "... concerned with doing what you do not know for sure" (Jaques, 1976, p.119). Work settings defined within 'professional' domains are especially characterised by high levels of uncertainty and indeterminacy (in terms of 'need' for example). Professional competence is realised in the nature of the (tacit) discretion exercised (often in conjunction with others, or in relation to socially defined boundaries) in such circumstances. Third, competence cannot be divorced from its social and cultural setting. Its definition and realisation (for example in terms of the exercise of discretion) is located in the values, shared representations, relations and practices which structure institutional life. Thus competence is connected with 'membership' of a specific culture.³ This implies that abstracting occupational competence (or indeed any other kind of competence for that matter) as a commodity from its institutional and cultural setting is deeply problematic. Arguably, suffering a deep sociological amnesia advocates of a particularly parsimonious conception of 'competency' appear to want to do just that at the present time.⁴ These points are discussed later.

The current preoccupation with competence emerges specifically in the context of recent economic and social changes in Britain. These are well documented. They include a

³ As Jones and Moore put it, "... competence is not granted on the basis of measurements against behavioural performance indicators, but through assimilation to the implicit principles and expectations of group culture" (1996, p.90).

⁴ In this thesis the term 'competency' is used to designate the narrow, technical and abstract conception of fragmented units of knowledge, skill, attitude and understanding which are tied to the performance of specific work activities. This conception underpins a set of arguments, justifications and practices - a 'discourse of competency' - which has come to construct particular views of what counts as a 'competent' individual, informing the development of an apparatus of training and education and its constituent practices and techniques. This use of the term competency contrasts with the sense referred to above. .

restructured international division of labour, the transformation of 'Fordist' labour processes, 'de-industrialisation' and the shift to a 'service-based' economy, the 'flexibilisation' of the labour force and the need for 'reskilling' (e.g. Braverman, 1974, Allen and Massey, 1988, Abercrombie and Warde et al, 1994). In the context of British economic decline a conjunction of three factors has fostered 'vocationalist' discourse - in which competence assumes a high profile - in education and training (Walford, Purvis and Pollard, 1988, p.6). First, high unemployment amongst young people ironically precipitated increased emphasis on vocational preparation in schools. Much of this focused on work performance and attitudes to work in the transition into the labour market. Second, diminishing confidence in the education system as an apparatus for achieving economic progress was expressed variously in critiques of schooling and teaching, deriving from Callaghan's 1976 Ruskin Speech, Arnold Weinstock and John Methven's TES articles (Weinstock, 1976, Methven, 1976) and the 'Black Papers' (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1981). Third, from the mid 1970s government policy interlaced the labour market management work of the Manpower Services Commission (and its successors) with 'mainstream' education practice. This was exemplified in the Youth Opportunities Programme (and its successors). These three factors intensified recurrent debates (inevitably heightened at times of economic decline) about education's purpose. Educational instrumentalism as a response to changing economic circumstances has predominated since the late 1970s. It has informed the adoption of increasingly technical and mechanistic means of managing education and training both nationally and at the level of the individual learner. Narratives of 'education for economic reconstruction' and 'skills for national prosperity' are embodied in the specification of 'targets' for levels of individual and national competence (Employment Department 1993, National Advisory Council for Education and Training Targets, 1994). Their achievement is

grounded in a variety of apparently new educational practices and techniques including those associated with 'competency'.⁵ In the context of a managed national labour market strategy they are designed to cultivate the development of individual work capacity.

The emergence of the National Council For Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ) signalled the systematisation of nationally recognised "standards" of competence in all occupational sectors, including those regarded as 'professional'. The establishment of a "... National Vocational Qualification (NVQ) framework which is comprehensible and comprehensive and facilitates access, progression and continued learning" (Hyland, 1994, p.6) is the intended outcome of this. As Hyland points out, NCVQ does not award qualifications but accredits qualifications awarded by other institutions (City and Guilds, Royal Society of Arts and in principle the Universities). In effect, the NCVQ 'polices' the boundaries of qualifications (and thus competence) to ensure that the needs of employers are met. The expansion of NCVQ-inspired 'occupational standards' into domains of 'professional' work appears to be part of the inexorable colonisation of the entire labour market by the discourse of competency: a kind of 'creeping rationalism'. However, its success in this is also significant in relation to the wider political critique of the professions which has grown over the last twenty years or so. The human service professions have been characterised by the political right as unaccountable, self-interested and monopolistic, a drain on the exchequer, residually socialist, shaped by a range of 'isms' which come to dominate their practice, and responsible in part for the creation of the so-called 'dependency culture' which has allegedly sapped the nation's moral fibre (Johnson, 1991, p.109, Clarke and

⁵Although the notion of 'competency' is presented by its advocates as being new, it is pre-figured in the United States in the 'behavioural objectives' work of the 1930s, and 'competency-based' teacher education in the 1970s (Johnson, 1984, Hyland, 1994, p.2). There are marked parallels between the underlying rationality of these approaches and that of competency.

Newman, 1997, p.15).⁶ In the context of this critique, competency-based approaches to professional education offer considerable promise in disciplining professionals and those responsible for their professional education and training,⁷ not least by ensuring that the ‘employers agenda’ is kept to the fore (Dominelli, 1996, p.169).

The discourse of competency and youth work

In the last decade there have been a number of political attempts to encourage the youth work constituency to identify the specific objectives and ‘outcomes’ of youth work (Howarth, 1989, Forman, 1992). Howarth, who was a minister in the Thatcher administration, asked for these in terms of the “core competencies” which young people require in their successful transition to adulthood. Since the early 1990s, local authorities have been encouraged to develop ‘core curricula’ for youth work, the National Youth Agency has defined a national ‘statement of purpose’ for youth work, and OFSTED has published guidelines for the inspection of youth work (OFSTED, 1994, OFSTED, 1997). Ostensibly, these initiatives are designed to render youth work less ambiguous than hitherto, more transparent and amenable to managerialist accountability systems which have accompanied the demand for ‘value for money’ in public services during the last decade. According to some analysts, the (inevitable) ambiguity and contradictions of youth work are especially acute in education and training for youth work (Bainbridge, 1988, Department of Education and Science, 1990). Thus, the move towards competency in this context might be seen as a tactic in the attempt to discipline youth work’s ambiguity and to maximise its accountability.

⁶ Marxist, feminist and anti-racist critiques of professional discourse have also been important in challenging entrenched relations of power in the human service occupations, but from a different perspective (Issitt, 1995, Dominelli, 1996).

⁷ As such, competency is one of a number of initiatives introduced to regulate professionals more intensively. Appraisal, performance targets and performance-related pay are others.

The work of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications and its associated methodology and practices - 'the discourse of competency' - is already influencing the education and training of professionals in human services, and its momentum seems irresistible. Youth work has been subject to 'functional mapping' and a bid is being prepared for the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) for funding to develop 'standards', the next phase in the process (National Youth Agency, 1998). Supporters identify several benefits associated with NVQs which they believe could be of value to youth work. Typically, they claim that NVQs offer relevance to practice, access to nationally recognised qualifications and qualifications which offer scope for progression (Eraut and Kelly, 1994, p.11). In my own experience, the advocates of competency-based professional education and training in youth work frequently make exorbitant claims for their techniques. Their claims (shared with competency advocates more widely) are predicated on assumptions that 'performance' is an unambiguous indicator of competence (indeed they are thought to be indissoluble), that performance can be atomised into constitutive elements ('competencies') and that these can be subsequently aggregated to form the basis for allegedly objective judgements about individuals' practice competence.

In the light of what appeared to be radical moves to shift youth work's centre of gravity through the increasing deployment of competency techniques (perhaps the attempt to transform youth work from an inherently 'moral' and 'fuzzy-edged' practice into something cleansed and purified), a starting question for the thesis emerged. 'What is the discourse of competency making of youth workers and youth work'? The techniques of competency (so-called 'functional analysis' for example) represent youth work as a set of 'outcomes' which are decontextualised, fragmented and almost 'anti-social'. These technical and abstract representations seem to say little of the fabric of youth work, and appear to confirm a wider

trend in which the “fragmentation of learning” (through modular courses for example) isolates one learner from another (Edwards, 1991, p.92). The growing influence of this outcome-oriented approach raises interesting questions about how it can be accommodated alongside other perspectives on youth work practice and professional education and training. Initially, the research interest was in the historical and political circumstances in which these perspectives emerged as well as their conjunction. Work on the historical development of youth work and youth workers from this angle had not been done, and no-one had drawn on Foucault to explore the power practices which underlie professional education and training. It was from this point that it was decided to explore the shifting historical rationalities and techniques shaping the professional formation of youth workers and constituting ‘youth work competence’. Drawing on a range of historical data, the thesis offers a history of professional competence in youth work. In this, professional education and training of youth workers is considered from the point of view of ‘power practices’, and the ways in which power is exercised to shape the professional identity of the youth worker.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is broadly structured in four parts. In Part One, Chapter Two contains a discussion of the concept of power, and draws on the work of Foucault in particular. It is argued that Foucault’s approach to power offers an especially relevant framework for the later discussions in the thesis which relate to the practices of youth workers as an occupational group. Chapter Two introduces the concept of ‘disciplinary power’ and distinguishes it from ‘sovereign power’. The chapter develops an analytic framework in which it is argued that discipline characterises the activities of modern institutions and organisations. The chapter goes on to make the connection between the localised exercise of power in its ‘micro-contexts’ and the wider political settings in which power operates. In particular, the

connection is made between discipline and the practices of 'government'. Government entails the calculated management of population in contemporary societies. Following an examination of Foucault's concept of power, the link is made with the methodological structure of the thesis.

Part Two focuses on the professions and contains two chapters. Chapter Three discusses the role of the professions in modern societies and their deployment of expertise. It is argued that the professions are key elements in the multiple networks of dispersed power in modernity. Chapter Four identifies three models of professional education and training in their particular historical and political contexts. In this chapter, three distinct historical periods are identified. These provide a framework in which the discussion is conducted.

In Part Three the focus changes to consider the history of official discourses of youth work. Chapter Five explores early concerns about young people prior to the second war which led to the emergence of youth work as a distinct social practice. Chapter Six considers youth work's growth in the period from the war to the present time. In exploring these developments, aspects of young people's lives in which youth workers have been expected to intervene at different times are explored. In essence, youth workers' distinctive but shifting competence is marked out.

Part Four looks at education and training for youth work and contains three chapters. Chapter Seven explores the changes which occurred in education and training for youth work in the period up to the end of the second war. This period is characterised as 'emergent welfarism'. The analysis covers the changes associated with 'professionalisation' which occurred in youth work at this time. The chapter identifies the ways in which education and training for youth work was established and organised at this time. Chapter Eight offers an analysis of the impact of human relations discourse on the professional education and

training of youth workers from the 1960s onwards, a period referred to as ‘social government or welfarism’. In particular, this chapter discusses a repertoire of techniques which were developed at this time to shape the professional identity of the novice professional. Chapter Nine provides an analysis of the emergence of the discourse of competency in youth work, and discusses a number of current issues associated with this. Finally, Chapter Ten offers conclusions to the entire thesis.

Part One:
The Context of Power

Chapter Two
Modern Power:
New Productive Capacities

Introduction

As indicated in the Introduction, this thesis is concerned to focus on the ways in which the profession of youth work has deployed a range of mechanisms and techniques to ‘discipline’ itself and ‘normalise’ its practices whilst simultaneously disciplining the young people who are youth work’s target. As such, it is concerned with the construction of ‘professional competence’ in youth work and it explores the development of youth work from the perspective of its ‘power practices’. It is suggested that an appreciation of power as a productive force is essential in understanding the development of ideas about ‘professional competence’, and the recent impact of ‘competency’ as an organising idea in contemporary professional education.

The focus of the discussion in Chapter Two establishes Foucault’s position on the concept of power so that parallels can be subsequently made between these ideas and aspects of British youth work. Methodological issues are identified which can usefully be deduced from the analysis, and employed later in the thesis.

A framework for analysing power

Throughout Foucault’s work, power and knowledge are argued to be indivisible. In a discussion on the nature of language, Foucault rejects the idea that knowledge is merely a representation of external reality. As he puts it, the analysis of discourse should focus on discourses as practices “... that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1974, p.49). These are not objects which are somehow ‘found’ in the material world, but objects which emerge through discursive (language in text for example) and non-discursive practices (the professional practices of groups like youth workers for example). ‘Adolescence’ or ‘professional competence’ are examples of such objects. Here, the primary interest is the

social construction of knowledge and the conditions which give rise to the possibility of knowledge attaining 'truth', rather than with the characteristic questions of 'objectivity' which derive from Cartesian epistemology. What counts as knowledge or truth cannot be determined by some allegedly dispassionate or objective judgement about knowledge's 'fit' or 'match' with reality, nor can it be understood outside of the context of history, culture and power relations. In this sense knowledge and power are intimately connected as modernity's principal feature is its arcane, and often Byzantine, structures of institutional power and their attendant and legitimising systems of knowledge. The enduring questions for Foucault concern how these structures have been erected and the means by which they have produced the subjective features of contemporary individual and collective life. The subjective life of individuals has become the object of a range of 'expert' practices and their supporting knowledge. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries individual feelings, capabilities, and tendencies have come under the scrutiny of 'professionals' and 'experts' from a range of disciplines operating in a variety of contexts: social workers, therapists, youth workers, consultants, counsellors, psychiatrists, psychologists and so on. Foucault's analysis of modernity suggest that the growth of these occupations is much more than a linear process entailing the professionalisation or medicalisation of everyday problems. What these occupations have in common is their contribution to the accumulation of knowledge and the development of knowledge-based practices through which contemporary societies are organised and the conduct of their members managed. How, asks Foucault, are the most basic human experiences (suffering, illness, death, desire or madness, for example) mediated and managed by this knowledge and these practices? What have historical and contemporary power structures and discourses (professional relationships and professional knowledge for example) made of human life? And how have the ways in which people routinely think about themselves and others been shaped by the

knowledge and practices of experts drawing on the 'human sciences'? In this thesis, some of these questions are explored in relation to current practices in the field of professional education. It is argued that the practices of professional education cannot be properly understood without taking account of the way they are shaped by power.

Despite Foucault's sometimes difficult and often ambiguous treatment of power, it is suggested that his historical approach to the materiality of power has great potential for the analysis of contemporary developments in education practice.⁸ The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with drawing out the contours of this 'analytics of power' in order to provide a framework which can be used later to explore the specific area of interest for this thesis. The chapter is subsequently written in five sections which draw on and develop Foucault's analysis of power.

(a) Technologies and techniques of power

Rather than taking power as some abstract property (of a ruling class or monarchy for example), the analysis focuses on the specific mechanisms through which it is dispersed and in which it works. The analyst's concern should be with identifying points at which power "... invests itself in institutions, becomes embodied in techniques, and equips itself with instruments... of material intervention" (Foucault, 1980a, p.96). The focus here moves away from any notion that a model of centralised 'sovereign' power (the 'power of the state' or the 'ruling class') can provide a satisfactory explanation of how power 'works' in modern societies. Therefore, it is not a question of reducing the exercise of power to rights or law, as modern power is much more than that suggested by the juridico-discursive model. Power is increasingly exercised through

⁸ It is worth remembering that the concept of power is in any case extremely slippery, and sociologists continue to argue about its nature, boundaries, and significance in social analysis. Lukes (1983, p.9) argues that power as a concept is "essentially contested". Similarly, Murphy (1990, p.140) notes that Weber pointed out that the concept of power was "sociologically amorphous". For a comprehensive overview of different approaches to the concept of power, see Giddens and Held (1982) or Lukes (1986).

technologies (the institutional mechanisms through which power operates, for example prisons, schools, or clinics) and techniques (the procedures and rules which embody the operation of power, for example discipline, surveillance, supervision or punishment), and it is the investigation of the latter which provides the basis for a material analysis of power. Such an analysis should expose the exercise of power in its most obscure and extreme locations, as well as where its effects are more obvious. So, for example, one might ask how the 'minor' technique of 'teacher appraisal' works to shape teachers' views of themselves and of schooling in particular ways, or how the registration of specific 'competencies' in the professional education of youth workers might embody the workings of power through specific constructions of professional competence?

Foucault's conception of 'modern' power and how it may be differentiated from what he refers to as 'sovereign' power is central to his critique of institutions and their practices. Discipline and Punish⁹ begins with a contemporary description of the torture and execution of the regicide Damiens in 1757. This is juxtaposed with a fragment from a timetable of a reformatory for young offenders, written some eighty years later. Damiens' public torture and execution exemplifies the way in which sovereign power operated. Breaches of law were seen as attacks on the body of the monarch whose right it was to respond with enormous (and exaggerated) force. Punishment was exercised on the body of the condemned, which was assaulted and broken as an expression of the monarch's right to rule and, as part of that right, to extract appropriate retribution. The public nature of the spectacle, the "carnival of atrocity", was

⁹ Although the focus of Discipline and Punish is ostensibly the prison system, Foucault's aim is to write what he calls a history of "punitive reason" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982,p.144). By this he refers not only to penal strategies and techniques, but the development of a whole range of 'objectifying' and 'disciplinary' practices which have emerged in response to the problem of managing modern societies. These practices, although most clearly articulated in the penal system, have become absorbed by and have 'colonised' the workings of modern institutions.

a way of demonstrating to those present the 'theory of right', thus legitimating prevailing relations of power, and underwriting the law by the most graphic and unambiguous means possible. The body of the monarch symbolised law, justice, right and so on and Damians' public execution signified and symbolised the reality of monarchical rule¹⁰ in the form of a ritualised display of formidable force: one body extracting retribution from another. Thus, in pre-modern societies, power relations were codified in signs, ceremonies and rituals, the public execution being an extreme example of this.

Foucault argues that in the eighteenth century a new form of power emerged in Europe. 'Disciplinary power'¹¹ articulated a series of detailed institutional rules designed to manipulate and regulate the body, behaviour, emotions, and intellect, and which are paradigmatic of this form of power. Disciplinary power underwrites an economy of containment which is exemplified by the reformatory timetable referred to earlier. Whilst the exclusive focus of 'sovereign' power was the body, disciplinary power incorporates the body as little more than a means to an end: that of generating knowledge of the individual. To know the individual (his behavioural complexities, his emotional make-up, his history, his family background, and so on) renders him amenable to strategies of management which can be designed to regulate and modify a repertoire of behaviour and dispositions. Discipline (as control or regulation) is thus instantiated by discipline (as knowledge) being exercised on the body which stands as both a metaphor and vehicle for the materiality of power. The body is also a symbolic system with the

¹⁰Public executions increasingly became a context for popular resistance or revolt. As a display of sovereign force the execution was unstable, and there were examples of executions being prevented, criminals being released, and pardons being given as a result of protest being exercised by a sympathetic public (Smart 1985, p.82).

¹¹Interestingly, Bauman suggests that disciplinary power was the basic instrument of social control in pre-modern Europe. According to Bauman, surveillance based disciplinary power was deployed routinely in "communities and corporations small enough to make surveillance reciprocal, ubiquitous and comprehensive" (Bauman, 1992, p.5). I was recently told by a student who had grown up in a remote village in Ireland that his main memory of life there was that it was "like constantly having a hundred pairs of eyes watching everything you did". In this sense, there are clear consistencies between Bauman's and Foucault's use of the term discipline.

potential for communicating a range of messages, as in the case of Damiens' execution. As such it is what power makes it, and should be understood in its specific historical and cultural context. Later in this thesis the ways in which youth workers have sought to discipline the bodies of young people will be considered, whether through organised physical activities or through programmes of 'health' or 'social' education. Indeed, the construction of professional competence might also be seen as the production of the competent professional body (in both senses).

None of the argument outlined above is to suggest that disciplinary power has somehow supplanted sovereign power. The point is simply that the latter does not represent the myriad forms and relations of power which typify modern life, and in particular, which characterise disciplinary societies.¹² Disciplinary techniques operate quite differently from 'sovereign' power. Rather than breaking and destroying the body, disciplinary practices and strategies attempt unobtrusively and economically to shape the individual and collective body. Discipline seeks to train or form individuals through its detailed interventions and prescriptions: rules, regulations, and procedures which permit the cultivation of gestures, attitudes, behaviours, and dispositions. Discipline is a "micro-physics" of power (Foucault, 1977, p.134) which from the eighteenth century onwards has increasingly dominated the activities of prisons, schools, hospitals, factories, workshops, and the military. As such disciplinary power has become diffused and has progressively formed a 'disciplinary society'.¹³ Its target, the individual and social body becomes the site of production of a repertoire of knowledge and practices which

¹²Foucault notes that "in reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government, which has as its primary target the population and as its essential mechanism the apparatuses of security" (Foucault, 1991, p.102). In this sense, discipline operates in concert with other forms of power.

¹³ There is a danger here of assuming that discipline actually 'works' and thus of drifting into a kind of idealism. Whilst discipline might be exercised with the intention of promoting particular affects, it is evident that its success is much less certain. There is an important distinction between 'disciplinary' and 'disciplined' societies.

further contributes to the simultaneous processes of individual subjection and the individual's transformation into an object to be known and moulded. The deployment of recent competency-based techniques in education and training is one example of these processes and will be explored later in this thesis.

It is in the context of discipline that the notion of 'power-knowledge' emerges. Power and knowledge are inseparable and there can be no power relation "without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1979, p.27-28). Foucault shows how discipline has created the conditions in which different forms of power-knowledge - 'discourses' - have emerged at different times. For example, the confinement and surveillance of the insane contributed to the development of psychiatry, and the knowledge, techniques and practices associated with criminology emerged from the evaluation and disposal of criminals. Power and knowledge become inextricably bound together in such circumstances, one permitting the existence of the other. Practices of these kinds (and there is a multiplicity of examples in the 'human service' occupations) leads to the accumulation of knowledge and its subsequent potential generalisation into technical procedures which routinely guide working practice. Later in this thesis, the development of particular knowledge - discourses of professional competency - is explored, as well as how various disciplinary practices and techniques have mapped a terrain on which these discourses have emerged. The processes underlying this provide a substantive example of how power produces aspects of contemporary reality in the context of discourse.

It is important to say something here about the notion of 'discourse'. This has become one of the most over-used terms in social science. In broad terms discourse refers to anything that can be written, spoken or communicated. In the particular sense adopted here, discourse

refers to relatively coherent bodies of specialised knowledge produced by and which sustain expert practices and which map out domains of professional interest. Discourse constrains “possibilities of thought” as it contains normative structures that invite particular delineations of particular problems (Ball, 1990a, p.2). It includes some ideas whilst simultaneously excluding others, privileging one explanation of a situation and displacing or ignoring an alternative. As such discourse makes ‘truth claims’ and attempts to represent a particular view or those holding it as rational and authoritative. In this way knowledge becomes normalising and disciplinary and a potential mechanism of power and regulation because it encourages situations to be approached and understood in specific ways. Discourses function in networks which incorporate knowledge as well as material practices. They are historically contingent and often exist in dominance, competition or tension. Any one discourse may ‘work’ effectively only in particular settings or circumstances. This is a view which contrasts with the Marxian notion of ideology which contains an inherently negative and repressive view of power. The idea that ideology somehow ‘distorts’ or ‘masks’ reality, producing a state of ‘false consciousness’, implies the possibility of its counterfactual: a ‘non-ideological’ reality, essentially a state of ‘true consciousness’. Foucault’s ontology of truth prohibits any such notion. He acknowledges that the development of techniques and mechanisms of power may have been accompanied by ideological productions around education, the monarchy, or parliamentary democracy for example. However, Foucault is more interested in the instruments which construct and accumulate knowledge rather than establishing ‘objective’ criteria for either truth or falsity. A panoply of methods, techniques, and procedures for observing, registering, investigating, researching, and managing have shaped the individual body, the self and the way that life is lived. They have facilitated the conception of a whole network of new relations of power, new ways of knowing and of managing social relations (Miller and Rose, 1988, p.173). Indeed it is

the productive capacity of power-knowledge to define 'the truth' of life, rather than to mystify or conceal, which is its greatest significance, and which distinguishes this approach from simple ideology critique. Later in this thesis, discourses and practices of competence implicated in the professional education of youth workers are explored.

The main principle underlying disciplinary techniques is that of surveillance of which three primary instruments can be identified. First, the principle of hierarchical observation underlies the operation of the actual sites and institutions in which the calculus of surveillance operates: schools, hospitals, factories, workshops, or prisons for example. Bentham's Panopticon is invoked by Foucault as the exemplar. Although never constructed, the Panopticon was a design for a prison in which the perfect exercise of power could be achieved through integrating architecture, the body and power-knowledge. It is paradigmatic of regulatory practices in disciplinary societies; almost a metaphor for modern society. The Panopticon's architecture constituted an arrangement in which each individual prisoner was located in his own space (a cell or room for example) and was monitored by a centrally located and unseen observer. This formed a process (almost total individualisation) in which the individual was rendered conscious of being subject to an invisible and anonymous gaze (actual or imagined) and thus became enmeshed in a relation of power. Such a power technology ensured a permanent and economic surveillance of individuals, a "... perfection of power (which) should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary" (Foucault, 1977, p.201).

The second instrument of surveillance is that of normalising judgement. Foucault's vision of modernity is partly characterised by the normalisation of discipline itself: its diffusion throughout society to the point at which social space is determined and governed by disciplinary power. In this sense, normalisation rather than repression is the principal object of power in disciplinary societies. The process of normalisation begins with the empirical observation of

individual behaviour in the light of an established norm (of behaviour, performance, capability, or morality for example) which operates as a measure. By establishing a "principle of visibility" (Ewald, 1992, p.174), knowledge is accumulated and facilitates comparison between the behaviour or actions of individuals. This differentiates one individual from another, and enables a judgement of each to be made in relation to the norm. By establishing the norm, the possibility of measuring deviance by an apparently rational and objective method is introduced and non-conformity or abnormality is rendered amenable to a corrective response. Normalisation is a principle which thoroughly individualises by measuring gaps and establishing a hierarchy of levels within which individual difference can be established, distributed, and managed and through which deviance can potentially at least be corrected.¹⁴ Difference is thus established in the context of the determination of the normal and the abnormal, the sick and the healthy, and the competent and the 'not-yet' competent or, presumably 'incompetent'.

The third instrument of surveillance is the examination. This is the exemplary technique of power in that it combines the principles of hierarchical observation and normalising judgement in one operation. The process of examination has a number of dimensions. It functions on a specific site (like the Panoptic cell) by rendering the individual subject to the 'normalising gaze' and transforming the "economy of visibility into the exercise of power" (Foucault, 1977, p.187). It is through the process of examination that the individual is made visible and is illuminated so that techniques of classification or assessment can proceed. The examination creates a written archive of documents, records, results, and so on which 'fix'

¹⁴It is clear that the prison, as the archetypal disciplinary institution has never functioned as its proponents claimed that it would and has patently failed in its normalising mission. Perhaps other ends are served by this apparent failure, which as Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982, p.195) suggest, may not actually be a failure at all. Foucault's (superficially Durkheimian) response is that the function of punishment is to incorporate illegality into a general "tactics of subjection" (1977, p.272), and thus to use deviance as a way of specifying the limits of tolerance.

individual identities. Examination and its attendant apparatus of writing have led to two important possibilities. First, writing constitutes the individual as both describable and analysable as an individual. In essence, the individual becomes 'knowable' through this biographical process, and once knowable is (in principle) manageable. The process of examination, and in particular the apparatus of writing associated with it, transforms the individual into a 'case'; an object of knowledge whilst simultaneously subject to disciplinary power. Second, writing leads to the possibility of producing knowledge of 'population', by the "characterisation of collective facts...(and) their distribution in a given population" (Foucault, 1977, p.190). Here the mutual implication of power and knowledge can be seen, and the way in which disciplinary power may simultaneously individualise and totalise through the instrument of the examination. Later in this thesis, it will be suggested that such 'micro-techniques' of power are manifested in the processes associated with the acquisition of professional competence.

(b) Exercising rather than possessing power

The second methodological principle raises the question of whether conscious intentionality underlies the exercise of power. This inevitably focuses attention on the position of the subject in power relations, and indeed, the production and constitution of subjects through the exercise of power.

Rather than speculating about the intentions of those who are thought to hold power, a more fruitful analysis is likely to emerge from an exploration of the real and material context of power, where power has an immediate relationship with "its object, its target, its field of application" (Foucault, 1980a, p.97) and where its real effects are produced. This suggests that the analyst should not be overly concerned with the intentions or motivations of say, the state or a ruling elite. Rather, the focus should be on techniques and practices of power in their own

materiality. How do they function, how do individuals become caught up in them, and how do they produce knowledge and objects which might subsequently be appropriated by say, the bourgeoisie? This is the level of power relations and the practices which underwrite them which Foucault refers to as "on-going subjugation", silently but effectively structuring and constituting individuals as subjects through multiple "... forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts etc." (Foucault, 1980a, p.97). The term 'subject' has a double meaning throughout this argument. First, it implies that the individual is dominated by an external agent of some kind; subjected by "control and dependence". Second, the action of conscience or knowledge of self on self also constitutes a process of subjection. Both of these entail power practices which subjugate and render the individual "subject" (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p.208). This signifies the possibility of the individual himself being an active agent in his own self-production through the cultivation of chosen forms of conduct. This has immense significance in the context of acquiring professional competence.

According to Rabinow (1984), Foucault maps out three main modes in which the exercise of power constructs individuals as subjects: the 'objectification of the subject'. First, the subject is constituted through dividing practices, in which individuals and groups are literally divided from one another in order that they can be managed effectively. These practices often entail dividing the 'normal' from the 'abnormal'. Youth work, for example is predicated on the construction of young people as a distinct and separate social category.

The second mode through which power constitutes subjects is that of "scientific classification" in which the 'human sciences'¹⁵ - those with a 'psy' root specifically - have underwritten processes of assessment and classification of modern individuals. There are many

¹⁵Young refers to these as the "sciences which privilege man as the centre and telos of their domain" (Young, 1981, p.10). Sociology, psychology, or anthropology are clear examples of these.

contemporary examples. So-called management science, educational, clinical and industrial psychology, psychometric testing, social psychiatry, and a range of quasi-medical and psycho-therapeutic endeavours deploy processes of classification and categorisation in their practices. The concept of power-knowledge alerts us to the ways in which the human sciences, far from offering an objective account of the human world are deeply implicated in the social construction of the subject.

Third, the subject is constituted through a variety of practices of the self through which the individual becomes an active agent in his own creation, in his own construction of self. These practices of self and identity formation (exemplified in contemporary practices of 'self improvement': therapies, dieting, fitness training and consciousness raising, for example) are often premised on the technique of 'confession' in which shortcomings of some kind are acknowledged. Since the Middle Ages confession has been one of the principal means by which 'truth' is produced in a range of circumstances: religious settings, law courts, psychiatry, therapy, medicine, education, and importantly, in 'private' relations with self. The modern individual ritually confesses to sin, crime, personal problems, illness, weakness, inadequacy, illicit thoughts and desires.¹⁶ A growing range of professional interlocutors is responsible for hearing confessions and managing confessional practices and is placed (or places itself) in a position to judge the 'confessing subject'. Confession generates 'truth'¹⁷ and in so doing authenticates the confessing individual. By virtue of the expert or authoritative judgement of the confessor, confession can also be seen to have an intrinsic potential for individual change and

¹⁶As Foucault puts it, "Western Man has become a confessing animal", and modern society has emerged as a "singularly confessing society" (Foucault, 1979, p.59)

¹⁷As Lydon argues in relation to sexuality, through the classifying and categorising processes inherent in the institution of confession, "the flesh becomes word" (Lydon, 1988, p.137). In other words, one important way in which sexuality is discursively structured - formed in language - is through the technique of confession.

normalisation. In later chapters the important ways in which confessional practices play a part in the formation of 'competent' professional identities will be discussed.

(c) Power from the ground upwards

The analysis of power offered here begins with power at the margins, from its "... infinitesimal mechanisms, which each have their own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques or tactics" (Foucault, 1980a, p.99). As such, power is analysed 'from the bottom upwards'. Mechanisms of power are explored to see how they operate in their own right (for example, how do the mechanisms of teacher appraisal or competency-based training operate on the ground?) and how they might have been appropriated by wider networks and forces of domination. Such an analysis seeks to identify the ways in which the 'micro-physics' of power permit the composition of broader structures of say, patriarchy or class domination. It suggests the importance of examining the activities of "real agents" in the mechanisms, practices and techniques under investigation. For example, what actual roles do the family, parents, social workers, or doctors have in constructing a discourse of child sexuality? What precise parts do psychiatrists, psychologists, or therapists, and their practices play in the production of discourses of mental health and illness? And of more concrete interest here, what part have the various agents in the 'competency movement' played in the construction of a 'discourse of competency'? To refer to all of these as somehow representing the interests of some unified state or ruling class tells us little of the actual fabric of power. The error is to conceive of these micro-instances of power exclusively in terms of a model of 'sovereign' or centralised power and to attempt to understand them as signalling some generalised process of 'social control' instigated by a state or ruling class. Rather than relying on abstract theories of the state or the 'social system', Foucault's analysis encourages the researcher to concentrate on the relatively autonomous mechanisms of power which shape the lives and activities of real men and women.

The three areas discussed here (power techniques, the exercise of power and the ‘micro-contexts’ of power) provide the basis of a conceptual framework for this thesis. The next section of the chapter links the discussion of disciplinary power to broader issues concerning the ‘political’ management of contemporary societies.

From discipline to government

In his later work, Foucault became interested in the ‘problem of government’, which he suggested accompanied the emergence of the European nation-state. ‘Government’ extends the analysis of power to explore how political rule at the ‘macro-level’ is combined with ‘micro-level’ practices of the self in which the individual cultivates or regulates (or is encouraged to do so) various aspects of himself: behaviour, comportment, thinking or indeed ‘professional competence’. In broad terms, ‘government’ is the “... more or less calculated means of the direction of human conduct” (Dean, 1995, 561). As a complex of power, government does not supersede discipline which remains an important technical means of social regulation. Discipline and its techniques become vital in the governmentalised state which is characterised by a ‘triangle’ of power, incorporating ‘sovereignty-discipline-government’, and which through these forms, offers a variety of means and justifications for the representation and management of political problems. Governmental power, like discipline, is entirely dependent on establishing ways of ‘knowing’ and deploying forms of knowledge through which its practices can be instantiated. In this context expertise has taken on particular salience and the professions, as the social form in which contemporary expertise has become institutionalised, have become indispensable elements in the exercise of governmental power. Youth workers, for example, are part of a network of occupations and institutions which have as their object the effective government of young people. They in turn are also subject to governmental power, particularly in relation to the professional training and education of their members.

A potential weakness in Foucault's position may be acknowledged here. He gives little clear idea of precisely what the objects of governmental power might be. Foucault (and indeed some of those adopting his broad approach) seem to suggest that the purpose of government is merely government itself; a kind of closed and rather bleak spiral of regulation for the sake of regulation. The view taken here (although not developed in any detail) is that Foucault's work - and perhaps particularly that dealing with discipline and government - has great explanatory power in relation to the management and development of contemporary capitalism (Frankel, 1997, p.82). Capitalism itself has continually relied on disciplinary techniques which clearly pre-date it. Like Foucault's dispersed notion of power, contemporary capitalism is extremely complex, multi-faceted and diffused. It is against such a background that Foucault's contribution must be understood.

The discourses and practices which govern and regulate both the body of the individual and the wider 'social body' are referred to collectively by Foucault as "bio-power" (Foucault, 1979, p.140). Bio-power has taken two principal forms. First, that of surveillance-based disciplinary power which acts on the individual body located in its own space and in its relations with other bodies (the school-room or prison for example). As suggested, the body's capacity, its gestures, movements, behaviour or indeed its competence become the target of disciplinary power. The aim of this form of power - a power over life rather than death as in 'sovereign' power - is to render the individual body amenable to regulation so that it becomes materially useful and productive. Bio-power's second form acts at the level of population and is characterised by a range of strategic (and politically determined) interventions on the social body. These interventions are part of the wider project concerned with the rational and calculated management of capital accumulation in modern societies. Insofar as they are concerned to achieve social security and stability which supports this, they are examples of the

positive and productive function of modern power. Concerns with social regulation and the general management of society lead to questions of precisely how the modern state supervises and manages its citizens. The concepts of 'government' and 'governmentality' draw attention to the complex of programmes, initiatives and other arrangements which are calculated to achieve particular socio-political objectives through the regulation of individuals and populations and the management of their relations and activities. Their common object is population.¹⁸ These activities are not orchestrated from a single source and may operate independently, they may conflict or may form a loose ensemble of objectives and interventions. Contemporary European societies, for example, reflect enormous complexity in the power networks by which they secure stability and security. It is the particularity of these networks, their constituent elements and the ways in which attempts are made to combine their potential to achieve political ends, upon which analysis should focus. However, none of this should be reduced to a simple argument about an overarching process of 'social control'. Theories of social control have tended to emphasise the pre-eminence of a shared commitment to collective 'social values' on which social order is allegedly established. As Miller and Rose (1988, p.172) point out, the analysis of the activities of social agencies and institutions requires the elaboration of concepts which are sufficiently discriminating to take account of the differences and dissimilarities between the various rationales and objectives of regulatory institutions or practices. Arguably, the concept of social control is too crude to do this as it is over-inclusive and unnecessarily reductionist.

¹⁸As we have suggested, power and knowledge are intimately connected and one implies the other. In relation to the practice of government, Foucault notes that the "constitution of a *savoir* of government is absolutely inseparable from that of a knowledge of all the processes related to population in its larger sense: that is to say, what we now call economy" (Foucault, 1991, p.100). One of these processes of population concerns the whole problem of educational levels, and their relation to the economic domain. The current growth of competency-based approaches in education is part of this, and these practices and knowledge are an important element in the contemporary '*savoir*' of government.

Government in the sense used here incorporates a variety of moral and technical interventions. These may include policies and initiatives whose range extends from public health, town planning, and the provision of social housing, to the dissemination of 'health education' and advice on contraception in the strategic management and regulation of juvenile sexuality. Governmentality signals a conception of political rule or rationality in which shifting alignments of political and non-political, state and civil society or individual and collective domains form the ground upon which political objectives are defined and pursued. A primary issue here concerns the means by which this political rationality attempts to secure the government of all and of each; simultaneously attempting to 'totalise' and 'individualise' by acting at the broadest level of population and on the most detailed individual circumstances.¹⁹ As the earlier discussion of discipline suggests, it is a mistake to conceive of political power and rule in its totalising forms alone. The Christian institution of 'pastorship' is offered as a metaphor to extend the argument about power's individualising capacity in a way that is particularly apposite in the context of this thesis's focus on the 'human service' occupations. Pastorship designates a relation of power in which the shepherd assumes a responsibility of care for the entire flock and for each individual sheep. To meet this responsibility he requires a knowledge which individualises through the revelation of individual mind, soul, sin and need (Foucault, 1988a, p.68-70). Confession has traditionally been the source of this knowledge. Part of the significance of the Christian technique of confession and guidance (and the obedience which derives from pastoral techniques in general) is that it is intended to achieve in

¹⁹One might suggest that governmental strategies and the problems to which they are addressed express the very spirit of modernity. As Toulmin argues, a major characteristic of a specifically modern world view emerging in the seventeenth century was its inability to tolerate uncertainty, ambiguity, or plurality. Modernity can be seen as a move from the "particular to the universal", and from "the timely to the timeless" (Toulmin, 1989, p.30-33). In many ways the initiatives which are discussed later in connection with the construction of professional competence demonstrate similar tendencies in their attempts to create universal systems and practices designed to reduce uncertainty in the processes of training and educating people for particular work.

the individual a capacity for routine self-monitoring or self-policing (through the acquisition and problematisation of self-knowledge) as well as producing instances of self-disclosure (and thus knowledge about individuals) to the confessor. In another sense these techniques entail aspects of identity-formation and the shaping of the self under the gaze and judgement of the confessor. Pastoral power has spread beyond ecclesiastical boundaries and its institutions and agents have increased in number since the eighteenth century (all kinds of therapeutic, educational and welfare institutions and practitioners for example). It is suggested that approaches to the development of professional competence share some of the characteristics of this form of power. Current practices, for instance, are replete with examples of individuals being required to examine themselves for evidence of 'competency' in their work and to conscientiously work on self in order to enhance or develop particular skills or dispositions.²⁰

The themes of 'totalisation' and 'individualisation' signal the way in which governmental power seeks to form connections ('networks of power') between initiatives which are designed to supervise and regulate population as a macro-entity, and the techniques and technologies which are deployed by individuals at the micro-level, to develop, cultivate or manage 'self'. Foucault analyses political rationalities historically and identifies specific examples of these in which political rule and the management of individual conduct are deeply intertwined and interdependent.²¹ Indeed it might be argued that the prosperous and well-

²⁰ Work on 'mapping' competency in the 'human service occupations' has progressed rapidly. Youth work is part of a complex of such occupations, a number of which have already developed detailed specifications of 'standards' which now apply to the work of competent practitioners (National Youth Agency, 1997a, p.2). Progress in this respect in youth work is discussed later in this thesis.

²¹ For example, he refers to the rationality underlying state power in the seventeenth century as '*reason of state*'. This is a rationality concerned with the principles and methods intended to guide and strengthen the state. It was differentiated from other 'models of government': the father governing his family or God governing the world for example. The '*theory of police*' referred to seventeenth and eighteenth century administrative practices which intervened in domains which determined the general 'quality of life' of population (health, education, morality, employment or commodity production, for example). Police (construed as a rationality of government) was concerned with "... men's coexistence on a territory; their relationships as to property; what they produce; what is exchanged on the market. It also considers how they live, the diseases and

ordered liberal state simply could not function unless individuals make their own contribution through self-regulated conduct for “... democracy presupposes discipline on the part of the citizen, a discipline which serves the common good... “ (Oestreich, 1982, p.271-272). The rationalities underlying the historical development of the modern liberal state and which are collectively referred to by Foucault as reflecting governmentality, entail the (discursive) formulation of political problems at the macro-level but also require intervention at the detailed level of each individual member of population. The present move towards competency-based education and training provides a good example of this process. Initiatives deriving from political authorities and other institutions (central government, the National Council for Vocational Qualifications, the Further and Higher Education sectors, Trades Unions and so on) would have little chance of success without each individual ‘learner’ consciously acknowledging their own responsibility in this, and to some degree adopting techniques designed to enhance their own ‘competency’. Insofar as political aspirations (the representation of a ‘problem’), objectives (the aims of intervention), initiatives (the means of intervention) and individual actions can be aligned, governmental power is effective. It is in this context that the practices to which Foucault refers as ‘technologies’ or ‘techniques of the self’ assume significance. These practices enable the individual to effect change or self-transformation (his thoughts, feelings or conduct, for example) and as such to manage the relationship he has with self “... so as to transform (self) in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality” (Foucault, 1988b, p.18).²² Techniques of the self are embodied in

accidents which can befall them. What the police sees to is a live, active, productive man” (Foucault, 1988a, p.79). This form of rationality, with its various apparatuses and practices, signals the emergence of a distinctly modern approach to political rule and various echoes of this are evident in contemporary welfare and public services. In general, the focus of these analyses is on the ‘techne’ of government: the practical ways through which political rule is actually accomplished, or not (Rabinow, 1984, p.256).

²²Adopting O’Malley’s distinction between ‘technology’ and ‘technique’, these practices are referred to as techniques of the self in this thesis. O’Malley points out that ‘technologies’ are combinations or complexes of practices which aim to manipulate the social or physical world in particular ways (disciplinary institutions for

specific technical practices (education or training of various kinds, counselling, group therapy, or autobiographical writing, for example) which are organised in relation to the real or imagined authority of a system of truth, or an authoritative individual: religious, therapeutic, disciplinary, or tutelary (Rose, 1996a, p.135). Such techniques are employed in the attempt to facilitate change in the individual in relation to some defined outcome and they form a component part in the 'relay' between political aspirations and individual dispositions and desires. They enable political objectives - the specification, improvement and management of 'professional competence', for example - to be translated into practical programmes of work and activity with which individuals can identify and through which they can work on and improve their own capacities and conduct. Political aspirations or 'problematizations'²³ and strategies designed to meet them aim to achieve an alignment between the level of politics and self formation. Of course the analyst is concerned with the circumstances in which these two levels become aligned and the consequences which emerge. In this thesis, it will be shown that discourses of professional competence, and more latterly 'competency', have become incorporated into political programmes at the 'macro-level', are influential in shaping programmes for the professional training and education of youth workers, and are beginning to define the terrain upon which individual youth workers think of themselves as practitioners. These issues are explored in subsequent chapters.

Conceptual and methodological implications of Foucault

example), and 'techniques' are component parts or applications which instantiate these (the examination, the case record or the specification of occupational 'competency' for example) (O'Malley, 1996, p.205).

²³For example, the 'governmental state's' current preoccupation with competency and its concern about the general capability and productive capacity of the population in the context of wider debates about economic efficiency. There is a multiplicity of 'official discourse' reflecting this, but see for example, Department of Employment, (1988) Employment For The 1990s, Cmnd 540 for an early example of this.

It has been argued that Foucault's conceptual analysis (that is the 'content' of his analysis) is particularly important in this thesis. Specifically, this approach to power offers a new way of thinking about youth work and youth workers. However, an intriguing (and in some ways frustrating) aspect of Foucault's work is that no coherent method as such is specified for undertaking empirical research, despite the relatively rigorous approach to methodological questions which emerges in his writing. Referring to his books as "little tool boxes", Foucault encourages the analyst to use ideas creatively and in the context of specific problems and particular research sites (Prior, 1997, p. 77). What might this suggest in undertaking empirical work in this context? Given that the aims of this research are to explore the changes which have taken place in youth work, changes in professional education for youth workers, and the significance and logic of 'competence' in these, it is necessary to take a historical analysis of these matters. There are five points to be made here.

(i) The analysis of power which was developed from Foucault provides a conceptual framework for the analysis of historical material which is drawn on throughout the thesis. Thus it is not a question of undertaking a simple historical analysis of say, youth work, but an analysis which is informed throughout by the concept of power which has been outlined earlier.

(ii) A focus on discourse (and the practices which it informs and structures) is important because, as indicated, power 'works' through discourse. This implies a focus on language, and thus on 'ideas', which do not "... drift through the social world like clouds in a summer sky..." (Thompson, 1984, p.2), but are either spoken as utterances or inscribed in text. Because of the interest in changing aspects of the professional competence of youth workers 'historical texts' provided the research focus. Of course there is no reason why data from sources other than documentary could not form the basis for such a study. Data collected through ethnographic interview, for example - the expression of discourse in spoken words - could equally and

justifiably have formed the empirical basis for the work, but this would have resulted in a different piece of work. A range of texts has been analysed in the thesis. Reflecting the earlier view taken of discourse, these are primarily specialised and 'expert' texts produced by policy makers, academics, practitioners and those claiming to speak on behalf of these groups. The texts fall into five broad categories:

- (a) policy documents dealing with aspects of youth and wider social policy;
- (b) 'social science' texts dealing with young people;
- (c) documents from the 'voluntary' youth work sector;
- (d) government policy documents dealing with the professional education and training of youth workers;
- (e) documents from educational establishments and training institutions involved in the professional training of youth workers.

As well as obtaining material from 'conventional' libraries specialist archives were consulted to gain access to historical documents unavailable elsewhere. These included those at the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, the British Medical Association, the Department for Education and Employment, the Church of England, the Public Records Office and the National Youth Agency.

(iii) As the discussion in Chapter Two suggests, the research interest was on the way in which 'discourse' and its associated practices constructs both subjects and objects. For example, it has been asked how youth work discourse has constructed its characteristic conceptions of young people - through the 'discourse of adolescence', for example - and what implications these constructions might have for conceptions of youth workers' professional identities and competence. As already suggested, the construction or shaping of the individual subject is also a key conceptual aspect of the position taken in this research. As such, the concern is to explore

the ways in which various practices facilitate subjects' construction of themselves. For example, this implies an interest in the way that youth workers operate to encourage young people to regulate their own behaviour, or the ways in which professional education works to help youth workers shape their 'professional self'. Conceptually, it entails a focus on the ways in which discipline is designed to work 'internally' rather than 'externally'. Thus, the concern is to identify the ways in which discourse - as 'power-knowledge' - forms human subjects in the context of the practices in which it is inscribed.

(iv) Historical texts provide sources for exploring questions of the kind identified above. However, it is not just a question of undertaking a historical analysis of texts. Throughout, the analysis has drawn on the conceptual framework developed earlier in this chapter. It is argued that documents (policy documents or 'academic' texts, for example) contain instances in which objects - like 'professional competence' or 'the adolescent', for example - take on a relatively stable and fixed character. Drawing on the conceptual framework developed earlier, the reading made of these texts has sought to identify the ways in which by whom and for what purposes such objects appear to have been constructed. The texts themselves have been construed in three different but connected ways. First, they have been regarded as representations of particular realities; as containing 'knowledge about' the issues with which they deal. However, because knowledge and power are mutually constitutive, texts cannot be regarded as straightforward reflections of an external or objective reality. They contain socially constructed knowledge and meanings which have been produced by 'experts' of various kinds: policy-makers, social scientists, practitioners and perhaps those with a 'moral' interest in the area concerned. Second, texts of the kinds analysed here should also be understood as attempting to 'problematise' reality in particular ways. The narratives which run through policy documents referring for example to the needs of young people or the most effective way of preparing youth

workers for professional practice seek to construe their objects in specific and problematic ways. Because these texts so often illuminate matters of political or social concern, they encourage particular kinds of solutions which centre "... around certain norms of life and social well-being - norms derived of course from the social, economic and political objectives of government" (Hunter, 1996, p.154). Thus, and third these texts have a didactic or instructional character. By providing a specific framework of understanding - an "ontological precedent" (Prior, 1997, p.67) - they implicitly instruct their readership on how to engage with and understand the world constructed in and by the text. As this discussion suggests, texts of these kinds constitute particular ways (rather than others) of representing reality and this inevitably touches on the productive nature of power. As suggested earlier, discourse analysis sensitises the analyst to questions about what can and cannot be said and by whom, the ways in which knowledge is expressed in discourse and how some knowledge acquires authority and attains the status of 'truth'.

(v) Whatever kind of data one uses, a particular kind of reading is entailed in research of this type. This derives from the earlier discussion of discourse in which it was suggested that this provides the 'normative structures' through which a professional community (for example) comes to think about or present problems in a characteristic way. In undertaking a 'critical' reading of the documents used here, one is constantly seeking to identify the recurrent themes and explanations (and the absence of others) which structure the texts in terms of what is seen to be problematic in some way and the solutions which are subsequently suggested. As such, the attempt has been made to identify the norms which shape the documents selected. Attention has been focused on the institutions or groups on behalf of whom the texts are written, or whom they claim to represent. Similarly, the audiences at which the texts are aimed have been identified where possible. Where appropriate 'competing' discourses have been identified.

Finally, the relationship between these 'localised' discourses and wider political structures and strategies are suggested. 'Professional knowledge' about young people or about the training and education of youth workers does not exist in vacuo. As well as being expressed in textual form it is inscribed in and deployed through a range of professional practices in 'local' situations. It is argued that educational and training practices concerned with the professional development of youth workers are indicative of the way in which power (both disciplinary and pastoral) operates to individualise and normalise, and to construct individuals' professional identities. In doing this, professional education and training should be understood as part of the wider project of 'government' discussed earlier in this chapter.

Conclusions

Chapter Two has developed an analysis of power which draws on the work of Foucault. A framework was offered in which power is analysed in terms of (a) specific technologies (the institutional mechanisms through which power operates: prisons, schools or clinics for example) and techniques (the procedures which embody the operation of power), discipline, surveillance in the forms of 'hierarchical observation', 'normalisation' or 'examination', (b) the material context in which power is actually exercised through 'dividing practices' (categorisation of the 'normal' and the 'abnormal'), 'scientific classification' (on the basis of psychological testing for example), and through 'practices of the self' in which individuals shape their own identities or 'subjectivities' (through education or training, counselling, therapy, or autobiographical writing for example), and (c) the concrete and diverse mechanisms and practices (and their agents) in which power operates, and the ways in which these combine to form wider networks of domination. In this analysis, power and knowledge are indivisible. Disciplinary power is employed in the context of 'government' which is entirely dependent on establishing ways of 'knowing' - for its practices to be instantiated.

Because the interest in this thesis is with changes in youth work and the professional education of youth workers, a historical approach is entailed. Youth work discourse is examined, and the ways in which techniques and technologies of power operate in and through youth work are explored. The research focuses on youth work as a material context in which power operates, and it examines the emergence of knowledge and definitions of young people and the ways in which professional training and education have sought to achieve particular youth worker identities. It is argued that the development of youth work and the social processes in which youth workers' professional competence is defined can be best understood by considering the power practices and mechanisms by which these are shaped. Chapter Three goes on to discuss the significance of the professions - of which youth work is an example - and the political and institutional contexts in which professional formation takes place. An analysis of the 'human service professions' and their functions in the wider project of 'government' is offered. This provides a context in which specific attention can be given later in the thesis to youth work and youth workers.

Part Two:
Professions, Power
and Professional Formation

Chapter Three
The Human Service Professions: Extending the
Capacity to Govern

Introduction

This chapter sets a context for understanding the professions in the contemporary world. It employs the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Two and aims to examine how professions contribute to the management of populations as part of the project of government, as well as acknowledging the professions' own agenda in seeking to maximise their own authority. This discussion provides the necessary context in which youth work and youth workers' professional competence can be considered.

Chapter Three commences with a discussion of professions as a form of 'occupational control' and moves on to a consideration of the connection between professions and wider networks of power. As suggested in Chapter Two, the professions are important contributors to the government of modern societies through their provision of knowledge and expertise. As such, they should be seen as mechanisms of disciplinary and governmental power. Chapter Two concludes with an analysis of the role of the professions in the 'project of government'.

The complexity of modern societies means that an increasing number of occupations offer specialist expertise which is normally beyond the ordinary competence of the lay-person and which is applicable to an expanding variety of circumstances. Expertise forms the basis to the claim for professional status and reward. More specifically in the context of this thesis, youth workers should be seen as contributing to expanding professional influence in the social world. Although small in number, youth workers are a significant semi-professional group whose task is to contribute to the management of 'growing up', a process whose successful achievement is now considered to require the expert intervention of various professionals including youth workers. As such, youth workers contribute to forming young people as a

specific (and 'governable') category of population, and treating them as objects of "... surveillance, analysis, intervention, modification..." (Foucault, 1977, p.171).

Professions and power

In this section attention is turned to processes of occupational control - a form of power practice - which underlie the achievement of professional or semi-professional status. First, a model of the 'ideal profession' is demarcated and its limitations identified. The discussion then moves on to consider professionalisation as a form of 'ideological practice'. Throughout this and subsequent sections it is assumed that youth workers have attempted to secure occupational control (with some albeit limited success) on the basis of claims about expertise and professional knowledge. The success of these claims has enabled youth workers to become part of the complex of occupations whose task is to govern young people. Because of their (albeit limited) success in this respect, youth workers like others are themselves now becoming increasingly subject to new regulatory regimes which focus on aspects of their own systems of professional training and education.

Occupational control and the professional ideal

A significant area of sociological interest has been in the 'internal' structure and organisation of professions, and the ways in which these have contributed to the achievement of professional status: the process of 'professionalisation'. As part of this approach, some sociologists have outlined an idealised and abstract view of the professions. Their focus has tended to be on an "inventory" of allegedly distinct professional characteristics (Esland, 1980, p.218), a complex of 'traits' which it is claimed differentiate the professions from other occupations. 'Trait theory' attempts to provide a logical account of the criteria necessary to constitute a profession. Although it is difficult to determine absolute criteria which are met by all so-called professions, a number of characteristics are commonly identified as providing the basis to a model or ideal-

type profession. These include the autonomy of the individual professional who provides a service to the client, for which necessary expertise in the form of esoteric knowledge and skill has been acquired through extensive professional training traditionally undertaken in the academy. Satisfactory achievement in academic and practical work leads to the professional's acquisition of a licence to practice. The profession is controlled by a professional association which also operates as a public commentator on the area of work in question. The profession incorporates a code of ethics which guides practice, and the professional association deals with problems of professional incompetence or misconduct through a disciplinary mechanism of some kind. The exemplar of the trait approach in relation to the 'human service professions' is provided by Greenwood (1957) who in his discussion of social work, identified what he claimed to be the essential attributes of such a profession, some of which are consistent with the inventory of traits referred to above. However, consensus over which traits are essential, and what precisely constitutes the essential traits themselves, is elusive and one is left feeling that the definition of such things is a somewhat whimsical business. Moreover, the trait approach quite clearly draws an idealised (and self-defined) image of the professional as an independent practitioner which is a social form peculiar to nineteenth-century England (Siegrist, 1994, p.9). At that time professionals (in medicine and the law, for example) operated for fees in independent practice. Modern professionals (and more particularly 'semi-professionals' like youth workers or social workers) are increasingly likely to work in organisationally-based contexts, in which their work (or elements of it) may be controlled by administrators (who themselves may or may not be professionally trained and qualified). These organisational contexts may be one or a combination of three different forms: i) the professional 'team practice' comprising different professional disciplines (as in a medical or health centre for example; ii) a bureaucratic organisation employing salaried individuals (architects in a large

company for example); or iii) a professional 'service department' in a large commercial or state organisation (lawyers working in a local authority for example). The latter example is closest to the position of youth workers who in general are employed in local authority departments.²⁴ In such a context, professional and bureaucratic values are likely to exist in some tension particularly at the present time when local authorities (and other 'not-for-profit' organisations) are being required to demonstrate 'value for money' and managerialist practices and techniques - with a strongly bureaucratic ethos of efficiency - are deployed in the attempt to achieve this. Inevitably the 'bureaucratisation' of professional work has affected professional/client relationships. The fact that many professional activities are now organised in bureaucracies with professionals receiving salaries rather than fees changes the social orientation of the professional. In such circumstances, is the professional's principal duty to the profession, the community, the 'service' (law, health or education for example) or is it to the employing body, the company or local authority for example? Although it might be argued that professionals continue to act on the basis of neutrality or impersonal detachment and that they deploy their judgement using objective criteria, the interests of business may not coincide with those of clients, and bureaucratic imperatives may be entirely different from the ideals of the professional community.

Despite such marked changes in the social organisation of professionals, there has been a tendency for sociologists to divorce the professions from their specific cultural and historical singularity and to ignore the different forms or levels of professional organisation which exist. Perhaps the most significant distinction to be made in the context of this thesis is between the 'true' or traditional professions, and the so-called 'semi-professions'. Etzioni's well-known

²⁴ Not all youth workers work in local authorities. A range of voluntary organisations also employ youth workers and in these characteristics of all three contexts identified may be present.

discussion of the semi-professions (which in part suffers from the weaknesses of the trait approach) distinguishes them from “the” professions on the basis of their shorter training, their lower autonomy, social status and privilege, and their less specialised bodies of underlying knowledge (Etzioni, 1969, p.v). Typically, these groups are characterised by members from a lower social class than the professions, a higher proportion of women members, and where unions exist the possibility of ‘industrial’ disputes create a non-professional work culture. However, the main distinction to be drawn is in terms of the relative levels of power on which the two types are able to draw. Although demonstrating some of the features - the ‘traits’ referred to earlier - semi-professions do not have the level of autonomy or occupational control traditionally enjoyed by medicine or the law. Nor have the semi-professions acquired the levels of prestige and privilege of the traditional professions. As a typical semi-professional group youth workers have not achieved the level of autonomy of lawyers or doctors in controlling the occupation and its activities (regulating access and entry to the profession, setting and monitoring standards and adherence to an ethical code as do the Law Society and the British Medical Association). The responsibility for monitoring the professional activities of youth workers, social workers or teachers has been vested in local authorities who have become the main employers of these groups. Similarly, the potential material rewards of youth workers are very considerably less than members of the ‘true’ professions. The reasons for the semi-professions - like youth workers - failing to achieve equivalent social status, are more connected with the sources of power available to them than their capacity to emulate the professions by deploying the ‘trappings of professionalism’: codes of ethics, professional associations or lengthy periods of training. There are a number of points here. First, unlike lawyers or doctors youth workers rarely deal in ‘life and death’ situations and in this sense the social significance

and status of their work is open to question. They even lack a clear legislative base which specifies circumstances in which they have a statutory responsibility.

Second, this has meant that like some other semi-professions, youth workers have been unable to achieve a position in which a unique need or demand (which they might manipulate) for their services has been created. So unlike the relationship between say, doctors and lawyers and their clients, the semi-professions like youth workers have not had the advantage of 'client dependence', and they have therefore been unable to control the professional/client relationship, in particular the 'diagnostic' element of this.

Third, youth workers (like other semi-professionals and unlike other professionals) have no exclusive body of knowledge and skill around which they are able to create a monopoly or claim a particular expertise. Their knowledge base is sometimes little more than a hotchpotch of elements drawn or borrowed from a range of disciplinary and institutional bases, and whose production and dissemination lies in other hands: specifically the social science and education disciplines. Distinct professional knowledge also entails research on practice in order to i) derive generalisations which underpin the prescriptions of practice (getting the appropriate relationship between 'knowing that' and 'knowing how') so that knowledge can support, explain and help to initiate practice; and ii) provide tutor, mentor and practitioner with shared knowledge which unites by what is known. The tutor requires a grasp of generalised practice and the moral dilemmas which arise in practice. This means that the body of professional knowledge is not entirely discipline based, but includes 'reflection on good practice'. Significantly, in recent reviews of professional education the necessity of the professional acquiring 'theoretical' or 'academic' knowledge has been challenged, and in some circumstances this has been supplanted by or subordinated to approaches which emphasise the essentially

'hands on' and practical nature of the work. The competency movement is an integral part of this.

Fourth, because youth work like other semi-professional specialisms has no exclusive access to a knowledge-base, it must compete with other similar occupational groups (teachers and social workers, for example) in the broad field in which it works. In fact, areas of professional intervention - like medicine or education for example - are 'inhabited' and 'colonised' by various professional groups which have varying degrees of authority. In medicine, doctors have attempted to maintain their control of the diagnostic relationship, thus subordinating other aspiring occupational groups to their authority.

Fifth, as already pointed out, human service professionals like youth workers generally operate in bureaucratic settings and are increasingly subject to managerial and administrative control, as well as various statutory requirements.

Finally, unlike physicians and lawyers, virtually anyone can be a youth worker, a social worker, a teacher, or a probation officer without having to complete any specialised professional education or training at all.²⁵

All in all, these occupational groups are unable to achieve anything like a complete monopoly over practice and their scope for achieving autonomy is in these circumstances necessarily limited.²⁶ In understanding the heterogeneous field of professional and semi-professional groups, it is necessary understand the 'power relationships' which exist between professionals and their clients, and between professional and semi-professional groups

²⁵The former Home Secretary Michael Howard made detailed proposals that entry into the probation service be opened up to individuals with suitable experience and backgrounds. So-called 'licensed' or 'articled' teacher schemes have similar objectives (Barnes, 1995).

²⁶Physicians and lawyers are in a similar position as a consequence of recent changes in the organisation of their institutional settings. This means that their autonomy has diminished as well.

themselves. Professionalism should be regarded as referring to processes of occupational control rather than implying a collection of essential characteristics or traits (Johnson, 1979, p.45). Despite youth work's limited success in achieving professional status, this does not mean that it lacks significance in the broad field of social welfare. Like similar groups, youth workers have contributed to marking out a particular terrain of welfare practice.

Although there have been significant changes in the social organisation of the professions (including the semi-professions) and important variations among them, as Becker points out the symbolic value of the ideal profession has been exploited by a number of occupational groups (perhaps particularly the semi-professions because they have had to 'work harder' to achieve recognition) in their pursuit of status and prestige (Becker, 1970, p.97). Although as a sociological model it has clear limitations, the trait approach begins to identify some of the factors which have led to the professions being regarded as unaccountable and resistant to evaluation, particularly in terms of 'value for money'. Perhaps a little ironically, the challenge to the professions and professionals - particularly the human service professionals in the public services - from the so-called New Right has been made as if the traits of the ideal profession identified above were a reality. For example, the allegedly high degree of 'autonomy' enjoyed by these professionals has led to the introduction of a whole range of managerial techniques designed to 'appraise' their activities and dispositions, and thus render them more accountable (Pollitt, 1993, p.130-131, Ball, 1990b, p.158-161). Again ironically, professionals have been subject to criticism from both left and right for their oppressive practices and deployment of power-knowledge. For the Right and those in particular who have challenged 'welfarism' and 'social government', the argument has been that the professions have all-too-often rendered their clients dependent on them, and in an 'enterprise economy' dependency of this kind has been regarded as a corrosive force. Professional knowledge of the kind underlying

social work or youth work for example, has been regarded by the Right as either opaque, residually socialist or social democratic (Lait, 1981, p.36, Johnson, 1991, p.110). Alternatively, professional knowledge has been an inconvenience or irritant to political authorities throughout the 1980s and 1990s when it has identified the gaps left by social policy initiatives. From this point of view, professional knowledge may have been considered to contain a limited but fundamental challenge to the contemporary political project of securing government through individuals. Another of the New Right criticisms was that the professions constitute an unaccountable monopoly. As a consequence, over the last decade or so considerable political energy has been devoted to initiating legislation designed to reconfigure the organisation and distribution of professional services in Britain.²⁷ It is a central argument in this thesis that the implementation of competency-based education and training has the intention of reforming the processes and practices of professional education, and in so doing achieving the accountability of both professional educators and practitioners. This transformation is frequently structured in terms of a coded binary opposition between theory ('bad') and practice ('good') and it seeks to re-focus the aspiring professional's attention on practice under the assumption that if practice can be controlled, accountability (and thus value for money) will be secured. Competency-based approaches are already attempting to render the activities of educators, trainers, learners and practitioners subject to scrutiny, and increasingly accountable to norms which have become an intrinsic part of the fabric of contemporary education. In later chapters it will be suggested that the specification of detailed statements of the 'competencies' required for particular work have the affect of making work performance 'visible' in a way that was not previously possible.

²⁷Changes in NHS consultants' contracts in 1981 stimulated private practice, and the 1990 Health Service and Community Care Act has encouraged the development of 'service contracts' and 'internal markets' in the context of the 'enabling local authority'. Other policy initiatives to have an impact on professionals have been the White Paper Working for Patients (1989), and the Lord Chancellor's Green Papers on the Legal Services (1989).

By enabling performance to be represented (for example in the so-called 'functional map of youth work in Appendix 12) the competency approach facilitates its interrogation and subsequent modification in new and often powerful ways.

Professionalisation as 'ideological practice'

The 'ideological practice' in which some of the newer human service professionals like youth workers or social workers have engaged should be seen as part of a strategy of attempted closure and occupational control. From this perspective professions have been seen as carriers of 'professional ideologies', which, as Elliott points out

"... result from the need to make sense of the recurrent work problems and tasks within a particular organisation and career setting and of the need to present the work to others in the community, to compete for attention, control and resources" (Elliott, 1973, p.211, my emphasis).

Thus, professional ideologies both explain and justify the activities of the profession concerned, as well as 'routinise' their day-to-day activities, making them intelligible to their members. The ideological activities of professional groups have been seen by some writers as an attempt to effect 'social closure' in relation to particular areas of work. Drawing on Weber, Parkin (1983, p.175) argues that strategies of social closure and the restriction and exclusion which accompany it, are significant factors in the overall distribution of power in society. Parkin's argument is that in attempting to achieve power, groups seek to restrict the access of others (perhaps competitors or 'enemies') to the opportunities and resources which they themselves enjoy. It can be argued that the concern of the professions is in achieving control over a territory of work, a monopoly on practice, and thus the power, prestige, and rewards which go with this. Thus for example, medicine and the law have been granted mandates to exercise considerable control over their respective territories of work. Their positions of power which derive from this are institutionalised in a variety of legislation, and as Johnson points out, their

professional status acts as a mechanism of social closure (Johnson, 1979, p.45). Their mandates are justified by their appeals to 'ethical ideals', 'extended periods of training', specialised knowledge, commitments to 'service' in the 'public interest', and so on. From this angle, various elements which collectively constitute the professional ideal act as social and cultural capital. They are disseminated through professional ideologies which typically emphasise the social and moral worth of the profession and its practitioners, and their indispensable contribution to social life. Rather than being the essential features or traits of a model profession, these elements become potential weapons in an ideological battle aimed at securing autonomy, power, and reward.

To identify how particular groups achieve professional status, it is necessary to consider the circumstances and context in which occupations struggle to attain such a monopoly, and the political and other resources available to them in doing this. Success depends on a number of factors, not least of which is the need to identify a concrete, socially significant, and socially problematic area of work to which expertise can be applied. All professions attempt to 'discover' social problems and describe them in terms which imply that they have a unique responsibility to resolve them (Strong, 1979, p.202). Hughes makes a similar but more general point when he remarks that

"Every profession considers itself the proper body to set the terms in which some aspect of society, life or nature is to be thought of, and to define the general lines, or even the details of public policy concerning it" (Hughes, 1975, p.249).

There are of course countless examples of professions engaged in the attempt to define reality in this way, some achieving considerably more success than others. They range from physicians defining the nature of health and sickness and lawyers marking the boundaries to justice, to probation officers (perhaps less successfully) defining the contours of criminality or teachers

delineating the optimum conditions required for learning. The service professions have had some success in accumulating knowledge which, when disseminated through their ideologies, has contributed to defining the terms in which various social issues have been debated, or through which 'social needs' have come to be understood. Success in this is not once and for all, and is likely to be determined by a range of factors which have their own historical particularity,²⁸ although in general, the human service professions, of which youth work is one, have not achieved the status which is enjoyed by physicians and lawyers, the reasons for which have already been discussed in this chapter. Various recent reviews of professional education and training in these occupations²⁹ have arguably weakened and certainly changed their position.

Despite the fragile status of these newer professions, and their vulnerability to various political injunctions, their significance in the processes and practices of normalisation must not be underestimated. Youth workers, social workers, and a variety of other knowledge-based professionals occupy positions from which they routinely define the reality of others. Arguably, they have some success in modifying the attitudes, behaviour, and perceptions of their clients. It is for this reason that they might most appropriately be seen as animating the "... minute disciplines (and) panopticism of every day" (Foucault, 1977, p.223). However, the transformation of 'social' forms of government - exemplified in the collective provision of welfare - over the last fifteen years or so has meant that the influence of the human service professions (themselves predicated on a notion of 'the social') has probably diminished. Part of

²⁸One example of this was the influence of social workers in framing child care legislation in the late 1960s, particularly the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act (Collison, 1980, p.161). Social work ideology with its particular conception of 'need', its emphasis on 'welfare' and 'therapy' had considerable influence in the development of 'intermediate treatment', an alternative to custody for young people.

²⁹ Examples might be the implementation of Circular 9/92 on teacher education, and recent developments in social work education .

this transformation has been a move away from what some politicians regard as 'dependency on welfare' towards the encouragement of 'empowered' individuals defining and managing their own life circumstances for themselves. It is a little ironic that the human service professionals' own definitions of their work have emphasised their commitment to helping individuals to 'help themselves', a stance which assumes a central role in what Halmos (1978) referred to as "the faith of the counsellors".

Networks of power

The preceding discussion begins to explore the connection between the human service professions and wider networks of power. One approach to the social role and position of the professions has focused on the broad institutional and political arena in which they are located and in which they operate. Some aspects of this perspective anticipate the position taken in this thesis. This is now explored further.

Professions and professionals have been seen by some writers as acting on behalf of wider interests to become 'servants of power' (Baritz, 1965, Braverman, 1974). In this argument 'capital' or 'the state' (or perhaps both) have been able to directly co-opt or appropriate professional expertise in order either to further accumulate capital or to exercise some form of social control, which itself supports capital accumulation. In so-called 'post-industrial' society, it is argued by some that professionals constitute a new class with technical knowledge largely supplanting the power of ownership which prevailed in the old industrial order (Cousins, 1987, p.93). The emergence of professionals in this form has also been identified as a consequence of nineteenth and twentieth century bureaucratisation, and the associated growth of corporatism. An early advocate of this characteristically Weberian theme was Wright Mills who argued that professional work has itself become fragmented in a specialised division of professional labour. Thus the rise of technocracy based on the bureaucratisation of professional expertise can be

seen, leading in turn to the emergence of managerialism and the transformation of the 'gentleman professional' of the ancien regime into the technocratic professional of the modern bureaucratic order (Wright Mills, 1956, p.112).

A number of sociologists and other critics have identified the role of the newer professionals in the practices of welfare and therapy as having a particular salience in the management and regulation of contemporary society. The general argument here, exemplified by Esland, is that these human service occupations (almost all of which have come to be regarded as professions over the last forty years or so) are concerned with marking out and subsequently policing deviant or pathological behaviour on behalf of the state (Esland, 1980, p.255). In doing this Esland argues that these occupations have extended technical-rational control throughout the fabric of modern society. It is argued that welfare professionals have achieved something of a monopoly in the production and dissemination of knowledge of social and individual needs or problems. Although this may be overstating their position their professional ideologies outline these needs, propose particular definitions of response and treatment which accord with professional perspectives and values which support the state's aspirations in achieving 'social control'. Thus, 'need' becomes little more than the product of professional and administrative activity (Illich et al, 1977, Smith and Harris, 1972). Esland writes that these 'people workers' are involved in implementing a repertoire of strategies and tactics aimed at 'therapeutic readjustment', and that their focus is

"... invariably on the individual and not on the social structure. ... they act as the rational agents of state policy and the policies of large organisations. They therefore have an implicit political role which is obscured by the ideology of people-helping and welfare" (Esland, 1980, p.255, my emphasis).

This analysis suggests that the human service professions are part of a concerted but veiled attempt to dominate individual subjectivity and repress or constrain the desires of subjects in order that the appropriate conformity is adopted. The welfare state, within whose institutions most of these professionals are employed, is seen as a constituent element of modern capitalist societies and its function is to provide a range of material and therapeutic services which help to sustain extant relations between labour and capital. More importantly, this analysis suggests the complicity of welfare state professionals in servicing capitalism's "functional needs" because "... health, education and other services are almost as essential to the reproduction of labour power as are wages"(Corrigan and Leonard, 1978, p.97). This argument, drawing on Althusser as well as Marx, is that capitalist societies need to ensure the "ideological subjection" of each individual "agent" in order that he or she can take his or her place in the capitalist order. Thus, the argument is that the technical expertise of professionals in general and the newer therapeutic and welfare professionals in particular, have played an important role in consolidating both economic and political power. These professionals have become incorporated as agents of the modern state and are responsible for deploying its power.

There is much of value in this overall approach and its underlying social analysis. Its challenge to the social democratic and Fabian view of professional neutrality alerts us to the professions' wider and deeper political role. However, it contains a fundamental weakness in its reliance on a view in which the state is regarded as both coherent and calculating. This is a view in which the state becomes a subject entity. As such it is an inadequate analysis which does not account for the subtle inflections which typify modern power relations. Stuck as it is with a model of power as injunction or prohibition, it is unable to take account of the positive and productive potential of modern power. Contemporary relations of power and strategies of political rule can only be properly understood in the context of the 'governmentalisation of the

state'. This suggests that the consolidation of political authority is permitted by combinations of practices and techniques, some of which may have dissimilar or contradictory rationales, or conflicting objectives. An example of this might be the ways in which the police force and social workers, although fundamentally different in values, aims and practices are both part of a wider project of governing population. Thus the state is less an authorial entity than an assemblage of loosely related institutions, policies, and practices which breach any conventional boundaries between the 'state and civil society'. These institutions, policies and practices are dispersed throughout social space, forming networks of power and as such offer potential for governing. Professionals have a major role in establishing and extending this and are part of the governmental imperative, rather than somehow 'external' to government. Expertise, institutionalised in professional form, has provided the means of rendering great tracts of social and material reality knowable. Once known, calculated intervention into these domains (perhaps industrial, therapeutic, medical, educational, organisational or managerial) becomes possible. Particularly significant in this context have been the human service professions. They have operated to generate the knowledge and techniques necessary to normalise individual conduct, and in so doing have established and institutionalised "... those disciplines, knowledges and technologies that lay the ground for the emergence of the autonomous, self-regulating subject" (Gane and Johnson, 1993, p.9). It is argued later in this thesis that practices of professional education and training provide examples of such knowledge and technique. Moreover, growing interest in competency-based education and training clearly illustrates an example of the 'governmentalisation of the state'. Rather than competency being something manipulated or imposed from some central location, it is clear that the political and practical energy behind it derives from a range of sources: academics, educationalists, practitioners, learners themselves, economists, and trade unionists as well as politicians. Rather than being

something forced by a central subject entity on to an unwilling society, or manoeuvred behind a veil of ideology, competency-based education has emerged through the deployment of multifarious facets of expertise and knowledge around a set of broad political and governmental objectives. It is in this sense that power should be thought of in relational terms, rather than as a 'zero-sum' notion. Rather than being the property of an individual subject (the state for example), power is an effect which is contingent upon the transformation of broadly defined political objectives into the calculations and actions of a network of agents and institutions.

Disciplinary professions

As the preceding analysis has suggested, the profession has become the principal form in which expertise has been institutionalised in contemporary Western societies. Despite massive changes in the social organisation of the professions, and the immense differences between them, the historically specific form of the liberal profession has been the model by which professions have been understood generally (by themselves and by others). It has also provided the model which reflects the aspirations of occupations seeking autonomy, status, and prestige.

It is important to acknowledge the characteristics of the liberal profession. However, to focus on this exclusively is to lose sight of the ways in which the professions have become incorporated in wider networks of power. It was argued in the previous chapter that modern societies are, if nothing else, disciplinary societies and governed societies, and various professionals have been intimately involved in establishing and maintaining the systems and practices which maintain them. These human service occupations have proliferated during this century: teachers, managers of different kinds, social workers, probation workers, health visitors, psychologists and psychiatrists of varying persuasions, as well as more recently a range of seemingly exotic practitioners (therapists of many kinds, homeopaths, osteopaths, chiropractors, dieticians, and others in the field of 'alternative' medicine and 'lifestyle'), and of

course youth workers.³⁰ These professions have had a crucial role in developing the techniques which have made it possible for individuals to carefully 'work on' their bodies and minds, often meticulously cultivating a process of discipline in the transformation of self. Not only have some professions and professionals - teachers or managers are good examples - contributed to the formation of disciplined bodies, but their practices have also sought to form and shape the 'soul' of the contemporary individual, or the modern subject. This site of power - personality, consciousness, subjectivity, or indeed the 'soul' - is itself constituted by the practices and techniques of discipline. Personality for example, should not be regarded as some kind of 'psychological a priori'. Rather, it is a terrain constructed and marked out by psychological discourse. Such knowledge has 'materialised' personality, made it knowable, thinkable, and amenable to a range of constantly developing and accumulating techniques and therapies, which themselves extend existing knowledge about personality. Youth workers' claims to contribute to the 'personal' or 'social' development of individual young people should be understood as part of a similar process of both intervening and simultaneously accumulating further knowledge of the domains to which they refer. Discourses of 'social education', for example, have long provided the underlying rationale for youth work. Social education both describes and charts a set of interventions designed to modify or enhance young people's capacity in a specific area, whilst its practical deployment also extends practitioner knowledge of young people: their 'needs', characteristics or propensities, for example. Research in this area (either 'academic' or 'practitioner' oriented) produced in written form means that it becomes widely available and potentially influential in academic, practitioner and public domains.

³⁰ It is difficult to get precise figures on this expansion because of the variations in the ways that these occupations are classified at different times. However, to gain a broad picture see Halmos, 1978, p.45-50, Younghusband, 1978, p.109, Halsey, 1988, p.452, 485, 492, Perkin, 1989, p.80.

The human service professions exemplify the kind of discipline-based power and practices which were discussed earlier. The concept of discipline is at least double-edged, and in both senses in which the term is used is an indispensable feature of modern societies. First, discipline is used in the sense of regulating or controlling individuals in order that they are appropriately formed as subject individuals. One might go on to say that under capitalism, the individual subject is thus rendered open to the practices and processes which extract from it economic utility, or its equivalent in appropriate conduct. Indeed there is an underlying argument that it is the techniques of discipline - which characterise the 'human technologies' rather than machine or manufacturing technologies - which permitted the growth of capitalism from the eighteenth century. It is these techniques and their underlying knowledge (management, welfare, health, medicine, and so on) which have secured the degree and form of regulation and control - 'discipline' - necessary for capital's institutions (schools, offices, and factories, for example) to function effectively. Second, disciplines can also be thought of as forms of knowledge which are intimately bound up with the exercise of power. One of the principal characteristics of modern professionals is their reliance on what they seek to portray as a legitimate, distinctive and unique body of knowledge which provides the basis to their claim for a monopoly of expertise. Professionals are implicated in discipline in both its senses. It is precisely this combination of material and discursive factors which is inherent in the practices of the human service professions. The discursive elements act as the legitimators of the material practices in which professionals are engaged. For example, youth workers' interventions in the lives of young people are justified and supported by an appeal to certain knowledge ('theory') which they hold about the needs and characteristics of young people. Goldstein suggests a further way in which the Foucauldian conception of discipline can be read, referring to "... the rigorous 'disciplined' training to which the professional has himself submitted..." (Goldstein,

1984, p.179).³¹ Goldstein points to the pervasive nature of discipline in its different senses (and thus to the sheer ubiquity of modern power). Not only are professionals concerned with the surveillance and regulation of their clients, but they in turn are also similarly caught in the expansive networks of power. Professional education and training itself embodies all the techniques of discipline referred to earlier: surveillance, normalisation and examination, and the metaphor of the Panopticon seems especially apposite here.

Professions in late modernity

Because of the complexity of the modern social, moral, and material order, professionals have become increasingly responsible for managing and organising aspects of the social and material environment (Giddens, 1991, p.27). Modern societies (as disciplinary societies) simply cannot function without the skilled intervention of the professional expert. Increasingly individuals have little choice other than to place faith and trust in the apparent neutrality and disinterested application of professional knowledge. One of the characteristic elements of modernity is the growth of and social reliance on what Giddens refers to as "expert systems", through which the experience of the lay person is mediated and managed. These systems include various aspects of law, fields of technology, different forms of accountancy, highly specialised branches of medicine, and a range of non-medical therapies. Such systems are governed by technical proficiency and professional expertise based on generalisable knowledge which is argued to be valid beyond any given professional/client context. Professionals do not only respond to the demands which are placed on them by their clients, 'the laity'. Their expanding knowledge and expertise actually constitutes new areas of the social and material world as being not only amenable to expert intervention, but construes it in such a way as to make it also seem

³¹ Goldstein notes that in nineteenth century France, bodies called 'conseils de discipline' were entrusted with upholding professional standards.

impossible to manage without the application of their expertise. As already suggested, professionals' ideological practice of this kind is an important aspect of the processes which go towards achieving and sustaining their own professional status. This is not merely to argue that professionals necessarily act in a wilfully deceptive way to somehow 'disable' the laity or achieve high status and material reward, although some critics would argue that this is indeed the case (Illich et al, 1977). Rather, the intention here is also to point to a culture of expertise in which professional knowledge and technique are generated and deployed under the rationale of efficient governance, and in which professionals have so often become the conduits through which governmental power flows.

As part of the contemporary 'culture of expertise', there has been a wide acceptance that an expanding social and moral territory is the legitimate target of professional intervention, although this is increasingly challenged both socially and politically. As well as having high status, the professions have been influential in defining certain aspects of the social world as being of public significance, and marking out the terms in which these are discussed and understood. Professional discourse on crime, punishment, sexuality, sickness and health has become part of the contemporary collective consciousness. The ways in which these areas have been shaped by professional discourse attests to the importance of the professions in influencing collective morality. Professional definitions and explanations of social issues have provided the very fabric of 'social government' (specifically in the form of the welfare state) which reached its high point in the context of the post-war political settlement. Professional expertise has determined the framework in which social government initially formed the objects of its attentions: the 'maladjusted' child, the 'delinquent' young person or the 'dysfunctional' family for example. This expertise has also provided the means by which intervention might transform these objects and their social field: through therapy, counselling or group work for example. As

Halmos argues, the values and ideology of the counsellors (widely construed as those working in the human service professions), particularly those of 'service' and 'altruism' have constituted an ideology of "personal service" (Halmos, 1978) which has come to typify professional activities in modern societies, and has come to play a vital role in creating, managing and regulating them.

One of the central tenets of Fabian welfarism (which has arguably characterised British social policy from the second war until at least the early 1980s) is that the professions (and the 'welfare' professions in particular), are part of a benign and progressive social movement. From a Fabian point of view the professions' political value appears to lie in their actions towards a dual constituency. First, they are 'client oriented', and are obliged to "... give him (the client) what he needs, rather than what he wants" (Marshall, 1963, p.156). This kind of paternalistic authority is based on (acknowledged) expertise, and an ethic of service leading to what Talcott Parsons refers to as "universalism" (Parsons, 1964, p.35). This entails the professional's adoption of standards and criteria which are applied independently of any particular case or individual and (allegedly) in the individual's best interests. Second, it is asserted that professionals are the custodians of an "art or science", which is deployed in the interests of the community as a whole. Although critical of the professions' individualism, it was Marshall's view that they "... are being socialised and the social and public services are being professionalised" (Marshall, 1963, p.163). Thus, the classic nineteenth century model of the professional as independent practitioner was superseded by the emergence of state-funded professionals. Their allegiance allegedly lay with the 'greater good' of a technical-rationally organised society to whose development their expertise was to make a vital contribution. In essence Marshall claimed that the state-organised professionals acknowledged their social responsibility. Marshall's view encapsulates the essentially Fabian position which characterised

the post-war period, and in which the role of the professions was to "... study human needs and construct a scale of human values" (ibid, p.170) in the pursuit of "social efficiency". In other words, the professions became indispensable agents of 'government' in the sense outlined in Chapter Two and as such, the deployment of their allegedly dispassionate technical expertise has been constitutive of a 'social' domain. The professions - like youth workers or social workers - have been pre-eminent in both tracing out the contours of the social domain, and in arguing for a role in its regulation and management. In more or less achieving this, the professions (both the 'true' professions like the law or medicine, and the newer 'semi-professions') have managed to transform their power into authority. Although this authority has been increasingly challenged during the last two decades (through different forms of 'people power' and through the institutionalisation of 'citizen' entitlements in the recent avalanche of 'charters') an important residue remains. In such circumstances expert professionals are involved in the 'production and distribution of certainty' (Bauman, 1992, p.200), without which the bureaucratic order could not function.

The human service professions have also developed an apparently vital role in shaping and managing the subjectivity of their clients. There is a subtle link to be made between the government of modern societies and the techniques of self-government which many professionals seek to encourage in their clients. Professional work in the human services is animated by various claims to be 'non-judgmental', 'non-directive', allowing the individual to be 'self determining', 'starting from where the individual is', and more recently the claim by youth workers and others that their professional intervention is aimed at 'empowering' the individual.³²

Whilst one might argue that these claims are little more than the linguistic and rhetorical fabric

³²For example, the 'official' purpose of youth work is defined as being to "... ensure equality of opportunity for all young people to fulfill their potential as empowered individuals and members of groups and communities... (National Youth Agency, 1992a, p.21)

of professional ideologies, perhaps there is more to it than this. Modern advanced liberal societies are increasingly organised on the assumption that the individual member of these societies (as well as the societies themselves) is better off taking responsibility for himself rather than depending on state welfare or public services, and that political authorities should merely facilitate the processes by which this can occur. As the former British Prime Minister John Major recently put it

"I want to give individuals greater control over their own lives. For every family, the right to have and to hold their own private corner of life; their own home, their own savings, their own security for the future. Building the self-respect that comes from ownership, and showing the responsibility that follows from self-respect: that is our programme for the 1990s. I will put it in a single phrase; the power to choose - and the right to own" (Major, 1994, p,1).

However, despite this neo-liberal commitment to a restricted or 'minimal' form of government, liberalism simultaneously recognises that the private domain of the individual - in his or her family, at work, in public space, or simply in him or herself - and what goes on there, has important political and social implications. It is in the private domain of the family, for example, that the individual learns to regulate his own conduct. The family becomes a mechanism through which a range of socially desirable objectives can be promoted (morality, hygiene, sexuality, economy, and so on) and realised (Donzelot, 1979, Abbott and Sapsford, 1990). To leave these vital tasks to chance would mean political authorities abrogating their proper responsibilities, yet to intervene directly would inevitably contradict some of liberalism's cherished and fundamental principles. Expertise, particularly in the form of the human service professions, has played a major role in bridging the gap between 'private' desire, hope or culpability on the one hand, and wider socio-political objectives on the other. Professionals have been inserted in the gap between the 'private' and 'public' domain and have formed a "dual alliance" with political authorities and private individuals. On the one hand, professional

discourses have shaped and transformed political concerns and interests (for example concerns with productivity, health, social order, and in the case of youth workers, young people's problems and the problem of young people) into knowable and thinkable domains, open to various forms of policy-making and intervention. On the other hand, professionals have also aligned themselves with their 'clients', "...translating their daily worries ... into a language claiming the power of truth, and offering to teach them the techniques by which they might manage better, earn more, bring up healthier or happier children... " (Rose and Miller, 1992, p.188). It is in this way that expert professionals have come to occupy a prominent role in rendering governmental aspirations and initiatives possible. As a consequence of their mastery of knowledge and technique they are able to place these aspirations in the apparently objective and independent realm of professional truth, rather than the litigious and persistently dispute-ridden domain of politics.

As part of their involvement in this dual alliance, many of the service professionals have contributed to what Giddens has referred to as the "reflexive project of the self". This signals a departure from the traditional view of the self as 'given' to a perspective in which the self is formed and realised over time through techniques and practices. In this sense the self is in a constant state of 'becoming' or changing, and can be thought of as a project in which the modern individual negotiates, establishes, and perhaps re-establishes identity "... amid a puzzling diversity of options and possibilities" (Giddens, 1991, p.2). Arguably, Giddens is over-optimistic about the extent to which individuals have access to the resources through which they are able to manage the construction of self in quite the way that is suggested. Those in strong economic positions can gain access to resources - options and possibilities of a truly dazzling variety - which are completely out of reach of those whose economic circumstances are weaker. However, expert professionals have become indispensable guides in the project of the self,

whether through the therapeutic ministrations of Rogerian counsellors, or injunctions on bodily fitness and diet given as part of various self-help health programmes. Such professionals have become increasingly involved in the identification, management, and projected resolution of problems of the 'client self'. These are often associated with intimate areas of an individual's life, about which disclosure or reflection is expected or demanded by the professional. For example, professional managers routinely expect their managees to disclose strengths and weaknesses at 'appraisal'. Psychotherapists require their clients to disclose their fears and fantasies in order that these can be appropriately 'worked through' or exorcised. Counsellors expect those with whom they work to face up to the shortcomings of their personal relationships. Using similar confessional techniques, youth workers attempt to shape or support the development of the 'selves' of the young people with whom they are in contact. Through these and other professionally organised practices, the individual is able to work on his chosen identity in contexts which offer more or less opportunity to do so, and with more or less contact with the expert knowledge of professionals. In this way professionals have become concerned with enabling (or 'empowering') the individual to effect changes to their bodies, their conduct, the way they think about and understand themselves, in effect to exercise and practice a variety of 'technologies of the self'. Most importantly paradigm examples of these technologies can be found in the practices which underlie the acquisition of professional competence.

The shift from essentially 'social' forms of government to approaches which emphasise the importance of 'empowering' the enterprising individual subject in his or her own self-government will be discussed in Chapter Four. In one sense, social government entailed experts having a direct responsibility - through welfare particularly - for the government of populations. If the so-called 'welfare consensus', 'post-war consensus', or 'political settlement' meant anything, it represented a belief in the integrity and wisdom of professionals, and thus an

acceptance of the legitimacy of their claim to autonomy. Shifting political rationalities have apparently rendered this perspective obsolete. In place of trust, there is the call for accountability. An elaborate network of techniques and devices aimed at achieving transparency in professional activity has been created, the competency approach to the education and training of professionals being part of this. Pollitt charts the growth of what he refers to as "neo-Taylorian managerialism" in public services in both the USA and the UK. This relies on the elaboration of clear targets, outcomes to be achieved, the use of performance indicators to measure achievements, and the identification and rewarding of individual achievement through merit payments and promotion (Pollitt, 1993, p.56). Pollitt suggests that such approaches have been somewhat softened by the recent emergence of the 'quality' approach in managing public services. Exemplified by the Citizen's Charter introduced in 1992, the performance of 'service providers' - including professionals - has become subject to various indicators of 'quality', 'value', and the extent to which they provide the consumer with 'choice' (HMSO, 1991). Although managerialist practices in the public sector have incorporated new and novel devices for ensuring efficiency, their fundamental purposes have been to secure the visibility and accountability of individuals working in these services. Although Pollitt may correctly identify a superficially more moderate approach to the regulation of professionals in public services than the neo-Taylorist approach of the 1980s, the techniques adopted in the 1990s retain their disciplinary edge. They establish norms, maintain surveillance, and deploy examination - either by self or others - to monitor, evaluate, and regulate professional activities. Individual professionals have become locked into a network of power techniques which attempt to police their thinking and behaviour in ever more meticulous fashion. Ball, for example, shows how 'appraisal' has become one of the principal features of contemporary education management (Ball, 1990b, p.159). As a technique, appraisal has been deployed throughout the

service occupations, mobilising the technology of the examination in order to penetrate and shape the professional self. Such techniques are partially designed to facilitate 'self-management', and to enhance the capacity of the individual to become autonomous and able to regulate his or her own activity. These distantiated forms of regulation and control have expanded considerably as systems of welfare and professional activity have fragmented under dominant political and governmental strategies. Professional activity has frequently become located in 'cost centres', and framed in terms of 'one-line budgets', as dispersed sites of professional work have become virtually disconnected from (or perhaps more appropriately 'virtually' connected to) central administrative controls. A whole repertoire of budgetary and audit techniques has become inserted into professional jobs, and become part of professional responsibilities. These should be seen as techniques designed to reconfigure professional work, and to render professionals accountable through the language and practices of rational administration. Ironically, developments of these kinds mirror the financial and business controls which regulated the classic professions of the nineteenth century. However, when contemporary professional activities and actions are translated into fiscal terms they become transformed by taking on a new visibility and becoming amenable to new forms of intervention. Their purpose, like that of competency-based education and training, is to isolate, illuminate, and make amenable to judgement every action taken by the individual professional in order to secure accountability.

Conclusions

This chapter has suggested that the profession is the principal form in which expertise is institutionalised in modern societies. The professions have achieved a position of great significance in extending governmental possibilities in these societies. It is this position, and the relative autonomy which accompanies it, which differentiates the professions from other

occupations. Professionals in the 'human services', although not achieving the authority (and thus autonomy) of the 'true' or 'classic' professions, have become relatively powerful. Their work in shaping and managing the subjectivity of their clients has placed them in positions where they become (potentially at least) 'definers of reality'. Youth workers are part of the complex of service professionals which has expanded so much over the last fifty years or so.

Implicit in conventional sociological analyses of the professions is a perception in which the professions and the process of professionalisation is seen as a problem of the relation between occupational groups and the state as separate and distinct entities. The tendency has been for this relationship to be traced out in terms of state intervention in the affairs of occupational groups on the one hand, and the extent to which these groups are subsequently enabled or permitted to achieve professional autonomy on the other. The discussion in Chapter Three suggests that this perception of a duality of state and professions is not entirely helpful, relying as it does on a sovereign or juridical view of power. As argued here, the professions should be seen as part of a loose ensemble of institutions, occupations, knowledges, techniques, practices, tactics, and calculations which themselves constitute the modern state. To understand the role of the professions in contemporary societies, it is necessary to take proper account of the concept of governmentality, and to locate the analysis in terms of this concept. This chapter has argued that the human service professions are indispensable elements in the practices and processes of government, and as such they have emerged as part of the assemblage of institutions which constitute the 'governmental state'. Their growth and influence in British society - what Perkin refers to as "the rise of professional society" (Perkin, 1989) - can be seen as coterminous with the entrenchment of disciplinary techniques through a range of institutions: schools, prisons, hospitals, factories, and so on.

The professions - and perhaps particularly the 'human service professions' like social work and youth work - play a crucial role in undertaking the complex practical day-to-day work of government. As such, they are constantly engaged in exercising power in a variety of processes and practices of normalisation, through which subjects are formed and in which they form themselves. The professions construct, manage, and apply the range of knowledge and technique which has helped to form the terrain from which the modern and autonomous subject has appeared during the last century or so. The professions are an intrinsic and indispensable part of the work of "surveillance, analysis, intervention, modification", which comprise the essentials of governmental activity. As Johnson suggests, the professions are deeply involved in the "... constitution of the objects of politics..." (Johnson, 1993, p.151). Without professional expertise, the work of government could not proceed. It is precisely because of this that it has become so crucial to ensure that the professions themselves are effectively managed and regulated. The question of 'who governs the governors?' has become important and it is argued here that competency-based professional education and training has become a significant element in achieving this. In Chapter Four, consideration is given to the shifting political contexts in which different forms of professional education - and perceptions of professional competence- have emerged.

Chapter Four
The Political Context of Professional Education:
From Technical-Rational Government
to Individual Competency

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to show historical connections between the politics of welfare and changes in professional education. To establish this, parallels will be drawn between three models of professional education (Appendix 1) and three forms of social structure which it is suggested underlie the historical periods discussed. It is argued that the human service professions have employed different forms of professional education, the most recent relying on the discourse of competency, during different stages of social development.

Late modernity has become increasingly reliant on complex 'expert systems'. The professions have become the principal contemporary social form in which expertise is institutionalised and managed. Processes of professional formation - education and training - occur in the context of a network of relationships between potentially competing interests: Government, employing organisations, clients and users of services, professionals themselves and professional educators. In Chapter Four it is argued that to understand changes in professional education, account must be taken of underlying social structural changes. 'Models' of professional education have little meaning outside of the societal context and processes from which they emerge.

It is suggested in this chapter that a 'social' mode of governing (the collective provision of welfare for example, which prevailed from the post-war years until the late 1970s) gave rise to a form of professional education consistent with its own underlying rationale. In this, the problem of government was seen largely as a technical matter which could be resolved by the deployment of rational expertise. Forms of social government have given way in part to

governmental strategies which emphasise individual responsibilities and seek to work on the terrain of individual subjectivity. Governmental strategies recently adopted in Britain and elsewhere (under the rubrics of 'privatisation' or 'decentralisation' for example) incorporate attempts to establish new 'freedoms' which the individual is expected to manage or exercise, and in so doing to discipline his own conduct. The competency-based approach to education and training reflects this preoccupation with securing 'government through individuals'. Originally emerging in the 1970s in teacher education in the United States (Fagan, 1984, p.6-8), the notion of competency is now sometimes employed in the cultivation and management of the professional self. As currently used, the idea of competency can only be properly understood in the context of political changes which have taken place in Britain and elsewhere. The rationale and target of governmental activity appears to have altered significantly over the last two decades, and government through the 'free' compliance and enlisted co-operation of individuals in their own regulation and self-management - as in the case of competency-based education and training - has arguably become the major political strategy of our time. Although this chapter suggests that the 'New Right' has been instrumental in fostering this strategy, it would be wrong to attribute this mode of government's underlying values and principles - its political rationality - to any one political party or group. Its power lies in its appeal across broad tracts of both popular and political 'liberal' thought.

Individual self-discipline is an essential capacity in sustaining collective life. Discipline of this kind touches on both the 'private' self and the wider domain of public conduct forming a relay between the 'internal' world of the individual and the 'external' society in which the individual is located, flattening the distinction between the two as it does so. In doing this, discipline attempts to link political rule and the government of the self by establishing a continuity between the two. Thus, techniques of obedience and self-regulation (of manner,

bodily movement, speech, and even thought itself) instilled by school or family practices, are brought into accord with wider political strategies through which collective life is organised. Since the eighteenth century³³ disciplinary practices and techniques of different kinds have formed the bedrock of government in the modern state, working to establish alignments between the worlds of political intent and private need or desire. In the context of professional education current competency techniques operate on a similar boundary between the private and public domains, and as part of a related process. The discourse of competency has been absorbed into practices of government³⁴ and as such competency is becoming an important component in the repertoire of techniques and technologies politically deployed in the detailed management of population. Competency techniques are used in the management of individual and collective capability, and they employ aspects of surveillance, normalisation, and examination. They are also elements in the diversity of means adopted by individuals to 'work on' or shape themselves in a variety of ways. This chapter argues that competency has become important in the attempt to form 'enterprising' and 'competent' individuals in a wider project of economic and moral reconstruction.

Chapter Four is written in three broad sections. The first explores the idea of 'social government', particularly in its manifestation in the form of the welfare state, and discusses the technical-rational mode of professional education characteristic of that era. Social government

³³Oestreich argues that interest in the idea of self-discipline emerged in the sixteenth century as a consequence of European interest in classical military strategies. This led to the study of the moral basis to the efficiency of the ancient Roman military, and to interest in Roman stoicism, a central aspect of whose ethics was the cultivation of self-discipline. This ethics was widely disseminated through practices of 'moral education', and later played an important role in the development of industrialism and democracy, both of which presuppose the 'responsible' and 'disciplined' individual (Oestreich, 1982, p.7).

³⁴The term 'government', is used throughout this chapter in the way outlined earlier in Chapter Two. It covers the range of rationalities, techniques, programmes, and strategies which are deployed to maintain, and improve the condition of the population. It embraces "...all those concerns with managing and administering social and personal existence in the attempt to introduce economy, order and virtue" (Rose, 1992, p.143).

was prefigured by a period of ‘emergent welfarism’ (roughly 1900 - 1945) which also sustained its own characteristic form of professional education. The second section identifies social government’s transformation in the 1970s and 1980s. This section discusses the growing significance of the ‘free’ individual as the focus of contemporary government. The third section makes links between contemporary modes of government and competency-based education and training, and explores the discourse of competency in the context of professional education. The broad themes underlying ‘government’ and professional education are shown in Figure 1 and explored in detail in the remainder of the chapter.³⁵

Figure 1: Forms of Government and Modes of Professional Education

Historical Period	Governmental Form	Rationale for Professional Education
1900 - 1940	‘Emergent Welfarism’	‘Pre-Technocratic Discourse’
1940 - 1970s	‘Social Government or Welfarism’	‘Technical-Rational Discourse’
1970s - present	‘Advanced ³⁶ or Neo-Liberalism’	‘Discourse of Competency’

Promoting ‘social government’: post-war consensus

The changes which have taken place in the organisation and management of ‘welfare’ (in the widest sense) during the last two decades or so are well known. Most commentators chart the history of welfare in Britain along a narrative path drawn by the rise of ‘laissez-faire’ economic and social ideology in the nineteenth century, with this being subsequently supplanted by increasingly managerialist approaches to welfare, particularly those informed by ‘Fabianism’ later in the twentieth century. These trends are generally reckoned to have culminated in the cementing of a Fabian inspired consensus about public welfare in the years following the

³⁵ The concern here is with the broad features which characterise these periods, rather than an argument that one historical period changes to another in any mechanistic sense. As such, any labels given to the ‘periods’ designate ways in which at those times, attempts have been made to problematise the social world and represent the interventions considered necessary in its governance.

³⁶ The term comes from Rose, 1996b, p.40.

second war. The consensus was principally formed around Keynesian economics, the 1942 Beveridge Report on social insurance, the 1944 Education Act, and the 1944 Employment Policy White paper³⁷. The narrative circle is completed and closed by the eventual triumph of Thatcherism and the so-called 'New Right' in the nineteen seventies and eighties, signalling the failure of consensus politics and policy (see for example Gamble, 1987, Johnson, 1987, Kavanagh, 1987, Dutton, 1991, Glynn, 1994).

Structural changes which have taken place in the last twenty years or so should be seen as more significant than might be implied by the conventional account of the break-down in the supposed post-war constitutional and welfare consensus. The post-war provision of welfare through an assemblage of institutions, occupations, policies, and techniques is a primary means by which government has sought to "... encourage national growth and well-being through the promotion of social responsibility and the mutuality of social risk" (Rose and Miller, 1992, p.192). Welfare comprises the panoply of 'services' (educational, insurantal, medical, therapeutic, and so on) which are structured and organised on the basis of 'the social', "...a particular sector in which quite diverse problems and special cases can be grouped together, a sector comprising specific institutions and an entire body of qualified personnel" (Deleuze, 1979, p.ix). Used in this way, the term 'social' designates a particular way of thinking about and representing a range of problems concerning collective existence and conduct. As a consequence of newly accumulated knowledge of population (construed as an object of inquiry, administration and government), the nineteenth century 'discourse of the social' incorporated a range of philanthropic activities (social work, child saving, youth work, 'moral welfare' work

³⁷There are commentators who do not subscribe to the view that consensus has dominated British politics since the war. Butler for example asks important questions about "...for whom, and for what purposes theories of consensus are useful and interesting" (Butler, 1993, p.435). Nevertheless, despite these critiques, the dominant view in social policy literature embraces the idea of consensus.

and so on) whose institutions and agents acted on a range of concerns and problems across a diversity of sites on the social body. They were later partially absorbed by the state's formal network of mechanisms and institutions concerned with the overall welfare of the population at large. Charitable organisations, philanthropists, clerics, physicians, politicians and others can all be seen as part of a loose alliance, an assemblage which in sometimes contradictory ways, has attempted to intervene in and manage aspects of the social and moral life of the population in such a way as to optimise social stability and well-being, so necessary to the accumulation of capital.

The concept of 'social welfare' signifies more than the mere extension of state intervention in the collective life of the population. Welfare practices and programmes attempt to support a range of social and economic objectives by creating links between the diverse agents and institutions seeking to know and transform the social body. This network of power comprises a multiplicity of institutions (the education services, social services, youth services, housing services, health service, and so on), occupational groups (teachers, administrators, youth workers, social workers, housing officers, physicians, etc.), means of representing the social domain (reports, research programmes, policies, scientific knowledge, statistics etc.), and 'social' programmes themselves (the 'Urban Programme', various health campaigns, 'job creation' programmes, and so on). In this sense, welfare exemplifies Foucault's concept of government as an ensemble of calculations, tactics, institutions, and apparatuses which facilitate the exercise of power over population. Because of its complexity, this ensemble is not orchestrated from any central point in a co-ordinated way. Rather, welfare is fundamentally ambiguous and constituted by a range of often temporary and unstable alliances and activities (Harrison, 1991, p.212). For example, clear boundaries between so-called 'public', 'private', or 'voluntary' initiatives are often difficult to discern in practice. The activities of each form a

network whose elements sometimes operate in harmony and at others conflict, although they may share common aspirations and rationales to increase the general fund of well-being and collective stability. As such this diversity of institutions and powers forms a complex network which regulates and manages the processes and goods of 'social welfare'.

A number of political elements are usually referred to as characterising politics and policy in the period from the second war until the 1970's. Typically, Gamble (1987, p.189-190) identifies three main factors which established the so-called 'post-war consensus' and the high-water mark of social government: a shift in voting patterns during the 1920s and 30s which resulted in a post-war political equilibrium, a realignment of capital and labour permitting greater trade union involvement in economic policy-making, and a programme of post-war reconstruction leading to an increasingly interventionist state. It is this latter area in which the role of social government becomes most evident through the application of Keynesian economic policies, and Beveridge's plans for social insurance, resulting in what Gordon refers to as "the politics of prosperity" (Gordon, 1991, p.34). The adoption of a Keynesian economic model came with the recognition that laissez-faire economics could lead to simultaneous high unemployment, high inflation, and under-utilised production capacity. Keynes' model of an economy, based on a critique of and radical departure from classical economics, incorporated a notion of 'market failure' and advocated prudent government intervention to stimulate the demand side of the economy in order to encourage a high level of economic activity.³⁸

³⁸Keynes' work provided a new way of problematising and representing the economic domain. The model introduces new concepts - 'aggregate demand' or 'aggregate supply' for example - which have enabled economics to be thought about in new ways, and for new interventions to be made in what comes to be regarded as 'the economy'. Keynesian demand management led to a period of continuous high employment over thirty years or so following the war in which the UK unemployment rate never exceeded an annual figure of 2.4%, and dropped to as little as 1 or 1.5% of the total labour force (Artis, 1989, p.11). This coincides with the period which we have defined as the high point of 'social government'.

Keynes and Beveridge are conventionally depicted as providing the two main intellectual foundations on which the modern British welfare state has been erected. Whilst Keynes articulated a radical way of representing an entity called 'the economy' and intervening in it to 'socialise' its operations and functions, it was Beveridge who devised a system of universal social insurance as part of a "... comprehensive policy of social progress" (Beveridge, 1942, p.6). This was intended to lead to material, social, and moral reconstruction in the post-war period. Drawing on earlier narratives of reason and progress, principally those of the Fabians and the Webbs, Beveridge's scheme was an affirmation of 'social rights', and confirmed the state as guarantor of social progress. This was to be achieved through an elaborate bureaucratic apparatus from which a proliferation of expert professionals were deployed to manage social and moral aspects of collective life. Their activities were based on the accumulation of knowledge of the population's various domains and dimensions (its educational potential, its requirements for housing, for benefits, for therapeutic and support services, and more latterly for employment training, within which the practices of competency have emerged), representing these in a vocabulary intelligible to those concerned, assessing their condition, and subsequently calculating and initiating the appropriate intervention on behalf of society. In transforming the essentially juridical subject (the individual as the bearer of legal or constitutional rights) into the social citizen (with social 'needs' and responsibilities) the Keynes-Beveridge axis was a prime example of power's positive capacity to reconstitute the individual in a new and innovative form. Citizenship in Beveridge's terms was (and remained) the expression of interdependence. It entailed an accommodation of rights and expectations framed by the mutual obligations which were established between the individual and society, with the intention of forging the harmonious coexistence of state and civil society. The principal difference between Beveridge's social democratic position and more recently articulated forms

of Conservatism is not necessarily in their broad aspirations - those associated with 'governmentality' and in particular the significance of the 'responsible self' - but in the detail of the strategies adopted in seeking to achieve these. Indeed, the growing deployment of practices in which individual subjectivity is the principal target of government is notable particularly because it accords with the values and aspirations of a broad political spectrum.³⁹

'Social government': from 'pre-technocratic' to 'technical-rational' professional education

In this section a model of professional education which became prominent in higher education institutions during the period of 'social' government and which was based on technical-rational discourse, is discussed.

Technical-rational discourse embodies the Aristotlean concept of 'techne'. Techne contrasts with the idea of 'praxis' which is essentially value-laden and concerned with moral matters: the 'good society' or 'human flourishing', for example. Techne's instrumental logic assumes that both objectives and the means of achieving them can be unambiguously defined in value-free terms. Technical-rational discourse is positivist in that it insists on the separation of 'fact' and 'value', and like other forms of positivism it rejects metaphysics in the constitution of knowledge. Technical-rationalism fosters the idea that knowledge deriving from empirical science offers the means of realising goals through the deployment of correct procedures. This putatively 'value-free' approach is of course nothing of the sort. It celebrates the value of empirical science, and presupposes the rationality of conduct which is consistent with technical recommendations. As Habermas suggests, this is a rationality which is normative, and which seeks to shape social organisation on the basis of 'efficiency' and 'economy' of procedure

³⁹For example, the recent report from the Commission on Social Justice established by the late John Smith contains much which would not appear out of place in many Conservative Party texts. Its language is that of national regeneration and reconstruction achieved inter alia, through the exercise of "individual responsibility", and the maximisation of "personal effort" (Commission for Social Justice, 1994). The Labour Government's Green Paper on 'lifelong learning' continues to develop this theme (Department for Education and Employment, 1998).

(Habermas, 1974, p.270). Technical-rational or “technocratic” discourse has long been evident in professional education and training in the human service occupations (Younghusband, 1949, Younghusband, 1978, Schön, 1983, p.21, Bines and Watson, 1992, p.12). In later chapters its influence in the professional training and education of youth workers is explored.

As has been argued, the professions played a crucial role in managing the efficient operation of the ‘social state’. The means of preparing professionals reflected a commitment to technical and instrumental values also evident in the organisation of a ‘welfare state’ predicated on the utilisation of technical expertise. Fabianism was committed to the rational application of knowledge in the efficient resolution of ‘social problems’ and drew a parallel (however implicitly) between the epistemology of the ‘natural sciences’ and their associated ‘technologies’, and the ‘social sciences’ and their corresponding ‘social’ technologies. As material technologies like electrical or mechanical engineering relied on the application of ‘basic’ science, so too it was implied, could social work or youth work deploy fundamental tenets and principles drawn from the ‘social’ sciences. A particularly clear example of this thinking comes in a Fabian pamphlet from 1943. In discussing social security arrangements, the author argued that

“... the rational method can point the way to a specific and inescapable programme of action... if persons with qualified and trained minds will apply themselves in a disinterested manner to a great social problem of this kind, the proper principles will emerge so unmistakably that the right solution will cease to be a matter of mere opinion and become a question of scientific knowledge.” (Clarke, Cochrane, and Smart, 1987, p. 95).

Such confidence in the disinterested and efficient deployment of expertise seems curious and naive, its underlying assumptions and claims appearing both inflated and unrealistic. However, this faith resonates powerfully with the underlying principles of the ‘technical-rational’ approach to the education of professionals. This new technical-rationality so characteristic of

the post-war period contrasts with the ‘pre-technocratic’ or apprenticeship approach which dominated earlier forms of professional education. The latter is shown in its political and social policy context in Figure 2 and is designated ‘emergent welfarism’.

Figure 2: ‘Emergent Welfarism’ and the Professions

1900 - 1940: ‘Emergent Welfarism’	
i) Dominant political rationality	Challenges to economic individualism and laissez-faire by organised labour; calls for increasing <u>ad-hoc</u> state intervention in the ‘government’ of population; ‘national efficiency’.
ii) Characteristics of public policy	Departures from Poor Law and the establishment of rudimentary services to meet ‘individual need’; creation of municipal powers in public health and housing; establishment of labour exchanges, state supported unemployment and health insurance and state funded old-age pensions.
iii) Professional forms	Class-based, elitist and powerful ‘true’ professions; ‘professionalism’ as vocation or ‘moral calling’; the professional as ‘independent practitioner’ or ‘partner’ and professions as instruments of imperial governance; ‘semi-professions’ little more than trade unions.
iv) Modes of professional education	‘Pre-technocratic’ or apprenticeship mode of professional formation focusing on the mastery of practical routines and knowledge supporting these; control of any professional education lodged with professional associations and dominance of practitioner culture.

Pre-technocratic models of professional education privilege practical ‘on-the-job’ experience and learning over the acquisition of ‘formal’, abstract or codified knowledge in an ‘off-the-job’ setting. The model’s epistemology is often contained in its reliance on routine (although potentially complex) ‘tips and wrinkles’, ‘cookbook’ and ‘handbook’ knowledge into which the novice professional is socialised through practice. Acquisition of the occupation’s culture (its values, working procedures, skills and so on) typically occurs through the apprenticeship of the novice to an experienced practitioner. As in traditional apprenticeships, graduated exposure to the rules, practices and routines of the occupational culture leads to the development of skills as

well as the occupation's normative codes.⁴⁰ When used in the preparation of professionals, the apprenticeship may incorporate a limited amount of 'formal' instruction through day-release classes for example (Bines and Watson, p.12). As Johnson shows, this form of professional education prevailed in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because of the state's dependency on the professions in achieving and maintaining imperial governance. The professional associations (as practitioner interest groups) rather than academic institutions became powerful through their symbiotic relationship with the state in which one could not function without the other. Mobile professional associations controlled by practitioner cultures rather than academic culture acted as examining and accrediting bodies overseas, and in consequence, academic professionals were subordinate to practitioner associations as occupational gatekeepers (Johnson, 1984, p.22-23). As such, these bodies (and the associated form of practice-dominated professional education) were powerful agents of government in both senses of the word.

The critique of the pre-technocratic model highlights its inability to enable the novice to go beyond the immediate day-to-day experience of occupational life, and practice becomes little more than routine and repetition in a 'closed system' of learning. Arguably, in occupations dealing with 'moral' matters and in which practitioners are involved in making decisions based on value rather than technical procedures (the human service occupations are one example), apprenticeship offers an inadequate or incomplete means of preparing people for the ambiguous and changing demands which apply to such activities. The limits of apprenticeship training are evident when one considers the extent to which 'good practice' can be learnt simply by observing the performance of experienced practitioners and trying to replicate their actions.

⁴⁰ As a social form (and like professionalism), apprenticeship is a mechanism of occupational control. It enables specific skills - seen as social capital - to be transferred through the regulated recruitment of the apprentice and his initiation into the "secrets" of the craft (Coy, 1989, p.3-4).

Even if the novice could deduce the rules and routines of practice, the intelligence required to enable him to use these may not be developed, and competence may not be transferable to other situations.

In contrast, technical-rational or technocratic approaches to professional education have other features which tie them to their own historical period in which a fundamentally new way of defining 'social' problems had emerged. These features are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: 'Social Government' or 'Welfarism' and the Human Service Professions

1940 - 1970s: 'Social Government' or 'Welfarism'	
i) Dominant political rationality	Post-war demands for social change and residual perceptions of war-time consensus leads to post-war 'Keynes-Beveridge' settlement and 'political consensus'; social and institutional reform aimed at diminishing inequality; 'social citizenship' and individual rights to welfare balanced by collective obligations; rational social planning through the deployment of <u>neutral</u> expertise; belief that the state could underwrite social progress.
ii) Characteristics of public policy	Relatively comprehensive, collective and <u>centrally managed</u> system of social insurance, education, health, employment and welfare benefits.
iii) Professional forms	Expansion of 'semi-professional' sector (particularly the 'human service' professions) as a major element in the technocratic resolution of 'social' problems and the achievement of social progress; semi-professionals emulate the 'true' professions through the ideology of 'professionalism'; semi-professionals as employees of the state; relatively high degree of 'professional autonomy'.
iv) Modes of professional education	'Technical-rational' mode of professional formation; the separation of 'theory and practice' in the form of a disciplinary knowledge-base deriving from neutral and objective 'science'; application of disciplinary base to practice as 'principles of practice' which are generalised into a 'theory of practice'; control of professional education largely in the academy and dominance of 'academic professionals'.

Unlike apprenticeship, technical-rationalism acknowledges that professional work relies heavily on knowledge deriving from sources beyond the practical and routine world of occupational life and the development of a disciplinary base is therefore vital in doing this. The disciplinary base acts to establish a body of unique knowledge which both legitimates the occupation (qua

profession and thus functions ideologically) and provides the technical underpinning to its work. Acquired theory becomes the means by which action can be located in its wider social and moral context, providing the professional with a rationale and foundation for action. In accounts of technical-rationality, theory and practice are typically related in a more or less linear way in which professionals apply knowledge to practical situations in the process of achieving appropriate outcomes. Schein provides a paradigm model of this approach (Schein, 1973, p.43). In this, professional preparation is constituted by the acquisition of three forms of knowledge.

First, a 'basic science' component provides the foundational epistemology and the systematic body of knowledge on which the professional enterprise rests. For example, in a technical-rational approach to the professional education of social workers, theories of society and social change, or delinquency and the disturbed personality form part of this knowledge component. Theory of this kind claims universal and objective status which derives from its empirical (and thus 'scientific') source.

Second, 'applied science' comprising generalisations, problem-solving principles and procedures offers the means of interpreting and mobilising basic science (probably from various disciplines) in the specific context of professional practice. In effect this is a 'theory of practice'. This latter component derives validity from the underlying foundation of basic science. In the example of social work, casework or counselling theory might represent this domain of knowledge. Both rely on fundamental concepts and models deriving from psychology.

Third, professional preparation entails the acquisition of skills and dispositions some of which rely on underlying basic and applied science. This component guides the practitioner in delivering services in particular ways to users or clients. In social work this component might include basic skills in relationship-building, and the attitudes which are thought necessary to

frame these: equality of opportunity or client autonomy and self-determination, for example. According to Schön, linear programmes of technical-rational professional education (in the university for example) introduce the novice to basic and applied knowledge, followed by his immersion in practical work (placements or supervised practice) in which knowledge can be systematically applied to 'real-world' problems (Schön, 1983, p.27). Professional competence is subsequently assessed (through formal examination, for example) in terms of the acquisition of the three forms of knowledge referred to by Schein, and their appropriate application in practice.

In the subsequent part of this discussion, some of the emergent criticism of technical-rationality is briefly considered. The discussion also touches on criticisms which can be understood as an attack on 'theory-in-general' as much as on technical-rational practice in particular. The most trenchant critique of technical-rationality derives from 'humanism'.⁴¹ This mirrors the wider critique which 'social government' has attracted over the last twenty years or so and suggests reasons why the discourse of competency has been able to take root in professional education and training.

The humanist critique starts with ontological matters, arguing that human service work (teaching or youth work, for example) is fundamentally concerned with the person as a unique subject rather than the generalised object of professional knowledge. This is exemplified in a discussion of midwifery knowledge in which Siddiqui suggests that midwifery

“... is concerned with humanity or 'unnatural sciences' which cannot be... controlled because people are unpredictable, individual, have values, attitudes, emotions and feelings which are perceived and expressed in diverse ways and experienced in diverse contexts” (Siddiqui, 1994, p.419).

⁴¹ Schön's critique of technical-rationality has become predominant, and his own model of so-called 'reflective practice' has been eagerly received by academic and professional communities. Like technical-rationalism, it can be most appropriately understood as comprising a specifically 'humanistic' rationality which problematises aspects of the world in specific ways, and offers responses to the problems it identifies.

Siddiqui suggests that the technical-rational epistemology of practice is built on an ontology which objectifies and violates by failing to take account of the subject's uniqueness. In her 'values' critique of technical-rationality she argues that this uniqueness - the subject's essential humanity - is beyond the perception or control of rational science. Siddiqui's observations suggest the main features of the underlying knowledge of technical-rational epistemology. This is knowledge which is assumed to have a 'uniform' quality enabling professionals to form generalisations which assist in dealing with the exigencies of day-to-day practice, and of normalising their human target. In effect this paradigm rests on the assumption that professional work is characterised by relatively predictable 'closed' situations in which professional knowledge can be systematically utilised to achieve desired outcomes. This is a view in which professional work although potentially complex, is none the less characterised by routine problem-solving in which "... there are sufficient uniformities in problems and in devices for solving them to qualify the solvers as professionals... professionals apply very general principles, *standardised* knowledge, to concrete problems..." (Schön, 1983, p.24). In this sense professional competence is constituted in the 'correct' application of disciplinary (in both senses) knowledge in more-or-less predetermined situations.

For Siddiqui (drawing on Schön), it is partly the 'indeterminacy' of professional work and problems (essentially human indeterminacy) which renders technical-rationality practically redundant as well as morally objectionable. The argument here is that the world is 'fuzzy-edged' and requires the active subject (whether a professional or anyone else) to engage in a practical hermeneutics to make sense of situations with which he is confronted. In professional practice, this activity is embodied in "reflection in action" (Schön, 1987, p.22) entailing the deployment of "personal" or "tacit" knowledge" (Polanyi, 1962, p.300, Eraut, 1995, p.17). Professionals are described here as engaging in a particular kind of 'knowing' which inheres in

their responses to the uncertain and indeterminate nature of the situations which they encounter.⁴² Much of this knowledge, it is argued, cannot be expressed in the form of 'propositional knowledge' ('knowing that' in Ryle's terms), and is mobilised only in action ('knowing how').⁴³ In counselling a client in social work, teaching a class, or constructing a medical diagnosis, professional work entails the reflexive generation of knowledge within practice itself. This implies that professional knowledge, far from being a bounded commodity which is routinely applied in concrete situations, is a conglomeration of knowledges from various sources which are interpreted, developed and integrated into 'micro-cultures' of practice. 'Personal knowledge' may be based on previous experience which has been transformed through reflection, some of it may be selected and reinterpreted from the canon, and some may be deliberately and consciously applied while at other times intuitively used (Eraut, 1995, p.17). Importantly there will be distinctions between the individual professional's 'personal knowledge', and the codified and publicly accessible knowledge underlying a profession's claim to professional status which may serve primarily ideological functions.

Intellectual activity of the kind referred to here inevitably entails questions of 'value'. Technical-rational epistemology has no purchase on this because it (allegedly) asks no questions about purpose, assuming that the real-world problems of the human service occupations can be analysed solely in terms of method and efficiency, and by divorcing fact from value (Hodkinson and Issit, 1995, p.5). Here the critique centres on the principle that notions like 'education' or 'health' (whose meaning like that of other 'facts' in the technical-rational domain seems unproblematic) cannot be reduced to illusory objective or value-free status. Ideas about what counts as being educated, or what it means to enjoy good health are normative and thus bound

⁴² There are connections here with the cultural competence which the ethnomethodologists and others attribute to 'members' in the business of 'practical reasoning' in everyday life.

⁴³ Ryle challenges the idea that intelligent practice comprises two processes, 'theorizing' and 'doing', and that the distinction between 'knowing that' and 'knowing how' cannot provide a basis for intelligent action.

up in arguments about value. As essentially 'moral' issues they cannot be transformed into mere 'technical' matters, or rendered amenable to technical solutions.

The location of technical-rational professional education in higher education institutions creates the potential for conflicting definitions of professional competence arising as a consequence of the relationship between theory and practice. In the academy's hierarchy of knowledge, abstract knowledge in the form of 'science' is typically accorded higher status than 'professional' or 'applied' knowledge. It is argued that this has led to a division of labour in which academics and practitioners have become 'separated', and a disjunction between 'academic' and 'practitioner' value systems established. The organisation of universities in 'schools' and 'departments' contributes to the fragmentation of knowledge into distinct domains over which academic norms predominate. The academy's normative structure selects and shapes curricular and research priorities whose definition derives from an academic perspective. The professional knowledge base thus becomes increasingly framed in terms of technical-rational principles (Eraut, 1995, p.10), widening the gap between professional educators (qualified educators) and practitioners. This is reflected in a separation between academic and practical knowledge. The pressure to 'academicise' the curriculum of aspiring professional occupations has the potential to lead to the marginalisation of the 'vocational' elements of some occupations. The professional education of pharmacists is an example of this. In order to maintain its status in the academy, its professional curriculum has increasingly drawn on 'hard science' whilst down-grading vocational aspects of the work (Becher, 1990, p.135). Because of the fragmentation of knowledge and practice implicit in technical-rationality and its embeddedness in the organisation of higher education institutions, competing definitions of the knowledge base thought to be needed by novice professionals can arise. Significant factors are the extent to which knowledge is disseminated by 'academics' or 'practitioners', the culture of the institution

or the course in which this occurs ('academic' or 'practice' led) and thus different conceptions of the profession itself (Bines and Watson, 1992, p.13). This entails a political power struggle: a contestation around what counts as professional in any given context.

In the framework of technical-rationalism, professional competence may be constituted in the extent to which novice professionals are able to demonstrate their acquisition of 'academic' knowledge. Although vocational elements may retain their traditional importance, the relationship between these and academic components - the relationship between theory and practice - may not always be clear. For example, although retaining a significant practical component, degree courses in nursing (immensely symbolic in the move towards professional status) incorporate a high proportion of abstract knowledge drawn from the social sciences. But, how are nurses expected to make the connection between say, aspects of the sociology of health and illness and the actual practical work of nursing patients? Related issues arise for teachers. Teacher education has incorporated knowledge from the humanities and social sciences and combined this with practical components. How do theories of social reproduction, for example, facilitate day-to-day teaching or help to solve problems of classroom management? The problem of 'theory and practice' emerges in the argument that professionals may perform perfectly adequately or effectively without recourse to codified knowledge of this kind, a criticism from both the political 'left' and the 'right'. The left highlighted the objectifying and "disabling" effects of rational professional knowledge (Illich et al, 1977), whose function was seen either to further the self-interest and power of professionals themselves (Bailey and Brake, 1977), or to facilitate the professionals' role in policing the well-ordered, 'white' and patriarchal capitalist state (Dominelli and McLeod, 1989).

In this section of the chapter the role of technical-rationality in professional education in the context of 'social government' has been discussed. Technical-rationality's assumption that

the world is somehow 'programmable' or calculable in a technical way is an essentially 'governmental' perspective, mirroring an optimism that reality can somehow be captured if the 'right' approach can be found. This optimism is reflected in technical-rational professional education and its impact on the professional education and training of youth workers will be shown. This chapter continues with a discussion of the changes which led to the emergence of competency-based professional education and training in Britain.

From social government to an ethics of 'enterprise'

The post-war 'mixed economy' of welfare established an accommodation between collectivist and individualist ideals, characterising the course of social progress and national reconstruction which was supported by the political consensus which prevailed until the 1970's. Its apparent tranquillity was disturbed at the beginning of the 1970's by both global and national events. An old but familiar condemnation of social government began to emerge and furnished the basis of a shrill critique of 'the welfare state', whose interventionist excess and malign influence was alleged to have weakened the national character. Despite arguments about its precise nature it is the so-called 'New Right'⁴⁴ which has advanced the most penetrating attack on the kind of social government envisaged by Beveridge, and which prevailed until the 1970's (Levitas, 1986, p.1). This assault contributed to a transformation in modes of government in Britain and other Western countries. The extent to which 'public' services have been either privatised or 'contracted out', the growth of private medicine and insurance schemes, the de-coupling of schools and colleges from local authority administrative systems, the sale of local authority houses through the 'right to buy', the introduction of managerialist regimes in central and local

⁴⁴There has been much discussion about whether a coherent New Right philosophy or world view actually exists. Most commentators point to the alliance of neo-liberal and neo-conservative traditions in New Right thinking (Hall and Jacques, 1983, Hewitt, 1992). Indeed, it is the combination of these two, the distinctive mixture of political economy, morality, and tradition, which gives the New Right its newness.

government, and indeed the development of competency- based education and training are examples of this transformation. Central to the perceived success of these strategies is the individual, alternately constituted as responsible and empowered consumer of services or commodities, or as accountable, enterprising, and competent worker.⁴⁵ As such, the individual has become the principal locus of government. Such transformation of the governmental regime has required the deployment of a new set of values; a fresh political rationality providing the justification for economic, cultural, and moral reconstruction. A new ethics has been elaborated privileging the active and responsible individual and has attempted to supplant earlier commitments to the collective resolution of social problems.

A number of factors predisposed 'welfarism', 'social democracy', and social government to critique, preparing the ground for new modalities and novel permutations of government to flourish. In particular, the relative decline of the British economy's performance because of 'deindustrialisation' through the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's (see Allen and Massey, 1988, p.14-15) became starkly visible in the 1970's. Dominant explanations of national decline identified poor educational standards being achieved by comprehensive schools, an insufficiently close relationship between education and industry, and later, problems of 'welfare dependency'. These themes were crystallised in the 'Great Debate' initiated in the context of the DES's 'Yellow Book', and James Callaghan's so-called 'Ruskin Speech' of 1976 (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1981, p.208-227). The emergence of a strong discourse of vocationalism at that time was directly relevant to the development of competency-based education and training. Although post-war economic performance had declined, public

⁴⁵John Major's 1992 speech 'The Privatisation of Choice' exemplifies this position. In it he indicates how the Conservative Party will work "... with the grain of human ambition... answering better the aspirations of individuals" (Major, 1992, p.2). This speech, focusing on "the devolution of freedom", trusting "the people with choice", and "removing over-government" both celebrates the individual and attacks residual collectivism.

expectations (perhaps conditioned by the earlier assurance that 'you've never had it so good') had not diminished. This led to a build-up of inflationary pressure in the economy.⁴⁶ However, even in the context of world recession, British politicians seemed to retain a faith in interventionist strategies, apparently holding the conviction that bureaucratic and political expertise would eventually restore the economy to its rightful Keynesian equilibrium, despite recession apparently signalling Keynesianism's failure. More parochial concerns contributed to popular discontent with social-democratic politics in Britain. As one observer saw it the "socialist" politics of both Labour and Conservative kinds were equally culpable.⁴⁷ Towards the end of the 1970's, inflation, popular perceptions of unbridled trade union power, the 1978 'Winter of Discontent', 'permissiveness', rapidly rising unemployment, and (ironically) perceived 'social breakdown' all contributed to consolidating the ground from which the New Right began its project to remoralise the nation. Public expenditure was curtailed as the 'politics of the budget' began to bite. Perhaps inevitably, welfare was the most vulnerable source and symbol of social government, and was a prime target for restructuring and for financial cutbacks from the 1970's onwards.⁴⁸ Financial and political accountability came to be demanded from within local authorities and this inevitably had its effects in youth services and in the professional education and training for youth workers. This is explored a little later.

⁴⁶Between 1945 and 1963 inflation averaged 3.7% per annum, and from 1964-1972 it reached an average of 5.4%. However, during 1973-1974 it was 16.1%, during 1974-1975 was 23.1%, and during 1975-1976 was 16.3% (Lowe, 1993, p.68).

⁴⁷In Sir Keith Joseph's view, all governments since the Second War - Conservative as well as Labour - had been "socialist". He commented that Britain in the early 1970's was "... more socialist in many ways than any other developed country outside the Communist bloc - in the size of the public sector, the range of controls, and the telescoping of net income" (Joseph, 1975, p.6).

⁴⁸Expenditure on education, housing, social security, personal social services, and health-care declined as a proportion of GDP from the mid 1970's onwards, but grew in absolute terms (Lowe, 1993, p.328).

The New Right's liberal economics drew on the neo-classical political economy of Hayek, Schumpeter, and Friedman. Hayek's work has been particularly influential, and a range of right-wing 'think-tanks' (the Centre for Policy Studies, The Social Affairs Unit, and the Adam Smith Institute, for example) disseminated his work, or work influenced by his ideas. Sir Keith Joseph, a radical conservative figure in the Thatcher years was strongly influenced by Hayek's work (Joseph, 1975), as indeed was Thatcher herself (Thatcher, 1977, p.70). For Hayek, the (ahistorical and universal) market order provides the only rational basis on which an economy can be organised. Any other form of production and distribution (of commodities or services) is considered to be defective.⁴⁹ The market is the most effective way of co-ordinating and maximising human effort (Hayek, 1944, p.27) and only in the 'market order' can the 'true' destiny of the individual be fulfilled through the realisation of his potential. Hayek's market order provides the context in which 'enterprise' can flourish and support prosperous market activity, the two being causally linked. In its focus on specifically individual interests, Hayek's philosophy elides accounts of the social origins of society's problems. Arguably there can be no social domain as such in Hayek's world as there is no necessary commensurability between the interests or intentions of individuals.

As well as having an economic dimension, the New Right pragmatically incorporates moral and political arguments which merge with its economic precepts. It is in these that the contradictions of its ideology are most evident in an uneasy combination of neo-liberalism and traditional conservatism. The neo-liberal strand of the ideology (the Hayekian element) is essentially libertarian, and sceptical of state intervention or 'big government' on the moral ground that its activities are inevitably unjust. On the other hand, in the neo-conservative

⁴⁹It is interesting to note, as will be shown, that the literature of competency describes competence itself as a thoroughly reified commodity which individuals can 'trade' in the labour market.

element of the ideology (drawing on work by Roger Scruton for example), it is argued that individual liberty is subject to the established authority of traditional institutions, and that strong government is essential in preserving these. These ideas fuse around what might be regarded as 'practical economics', and have some superficial similarities to earlier nineteenth century laissez-faire principles. Moral and economic arguments about individuals, markets, efficiency, and freedom intertwine to produce a heady critique of social government which is often incoherent, sometimes anarchic, yet ruthlessly pragmatic. In practice the neo-liberal tendency is consistently eclipsed by its neo-conservative partner which argues that a robust state is necessary to preserve order and 'market freedom'. Despite internal contradictions, New Right ideology has altered the Western political and social landscape over the last decade or so. It has already been massively influential both politically and economically in the emerging polities of the former Soviet bloc (Kornai, 1993).

Much skilful ideological work was undertaken in Britain by the Thatcher and Major governments in constructing an unfavourable picture of welfarism and the welfare state in order to further their own programmes. Johnson (1991, p.87) suggests that a repertoire of "new knowledges" has been created and deployed in undermining the rationality of collective solutions to social problems. Jones identifies a virtual portfolio of "myths" which in her view have been created and deployed to erode the moral foundations and ethical fabric of the welfare state (Jones, 1991, p.43). Amongst these are the 'myths' that the welfare state has cultivated a comfortable and indulgent dependency amongst its membership, a 'work-shy' population in which those paradigmatic expressions of the Hayekian market order, 'self-help', 'self-reliance', and individual 'enterprise' have been undermined. The former Conservative Minister John Moore exemplified the critique of social government in general and welfare in particular:

"... a climate of dependence can in time corrupt the human spirit. Everyone knows the sullen apathy of dependence and can compare it with the sheer delight of personal achievement. To deliberately set up a system that creates the former instead of the latter is to act directly against the best interests and indeed the welfare of individuals and of society. The job therefore has been to change this depressing climate of dependence and revitalise the belief which has been such a powerful force throughout British history: that individuals can take action to change their lives; can do things to control what happens to them" (Hutton et al, 1991, p.21, emphasis added).

Moore's views mark out the ground on which the attempt has been made to construct an ethics intended to supplant the social perspective characteristic of welfarism. Subsequent policy discussion, legislation, and governmental practices throughout the 1980's and 1990's have been shaped by this 'ethics of enterprise'. The discourse of competency and its practices are one expression of the attempt to encourage the enterprising individual to take charge of his or her own work capacity and disposition towards work, through the cultivation of the appropriate skills, outlook, and demeanour.

Enterprise and the competent individual

As a number of writers have indicated, the competency approach to education and training has emerged, reflecting vocationalist discourses which have done so much to restructure education since the mid-1970's (Ainley, 1990, Ball, 1990b, Avis, 1991, Hodgkinson and Issitt, 1995). The discourse of vocationalism was hardened by James Callaghan's 1976 'Ruskin Speech', and the subsequent 'Great Debate' on the instrumental value of education and its relation to the world of work. Since Callaghan's speech, vocationalism's political rationality has taken on a sharper and dual focus. First, it has problematised the issue of unemployment by elaborating it in new ways and giving it new meanings. As a consequence, changes have occurred in the ways that the problem of unemployment and the unemployed themselves have become politically represented. For example, a marked shift away from the early 'job creation' programmes of the

1970's and 1980's is evident. These programmes, sponsored by the Manpower Services Commission were intended to alleviate the problem of unemployment by the provision of work opportunities. In a move away from the acknowledgement of the 'social' nature of unemployment, and the promotion of social solutions,⁵⁰ the unemployed themselves have recently been recast as 'job-seekers'. The problem of unemployment has thus been politically transformed. It is now represented as a problem of inappropriate or deficient skill or attitude on the part of the individual, and a situation for which he must accept responsibility. In effect, the problem of unemployment is shifted from the economic to the moral domain. Echoing Hayek's 'market order' principles (which implicitly mark out 'competency' as a tradeable commodity), the Employment Department asserted that the unemployed

"... will be better equipped to return to work if they gain marketable qualifications; are more flexible in their approach to work; ... recognise and promote the transferability of their skills (and) ... are encouraged both to believe in their own potential and to realise it" (Employment Department, 1993, p.8).

Second, and perhaps more significantly in this context, vocationalism has continued to attempt to subordinate education at various levels to industry's demands for an appropriately disciplined labour force. The practical expression of this can be seen in a range of initiatives from TVEI in secondary schools to the Enterprise in Higher Education initiative in universities. The competency approach to education and training is an important part of the process of integrating educational practices with the demands of industry. It is designed to meet industry's need for an appropriately trained work-force by ensuring that the content and processes of education and training have a direct relation to the achievement of 'skilled' individual work performance. In a

⁵⁰The 'Job Creation Programme', the 'Special Temporary Employment Programme', investment in 'Community Industry', and a range of employment subsidies were all examples of the 'social' paradigm shaping political perceptions of unemployment and the solutions to it.

post-Fordist economy increasingly characterised by 'flexible specialisation', the competency approach is intended to provide for the development of personal dispositions (often construed as 'skills'), as well as occupation-specific skills. 'Problem solving', so-called 'interpersonal skills', and 'team-working' for example, are central elements in the discourse of competency and are intended to be deployed across a range of occupational settings. Their presence as part of the discourse of competency indicates a much wider focus than the simple performance of specified work tasks. This discourse is a significantly more complex phenomenon than most of its critics have recognised, particularly those who have drawn sole attention to its behaviourist preoccupation with performance. It is clear that competency-based practices are intended to work on (and normalise) the 'whole person' rather than simply his or her behaviour or performance. Current labour market policy and practice (epitomised by the White Paper, 'Employment for the 1990s', Department of Employment, 1988) is aimed at cultivating qualities of individual initiative, enterprise, and competence in the attempt to deal strategically with the problems of unemployment and the expressed need for a better trained and more flexible work-force. Schools have taken on 'enterprise projects', 'enterprise training' became a key element in YTS and YT programmes, and the 'Enterprise in Higher Education' scheme flourished in many universities. These initiatives all have a common basis in seeking to encourage the values of enterprise and the achievement of competency by reconstituting the passive recipient of education or training (the product of social government) as 'active learner'. This individual is encouraged to appraise his own skills and capacities, identify his limitations, devise appropriate strategies for overcoming them, and monitor the outcomes of his interventions. In particular, so-called 'core' and 'transferable' skills are important in this and are identified by a number of commentators as being a central element in competency-based education and training. For example, echoing the Department of Employment, the CBI's Rupert

McNeil identifies "Communication, problem solving, (and) personal skills", as "... the fundamental competencies that underpin almost any collection of tasks and activities" (Department of Employment, 1988, p.5, McNeil, 1994, p.17). These are not only intended to facilitate successful individual performance in an occupational role, they are also crucial elements in the formation and development of a particular individual subjectivity: in essence a 'competent self'. This subjectivity is constructed in such a way as to ensure that the individual is encouraged to think of himself as the author of his own vocational and economic success (or indeed failure). It is a subjectivity in which individuals recognise that achievement can only be secured by deploying the right 'skills' or dispositions at the appropriate time and in the appropriate manner, and is formed through the activities and processes of 'ethical work'. In this, it is intended that the individual shapes his conduct to conform to particular values or precepts, in effect transforming self into "... the ethical subject of one's behaviour" (Foucault, 1985, p.27). This ethical work is an important means by which individuals are encouraged to exercise (constrained) freedom through self-government, and as such is a principal tenet of liberal philosophy and politics. It forms part of an essential continuity between individuals engaged in the management of self by self, and the rationalities and techniques which are applied in the governance of the state.

The foregoing argument can be applied to a whole literature which focuses on 'open learning', 'flexible learning', and in particular, the attempt to construct 'skilled learners' (Downs, and Perry, 1987, Employment Department, 1989). The elaborate and sometimes sophisticated programmes and techniques described in this literature are aimed at stimulating individuals to construct, change, or extend themselves in particular ways. Gilbert Jessup⁵¹ is one of the

⁵¹Jessup is Deputy Director of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications, having previously worked at the MSC on standards and assessment in youth training.

principal architects and supporters of competency and its practices, arguing forcibly that education and training must become "learner centred". The development of the "autonomous learner" should occur in a culture where "... continuing learning will become a natural part of life and employment (and will be) largely controlled by learners" (Jessup, 1991, p.116). Despite Jessup's apparent commitment to progressive forms of education he has very firm ideas on precisely what these 'autonomous learners' should learn. In Jessup's view, the development of the competency approach will enable this learner-centred education to be achieved. As he puts it

"... the needs of individuals to realise their potential, to develop their skills, to take on more responsible and more fulfilling work and to earn more money, seem to be largely compatible with the current needs of the country and the economy, for a workforce of more competent, responsible, flexible, and autonomous employees. That is why the government, CBI, TUC and many other agencies, are all promoting very similar objectives on education and training" (ibid, 1991, p.6).

Jessup suggests how an approach incorporating the notions of 'enterprise' and 'competency' operates on the boundaries of the 'public good', on the one hand, and the domain of 'private' needs, choices and desires on the other. In one sense such boundaries are transformed by drawing the public and private together in a common project designed to simultaneously satisfy the requirements of both. Jessup's comments are also suggestive of the way in which work itself is no longer thought of as a purely instrumental activity, rather becoming an important context in which the 'project of the self' can be pursued, and as such potentially flattening distinctions between 'work' and 'non-work' aspirations. Through work individuals can gain a sense of responsibility, achievement, and fulfilment, becoming workers who "...are constantly stretching their abilities, searching for new challenges...", whilst adapting "... quickly and effectively to the changing needs of business" (Employment Department, 1993, p.5). Thus, the

needs of 'self-actualising' individuals are discursively aligned with broader governmental imperatives.

In similar vein to Jessup, the Training Agency confirms the causal relationship between the activities of the enterprising individual, and the development of an enterprise culture by arguing that

"The workplace of today and tomorrow requires employees who are resourceful and flexible and who can adapt quickly to changes in the nature of their skills and knowledge. They will need to be able to innovate, recognise and create opportunities, work as a team, take risks and respond to challenges, communicate effectively and be computer literate. These attributes are the core skills of the enterprising person and lie at the heart of the enterprising culture..." (Training Agency, 1989, p.3).

And a recently articulated strategy from the Secretary of State for Employment - 'Prosperity through Skills' - suggests that individual and national prosperity will be achieved by engendering "skills and enterprising attitudes" in

"... individuals of whatever age, who are continually stretching their abilities, searching for new challenges and aiming for higher or further qualifications, even when they are temporarily out of work and in spite of disadvantage; young people who are not passive recipients of knowledge, but active learners, fully equipped to enter employment, to continue to develop their skills and competencies, and to contribute fully as members of the workforce" (Employment Department, 1993, p.5).

Prosperity Through Skills identifies the NVQ-style competency-based approach to education and training as having major significance in economic reconstruction. It argues that NVQ's offer a means of standardising ('normalising') the outcomes of education and training. By managing the standards themselves, it asserts that education and training can be made more relevant to the needs of employers. This, according to the document, is likely to involve "concentrated effort" on the part of all involved. However, the role of the individual in

managing and realising his own potential is clear. "Once motivated, individuals must be enabled to take responsibility for their own development throughout their working lives"(ibid, p.7). The significance of practices of self-government and self-discipline is evident here.

During the 1980's, 'enterprise' became a major discursive theme in the attempted transformation of social government. It facilitated the development of a principle of rule which has sought to encourage individuals to manage and regulate themselves in developing skills and knowledge in the pursuit of their own economic advantage, whilst simultaneously contributing to national reconstruction. The recently articulated 'National Targets for Education and Training' (drawing on the CBI's document 'Towards a Skills Revolution', Confederation of British Industry, 1989), delineate in precisely calculated terms how this is intended to occur (National Advisory Council for Education and Training Targets, 1994). In this vision of a "... stronger and more dynamic society" (Employment Department, op.cit.), the discourse of competency has a major role in reconstructing the enterprising and flexible individual required in the contemporary labour market, including professional occupations.

Competency and the 'Taylorisation' of professional work⁵²

In their 'natural history' of professional education, Bines and Watson refer to "post-technocratic" modes of professional education emerging as a response to political and public concerns about the effectiveness of the professions (Bines and Watson, 1992, p.16). The political Right advanced the most effective critique of technical-rational professional practice, at least in the form discussed here.⁵³ Emerging in the 1970s, and part of what Perkin refers to as the "backlash against professional society" (Perkin, 1989, p.472) the attack from the Right was targeted on the 'social state' and its presumed manifestations. Finding fertile ground in the

⁵² Dominelli makes this point in relation to the professional "task" (Dominelli, 1996, p.163).

⁵³ The 'competency' approach to professional education was partly a reaction to what the Right argued was the irrelevance of theory. However, the competency-based approach to education and training shares a number of the assumptions of these earlier forms of technical-rational practice.

public imagination, a popular critique of 'trendy' and 'child-centred' teachers and 'left wing' social workers gained momentum during the 1970s and 1980s. Ostensibly structured in an attack on the privileges and power which these professionals had allegedly accrued and the drain which they supposedly made on the exchequer, this was also a critique of professional knowledge and the training and education of professionals. A short paper by June Lait on the professional education of social workers exemplifies this. Lait is concerned with what she sees as a fundamental disjunction between social work theory and actual practice with users and clients. According to Lait this disjunction arises as a consequence of higher education institutions establishing a "training industry" which

"... has never been subjected to any rigorous test of effectiveness, and which in (my) view, exists primarily for the satisfaction of those who run it without noticeable benefit to the recipients, or to those they are appointed to care, the clients" (Lait, 1981, p.35).

In Lait's view, the colleges and universities are identified as one of the 'provider monopolies' which the right's strategy of 'rolling back the state' was designed to dismantle. Lait argues that the 'effectiveness' of programmes of social work education were never evaluated, and their institutions were unaccountable other than to themselves. She proceeds to suggest that social work education was dominated by "... the latest fads in fashionable and rapidly expanding subjects whose knowledge base was too insecure for teaching, never mind as a basis for action" (ibid, p.36). For Lait, this led to poorly defined objectives (in her analysis concealed by social workers behind the notion of 'indeterminacy') which in practice were unattainable. Lait's response was for social work to be redefined in terms of tangible tasks which the "customer" could be involved in defining, and which would not be "... subject to fanciful interpretation by the supplier according to the latest theory" (ibid, p.37).

Lait's account of professional social work and the professional education of social workers could be repeated in relation to other groups of public service professionals whose work, professional education and training has come under attack during the last twenty years or so. It relies on a panoply of popular motifs which have become familiar in the wider critique of the 'social state', typically referring to monopolistic suppliers, the ineffectiveness of professionals and professional education, the lack of accountability of practitioners and educators, and reflecting the increasingly contested nature of professional knowledge and professional competence. Underlying this position is a conception of the 'proper' relationship between theory and practice in which the former should be firmly subordinated by the latter and professional competence is defined by what the professional is able to do rather than by what he knows. This argument has created the conditions in which the 'competency' model of professional education has expanded dramatically. Figure 4 shows this in its broader context.

Figure 4: ‘Advanced or Neo-Liberalism’ and the Human Service Professions

1980s - present: ‘Advanced or Neo-Liberalism’	
i) Dominant political rationality	The politicisation of welfare; ‘New Right’ reaction to ‘welfare dependency’; politics of the budget; rejection of the idea of the state as key actor in welfare; attack on collectivised provision and an emphasis on individual prudence and responsibility; emphasis on <u>obligations</u> rather than rights.
ii) Characteristics of public policy	Demand for accountability and ‘value for money’ from public services; injection of ‘market discipline; fragmentation and flexibilisation of welfare through ‘internal market’, ‘contracts’, ‘mixed economy of care’ and ‘partnerships’; management shifted from ‘the centre to the periphery’ and increased role of managerialism; the emergence of the ‘quango state’ blurring the boundaries between ‘public/private’ and ‘state/voluntary’ provision.
iii) Professional forms	Human-service professionals perceived as fostering dependency, expensive, bureaucratic, self-interested, unaccountable, residually socialist, and ineffective; the managerialisation of these professional’s work through appraisal systems, use of performance indicators, performance review and performance-related pay to secure accountability; decreasing professional autonomy.
iv) Modes of professional education	Discourse of competency dominates increasingly individualised and technocratic modes of professional formation; the attempt to restore the predominance of practice through competency; ‘flexibilised’ learning related to defined ‘learning outcomes’; accreditation of competencies as transferable commodities in a learning and employment market; the ‘Taylorisation’ of professional work through the specification of universal ‘occupational standards’; control of professional education increasingly located in ‘partnerships’ formed between employers, the academy, and ‘intermediate’ institutions (TECs for example).

Acknowledging Lait’s criticisms about the relevance of theory to practice, contemporary professional education increasingly focuses on the novice’s acquisition of discrete professional competencies, often specified in behavioural terms and gained through practical experience.⁵⁴ Competencies in one form or another now constitute the basis for the assessment of professional competence in teaching, social work and youth work. Gonczi identifies three emergent CBET (Competency Based Education and Training) models. The first, a relatively crude ‘behaviourist’ approach suffers the familiar problems of behaviourism. The second attempts to

⁵⁴ In this case, the term ‘competency’ is used to imply the atomised and constitutive elements in which competence in the general sense can allegedly be described. The process of ‘functional analysis’ typically identifies these for a given area of work (Jessup, 1991, p.27).

identify 'general attributes' (critical thinking or communication skills for example) which constitute the underlying competence of professional work. However, as Gonczi points out, expertise is usually domain-specific, and it is not at all clear how transferable such general attributes might be. Gonczi's third model is "integrated" and "holistic", and combines generalised professional attributes with knowledge, skills and attitudes which are necessary in particular professional settings (Gonczi, 1994, p. 29).

Despite Gonczi's assertion of the value of a 'holistic' and inclusive model of competency-based professional education, the focus of most CBET thinking has been on the performance and behaviour of the worker or the novice professional, rather than the knowledge which he has acquired. Although CBET claims the rapprochement of theory and practice, the former is firmly subordinated to demonstrable relevance in relation to the latter. As Jessup explains

"The requirements for knowledge and understanding which underpin competence... should be derived afresh from the statement of competence. This provides a clear rationale for what needs to be acquired, which has often been lacking in previous systems. It is not clear whether this will result in more or less demands for knowledge, but whatever is required will be directly relevant to performance in a an occupational or professional area" (Jessup, 1991, p.28).

In this respect, competency-based professional education reflects the underlying behaviourism and positivism which Bates (1995) detects overall in British CBET. In the human service occupations (teaching, social work or youth work, for example) this constitutes something of a problem. The professional culture and professional education of these occupations has been dominated by humanistic discourse, and notionally at least their professional literature adopts a position strongly influenced by Schön and the discourse of 'reflective practice'.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Schön proposes that professional work is characterised by 'indeterminacy', uniqueness and uncertainty. Reflective practice entails the professional drawing on a stock of 'tacit knowledge' in practice, enabling him to respond to unique situations through improvisation, invention and creativity. Reflection-in-action assumes a constructionist view of the world which contrasts with the inherent positivism which characterises technical-

Epistemologically it is difficult to see how a reconciliation could be made between a hermeneutics of 'reflection-in-action' which characterises the humanist account of professional practice (Bines and Watson, 1992, p.16-17) and the apparently behaviourist assumptions of much of the competency literature. However, it is precisely the mutual accommodation of 'person-centred' practices and technical-rational epistemology in the discourse of competency which has rendered it both appealing and powerful (Usher and Edwards, 1995, p.107). Following a brief examination of some of the main assumptions which underlie CBET and its application to professional work, the discussion returns to this.

Behaviourism and CBET methodologies have much in common. Both perspectives share a pre-occupation with 'outcomes' identified and judged on the basis of the empirical observation of behaviour or performance. In both, 'outcome' is specified as an 'objective' behavioural consequence of some (alleged) learning experience through which the individual has gone. The problem in this was identified by Popper who demonstrated that one's interpretation of the world is always determined by theory. This means that perception is determined by specific criteria-of-relevance which depend on previous cultural experience and knowledge. Thus empirical observation of any aspect of work performance entails interpretation, and as such is value-driven. This raises serious doubts about the alleged objectivity of the empirical process on which CBET relies. In the context of professional work in the human services, characterised as being subject to indeterminacy, even greater doubts arise about the appropriateness of CBET methodology. However, the focus on the overt performance or observable behaviour of an individual professional has wider significance in the current culture of a 'semi-privatised' public sector characterised by multiple 'partnerships', 'contracts'

rationalism, and in this respect mirrors the growing influence of hermeneutic social science over the last twenty years or so.

and 'service agreements' between different interests. The quasi-market's insatiable demand for accountability expressed in clear and managerially specified outcomes is arguably well-served by CBET. As Dominelli shows, the professional education of social workers is being increasingly influenced by 'joint venture' organisations comprising partnership arrangements between employers, freelance trainers, trusts, entrepreneurs and higher education institutions, all of which are under pressure to 'deliver' according to contract specifications. Dominelli points out the extent to which CBET can enable 'purchasers' and 'providers' of training services to define apparently unambiguous outcomes in their work (Dominelli, 1996, p164-165).

Behaviourism is little concerned with cognitive processes of any kind, and in its classical Watsonian form assiduously rejects any notion of consciousness. This is only partially reflected in CBET in which the status of 'knowledge' (and the cognitive domain in general) is thought to be largely unproblematic: if the individual can 'do' it, then ipso facto, he must 'know' it. Although Hyland suggests that there is little consensus on the role of knowledge in the CBET literature (Hyland, 1994, p.66-67) many CBET advocates appear considerably clearer about this than Hyland indicates. Perhaps as a reaction to the 'separation' of theory and practice characteristic of earlier technical-rational education and training, Jessup for example asserts that knowledge inheres in performance.⁵⁶ In making the distinction between 'skills' and 'knowledge', Jessup argues that skills can be "... demonstrated through their application in performance... ", while knowledge "... may be elicited as an abstraction from behaviour" (Jessup, 1991, p.121). Wolf seems to agree, asserting that it is not possible to "measure" skills, knowledge or understanding as discrete elements. In the case of knowledge and understanding they are not "... divorced from performance (and) have to be inferred from observable behaviour

⁵⁶ There is an ironic parallel here with the position taken in the discourse of 'reflective practice', although there are clear differences between the two positions in their perceptions of what counts as knowledge.

(Wolf, 1991, p.45). These epistemological principles are illustrated in a recent briefing document on the relation of knowledge and understanding to competency-based vocational qualifications. In almost Rylean fashion, the Employment Department (incorporating the views of NCVQ and SCOTVEC) argued that in

"... the context of occupational competence, knowledge and understanding... are part of performance not something separate from it... Knowledge and understanding is about knowing what should be done, how (and perhaps where and when) it should be done, why it should be done and what should be done if circumstances change."
(Employment Department, 1993a, p.5).

Such statements raise epistemological difficulties for some commentators, and political problems for others. For Hyland (reflecting Siddiqui's position referred to earlier) such formulations attempt to capture something in "behaviourist" terms which in his view is "non-behaviourist" (Hyland, 1994, p.68) as the development of knowledge and understanding cannot be reduced to simple performance criteria of the kind which are so common in the CBET literature. In Hyland's view cultural competence of any kind (including occupational competence) depends vitally on a non-reductionist and active conception of knowledge. This is knowledge which enables the individual to act intelligently, rather than simply mirroring or mimicking the practice or behaviour of others, or acting according to some pre-defined routine or formula. In this sense what counts as 'professional competence' is always potentially contested and contestable, and reflects the complex network of interests, relationships and quasi-market accountability in which professional activity is located. Government, employers, the public, professionals themselves, professional educators and a diversity of organisations which straddle the boundary between public and private sectors of service provision (governing bodies and trusts for example) are all involved in defining what they believe to be the 'proper' work of public professionals and the competence required to undertake this. It is in this context

that CBET facilitates the transformation of professional knowledge to employer definitions of what count as practitioners' "key roles and requirements", that is their 'professional competence'. Because professional work in the human services is increasingly 'resource' rather than 'needs' driven, those in control of the budget are in a strong position to determine desired outcomes in either the work itself or in the professional education of practitioners (Dominelli, 1996, p.173).

In the context of CBET's capacity to define 'outcomes' there is an important parallel with Hunter's discussion on social statistics. Hunter points out that the role of statistics (on poverty, unemployment or divorce for example) is not merely to represent reality in some form. Although this may occur, the function of these statistics is to question reality, "... to hold it up for inspection in the light of what it might be; to picture its reconstruction around certain norms of life and social well-being - norms derived of course from the social, economic, and political objectives of government" (Hunter, 1996, p.154). So-called 'functional analysis' provides an example of CBET's thorough problematisation of the domain of work and of individual competence specifically in the framework of norms constructed by governmental aspirations. Jessup describes functional analysis in the following way, making its disciplinary character evident.

"First, the key purpose of the overall area of competence is stated; this is then broken down into the primary functions which need to be carried out in order for the key purpose to be achieved. The primary functions are further divided into sub-functions, and they in turn are further sub-divided, and so on" (Jessup, 1991, p.39)

Jessup helpfully provides a 'functional analysis' of health care (Appendix 2). This 'analysis' emphasises transparency of language and unproblematic ascription of meaning. It treats the provision of health care as a 'systems design' problem; of constructing the right system through

which the commodity of health care can be delivered. As already suggested, the criticism of this fundamentally technical-rational and instrumental approach is that it ignores the complex value questions which surround moral issues like 'health' or 'education'. Taking the Popperian line, what counts as 'good health' is determined by the theory one holds (at what ever level from 'common sense' to something more reflective or critical) of health. In functional analysis, such issues are transformed from moral matters to technical problems. However, it is in precisely this transformation that CBET practices offer their utility in the wider enterprise of government by rendering the complex domain of work and those in it visible and amenable to technical calculation and programming. Those involved in the calculation and planning of work and training form an 'epistemic community' which is nurtured by the rationality and certainty which CBET appears to offer. Docking, for example, notes in relation to the assessment of competence, "'objective' assessment is best achieved through the specification of unambiguous instructional and assessment criteria..." (Docking, 1991, p.17). In her discussion of assessment strategies in competency-based programmes, Fletcher similarly argues that the criteria on which assessment is based must be 'transparent', that is "If something is transparent, it is open and clear to anyone who takes time to look at, or through it. A competence-based assessment system should be clear to all involved" (Fletcher, 1992, p.85). The main significance of this is that the techniques of competency enable work to be represented (and thus problematised) in what appears to be an unambiguous way, as if it could be disaggregated in typical CBET fashion (see Appendix 3) and rendered manageable to the individual himself, or someone supervising him in the process of becoming competent. Disaggregation of work into its component elements makes individual behaviour visible across a wide panoptic field enabling it (and the individual) to become subject to detailed surveillance and examination. In essence, the specification of work in this form structures a set of norms against which performance can be measured. Deviation

from the norm can be identified and made subject to the appropriate techniques of adjustment instituted either by the individual himself, or in the context of a tutelary relationship.

These techniques of disaggregation reflect a Taylorist approach to work design, in distilling work activities to their most fundamental elements. Taylor justified this by the assertion that "...every single act of every workman can be reduced to a science" (Taylor, 1947, p.64), established through the accumulation of empirically grounded knowledge. Taylor's model ensured that every aspect of performance was carefully observed and recorded in order to provide the 'scientific manager' with the data required to calculate and improve individual performance. His techniques of observation and recording both constituted and policed boundaries to individual 'initiative', and enmeshed the individual in a network of calculative techniques and practices. The individual was thus constituted as an object which was described, analysed and known in the pursuit of economic utility. Like Taylorism CBET focuses on the individual body and its conduct. In the sense that competency itself can be regarded as an aspect of conduct, competency techniques form a technology in which the body is trained to perform in particular ways. However, it is obvious that knowledge and cognition play a part in these matters, although the specification of work and competencies which typify this approach suggest a rather parsimonious conception of knowledge as little more than information. What matters according to this paradigm is what the individual can do and what he can be seen to do on the apparently unambiguous terrain of observed performance. Echoing Watsonian behaviourism, it is the 'outcome' (response) of the individual confronting different work problems (stimuli) which really counts, and which offers the single possibility of intervention and management in training and education. In this instance, the 'competent' individual is clearly not expected to operate beyond a set of relatively straightforward responses to given cues in the context of a bounded economy of fragmented performance elements. This might be possible in

work which relies heavily on routine (though potentially complex) technical skills (filleting fish or cutting diamonds for example), and which entails limited discretion. In the context of the human service professions (teaching or social work for example), it is difficult to see how such a level of abstraction and fragmentation can provide adequate description of either what professionals do, or what their function might be. The complex dynamics which characterise the relationships involved in this work rely on notions of process and value which are not touched (and are arguably untouchable) by this approach.

As already argued in this chapter, CBET's principal significance is in its focus on individual accountability, and thus partly in the contribution that it makes to the potential of governing through the individual. It is in this respect that CBET appeals to notions of the autonomous and self-regulating member of a modern political and economic community. Like vocationalist discourse generally, CBET has been constructed in progressive terms, and contrasted with 'outmoded' learning strategies which according to CBET's advocates polarise 'education' and 'training', rely on narrowly conceived 'academic' curricula, and allegedly have little relevance to the individual's 'real' life. This modern approach is designed to align its response to individual needs with national economic requirements; to simultaneously 'individualise' and 'totalise'. CBET is

“... learner centred and stems from a concern that individuals should be given the opportunity to realise their potential... Happily, the needs of individuals to realise their potential, to develop their skills and knowledge, to take on more responsible and fulfilling work and to earn more money, seem to be largely compatible with the current needs of the country and the economy, for a workforce of more competent, flexible and autonomous employees” (Jessup, 1991, p.6).

The “modernisers” like Jessup and the vast institutional network of which he is part see their task as both ‘democratising’ and ‘popularising’ knowledge. They regard this as a process of

'empowering' and 'enabling' individuals to achieve in ways (primarily economic) which they argue 'elitist' education in the past did not. This apparently progressive ethos is reflected in CBET's expressed commitment to being responsive to student needs, ensuring equality of opportunity, establishing flexible learning structures, developing flexible assessment regimes and accrediting the individual's prior learning and experience. Particularly in the latter, the student's individual biography is recognised and the possibility acknowledged that competence of various kinds may have been acquired outside of a traditional institutional learning context. This is surely seen by some as offering the potential for CBET to break the academy's monopoly on education and training, and resonates deeply with a political rationality seeking to encourage individuals to take responsibility for their own circumstances, whether in the field of health, pensions, housing or indeed in occupational competence.

Because CBET is primarily concerned with individuals' assessment and accreditation, rather than the provision of courses or programmes of learning as such, the need for evidence of individual competence takes on particular salience. CBET's methodology incorporates notions of evidence which are deeply individualising, and which involve the learner in constructing a complex archive - a 'portfolio' - of his own competence; in effect constructing himself. This may include diaries of practice, observations of performance, reports, 'testimonials' and indeed anything which can be construed as evidence of competence. In constructing this archive, the individual both captures himself and is captured in a network of writing and documentation which identifies achievements, gaps and potential in individual performance. The archive is incorporated in a technology designed to demystify assessment which is now regarded as "... a natural process of gathering evidence, most often from everyday life and work... (and)... from past experience" (Jessup, 1991, p.59). Where possible, evidence is systematically but flexibly assessed by an "open access" process designed to judge evidence "by whatever valid modes are

available” (ibid, p.55). Although projected benignly, assessment of this kind is fundamentally disciplinary. Evidence derives from surveillance by others and through powerful techniques of the self. In the latter, the individual is involved in the delineation of self and in identifying where he is required to engage in the work of change or modification. As Jessup’s assessment model shows (Appendix 3), it is the performance criteria for a particular area of work which provide the starting point in this process. With their ‘range statements’ and ‘underpinning knowledge and skills’ performance criteria open the individual to systematic surveillance by self and others in the context of strictly specified norms. Evidence of competence does not derive solely from narrowly-defined ‘work’ performance and may include accounts or documents of more intimate aspects of the self and personal behaviour. This seems particularly important in relation to ‘professional’ work in which it is believed that transferable underlying attributes constitute part of professional competence. This has been explored in some depth in relation to the work of professional managers. Parker, for example, outlines a model of “personal competence” as part of management competence (Appendix 5) which demands evidence of a deeply personal kind. As well as identifying aspects of the self which are amenable to formal assessment, a specification such as Parker’s offers the individual a detailed (and Taylorised) problematisation of self, a ‘map of self’ and of conduct which can act as a guide to self-development and self-improvement. As this suggests, in the CBET system individuals are known by their competencies, in effect they “*become* their NVQs” (Usher and Edwards, 1994, p.110).

The power of competency and CBET lies in the apparent capacity to access aspects of self which are understood to bear on one’s personal development in the context of work. CBET’s virtuosity in describing in detail a range of activities from filleting fish to being responsible for one’s own ‘development and learning’ clearly offers much in the rational

government of education, training and work. In the present culture of the self the individualised prescriptions for the measurement and acquisition of occupational and personal competence are readily aligned with current political rationalities.

Conclusions

This chapter has suggested that professional education has assumed three principal forms this century: 'pre-technocratic', 'technical-rational', and a further variant relying on the 'discourse of competency'. These correspond broadly to underlying political rationalities which shape governmental strategies and forms. As such, Chapter Four has located professional education in its political and governmental context. The chapter has identified the transformation of 'emergent welfarism' to 'social' modes of government, and the subsequent emergence of a strategy of rule whose underlying rationale robustly asserts the responsibility of individuals in their own self-government. This increasingly inclusive form of political rule operates on the boundaries between public and private domains. As such, it has sought to achieve an alignment between the choices of individuals and broader political and governmental imperatives.

'Pre-technocratic' or 'apprenticeship-based' professional education was referred to as embodying the problem of a 'closed' cycle of learning, and is thus of limited utility in work which is characterised by change and unpredictable demands. The 'technocratic' or 'technical-rational' mode of professional education was discussed as a component of social government. In this model novice professionals acquire knowledge derived from 'science' and systematically apply this in their practice. A number of characteristics of this model were identified: its alleged inability to theorise the 'indeterminacy' of professional work and professional knowledge, its propensity to engender a 'separation' between theory and practice, and most significantly its perceived tendency to diminish the external accountability of professionals and professional educators. It was suggested that in the drive for accountability in the quasi-market of the

contemporary public services, competency-based education and training (CBET) apparently offers a model of professional education consistent with the dominant political rationality of the times. Its primary focus on outcomes - what an individual can do - appeals greatly in the current political and economic climate. However, CBET is no less reliant on a technical-rational epistemology than earlier approaches to professional education. In combining technical-rationality with an 'individual' focus (meeting individual 'learning needs', offering flexibility' or accrediting prior learning for example) CBET has become attractive both politically and to individual learners. The discussion in Chapter Four has identified some of the main criticisms of CBET and its application to professional work, including the view that CBET's underlying epistemology is inappropriate to complex and value-driven professional work, which itself is inadequately theorised in an 'outcomes' model. As part of this, CBET is also accused of pursuing a managerialist agenda and 'technicising' moral issues.

Whilst professional education in whatever form is concerned with shaping individuals in specific ways, it has been argued here that CBET relies on increasingly invasive techniques of surveillance and normalisation, initiated both externally and 'internally'. The practices of competency are intended to work by constituting individuals as both active and reflexive subjects in the process of their own formation as competent individuals. In this respect the discourse of competency is far from being a reprise of 1960's behaviourism and 'behavioural objectives'. The achievement of competency is intended to encourage the development of cognitive and behavioural dimensions of self, and to shape individual conduct in particular ways. Competency-based education and training is a paradigm example of the way in which power works and is subtly deployed in the attempt to invest individuals with certain characteristics and ambitions and in so doing normalises their conduct. Power of this type is neither intended to repress, to crush nor to break the deeply held desires or passions of

individuals. Rather, it quietly and efficiently induces individuals to think of themselves as particular kinds of people: 'enterprising' or 'competent' for example. In this respect, the discourse of competency has considerable utility in the contemporary labour market.

Part Three of this thesis goes on to explore the historical emergence and development of youth work's particular expertise.

Part Three:
The Management
of Growing Up

Chapter Five
Governing Young People:
The Emergence and Development
of Youth Work

Introduction

This chapter uses the conceptual framework of power developed earlier in order to examine the emerging model of youth work that operated until the 1930s, and which was eventually succeeded by a technical-rational model. The political background of the time was characterised in Chapter Four as ‘emergent welfarism’ which preceded ‘social government’ or ‘welfarism’. As such the specific technologies and techniques by which youth work operated are examined, as well as the material context of governmental power in which it worked. Using historical evidence, the chapter is concerned with the early definition of adolescence and the shaping of young people through youth work. There is an identification of youth work’s emergence in the nineteenth century as a mechanism designed to contribute to managing the newly constructed social category of ‘young people’ and the process of ‘growing up’. Youth work was intended to intervene in the young people’s lives at a time when they were considered to be vulnerable to the exigencies of urban and industrial life, and were thought to be potentially dangerous and thus a source of social disorder. The chapter concludes with an analysis of youth work’s important role during the Second World War, its incorporation of discourses of ‘citizenship’, and its deployment as an instrument of ‘citizenship education’.

Early youth work

Britain and Continental Europe have a long history of organised intervention in the leisure lives of young people, the earliest expression of this probably being in the Sunday School movement (Bendix, 1963, Gillis, 1974, Ben-Amos, 1995). Youth work’s beginnings lie in a broad repertoire of nineteenth century initiatives designed to render the working class "governable by

reason" (Donald, 1992, p.23). Youth work was organised by adults (philanthropists and social activists) with an underlying aim of 'socialising' young people, of instilling the 'right idea of life' as part of an attempt to cultivate the ethical subject capable of exercising the "disciplines of conscience" (Hunter, 1996, p.163).⁵⁷ Through a range of wholesome and adult-approved activities, youth workers sought to prepare young people for their role in a society structured by clear divisions of class and gender. Nineteenth century working class young people (as is arguably the case now) were constructed as a section of population which was thought of as representing a dual source of disorder. The literature of the time characterises them as vulnerable to a range of harmful influences during their transition to adulthood. Unsuccessful transition had the potential to render the young dangerous. As a consequence, working class young people came to be seen as a social category requiring both regulation and management. This was a population - a 'risk' category - which needed to be disciplined in specific ways, a perception which has a powerful historical continuity and continues to facilitate a range of practices focused on young people.

A number of factors and concerns contributed to creating the conditions in which the social category of adolescence became marked, and a specifically modern 'discourse of adolescence' appeared. The expansion of popular education in the nineteenth century (itself both a consequence of and a contributor to the discourse of adolescence) and a range of economic and demographic features were particularly important. Concerns about the problem of casualised "boy labour" (Gibb, 1906, p.3; Greenwood, 1911, p.1-15), the proper training of girls in the transmission of domestic values within the 'discourse of motherhood' (Stanley, 1890, p.4-5; Dyhouse, 1977, p.21), wide fears about the 'fitness of the race', its physical

⁵⁷ As Bendix estimates, there were something like one and a half million Sunday school participants by 1833 (Bendix, 1963, p.67). Others have suggested that the original limited religious aims of Sunday schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries became more broadly 'educational' (Thompson, 1980a, p.783; Clarke and Critcher, 1985, p.58).

deterioration and relation to imperial decline, decreasing middle-class birth rates and the growth of the urban proletariat's "... infantine army, which is advancing upon us..." (Dendy, 1895a, p.29), and "improvident" marriages among the "... poorest class of workpeople" (Stanley, 1890, p.235) all served to focus attention on the need for careful management of working class young people. In particular, the emergence of psychology marked out young people - in a 'discourse of adolescence' - for specific attention.⁵⁸ In principle at least, psychology has opened the domain of adolescence to various calculated interventions designed to alter its direction or outcomes. In effect, psychology has constructed a map of the cognitive and affective terrain upon and through which young people were formed as adults and citizens.

Youth work was offered in programmes which fused physical activity and discipline, a clear sense of sexual boundaries and propriety, preparation for a social role determined by class and gender, and an exposure to models of ethical and responsible conduct personified by the 'leaders' involved. Youth organisations of various kinds were established during the period 1870 to 1900.⁵⁹ Their purposes, although often formulated in religious, militarist, or nationalist discourses, and marked by differing combinations and emphases of these, reveal similar aims and purposes. The early youth workers, as now, sought to mould the character and conduct of working class youth according to their particular principles. The latter aspiration has been conventionally depicted in terms of a model of 'social control' (see for example Gillis, 1974, Springhall, 1977, Davies, 1979, Davies, 1981, Smith, 1988, Tucker, 1994). Although valuable, this account assumes the existence of a calculating subject: a coherent state, or the 'ruling class', for example, a sovereign power which seeks to exert control over subordinate groups or

⁵⁸ Adolescence should not be regarded as a 'given'. Rather, it is the consequence and object of various knowledges and discourses: medical, legal, psychological, physiological, and pedagogical for example. In one sense, the adolescent is an 'effect' of the knowledge contained and deployed in the human sciences.

⁵⁹ Eagar lists a range of titles for these from Boys' and Girls' Clubs, Working Lads' Clubs, Brigades of various kinds, Working Lads' Institutes, Institute for Rough Youths, Choir Boys' Clubs, Rough Boys' Clubs, Youths' Friendly Clubs, and Boys' and Youths' Guilds being among these (Eagar, 1953, p.240).

individuals. The view taken here is that youth work has always been far more dissipated and fragmented than the 'social control' analysis suggests. Although part of an attempt to achieve political and social ends by a range of calculated interventions on the "... forces, activities, and relations of the individuals which constitute a population" (Rose, 1989, p.5), youth work is just one of a range of sometimes conflicting and contradictory interventions which have increasingly sought to manage and shape the social world during the last century or so. By the late nineteenth century its task was to manage the newly constructed and problematic 'adolescent' population. Youth work was part of a broader expansion of a diverse network of popular educational initiatives intended to either restore or form the moral economy of 'community' in the urban environment, and through this to ensure the transmission of the "right ideas" and the appropriate norms of conduct to individual young people. Narratives of physical and moral deterioration and indeed subsequent redemption, played an important role in shaping youth work at the end of the nineteenth century.

According to Eagar, the first of the youth clubs was the 'Youth's Institute' started in 1858 in Dover, providing for "... boys of 14-19, too young for membership of Mechanics Institutes, too well-dressed for Ragged Night Schools, too proud for Free Schools, too indolent or too tired to apply themselves to the teaching given in schools of a higher sort" (Eagar, 1953, p.158). The first club for girls was started in 1861 (ibid, p.347). By the end of the nineteenth century there was a complex network of organisations aiming to intervene in a range of ways in the educational and leisure lives of young people (Smith, 1988, p.9-19). Some of these early youth clubs - the "working lads clubs" and "clubs for working girls" - catered for significant numbers of young people,⁶⁰ and ran complex and sophisticated programmes of activity, often organised

⁶⁰In December 1899 the Soho Club for working girls had 230 members aged between 13 and the mid-20s (Stanley, 1890, p.276). In 1908, the Hugh Oldham Lads' Club in Manchester had an average summer membership of 457 rising to 841 in the winter (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.406). Stanley refers to 28 other clubs in England and

in a 'rational' fusion of ideas about "recreation", "education", and "religion" (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p. 19-20). These early youth organisations established a model which prevailed until relatively recently.

As well as offering recreative activities, games, and sports, the youth workers also made provision for evening classes. These were tightly organised to construct clear gender identities, with the girls' clubs offering classes in basic literacy and numeracy, needlework, cooking, bread-making, and laundry-work. In addition to these, however, the girls' clubs offered lectures in a range of topics from botany to Greek mythology, and in this they reflected a contemporary notion of 'liberal education' (Stanley, 1890, p.57-65). The working lads' clubs tended to offer classes in 'technical' subjects: mathematics, technical drawing, mechanics, and physics, although interestingly young men were also able to learn "commercial" subjects: "english and shorthand", "correspondence and office routine", and "book-keeping and French" (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.175)⁶¹. Clubs for young men and young women organised excursions and 'camps' so that their members could experience "... the benefit and advantage of country life, so needful to all, both physically and mentally" (Stanley, 1890, p.87). Some 'lads' clubs' in particular had large purpose-built premises with gymnasia, different rooms for different age-groups and activities, and class rooms. All the clubs had membership criteria, forms of registration, and according to contemporary accounts, were rigorously organised and managed on the basis of discipline.

Youth workers segregated young people on the basis of sex and they were meticulously distributed across the clubs' sometimes extensive physical spaces. Different parts of the

1 in Scotland belonging to the Girls' Club Union, and Russell and Rigby identify nearly 100 clubs for young men in the United Kingdom.

⁶¹ Examples like these render simple 'social control' or 'repressive' explanations of the function of education so inadequate. The fundamental ambiguity (and indeed complexity) of educational initiatives is that they provide resources in the form of knowledge and skill, whilst simultaneously seeking to secure "... identification with particular symbolic rules and grammars... ". As Donald points out, education constitutes 'the social' rather than simply repressing or emancipating those involved (Donald, 1992, p.142).

buildings were carefully designed for different activities: class rooms for learning, reading areas for 'quiet' activities, gymnasia and sports areas for drill and organised games, and activity rooms in which young people were often separated as a matter of course, on the basis of age. The logic of age-grading is an important means of demarcating and segmenting time and lives in a clear linear fashion. The elaboration of a series of stages based on age means that each individual stage can also be connected to form an overall plan or strategy for the detailed management of difference in an institution like a youth club. As in schools, factories, and prisons architecture was used to both divide and compose, and to confer particular identities and expectations on the conduct of individual young people who were in particular places at particular times. This is not to suggest that the physical space of youth clubs was used merely to confine or constrain, although the surveillance of young people was clearly important to the club workers in ensuring their acquisition of appropriate behaviour. Space in these clubs was also used to positively encourage young people to take up particular and valued activities: reading, or study of some kind. This suggests an apparent ambiguity between youth work's clear regulatory functions, and its simultaneous attempts to 'liberate' young people through their development of knowledge and skill. As in schools much of the latter was offered as a means for young people to develop their own capacity for self-discipline. In this respect, youth work provides an important example of the extent to which modern liberal states require the individual to manage and regulate his or her own conduct (see Chapter 2) and in effect to responsibly exercise his or her own freedom.

The early youth club activities were carefully 'timetabled', particularly those which took place outside of club buildings: camps and excursions for example (see Appendix 6). As Foucault points out the great virtue of the timetable as a principle of organisation is that it offers the potential to facilitate the extraction of both 'time and labour' from individual bodies. It

establishes rhythms and regularities by imposing on individuals particular occupations at specific times. It also manages the "cycles of repetition" which constitute the activities of factories, schools, or indeed youth clubs (Foucault, 1977, p.149). Repetitive activities were an important part of club life and were often structured to facilitate the easy surveillance of the young, whilst also judging and defining individual capacity and progress against the norm in particular skills. Physical drill or the practice of handwriting are examples of activities of this kind.

The extensive literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (that of social commentators, reformers, politicians, moralists, scientists and indeed youth workers) focusing on young people provides a corpus of knowledge, apparently rich in the explanatory power of 'truth'. It is this 'truth about young people' - 'the discourse of adolescence' - which has provided continuous underlying justification for youth work. As suggested, young people (both boys and girls) were thought of at this time as being fundamentally problematic, yet it is their status as a potentially 'governable' category of population (and adolescence construed as a governable stage in a life-cycle) which is of principal significance here, and to which youth work was one response. The expansion of a network of youth clubs and organisations should be seen as an important stage in the institutionalisation of adolescence (Reeder, 1977, p.89) and is part of a historical process which has continued virtually unabated to the present time. It is inadequately characterised as part of some overarching mechanism of repressive social control. Such a perspective both over-plays the coherence and capacity of a 'ruling class' or 'state' apparatus on whose behalf these initiatives allegedly operate, and it under-plays the complexity and sheer diversity of activity in youth work's early history. As this history shows, youth work emerged on a variety of dispersed and dissipated sites (clubs and military style brigades, for example), it pursued a range of objectives (educational and religious as well as purely

recreational), was undertaken by a range of different organisations and individuals, and undoubtedly had varying impacts on those it was intended to touch. This is not to say, however, that political authorities have not attempted at different times to maximise the capacity of these initiatives (and others like them) to contribute to the project of 'liberal government'. Once young people were regarded as both problematic and governable, the need to establish those who would undertake such work emerged. Part Four of this thesis goes on to explore the changing notions of competence that youth work has been thought to require.

Minds, bodies and the formation of 'character'

Much early youth work moved from the Sunday School's exclusive concern with matters of conscience to reflect a broader focus on young people's bodies: their economic capacities, military capabilities, their ability to produce children, to act 'responsibly', to resist, or to provoke disorder. Above all, youth work reflected a view that the young person's body had potential to be realised through a disciplined cultivation of its forces.⁶² The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century interest in young people's physique centred on two distinct but interwoven concerns. First there was a concern with the fitness and physical condition of both young men and young women. Second, concerns for the "... taming of the body as a site of unruly passions" (Kirk and Spiller, 1993, p.105) were evident. Continuing worries about the apparent physical deterioration of the urban population and of working class young people specifically crystallised at the turn of the century. This concern must be understood in the context of a wider (and perhaps enduring) preoccupation with the development and condition of young people's physique, regarded as essentially problematic because of changes associated

⁶² As Bourke suggests, twentieth century concerns over male bodies have been framed in terms of military prowess, economic expansion, and the need to secure social harmony (Bourke, 1996, p. 176). These three areas of governmental concern and initiative have provided ample justification at different times and in different ways for youth work throughout this century.

with 'adolescence.'⁶³ In this latter sense, the problem became defined in terms of the relationship between 'nature' and 'culture'. On the one hand there was concern to subdue the (natural) body, which was seen as a source of consuming desires, uncontrollable appetites, and dangerous forces (a view stressed by Hall and Slaughter, for example). Simultaneously, it was a question of increasing the body's utility (economic, domestic, or military, for example) through carefully enhancing physical strength, fitness and discipline, and thus constructing the 'cultured' body. Underlying these concerns are much broader questions about problems of government, and in particular the ways in which a linkage can be formed between the condition of individuals (their conduct and physique, for example), the welfare and management of the wider population and its role in capital accumulation.

These questions assumed particular salience at the turn of the century, framed in the context of Britain's imperial role, the war in South Africa, and growing economic competition with continental Europe, the United States and Japan. In relation to military matters, the issue of the 'physical deterioration' of young men particularly, and the allegedly decreasing vitality of 'the race' in general became perceived as both acute and alarming (Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, p.96). Girls and young women were also seen as an integral and vital part of the mechanics of sustaining a healthy nation-state and it was argued that the elementary education of girls and young women should focus clearly on transmitting domestic skills and values (ibid, p.4), rather than on more academic or scholarly pursuits which would detract from the proper domestication of young women. In this way, the preparation of

⁶³The psychologists like Hall and Slaughter characterised the period of adolescence as physically as well as mentally problematic as a consequence of the immense changes which they identified as constituting it (Hall, 1904, p. 128, Slaughter, 1911, p.12-22). Slaughter was cautious about physical education during adolescence as it was thought to have the potential of interfering with "natural" processes of growth (Slaughter, 1911, p.21). Gibb for example picks up this point and sees it as justifying the need for the judicious management of young people's physique, and of providing "... a jealous guardianship against overwork" (Gibb, 1919, p.25).

young women for a role in nurturing the family unit, itself an apparatus for the production and maintenance of healthy and appropriately moralised children is crystallised. As the early reformer Helen Bosanquet suggested, initiatives in this work should thoroughly penetrate different sites and age ranges.

"Begin with girls in school, and give them systematic and compulsory instruction in the elementary laws of health and feeding, and care of children, and the wise spending of money. Go on with the young women in evening classes and girls' clubs; and continue with the mothers wherever you can get at them" (Nava, 1984, p.184).

Witnesses to the Inter-Departmental Committee spoke of the positive effects of youth work with both boys and girls in building up physique, developing 'character' and self-discipline, preparing for adult responsibilities and engendering morality. However, there was ambiguity about whether the youth organisations themselves were actually making contact with the 'right' young people.⁶⁴ Although youth work's potential was limited, several authors (for example, Stanley, 1890, Russell and Rigby, 1908, Percival, 1951, Eagar, 1953, Springhall, 1977) indicate that early youth work initiatives were numerically significant in absolute terms, if not relative to the total youth population.⁶⁵ Despite this, the Inter-Departmental Committee appealed to central powers to establish new levels of co-ordination in drawing these disparate activities and initiatives together to form a network of common provision.⁶⁶ Although no such 'central body'

⁶⁴For example, in his evidence to the Committee, Douglas Eyre (Vice-Principal of Oxford House) suggested that youth work was limited in touching the "slum population" and the "roughest classes" (Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, p. 152-153). In referring to work with girls and young women, Eyre also estimated that no more than "... five percent of the youthful portion of our industrial population ... are materially touched or assisted at present." (ibid, p. 153), by organised youth work. Russell and Rigby ironically suggest that lads' clubs were apparently too successful initially in attracting and 'civilising' the "roughest lads". So much so that some of the clubs became seen as too "respectable" to continue to attract them (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.22-23)

⁶⁵This of course remains the case at the present time, as will be shown in Chapter Six.

⁶⁶The authors of the Report argued for expansion of research into the physical condition of the population, the dissemination of public information on health and fitness, the provision of educational initiatives in "domestic hygiene" and "domestic economy" for girls, support to youth organisations engaging in "drill and physical exercises", and in promoting a "central body" in each town "... charged with the duty of supervising and directing voluntary agencies with a view to bringing them up to a minimum standard of efficiency" (Inter-

or co-ordinating machinery was established until 1916, these recommendations accord closely with the ideology of 'National Efficiency' promoted in the early years of the twentieth century by the Fabians.⁶⁷

Although the discipline of the body has remained a central concern of youth work, a preoccupation with the formation of 'character', the development of 'temperament' and the cultivation of ethics has also endured. The promotion of particular kinds of subjectivity through 'practices of the self' are closely related to a range of 'body practices' which have always had a place in youth work. For example, a ubiquitous feature of the early youth organisations (and the so-called 'brigades' in particular) was 'drill' (sometimes "musical drill" for girls, Stanley, 1890, p.61) which was juxtaposed with basic religious teaching, evening classes, and time for informal social mixing. Drill was an archetypal technique of discipline, aimed at achieving docility through the careful balancing and integration of physical forces to create "an efficient machine" (Foucault, 1977, p. 164).⁶⁸ An example of this comes from one observer of Boys Brigade activities in the 1890s who described drill as

"... the ground work of the Brigade system. Very thorough work it was; for half an hour these boys marched and turned and wheeled, formed fours and column, tied themselves into all sorts of knots and straightened themselves out again, finishing up at the 'double', whereat the floor quaked and a thin stream of mist arose therefrom. Finally they are formed in line, which must be 'dressed' with mathematical precision before 'stand at ease' is ordered" (Springhall, 1977, p.27).

Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, p. 84-93). This was an important expansion of governmental activity designed to maximise the various potentials which were identified in the urban population.

⁶⁷ Population was understood as a resource to be managed in order to achieve efficiency. Such a strategy effectively redefines the boundaries and responsibilities of the state (indeed it can be seen as part of the process of 'governmentalising' the state), and anticipates forms of 'social government' which characterised British political rule later in the twentieth century. In a small but important way, youth work has always been part of this process of cultivating the disciplined and regulated body.

⁶⁸ As Bourke shows, the military, schools, and youth organisations used competing systems of physical drill which incorporated different rationales (Bourke, 1996, p.180-192).

To achieve its capacity for effectiveness and efficiency, to realise its potential as a healthy military recruit, or in discharging its duties as wife or mother, the 'natural' body of the young person had to be carefully transformed. The early youth workers were technicians aiming to develop various capacities in the bodies of the young. However, youth work was not concerned exclusively with the physical condition or capacities of young people. The idea that disciplined physical activity had an intrinsic moral value, and could contribute to the formation of 'character' was an important underlying justification for these activities. The credo of 'mens sana in corpore sano' ensured that the appropriate connection was made between bodies and minds; that physical well-being could (and should) be accompanied by moral rectitude. As two early youth workers asserted, "Body and mind, particularly in a boy, are far too intimately connected for it to be possible to affect one without the other" (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.358). The process of character formation entailed rigorous physical discipline, and a "scouring" of the mind. Principally, the concern was with the encouragement of the self-regulating and self-governing individual, able to exercise "continuous application", "self-control", and above all, both "foresight" and a "sense of duty of forethought" (Bosanquet, 1895, p.110, and Dendy, 1895b, p.83). Such dispositions as these represented the essentials of 'character', and which provided an objective for so many of the practices and activities of the early youth workers. Physical activities, whether drill, sports, or gymnastics, were intended to constitute an externally disciplined body reflecting an ordered and regulated internal self. Through youth work the body of the young person was thus increasingly transformed to become an "instrument of consciousness" (Lupton, 1995, p.7), 'cultured' rather than 'natured', reasoned rather than passionate, and ideally of course, self-governed.

'Emergent Welfarism': a network of youth organisations

In the early years of the First War anxiety over perceived increases in juvenile crime led Government to become more directly involved in co-ordinating voluntary youth organisations. In a letter to the Board of Education in December 1916, the Home Office asserted that cases of "larceny" had increased by 50% in seventeen of England and Wales' largest towns. Compared with the previous year, in the three month period from December to February 1916, the number of "... children and young persons charged with punishable offences" had risen from 2,686 to 3,596 (Home Office, 1916). The apparent rise in juvenile crime levels was attributed largely to absent fathers, and diminished "parental control" resulting from wartime disruption. The Home Office letter complains of children being "left to wander the streets", and asserts the need for consultations with "clubs and brigades", in order to "... help in preventing young persons losing the results of the instruction they received at school" (ibid). Much of this was framed in terms of a discourse of 'good citizenship'. The establishment of the Juvenile Organisations Committee (JOC) as a Standing Committee of the Home Office in December 1916, and its transfer to the Board of Education in 1919, marks the beginning of the organisation and development of state-sponsored youth work. As well as there being a National Committee,⁶⁹ JOCs were established in local authority areas. The involvement of the state in this way should be seen as a specifically political 'problematization' of youth and young people, although as already shown, the idea of young people being essentially troublesome has origins at least as early as the mid-nineteenth century. As such, the way in which the literature of the JOCs

⁶⁹ Membership of the JOC included the Manchester youth worker Charles Russell, who chaired it from its inception in 1916 until his death in 1917. According to Eagar, Russell and other youth workers were particularly influential in the early days of the JOC (Eagar, 1953, p.396-398). When the Board of Education took responsibility 1919, membership included representatives of national voluntary youth organisations, as well as the London County Council, National Council of Women, Church of England Temperance Society, Scottish Office, Home Office, Board of Education, Ministry of Labour, and the War Office (Board of Education, 1919).

articulates the 'problem of young people', enforces the "... primacy of the pathological over the normal in the genealogy of subjectification..." (Rose, 1996a, p.131). It is when conduct becomes problematic - seen as 'delinquent' or in terms of disruptive transitions to adulthood or citizenship, for example - rather than routine that attempts are made to articulate it in particular ways, to understand, to know, and to intervene. The emergence of the JOCs is one example of the attempt to render young people's conduct manageable through the establishment of a new and relatively complex apparatus of intervention. This apparatus both developed and enhanced existing networks of youth organisations.

Although established by the Home Office, the JOC became the responsibility of the Board of Education on October 1st, 1919.⁷⁰ This transfer of responsibility had a dual significance. First it was part of a process of establishing a more coherent and comprehensive approach to the formation of 'good citizens' than the earlier Home Office sponsored work seemed to allow for. The latter focused specifically on the problem of 'delinquency', and 'young delinquents', whereas the Board of Education had a much wider interest in managing the "... recreative and social interests of children and young people" (Board of Education, 1919). This was to be done through the co-ordination of organisations undertaking "... religious, social, and educational work among young people" (ibid). As the Board of Education's Annual Report from 1920 points out, co-operation between Local Education Authorities and JOCs provided the possibility for LEAs to

⁷⁰ Although the Board became formally responsible for the JOCs in 1919, it had already issued a circular (Circular 975) to LEAs urging them to support the work of "boy's and girl's clubs and brigades" by offering them use of school premises. Apparently this advice was given at the request of the Home Office (Board of Education, 1917, para. 11). The Board had also issued regulations providing for support to "Evening Play Centres for Public Elementary School children". By July 1917, the Board had received applications for the recognition of 71 such centres (ibid, para. 13). This extended state responsibility for young people, and contributed to the development of a network of services which would later require the involvement of full-time personnel.

“... establish contact with the various voluntary organisations working for the happiness, welfare and recreative training of children and young people out of school and working hours.... In the development of what is, after all, truly educational work, the knowledge and advice of experienced social workers will be of the greatest value, and in fact without the co-operation of the many organisations dealing with the social welfare of boys and girls, the possibilities of Section 17 of the Act cannot be realised” (Board of Education, 1920, p.5).

Second, the Board’s involvement in youth work was facilitated by the 1918 Education Act. The Act enabled local education authorities to provide assistance to organisations concerned with the “social and physical training” of young people. The transfer of responsibility for JOCs from the Home Office to the Board of Education was presumably calculated to provide one mechanism through which the Board could manage its new powers. The Act itself (the so-called ‘Fisher Act’) is significant in this context, as its preceding Bill had come under considerable attack for its ‘collectivist’ and interventionist stance, despite being only the latest of a series of state interventions in the lives of young people.⁷¹ Thus, the state became increasingly preoccupied with issues of population and economy, and the practice of government was concerned with the problem of society, rather than simply that of territory (Foucault, 1991, p.104). Indeed in one sense, it is such governmental interventions as the 1918 Act which bring ‘society’ into being.

As part of the process of governmentalisation, the establishment of the JOCs represents an important extension of central co-ordination and management of practices and initiatives which focused on young people and their newly created leisure time. In its Annual Report for 1920, the Board of Education suggested that co-operation with the voluntary organisations, and local authorities could lead to a “vast expansion of work of this kind” (Board of Education,

⁷¹ For example, the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act (1889), the Elementary Education Act (1891), the Employment of Children Act (1903), the Probation of Offenders Act (1907), the Children’s Act (1908), the Education (Choice of Employment) Act (1910). During the same period, social investigations by Royal Commissions and Departmental Committees proliferated, looking into such matters as juvenile employment, attendance at continuation schools, and exemption from school attendance (Eagar, 1953, p.381).

1920, p.5). The Report refers to estimates that no more than 10 to 15 percent of young people under 18 were "... enjoying facilities for social life and physical training on recreative lines" (ibid, p.5). Careful organisation and co-ordination, it was thought, could improve matters. The inception of the JOCs paved the way for future models of youth work organisation, particularly those based on 'partnership', many of which continue in present-day youth work.

Overall, developments like the JOCs illustrate a political logic characteristically associated with 'liberal' forms of government, a kind of 'government without governing'. Rather than taking direct responsibility for the regulation of young people, the state in this instance capitalised on and supported the diverse network of existing voluntary organisations in an attempt to achieve a range of politically determined objectives. This approach, emerging in youth work at the time of the JOCs, is characterised throughout the twentieth century literature of youth work in terms of partnership,⁷² and it continues to articulate the way in which contemporary services for young people are perceived and organised. By 1919, there were 120 local JOCs in England and Wales (out of a possible total somewhere in excess of 300), 62 of which were in County Boroughs, and all of which were operating on the basis of 'partnership' arrangement between voluntary organisations and local education authorities (Board of Education, 1920, p.4-7). As well as co-ordinating youth activities, the JOCs were also deployed as mechanisms for managing youth unemployment in the 1920s and early 1930s (Board of Education, 1924, 1925, 1933). By 1933, the number of active JOCs appears to have decreased to seventy six by 1933 (Board of Education, 1933, p.58-62), and by 1936 only thirty six local JOCs were in existence, with only six of these employing a full-time secretary (Macalister Brew, 1943, p.21).⁷³ Although the JOCs' activities diminished during the 20s and 30s, this does

⁷² The early history of 'mainstream' mass education can also be characterized in this way.

⁷³ The national JOC ceased to function in 1937, and its work was taken over by the National Fitness Council (Board of Education, 1938, p.34).

not mean that work with young people contracted in a similar way. As Rooff shows, Local Authorities and other 'statutory' bodies (Juvenile Employment Bureaux, and Juvenile Advisory Committees, for example) liaised with and supported the activities of voluntary organisations (Rooff, 1935, p.41-58). Initiatives deriving from the relationship between the Local Authorities and the Voluntary Organisations included 'old scholars' clubs', youth clubs of various kinds, play centres, and 'Club Institutes'.

These organisations greatly facilitated the expansion of youth work into and across a range of sites involving a diversity of objectives and approaches. It is unhelpful here to draw too clear a distinction between the activities of the so-called 'statutory' and 'voluntary' sectors of youth work. The increasing 'socialisation' of government through the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries entailed shifting, mobile and often complex affiliations and alignments between diverse agents, institutions, and powers but this should not be seen as the relentless growth of a central and interventionist state. Rather, the management of young people, like other aspects of welfare policy and practice, has relied upon the sometimes transitory composition and configuration of a range of mechanisms, and the linkage of often temporary, diverse and diffused networks.

Preparing for war: the emergent 'Service of Youth'

The seemingly ever-present concern about young people's health and fitness emerged again in a report from the British Medical Association's Physical Education Committee in 1936 (British Medical Association, 1936). Evidence of the appalling physical condition of military recruits was submitted to the Committee (Henderson, 1935). However, it also received evidence which highlighted the notion of 'active health', a "... state of positive good health and physical efficiency... ", and to which youth work would contribute. One witness to the Education Sub-

Committee of the Physical Education Committee emphasised the importance of young people's physical well-being in a specifically modern world and in the context of "social progress":

"The secondary school boy of today is the industrial technician, social leader or professional man of tomorrow and the lack of full and proper physical education is hampering the wheels of social progress... The plea for a wider, far wider, physical education is not academic. It is vital to a diffuse and informed humanism. For girls it is just as important for they are the wives and mothers on whom so very much depends" (Lockhart, 1935).⁷⁴

These views were taken seriously. Physical education, the Committee asserted (should aim) at "... securing greater health, fitness and happiness for the people as a whole ..." (British Medical Association, 1936, p. 43). This was to be achieved through establishing a "partnership between medical science and physical education" (ibid, p.43), and youth work was to be a small but significant element in this partnership. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Report expressed some alarm at young people's apparently low participation rates in organisations providing physical education opportunities.⁷⁵ Evidence received indicated that many of the themes causing concern thirty or forty years earlier continued to be important. The fitness and physical health of young people's bodies was once again intertwined with their mental health, and both in turn were thought to have implications for the health of the nation as a whole. However, as the Report suggested (and again relying on the familiar Cartesian dualism) the "old gymnastics" had often failed to take account of the need to develop a proper "balance" between the physical and mental domains of self (ibid, p. 1). The aesthetic of the harmonious and balanced body could, according to the Report, be learnt by acquiring appropriate techniques of the body and of the

⁷⁴ Lockhart was the Medical Officer for the Boots Pure Drug Company in Nottingham.

⁷⁵ The Report draws on evidence from a survey undertaken by the National Association of Boys Clubs for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust. This survey concluded that of the 1 - 1.2 million young men aged between 14 and 18, about 78% of them were receiving no "organised recreative physical training" at all. As the NABC explained in its evidence to the BMA, "... hundreds of thousands of boys are growing into manhood without any systematic guidance" (NABC, 1935). This seems to indicate little change in participation levels from those of fifteen years earlier. Interestingly, and significantly, no mention is made in the BMA Report of the situation of young women despite the fact that Madeline Roofff was undertaking her own study of girls' organisations on behalf of the Carnegie Trust at exactly this time (Rooff, 1935).

self. The task of physical education was to “... bring home to the individual the knowledge that the body, like the mind, can be directed by the will, and to inculcate pride in the proper control of both” (ibid, p.1). This emphasises the importance of the responsibility which the sovereign and autonomous individual has as the author of self. At this time, youth work was encouraging young people to become involved in physical activities, and offered one important way in which the state was able to encourage “the care of the body” amongst the young.⁷⁶ The importance of the physical body is perhaps never greater than in the context of war. The problem of ‘morale’(in a sense a problem of ‘mind’), takes on a particular salience in wartime. Unsurprisingly, youth work assumed a new importance at the outbreak of the Second World War.

As well as facilitating scientific and technological innovation, the Second War stimulated many initiatives concerned with the organisation of human resources. Various ‘human technologies’⁷⁷ concerned with shaping conduct flourished, reflecting developments in machine and other material technologies. Attitude measurement, testing, and multifarious therapeutic endeavours developed as part of an entire ‘psychology of war and warfare’ (Rose, 1989, p.15-21). A series of educational, welfare, health, medical, and employment measures designed to sustain and maximise the life and well-being of the population also accompanied Britain’s engagement in war (Ferguson and Fitzgerald, 1954, Cooter, 1992). Developments in the organisation and practice of youth work were one element of these. The ‘Service of Youth’, established in 1939, was concerned with the regulation and discipline of young people through

⁷⁶ One way in which the state responded to these concerns was under provision in the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, permitting local authorities to provide opportunities for leisure-time activities as well as to arrange for “... the training of such wardens, teachers and leaders as they may deem requisite for securing that effective use is made of the facilities for exercise, recreation and social activities...” (House of Commons, 1937, p.4).

⁷⁷ Rose defines these as “... hybrid assemblages of knowledges, instruments, persons, systems of judgment, buildings and spaces, underpinned at the programmatic level by certain presuppositions about, and objectives for, human beings” (Rose, 1996a, p. 132).

their organised involvement in a range of youth organisations. The Service's objectives were embedded in the broader intention of preparing the young for 'democratic citizenship'. Because of its considerable symbolic significance at this time, this latter 'educational' purpose was given particular emphasis in the context of a war against fascism, and continued to resonate as a strand of youth work after the war.

Young people's perceived potential as a source for disruption and disorder, their vulnerability to internal and external factors, as well as their potential as 'national resource' were important considerations for politicians initiating and planning for the new 'Service of Youth'. Whether dangerous or vulnerable, young people could not be left to their own devices particularly at a time when "... the nation is fighting for its life..." (Board of Education, 1940a, para 8). Reflecting on wartime circumstances, the author of the Board of Education's 'Circular 1486' (Board of Education, 1939)⁷⁸ recalled the "social problem" of the last war. Delinquency was regarded as a consequence of war's damaging effect on family life. Brew identified this disruption as a particularly serious problem, and a powerful justification for the expansion of youth work. She argued that "the adolescent" would suffer more than anyone, principally because of disrupted transitions to adulthood. Adolescents' transitory status would, she argued, be further complicated by the absence of a supportive home situation, and difficult economic circumstances. The domestic division of labour, and its inherent regulatory capacity was being undermined by "Evacuation, transference of labour, billeting, the incidence of military service, air raids, father away, mother working..." (Macalister Brew, 1943, p.27). For Brew (and others), the prevailing turbulence justified the Board of Education's expanding role in establishing the 'Service of Youth', and in taking responsibility for the "welfare",

⁷⁸ Circular 1486 brought the youth service into existence as a formal responsibility of the Board of Education. The Circular's author was Kenneth Lindsay, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education.

“development”, and “training” of young people (Board of Education, 1939, 1940a).⁷⁹ As Chapter Seven shows, this situation encouraged the Board to stimulate the development of “emergency courses” of university-based training for ‘youth leadership’ (Board of Education, 1942b).

A joint Home Office and Board of Education circular was eager to reassure its readership that although the increase in juvenile crime was “large” compared with the pre-war period, it represented “... only a small proportion of the number of boys and girls...” (Board of Education and Home Office, 1941, p.3).⁸⁰ Youth work was seen as a preventive measure which was intended to deter young people from the “... unwholesome use of leisure” (ibid, p.8).⁸¹ Perhaps inevitably, physical activities and drill remained a staple part of youth work, and a ‘Directorate of Physical Recreation’ was established in 1940 linking the Board of Education with the War Office. The Board was careful to reassure that the Directorate’s establishment did not signal a departure from the youth service’s educational objectives. Nevertheless, the significance accorded physical activities and the War Office’s provision of instructors, indicate the importance of managing young people and ensuring both disciplined bodies and ordered minds. ‘Fitness’ of both was a central motif and many (distinctly gender-based) strategies were deployed to attract young people into organised physical activities. In 1940, for example, a joint campaign by the Football Association and Central Council for Recreative Physical

⁷⁹ There was clear recognition that young people needed help to withstand the stresses of war. Considerable research was undertaken in the early war years on the psychological effects of war (and evacuation) on young people’s development and conduct, with one researcher noting that air raids were responsible for “... forms of behaviour which seem, from the clinical standpoint, to involve activity and violence...” (McClure, 1943, p.28). Some youth workers at the time were very much aware of the war’s deleterious effect on young people (Macalister Brew, 1943, p.211, Jephcott, 1942, p.148).

⁸⁰ Between 1938 and 1944, the number of boys under 14 convicted of indictable offences in England and Wales rose from 14,724 to 22,525. For girls of the same age the figure rose from 835 to 1,558 in the same period. The total for boys between 14 and 17, the figure rose from 11,645 to 14,620, and for girls of this age group it rose from 912 to 1,846 (Home Office, 1947, p16-17).

⁸¹ As Ferguson and Fitzgerald note, the proportion of boy offenders per 100,000 of the population in their age groups rose until 1941, in 1942 and 1943 it diminished, and thereafter rose again. 1941 was the peak year for offences amongst girls aged 14 to 17, declining thereafter (Ferguson and Fitzgerald, 1954, p.21).

Training entitled 'Fitness for Service' targeted young men who "... would not normally take advantage of opportunities for social and physical training" (Board of Education, 1940b, p.4).

The body and its fitness was not a matter of personal interest or choice, but had become a commodity to be mobilised in a symbolic act of "...service to the country..." (Board of Education, 1940a, para. 8). In this way, the simple and routine activities offered to young people through youth organisations took on significance in the attempt to comprehensively integrate young people as elements of a 'population at war'. As well as contributing to young people's physical fitness, the youth service and youth leaders in particular had a role in managing and regulating youthful sexuality, and in so doing, contributed to notions of masculinity and femininity. As the Board of Education noted, there was a "special urgency" at the time, and "... young girls in considerable numbers are the victims of indiscriminate associations, with an increased incidence among them of venereal disease" (Board of Education, 1943d, p.4). The Board issued detailed guidelines and advice on how youth workers might provide "... instruction and advice directed to the understanding and control of sexual impulse and emotion" (ibid, p.4).

Whether focused on physical fitness or young people's sexuality, youth work was gendered. Whilst young men were encouraged to participate in physical training which appeared to be a preparation for military service, things were rather different for girls. Although youth work with girls incorporated physical fitness and physical activities, as Tinkler notes, these lacked the masculinist and confrontational ethos which characterised activities aimed at young men. Tinkler argues that youth work at this time promoted a "specifically feminine version of physical training" (Tinkler, 1994, p.393). Moreover, much of the youth work literature of the time suggests that youth work with girls was concerned to advance a particular femininity which would "... establish habits and standards which become genuinely part of the

girl's personal idea of herself' (Board of Education and Scottish Education Department, 1942, p.5). This attempt at the formation of the feminine self was matched by the corresponding elaboration of appropriate masculinities through for example involvement in the Youth Service Corps, in which young men could "... show their mettle in Service and leadership" (Board of Education, 1941c, p.2).

By November 1940, the Service of Youth had become established in all but five of 146 local education authorities (ibid, p.223). It became a vehicle through which young men in particular could prepare for military service and, in doing this, they could make a contribution to 'national service'. It is not surprising that some youth work was increasingly imprinted by military values and practices. After all, discipline through physical activity had been part of youth work since its inception. Militarism's most obvious expression was in the various 'Corps' which were formed across the country.⁸² Their creation was encouraged by the Board of Education as a contribution to the war effort, and was regarded as having positive consequences for young people's morale (Board of Education, 1940a, Board of Education, 1941c). However, it is clear that there was considerable debate about whether youth work should become entirely subordinated to the war effort. Deep political tensions existed over whether young people's attendance at youth groups should be compulsory (Gosden, 1976, p.225-231).

Caught between the War Office's desire for young people to undertake 'pre-service training', and a politically liberal critique of militarism and fascism, the Board of Education took a pragmatic line. For the Service of Youth to have a long-term future, it would need to contribute in a meaningful way to the war effort.⁸³ It became part of a centralised system of

⁸² Gosden shows the considerable political debate over the extent to which 'military values' should be allowed to influence youth work, and the extent to which the 'Service of Youth' could be construed as a 'youth movement' similar to the Hitler Jugend in contemporary Germany (Gosden, 1976, p.218).

⁸³ In correspondence with Ferguson in 1953, A.E.Miles-Davies, a Principal in the Board of Education during the war years, discussed youth registration, pointing out that "... I made pretty good use of registration as a means of airing the need, e.g. for part-time continued education for all" (Miles-Davies, 1953).

compulsory youth 'registration'. This attempt to 'map out' - and thus to 'know' the youth population to more effectively manage it - was organised jointly by the Board of Education and the Ministry of Labour and National Service (Board of Education, 1941d, 1942b, 1942c, 1943c). Registration was aimed at

“... those who have left school and are no longer under educational supervision and discipline... to put before them the opportunities which are available to them to equip themselves for the responsibilities of citizenship and to play their part in the nation's war effort” (Board of Education, 1941a, p.1).⁸⁴

Both boys and girls aged 16 and 17 were required to register in order that Local Education Authorities could encourage them to become involved in leisure-time activities through which they could undertake “public service work”. Appendix 7 gives one example of how registration in Coventry introduced about 2000 young people to youth organisations. Although registration itself was compulsory, membership of youth organisations remained voluntary with the largest number of boys and girls becoming involved in 'youth centres'. In England and Wales over 2 million young people were registered in 1942 (Board of Education, 1943c, p.26). Such youth registration became an important factor in encouraging the development of university-based training for youth workers (see Chapter 7).

The formation of democratic citizens

It should not be assumed that Service of Youth was exclusively concerned with ordering and disciplining the body. Had this been the case it is unlikely that youth workers, trained in a variety of educational knowledge and skill, would have been required, nor perhaps that the youth service would have survived beyond the war years. A 'curriculum' designed to mark out

⁸⁴ In 1941, the first year of registration, about half the boys registered, and three quarters of the girls were not attached to any youth organisation (Gosden, 1976, p.228). Gosden claims that during 1941/1942, the membership of youth organisations increased by between 15 and 20 per cent, much of the increase being in pre-service organisations, but youth clubs and youth centres also experienced an increase as a result of an official campaign of encouragement to join up.

a 'professional competence' for youth workers was already beginning to emerge between the Board of Education and the institutions concerned with the professional training of 'youth leaders' (see Chapter 7). Some of this reflected a strong 'liberal' educational theme running through the work of the Service itself. Taking this theme, Macalister Brew suggested that the aim of youth work was to

“... educate, not fitting subjects for group uniformity, but independent personalities with powers of judgement who will indulge in group living in the service of a social ideal... We need physical discipline, we need to moralise or spiritualize the body, but we need, too, emotional and rational discipline, because discipline which implies knowledge is the only system whereby you achieve freedom and fit yourself to carry its responsibilities” (Macalister Brew, 1943, p. 194).

There is a strong interrelation here between self-regulation (through the acquisition of disciplinary techniques which focus on governing the self), and the wider needs and aspirations of the social world in which young people are located. In Brew's account, youth work's objectives cohere around the requirement that young people should form an appropriate reflexivity, in order to form relationships with others. This came to be understood as work which required abstract knowledge and technical skill - embedded in specific competence - on the part of the youth worker.

Brew's democratic objectives were given a particular edge in the context of war.⁸⁵ As one writer noted in 1942, “While we are making a world safe for democracy, we must preserve in children readiness for democracy - these are the people in whose hands the new world order

⁸⁵ As Donald points out, contrasts between German and British ideas of 'citizenship education' had existed since the First War, the former often being regarded as statist and totalitarian (Donald, 1992, p.71). Donald also makes the point that at this time anxiety had arisen over new communication technology (the cinema in particular), and its implications for national culture and family life. There are numerous examples of this in the youth work literature of the time. For example, the Youth Advisory Council's 1943 Report on the Future of the Youth Service, (Board of Education, 1943a, p.130) expressed deep concerns about young people's use of leisure, and identified the need for young people to be helped in making 'responsible' and 'informed' choices about their leisure. Ten years later, King George's Jubilee Trust offered an identical analysis (King George's Jubilee Trust, 1955, p. 49-53). Youth work was one mechanism through which young people could develop the capacity to manage their own freedom, by learning to exercise choice in an appropriate way.

will be moulded” (Urwin and Sharland, 1992, p. 192). This was an aspiration with which youth work’s explicit commitment to democracy through voluntary participation crystallised in the ‘self-governing’ youth group, could be aligned. Symbolising all that was thought to be best about democracy, the idea of self-government exuded a sense of individual freedom in the context of collective responsibility: it forged actual and symbolic links between ‘self and others’. Brew was a strong advocate of ‘self-government’ in youth clubs through which she believed young people could learn much about obligations, self-discipline, the function of rules and the nature of democracy (Macalister Brew, 1943, p.90-92). One can imagine how persuasive such ideas might be (for adults at least) in attracting young people, and encouraging the cultivation of individual discipline and self-control. For some writers, the youth club or youth group was established as moral order in miniature, a “... little commonwealth having its place in a democracy. That place is important for a movement which professes to voice an answer of Democracy to Fascism” (Edwards-Rees, 1943, p. 84).⁸⁶ Pearl Jephcott made similar observations, suggesting that youth clubs could help young people to acquire the dispositions and skills of democracy, by encouraging them to be

“... actively happy as well as morally good and also give them some training for the very demanding work which will be required of the adolescents of 1942 when they become responsible citizens” (Jephcott, 1942, p. 158).⁸⁷

Although the idea of self-government and voluntary participation had been central themes in youth work since its earliest days, they became especially important motifs in wartime youth work. They are ideas which provide an important continuity with contemporary youth work

⁸⁶ Edwards-Rees was a Youth Officer in County Durham, Chairman of the National Conference of Youth Service Officers, and of the rural Commission of the Church of England Youth Council. She was a member of the Youth Advisory Council appointed to advise the Board of Education from 1942 to 1945.

⁸⁷ Jephcott had been a ‘club leader’ and a ‘club organizer’ in Birmingham and Durham. At this time she appeared to be working as a researcher for the National Association of Girls’ Clubs. She was later a member of the ‘Albemarle Committee’, appointed by the Minister of Education in 1958 to review the work of the youth service in England and Wales.

through the notion of 'social education', youth work's formal *raison d'être* since the early 1960s. This will be discussed in Chapter Six.

Conclusions

Chapter Five has identified how youth work became part of an expanding apparatus of initiatives designed to manage and 'improve' young people in various ways, and has shown how, during the period of 'emergent welfarism', the state incorporated youth work. Subsequently, a relatively coherent network of youth organisations and initiatives developed. Although there were times in the inter-war period when 'state' interest diminished, youth organisations took on particular significance during the Second War. At this time the Service of Youth emerged as a formal responsibility of the Board of Education.

Throughout the period discussed, youth work has had varying functions, all essentially concerned with governing young people; of combining interventions at the level of the individual (disciplining the individual and gendered body through organised sport, for example) with the political needs or aspirations of the state (for instance, for an ordered and healthy workforce, or an informed citizenry). The emphasis on physical activities reflects how disciplinary practices have privileged the body, although simultaneously attempting to shape the cognitive capacities of young people. The idea of the 'disciplined body and ordered mind' continued to underpin much youth work, and the activities which contributed to it were readily amenable to incorporation in the 'war effort'. Chapter Five has also suggested that youth work combined a liberal notion of education with the essentially disciplinary practices referred to above. This element was structured in terms of a broad discourse of citizenship, and constituted a form of moral education, mapping out appropriate relationships between the reflexive and ordered self and others. As such, it also defines the basis of youth workers' competence.

The Service of Youth provided an instrument through which young people's leisure could be appropriated and marshalled as part of an overall 'war effort'. In particular, youth work aimed to sustain young people's morale, find ways in which they could 'serve', and respond to youth crime. Youth work facilitated the promotion of the values of 'service' and 'citizenship' at a time when both were considered indispensable to Britain's survival. As such, much of the content of youth work was 'war specific', and apparently came to be thought of as unnecessary once the war had ended. Tensions between different perceptions of youth work seemed to prevent the formation of a clear identity for youth work, although a number of commentators had affirmed youth work's essentially educational purpose. This educational ethos emerged again a little later, and provided the basis upon which youth work would expand. Arguably, youth work's ambiguous and flexible identity has remained its defining feature - and perhaps its strength - enabling it to be quickly deployed across a range of sites in pursuit of diverse objectives. Chapter Six goes on to discuss the growth of youth work as a component in the strategy of 'social government' in the 1960s and 1970s, and its increasingly 'professionalised' identity as part of the state educational service.

Chapter Six

Discourses of Social Education

Introduction

Although British education expanded dramatically after the war,⁸⁸ growth occurred mainly in sectors which were thought to have a bearing on Britain's economic performance. The youth service was not part of this. Despite rising during the late 1940s, central Government expenditure on the youth service fell in the early 1950s, and increased from 1955-1956 onwards (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.118). The Albemarle Committee⁸⁹ was unable to give precise figures for local authority expenditure on youth service during the same period. However, it calculated that local authority expenditure on "social and physical training for adults, young people and school children" rose by almost half. Across England and Wales, local authority expenditure on youth service varied enormously in the financial year 1957-1958 (ibid, p.8), and in this sense it is difficult to identify any 'baseline' from which to judge levels of youth service provision at the time. However, it was estimated in 1956-1957, that local authorities in England and Wales spent about £2.5 million on the "social and physical training" of the 15 to 20 age group (House of Commons, 1957, p.viii).

Reflecting concerns about the 'problem of young people', by the late 1950s political and public interest in youth work and youth service had grown. A number of factors contributed to this. The national voluntary organisations were active in political lobbying at this time. The Select Committee appointed in 1956 to examine expenditure on the youth employment service

⁸⁸ As a proportion of public expenditure, the education budget increased from 6.8 to 12.5 per cent between 1951 and 1975. This was an increase from 19.5 to 23.1 per cent of total social expenditure over the same period (Lowe, 1993, p.193).

⁸⁹ The Albemarle Committee was appointed by the Minister of Education in November 1958 "To review the contribution which the Youth Service of England and Wales can make in assisting young people to play their part in the life of the community, in the light of changing social and industrial conditions and current trends in other branches of the education service; and to advise according to what priorities best value can be obtained for the money spent" (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.1).

and the youth service, was not satisfied that "... the Ministry of Education is properly exercising its responsibility for the money voted... (and that) the Ministry is little interested in the present state of the Service and apathetic about its future" (ibid, p.x). Above all, however, was the emergence of an apparently distinctive youth culture, the novelty of which evidently posed a challenge to conventional morality. This was the time of Richard Hoggart's "juke box boys", the time when "... the hedonistic but passive barbarian who rides in a fifty-horsepower bus for threepence to see a five million dollar film for one and eightpence, is not simply a social oddity; he is a portent" (Hoggart, 1964, p.250). It was with 'youth as portent' that the Albemarle Committee was concerned. The Committee drew attention to a range of factors which it believed were either responsible for shifting patterns of morality or were a consequence of them. Although one is left a little uncertain of the relationship between 'cause and effect' in Albemarle's analysis, young people are consistently regarded in the Report as indicators of change. The impending demographic 'bulge',⁹⁰ the ending of national service,⁹¹ young people's improved physique, the changing gender division of labour, delinquency,⁹² housing, education, young people's economic status, their employment and life at work were all illuminated in the Committee's Report (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.13-28). Albemarle was a watershed for youth work. Its publication at the high-point of 'social government' led to

⁹⁰ This would add about one million young people to the existing three and a quarter million 15-20 year olds within the youth service's target age range (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.71).

⁹¹ National service took about two hundred thousand young men at any one time. Arguably, military service operated as form of youth service for young men. It was argued that national service provided positive influences on young men at a critical time of their lives through improving their physique, their education, and the development of a sense of "civic responsibility". The Ministry of Labour and National Service indicated that on completion of national service, young men "... show a high degree of stability in their post-Service jobs" (Ministry of Labour and National Service, 1955, p. 14, Matthewson, 1961). These aims were always part of youth work, and it is significant that calls for the expansion of youth work came at a time when national service was being discontinued.

⁹² It is interesting to note that the Report devotes considerably more space to its analysis and discussion of delinquency than any other factor which it claimed was influencing British society at the time. The Report asserted that the "... crime problem is a youth problem..." (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.17).

considerable expansion of youth work over the subsequent decade.⁹³ The Government of the day accepted all of Albemarle's recommendations and youth work's professional status became redefined. Like other related occupations (social work or teaching for example), youth work was entirely dependent on state support for achieving professional (or more appropriately 'semi-professional') recognition. Albemarle did not depart significantly from specifications of youth work purposes which had already been articulated twenty years earlier. However, as with Circular 1486 in 1939, Albemarle sharpened political and public perceptions of youth work and the youth service at a time when politicians and the public were becoming increasingly aware of the 'problem of young people' and 'young people's problems'.

In this chapter, the development of youth work through the period of 'social government' is discussed. The chapter sets out some of the changing definitions of 'youth need' and of the professional role of the youth worker against a backdrop of 'welfarism' and an increasingly technical-rational approach to youth work. Three elements are identified as characterising the youth worker's professional role at this time: group work, ethical concerns and counselling. These combine to constitute a model of 'social education'. Youth work's later deployment in dealing with a range of social problems such as delinquency, drug use, racism and sexism is also noted. In all of this work, youth work aimed to shape young people at a time of moral uncertainty and greater technical capacity on the part of youth workers. As such, youth work is one concrete mechanism (and youth workers its agents) through which disciplinary power is exercised in relation to young people.

⁹³ At the time of Albemarle there were some 700 full-time youth workers and by 1970 this had risen to about 1500 (Bradford, 1988, p.49).

Expert youth workers: the basis of professionalism

Throughout this century youth workers have sustained their interest in and focus on the management of the physical bodies of young people. This has been attempted in a diversity of ways: from the organisation of young people in particular physical spaces like youth centres and clubs, the encouragement of young people to participate in physical activities of various kinds, and the disciplining and shaping of bodies through different practices and moral exhortations to be 'fit' or 'healthy'. As indicated in Chapter Five, the first half of this century saw an extension and increase in the sophistication of techniques by which the body of the young person could be assiduously worked upon. From the beginning of the century, for example, the Board of Education published manuals of physical fitness techniques designed for use by teachers and 'leaders'. However, these were not exclusively targeted on the physical body of young people, but were designed to appeal to "youth" (both boys and girls) to "... make the best of itself by the development of body, mind, and character" (Board of Education, 1937, p.3). This early repertoire of youth workers' expert knowledge and skill was subsequently augmented by other techniques emerging during the 1940s and 1950s. These techniques - 'social groupwork' and to a lesser extent 'counselling' - derive from the human sciences, and the various psychological discourses in particular. The development of these techniques has been dependent on new ways of thinking about the psychic domain, and the

"... translation of the human psyche into the sphere of knowledge and the ambit of technology makes it possible to govern subjectivity according to norms and criteria that ground their authority in an esoteric but objective knowledge" (Rose, 1989, p.9).

The 'scientific' approach to the human mind created new languages and vocabularies with which to represent, problematise and create the possibility of intervening on individual subjectivity. These languages, codified in a range of professional techniques and practices (like groupwork

and counselling), have become the foundation on which a range of new occupations have become established or been able to extend their influence during the last fifty years or so: social workers, health visitors, probation workers, various therapists and indeed youth workers. Youth workers have taken up aspects of these new knowledges and techniques and appropriated them in various forms for their own purposes. In doing this, they have contributed to a process in which young people themselves have become construed in new ways. Rather than being the bearers of merely physical or bodily characteristics to be harnessed in the service of economic or military purposes, young people have been redefined and understood in terms of their subjective capacities as well (their needs, preferences, capability, attitudes, and so on). The assurance given by the 'human technologies' to which psychology has contributed is that the domain of individual subjectivity can be made amenable to expert knowledge and intervention. The techniques involved have allowed for the development of affinities between political aspirations and the 'project of the self', to forge links between individuals' "... attempts to make life worthwhile for themselves, and the political values of consumption, profitability, efficiency, and social order" (Rose, 1989, p.10). In this section of Chapter Six the ways in which youth work developed its own apparently distinctive expertise, and the contribution this made to the project of governing young people are considered.

Earlier in the chapter the publication of the Albemarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960) was referred to as youth work's 'watershed'. It is not intended here to undertake a full analysis of this Report and its content. That has been done adequately elsewhere (see for example, Bradford, 1988, Smith, 1988). Rather, its significance as a primarily 'modernising' or 'progressive' influence in youth work is indicated. Amongst its important consequences, the youth worker's professional role is codified and made explicit by Albemarle. Arguably, the role mapped out by the Albemarle Committee has sustained youth work since that time. It might be

argued that 'official' discourse on youth work during the last thirty five years has merely extended or refined Albemarle.⁹⁴ In Albemarle's perspective the 'problem of young people' is largely understood as a problem of individual young people's adjustment in the context of their relationships with others. It is argued in this perspective that the aggregation of individual problems constitutes the 'social' problem to be resolved by the efficient and effective deployment of technical expertise: for example, by counselling, group work, or therapy of some kind. This is an approach which might be loosely associated with some aspects of Fabianism, and with 'social' government in general. In Chapter Four it was suggested that this overall position has given rise to a characteristic form of professional education.

Although his 'ethical presence' (expressed through 'personality') was important, the youth worker's role was becoming increasingly defined in terms of technical expertise. Analysis of the Albemarle Report suggests that there were three primary task areas in which the youth worker's expertise was specified, and in which practical youth work intervention was urged. One of these areas - working with groups - was predominant, with the other two contributing to it at different times and in various ways. The three elements should be understood as constituting the substance of youth work's attempt to work on the subjective capacities of young people, although they also inevitably touch on the physical body of young people. They apparently constitute the field of 'social education', a term which appears in the Albemarle Report, and under whose general rubric youth work's objectives and its means of intervention can be placed. The three constitutive elements of expertise are:

⁹⁴ There are exceptions to this of course. The entire debate around the issues of social justice and equality, for example, go into areas not even thought about when Albemarle reported. However, the basic model of youth work has altered little, although it is now having to take account of very different circumstances in the public services, and the principles which now shape them.

i) the youth worker as 'technician of group experience', concerned with structuring group experiences through which young people can learn to exercise their own freedom, and govern their own choices, whilst simultaneously developing their capacity to form relationships with others.

ii) the youth worker as a 'broker' of ethical knowledge, offering young people relevant knowledge which may be used in their own 'projects of the self', and which can help them shape their decisions about personal conduct and their transition to adulthood.

iii) the youth worker as a 'semi-therapist', concerned with promoting and developing the 'mental health' and positive affective functioning of young people.

They are briefly discussed in turn.

(i) The youth worker as 'technician of group experience'

This element of the youth worker's role is ubiquitous. 'Group work' (and working with groups) has been an element in youth work from its early days in the nineteenth century. Youth work has always occurred with groups of young people, whether focusing on specific activities (sports or the arts, for example), or with young people's peer and friendship groups (as in the case of contemporary detached or street-based youth work, for example). In Albemarle, however, a much firmer and more conscious theorisation of the importance of 'the group' as a new entity constructed and circumscribed by psychological and sociological knowledge emerges. Arguably, without group work, youth work would not have undergone professionalisation in the 1960s. Without understanding something of the background of group work's emergence, it is difficult to appreciate how significant it was in the revitalisation of youth work in the 1960s.

During the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s the practice of 'group work' or 'social group work' had become a recognised element in American social work, recreation and leisure services (Coyle, 1948, p.1). Group work had been 'professionalised' in the United States to the extent

that Coyle had been appointed Professor of Group Work at Western Reserve University. In its American versions, group work was deeply influenced by Mayo's human relations psychology and Dewey's philosophy of education, which both emphasised the role of personal relationships and the crucial role of 'interest' "... as the necessary foundation for learning, upon creative rather than imitative or repetitive experience, and upon the developing of social attitudes..."(ibid, p.23).⁹⁵ In the early American literature, group work is regarded as a means of encouraging an ordered 'intimacy' in the context of an alienating and dislocating modernity.

Group work first appeared as a distinct practice in Britain in the 1950s, in the wake of 'travellers tales' from the United States. Handasyde (1951), Post (1957), and Matthews (1959)⁹⁶ all visited the States in the 1950s and returned with positive reports of group work's efficacy, and its potential for British social work and youth work.⁹⁷ In her paper, for example, Handasyde discussed the way in which American group work had become a distinct practice, with its own underlying body of knowledge and repertoire of skills and techniques. She reported that the

⁹⁵ This quotation contains clear Deweyan motifs, and is a reflection of Dewey's view that education plays a crucial role in the development of democratic societies. Such societies he argued, need a "... type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder" (Boot and Reynolds, 1983, p.2).

⁹⁶ Joan Matthews was Principal Lecturer at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders which was set up following the Albemarle Report in 1960.

⁹⁷ In a recent discussion with the author (6/3/97), Joan Matthews recalled that she and others in British youth work (she remembered that Joan Tash was one of these) attended a conference in Britain probably in the early or mid-1950s at which Grace Coyle was speaking about group work. According to Matthews this was the defining point for the 'import' of group work into Britain, although it was clearly some years before it became widely recognised as offering an appropriate body of knowledge and technique in youth work.

“... development of group work as a profession has been accompanied by the evolution of a technique known as ‘the group process’ which I confess to having found it very difficult to grasp... Reduced to simple terms, it seems to mean the interaction of personalities, including that of the leader, within a closed, controlled situation. Emphasis is laid much less on the activities and interests of the members of a club than on the process of their selection, their adoption of ‘roles’ (scapegoat, janitor, jester, etc.), the emergence of leadership, their ‘rating scale’ (order of influence and importance), affectional relationships, and the formation of group standards” (Handasyde, 1951, p.151).

Handasyde drew attention to the ‘technical’ aspects of American group work, some of which she clearly found baffling. However, two aspects were referred to in particular. The ‘supervision’ of the group worker by an experienced colleague and the use of ‘recordings’ were both designed to facilitate the group worker’s conscious reflection on practice, and to encourage his preparation and planning for the development of the work as a continuous and ordered process. It will be shown in Chapter Eight that both supervision and recording have assumed great importance in the professional education of youth workers in Britain since the 1960s.

As a form of ‘practical human relations’, group work was thought to have much to offer British social work and youth work. By 1954 the first British text-book on ‘social group work’, including sections on youth work, had been published (Kuenstler, 1954). During the 1950s, group work was being credited with the potential for successful work with “delinquent” and “unclubbable” young people (Spencer, 1952, Mays, 1955), young people (“adolescents”) in general (Macalister Brew, 1954, Matthews, 1959), in the field of ‘citizenship education’ with both young people and adults (Milligan, 1955), and in the construction of “new communities” strengthening the fabric of post-war civil society (Hart, 1958). Much of the early British literature on group work (like that in the United States) places it in the context of the allegedly dislocating and disorientating forces of modernity. This was a time characterised by massive social change and uncertainty, a perception which had no doubt been greatly heightened by the

experiences and consequences of events in the previous decade. There is a strong sense in this literature that the social and moral world had suddenly become infinitely complex, and that the 'old certainties' (whatever they might have been) were now much less certain. This was now a world in which "... sound common sense and long experience are no longer alone adequate..." (Wilson, 1954, p.155) to meet the demands and complexities of modern social and moral life. Because of this, it was necessary to actively manage this world, and "... men and women must look with keen and critical eyes at what is going on, in order to elucidate working principles and to select and adapt those elements from practice hitherto on which good work can henceforth be built" (ibid, p.155). Group work was one of the fundamentally technical-rational practices which promised a means of intervening in and taming the forces which threatened to disrupt social and moral order. Group work could contribute to "psychological health" (Kuenstler, 1954, p.24) and bolster the 'social' bonds and solidarity which were apparently in so much danger. In this sense group work contains a powerful expression and celebration of the domain of 'the social', and of the reciprocity of the constitutive individual and collective responsibilities which attach to its members. Some writers on group work suggested that a symmetry existed between 'mind and society', that 'free' minds led to 'free' societies. It was argued that group work could contribute to the Popperian liberal-democratic "open society" by establishing the "open internal society", the "society of the mind". The 'closed' mind leads to

"Inner confusion, anxiety and stress (and) is paralleled by relationships disturbed with imagined fears and slights, by attempts to dominate, by over-submissive behaviour and so on. Within the much wider social sphere, homologous patterns occur" (Curle, 1954, p.145).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the history of the period, Nazi Germany was evoked by Curle as the example of what can happen if the reason, coherence and harmony of properly adjusted and co-ordinated individual and collective minds is permitted to break down. The main point,

however, is that group work was seen to be modern, progressive and technically capable of responding to the problems of the time.

Albemarle's own characterisation of post-war British society closely mirrored that of Curle. The Committee's Report often expresses a sense of foreboding in the face of social dislocation and instability in which young people are seen as both victims and instigators. As the Committee observed, perhaps in understatement

“All times are times of change but some change more quickly than others. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that in some periods the sense of change is particularly strong. Today is such a period” (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.13).

Against this background the Albemarle Report gave considerable momentum to youth work's adoption of group work as its principal approach and declared expertise. Much of the Report defines youth work as being concerned with creating a compact or harmony between the 'individual and the collective'. In one sense this is the enduring problem faced by specifically liberal polities, and it has been an underlying preoccupation of youth work in one way or another since its inception. At the time of Albemarle it had taken on particular salience as the relationship between the individual (perhaps more specifically the young individual) and collective authority appeared to be in the process of unstoppable change. In Albemarle this problem is posed almost as a 'technical' issue to be resolved by youth workers. Reflecting earlier accounts of social change, the partial focus of Albemarle's concern is 'the group', the site at which the 'problem' arises and which is simultaneously thought to offer its solution. The Report asserts that the fundamental task of youth service is the encouragement of “... young people to come together into groups of their own choosing... “ (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.52). The apparent contradiction here is both interesting and illuminating. It shows how necessary it was thought for young people to be positively encouraged to make their own

choices about group membership, but of course, it is implied that this was not something that would 'simply happen'; rather, it must be made to happen. In these circumstances a role for youth workers in managing and enhancing the newly discovered 'process' of group formation is assured. In discussion with the author of this thesis, Joan Matthews noted that one of the most important contributions that group work theory made to youth work in the 1950s and 1960s was its elaboration of the idea of 'process'. As she put it, "... the worker could think in terms of what was happening about different processes going on in a more clear fashion than he or she had done before... it gave them an index to go through and check on." As this suggests, group work introduced a discipline which permitted youth workers to adopt a programmatic and calculated approach to their work. Aspects of group life (the 'processes' of group formation, relationship building, establishing rules and so on) had suddenly become 'visible' and were now amenable to 'professional thought' and technical intervention.

The youth worker's "fundamental task" of enhancing group formation is given further weight in the Albemarle Report. The Report explains that the group has a special importance during adolescence and argues that

"There are many young people who leave school lonely and estranged, without ever having learnt to live in the company of their fellows; if they do not learn in adolescence they never will" (ibid, p.52).

and

"Group or club membership is in itself a commitment... The acceptance of even the slightest obligations has its value in an age in which the young are shy of committing themselves and often lack a purpose. A clear purpose which demands loyalty is what many young people are seeking... Basically the group should provide ideals as well as activities ..." (ibid, p.52).

The notions of 'membership', 'commitment', 'acceptance', 'obligation', 'purpose', and 'ideals' are important here. The group is identified as the site on which these dispositions are acquired in

the transition to adulthood. In this sense the group has within it the capacity to either facilitate or frustrate successful transition to responsible adulthood and because of this the group is accorded such significance at this time. The group was understood as a context in which individual subjectivity and inter-subjective structures could be deconstructed, constructed and reconstructed as necessary by the youth worker. The argument here is that in order to properly understand the individual he must be located in the social context - the group - in which the self is shaped and in which it develops. With appropriate professional training, the youth worker is regarded by Albemarle as a skilled practitioner able to manage the 'dynamics' of group experiences (in which individual needs are structured in tension with collective obligations) for the benefit of young people's development, and the coherence and stability of the social and moral order.

Part of the significance of group work in this context is that it provides a particular body and system of knowledge and technique which can be applied to a range of concerns in youth work. Group work marks out a domain or territory of the social world, and offers a repertoire of theory, models, and techniques by which this domain can become known, the needs of its inhabitants conceptualised in particular ways, and subsequently intervened upon by the group worker. Group work technique, based on high status 'science' (psychology and sociology in particular),⁹⁸ provided part of the relatively distinct and esoteric knowledge base which was important to youth work's professionalisation. It is relevant to note, for example, that Swansea University's submission of evidence to the Albemarle Committee on the professional education of youth workers, argues that they are principally "educational group workers" (University College of Swansea, 1959, p.10).

⁹⁸ Grace Coyle points to the links between social work, psychiatry and group work with young people in the USA in the 1940s (Coyle, 1948, p.23). 'The group' and 'group work' had also gained a high profile in psychiatry in the 1940s, and the work of Bion and Maxwell-Jones was of particular significance in establishing therapeutic group work in Britain (Curle, 1954, p.135, Rose, 1989, p.48).

By the mid 1960s, youth work educators were claiming great things for group work. In 1967 Joan Matthews argued that

"The well-being of a complicated urban industrial society such as our own depends on the appropriate functioning of a multiplicity of groups of varying size and type - commercial companies, churches, political parties, trade unions, voluntary social organisations, government departments, select committees, etc. It follows from this ... that a worker using social group work methods in this society is concerned to help groups of individuals to become more able to manage their own affairs and pursue their own purposes more effectively as groups, as well as being concerned to help individuals to become more able to participate effectively in a variety of group situations" (Matthews, 1966, p.15).

The quote from Matthews shows quite clearly the way in which relationships between 'local' practices like group work and broader governmental aspirations, can be formed. There is a powerful link made here between the welfare of individuals as participating beings (implying choice on their part), and the overall well-being of society as a whole. Matthews also suggests the way in which a particular (and clearly valuable and valued) expertise for youth workers was being constructed at the time. The technical aspects of group work were developed enormously during the 1960s and 1970s, and increasingly programmatic (and technical-rational) approaches were developed in youth work. Some of these incorporated techniques drawn from work developed in North American 'small group research'. For example, 'sociometry'⁹⁹ was deployed as a means of apparently objectively mapping and measuring the nature and intensity of relationships within social groups. This technique formed a major element in one particularly influential approach to group work in the 1970s (Button, 1971, 1974).

Nominally, at least, group work remains an established and major part of youth workers' expertise, and is an element in the curriculum of all programmes of professional education for

⁹⁹ Sociometry was based on the work of Moreno whose work had an almost messianic tone. Moreno wanted to find the foundation to the "... psychosocial planning of society..." (Moreno, 1953, p.12).

youth workers. The discussion in Part Three of this thesis returns to the relevance of groupwork as part of the professional education and formation of youth workers.

(ii) The youth worker as 'broker' of ethical knowledge

Although group 'processes' clearly had much significance at this time, group work also operated at another level. Sometimes, it was necessary for this work to be 'about something', something that went beyond the reflexive and inward-looking practices which some of the literature suggests. Discussion needed a substantive focus on themes which young people and youth workers could reflect upon together. Albemarle is significant in marking out a territory of youth work which had been present but largely implicit in earlier accounts of the work. It covers the provision to young people of knowledge on almost anything and everything which could be considered significant in the overall management of their lives. In this area of work, the youth worker becomes responsible for the formation of an ethical regime in the youth centre or club, in which young people are encouraged to develop their capacities for exercising their own responsible choice and judgement. In this way it was intended that young people should be transformed from being either vulnerable or dangerous (by virtue of being young people) into ethical subjects, capable of self-government and the successful negotiation of the transition to adulthood. As shown in Chapter Five, the idea of the 'self-governing' youth organisation occupied an important position in youth work discourse in the war years particularly. It retained importance in the context of 'education for citizenship' following the war, in which one Secretary of State for Education asserted his belief that "... all education is social education simply because we are members of one another and are at all points dependent for our development as whole persons and mature citizens on the support of our neighbours..."(Ministry of Education, 1949a, p.5). This celebration of the collective bonds and obligations of 'social government' and the pursuit of 'good citizenship' was reflected throughout

Albemarle, although the Report was critical of 'formal' approaches to this. The "... beginnings of 'citizenship' can be seen as much in the subtlety and tact of social relations in a good youth club, even in a tough area, as in straight-forward discussion of good citizenship" (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.39). Albemarle made the point (sometimes implicitly) that it was unrealistic to expect young people to conduct themselves in 'responsible' ways, or to make 'responsible' choices in their lives without having access to the knowledge and information - 'the truth' - which would enable them to do so. Since Albemarle, the provision of information through youth workers has become a major theme in the 'empowerment' of the young.¹⁰⁰ The Albemarle Report provides a lexicon of 'important knowledge' to which young people are to be given access, or upon which they are encouraged to reflect through "short courses", "personal and individual discussion", and "wise and tactful counselling" (ibid, p.60). So, a range of substantive areas are considered relevant: marriage and "homemaking", "sex education and preparation for parenthood", "budgeting, buying, furnishing and home maintenance", as well as the issues of "public affairs" and "employment". These are identified as going beyond a general and overriding preoccupation with young people's need to develop knowledge of 'self and others' which is intended to contribute to responsible 'self government'. The rationale underlying much of Albemarle's analysis entails a criticism of what was undoubtedly seen as a lazy and perhaps frightening shift in popular morality of the 1950s, part of the sense of social dislocation to which attention has already been drawn. As the following quotation suggests

¹⁰⁰ The recent establishment of the 'Information Shops' designed to provide young people with a range of relevant information in an accessible and attractive form is one example of this (White, 1993, National Youth Agency, 1995).

"... an adolescent today moves into a society at once formidably restricted and surprisingly permissive, and finds himself canvassed by many agencies which seek to alter his attitudes in ways congenial to them. He needs to develop his capacity for making sound judgements; he needs, to take only one instance, opportunities for realising that some things - slower and more hardly won - are nevertheless more rewarding than the excitements offered in each day's passing show" (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.37).

In Albemarle's analysis, young people - construed here as vulnerable - need to be properly prepared to exercise responsible choice, undoubtedly seen as problematic in the context of proliferating goods and services aimed specifically at a newly constructed teenage market.

The idea that youth work could contribute to the formation of individuals well equipped to live responsibly in a modern, complex and technological society is an important motif running through much of the Albemarle Report, and has continued to form an underlying rationale for youth work since. In Albemarle, young people became increasingly active subjects to be encouraged by youth workers to conduct their lives in responsible ways, and to prepare for taking an active role in both caring for and governing themselves. For them to do this, it is acknowledged that they need to be well informed, practised in making decisions about their own affairs and skilled in exercising their freedoms in appropriate ways. Youth work continued (and indeed continues) to see this as its task.

(iii) The youth worker as semi-therapist

Throughout the Albemarle Report the group is identified as the site of the problem of young peoples' conduct and indeed the potential source of at least part of its resolution. However, it is the individual young person, subject to the 'Sturm und Drang' of adolescence, who is the bearer of a subjectivity potentially responsive to the ministrations of the expert youth worker. Individual work with young people, particularly using the technique of 'counselling', was also

advocated by Albemarle.¹⁰¹ The Committee was apparently impressed by evidence that they had received about the effectiveness of counselling. In affirming that young people of the late 1950s were subject to a high level of stress, the Report referred to a doubling in the incidence of suicides among young people aged between seventeen and twenty between the years 1946 and 1956. These were seen as a consequence of a society in the midst of great upheaval and change. Commenting on the "new climate of crime and delinquency" the apparently perplexed Albemarle Committee speculated that

"... personal disturbance leading eventually to delinquency might be associated with the shocks of the last pre-school year or the first school year, years in which children first develop social sense" (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.17).

Although this appeared to hold good for children born during the years of the depression and the second war, it seemed to provide a less satisfactory explanation for the "crime-wave" which was contemporaneous with the Committee's work.¹⁰² The Committee was unable to identify tangible 'causes' for this, although suggestions had been made to them ranging from the presence of the 'hydrogen bomb' to the undoubtedly corrosive affects of the 'welfare state' on popular morality. Whatever the reasons, it was considered that the affective life of the young was not all that it should be. Delinquency rates, the Committee argued, should be understood as an index of the tensions experienced by young people as a consequence of their own 'natural' growth processes, combined with the marked social uncertainties of the times. This explanation

¹⁰¹ The technique of 'case work' had always had a place in youth work although it was more closely associated with 'mainstream' social work. As we shall see in Chapters Seven and Eight, case work was an element in youth work training at least until the time of Albemarle. Counseling is a variant on case work.

¹⁰² The Committee included crime figures as an Appendix to its Report (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.132-133). Interestingly, the figures used suggested that between 1948 and 1958 the rate of indictable crime per 100,000 of population had diminished for those in the age range 8-12. However, in the age range 13-20 there had been an increase for both boys and girls. These increases peaked at the ages of 17 and 18 for both boys and girls. The rates had risen significantly through the war years, and continued to do so, although less markedly from then onwards. The rise was more significant for boys than for girls over the period 1948-1958 (Ministry of Education, 1960, p. 132-133, Home Office, 1947, p.16-17). In overall terms, Albemarle deployed these figures in a way which showed unambiguously that there was a 'youth crime problem'.

resonates with earlier accounts of the problem of young people (and the problems of young people) being structured in a dynamic of both individual and social pathologies: in this instance a powerful combination of 'adolescence' and 'social change'.

Youth workers were to be encouraged to offer young people the opportunity for "counsel", particularly in the areas of "... ethical values, of sex, of adjustment to the world of work" (ibid, p.53). All youth workers, the committee argued, should be regarded as the "natural Counsellor" of the young people with whom they are in contact. In addition to responding to the 'normal' difficulties associated with growing up, youth workers were also encouraged to turn their attention to young people who

"... find it difficult to come to terms with society and whose social incapacity can take many forms from shyness to compulsive exhibitionism and crime" (ibid, p. 105).

The beginnings of a focus on the circumstances and needs of particular groups of young people (those who might be considered particularly vulnerable, or 'at risk' in contemporary terminology) is evident here. This is touched on in the context of a Service which "... should be available to all young people aged 14 to 20 inclusive" (ibid, p.108). As will be shown later in this chapter, the idea of targeting particular sections of the youth population has recently taken on an important position in debates about both the present and future of youth work.

The Albemarle Committee pointed out that youth workers should not interfere with or usurp the proper role of parents, but it was suggested that they could nevertheless be helpful to parents in making "adjustments" in their relationships with their children. Many parents, the Committee asserted, "... welcome an opportunity to discuss their family problems" (ibid, p.102). Thus, by helping parents through becoming their counsellors as well, youth workers are able to act as a support to "family life". Donzelot points out the ubiquity of social work strategies

which are designed to govern young people by targeting the family as an instrument in the production of morality (Donzelot, 1979, p.xxi). Under 'social' government in particular a range of technical-rational means of managing family life were established, and in a small way youth work was part of this.

The semi-therapeutic role formally encouraged by Albemarle has since become an integral component of youth work expertise. By 1969 it was recognised as central to a "pastoral care" function which youth workers had begun to discharge (Youth Service Development Council, 1969, p.92). In 1979 a national organisation (the National Association for Young People's Counselling and Advisory Services) was established to support and develop this work, and the importance of youth counselling was confirmed by the last two major reports on youth work in England and Wales (Department of Education and Science, 1982, National Advisory Council for the Youth Service, 1988). At the current time there are some 300 youth counselling and information services in England and Wales which are either directly run by local authority youth services, or have a substantial youth service input.

In this section of Chapter Six a brief analysis of the professional role envisaged for youth workers by the Albemarle Committee has been undertaken. The three elements comprising this role have become crystallised in the notion of 'social education'. Encouraged initially by Albemarle, youth workers have come to think of themselves, and are described by others, as being engaged in "... the continued social and informal education of young people in terms most likely to bring them to maturity, those of responsible personal choice" (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.103). Although having a history before its incorporation in youth work (Smith, 1988, p.89), a discourse of social education has fused the three elements discussed here, and has contributed to providing youth workers with an identity based on an apparently

distinctive expertise. The discussion now goes on to consider some of the ways in which the shifting discourse of social education has shaped youth work.

Social education: a new purpose for youth work

The term 'social education' has provided youth work with a discursive, but shifting, centre of gravity since the Albemarle Committee reported in 1960. Although something of a movable feast, it is possible to discern 'liberal' and 'radical' genres of social education. These embody different perceptions of young people and their needs, and their emergence is loosely associated with particular historical periods: the 'liberal' version largely with the 1960s and early 1970s, and the 'radical' version with the subsequent period, although it should not be assumed that the latter has supplanted the former. Current youth work ideologies embrace varying and sometimes complex combinations of both.

Liberal accounts of social education emerging at the time of Albemarle reflected 'progressive' and 'child centred' pedagogies in schooling. They emphasise the (abstract) individual and his relations with others. In an essentially humanist and 'person-centred' perspective, implicitly drawing on Rousseau's ideas of the essence of the child and the importance of 'learning through discovery',¹⁰³ social education seeks to enable the individual (young person) to become more conscious of and better understand 'self'. One influential analysis taking this perspective suggested that social education could lead to an "... individual's increased consciousness of himself, his values, aptitudes, and untapped resources..." (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.12). By fostering such an 'ethics of the self', liberal social education aims in part at least to develop an introspective, 'reflexive', and active self, able to appraise, evaluate, and work on its constitutive feelings, attitudes, and opinions. According to Davies and Gibson,

¹⁰³ As Rousseau suggested, the child should be permitted to encounter problems and encouraged to "... solve them himself. Let him know nothing because you have told him, but because he has learnt it for himself... Let the child do nothing because he is told; nothing is good for him but what he recognizes as good" (Rousseau, 1911, p.131-141).

social education should be initiated in the context of the personal relationships which young people form with others, enabling them to "... know first hand and feel personally how common interests and shared activities bring and keep people together and what causes them to drift apart" (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.13). Thus experiential and participative dimensions to social education emerge as its defining features. Typically, youth work activities (qua social education) were calculated to maximise young people's participation in personal relationships and to encourage them to reflect on and learn from these experiences. As will be shown in Chapter Eight, youth workers have been required to go through similar experiences in their own professional training. In order to become competent in managing these processes in their work with young people, it was believed that youth workers themselves needed to have first-hand experience of them.

The construction of an accommodation between an individual's desires and their social responsibilities is one of liberal social education's intended consequences. In this respect, it rehearses and perhaps refines a rationale already identified in earlier forms of youth work. As Davies and Gibson put it, "truly helpful social education" must create a proper equilibrium between "self-expression" and conformity. It should take account of the demand to be "... 'loyal', 'responsible', 'respectful', and especially 'law-abiding'" (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.17). Social education was aimed at the production of a particular kind of subjectivity, sensitive to social values and responsibilities, and simultaneously active in developing its own self-defined potential. This is of prime importance. Social education aims to ensure that individual young people learn to 'govern' themselves, to "... effect by their own means, various operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, and conduct... (and) transform themselves, modify themselves" (Miller, 1987, p.206-207). As such, social education is a practice compatible with the principles of liberal democracy in which the self-regulating and autonomous individual exercises choice,

responsibility, and freedom in the pursuit of 'good citizenship', whilst simultaneously being afforded the space for 'self-expression'. Davies and Gibson's account of social education is paradigmatic. Over the years its dissemination through various reports, accounts, and courses of professional education has given identity and meaning to youth work, although its individualistic stance and characteristically liberal outlook have been subject to criticism from those on the 'Left' (Butters and Newell, 1978, Smith, 1988).

During the 1970s and 1980s this mode of social education was apparently 'radicalised'. Newly emerging discourses and politics of gender, race, and disability became imprinted on youth work in a variety of ways. The abstract and individual inhabitants of earlier discourses of social education became transformed into 'young women', 'young Black people', 'disabled', or 'gay' young people. Youth workers (as social educators) came to see themselves as responding to a range of 'issues' which mapped out young people's lives, and these issues structured much of the terrain of youth work at that time.¹⁰⁴ Young people it seemed could receive an appropriate response only if they were understood as being subject to and shaped by various social forces and factors: racism, sexism, disability, unemployment, poverty, and so on. Youth workers became concerned with 'empowering' young people, helping them to develop the skills, knowledge, and dispositions necessary to become active participants in society, rather than the unwitting or passive victims of malign and discriminatory forces. So for Karsh, for example, social education was defined as the

¹⁰⁴ It is difficult to establish the precise origin of the preoccupation with 'issues' in youth work. Perhaps it reflects the influence of 'critical sociology' in the professional education of youth workers. Wright Mills for example, discusses 'issues' as "... matters which transcend (the) local environments of the individual and the range of his inner life" (Wright Mills, 1970, p.15). Sociology and sociologists have played an important role in defining professional youth work discourse, and it would not be surprising if such an idea was thus 'imported' into youth work through that route.

“... participative process by which people become aware of the issues and forces that have an impact on their lives, and by which they are enabled to identify or gain skills and knowledge which they can use to enhance or change their personal or collective experiences” (Karsh, c1984).

This process-oriented practice is further shaped by "... a belief in justice: all people have the same rights" (ibid). An individual focus is retained in this approach, but it introduces an explicitly 'political' background against which young people are illuminated. By doing this, radical social education acknowledges young people's multiple identities (based on race, ethnicity, gender, or sexuality, for example) and does not assume the existence of a monolithic social order. It admits the possibility (and potential) of conflict as a defining feature of contemporary societies. 'Anti-oppressive practice', "... rooted in the living experiences of oppressed people..." (Dominelli, 1996, p.170), has been influential in youth work as in other human service work. This radical pedagogy has supported the development of a plethora of imaginative projects and schemes working to encourage young people to make rational choices and decisions in the light of "... competing claims on their loyalty to membership of moral communities" (Stenson and Factor, 1995, p.179).

In practice, different elements from liberal and radical social education have meshed. Youth work has remained a complex of often ambiguous aims, techniques and initiatives, and has drawn on different elements of liberal and radical social education. Social education itself remains a contested theme and practice, though retaining marked continuities: the assumption of young people's transition to adulthood being problematic for various reasons, experience as the well-spring of learning, a concern with the relationship between the individual and the 'social', and the sometimes explicit, and at others implicit, but always underlying aim of cultivating the autonomous and self-regulating individual.

Towards competency: disciplining youth workers

As Chapter Four indicated, the transformation of 'social government' during the 1970s and 1980s was partially advocated on the basis of a 'politics of the budget'. The accountability of professionals in all public services was demanded by the political 'Right'. This led to the apparently neutral and rational demand for 'better management' and facilitated the emergence of a powerful managerialist discourse throughout the public services. Although clearly aimed at increasing political control of the public sector, cutting expenditure, undermining trade union and professional powers, and injecting bureaucracy with the cleansing discipline of competition (Pollitt, 1993, p.49), there is more to it than this. The attempt to secure individual accountability through systems of 'appraisal' or performance related rewards signifies an important change in the landscape of work. This should be understood as part of the move towards 'governing through the individual', and expecting the individual to become accountable for exercising his own freedoms and responsibilities in the context of work. The way in which work has become significant in the pursuit of 'self-actualisation' has already been indicated. However, systems of accountability (embodied in 'appraisal', for example) are also part of the wider attempt to extract economic utility from individuals. Foucault observes that in the eighteenth century 'project of government'

"...the 'body'- the body of individuals and the body of populations - appears as the bearer of new variables, not merely as between the scarce and the numerous, the submissive and the restive, rich and poor, healthy and sick, strong and weak, but also as between the more or less utilisable, more or less amenable to profitable investment...and with more or less capacity for being usefully trained...and it becomes necessary to organise around them an apparatus which will ensure not only their subjection but the constant increase of their utility" (Gordon, 1980, p.172, emphasis added).

Arguably, the managerialist practices which have become inserted in public services during the past decade or so are just such an 'apparatus'. They are designed to subject individuals in

organisations (who are also construed as the ‘bearers of new variables’), and ensure that they are able to account for their activities in unambiguous terms which identify the utility of their work. It is not sufficient of course for individuals alone to be able to do this. Organisations and services must also be able to specify corporate objectives and outcomes (perhaps in the form of so-called ‘business plans’) within which individuals are able to demonstrate their own achievements. In the true and transcendent spirit of Taylorism, management has continued to be construed in terms of ‘efficiency and effectiveness’, whether in its ‘neo-Taylorist’ or ‘new wave’ variants, or in combination of both (Pollitt, 1993). Managerialist assumptions affirm the claim that the alleged inefficiency and waste typifying social government can be excised as organisational reality is efficiently and quietly transformed by new managerial practices.¹⁰⁵ Arguably, the ‘manager’ has become the icon of the newly emerging forms of government in the 1980s and 1990s. In contrast with the ‘professional’, however,

“... the manager is driven by the search for efficiency rather than abstract ‘professional standards’. Compared to the bureaucrat, the manager is flexible and outward-looking. Unlike the politician, the manager inhabits the ‘real world’ of ‘good business practices’ not the realms of doctrinaire ideology” (Newman and Clark, 1994, p.23).

Throughout the last decade, attempts have been made to render youth work part of the world of ‘good business practice’. Partially because of the ambiguity of youth work’s objectives and the consequences of its intervention (its ‘outcomes’), youth work became increasingly subject to incipient managerialism. Although the need for ‘good management’ in youth work was referred to by the Albemarle and Milson-Fairbairn Reports, it was not until 1982 that management was referred to as a specific element in youth work’s essential institutional arrangements (Department of Education and Science, 1982, p.74). By 1988, the youth service’s own

¹⁰⁵ The distinction between management and managerialism is that the former refers to the practices undertaken by managers, and the latter to a discourse or ideology with which its advocates lay claim to authority.

advocates were urging it to specify its priorities in the context of financial constraints in local authorities (National Advisory Council for the Youth Service, 1988, p.15). Pressure on youth service (nationally and locally) to provide coherent accounts of objectives and their associated 'outcomes' - to become 'transparent' and 'accountable' - grew significantly through the late 1980s and the 1990s. In the first of a series of 'ministerial conferences' on the youth service, the Minister responsible challenged the service to specify its objectives (Howarth, 1989, p.4). This and the two subsequent conferences provided the context for Ministerial demands to be made for "practical outcomes", a "core curriculum", the articulation of "core competencies" for young people using the youth service (Howarth, 1989), "clear objectives" and "proposed outcomes" which would "... demonstrate the benefits of social education" (Forman, 1992, p.10). In doing this, the increased political demand for a sharper focus for youth work, including the possible identification of specific young people to be targeted, was signalled. Both Howarth and Forman acknowledged the possibility of youth service becoming more engaged with "at risk" or "disadvantaged" young people (Howarth, 1989, p.26, Forman, 1992, p.11) rather than providing 'universal' social education. However, following the three youth service conferences 'universalism' rather than 'targeted' provision appeared to be embodied in a utopian youth service 'statement of purpose' which emerged from the conferences' work. The statement asserted that the purpose of youth service was

"... to redress all forms of inequality and to ensure equality of opportunity for all young people to fulfil their potential as empowered individuals and members of groups and communities and to support young people in their transition to adulthood" (National Youth Agency, 1992a).

As well as reflecting the ethos of 'radical' social education referred to earlier, the statement draws on an older idiom which was familiar in the Albemarle Report. The statement indicates that youth work should be educational, participative, empowering, informal, responsive, based

on secure relationships, and should provide information, advice and support to young people between the ages of 11 and 25, with those in the 13 to 19 age group being the priority for youth work involvement (National Youth Agency, 1992a). Nevertheless, the possibility that youth work could focus its attention on young people considered to be 'at risk' remained on the agenda. Since the 1960s, youth work has had a rather troubled perception of its proper role with 'delinquent' or marginal young people. This is ironic as increased state interest and support for youth work has invariably arisen as a result of concerns about disorder and youth crime, either real or imagined. The Juvenile Organisations Committees were established in 1916 as a consequence of a perceived rise in delinquency. Circular 1486 in 1939 referred to the problem of delinquency during the First War as a reason for establishing the 'Service of Youth' at the beginning of the Second War, and of course Albenarle gave considerable attention to what it regarded as a "new climate of crime and delinquency".

Whilst youth work has always voiced a commitment to delinquent young people, many youth workers themselves have strongly resisted being regarded as part of the formal 'justice' system. Such an involvement is thought by some to jeopardise the essentially 'voluntary' nature of the relationships in which youth workers and young people engage. However, there is some evidence to suggest that circumstances might now be changing. Interest in youth work with 'at risk' young people appears to accord with current political aspirations and priorities. Great symbolic significance is now attached to various 'risk' populations: the so-called 'underclass', young single mothers, drug abusers, truants, the young homeless, and of course young offenders. Youth workers and youth services are being drawn into an expanding role with such 'at risk' groups, inevitably exacerbating tensions between the underlying value of 'universality' of provision and 'targeted' work. Some commentators perceive the existence of a Faustian pact, in which short-term funding for youth work with whichever 'at risk' group

happens to be currently fashionable will be paid for by youth service's long-term marginalisation (Gutfreund, 1993, p.15). However, various policy initiatives designed to encourage work with 'at risk' groups have been taken centrally as well as by local authorities and voluntary sector agencies.¹⁰⁶ This is part of a trend towards making youth workers increasingly accountable for their work with young people whilst simultaneously marking out particular (and problematic) groups for youth work intervention.

Initiatives with 'at risk' young people

Whilst the language of 'risk' is non-specific, much of the work organised around it is aimed at those young people considered to be at risk of offending - in other words, young people involved in specifically criminal behaviour. Between 1992 and 1995, £10 million of DFE money funded short-term community-based 'Youth Action Schemes'. Crime-reduction or diversion was the principal rationale in these schemes which were emblematic of initiatives in this field. They were intended to contribute to the reduction of youth crime in urban areas by encouraging work with groups of 13- 17 year olds "at risk of drifting into crime" (Department for Education, 1993). Local authority youth services and their youth workers were heavily involved in the Schemes, and brought together a range of statutory departments and voluntary agencies in collaborative project work. Schemes operated in a variety of ways and used a range of media with young people. Drama and arts work in schools, detached work on the streets, residential experiences, mobile activity programmes, and information and counselling services were among the settings in which social education expertise was deployed (France and Wiles, 1996, p.18-20). Work was undertaken on various issues considered to place young people 'at

¹⁰⁶These have included the DFE/FEE funded 'Youth Action Scheme', the Home Office's 'Safer Cities' programme, specialist projects administered by the National Youth Agency and various initiatives encouraged by Crime Concern, the national crime prevention organisation. This latter organisation is heavily involved in encouraging youth service to become more involved in work with 'at risk' young people.

risk', itself a procrustean concept offering infinite scope for constituting a vast repertoire of behaviours and circumstances part of its special territory.

Four principal factors appear to have justified youth work's sharpening profile in this area. The first of these is that this work is regarded as legitimate 'social education', and as such is part of the traditional fabric of youth work. For example, the DFE specified that Youth Action Schemes should develop "... the self-esteem and social responsibility of groups of 13 to 19 year olds at risk of drifting into crime" (Department for Education, 1993,). Such objectives resonate with the established definitions of youth work and social education discussed earlier.

Second, like other 'welfare' and educational practices, some youth work has begun to take an approach (particularly toward 'difficult' young people) informed by the rationale that some young people are 'at risk' rather than simply 'dangerous'. This is a reworking of the idea (implicit in many accounts of early youth work) that vulnerable young people can all too easily become dangerous. By identifying their 'at risk' status (that is, their vulnerability), early diversionary or preventive intervention is thought possible. Rather than privileging characteristics which are thought to reside in individuals, the concept of 'risk' concentrates attention on abstract factors which constitute an individual as being 'at risk'. In constructing the 'at risk' individual - part of what Hacking refers to as a process of "making up people" (Hacking, 1986, p.222) - almost anything can be plausibly incorporated: from unemployment to family status, to educational failure and low self-esteem. For example, the organisers of one Youth Action Scheme in the West Midlands included in their definition of young people 'at risk' of offending those who

“- are seen as experiencing the consequences of anxious or ‘hostile’ reactions of individuals/sections of the community to their specific behaviour or particular social issues;
- are being stereotyped, or have a reputation and stigma attached to them, as a result of perceived or real manifestations of anti-social behaviour;
- are vulnerable by virtue of their age, gender, or community identity”
(Huskins, 1993, 2.1).

The notion of risk offers limitless possibilities for identifying new sites for expert intervention in the social and material worlds (Castel, 1991, pp.281, 289), powerfully justifying professional activity, of which the ‘multi-agency’ approach is an expression (Department for Education, 1993). As the quote from Huskins above shows, the concept's utility lies in its capacity to render the entire domain in which the young person is situated potentially knowable and amenable to the calculus of professional evaluation and intervention. As such, the creation of “new spaces of risk” (Castel, 1991, p.287) greatly facilitates the expansion of governmental activity.¹⁰⁷

The third factor in this is that recently advanced arguments from influential sources indicate that youth work approaches to crime and criminality are both efficient and effective, and offer ‘value for money’. In 1992 Janet Paraskeva, then Director of the National Youth Agency, argued that youth work is

“ ... a cost effective way of investing in support for young people. That support might help keep them out of trouble, which will most certainly cost the state far greater sums of money if they get caught up in the juvenile justice system... A little more money invested in youth work could save a lot more in community sentencing” (Paraskeva, 1992).

A high-profile report produced by the accountants Coopers and Lybrand suggested that youth work is potentially a cost-effective means for “crime diversion” (Coopers Lybrand, 1994, p.25).

¹⁰⁷ In contrast with the concept of ‘risk’, the concept of ‘danger’ has limited application to the single case and to intervention *ex post facto*. Risk assessment facilitates pre-emptive intervention on the basis of rational calculation, and as such is attuned to governmental imperatives.

If Coopers Lybrand's calculation of youth work expenditure per young person is correct,¹⁰⁸ this must surely be seen as offering a convincing justification (at least as far as its proponents are concerned) for youth work involvement in this area. Work of this kind might also be thought to be more amenable to some of the managerialist practices already flourishing in public services whose aim in part is to discipline professionals and professional work. Arguably, targeted rather than universal provision offers the opportunity for the clearer identification of 'outcomes', through the deployment of apparently unambiguous 'performance indicators' in measuring these. The DFE pointed out that in evaluating Youth Action Schemes, "Outcomes are the key consideration" (Department for Education, 1993). John Huskins, who since retiring from Her Majesty's Inspectorate has become a significant figure in youth work 'consultancy' has initiated a scheme for increasing the 'quality' of youth work through a programme of "universal social skills development". Piloted through the DFE-funded Youth Action Schemes, this offers an apparently unambiguous means of problematising "young people's learning", crystallised in ten areas of "social skills" and a progressive 'stage model' in which these can apparently be acquired (Appendix 8). Huskins claims that the enhancement of these skills through group work and youth work with individuals can divert young people from "risk behaviours... particularly crime", and that the model offers a "... standardised set of potential needs and learning outcomes enabling (youth) workers to communicate with each other about young people's learning in a way impossible without agreed headings" (Huskins, 1996, p.7). This work is thus intended to contribute to the formation of an epistemic community in which unequivocal judgements of young people's needs and appropriate youth work responses can be calculated. This is part of a disciplinary strategy in which 'at risk' young people can be appropriately and rationally

¹⁰⁸They estimated £30 per annum for each potential participant in youth work, against a £2300 short term saving on each youth crime prevented (Coopers Lybrand, 1994, p.25).

managed. Huskins' normative model and approach can be readily and easily criticised on both ontological and epistemological grounds. It is individualistic, reductionist and behaviourist; its reliability and validity are suspect; it ignores the structural context of young people's lives; it is managerialist and deploys crude measures of youth worker accountability. Indeed, one is struck by the fact that Huskins' model appears to successfully align a repertoire of responses to youth need with securing youth worker accountability through specifying clear outcomes for their work. However, the model is also an example of how the notion of 'risk' has become routinely deployed in youth work. Huskins appears to have elided the distinction between youth work with 'at risk' young people and 'mainstream' youth work, whilst simultaneously using the notion of risk to give his work a sense of vitality which resonates with and reflects current political and public concerns about young people.

Supporters of youth work initiatives with 'at risk' young people claim that youth work is effective in this context. Like Huskins, Paraskeva for example has argued that "at risk" young people need

"... help in developing their communication skills, activities which are exciting, stimulating and challenging, and opportunities to take part in education or training programmes which enhance their understanding of themselves and give them a chance in the world" (Paraskeva, 1992).

These are precisely the kinds of activities in which youth work expertise can be deployed. In similar vein, the Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police concluded in a report on juvenile crime in London that enhanced youth work provision could "... reduce criminal opportunity by removing young people from situations where they are likely to commit, or become, the victims of crime" (Young, 1992a). Although having a different rationale from Paraskeva (essentially diversionary rather than indirectly so), the underlying claim to effectiveness is identical. Academic support for youth work involvement in this field has also

centred on youth work's potential in programmes of 'social crime prevention' (Pitts, 1992, p.186, Smith and Paylor, 1994, p.33).

The final element in the rationale for youth work involvement in work with targeted groups of young people is fundamentally pragmatic. At a time of diminishing budgets and uncertainty in the public services as a whole, a tangible and socially valued role for youth workers is important if they are to survive. Thus, Smith and Paylor have remarked that "... immediate political interest and more principled considerations..." (Smith and Paylor, 1994, p.33) should encourage youth workers to become increasingly involved in this work. A recent OFSTED report on youth work suggests that there is

"... a continuing debate concerning the proper target for resources. Put simply, the question is whether the (youth) service should continue to be broad in scope to provide opportunities for all or whether parts of it should concentrate resources on those most in need, however defined" (OFSTED, 1993, p.1).

The tension between universal and targeted provision is particularly acute at a time when the actual numbers of young people participating might make youth work vulnerable to cut-backs. Arguably, the relatively small overall number of young people participating in youth service activities (Department for Education, 1995) seriously undermines youth service's claim to be a 'universal' service anyway. There is an important continuity here between the demands for accountability in youth work practice, and the promise which the discourse of competency makes to 'deliver accountability' in both professional education and in youth work practice itself. The discussion returns to this later.

Conclusions

In this chapter the post-war expansion of youth work has been discussed in the context of practices of government whose function is to penetrate the lives and activities of citizens in subtle, yet often quite profound ways. These interventions are invariably designed to shape the

ways in which individuals think about themselves, their responsibilities, and their conduct. Governmentality - the thinking and rationale behind government - attempts to link 'local' interventions and activities (like youth work) with political aspirations for social security, stability and order. As suggested, youth work has made an ongoing contribution, however limited, to these objectives.

Chapter Six has suggested that post-war youth work interventions departed from a focus on the bodies of young people (through drill or physical activities, for example) and developed new ways of intervening in young people's lives. These were intended to encourage the individual young person to think of him or her self as a responsible agent. These interventions were aimed at encouraging the individual to develop modes of appropriate thought and conduct for himself, and thus to exercise responsible life choices and decisions. In effect this was a concern with the development of self-discipline. In this respect, there are marked continuities of objectives running through the entire history of youth work. The chapter has drawn attention to the way in which the role of the youth worker has become increasingly reliant on technical expertise. It was suggested that the work of the Albemarle Committee, which reported in 1960, was particularly important in articulating this. Albemarle identified three particular areas of expertise which enabled the youth worker to engage in 'social education', and which provided distinctive elements of professional competence which youth workers would be required to achieve through newly established opportunities for professional education.

First, it was suggested that the youth worker was perceived as a 'technician of group experience', managing and shaping the 'processes' which constitute group life.

Second, it was suggested that youth workers were engaged in the 'brokerage' of ethical knowledge. They were seen as mediators or conduits through which young people were

enabled to become well-informed citizens, able to exercise their freedoms in the context of the care and government of self.

Third it was suggested that youth work incorporated a 'semi-therapeutic' role in which young people's individual problems became the focus of youth work intervention.

The three areas of expertise identified here constitute the practice of social education. It has been suggested in Chapter Six that social education, in either its 'liberal' or 'radical' genres, was situated and understood in the context of 'social government'. This emphasised the existence of common and collective bonds which provided an underlying rationale for the political and technical management of human affairs.

Accompanying the transformation of social government discussed in Chapter Four, has been the wholesale managerialization of the public services. It is suggested that in youth service this transformation has been expressed in terms of a debate between the advocates of 'universal' provision and those who wish to see 'targeted' youth work with provision of a specialist kind aimed at the needs of particular groups of young people. In this chapter it has been argued that the incipient growth of work with so-called 'at risk' young people is one way in which the targeted approach to youth work is expanding.

Implicit in this chapter is a perception that youth work is infinitely fluid, flexible, and mobile. It has a capacity to work in diverse settings, and to shift its identity in response to varying conceptions of young people and 'youth need', either self-defined or specified by others. In one guise, for example, youth work appears to be aimed at the careful management of young people's leisure time, with youth workers organising a range of activities with and for young people: sports, arts, and drama in youth clubs, centres, and projects. Elsewhere, youth workers touch on the therapeutic domain through their work in counselling, advice, and information services. In yet another incarnation, youth workers may be seen in an explicitly 'educational'

role, helping young people to understand ethical matters connected with health, sexuality, personal and social relationships, race, or gender. As this shows, there are powerful continuities in youth work's focus on young people's bodies, their 'souls' and their relationships with peers. Underlying all of youth work's activities is a professional commitment to voluntary and participatory relationships between youth workers and young people.

As well as a strength, youth work's protean character might also be seen as a weakness. Youth work has never been able to colonise a distinct territory of its own, and youth workers have often been forced to occupy the spaces left by other institutions: social work, schooling, or leisure, for example. It is perhaps because of its apparent flexibility that youth work has recently become increasingly deployed in 'youth justice work', and work with young people variously identified as being 'at risk'.

Part Four of this thesis goes on to consider the means by which competence has been acquired by youth workers through practices and systems of training and education.

Part Four:
Youth Work and Shifting Notions
of Professional Competence

Chapter Seven
Becoming Effective:
From Individual Virtue to Trained Youth Leader

Introduction

Continuing the way that definitions of youth work and the professional training associated with it have changed during the first half of this century, this chapter examines the different models of competence that have operated during that period. The transformation of the identity of the youth worker from 'moral exemplar' to that of a new 'technical' youth work persona which came increasingly to rely on a distinct body of knowledge and skill, some of which derived from the human sciences, is paralleled in the techniques and practices involved in the formation of the youth worker. In broad terms these changed from relatively simple 'pre-technocratic' forms of acquisition to an incipient and increasingly complex 'technical-rational' model of education and training. The inception of the latter, mainly in the 1930s, was based on a conception of youth work as a specifically professional enterprise.

Discipline, virtue and leadership

Much of the literature of youth work from the end of the last century and well into the first half of the twentieth century makes it abundantly clear that the work itself was often seen as a 'vocation' or a duty by those involved in it. Many of the 'youth leaders' were from a different class than the young people with whom they worked, and it was clearly intended that some of their 'background' should rub off on these young men and young women. The "lads' club" wrote Russell and Rigby

"... endeavours all the time to civilise its members, to teach them self-respect and self control, decency in manners and speech, cleanliness, obedience and order, to foster their social instincts, and to widen their interests..." (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.20).

Maude Stanley believed that the "working girls' club" should

"... transform the rude, untamed, boisterous, careless girl into the careful, attentive, industrious workwoman" (Stanley, 1890, p.165),¹⁰⁹

although it was not intended to "... take our girls out of their class, but... to see them ennoble the class to which they belong" (Stanley, 1890, p.48).

But how was all of this to be achieved? What resources were to be mobilised in pursuit of these objectives? What forms of competence (in its general sense) were thought to be required on the part of 'leaders'? Two specific approaches seem to have been important. First, there was a reliance on 'techniques of discipline', and second, the youth leader deployed him or herself as 'moral exemplar', an 'ethical presence' exercising appropriate tutelage over the young people under his or her responsibility. The texts referred to in this discussion and in earlier chapters (principally Stanley, and Russell and Rigby)¹¹⁰ can be read as 'manuals of discipline'. As primarily practical documents (although revealing much about principles and philosophy) they offer a wealth of advice and guidance on the application of various forms of discipline in youth clubs. In the absence of formal systems of training for workers with young people, they are especially important in both creating and transmitting occupational knowledge and 'know-how'.¹¹¹ Much of this knowledge consisted of the deployment of classic disciplinary practices in managing the large numbers of young people which many of the clubs attracted and the wide range of activities which were frequently offered. Nothing was left to chance in this work which was essentially managed activity. Leaders would clearly need to have become proficient in the techniques of discipline and these manuals were evidently an important source of

¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, although clearly having an identity deriving from her own class position, Stanley asks "Have not the socialists done some good to their generation by repeating so often that work of one kind or another is required from everyone ... and few can have helped asking themselves 'What am I doing for the good of the commonwealth?'" (Stanley, 1890, p.261).

¹¹⁰ These are taken as exemplars of books written on youth work at this time. They are the most comprehensive of their type, and were written in the light of gender perceptions of the time. Even more importantly, the authors of both books can be seen to speak on behalf of a movement extending across the entire country. According to the publishers, the publishing run of Stanley's book was 1250, and Russell and Rigby's was 1500.

¹¹¹ Although both texts can be read in this way, they are also written to appeal to a particular readership, and seek understanding and support for youth work activities.

guidance. One assumes however that leaders would also learn such approaches through their own experience and practice in institutions in which disciplinary techniques had become the norm. Indeed, in the absence of formal mechanisms for training leaders,¹¹² experience in practice itself was the only means for youth leaders to become competent in their work. Both Russell and Rigby and Stanley appear to assume that those becoming involved in youth work would be competent in basic disciplinary and management practices by virtue of their social position. Russell and Rigby, for example, suggest that “men of education” and “retired Army officers” (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.72) would be particularly suitable for the work. The necessary skills could have been acquired in institutions which encountered the problem of managing large numbers of people: the military, hospitals, or factories, for example, institutions which were likely to be run by precisely those “men of education” to which Russell and Rigby refer. Teachers and those with specific skills in various craft or intellectual activities were regarded as most suitable for the educational work of the club. As Stanley put it, “... in arranging classes, only settle on such for which you can be certain to have teachers... They must know how to teach, they must have the gift for teaching...” (Stanley, 1890, p.30).

Although important, the techniques of discipline outlined here were somewhat overshadowed in these texts by the imputed significance of the personality of the leader. It was her or his ethical presence, reflected in a quiet but enduring sense of ‘moral right’, which was thought most likely to determine the effectiveness of the work. As well as background and social status, the qualities of the ‘ideal leader’ were conceived in terms of a register of personal traits, important because “... the mainspring of a club is the personality of its workers” (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.690). In marking out particular personalities as appropriate to youth work,

¹¹² The YMCA had established a system of training for its organising secretaries by 1880, although as Jeffs and Smith point out, only a small number of them undertook this training (Jeffs and Smith, 1993, p.10).

the attempt was made to normalise the practice of youth work by specifying precisely what was needed to do it. 'Personality' provided a basis to practice in the same way that knowledge and skill did later. The 'right' type of 'personality', displaying the necessary qualities, and conceived in appropriately gender-specific terms would command "respect" - an identification with the conduct and values of the leader, and an acknowledgement of their probity - amongst both boys and girls. Given respect, it was thought possible that leaders could work on the formation or reformation of the young people with whom they were in contact. Stanley refers to a number of apparently indispensable 'leader qualities' for work with girls and young women: "quietness and decorum", being "lively", having "zeal, tact, and energy", "love", "warm sympathy", and "friendliness", and a capacity to recognise that

"Sympathy is indeed the lever with which to make life's wheels run smoothly, and when we feel the sorrows of others, we cannot rest till we have done something to lessen the load of trouble" (Stanley, 1890, p.269).

Similarly, but with necessary account taken of gender differences, Russell and Rigby identify "firmness of character, common sense, and optimism", "evenness of temper, (and) absolute impartiality", as well as having

"... a keen zest for life, unfailing interest in and sympathy with all its manifestations, a quick eye for things good and pleasant and quaint, a genial spirit of comradeship and above all a sense of humour" (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.74).

The personal qualities so defined would permit the establishment of an ethical field, a regime and an "esprit de corps" in which it was expected that the subjectivity of individual boys and girls would be effectively shaped and influenced by the club, its activities, and perhaps most importantly, its leadership. One way of thinking about leadership in this context is in terms of a fusion of personality and the application of disciplinary technique. The leader was essentially a moral exemplar, offering a model of conduct and disposition which it was hoped would become

mirrored in the behaviour of the young people. In turn, the club was conceived as a moral community, a model of structure, order, and decency, in which for Maude Stanley at least, the individuality of its members was recognised rather like the "... large family, where every variety of character and disposition is considered... ", and in which individuals are treated "... not as with a company of soldiers who are being drilled, but as separate, responsible beings" (Stanley, 1890, p.72-73). Disciplinary power's main characteristic is precisely that it attempts to construct the responsible and autonomous individual. As Foucault points out

"In a system of discipline, the child is more individualised than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and the delinquent more than the normal and the non-delinquent" (Foucault, 1977, p.193).

Through the club's activities (the drill, the games, the classes, and the lessons in "elocution") and the conscientious deployment of self, the youth leader as 'good parent' was encouraged to shape, mobilise, and guide the feelings of the individual members of this community and form them as ethical subjects. In this respect of course, there are significant continuities between this early youth work, and that which follows.

These earliest examples of youth work suggest that the leader's personality was pre-eminent. Supported by disciplinary techniques, a rudimentary 'youth work competence' was thus constituted, relying on a sense of vocation, of duty, of appropriate 'background' and social status, and further shaped by immersion in practice itself. This should not be understood as a situation in which there was an absence as such of theory; this is not 'atheoretical' practice. Rather, the theory about what leaders were doing was codified and expressed in a form quite unlike that of youth work fifty years later. It was also a very different type of theory. At this time, explicit theory about youth work seems only to have existed in the kind of texts discussed here and was a kind of 'craft' knowledge derived from practice. No doubt leaders would have

developed a sense of practical 'know-how' through their experience with young people (perhaps seen as no more than 'good common sense'). From this point of view, theory and practice might be seen to have been thoroughly integrated, and their formal separation impossible. Practice (conceived perhaps in terms of 'personal conduct') was largely shaped and informed by an inherent morality, itself determined by social class, culture, and position. In contrast to teacher education at this time, there were no formal mechanisms created to disseminate the knowledge and skills which are drawn together in the texts of Stanley, and Russell and Rigby, or indeed any that might have emerged from elsewhere. Informal socialisation into the work and its 'common practice' was the principal mechanism through which the individual became a competent youth leader.¹¹³ In this sense, and in the absence of the recognition of leadership as an occupation or 'technical' practice over and above middle-class duty,¹¹⁴ there could clearly be no 'professional education' as such for youth leadership. However, there are clear parallels between the 'pre-technocratic' forms of occupational training discussed in Chapter Four, and the means of becoming competent which are described in the texts discussed here. Chapter Seven continues by identifying the departure from early youth work's reliance on social status, background, and immersion in practice for the development of competence. It goes on to consider how practice became informed by an increasingly formalised body of knowledge deriving from the social sciences. This was the inception of technical-rational means of transmitting and acquiring occupational competence.

¹¹³ Of course it is important to bear in mind that youth leadership was not considered to be an occupation in the same way as teaching, for example. Leaders worked part-time and their work was seen as a matter of duty rather than a career occupation.

¹¹⁴ In this sense, youth leadership was another form of 'civic' activity and a social expectation placed on some sections of the middle-classes.

Adding “qualifications” to “genius”: the initiation of youth work training¹¹⁵

There is some ambiguity in the literature about when the first formal training course for youth leadership was established. One of the difficulties in ascertaining this is in defining the nature of youth leadership in the early decades of this century. Until the 1930s youth leadership was a full-time ‘career occupation’ for very few, and almost all the work was undertaken on a voluntary and part-time basis. However, Evans (1965, p.112) and later, Jeffs and Smith (1993, p.10) claim that the National Council of Girls’ Clubs collaborated with the London School of Economics in 1925 to establish a training course for what Evans refers to as the “professional worker”. According to one Annual Report from the NCGC, however, collaboration between the Executive Committee of the National Organisation of Girls’ Clubs (the forerunner of NCGC), the Central Council for Women’s Employment, and the LSE resulted in a course being established at the LSE in 1915, and six students were apparently registered (National Council of Girls’ Clubs, 1939, p.17). In the absence of any specific records of these students and courses,¹¹⁶ one suspects that early NCGC students were encouraged to undertake Certificates in Social Science which were run at LSE for those who “... wish to prepare themselves to engage in the many forms of social and charitable effort” (London School of Economics, 1926, p.226).¹¹⁷ In this respect, youth leaders would have been in a similar position to others in the developing field of social welfare and administration,¹¹⁸ and it was developments in the wider

¹¹⁵ NCG believed that career posts in youth work would go to “... the woman with qualifications as well as genius (rather) than to one who depends on her personality alone” (National Council of Girls Clubs, 1934, p. 8).

¹¹⁶ Neither the archive at Youth Clubs UK (the eventual successor organisation of NCGC), nor the LSE could provide evidence of a specific relationship between the two institutions. The LSE’s calendars of courses for 1915/1916, for 1925/26, 1927/28 do not mention any link with the NCGC.

¹¹⁷ Interestingly, NCGC records indicate that in 1919 the NOGC became “... the agent for practical Club work for students from Bedford College... “(National Council of Girls Clubs, 1939, p.18). Bedford College was also involved in the training of social workers.

¹¹⁸ Since the 1890s the London School of Economics had been at the forefront of the development of social theory, and the analysis of social policy in the light of changes in the administration of the poor law, the expansion of a range of voluntary effort and institutions, and a wide public interest in ‘social problems’ (Harris,

field of social work which created the conditions in which it became possible to think of youth work as a distinct occupation whose members required specialised training.

What is clear however, is that changing perceptions of the nature of youth need and youth leadership itself had an important effect on what was regarded as necessary training for leaders, and therefore what it meant to be competent. Organisations like the NCGC (along with an enormous range of other national voluntary organisations: the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, the various Brigades, Church youth clubs and organisations) were extremely important in forming federations of clubs and leaders in which a 'culture' of youth work could flourish, and from which leader training was both a consequence and a constitutive element. The national voluntary youth organisations undertook some training of youth leaders themselves. The Church of England, for example, had already developed elaborate arrangements for the training of 'club leaders' as part of its overall "pastoral", "social", "educational", and "health" work. By 1919, work "among girls" had been recognised by the Inter-Diocesan Council for Women's Work as a legitimate area of practice for candidates seeking "recognition" as qualified for Church-based social work (Inter-Diocesan Council for Women's Work, 1919). By 1925 the Church had established courses for leaders which were considered by those running them as equivalent to "honours standard at the University". The content of these courses was informed by the social sciences ("psychology", "Elementary Social Administration", and "club management"). A college-based pedagogy, clear assessment systems,¹¹⁹ and graded certification were established (Inter-Diocesan Council for Women's Work, 1925). These arrangements anticipated much of what was to follow through state intervention some fifteen years later.

1989, p.27-63). The first specifically university-based social work training was established at Liverpool University in 1904 (Macadam, 1945, p.23, Younghusband, 1949, p.30).

¹¹⁹ An assessor for the Church's courses in Club leadership was appointed in 1925, and in 1932 the Director of Social Studies at Bedford College became assessor for this work.

As suggested in previous chapters, new definitions of 'youth need', growing concern about young people's lives and the factors which shaped them, and a range of relatively complex state responses and intervention contributed to a growing sense that work with young people required leaders with something more than 'personality' and 'natural flair'. The idea of the trained 'professional' became increasingly persuasive during the 1930s. One account asserted

"It is not our aim to replace the voluntary helper by the professional: we know too well the value to club work of its voluntary aspect: but we do see the urgent need to have a body of well trained, understanding leaders, whether voluntary or professional, to undertake the responsibility of organising and running clubs..."(National Council of Girls' Clubs, 1938, p.11).

By the early 1930s and informed by the previous work undertaken by the Church of England, the NCGC was involved in the organisation and delivery of a sophisticated and continuous portfolio of training opportunities for 'professional' full-time, part-time, and voluntary leaders working with girls and young women. Its first ongoing training courses began in 1934, and were established on behalf of a conference of representatives of affiliated organisations and religious denominations (National Council of Girls Clubs, 1934, p.8). Courses were located in major cities throughout England and Scotland. According to Roof writing in 1935, qualifications gained from the NCGC courses had four variants, three of which applied to 'career leaders'. The 'Certificate II in Club Leadership' was awarded to students completing one year's full-time training under the auspices of the NCGC. A 'Certificate I in Club Leadership' was awarded to those completing eighteen months full-time training. The 'Diploma in Club Leadership' was awarded to students who had completed a Certificate in Social Science at a University, who had also been awarded a 'Certificate I', and who had demonstrated "... after at least one year's experience in responsible work, to be exceptionally

well qualified for the work of Club Leadership” (Rooff, 1935, p.104). It was assumed that these students would be members of religious organisations affiliated to NCGC, and students being awarded either a Diploma or Certificate were required to have followed a course of study and practical work in the “religious basis of club work” (ibid, p.104).¹²⁰ It has not been possible to obtain syllabi for NCGC courses from the 1930s. However, in 1942 NCGC indicated that an “...adequate scheme of professional training should comprise

- a. A good general background, secured by a theoretical training in a University Social Science Department.
- b. A general practical social work training, at present provided by three months Charity Organisation Society and a further period of other case work training.
- c. Lectures on the theory and practice of both club work and general social work.
- d. Club work and home visiting experience.” (National Council of Girls Clubs, 1942, p.3).

NCGC Annual Reports give little idea of the content of the training outside of Social Science Departments, other than, for example, “Courses of lectures have been given on club work, elementary psychology (problems of personality and conduct) and social administration” (National Council of Girls Clubs, 1935, p.18). However, there is some suggestion here that ‘youth work knowledge’ which was disseminated to students had something of its own distinct identity.

Table 1 shows the numbers of students registered on these courses during the period 1934-1940. These figures have been compiled from NCGC Annual Reports of the time.

¹²⁰ Religious training was provided by the following: Association for Jewish Youth, Baptist Department for Women’s Work, Catholic Women’s League, Central Committee for Women’s Church Work, Congregationalists’ Young Peoples’ Department, Methodist Study Centre, Welfare of Youth Committee, Presbyterian Church of England, and the Society of Friends (NCGC, 1935, p.18).

Table 1: Registrations on NCGC Training Courses 1934/1935 - 1939/1940

1934-1935	32 students registered in Scotland and England.
1935-1936	28 students registered (Certificate I) 22 students registered (Certificate II) <i>1 Diploma awarded, 2 Certificates (I) awarded, 2 Certificates (II) awarded</i>
1936-1937	48 students registered "for the full course for professional club leadership" <i>13 Certificates awarded</i>
1937-1938	64 students registered (Certificates I and II) <i>20 Certificates awarded to students completing "the full course"</i>
1938-1939	60 students registered (Certificates I and II) <i>13 Certificates (I) awarded, 13 Certificates (II) awarded</i>
1939-1940	43 students registered (Certificate I, "whole-time") 71 students registered (Certificate II, part-time)

(Source: NCGC Annual Reports)

As Table 1 shows, the number of 'trained' leaders emerging from these courses was very low.

The claim made in the McNair Report in 1944 that these courses were producing 150 trained leaders a year seems to be a gross over-estimate (Board of Education, 1944b, p.97).

Nevertheless, the NCGC courses were immensely important in establishing an identity for youth work which was to be considerably developed through the war years. The most significant aspect of these developments is their radical departure from the 'pre-technocratic' means of acquiring competence which was evident in the texts of Stanley and Russell and Rigby discussed earlier in this chapter. The activities identified here mark out a general model of professional training and education which endured almost unchanged until the present. This model combines three fundamental elements: discipline-based knowledge deriving from empirical research ('science'), a 'theory of practice' deriving from reflection on practice, and a period of practical experience in a work situation. These are the constitutive elements of technical-rational approaches to professional education and training discussed in Chapter Four, and which legitimate claims to professional autonomy. As Potts notes, by 1938 appeals were already being made to the discourse of professionalism by trained and qualified members of the Club Leaders Association seeking to "... raise the status of the club leader and put forward her

views in the right quarter... “ (Potts, 1961, p.1). This was a rudimentary attempt to effect occupational control, and secure social closure.¹²¹ Figure 1 summarises the nature of youth work, education and training for youth work and its competence at this time.

Figure 1: Youth Work and Youth Workers in ‘Emergent Welfarism’ (1900-1940)

(i) Youth work organisation	Local and national voluntary organisations, church-sponsored youth work; increasing state investment and co-ordination, initially through the JOCs from 1916 until 1937; the establishment of the ‘Service of Youth’ in 1939.
(ii) Ideologies of youth	Working class young people ‘vulnerable’ and/or ‘dangerous; youth as a ‘risk’ category; young people having military, industrial, domestic utility and thus needing to be ‘governed’; from 1930s young people also seen as a ‘national resource’ and potential ‘democratic citizens’.
(iii) Youth work practice ideologies	Religious, militarist and nationalist ideologies; youth work as a ‘gendered’ practice; early youth work as a means of pursuing ‘leisure with a purpose’: disciplined bodies and minds, the building of ‘character’, some compensatory education offered to young people; from 1939 youth work as a ‘war-specific’ means of regulating young people through opportunities for ‘service’ and ‘democratic citizenship’; the underlying significance of ‘self-discipline’ and ‘self-government’ throughout this period.
(iv) Youth workers	Initially selected according to class, background and disciplinary potential; ‘virtue’ and ‘personality’; ‘duty’ and ‘vocation’; pre-1930s youth worker numbers difficult to determine but a small cadre of ‘career’ youth workers (under 100) in voluntary organisations in the 1930s, Board of Education funds salaries of 103 leaders in 1940-41.
(v) Education and training for youth work	‘Socialisation’ into youth work through ‘hands-on’ experience; parallels with ‘pre-technocratic’ or ‘apprenticeship’ mode; growing body of ‘youth work knowledge’; formal training organised by Church of England and NCGC from the 1920s onwards; dominant practitioner culture but increasing attempts made to define a ‘disciplinary base’ from social science; moves towards ‘technical-rational’ model and the separation of theory and practice; participants in training predominantly women.
(vi) Youth work competence	Moral exemplar; ‘manager’ of young people; basic ‘activity skills’; growing claims for the importance of youth work ‘knowledge’. professional competence assessed in academic and practice areas from the 1930s.

¹²¹ As Potts shows, although small in numbers, the early youth worker organisations were very active from the late 1930s onwards in trying to raise the status of youth workers by restricting membership to ‘qualified workers’, disseminating ‘codes of practice’ and attempting to make political links in the attempt to further their professional interests. Like other aspirant professions, the youth workers’ ideological practice consistently relied on the idea of youth workers providing a necessary ‘service’ to young people and to society, and the claim that this could only be achieved through appropriately skilled and qualified practitioners. In addition, the professional associations (and they have gone through a variety of forms since the 1930s, see Bradford, 1988, p.77) have disseminated definitions of the ‘youth problem’ as part of their professional ideologies.

The need for expert youth leaders: the war and the 'Service of Youth'

The inception of the Service of Youth in 1939, discussed in Chapter Five, created the conditions in which trained and full-time youth leaders were to take on a new significance. In establishing the Service of Youth, Circular 1486 differentiated between “full-time leaders”, and “competent instructors in such subjects as physical education and craft work”(Board of Education, 1939, para. 6). It seems that the Board at least was beginning to recognise the potential of skilled leadership in the war effort, and ensuring that war conditions were not “...sapping the moral fibre of the adolescent” (Macalister Brew, 1943, p.22). In making the distinction between full-time leaders and others, the Board of Education was also implicitly confirming the utility of a ‘trained elite’ in youth work which courses established in the 1930s by the NCGC had already begun to establish. Evidently, it was thought that full-time trained youth leaders could offer more than the routine physical and recreative activities organised and delivered by “competent instructors”.

The Board was already being pressured over the provision of full-time qualified leaders. In a memorandum dated November 1939 to Kenneth Lindsay, Parliamentary Secretary at the Board, the South Wales Federation of Boys Clubs argued that “... the direction of activities must at least, to a substantial extent, be placed in the hands of those who are qualified... “(SWFBC, 1939, preface).¹²² The Federation argued that “expert leaders” were required for “educational activity groups”(ibid, p.6), and estimated that in Wales there were 40 Boys Clubs in need of qualified leaders in addition to the existing 13 Clubs which already had full-time, if not qualified leaders.¹²³ At this point, however, it is not at all certain that the Board had any clear

¹²² The memo was submitted through the Standing Conference of National Voluntary Organisations which at that time comprised all the national voluntary youth organisations. In that sense, the memo speaks with the considerable authority of that organisation.

¹²³ An attached hand-written note from Lindsay, presumably to a civil servant, indicates that he took the SWFBC's memo seriously, writing that the memo's contents were “... so good and important” that the memo should be circulated to the newly constituted National Youth Committee.

idea of precisely what the value of these leaders might be, nor what might count as 'qualified status' anyway. Reflecting youth work's ambiguous identity, this recurrent theme has had major implications for the idea of competence in youth work, and for the training of youth workers. Although unclear of what precisely was needed, by November 1940, the Board was urging that "... all available machinery for training (of leaders) should be used to the utmost"(Board of Education, 1940a, p.2). As a reflection of youth work's role in physical recreation, this focused on the regulation of young people's physique and the appropriate channelling of potentially excessive energy into socially useful (or at least controlled) activity. As such, youth work was intended to contribute to the management of physical and mental 'fitness' of the estimated 1.5 million young men and young women who were thought not to be attached to any voluntary youth organisation (Gosden, 1976, p.219). The rationale for youth work at this time continued to be that of disciplining the physical body of young people by encouraging physically demanding and time consuming activities of various kinds. Excessive youthful energy was to be carefully redirected through these activities in ways which would contribute to the 'war effort'. As if to further emphasise the importance of leadership, Circular 1529 indicated that the Board was making arrangements with the War Office for release from war service of "qualified and experienced leaders" for work in the Service of Youth, and for the postponement of military service if they had not already been called up.¹²⁴ By February 1942 S.H.Wood¹²⁵ had written to the Secretary of the Board expressing the view that

¹²⁴ Other later circulars indicate that men and women wanting to train for teaching and youth work were given favourable treatment in relation to call-up, even to the extent that they might be "admitted exceptionally" to training courses instead of being required to undertake other war work or military service (see, for example, Board of Education, 1943b, Board of Education, 1944a).

¹²⁵ Wood was Principal Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education.

“The registration of boys and girls between 16 and 18 and the encouragement given to them to join clubs and other forms of youth service renders it very necessary that some interim form of training should be worked out and put into operation without delay... it does seem to me that we are, as regards youth, pressing them to join services which are inadequately equipped with leaders and at the same time are doing nothing about the equipment of leaders” (Wood, 1942).

The eventual consequence of these concerns was the issue of a Circular indicating that the Board would recognise full-time courses of no more than a year, part-time courses up to two years, provide successful institutions submitting such courses for approval with funding, and give grant-aid to students undertaking them (Board of Education, 1942a). The Circular lays out a model syllabus for approved courses. Although this signalled the involvement of a number of universities in the direct provision of courses of training in youth leadership, there was reluctance on the Board’s part to view such courses as any more than ‘emergency provision’.¹²⁶ These courses “... will not be regarded by the Board as connoting a full qualification in Youth Service” (ibid). It appears that the Board did not wish to establish a recognised qualification for the work at this stage despite its earlier apparent desire to encourage the provision of training. Although puzzling, this hesitancy was probably the result of caution rather than the ambiguous prevailing perceptions of youth work and its purposes. There were some within the Board who genuinely believed that it would be necessary to establish firmer arrangements for youth leadership training when national circumstances had improved. Circular 1598 alludes to this by citing a time when “... normal courses of longer duration for post-war purposes are recognised by the Board ...” (ibid, para. 6). The potential should be acknowledged for ambivalence even within the Board itself, between those with an interest and ‘vision’ for educational youth work which would endure beyond the war, and those who were more interested in youth work’s

¹²⁶ These course were to “... provide further knowledge and experience for those already engaged in the Youth Service and some initial form of training for those who intend to take up such work during the present emergency” (Board of Education, 1942a, para.6).

immediate wartime utility. Perhaps inevitably, policy and practice was constantly caught between the two. It is also important to acknowledge that 'liberal government', in the terms used here, characteristically seeks to govern indirectly and in ways which are distanced from any 'political centre'. This has frequently meant that governmental technologies have comprised the shifting and sometimes temporary composition and interlinking of diverse institutions, practices, and capacities. In common with the wider field of welfare and education, the development of youth work and the training of its practitioners have occurred in this way.

The involvement of the universities: linking theory and practice

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the involvement of the universities in courses of 'vocational' or 'professional' training and education was subject to extensive debate about the social role and function of universities (and indeed of knowledge itself). Positions were polarised. On the one hand were those who believed that universities should have a restricted and exclusive responsibility for the production, dissemination, and advancement of knowledge (as a valuable commodity in itself) in the context of a traditional 'liberal education'. On the other hand was a perspective in which the social function and deployment of knowledge itself was acknowledged to be important.¹²⁷ The latter included the claim that 'academic' knowledge had a crucial role in shaping and informing the activities and practice of the newly-emerging 'human service' occupations. These, it was argued, also needed individuals with character and judgement which could be best developed through a university education. This was important at a time when the range and scope of these professional activities was increasing. Inevitably tied up in all of this were questions about the professional status of these occupations, teaching and social work

¹²⁷ As Reid was to argue in the context of this debate in 1944, "The urgency of practical ends is tending to cause the educational one to be elbowed out, so that even normally 'educated' graduates are becoming more and more cogs in the industrial-economic machine, instead of persons with character and independence of judgment and outlook" (Lowe, 1988, p.57). This view can be seen as the polar opposite to the increasingly collectivized and 'professionalised' approach to welfare, perhaps exemplified by university-based training for social work or youth work.

(including youth work) in particular. In its discussion of the role of University Schools of Education in the preparation of teachers, the McNair Committee used the terms

“... ‘education’ and ‘training’ because there is a danger that the personal education of the teacher may be overlooked. It is as important for the teacher to be well educated as it is for the doctor or lawyer. He who would educate must first be educated... Training is no longer a matter of giving the intellectually undernourished some ‘tricks of the trade’; it is the enlightenment of reasonably cultured young people about the principles underlying their profession which, incidentally, includes much more than teaching” (Board of Education, 1944b, p.48).

In McNair’s view, the role of the University was in transforming (pre-technocratic) vocational education - “tricks of the trade” - into (technical-rational) professional education which was concerned as much with the cultivation of mind and the acquisition of liberal values (essential for professionals in McNair’s view) as with the technical skills associated with any given occupation. McNair, of course, was considered the training of youth leaders in the same context as that of teachers. Part of the debate concerned the relationship between theory and practice in these occupations (teaching and youth work for example), the status of each of these, and the extent to which the Universities believed they had a role in assessing ‘practical’ or ‘professional’ elements of a course. In her discussion on social work education in the 1940s, Eileen Younghusband¹²⁸ suggested that some Universities were happy to leave what they saw as (low status) ‘career matters’ (some of which would later be regarded as having important ‘professional’ implications) of social work students to their employers. The Universities’ responsibility in their own prevailing view (although there were variations and exceptions) was for ‘academic’ work. In Younghusband’s view, some of them were content to simply confer Certificates or Diplomas in Social Science in spite of any additional practical or professional

¹²⁸ Younghusband was deeply immersed in the culture of youth work, having been responsible for leader training for the NCGC for a number of years.

work undertaken by students (Younghusband, 1949, p.24-25). These issues were widely reflected in youth work in questions about the relationship between the intellectual ability of youth leaders on the one hand, and their practical competence on the other, as well as the role of 'personality', 'personal qualities', or background experience. University involvement in the training and education of youth workers in the 1940s signalled something of a shift in this relationship. There was growing acceptance by the state and others that formal knowledge had a role in both the development of professional identity (the development of the 'professional self') and in shaping practical and vocational competence. This meant that mechanisms for the formation of competent youth leaders were to develop and consolidate a more sophisticated technology of professional training for youth leaders than had existed with the voluntary youth organisations' earlier initiatives.

Further University involvement in training was discussed in 1941 when the Board of Education convened a conference on youth leader training. This began the process of consolidating a 'formal' or 'official' definition of what was necessary in youth leadership training. Attended by University representatives, members of the National Voluntary Organisations, two Directors of County Education Services, eight members of Her Majesty's Inspectorate, and two of the Board's administrative staff (Board of Education, 1941b),¹²⁹ the conference had considerable legitimacy in both academic and practical terms. Some discord between 'academics' and 'practitioners' is evident in the conference papers. The voluntary organisations were concerned about "... the possible loss of inspiration or sense of vocation which the professionalisation of adolescent education might entail" (ibid), although there was general acknowledgement that "Everything depended on the quality of the people taken into the

¹²⁹ It is not only the number of people attending the conference that signifies the importance given to the issue of youth leader training but also their identity. For example, Professor Carr-Saunders, Director of LSE, Professor Fred Clarke, London University Institute of Education, and Professor Barnard, University of Reading participated, as well as others from University Training Departments and Social Science Departments.

work, on their training, and on the standards which were developed in the profession”(ibid). This formulation neatly combines experience and disposition with training and ‘professional standards’, which taken together in this form, offer a compromise between the interested parties, and provide the basis for defining competence in youth leadership. This latter task was given a sense of urgency as the fear was expressed at the conference that if youth service did not become an “integral part of a steadily growing system of adolescent education”(ibid), it would be dropped at the end of the war.

The Board agreed to form a committee from the conference members to “... work out some possible schemes of joint training” (ibid).¹³⁰ Designated the ‘Informal Youth Training Committee’,¹³¹ it reported in December 1941, asserting that the youth service was not a “special movement”, and the “... training of workers in this field is to be considered, therefore, as the training of workers for service in an integral part of the education and social work systems of this country” (IYTC, 1941, p.1). A statement of this kind is immensely significant in providing legitimacy to a relatively new occupation in the ‘professionalising’ welfare field. As part of this, the Committee proposed that training for youth leaders should incorporate elements of the training received by social workers and teachers, partly to facilitate transfer between occupations, but also because these occupations were thought to share a common central area of competence. Although this was a partial restatement of a perspective underlying the NCGC training of the 1920s and 1930s, the difference is that the point was now being made by a

¹³⁰ A memo from Wood to the Secretary of the Board expressed great reluctance at having to do this. Wood indicated that he had tried to encourage the Universities to undertake the work, but also acknowledged that there would be some “ultimate need” for the Board to establish regulations for youth leadership training as was the case with teacher training, as well as “... encourage some experimental courses of training” (Wood, 1941). Again, this emphasises the characteristically tentative involvement of state apparatuses.

¹³¹ Again, the Committee’s membership combined representatives from universities, voluntary organisations, and Her Majesty’s Inspectorate. Interestingly, although not a participant in the original conference, Eileen Younghusband was a member of the committee on behalf of NCGC. The identities of committee members (senior academics, senior HMIs and members of voluntary organisations) indicates the continuing significance given to the work, despite the designation ‘informal’ being given to the Committee. Their presence gave the Committee considerable ‘political clout’.

potentially influential group which for the first time enabled both 'academics' and 'practitioners' to speak directly to the Board of Education. It was this tri-partite relationship which appears to have given the necessary political leverage which resulted in the Universities taking up the professional training of youth workers.

Based inter alia on submissions taken from the National Council of Girls' Clubs, the YWCA, and the National Association of Boys Clubs, the IYTC elaborated a model of youth work competence. It was the first 'official' and authoritative definition of what was thought necessary in the training of youth leaders. In defining the content and pedagogy of much subsequent training for youth work in the 1940s, it also provided the basis to subsequent 'formal' training syllabi. The Committee envisaged a three year "full course", with some dispensation for those with previous experience or qualifications (graduates or qualified teachers for example) who would be required to undertake a minimum one year course. Although unwilling to specify a syllabus as such, the Committee defined in some detail areas of study and technique which they believed were necessary for effective youth work. The course envisaged combined theory and practical work, both assessed in order to lead to a university-level qualification. A minimum entry age of 20 was specified, with recognition of qualified status being given at 23.

The work of the IYTC led to twenty two full-time one year courses being run at five Universities and University Colleges (Bristol, Durham, Swansea, University College Nottingham, and Kings College Newcastle) between 1942 and 1948, with 302 students participating during this period (Kuenstler, 1951, p.24). Kuenstler provides follow-up data on the backgrounds of 167 of these students, shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Previous Occupations of Youth Work Students, 1942 - 1948

Previous Occupation	Men	Women	Total
Clerical and Secretarial	17	25	42
HM Forces	26	11	37
Industrial	30	5	35
Business and Commerce	8	7	15
Youth Leaders	12	**	12
Students and School-Children	2	9	11
Teachers	3	6	9
Welfare and Social Work	**	5	5
Clergyman	1	**	1
Totals	99	68	167

(Source: adapted from Kuenstler, 1951, p.27)

Although it is impossible to know from what rank or position in the forces or in industry these people came, it appears that they are not typical members of the civic minded middle-classes referred to earlier by Russell and Rigby, and Maude Stanley. It appears that youth work had become 'proletarianised' and this inevitably influenced its future status as an occupation. Kuenstler points out that "very few" of them were graduates or had other educational qualifications (ibid, p.25). However, it seems that 'personal qualities' (not specified) and experience were important but not the sole criteria for selection. Bristol University adopted the following criteria for entry to their course in 1942:

"(a) Personal Qualities.

(b) Educational standards equivalent at least to that of the School Leaving Certificate. Candidates were not rejected on this ground if there was evidence of maintenance of intellectual interests after leaving the elementary school.

(c) Experience of life as shown by wide contacts with people and affairs." (University of Bristol, 1943, p. 1).

An age range of 19 to 40 years was also set as one criterion for selection. According to the memorandum, all but one of the students in the first intake at Bristol had completed their School Leaving Certificates, six had "higher certificates or diplomas", and four were graduates (ibid,

p.1). Younghusband, who visited this course in February 1943, identified four teachers, a veterinary surgeon, a clergyman, an Assistance Board investigating clerk, a “lay reader”, a farmer, two clerical workers, a motor-driver, a cook-housekeeper, a “married woman”, and a worker from a “children’s clinic” (Younghusband, 1943, p.1). Overall, and assuming that the Bristol data and Kuenstler’s follow-up data are representative of students on these courses in general, they would have been regarded as relatively low-status in academic terms at least.¹³² Inevitably, this would influence the way in which the training itself and youth work would be perceived in general, and within the academic community specifically. The absence of status in these terms would tend to diminish any perceptions of youth work as a ‘professional’ undertaking.

These courses were all approved by the Board under Circular 1598, and influenced by the work of the IYTC. In addition, full-time courses of six and three months respectively were run by the NCGC, and at Homerton College Cambridge. Part-time courses were run at Durham University (two years), Liverpool University (one year), and by NCGC (eighteen months) (Evans, 1965, p.194). The importance of these courses cannot be underestimated. As the first University courses in youth work they formed the basis to future developments (in terms of content, pedagogy, and assessment) in the professional education for youth workers. They represent the model of technical-rational professional training for youth workers that has endured in various forms until the present. This model is shaped by academic rather than practitioner culture (as with the ‘pre-technocratic’ model referred to in Chapter Four) and as indicated, contains three main elements (Bines, 1992). First, a systematic body of knowledge deriving from, in this case, the social sciences is transmitted to students during their training.

¹³² The Carnegie Trust’s ‘experiment’ in providing bursaries to women who wanted to train as youth leaders between 1940 and 1943 suggests similar academic backgrounds for the 57 successful candidates who were awarded bursaries (Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1943, p.22-23).

This high-status knowledge legitimates practice and professionals' claims to autonomy and status. The second element comprises the application of the body of knowledge to practice and includes a developing repertoire of problem solving principles, skills, behaviours as well as underlying values which guide the occupation's ethical outlook. These constitute a 'theory of practice'. Third, technical-rational professional education comprises a period in which the novice undertakes supervised practice in a 'real' work situation and tests out theory acquired in the academy. Most importantly for this thesis, technical-rationalism can be seen as a means of exercising power over learners, of shaping the process and content of learning in accordance with norms (specified in terms of knowledge and skills for example) against which learners can be observed and judged. As such, training based on this model represents the surveillance and normalisation of learners and learning.

In the following section an analysis of the syllabi of these courses is provided in terms of technical-rationalism, and in particular, course content, pedagogy and assessment are discussed. The analysis draws on data provided by Kuenstler¹³³ on courses at University College Swansea, University College Nottingham, the University of Durham, and the University of Bristol. It indicates the Universities' perceptions of the competence required for youth leadership and implicitly those of the Board of Education which gave approval to these courses in the first place. Although Circular 1598 and the work of the IYTC provided guidelines for institutions establishing these courses (content, facilities, and certification, for example), there was considerable variation in practice between the courses themselves, particularly in their content and the priority given to their component parts. In order to give further depth to some of the issues which emerge through the analysis of Kuenstler's data, data from documents

¹³³ Kuenstler's data apply to the courses which ran in 1947-1948. Where documents giving details of courses are still available, they show that these were substantially the same as those which were run in the preceding years (Bristol and Nottingham, for example).

relating to the course run during the session 1942-1943 at Bristol University is also used.¹³⁴

Bristol was chosen here because extensive records of the course survive, providing invaluable data which help to construct a picture of developing ideas and practices about the competence of youth leaders at this time. Kuenstler's data show that all of these courses had two main elements:

- (i) a theory component;
- (ii) a practical component.

Two further distinctions can be made between elements in (ii). First, the practical component contains training in what were defined as 'skills'; and second, students were required to undertake varying amounts of practice in youth work settings. These are discussed in turn and the relationship between theory and practice is then discussed.

(i) 'Theory' in Youth Leadership Training

In Table 3 below the main areas of theory referred to in the syllabi of the four courses are identified. Some of the categories in Table 3 ('Areas of Theory') are aggregations of a number of other areas. In Table 6 (page 213) the amount of time devoted to each of these areas of study is identified and then discussed in relation to the courses' practical components.

¹³⁴ During the period 1942-1948, 80 students completed the Bristol course. This compares with 74 at Swansea, 85 at Nottingham, 42 at Durham, and 21 at Newcastle (Kuenstler, 1951, p.25).

Table 3: Theory in Youth Leadership Training

Area of Theory	Swansea	Nottingham	Durham	Bristol
Adolescence/Psychology of Adolescence/Psychology;	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Sociology/Social Studies;	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Social Administration;	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Principles of Education;	No	No	Yes	Yes
Religion/Religious Education;	No	No	Yes	Yes
Philosophy/Practice of Youth Work/Administration of Youth Work;	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Health/ Health Education;	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

(Source: adapted from Kuenstler, 1951)

Studies of adolescence and adolescent psychology are referred to in different ways in the four syllabi. For example, at Swansea the syllabus refers to the “Psychology of Adolescents with special reference to the development of personality and to the interests and needs of adolescents”, and at Bristol, the Psychology syllabus includes a “developmental study of the growing child from birth to maturity, with particular emphasis on emotional needs, the development of interests, the growth of sentiments and the formation of ideals”. The Durham syllabus makes no reference to adolescent psychology specifically, rather to “Straight classical psychology and basic principles, followed by the application of these principles to the club structure”.

A number of theory components are grouped under the broad heading of ‘sociology and social studies’. All four courses discussed here include something under this heading which covers a range of areas from “the social background of adolescents” (Swansea), “social and economic conditions” (Nottingham), “economic history” (Bristol), and “current affairs” (Durham).

Three of the courses (Bristol being the exception) include studies in 'social administration' in some form. So, for example, the Swansea syllabus refers to

"Principles and Practice of Social Service: social and economic history from 1760, tracing industrial evolution and giving a detailed consideration to the social services which arose",

and the Durham course syllabus refers to

"Social Service. Brief history, mainly since the industrial revolution, and present day scope and organisation: Central and Local Government".

The Durham syllabus also includes a reference to the "... ideas and practice of case work" as part of the social administration component. It is the only one of the course syllabi to refer to case work despite Circular 1598 suggesting that students should learn something about it "where possible".

Two of the four syllabi refer to 'principles of education' as an area of theory covered in the course. In the Bristol syllabus, for example, a series of lectures on "Principles of Education" is combined with lectures on "Landmarks in European Experience". The former is

"... studied against the background of modern philosophers and in relation to contemporary educational, social and religious issues... ("Landmarks in European Experience" is designed) ... to study the experience of some of the great minds who have contributed to the European tradition".

In two of the syllabi, 'Religion' or 'Religious Education' are included as elements. At Durham, the syllabus refers to "... essentials of the Christian faith; its educational and social implications... (and)... religious problems arising in youth work", whilst at Bristol, "Bible Study" is the only detail given of "Religious Education".

Each syllabus, except that of Swansea, refers to studies which include a 'health' or 'health education' component. So, for example, at Nottingham a series of lectures on "hygiene

and philosophy” are referred to as an adjunct to the course in the “psychology of the adolescent”. At Durham, the syllabus refers to a course in “physiology”, which includes “... physiology and anatomy of the human body; appreciation of social health”, and at Bristol, “Health Education; including both physical and mental aspects ...” is identified.

(ii) ‘Practice’ in Youth Leadership Training

As indicated earlier, the ‘practice’ component of these syllabi can be differentiated between areas of ‘skill’, and youth work ‘practice’ itself (students actually working in youth clubs and centres). Table 4 identifies the areas of ‘skill’ which are referred to in Kuenstler’s data.

Table 4: ‘Skills’ in Youth Leadership Training

Area of Skill	Swansea	Nottingham	Durham	Bristol
Discussion Group Work;	Yes	No	No	No
Arts/Crafts;	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Music/Drama;	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Speech Training;	No	Yes	No	Yes
Vocational Guidance;	No	No	No	Yes
Audio-Visual Aids;	Yes	No	No	Yes
Physical Training;	No	No	Yes	Yes

(Source: adapted from Kuenstler, 1951)

None of the areas referred to here are included in all the syllabi, and there are significant variations between courses. Two areas of skill that have particular significance are those of “group discussion work”, and “vocational guidance”, neither of which are included in all syllabi. “Group discussion work” was the precursor to ‘group work’, which came to provide an important technical skill base to youth work expertise during the 1950s and 1960s. “Vocational guidance”, a component in the Bristol syllabus only, covered a bewildering range of psychometric testing procedures, including the assessment of “personality”, “temperament”, “interests”, and “character” (University of Bristol, 1943, p.10). Although these studies are located in the context of the young person in the labour market, it is easy to see how they

anticipated ‘counselling’ which, like group work, later became an important technical aspect of the youth worker’s role.

The area of ‘arts and crafts’ is referred to directly in three syllabi, and in the case of Nottingham there is a broad reference to

“Activities. Students are given the opportunity of joining an existing group”.

It is likely that this would include the possibility of any activity groups of the kinds referred to in the other syllabi: arts and crafts, music and drama, physical activities and games for example.

Table 5 shows the ‘practice’ areas referred to as requirements in the four syllabi.

Table 5: ‘Practice’ in Youth Leadership Training

Practical Work	Swansea	Nottingham	Durham	Bristol
Regular attendance at Youth Clubs/ Youth Organisation;	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Visits;	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Club Holidays;	No	Yes	No	No
Residence in Settlement or Community Centre;	No	Yes	No	No

(Source: adapted from Kuenstler, 1951)

Circular 1598 gives some guidance on the nature of the practical work ‘officially’ required on these courses

“A period, or periods of continuous full-time responsible work of various kinds with groups of young people. Such work should include participation in, and responsibility for, the organisation and direction of activities common to youth groups. Experience and training in the conduct of discussions on topics of interest and importance to young people should be provided” (Board of Education, 1942a, Appendix I).

All four syllabi refer to the requirement for students to commit themselves to “regular attendance” at a youth club or organisation. The precise nature of this is vague in Kuenstler’s data, but the 1943 Memorandum from Bristol University states

“In order that a student might come to know well the members of a particular group of young men and women it was decided to arrange a preliminary period of three weeks of visits to youth centres and then to ask each student to select some one centre with which he might be associated for the whole year” (University of Bristol, 1943, p.7).

The Bristol document provides examples of the work undertaken by students during the first year of the course, all of which provided day-to-day experience of club and centre-based youth work. As part of their work-based practice students “... took over and reorganised a new and difficult club”, “... opened a new youth centre in a large housing estate... ”, and “... acted as liaison officer between a regional group of (Girls’ Training Corps) units” (ibid, p.7).

As well as the continuous element of direct work in youth clubs and centres, all four syllabi incorporate “visits of observation” as part of the practical component of the courses. This component is described as a “... wide programme of visits, including short talks by the people concerned, e.g. to factories, clubs, clinics, hostels, approved schools... ” (Swansea), and “... 20 visits of observation in connection with the lecture course on the social services” (Nottingham).

Balancing ‘theory’ and ‘practice’: pedagogy and assessment

The reading list for the Bristol course shows that the literature recommended for students was borrowed almost exclusively from the social sciences: psychology, sociology, educational theory, “hygiene and “health”, “civics”, and a nascent literature on informal educational work with young people.¹³⁵ The latter signifies the development of a youth work literature which has constructed increasingly complex arguments within discourses of social and informal education. Although in the early 1940s there was little contemporary practice-based literature on youth work, what existed was combined with formal course-based lectures, and marked out a territory

¹³⁵ The list of four titles under the heading of “Youth Organisation” includes titles by Brew and Edwards-Rees referred to in an earlier chapter of this thesis.

of knowledge intended to contribute to professional competence. Table 6 shows the number of hours syllabi indicate that each course gave to theoretical areas of study.

Table 6: Areas of Theory and their Hourage in Youth Leadership Training

Area of Theory	Swansea	Nottingham	Durham	Bristol
Adolescence/Psychology of Adolescence/Psychology;	30	32	42	20
Current Affairs;	**	**	(taught, but time not given)	**
Sociology/Social Studies;	30	26	**	30
Social Administration;	30	66	68	**
Principles of Education;	**	**	28	20
Landmarks in European Experience;	**	**	**	30
Religion/Religious Education;	**	**	16	20
Philosophy/Practice of Youth Work and Youth Service/Administration of Youth Work;	120	50	60	20
Economic History;	**	**	**	60
Aesthetics;	**	**	4	**
Health/Health Education/Physiology;	**	6	16	20
Total hours given to 'theory';	210	180	234	220

(Source: Kuenstler, 1951)

Table 6 disaggregates some of the areas of theory referred to in Table 3 in order to indicate the amount of time given to specific studies. As in other aspects there are wide variations between the four courses. Although little overall consensus appeared to exist on how much time students needed to study particular subjects, there seems to have been some agreement on some of the areas which were thought necessary. According to Kuenstler, most of the theoretical work was

completed through attendance at lectures. At Swansea, out of a total of 210 hours given to theory, 30 hours was given to 'seminars', and 30 hours to 'tutorials'. At Durham 15 extra hours of group tutorials were given to support the 'Principles of Education' lecture programme, and 45 hours of extra tutorial time were given for the "correlation of theory and practical work". At both Nottingham and Bristol, all the theoretical work was dealt with through lectures. Although not specified, it seems reasonable to assume that all four courses organised at least some of their skills training through practical sessions rather than formal lectures. The mixture of lectures, seminars and tutorials suggests that pedagogy was developing and that some consideration was given to the ways in which the 'professional self' of the youth worker could be most appropriately formed.

The disciplines of psychology and sociology are common to all four courses in one form or another. They (and indeed "Landmarks of European Experience" and "Aesthetics") mark out a formal territory of apparently objective knowledge, whose empirical origins provide the guarantee of its presumed neutrality and universality, and thus its authority. As such, this is rational knowledge which has become increasingly constitutive of the special expertise of the 'human service' occupations. Its location in these syllabi confirms their technical-rational nature. As already argued, knowledge of this kind particularly in the form of the 'human sciences' is deeply implicated in the relations and networks of power which have come to characterise modern societies. It has formed the basis of various 'technologies of power' whose object is the surveillance, discipline, and regulation (essentially the range of strategies which constitute 'government') of population and the groups of which it comprises. It has already been argued that such technologies rely on the expertise of the 'human service' occupations, of which youth workers are one. The processes of professional education, early examples of which are contained in these data, are designed to prepare those on whom they focus for their work.

These objective and rational knowledges are calculated to inform the youth leader's understanding, and subsequently, his or her work with young people. With biology, and in the Durham course 'physiology', psychology is intended to provide appropriate insight into young people (now construed as both minds and bodies) necessary for the youth worker. Combined with various knowledges centred on the notion of 'hygiene', 'health', and 'health education' (including in the case of Bristol the idea of "personal and social hygiene"), these appear intended to enable the youth worker to become concerned with the management of the young person's body, and the regulation of their sexuality. Adolescent sexuality was an area that was given considerable prominence in the work of the ICYT, and as shown in Chapter Five, was of considerable 'political' concern at this time. Anxieties had been expressed by the ICYT that "sex education" in the past had been excessively preoccupied with the dissemination of merely 'technical' knowledge about sex, and had relied on warnings of the dangers "immorality" and sexually transmitted diseases, and had been insufficiently concerned with the formation of the 'attitudes' and 'ideals' underlying the conduct of sexuality. The ICYT took the view that the youth worker should have a special place in the latter process, and would therefore require appropriate training

"... to see that not only is the knowledge on sex matters available to boys and girls when they need it, but also that their motives and attitudes of mind and their ideals are such as will lead to sex being used for the greatest benefit and happiness of themselves and of society... (the youth leader)... should have considered critically the accepted motives, ideals, taboos, and codes which regulate sex behaviour in this country and be aware of the degree to which social and racial welfare is involved as well as individual and personal happiness" (IYTC, 1941, p.5).

It is possible to discern in this quotation a clear expression of the 'governmentalisation' of adolescent sexuality, through the interconnection made between the management of individual sexual behaviour (ideally conducted by the young person themselves), the prosperity and

harmony of “society”, and the explicit role of the youth leader in achieving this. The rather chilling reference to “racial welfare” is a reminder of the degree to which the ‘hygienist’¹³⁶ discourse implicit in this literature, so easily accommodates assumptions (eugenicist or otherwise) which rely on the notion of ‘the race’.¹³⁷ Significantly, the Bristol course dealt with “the sex interests of adolescence” in one lecture, and all subsequent references in its syllabus to sex were in connection with boys and young men. This is puzzling given wider prevailing concerns with the sexual behaviour of girls and young women as well as those of boys and perhaps reflects underlying ‘male’ presumptions about sexuality.¹³⁸

The references to lectures in “Landmarks in European Experience” at Bristol, and in “Aesthetics” at Durham raise interesting questions about the Universities’ own perceptions of these courses and their functions. Topics of this kind might seem more consistent with a conventional ‘liberal education’ than with professional education and training. As such, they should be interpreted as part of the attempt to cultivate particular sensibilities and dispositions which would undoubtedly have been familiar to Russell and Rigby, and Stanley some fifty years earlier. As such, these courses attempt to cultivate ‘mind’ as well as to develop specific skills associated with youth leadership. In effect, these courses were engaged in the process of constructing a specific kind of individual and ‘personality’, rather than solely with the dissemination of a formal body of knowledge and skill. In contrast to fifty years earlier, this personality was invested in the new identity of the professional youth leader, rather than entirely

¹³⁶ That is to say an approach which relies on an assumption that people can ‘learn’ to ‘improve’ or modify their conditions through proper training and education. Youth work was clearly part of this.

¹³⁷ Clearly there is a connection to be made here between the concerns which prevailed in the literature of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, some 40 years prior to this present text being written and discussed in Chapter Five.

¹³⁸ The staff responsible overall for the Bristol course were both men, although a woman (a Miss G.C. Whitwell) apparently taught psychology (Younghusband, 1943, p.1).

in the “genial spirit”, “firmness of character”, and “warm sympathy” of the cultivated man or woman of fifty years previously.

All syllabi identify various practical skills in which youth workers were presumably required to achieve some degree of competence, although no precise idea is given of the nature of this in the literature. These practical skills were identified in Table 4. Only the syllabi from Swansea and Bristol give the hours devoted to these ‘skill’ areas. These are shown in Table 7 below. According to Kuenstler, by 1947/1948 students at Bristol were asked to choose from a range of “optional subjects” in the area of skills. It is not at all clear that there was any formal requirement on students to undertake all of the work referred to in Table 7, nor that students were formally assessed in any of these areas. Although in the 1942-1943 course at Bristol physical education and ‘group discussion work’ were compulsory for all students (it is not clear whether any formal assessment was applied to these), it seemed that in general, academic work had a higher priority for the course’s organisers than did practical experience and skills, perhaps reflecting the dominance of academic over practitioner culture. In the theory work covered at Bristol, essays were set in three course subjects through the year, students were assessed on their ability to “read papers” and “act as discussion group leaders”, “written evidence in the form of critical summaries of reading was required in several courses”, and examinations were set at the end of the course in “General Principles, Economics, and Social Administration”. Substantive details of the processes involved are absent. Course organisers appeared to adopt the view that practice was less important than theoretical studies at the University. For example, in referring to the eagerness of “young Bristollians” to respond to and associate with students on work-placement, the authors of the Review Report of the 1942-1943 Bristol course lamented that some students

“... were unable to resist these clamorous demands and became involved in too much outside work, to the detriment of theoretical studies. Yet in a short course of the two aspects, theory or practice, it is practice that should be sacrificed. Next year this work must be more closely watched and more severely rationed” (University of Bristol, 1943, p.21).

Kuenstler’s data indicate the number of hours given to skills study at Swansea and Bristol but not for courses at Nottingham and Durham, and is shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Areas of ‘Skill’ and Hourage, Swansea and Bristol Universities

Area of Skill	Swansea	Bristol
Discussion Group Work;	45	**
Vocational Guidance;	**	30
Arts and Crafts;	90	15
Music and Drama;	45	60
Audio-Visual Aids;	22	20
Speech Training;	**	10
Physical Education (including games training)	**	30
Total hours given to ‘skills’;	202	165
Total hours given to ‘theory’;	210	220

(Source: adapted from Kuenstler, 1951)

On all the courses, theory and practice were apparently integrated through practical work placements. At Bristol, it was “suggested” that students should spend one evening a week and part of every weekend in their placements. Placements provided an opportunity for students to test out the skills which were introduced through practical University-based sessions.

The skills referred to in Table 7 provide a central core of practical ‘know how’ which forms the basis of intervention with young people. At this stage in youth work’s development its skill content seemed to be established largely on recreation-based activities. Superficially at least, little in this repertoire seems to go beyond relatively elementary activity skills which appear to rely on a simple epistemology of ‘know-how’. There is not much here that could be regarded as characteristic of complex professional work, or which would even distinguish youth

work from activities undertaken by the competent volunteer or the caring parent. However, details of the Bristol curriculum demonstrate the degree to which even these apparently simple skill areas were transformed into relatively complex techniques, framed in the context of background knowledge and philosophy, and requiring a high degree of proficiency from students. For example, the syllabus indicates that it is not sufficient that students should be proficient in "... coaching cricket, baseball, netball, hockey, and other team games", but they were also required to have an understanding of "... the place of physical education in youth work", and knowledge of "... physical recreation in relation to health work" (University of Bristol, 1943, p.11). By constructing this area in such a way, and placing it in the curriculum, the claim is implicitly made that the work goes beyond simple or routine 'craft' skills which could be acquired through practice alone. The value of these 'skills' lies in the extent to which they are deployed as part of 'professional discretion', which could, it is implicitly argued, be both taught and acquired in the context of the University.

Although construed in terms of being complex techniques which need to be acquired through organised and structured processes, these youth work skills do not in the main rely on 'high-status' knowledge: on social science, for example. The exceptions to this lie in the areas of 'vocational guidance', and 'discussion group work', both of which were later to develop into complex areas of knowledge and technical skill for which specialised training and education became regarded as necessary. At this stage, however, 'discussion group work' (presumably with the first two rather than the second two words linked) was only just being transformed into an activity with its own underlying body of knowledge, practitioner arts and capabilities, and range of practical applications. On the Bristol course, discussion group work was taught by the 'Organiser of the BBC Listening Groups', and the syllabus included "discussion and democracy", "the function of a discussion leader", "the debate, the committee, and formal

discussion”, and “the study group”. Group discussion work provides a fine example of how an apparently ‘natural’ activity became problematised and rendered ‘technical’ in the process of demonstrating its utility in reaching some of the wider ‘political’ objectives which youth work had at this time. As shown in previous chapters, youth work was expected to do more than simply fill young people’s time with wholesome activities, however valuable this might have been considered in supporting the individual’s successful transition to adulthood. Official discourse indicates that these activities were also expected to develop young people’s capacities to become self-regulating members of democratic communities and to participate in the experience of ‘self-government’. Other than the suggestion of such objectives in references to group discussion work, the syllabi analysed here are strangely silent on these matters.

The requirement for students to undertake practical placements in youth clubs and centres appears to have played an important part in their immersion in the culture and everyday world of youth work “under the guidance of an experienced Youth Leader” (ibid, p.7). Although this might be seen as the emergence of supervised placement work as a model of learning, many of the supervisors themselves would at this time have been unlikely to have experienced any training themselves in youth work. Perhaps because of this, individual students may have been left to their own devices and good fortune in working out precisely how to achieve the wider objectives of youth work. No real clue is given on this in the assessment procedures adopted on these courses. At Bristol, for example, placement work was assessed by examining diaries and notebooks in which students were required to keep a record of their work. Students were also visited in their placements and “... assessments made of practical ability at a youth centre” (ibid, p.15). No indication is given in the course literature of any criteria applied in these assessments.

Under criticism: problems with 1598 courses

Although they were not originally intended to confer 'qualified status' on their participants,¹³⁹ the courses had some success in identifying future models and approaches to training. They delineated a general syllabus and content, much of which (other than the language used to express it) changed little over the subsequent fifty years or so, although the techniques and practices deployed in the professional formation of youth workers have changed radically. However, towards the end of the war, Circular 1598 courses were subjected to evaluation much of which was sharply critical. Eileen Younghusband visited a number of the 1598 courses in 1943 to gather evidence for the McNair Committee which commenced its work on teacher and youth leader recruitment and training in March 1942. Younghusband's main criticism of the courses concerned the pedagogy which determined patterns of learning. Students at Bristol, for example,

“... gave the impression of being in a continual state of breathlessly dashing from one thing to another. They said that when they had some responsibility in a club they had no time to do the necessary preparatory work. Neither had they enough time for reading. They gave the impression of being over stimulated and of suffering from mental indigestion, with too little opportunity to assimilate the various parts of the course” (Younghusband, 1943, p.3).

Although Younghusband's criticism was acknowledged by Bristol University (University of Bristol, 1943, p.16), the main problems associated with these courses were understood in terms of the students who had been recruited to them. As a consequence of recommendations by McNair (Board of Education 1944b, p.103), courses at Bristol, Liverpool, Durham, Newcastle, and those run by the voluntary organisations were visited and assessed by HMI in 1944 and

¹³⁹ In the draft version of this Report, the authors state that “None of these courses is recognized naturally as 'qualifying', for as yet there is no standard or statement of what 'qualifications' should be. Our general conclusion is that none of the existing courses in their present form should be so recognized” (HMI, 1945a, p.4). This statement was not included in the final Report although there was clearly strong criticism leveled at the courses in general.

1945. The Inspectors echoed Younghusband's criticisms about length and intensity, but were also concerned about the learning being achieved, and the quality of the students themselves who

“... can only be said to be fit to enter the Youth Service because the times have forced emergency measures on us. They have too poor resources of background to last them through many years of youth work, and no qualifications for entry into cognate services” (HMI, 1945, p.7).

Younghusband came to a similar conclusion, suggesting that one year courses of this kind are “... only suitable for students with certain clearly defined past experience (e.g. having been teachers, social workers or youth leaders) and of a reasonably good intellectual level” (Younghusband, 1943, p3).¹⁴⁰ Some five years later, Kuenstler suggested that the “... acceptance of unsuitable students” was the main contributor to the courses' limited success. In his view more appropriate initial selection techniques were necessary. Kuenstler suggested that with suitably selected individuals

“... with an adequate experience of the practice of youth work, there can be no doubt that a course at University level is the most suitable means of establishing in the minds of future professional youth leaders an integrated philosophy of life, an understanding of the principles underlying human behavior particularly at the adolescent stage, and an appreciation of the full, positive educational possibilities of the Youth Service” (Kuenstler, 1951, p.43).

It is difficult to know much about the process of selection adopted by the Universities involved in the 1598 courses, although as indicated, criteria including age, personal qualities, and experience were taken into account at Bristol. According to Kuenstler, selection was generally made by individual interview, references, and some students being asked to

¹⁴⁰ Bristol University took a rather different view suggesting that ‘clearly defined’ previous experience of the kind referred to by Younghusband was an obstacle to learning. Its Review of the course's first year suggested caution in recruiting students over the age of 35 or 40, particularly if they had been teachers or full-time youth leaders because they “... are too set in their outlook to be influenced by a short course... there is more emphasis on ‘remedial work’ and ‘re-education’ than is desirable on so short a course”(University of Bristol, 1943, p.17).

undertake some additional written work (Kuenstler, 1951, p.25). Kuenstler implicitly argued for a more searching process, designed to determine at the earliest stage the suitability of candidates. This expresses the desire to elaborate - to 'normalise' - in much clearer terms than hitherto, the essential characteristics required of the prospective professional. Kuenstler's colleague Beverstock¹⁴¹ was involved in the design and testing of selection techniques for youth work training using 'group methods', and it appears from Beverstock's paper that his methods were used in 1947 and 1948 in connection with the course at Bristol University. They were based on the work of War Office Selection Boards, and were intended to counter the

“... usual procedure of recommendation, consideration of paper qualifications, and of interview (which) have failed to elicit adequately those qualities of personality which are deemed necessary for success in this field” (Beverstock, 1949, p.112).¹⁴²

For Beverstock at least, normalising 'science' could provide the solution to the problems identified by Kuenstler, although other contemporary references to the use of these exact procedures have not been found in writing this thesis. As will be seen in the next chapter, similar selection procedures were deployed fifteen years later in youth work training.

The problem of selection emerged in the HMI evaluation of 1598 courses. HMI was scathing of student's academic achievements, which it believed to be fundamental to professional training of this kind. HMI observed that the courses' assessment procedures “vary greatly”, and the “... quality of written work varies greatly. At its best it is equal to that of good WEA work, but it does not all reach this standard” (HMI, 1945, p.6). The Inspectorate was also

¹⁴¹ Beverstock was a Research Fellow in the University of Bristol Institute of Education.

¹⁴² Beverstock's approach involved prospective students attending a two and a half day residential period at which they were required to undertake psychometric tests (Progressive Matrices and Group Test 33 of the NIIP) as well as engaging in essay writing, group discussion and 'problem solving'. Beverstock claimed significant correlations between test performances and later professional competence.

critical of the “scantiness” of students’ reading, the absence of “authoritative” lecturers who could make appropriate links between theory and practical work (particularly in the field of psychology), the lack of available time to develop students’ practical skills, the lack of attention given on the courses to “modern” educational aids (radio and film), and the “... scarcity and inadequacy... ” of work placements in which students could undertake the practical elements of their course work. Curiously in the light of these criticisms, the Report also stated

“... as a general criticism... courses of this length are necessarily almost entirely professionalised and, except in so far as the study and practice of professional subjects themselves educate the student, the courses can do little to provide a background of general culture and of personal interests. They are one and all overcrowded” (HMI, 1945, p.3).

This quotation expresses a recurrent ambiguity surrounding the precise identity of the professional youth leader. Was this to be constructed in terms of a ‘vocational’ or technical model, in which knowledge and skill were acquired to enable the youth leader to intervene in practical situations with young people, or was leadership necessarily something more than this? Alternatively, did professionalism derive from an identity formed from “culture”, “background”, and “personal interests” (as well as knowledge and skill), and the implied need for the careful construction or transformation of ‘self’? Kuenstler pursued this issue in his discussion of the nature and objectives of university-based education for youth workers. He argued that this should enable the individual to develop a new “philosophy”, the acquisition of which concerns not only ‘abstract’ information and knowledge, but the careful cultivation of “...a form of intellectual and social maturity which intrinsically is a matter of time and opportunity for reading, thought, discussion and reflection” (Kuenstler, 1951, p.43). For Kuenstler, this “philosophy” constitutes a ‘way of being’, a fundamental orientation to the world to be meticulously developed through appropriate techniques of the self - thought and reflection,

as well as reading and discussion - which are embedded in the institutional arrangements of the University.

Both HMI and Kuenstler are arguing about a basic faculty which was beginning to be understood as an indispensable component of professional identity in the emerging 'human service' occupations. This is the idea that the professional is characterised not only by the acquisition of esoteric knowledge and skill, but also by the degree to which he or she has achieved 'self-knowledge'. In this sense, professional formation becomes a process of constituting a reflexivity which permits the elaboration of an ethics of the self, and which embodies and is reliant upon the Delphic injunction to 'know thyself'. The view taken here, as outlined in the earlier methodological discussion, is that 'self-knowledge' is not simply a question of gaining knowledge of some pre-existent 'estranged' or 'natural' self which has somehow become concealed or lost, or which may never have been known. Rather it should be construed as much more active processes of self-formation (and self-discipline) which became embodied in the organisation and practices of professional training in higher education institutions. By the late 1940s, Paul Halmos was suggesting that it was irrelevant to discuss university training for social work (and "... mutatis mutandis ...youth work") in terms of either a 'practical' or 'academic' focus. Anticipating Kuenstler's view, the argument for Halmos was

"... between the right and wrong sort of teaching. True academic instruction does not aim only at the broadening of critical thinking, at the stimulation of abstract analysis and synthesis, but also at the deepening of personal insight... the core of wisdom..." (Halmos, 1949, p.254).¹⁴³

Although the aim of extending "insight" may have been indirectly present in some of the training discussed earlier, it was so only implicitly. Although lectures on 'aesthetics' or

¹⁴³ Halmos was later to become much more critical of this position, suggesting that the preoccupation with self, suggested in this short quotation, was an element of the "faith" and "ideology" of the human service occupations. See Halmos, 1978, Chapter 3.

'landmarks of European thought' may have entailed the development of some sort of 'insight', it is difficult to imagine how such programmes of lectures could lead to the kind of personal insight referred to by Halmos and Kuenstler. As will be seen in the following chapter, the idea of the novice professional carefully and actively working on self, became a crucial element in the professional training of youth leaders.

Conclusions

Chapter Seven has explored shifts in the nature and acquisition of youth work competence from the end of the nineteenth and into the middle of the twentieth century. The first youth leaders were required to act as 'moral exemplars' and their competence was construed largely in terms of personal characteristics and dispositions. The leader's 'personality' was seen as the principal instrument through which young people were to be influenced, although various disciplinary techniques were also deployed to structure young people's experiences in the youth organisations of the time. Youth leaders were socialised into their role through experiences gained in their work in youth organisations. The occupational formation of the youth leader at this time cannot be discussed in terms of professional education as such: youth work was not considered to be a profession, nor was a process of 'education' as such invoked. Any occupational knowledge that existed about youth work was compiled in handbooks like those referred to in Chapter Seven. That knowledge was supplemented by what might be referred to as the leaders' 'class knowledge': the attitudes and dispositions which were characteristic of a middle-class world view, including sometimes complex notions of duty and vocation. In addition, the youth leaders themselves were likely to have gained knowledge of managing organisations through their own professional experiences in other occupational settings, and this knowledge was thought to be transferable to the youth work setting. As such and in part, competence was at this stage 'pre-formed'. Russell and Rigby, for example, suggested that men

with military experience “... possess an intimacy and sympathy with, and are experts at handling, older lads of the very class from which boys’ club members are drawn” (Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.73). At this time, youth work was not understood as an occupation as such. It was partially seen in terms of the obligations which the members of one class had in relation to those of another as well as for some at least, a means of protecting bourgeois privilege from the fearsome spectre of an advancing proletariat. The acquisition of competence in appropriately discharging these obligations or undertaking this work could be seen in terms of the pre-technocratic form discussed in Chapter Four. The publication of practice manuals like those of Stanley and Russell and Rigby signifies the emergence of a specific body of working knowledge for leaders, a knowledge which would need to be acquired.

The establishment of ‘qualifying’ courses for youth leaders in the 1930s under the auspices of the National Council of Girls Clubs and supported by the Board of Education in the 1940s marks a significant step in the professional formation of youth leaders. There are five main points to be made here. First, this training was organised around the discourse of ‘professionalism’. As such it represents a departure (however incomplete) from the principle of ‘voluntarism’ which had until then predominated in youth leadership, although of course youth work continued to rely on the work of volunteers.

Second, the division of leaders into ‘qualified’ and by definition ‘unqualified’ had the effect of establishing an elite group of trained practitioners which further contributed to the idea that youth work could be a profession.¹⁴⁴ These were practitioners who, as well as having “birthright”, natural “genius”, and special “gifts”, also claimed unique knowledge and understanding “... of the problems with which they are likely to have to deal” (National Council

¹⁴⁴ So much so that in September 1938, the first meeting of the ‘Club Leaders Association’, a forerunner of today’s youth workers’ professional association, was formed, membership being open only to “... club leaders who held the certificate of the National Council of Girls’ Clubs”(Potts, 1961, p.1).

of Girls Clubs, 1934, p.8). Background, status, or 'personality' although necessary, were no longer considered sufficient to ensure the practice of what was now regarded by some at least as skilled professional work. The requirement for leaders to acquire a specific body of knowledge (informed primarily by the social sciences) provided an important element in the process of the 'professionalisation' of youth work which took place over the next three decades or so. Over the subsequent decade, an older identity of youth leadership firmly rooted in notions of bourgeois privilege and civic obligation (as well as self-interest) changed considerably. Arguably, the recruitment of students from outside of this restricted domain may have slowed the move towards professional status.

Third, university involvement in youth leadership training, however peripheral and ambiguous at this stage, conferred some status on youth work and the training itself. Again, this was important in the longer term professionalisation of youth work. Fourth, the location of training in higher education institutions implies the potential for the development of youth work theory (through research, for example) which might further contribute to the elaboration and refinement of a distinctive and systematic body of knowledge, confirming youth work's intellectual and professional legitimacy.¹⁴⁵

Finally, the inception of formal systems of university-based training established the rudiments of a technical-rational apparatus designed to transform the novice into an appropriately qualified practitioner. Indeed, the perception that youth workers needed to be specially trained (i.e. 'transformed') is in itself an important change in the way that youth work competence was understood. This fact links with the main underlying theme of this thesis. As indicated earlier, technical-rational education and training implies discipline in more than one

¹⁴⁵ It was in the following decade that this process began with the appointment of Peter Kuenstler in the late 1940s as the 'South Africa Research Fellow in Youth Work' at the University of Bristol. Although this occurred ten years or so after the establishment of the NCGC, these courses were undoubtedly a major force in establishing youth work as an authentic professional endeavour.

sense. It suggests the existence of disciplines as systematic bodies of knowledge to be acquired by the novice practitioner. In contrast to this discursive sense of discipline, there are the non-discursive 'disciplinary' practices and techniques to which the individual learner is subject in the process of training: seminars, lectures, tutorials, observed and examined practice, written practice diaries and so on. Technical-rational models of professional education and training are important in the sense that they both formalise and normalise knowledge, practice and learners. As such, the practices involved embody power.

Chapter Eight goes on to consider how the professional education and training of youth workers came to be further shaped by the idea of the youth worker as 'technical expert' following the war. It was then that youth work reached the high point of its development as a professional occupation.

Chapter Eight
Brave New Professionals:
Adopting 'Humanistic' Discourse

Introduction

Following Chapter Seven's outline of changes in youth worker training in the first half of this century and the ultimate failure to establish a professional status for youth work,¹⁴⁶ Chapter Eight explores the effects of the Albemarle Report published in 1960. In particular, the chapter examines professional education and training organised on technical-rational principles at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, whose approach was enormously influential throughout the 1970s and 1980s. As such, the focus in Chapter Eight continues to be on the techniques and practices of professional education and training in youth work, and its three elements of a systematic knowledge base (often 'basic science'), a developing 'theory of practice', and the novice's immersion in guided workbase practice, together with attempts to develop new techniques which would penetrate and shape the domain of the 'professional self'. This is seen against the wider backcloth of 'welfarism'.

Much of the work at the National College was predicated on a 'humanistic' model deriving on one hand from an individualist psychology in which the 'natural' subject was construed as a unique and autonomous entity, capable of becoming self-aware and of conferring meaning on the world, and on the other from an explicitly social psychology which emphasised the subject in its 'natural' context of relations with others in the small group. In a limited way, some of this admitted assumptions which were consistent with the discourse of 'reflective practice'. A shifting 'ontology of the person', now constituted in terms of its feelings, attitudes

¹⁴⁶ State expenditure on youth work training in the form of grants and bursaries to students diminished considerably in the post-war period. In 1945-1946, for example, the Board of Education sponsored 56 students on four courses run under Circular 1598. In 1956-1957 17 students were sponsored on two courses (Kuentler, 1951, p. 25, and Ministry of Education, 1958, p. 42). During this period there was considerable ambiguity about whether youth work was a 'real' occupation, or a 'war-specific' initiative which had outlived its purpose.

and beliefs, and relationships with others led to something of an 'epistemological shift' from previous initiatives in the training of 'professional' youth workers. As a component part of the 'social' perspective, training at the National College was also preoccupied with encouraging students to develop and enhance what has already been referred to as 'self-knowledge'.

Reflecting the earlier analysis of power, it is argued here that the National College represents one important material location in which particular practices and techniques of power were developed and deployed in the professional education and training of youth workers. It was suggested in Chapter Two that in modern societies power is diffused rather than being held and exercised from some central point. The National College can be seen as one of the dispersed 'micro-contexts' of power which have constituted the historically developing network of professional education and training in youth work. This 'micro-context' of power is explored in this chapter.

The 'professional' youth leader: real or illusory?

As indicated in Chapter Six, state expenditure on youth work during the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s remained low. Despite earlier hopes that after the war youth work would contribute to the development of the young "earner" as young "learner" (Board of Education, 1941a, p.18), a sense of bleakness characterises most accounts of youth work in the post-war years.¹⁴⁷ It is easy to see how perceptions of the need for a youth service changed after the war. The expansion of education was geared to economic output and schools were expected to take on a new role in the "moral regeneration" of the nation (Lowe, 1988, p.18). Until the end of the 1950s National Service continued to absorb large numbers of young men and provide them with character-building experiences, rather like an alternative youth service. On return to

¹⁴⁷ Brew, for example, characterizes the 1950s as the "lean years" (Macalister Brew, 1968, p.102), and Ministry of Education Annual Reports through much of the 1950s make gloomy reading for the youth service, for example, Ministry of Education 1953, p.21, and Ministry of Education, 1954, p.30.

civilian life, the young man, now "... a man who knows what he wants to do in life and who feels himself capable of doing it" (Matthewson, 1961, p.166), was assured of good employment prospects through the rapidly expanding manufacturing industry. In short, the government of young people had become the responsibility of institutions other than youth service. The state's ambivalence towards youth work was evident throughout this period, and expansion of youth work (and the training of youth workers) was entirely dependent on state acknowledgement that youth work had a role to play in managing young people.

Despite this, the question of the professional training of youth leaders remained on the education agenda until the early 1950s, primarily as part of the more general issue of teacher recruitment and training.¹⁴⁸ Three significant Government committees had reported on youth work training at this time (Board of Education, 1944a, Ministry of Education, 1949b, and Ministry of Education, 1951). In reading this literature and records from the Board and Ministry of Education at the time, one is constantly made aware of the recurrent paradox which in one form or another has continually characterised youth work. This concerns the value implicitly placed (by the state, youth workers, or educators, for example) on youth work's 'flexibility', and its 'fluidity', yet (and perhaps as a consequence of this) a simultaneous uncertainty about its precise nature and purpose and importantly in this context, in specifying clearly the form that the professional training of its personnel should take. Whilst the 'need' for youth workers and the value of youth work as "... an integral part of the public system of education" (Board of Education, 1944a, p.96) was frequently acknowledged, it was also subject to question by some. For example, in an internal Board paper summarising the views of HMI

¹⁴⁸ Youth work training was also discussed in connection with that of 'community centre wardens', another emergent occupational group which like youth workers was seen to be concerned with activities located somewhere between leisure, education and social work.

on the professional training of youth leaders, A.E.Miles-Davies was able to "... confess to one or two private convictions".¹⁴⁹ He wrote

"There are certain attributes desirable in a youth leader which if one sets out deliberately and self-consciously to achieve them by training produces the wrong kind of chap altogether. The technique of youth leadership, such as it is, is something which should be given in small doses and by stealth in the course of a general education. Thus I have a bias against long 'youth' courses... and prefer the notion of ... short courses of technique and experience (for) students who are themselves engaged in a university or similar course of general education. I am in fact a bit bothered by the youth leader specially and mysteriously trained, and indeed I don't over much care for the title 'Youth Leader' anyway" (Youth Service Inspectors Advisory Committee, 1944, p. 4).

Questions about the nature of youth work competence and the most effective way of achieving it are touched upon here. There is a suggestion of the value and desirability of (male) 'leadership', yet the claim that its acquisition is not appropriately achieved through specialised, or 'mysterious' training. One suspects that Miles-Davies had in mind a model of 'vocational' and thus low-status training. For him, the process of a university-based 'general education' (with its clear yet unspoken advantages which would inevitably cultivate the 'right' "kind of chap") is the exemplary means by which the aspiring leader should acquire "small doses" of "technique" and "experience". Interestingly, the quotation also reflects aspects of the pre-technocratic approach of fifty years earlier, and its reliance on 'class' knowledge. As such, it raises questions about the nature of professional education for youth workers.

Ambiguity of a slightly different but nonetheless significant kind characterised the three Committees which reported on the professional training of youth leaders between 1944 and 1951. Reflecting concerns which had first been voiced in the Board, the question of whether youth work was a 'real' career opportunity emerged in all three of these Committee Reports.

¹⁴⁹ Miles-Davies's paper followed the publication of the McNair Report in 1944, one of whose recommendations was for three year courses of training for professional youth leaders.

Despite developments during the war years, youth work was largely understood at this time (other than by the youth leaders themselves) as an inherently temporary or limited-life occupation which might attract recruits from teaching or allied occupations for short periods only. McNair, for example, believed that it was realistic to think of the youth leader's average working life as being around 15 or 20 years, principally because of the "great physical demands" of the work¹⁵⁰ (Board of Education, 1944a, p.99). Perceptions of the demanding physical nature of youth work were repeated in the 'Jackson Report' five years later, but another dimension was added to the problem. Because of youth work being predominantly evening work, "... leaders tend to be cut off from the normal leisure interests of their contemporaries... (and) this is bad both for the leaders and the young people in their clubs" (Ministry of Education, 1949b, p.3). For Jackson, this meant that it was unlikely that youth leaders would work beyond the age of 35. In contrast, in 1951 the National Advisory Council on the Training and Supply of Teachers (to which the Jackson Report was referred, and which was chaired by Professor B.A.Fletcher who had been responsible for the 1598 Course at Bristol University) asserted that youth work might be chosen as a life-long career by some entrants. The possibility of short-term involvement in youth service by teachers, or a move from youth service to "... a post in one of the growing series of occupations that require an experience of both educational and social work" were also identified as career options (Ministry of Education, 1951, p.5-6). Because of this, the issue of 'transferability' between youth work and other occupations in the field (particularly teaching) was an important issue in these reports. Their perception of youth work's apparently 'transitional' nature appears to undermine the claim that youth work might have a distinct underlying body of knowledge and skill that warrants it being regarded as a profession. Each of the three Reports made proposals about content and pedagogy for the

¹⁵⁰ This implies a particular view of youth work being based on physical activities.

professional education and training of youth workers which, in the main, reflected the courses established earlier under Circular 1598. However, none of their proposals was accepted by Government.

Developing the “power of leadership”¹⁵¹

As argued in Chapter Six, the Albemarle Committee reported at a time when perceptions of change and upheaval in British society were particularly acute. Much of the anxiety accompanying this sense of change was projected onto the young, whose visibility made them a ready scapegoat for adult fears. The emergence of a distinctive and mass ‘youth culture’ in the context of shifting relations of authority, changing patterns of consumption, and predictions of a demographic “bulge” in the youth population gave the Committee’s work a particular urgency. For Albemarle, the poor state of the Service was a primary consequence of insufficient skilled youth workers. By placing the youth service on a firm professional footing, Albemarle believed that it would release the power of youth leadership to influence the lives of young people who so evidently needed it.

Evidence reflecting some of the apparently intractable issues which had emerged in earlier analyses of youth work was received by the Committee. As part of this, the recurrent question of youth work’s substantive identity was raised by various witnesses. Was youth work a ‘professional’ career option with its own body of knowledge and skill, and should youth work training be designed to provide transferability between occupations in this field?¹⁵² In actuality,

¹⁵¹ Throughout the Albemarle Report, there is an almost unrelenting affirmation of the significance of ‘leadership, to the extent that one can imagine the leader (particularly the professional leader, but the volunteer helper as well) having ‘mystical’ or ‘sacred’ powers by his possession of “special aptitudes” (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.105-106).

¹⁵² Sir John Wolfenden, for example, in his evidence to the committee asked “Is there a career for adult workers? Training is a first priority but what are we training them for? We need to consider carefully the question of transfer to and from other services...” (Wolfenden, 1958). Similarly, in its evidence the National Union of Teachers supported the implementation of the Fletcher Report, and transfer between youth leadership and teaching (National Union of Teachers, 1959). The Association of Municipal Corporations believed that there should be ‘common core’ training for youth leaders, probation officers, and welfare officers which require

Albemarle had little new to say about professional training for youth leaders and can be read as a compendium of some elements of McNair, Jackson, and Fletcher. Echoing McNair in 1944, Albemarle wanted youth leadership to be placed on a firm 'professional' basis as part of the education service, and for salary scales and pension arrangements for youth workers to be rationalised. As the Committee argued

“We are satisfied that the Service needs a sufficient body of full-time leaders, trained for the job, deployed in the right spots, and given conditions of service which make the best use of their professional skill” (ibid, p.71).

Like Jackson in 1949, Albemarle indicated that qualified teachers would provide the main source of recruitment for the youth service (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.72). Albemarle's view, like that of Fletcher in 1951, was that social workers and “mature persons with a natural gift for leadership” would provide a further source of recruitment (ibid, p.72). Unlike McNair, Jackson, or Fletcher, however, the recommendations made by Albemarle were accepted by Government and led to a major expansion of youth work, and important developments in the training of youth workers. Courses of teacher training incorporating a youth leadership qualification had already been planned at ten colleges of education. Albemarle also argued for three month 'conversion' courses for qualified teachers, social workers, and others who were “professionally employed” (consistent with elements of both Jackson and Fletcher). Full-time courses of one or two years were recommended for others wishing to enter the Service. Youth workers already employed and having five years experience should gain recognition, but the practice of allowing 'qualification by experience alone' should be phased out after a short period. In proposing this, Albemarle implied that experience alone was an insufficient basis upon which professional youth work should be established.

“... similar qualities of personality and the same basic understanding of the psychology of the adolescent” (Association of Municipal Corporations, 1959).

In establishing “long term training arrangements” for youth service training, Albemarle proposed that the number of full-time youth leaders should rise from 700 to 1300 by 1966, and that an “emergency training college”.was needed to rapidly increase numbers. This led to the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders being established at Leicester in 1961 (Sidebottom, 1967, p.95). One year full-time courses leading to the award of a Diploma in Youth Work were run from 1961 until 1970. The number of students completing professional youth work training during the life of the National College is shown in Table 1.¹⁵³

Table 1: Students Completing National College Training, 1961 - 1970

Year	Number of Students Completing the Course
1961-1962	83
1962-1963	125
1963-1964	123
1964-1965	119
1965-1966	117
1966-1967	127
1967-1968	128
1968-1969	126
1969-1970	151
Total	1099

(Source: Watkins, 1971, p.5 and p.107)

Despite Albemarle’s view that youth work was a “life-long career for only a few” (Ministry of Education, 1960, p.72), the Committee’s proposals revolutionised youth work training. During the ten year life of the National College an entirely new repertoire of techniques and practices was developed in the training of the professional youth worker. This work was enormously influential in shaping subsequent youth work training. Publications by National College staff quickly formed the youth work ‘canon’ during the late 1960s and 1970s, and the College’s

¹⁵³ It should also be remembered that throughout this period other institutions were also providing training for youth workers. The Ministry’s own figures show that in addition to the National College, the voluntary organizations (the YMCA and NABC) were also training about 25 students each year, Westhill Training College about 25, and Swansea University about 8 (Ministry of Education, 1963, p.2).

humanistically oriented epistemology of learning and practice soon became the orthodoxy in much youth work training. There was a strong sense in the youth work field that those who had trained at the College were an (perhaps self-styled) elite group, active in shaping the youth service through their occupation of both practitioner and managerial positions. Following the National College's demise in 1971, some of its staff went to other higher education institutions to establish professional training courses for youth workers. As critics of the National College's intellectual legacy have suggested, the "... impact of Albemarle on training cannot be easily over-estimated, (and)... the hastily assembled staff of the National College and the curriculum came to exercise a disproportionate influence on youth work training for both full and part-time workers during the following decades" (Jeffs and Smith, 1993, p.14, Smith, 1988, p.82-83). It is argued here that the College's approach was paradigmatic, and that it dominated youth work training throughout the 1960s and 1970s. To the extent that some of those presently involved in the professional education of youth workers were themselves influenced by the College's work, it retains a contemporary importance. In the remainder of this chapter aspects of the National College's approach are explored.

New ideas in the training of youth workers: 'humanistic' discourse

In this section, the underlying ideas and technologies for youth worker training which evolved in the work of the National College are discussed. Later, the chapter examines how these ideas shaped educational and training practices at the College.

It is suggested that training at the National College represented something of an 'epistemological shift' from earlier practices and conceptions of youth work training, although still operating under the rubric of a technical-rational approach. No longer, for example, was knowledge to be disseminated purely as neutral or objective information as in earlier courses. Rather, its value was determined by the extent to which it could be grounded in or constituted

by the student's own experience. As two members of the National College's staff suggested in relation to the student's understanding of the "human sciences",

"The general principles observed in human growth and development relate to his own past and current development and behaviour; the general concepts devised to describe the social interaction of one human being with another refer to his own relationships with other people; the general patterns which have been described in past and contemporary societies make up the background against which to see his own life" (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.190, my emphases).

The dominant (and largely 'student centred') epistemology of the College reflected a wider discourse exemplified by Maslowian and Rogerian ideas of personhood and 'experiential learning'. In this, personal experience became the guarantor of knowledge's authenticity and the key to the development of knowledge and of the self. Rogers urged that the individual should strive to identify his 'true' self, value the immediacy and authenticity of the 'open' relationship with others, cherish the 'feelings' which emanate from this, and constantly seek more opportunities to 'take responsibility' for self-development (Rogers, 1967). This cultivated intimacy and engagement with knowledge suggested in the quotation above characterised the College's approach to the professional formation of youth workers.

Staff at the National College were absolutely certain of their aspirations for the students they were to have under their guidance. They had a clear sense of the persona of the professional youth worker they wished to construct, and the transformations and recognitions they wished to encourage in the personality - the 'self' - of the novice youth worker for whom they were responsible. In a statement of principle and policy, the College outlined its aspirations and intended outcomes for students.

“Taken as a whole the course reflects the College’s attempt to answer the questions, ‘what does a full-time leader need to understand and know?’, ‘what does he need to be able to do?’, ‘what sort of person should he be?’. He needs to be able to manage his own unit of work efficiently, to be able to organise his own time and establish his own routine. He needs to understand the structure and administration of the service in which he will work and be able to play his own part in it effectively; to know how to help young people use the experience of group membership to further their own development; to be able to make and use purposeful relationships with young people as individuals and in groups, to explain to other adults what his purposes are and how he pursues them, and to be an effective leader of the adults who are his assistants and helpers” (National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, 1966, p.3).

This meant that the leader needed to have a clear understanding of the individual’s physical, intellectual, and emotional development, the relation between “individuals and society”, and the youth service’s function in relation to other institutions. Moreover, it meant that to help

“... young people to grow up successfully he needs to be a person who has himself succeeded in achieving a fair measure of maturity and developing a good many of his own potentialities; who, without being complacent, accepts himself as he is and is able to continue to grow. He will have to be able to meet a variety of expectations and situations with equanimity, and above all he needs to be someone who enjoys people, particularly young people” (ibid, p.3).

This and other literature suggests that the work of the National College was based on an explicit ontology of the person (both the young person with whom youth workers would operate, and importantly the youth workers themselves) which had not been apparent in earlier training. In this the individual is regarded as being constituted by his relationships with others, the immediate feelings and sentiments that shape these relationships, and the attitudes and beliefs which provide a context for the individual’s general conduct. This constitutes a particular conception of ‘the social’. In terms of professional education, it is a view which regards ‘the person’ as central to the professional enterprise, and thus necessarily having privileged status in

professional training. As such, one of the “assumptions” underlying courses at the College was that

“... the *personal development* of the student was as important as his acquisition of particular knowledge and skills needed for the work... (and)... individual growth is best achieved through interaction with others...” (Watkins, 1971, p.7, original italics).

Interestingly, the focus on *‘personal development’* reflects earlier interest in the ‘personality’ of the youth worker which was so important at the beginning of the century, and which was referred to by Kuenstler and Halmos in the 1940s. Perhaps the main difference is that since the 1940s, it has been assumed in professional education and training that the ‘self’ of the youth worker can be consciously (and ‘technically’) worked upon and shaped, rather than accepting its ‘pre-formed’ status as a consequence of class or other experiences. Later in this chapter it is shown that there is an underlying perspective in humanistic discourse which construes the individual as the potentially responsible author of his own conduct and, in the context of relationships with others, of change and development in him self. In this respect, such practices claim to enable individuals to ‘discover’ (literally to uncover) that which is thought to lie ‘deep inside’.

Although as has been shown since at least the second war, youth work had been preoccupied with the task of cultivating the self-regulating and autonomous young person, it was only in the 1950s and 1960s that a specifically ‘humanistic’ and ‘human relations psychology’ was made available as a relatively organised repertoire of concepts, ideas and vocabulary in which to grasp the problem of young people, and the professional formation of youth workers who would work with them.¹⁵⁴ Emerging through industrial and management

¹⁵⁴ This is arguably a consequence of there having been no firm institutional base for the development of youth work training prior to the National College, nor any firm state commitment to the expansion or consolidation of youth work. The College’s inception provided such a base in which the conditions necessary for the elaboration of theory and practice were in place. This accounts for the substantial literature on youth work theory and practice which emerged from the College during its lifetime.

psychology in the 1930s and 1940s, human relations discourse signals the discovery of 'group dynamics' and the 'group process' (the development of norms, attitudes, patterns of communication, difference, conflict, status, and so on) on relations of psychological bonding and resistance, the formation of individual identity, self-image, and self esteem, and the effect of these on organisation and group performance. In the context of management and industrial relations, human relations psychology offered the promise of establishing a compact between individual 'need', and management's objectives regarding productivity. As shown in Chapter Six, in pursuing the cultivation of the 'good citizen', youth work at this time was similarly concerned to create an accommodation between individual young people and the collective situations of which they were part. In this, youth work resonated deeply with the human relations approach.¹⁵⁵ Human relations discourse (and its techniques and practices) had much to offer the training of informal educators who were primarily interested in young people's relationships with their peers, and in realising the potential for personal 'growth', learning, and satisfaction which might arise in these settings.¹⁵⁶ In the youth work context, the discourse of human relations and a humanistic account of the subject, opened up a domain of being and conduct to the interrogation of rational knowledge and practices, thus enabling youth workers to intervene in the lives of young people in ways which reflected their own experiences at the National College.¹⁵⁷ It is shown later that trainee youth workers were subject to regimes of

¹⁵⁵Rose has shown how in the 1950s human relations discourse penetrated and invigorated the domains of 'marital therapy' and 'marriage guidance', social work with 'maladjusted' children and 'young delinquents', and the 'child guidance' movement, offering a set of understandings and techniques which would both develop the individual's sense of self, and enhance his or her relationships with others (Rose, 1989, p.170-173).

¹⁵⁶The critique of this position is well-known. It is sociologically naive, in that its exclusive (and ideological) focus on the internal dynamics of groups or organizations ignores and conceals wider relations and structures of power. See, for example, Thompson, 1980b, p.230.

¹⁵⁷Despite an interest in matters of subjectivity, human relations discourse retains a faith in science and the technical-rational pursuit of truth. The individual subject is construed as the source of empirical data (rather than the object of experimental investigation) which is analysed and interpreted in terms of 'natural scientific' procedures (Usher and Edwards, 1994, p.43). 'Qualitative' or other phenomenological approaches to data collection in social research provide examples. Despite such researchers encouraging the elaboration of the 'subject's account', this is invariably treated as data subject to the procedures associated with rational science.

'personal development' (based on various forms of surveillance, confession and examination) at the National College which mirrored those they would later be expected to establish in their own work with young people.

The deployment of human relations discourse does not in itself depart from the underlying technical-rational approach which characterised previous youth work training. Neither should it be assumed that the advent of the National College signals the emergence of a 'reflective practice' in the professional training of youth workers, although there may have been elements in the College's work which touched on such an approach. For example, as construed at the time, training in 'social group work' emphasised the need for the worker to be helped by a supervisor in "... checking his observations and the significance he attaches to them, (and) prompting him to be aware of the ways in which his own feelings are involved in his work..."(Matthews, 1966, p.25). One might imagine this to provide a basis to the reflexivity which Schön associates with his own notion of 'reflective practice', and in one sense such precautions may well be part of that. Similarly, and consistent with Schön's broad approach, on an "integrated" course, like those of the National College, "... theory is used to illuminate practice rather than to prescribe it..."(Watkins, 1971, p.8). However, the wider literature of the College demonstrates that a dominant perception of youth work was also codified in the form of 'skills', and a body of underlying knowledge which could be acquired through the College's training programmes, and rationally deployed in the context of the government of young people.

The intended outcomes of the College's training were twofold. First, there was a clear commitment to the idea of the course providing opportunities for the 'personal growth and development' of the students, reflecting that which was intended to occur in the young people with whom they would later work. Second, youth work was largely understood in terms of the technical (albeit sensitive) deployment of knowledge and skills governed by the strict

injunctions of dispassionate judgement and a cultivated professional neutrality. As Leighton put it, youth work requires

“... a professional approach to the work... and the key factor in a professional approach is discipline... (the youth worker) needs a framework of reference for disciplined thinking about his work and it is against this framework that he reflects on any part or all of the work he does within his task as youth worker” (Leighton, 1972, p.191).¹⁵⁸

In this quotation, Leighton epitomises the typically calculative and ‘problem-solving’ nature of technical-rational thinking. It assumes that professional work is simply a matter of deploying the appropriate knowledge or skill in order to resolve the problem at hand; in effect in ensuring the ‘right fit’ between means and ends. As such, it represents something of a tension in the work of the National College between a technical-rational approach, and one embodying aspects of a more ‘reflective practice’. Inevitably, this tension also betrays an underlying ambiguity about the presence of power-knowledge in the discourse of human relations.

Having construed the problem of the professional training of youth workers in a particular way, it was necessary to develop a technology which would penetrate the domains of the person which become evident in the light of human relations discourse. As this technology became established, it became increasingly organised and rational, incorporating techniques deploying both ‘disciplinary’ and ‘pastoral’ power. These are explored in subsequent pages, and it is suggested that they construct particular conceptions of youth work competence.

Selecting the new youth workers: the “determined search”

Compared to previous practices in youth leader training (the work by Beverstock at Bristol in the late 1940s was the exception) relatively sophisticated arrangements were made for the selection of students for courses at the National College. The initial selection of students was

¹⁵⁸ Matthews, Leighton, and Watkins were senior members of the College’s academic staff.

construed as part of an overall process of assessment as Appendix 9 shows. Selection entails the specification of criteria (these might be tacit, and difficult to render explicit) against which the individual applicant is judged in terms of suitability for professional training. It is most significant that the work of the College signals a growing formal acceptance that youth work could not simply be done by 'anyone', and the emergence of increasingly technical means of ensuring that the 'wrong' individuals were prevented from becoming involved in a professional capacity. As the following quotation suggests, youth work (qua social education) had extended far beyond the scope of the well-meaning, but inherently limited volunteer.

“It cannot be assumed that any adult who expresses willingness or interest in working with young people is automatically suitable, and any shortage of recruits cannot properly be met by accepting all-comers. In fact a considerable disservice will be done to the young if any 'interested' adult is allowed to select himself for social-educational roles simply by coming forward. A determined search for the appropriate personal characteristics seems fully justified” (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.216).¹⁵⁹

Although there had long been perceptions of what constituted the necessary 'personality' or 'background' for youth workers, it is only at this time that rigorous attempts were made to incorporate these perceptions into institutional practices - the “determined search” - at the National College. It is suggested here that this search depended on confessional practices, principally the application form, the personal interview, and tests of different kinds. In Chapter Two it was argued that the practice of confession is a primary means through which 'truth' is produced in a range of institutional contexts. It is ubiquitous, and the urge to confess (to sin, personal problems, illness, weakness, inadequacy, and to a range of thoughts and desires) so deeply rooted that Foucault has suggested that “Western man has become a confessing animal” (Foucault, 1979, p.59). A growing range of authorities solicit the individual to divulge the most

¹⁵⁹ Both Davies and Gibson were members of academic staff at the National College during the 1960s.

intimate aspects of self to the purifying authority of the confessor who "... intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console, and reconcile" (ibid, p.61-62). Selection at the National College was such an intervention. Its procedures were systematised and utilised initial application forms as 'screening devices' (establishing age and previous minimum academic qualifications).¹⁶⁰ The application form itself constitutes a type of confession in which the individual is required to truthfully identify dimensions of self. Standardised data from this source can be used to construct profiles of individual characteristics which enable comparisons to be made with other individuals and norms constructed to facilitate judgement.

If invited for interview at the college, informal discussion with existing students and interviews with tutors were deployed in the process of selection. The interview itself is another example of the confessional form in which the interviewee is expected to divulge aspects of self: past experience, personal background, interests, perceived strengths, weaknesses, and so on. For Watkins, the interview process at the College was characterised by "notorious unreliability" (one of the reasons for using 'objective' tests as well) but was nevertheless regarded as the most important element in the selection process. Each applicant was interviewed by two members of staff, a man and a woman, who attempted to get to know the applicant as intimately and objectively as possible. Interviews were undertaken by individuals rather than panels as this was thought to establish a more "informal" context in which the applicant's 'natural' behaviours would be elicited. Interviewers evidently tried to put the interviewee as much at ease as they could by "... inviting the candidate to smoke if he wished to, by not sitting behind a desk, and by writing as little as possible during the interview itself"

¹⁶⁰ Applicants were required to be 23 years old and were formally expected to have the equivalent of five 'O-levels' as a minimum entry qualification. Apparently, no more than 2% of applicants a year were rejected through screening application forms. Even the minimum academic requirement was flexible as "... people with no such formal qualifications were considered on their merits and this meant that they were always invited for interview" (Watkins, 1971, p.63).

(Watkins, p.66). In managing the process in this way, it was hoped that it would be possible to identify or gain access to the 'real' or 'true' individual applicant. The entire process was standardised to the extent that an "interview aide-memoire" was designed and used by interviewers, covering areas such as "appearance and bearing" (replaced later by "personal impact"), "intelligence, awareness and sensitivity", and "personality, sense of humour, balance, confidence, warmth". Apparently the categories of "vocational drive", "receptiveness to training", and "approach to study" were added to provide further data for analysis by interviewers (ibid, 1971, p.66). The adoption of standardised interviewing techniques was intended to ensure that the necessary questions were asked and the appropriate information and responses elicited, and made available to subsequent comparison and judgement.

Standardised intelligence tests and a written test to demonstrate competence in English were used when prospective students came to the College. These were believed to provide an 'objective' assessment of individual capability, personality, or potential. Standardised data from tests can be used to compare the individual against any predetermined norm in order to facilitate judgement of suitability or potential. As Townley suggests, testing entails the "... psychological calculation of suitability" (Townley, 1994, p.94), and as such should be seen as a process of objectification. The use of such tests in selection procedures are clear examples of the technique of 'examination' being combined with confessional processes in order to establish the 'truth' about the individual. Used in this way, the predictive and calculative power of both techniques are apparently enhanced. Unsatisfactory test results did not necessarily lead to rejection, and a good interview or strong references sometimes compensated.

The 'results' of each component part of the process of selection were subsequently combined, and considered by the College Principal or Vice Principal and the two staff who had been involved in the interviews. Places were offered on the basis of their deliberations.

Between 28% and 35 % of applicants successfully negotiated the selection procedure each year (Watkins, 1971, p.64-65). If fortunate enough to gain a place at the College, students joined a course characterised by a culture which relied upon and extended the approaches they had experienced at selection interviews. The chapter goes on to look at some of those.

Establishing a 'community of freedom'¹⁶¹

The literature of the College invokes a sense of the enormous intensity which pervaded the experience of being there either as a student, or as a member of staff. As Peter Duke, the College's Vice-Principal and Principal during its life described it "... it was a cauldron (and) there were times when it boiled over".¹⁶² In his account, Watkins describes the College as "... in some ways quite a closed community..." (Watkins, 1971, p.93), and the fact that most students lived on site contributed greatly to this. In some ways, the College shared some of the features which Goffman attributes to "total institutions": asylums, monasteries, prisons, or barracks, for example. In such institutions the conventional spatial and cognitive boundaries between sleep, work, and play are dismantled. Routine daily activities are tightly scheduled, collectivised, and "... brought together into a single rational plan designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution" (Goffman, 1968, p.17).¹⁶³ Whilst it would be inappropriate to push the analogy with 'total institutions' too far, the organisation and practices of the National College were clearly designed to engage students in the process of self-transformation. In the 'total institution' the process of defining or redefining self (either by self or by others) is likely to be particularly intense. The powerful experiences which intimate and enclosed 'group living' conditions

¹⁶¹ Watkins drawing on Gulbenkian's text, 'Community Work and Social Change', refers to the idea that the healthy society "... thrives on the interplay between leadership, organization, and freedom... ". This was a principle which informed the organization of the College's work (Watkins, 1971, p.91).

¹⁶² In the context of a personal discussion between the author and Peter Duke, February 12, 1997.

¹⁶³ Interestingly, in discussion with the author, Peter Duke suggested that students' experience of the course at the National College was "... a repetition for many of everything they'd enjoyed in their forces experience".

appear to have induced at the National College no doubt contributed to the negotiation of altered identities.¹⁶⁴

In contrast to the essentially 'sovereign' conception of power which underlies Goffman's notion of the 'total institution', it is also possible to think about the organisation and practices of the National College in terms of their 'Panoptic' characteristics. As already suggested, the Panopticon stood as a metaphor for the way in which modern disciplinary power is exercised. Rather than construing power in the fundamentally repressive 'top-down' way that characterises Goffman's concept of the 'total institution', a form of power is encountered in the Panopticon which is potentially at least, productive and which incites particular forms of conduct. Panoptic power is intended to carry the individual with it, rendering him "... the principle of his own subjection" (Foucault, 1977, p.203). Rather than stripping the individual of himself (as in Goffman), this power is intended to gently and gradually (but none the less invasively) construct and affirm individual identity in particular ways.

In the Panoptic regime, individuals are subjected to constant surveillance and analysis through their careful distribution across time and space. Table 2 suggests how the National College course which ran from April 1964 to March 1965 was structured in a broad timetable of activity across the year.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ The sense of the College sharing some of the characteristics of the 'total institution' was enhanced by it being directly funded from the Ministry of Education, being physically separate from other institutions and thus entirely self-contained, having its own teaching and domestic staff, and not being a department in a larger educational institution. As such, considerable autonomy was evident.

¹⁶⁵ The course's structure broadly mirrored that of the emergency teacher training courses of the late 1940s (Ministry of Education, 1950), which the National College's first Principal was involved in setting up.

Table 2: Structure of the Year,
National College, 1964 - 1965

Course Element	Number of Weeks
College Period I	8
Field Work I	4
College Period II	5
Vacation	7
College Period III	13
Vacation	1
Field Work II	8
College Period IV	4
Total	52

(Source: Watkins, 1971, p.10)

As the table shows, time is segmented in a clear linear fashion. Compulsory college-based work and field-practice were managed according to the principle that theory and practice should be tightly integrated, and where possible, theory should emerge from practice. Although the Field Work periods referred to in the Table appear limited, students were expected to undertake practical evening placements in youth centres and clubs (sometimes on three or four evenings a week) concurrently with College Periods. This arrangement was intended to ensure that theory and practice were sustained in ongoing dialogue. Perhaps not surprisingly, one of the main difficulties at the National College according to Watkins, was the “... problem of finding enough time to deal with all the relevant subject matter...” (Watkins, 1971, p.23). As part of the attempt to constitute “totally useful time”, the timetable provides an important means

for the temporal regulation of activities (Foucault, 1977, p.150). In structuring the institution's rhythm and regularity and that of its members, the timetable distributes individuals in particular activities, enables surveillance to be secured, and in this context enables students' performance in any given area to be systematically evaluated by tutorial staff.

The temporal organisation of the course was combined with its spatial organisation. Under the permanent guidance of tutors, students were organised in different work-based groups at different times. These groups were intended to facilitate different kinds of learning, forming a 'symbolic architecture' within which the College's activities were structured. This had the effect of dividing or accumulating students and conferring different expectations on them at different times, although this should not necessarily be seen as a process of constraint or exclusion. Different groups were used to positively encourage individuals to engage with others, and to develop particular capacities and perceptions of themselves and their peers as part of personal and professional development. Opportunities were structured for the entire body of students and staff to come together. The Principal's Session took the form of a regular 'assembly' of the entire College which "... helped to give a feeling of unity" (Watkins, 1971, p.20). Early in the College's life college lectures were given by visitors, and also provided occasions when the entire College would meet together. Some lectures were organised, and as Watkins pointed out, "the fact that a lecture was a shared experience was also important" (Watkins, 1971, p.35). Such collective occasions are especially significant in establishing a 'field of visibility' in which a sense of the community itself could be created by and for each individual. Such a field - the 'general assembly' - inevitably exposes the members of an institution to the gaze (either real or imagined) of those responsible for them (who are similarly visible), to each other, and to self in the sense that self's relation to others, and the particularity of its conduct within that relation is powerfully present. Watkins recalls that at one point in the

College's life students believed that they were "... 'guinea pigs' in a training experiment..." (Watkins, 1971, p.98). In establishing this sense of permanent surveillance, the possibility of establishing powerful aspirations and norms of professional (and indeed 'personal') identity and conduct is opened up, and in this respect the potential for the individual to 'police' his own identity is enhanced and "... he becomes the principle of his own subjection" (Foucault, 1977, p.203). Combined with other judgmental practices (assessment or appraisal, for example) a potentially powerful 'machine' is established for the formation or transformation of the individual.

Course content and method

The content of the course at the National College was little different from that of the courses run during the 1940s under Circular 1598. Its content also drew on the proposals made for youth work training by the Reports of McNair, Jackson and Fletcher. As in earlier models of training, distinctions are made between knowledge-based work and practical work, and the College adopted the following diagram to describe the areas covered by the course.

Figure 1: Schematic Curriculum at NCTYL

(Source: National College For the Training of Youth Leaders, 1966).

The circular form of representation signifies the idea that the course is seen as a “whole”, with the “... practice of the youth worker as the central focus and the other sections as necessary supports to this practice” (National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, 1966, p.4). The model of an ‘integrated whole’ characterises the College’s entire epistemology, its way of construing the individual, and the underlying pedagogical assumptions which informed its work. The idea was that the course formed an integrated ‘process’ of learning whose organisation would be mirrored in the individual student’s personal and professional development. As such, this reflects the panoptic principles referred to earlier.

Although the humanistic discourse which guided the College’s work frequently subordinated knowledge to ‘experience’, the student was expected to acquire a body of codified and public knowledge through College-based work which took up more than half of the course’s length. Two sections of the course in particular were devoted to achieving this. Social

Studies and Human Growth and Development provided the substantive knowledge base upon which professional practice was to be erected and which was to illuminate the student's experience. The Social Studies section of the course was intended to provide students with insight and understanding into the structure of contemporary society and to be introduced to the idea of being 'critical' of familiar social arrangements. The course "... includes some brief references to other societies in other times and places, in order to achieve a degree of objectivity about features of the present day society of this country, which otherwise might be taken for granted as universally 'normal' " (National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, p.5). In the section dealing with Human Growth and Development some of the methodological issues underlying the social sciences were introduced in order to help students "... become aware of the importance of distinguishing fact from opinion; to understand the nature of evidence and its importance for statements; and to appreciate the difficulties involved in relating cause and effect in the realm of human behaviour" (ibid, p.6). The central section of the diagram above refers to the area of Principles and Practice of Youth Work which constituted the major part of the course in that it was the section in which students were expected to confront the issue of practice, and translate the theory introduced into practice terms, thus giving it relevance in the professional enterprise. The course aimed to produce "competent practitioners", and although theory was "... valuable in its own right, (it) had to be related to this and derive its chief justification from (the requirements of competent practice)... " (Watkins, 1971, p.27). Principles and Practice sessions also dealt with a range of issues which formed the backdrop against which youth work could be illuminated (the history and organisational structure of the youth service, for example) and most importantly for the College, provide a context to help students to understand "... in as many ways as possible the 'enabling' role of the youth worker, avoiding both authoritarianism and laissez-faire" (Watkins, 1971, p.28). In this sense this element of the course seems to have been

concerned with the refinement of general principles - either dealing with questions of values or practical intervention - which could guide the student's practice. Sections of the course dealt with English studies in order to develop the student's communicative capacity in language, and General Studies which were designed to provide for each student to pursue an area of personal interest and to gain and develop "... understanding that comes from personal investigation" (ibid, p.33).

The literature suggests that there was considerable variation in the way that the content of the course was transmitted to students, and that College staff had substantial discretion in the way that this was organised. Teaching strategies appeared to be extremely flexible and 'formal' structures or approaches were, in the main, eschewed. Although some lectures were organised throughout the College's life, these were used principally for the economic dissemination of information which would provide the basis for the apparently more important group discussion. Indeed, 'whole college' lectures were eventually dispensed with, and academic teaching was done through seminar groups which were regarded as the "fundamental and most effective teaching-learning procedure". These groups relied on the participation of students who were encouraged to "... formulate, express, defend and so clarify their own thoughts and feelings, to compare these with the view of others, and so perhaps modify them or see them in a fuller context" (Watkins, 1971, p.35). As will be seen later in this chapter, the 'group discussion' was one of the main technical means through which the College attempted to influence student's understanding and views of themselves. Seminar groups facilitated the personal engagement of students with knowledge and ideas, and the seminar approach was clearly intended to enable them to make knowledge and ideas their own, and thus strengthening the possibility that they would be acted upon in practice. Seminar work was further refined through the tutorial

relationship, and the tutor had discretion in managing the “total workload” of individual students.

During the course, students were expected to undertake two ‘block’ periods of practice and an ongoing weekly contact, with youth organisations. These practice elements of the course were calculated to socialise the student into the professional culture of youth work. In the first of the work placements (undertaken after eight weeks of college-based study) the student was enabled to gain “... a realistic idea of the working life of a professional leader, to develop (his) powers of observation in the youth group while working in it, and to learn as much as possible of the social context of the club” (Watkins, 1971, p.40). The first placement was introductory and its aims reflected the limited knowledge which the student would have acquired by that stage of the course. The second placement took account of work that had been completed in the College, and aimed to encourage the student to explore “... the network of roles and relationships formed by the people and organisations (in the placement); in doing this he tried to bring together everything he had learned and use it to illuminate practice” (ibid, p.40). In this, the placement aimed to mobilise knowledge which derived from the course’s ‘academic’ components in analysing the workplace in which the student was involved. The placement provided the opportunity for the student to pursue particular areas of study (for example, Watkins cites an exploration into the impact of popular culture on young people). These, along with practice recordings, enabled students to collect material from their practice which could be subsequently used in the reflective work of the tutorial group. This work was important in enabling practice to be illuminated by theory and in encouraging the development of theory in the light of practice, thus locking theory and practice into mutual reflexivity.

In considering the content of the course, there is little which in principle departs from the technical-rational approach which broadly characterised earlier models of youth work

training, and which, as indicated in Chapter Four, can be analysed in terms of three main elements. First, the course aimed to transmit a body of systematised propositional knowledge - knowledge enabling students to 'know that'. This knowledge legitimised youth work's claim to be regarded as a 'profession' (or perhaps more appropriately a 'semi-profession') with its own expertise. This knowledge is drawn from a range of sources (sociology, psychology, or economics, for example) and has both 'pure' and 'applied' elements. It could be construed as both erudite and esoteric, having the aura of 'scientific' legitimacy and 'certainty', and requiring a period of training in order for it to be properly acquired by the novice youth worker. Various mechanisms were established at the College to ensure that this body of knowledge could be appropriately transmitted to students.

Second, as well as dealing with the transmission of abstract or 'propositional' knowledge, the course involved the translation of the body of knowledge into a practice-based form. This was done through the Principles and Practices of Youth Work sessions, and entailed the construction of generalised models and principles of practice, and the development of 'problem-solving' approaches for guiding the practitioner. Essentially, these sessions seemed to have been intended to deal with the issue of 'knowing how'. Third, the National College course required students to undertake supervised workplace practice in which theory could be applied, tested and developed in work with young people.

Forming the ascetic youth worker: 'getting to know self'

Throughout their time at the National College, students were expected to manage their conduct and their professional development through what were referred to in Chapter Two as 'technologies' or 'techniques' of the self. In the context of this discussion, the deployment of techniques of the self in youth work training signals a departure from earlier approaches in which 'the lecture' was the principal form for the dissemination of knowledge, as well as a

departure from earlier ideas of what was regarded as important knowledge for youth workers. Techniques of the self imply a much more invasive strategy intended to touch the depths of the individual in which knowledge and knowledge of self are indissoluble.

As suggested earlier, students were initially made subject to forms of 'confessional' practice at the point of selection for the course. These were designed to ascertain 'the truth' about them, and to identify or discover their 'real' self or potential as aspirant professional workers. The 'determined search' for self did not conclude there, and as part of professional formation at the College students became caught up in a constellation of confessional practices and relationships. These all appear to have been designed to enable students to pursue their own 'discovery' and knowledge of self, and to offer a vocabulary in which this new knowledge could be rendered meaningful and valuable. An emergent model of the self, constructed in terms of the College's particular professional ideal and its means of attainment, implicitly provided the ways by which students were enabled to understand what was happening to them. The discourse of human relations - its values, concepts and vocabulary - was particularly significant in this process.

Caution should be exercised in assuming that the 'search' for self, which permeates the entire literature of the National College was guided by any specific desire for a therapeutic outcome for the self of the prospective youth worker. Although the idea of 'personal growth' was frequently aligned with the College's aspirations for the individual's professional development, this was more to do with the accepted view that the "... youth worker's main working tool is himself" (Matthews, 1966, p.105). Ironically, the conscientious separation of putatively different domains of self appears to have given rise to a somewhat austere intellectual economy around which some of the College's work was organised. This austerity reflects the asceticism which Halmos identifies as constituting part of the 'faith of the counsellors'. In this

the “... scrupulousness of self-criticism ...” is deployed so that the counsellor avoids “... any kind of self-indulgence, tries not to fulfil therapeutic ambition, or refrains from exploiting his professional function for self-therapy” (Halmos, 1978, p.92).¹⁶⁶ This is a perspective in which ‘helping’ (or ‘educating’) is an activity through which the professional is not expected to seek any kind of self-gratification, and is expected to maintain appropriate distance from ‘clients’, defined by the boundaries of a rigorous regime of self-control. Related to this, self-knowledge is also apparently necessary to maintain a proper separation between the needs and desires of the ‘private’ self and the expectations and injunctions which form the basis of ‘professional’ integrity. Writing about work with young people, Davies and Gibson suggest that self-awareness can help to avoid the corruption of the professional project. Self-knowledge, they argue, entails the youth worker’s deepening understanding

“... of more permanently and extensively influential personal responses and, in particular, (it) can bring perspective and detachment to work in which an adult has become too deeply involved... Pride, need for achievement, compensation for frustration elsewhere in life may infect his work. The altruistic purpose with which he set out in social education may become partially or wholly lost to sight, submerged, if he is not aware of his own reactions, amid a welter of compensations and personal release” (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.189).

This constitutes the attempt to achieve reason’s mastery of desire and the dominance of culture over nature.

A further justification for the importance of self-knowledge seems to be in the requirement placed on the youth worker to actively manage his own emotions in the context of professional work with young people or adults. As Joan Matthews put it, the youth worker needs to be able to answer the question “What does it feel like to be on the other end of a

¹⁶⁶ In his seminal critique of the ‘human service occupations’, Halmos points out the ideological nature of such precepts, and argues that the “vocation” (like counselling, or indeed youth work) is by definition ‘self-realising’ (Halmos, 1978, p.87).

counselling, consulting or casual relationship with me?" (Matthews, 1966, p.106). Consequently the student was constantly monitored by tutors, and was encouraged to monitor himself and become alive to the traits and temperaments which could either corrupt, inhibit or facilitate the 'helping relationships' in which he became involved. In identifying these, the student became empowered to work on self in order to change, develop, or reinforce as appropriate.

Finally, self-knowledge was important in relation to the fundamental principle of 'acceptance' of both 'self' and 'other'. Accepting the other as he is became an article of faith in youth work and social work in the 1960s and 1970s, and it was a disposition which the National College attempted to foster in its students. Non-judgementalism, cultivated in particular forms of conduct and response to others, became the exemplar of 'acceptance', itself the starting-point for social educational work with young people ('starting from where the young person is'). An example of this acceptance comes from Leighton who depicts a cameo youth club situation in the following way:

"The three young men who appear at the door of the (youth) club dressed in leathers, with hair reaching their shoulders, looking unsmilingly at whatever is going on are more likely to produce the thought, 'Oh dear, trouble' from a number of adults than a move which demonstrates a non-judgmental attitude. (The youth worker) may not approve, privately, of certain modes of dress or behaviour but he has to ask himself how his own attitudes, beliefs and values affect his demonstration of acceptance, and whether by some response, inflection of voice or facial expression he is expressing disapproval" (Leighton, 1972, p.94).

The problem was how such an accepting stance towards others could be achieved. The idea that it had its roots in 'self-love' was suggested by Matthews. Drawing on the Christian injunction to love one's neighbour as oneself, Matthews suggests that acceptance is not possible unless one first of all loves oneself. The worker cannot "... relate himself helpfully to young people unless

he can accept himself as able to be of help and worthy of their response to him". In the context of professional youth work training, the student must be helped to "live with and love the changed image of himself which emerges" (Matthews, 1966, p.108). This implies considerable work in 'getting to know' self, in marking out its dimensions and capacities, registering its foibles, gauging its impact on others, and determining its potential for continuing transformation. Techniques to foster this were developed at the College.

Using techniques of the self

As shown in the foregoing discussion, various aspects of the professional formation of the youth worker were problematised around the ideas of 'self-awareness', self-knowledge', and 'self-transformation'. In response to this, three particular techniques were deployed in the attempt to shape student's conduct, and to lead them to work on self in specific directions. First, 'tutorial' and 'supervisory' relationships became a central element in the 'pastoral' regime of the College. Second, the small 'discussion group' was used as a context in which individuals could experiment in their relationships with self and others. Third, and augmenting these, the practice of 'recording' offered a means of attempting to capture a written narrative of the changes and developments which were sought in individual students. These three techniques have become routine in the professional education and training of youth workers. They are discussed briefly.

(i) Tutorial and supervisory relationships

In Chapter Two the notion of 'pastoral power' was discussed briefly. Deriving from Hebrew traditions, the ideal form of the pastoral relationship was seen in institutional Christianity, but has been absorbed into a general repertoire of governmental techniques and modern powers. Relying on confession and self-disclosure, pastoral power designates a relationship in which 'the shepherd' assumes ultimate accountability for the entire flock (as a totality) as well as for the lives of individual sheep. As Foucault points out, the pastoral economy in which shepherd

and flock are bound, entails the shepherd having a knowledge of every detail of the lives of each sheep. This knowledge individualises through the revelation of individual mind, sin, or desire. The shepherd "... must know what goes on in the soul of each one..." (Foucault, 1988, p.69) in order to guide and respond to the needs of members of the flock. Articulated in secular form, pastoral power has spread beyond the ecclesiastical domain to be deployed in a multiplicity of institutions. In these, the secular well-being and welfare of each individual replaces the pursuit of salvation in the next world.

Two forms of pastoral relationship appear to have been deployed at the National College, both intended to facilitate the development of the professional youth worker through encouraging the student's own self-development. In the tutorial relationship the tutor was expected to care for the entirety of the student's life at the College. It was a relationship whose dimensions embody the pastoral power discussed above, and which also incorporate elements of disciplinary power. Watkins describes four dimensions to the tutorial relationship: "representative of authority"; teacher; counsellor; and "a human being in his own right" (Watkins, 1971, p.83). In his role as teacher the tutor might exercise disciplinary power through the process of assessment. As counsellor, the pastoral elements - confession and disclosure specifically - would provide the basis to the relationship. Relating as 'one human being to another' emphasises the essentially humanistic ground upon which these processes were established. Watkins indicates that in the early life of the College, students received personal tutorials "every week or ten days".

The tutorial relationship was utilised as an instrument for developing particular dispositions, ethical and intellectual understanding, and practical competence in students. According to Watkins, four "principles" guided the tutorial role:

(a) education should take account of individual difference;

- (b) training should provide opportunities for “personal education”;
- (c) a “primary aim should be to help students to think for themselves”;
- (d) “learning needs to be an active process” (ibid, p.83-84).

The tutorial role is thus structured in a complex network of shifting relationships, expectations, and authorities. These formed the landscape on which tutors and supervisors encouraged students to analyse, to reflect, to assess, and most significantly, to judge their own conduct and capability themselves, and move towards autonomy and self-regulation.

In his account of the College’s work, Watkins identifies a recurring tension among tutorial staff about whether youth workers’ aspirant professional status entailed the dissemination and acquisition of a body of codified, public and ‘academic’ knowledge. This led to the tutor being seen by some staff as “one who knows”, whereas for other staff a differing perspective saw the tutor as ‘primus inter pares’ and part of “... a common experience of learning” with students (Watkins, 1967, p.84). Both of these incorporate elements of pastorship, although the latter model apparently attempts to diminish any notion of difference between tutor and student whilst simultaneously acknowledging its existence. The tension between these two identities is further reflected in the underlying ambiguity of the ‘non-judgmental’ perspective which had a high profile at this time. Some of the literature encourages a perception of the tutorial relationship as one in which tutor and students are involved in a ‘mutual quest for truth’. This contrasts with an alternative view in which the tutor is seen to be responsible for the careful management of ‘revelation’. For example, it is indicated that “... the tutor will be learning with and from the trainees, experiencing with them some or all of the discomforts of learning... ”(Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.243). In a starkly contrasting perspective, the tutor is seen as the ‘broker of truth’, and as such he

“... will often have to be prepared to hold back in his relations with students, even though their need seems to be staring him in the face and he is certain he knows the answer. He will have to resist the temptation to solve all their problems for them immediately they arise in order to allow them to make clear to themselves that these are their problems and that they might solve them more effectively for themselves... Most of (the tutor's) interventions will be wasted and meaningless unless they are kept until the critical moment when the students can assimilate them” (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.244-245).

There are elements in both of these perspectives of the tutor as ‘ethical presence’, demonstrating to students appropriate conduct, whether this be in revealing truth, or engaging with them in seeking it. In both, the tutorial relationship assumes confessional form and leads to the individual's imbrication in a network of disciplinary and pastoral power.

Throughout their course, students undertook practical ‘field-work’ placements in which they were subject to supervision by both a professional worker in the field, and their College-based tutor. Supervision is a deeply confessional technique, entailing the supervisee disclosing aspects of self in the context of a confidential relationship and occasion. In this, it shares much with its religious counterpart. The supervisory relationship, already well-established by this time in social work considerably developed its youth work form during the life of the National College.¹⁶⁷ Supervision was a “... device for instilling discipline into practice” (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.208), and an “... aid towards the achievement of a disciplined approach to youth work... ” (Leighton, 1972, p.204). For Matthews, supervision could provide the context in which the student “... can begin to develop the habit of disciplined reflection... so that his increasing understanding is brought to bear on his practice and not left in a separate compartment of his mind...” (Matthews, 1966, p.130). In this sense, supervision constitutes an exemplary technique of the self designed to shape the self in specific ways. As such, it was

¹⁶⁷ A project funded by the DES and the ILEA during the mid 1960s did much to extend the understanding of supervision and its role as a method of training in youth work. Joan Matthews, who at the time was Principal Lecturer at the National College was a Consultant to this Project, an account of which is contained in Tash, 1967.

designed to enable the student - or the youth worker - to make the appropriate connections between knowledge and practice, in order to create insight into whatever work issue was being dealt with. The supervisor was defined as the agent through which this might happen, at first as a "... prompter, (and) at the end ...a sounding-board" (Matthews, 1966, p.130). However, the confessor is not simply an interlocutor, but stands as an authority within an unfolding relationship of power. Rather than being emancipated through confession, the individual becomes ever more entangled in a network of power (Foucault, 1979, p.60). Davies and Gibson, and Matthews were keen to point out that supervision (despite its revealing etymology) was not to be understood negatively in terms of either surveillance or interference despite its suffusion in both pastoral and disciplinary power. Students were required to 'talk through' their work experiences, reveal their ('true) feelings about these, and divulge their ideas of how they might improve or develop their own practice. As such, supervision appeared to be work-oriented, but at times also touched on the therapeutic domain:

"There can be few youth workers who have not experienced certain satisfactions when they have been able to discuss their own work situation with some 'understanding person'... often they have a feeling of well-being because they have been able to stand back... and for a moment have become objective. There seems to be little doubt that that one reaches a level of objectivity when discussing one's work with another person that is difficult to achieve alone" (Leighton, 1972, p.205).

Thus, supervision offers an occasion in which reality can be endlessly talked through, played and replayed, deconstructed and reconstructed in order to extract its value as truth, and in so doing contribute to the supervisee's construction of a professional self. As part of the process of supervision, students were expected to make written recordings of their work. The specific technique of 'recording' is discussed later in this chapter.

(ii) The small group and 'group discussion'

Given its privileged position in the discourse of human relations and in youth work at this time, it is not surprising that the small (and potentially intimate) group was thought to have great potential in the process of youth workers' professional development at the College. Visits of small groups of students to educational and social work agencies were arranged in order to expose students to field practice which could later form the basis for reflection, analysis, and comparison with their own experience. The tutorial group comprising some twelve students was regarded as the basic teaching unit, although at times students also worked in seminar groups, combinations of tutorial groups brought together for specific purposes. In these "... discussions are used as a means of helping the groups of students who will work together to know each other, and to begin to discover by experience how to use the group situation in order to learn" (National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, 1966, p.11). It was the experience of group discussion specifically which bound these groups together in the College's intellectual and affective economy.

It seems that 'social group work' (as a set of discrete techniques and practice) became both the medium and the message of the small group. The group itself offered the opportunity for students to experience both principles and practice of group work in the context of a 'living laboratory'. Students were expected to actively participate in discussion and engage in the reflexive process and dynamic of producing and interpreting knowledge into a form meaningful to self-discovery, development and transformation. In doing this, it was intended that students and staff should contribute to the construction of an 'ethical' regime which would form a guide to individual and collective conduct. The idea that ethics (as a desired mode of conduct) like knowledge should be rooted in 'lived experience' was a powerful and recurrent motif. In the enclosed regime of the National College the permanent visibility of all those involved had

considerable potential to focus and regulate students' professional development through the elaboration of a set of standards and norms of conduct. These were both produced and animated by the seemingly beneficent practices of the small group and its constitutive relations.

The group experience was intended to enable students to engage in "... deliberate and disciplined discussion..." (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.240) under the authority of the tutor. It seems (as in its religious form) that confession through group discussion did not 'just happen'. It was necessary for it to take on a structure which would lead to the kind of discussion and reflection which was thought necessary. Students could be encouraged to focus on specific aspects of their practical work which would provide the raw material for the reflective work of the group. They might, for example, identify 'difficult' areas of their work, examine the "functions" they would have with young people, undertake "enquiry" as a group into selected fields or "retail" recent experiences of work with young people (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.234-241). In this sense, the group and its structure of working was deployed as an essentially technical means of achieving the College's desired outcomes. As 'confession', this entailed the verbalisation and examination of its individual members' experiences and perceptions. It was in the group that a good deal of the novice professional's 'real' learning was calculated to occur. As Davies and Gibson suggested, the group experience and the discussion comprising it could help the student to

"... perceive the ways in which he differs from others. It can therefore enable him to gain a more accurate picture of his own identity, partly as this is reflected in the comments of others about him and their reactions to him and partly because he is made to draw out and so to become aware of hitherto unidentified facets of his own personality... Work done very largely in groups *entails* people's personal, emotional and intellectual commitment and thus envelops them in some of the forms of experience with which they will eventually be concerned in their practice" (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.229).

This quotation touches on prevailing ideas of what youth work should aim to do with young people. In an earlier discussion on the discourse of social education, the significance of ‘the group’ was identified as both the source of young people’s problems and the problem of young people, and the key to their resolution. Group discussion was one way in which the National College attempted to replicate amongst students the practices in which they would later engage with young people.

(iii) Recording

A persistent problem for those charged with the formation and development of the professional youth worker is precisely how the changing or growing self can be ‘captured’ in the process of its own transformation. What methods could apprehend such change, and what kind of evidence might be adduced to demonstrate that change has occurred? Apart from the ‘talk’ and accounts of practice which were elaborated through the processes of tutorial and supervisory work, and in which the novice spoke of himself and his work, what else might offer the evidence of learning, progress and development needed both by self and others? At the National College, the apparently simple act of writing about and interpreting one’s experiences in a practice diary came to form a principal means of charting this, and in so doing of attempting to extend the competence of the student youth worker.

The technique of ‘recording’ or ‘process recording’ had been imported into youth work during the 1950s, largely under the influence of American social group work. Recording as a specifically technical practice was thought to offer a “scientific approach” to the work, and a means of evaluating its outcomes (Forster, 1954, p.109, Handasyde, 1951, p.153). The National College (and Joan Matthews in particular) was extremely influential in establishing recording as a disciplined routine in youth work, although as was seen in Chapter Seven the use of the ‘practice diary’ had already emerged as an educational tool some years earlier. Recording

entailed the compilation of a written narrative of the student's practice in which he would incorporate his observations, analysis and reflections on what occurred. For Leighton, reflecting Matthews and others, recording was to be based on a 'whole person' experience, in which observation

“... is more than seeing, it means being receptive to all that is happening in the group situation. Hearing, sensing or feeling are as important as seeing” (Leighton, 1972, p.193).

As Watkins shows, National College students were expected to build a 'portfolio' of written information from their fieldwork placements. Some of this covered purely factual material on the organisations in which they were placed: details of staffing, programmes of activity, and management structures, for example. As well as this, students were required to complete a “... short narrative, or 'process' recording every night... ” covering “episodes” from their placement work. These would include both a record of what occurred, and the student's interpretation of it. This material provided the basis to the process of tutorial and supervision work which was designed to enable the student to develop a progressively rational approach to his practice by learning to be

“... articulate about what he had observed, to disentangle inference from observation, and to begin to explore the multiplicity of explanations that were possible for almost any situation or item of behaviour” (Watkins, 1971, p.48).

Watkins' account leaves little doubt that the activity of sharing recordings with the tutor was intended to touch the entire being, and act upon the

“... emotional implications of acting out principles and ethics... (tutors) could not avoid having to cope with blockages to learning that had their roots in personality factors; this is of course a normal teaching problem but the role of the youth worker inevitably led to constant emphasis on self-awareness and the ways in which a lack of it inhibited understanding of almost every situation” (ibid, p.49).

Nevertheless, recording was also intended to allow the student to move away from a sole reliance on intuition and feeling, and to adopt a characteristically technical-rational approach to reflection on both self and work. Recording was designed to enable the practice of reflection to become both "... disciplined and critical..." (Matthews, 1966, p.135). Conducted in a systematic way and in the context of the relationship with the tutor, recording offered the possibility of theory being utilised to illuminate the student's practice, and in so doing, make the connection between the two. First, however, the recording itself had to be constructed. Students were encouraged to elaborate a "frame of reference" from the categories of academic studies to which they had been introduced. Through a process of "scanning" this, students would recall aspects of their practice which related to specific academic areas, and which could subsequently be written up and reflected upon. This particular technique of thought was not only intended to facilitate recall of events (as a kind of 'memory device') but also to help students to integrate theory with their own practice and personal development. In this sense, theory acquired through training, becomes mobilised as the vocabulary in which the process of reflection can occur, and through which practice is made intelligible.

This reflexive work was initially undertaken in the context of the tutorial relationship. The tutor was expected to initiate the process of recording and to encourage the student to move towards completing this work himself so that "... after a while he could do it without external stimulus and later still build it in to his reactions" (Watkins, 1971, p.48). In becoming routinised, recording and its accompanying processes, contribute to the novice professional acquiring autonomy and becoming self-monitoring. Like tutorial and supervisory practices, recording exemplifies the technique of the self. Whilst incorporating pastoral elements it is also a "... device for disciplining thinking..." (Davies and Gibson, 1967, p.204), and thus acts as a normalising force. It relies on the requirement for the individual to write about himself and his

actions. In so doing he is enjoined to reflect on practical conduct and crystallise thoughts and feelings, identifying their significance to his own developing practice. As such and like the other techniques discussed here, recording offers a 'mirror to the self' which enables self-inspection and self-evaluation to become part of the routine practice of reflexively monitored thought and conduct. It also provides form and substance to confessional practice either undertaken alone or under tutorial or supervisory authority.

Student assessment: the "cumulative record"

As shown earlier, one of the main criticisms of the 1598 courses was their vagueness about assessment processes. In this section the approach taken at the National College to the problem of assessing students for achieving professional qualification is discussed. Assessment exemplifies the process of examination in three principle ways. First, the examination's focus on the individual transforms him into a constantly visible element upon which and within which power-knowledge operates. Second, the process of writing is an integral part of examination, and documents, papers and reports written about the individual form a network around him. This network of writing constitutes an archive in which individual characteristics are fixed and encoded. Third, informed by the archive material which is collected, the examination constructs the individual as a 'case', an individual "... as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others in his very individuality... the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded..." (Foucault, 1977, p.191). As will be seen, assessment can be understood in terms of this schema for the examination.

It has already been suggested in this chapter that the National College had distinctively 'Panoptic' characteristics. Attention has been drawn to the College's deployment of various disciplinary and pastoral powers as constitutive components of its regime. The College was a 'machine of power' whose function was to manage specific aspects of the lives and activities of

its occupants in the course of attempts to transform them into professional youth workers. In this respect, the College had much in common with other Panoptic institutions: schools, hospitals, prisons and barracks, for example. Nowhere is the College's function of subjecting students to the exercise of power more evident than in the processes of assessment to which students were subject. However, it would be a mistake to regard examination as limited to a set of activities and practices separate from the institution's day-to-day operation. Panoptic institutions do not operate in that way. As already seen, examination of one kind or another - in particular self-examination and that undertaken in the context of the tutorial relationship, for example - was an integral part of the College regime. Students were constantly made visible to themselves, their peers and their tutors and supervisors, and in that sense the College operated as an apparatus of perpetual examination. As one College document explained, "No formal examination is used in the course, but a cumulative record of each student's progress is kept" (National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, 1966, p.12). It is into this 'cumulative record' of each student that the constant process of observation and judgement of the individual was woven.

Throughout the College's literature, there is an evident tension between the acknowledged need to 'examine' students for authentic professional reasons, and the desire to organise the College's practices in a way which was consistent with prevailing humanistic values and 'non-judgmental' perspective. Such a tension is irreconcilable, although the logic of the examination as openly designed to discipline or subjugate the individual was rejected. The term 'examination' was substituted by the term 'assessment', and instead of formal examinations, a "cumulative assessment" was undertaken during the year, at the end of College Period I, the beginning of College Period II, and half way through the final College Period (See Table 2). This form of continuous assessment reflects the "integrated" nature of the course

which was seen as a 'whole' in itself. This is a way of thinking which emphasises 'process' (and thus continuity) rather than event, and which adopts an ontology and epistemology privileging the idea of the 'whole' person or self moving through time, rather than its fragmentation into technical-rational or instrumental components or categories. It underpins the entire pedagogy and organisation of the course, including that of assessment which was constituted as a process which underpinned the entire course (Appendix 9). Assessment was informed by the constant and routinised process of examination referred to already, and predicated on the idea of assessing everything in which the person was involved. It was structured in a calculus of three purposes: a process of checking on student progress throughout the year; estimating the likely achievement of minimum standards; and deciding on how any remedial intervention might be undertaken (Watkins, 1971, p.87). The assessment was designed to deal with the idea of the 'minimum standard' in "behavioural terms", and focused on the student's "competence" in "the ability to make and use relationships satisfactorily" with both young people and adults; the ability to manage both self and work; and the achievement of "an understanding of the purpose of the full-time leader's work and the ability to be articulate about this and his methods of pursuing it" (ibid, p.68). These areas can be regarded as the intended outcomes of the course which partially anticipate developments in the discourse of competency. For example, Watkins' account defines assessment largely in terms of what the student can do, and in almost strictly behavioural terms, broadly consistent with current ideas about competency. Similarly, competency-based approaches share humanistic discourse's privileging of 'experience', in terms of which the discourse of competency claims a progressive stance. Watkins' account and the National College's own literature place little emphasis on achievements in 'academic' work, and these seem to have significance only insofar as they relate to youth work practice. Current claims from advocates of the discourse of competency,

that knowledge inheres in performance and is important solely in its capacity to enable the individual to do something, and that successful practice constitutes an expression of underlying knowledge, reflect a similar position. In Chapter Nine, the appropriation of aspects of humanistic discourse by the advocates of competency is identified and analysed.

Techniques of assessment: ensuring professional competence

How was the achievement of a 'minimum standard' to be assessed at the National College?

How were students to be assessed in the 'competence' which the College had defined as constituting the necessary minimum for entry into professional youth work? Despite the claim that

“... students were not compared with one another; an individual's progress was assessed against his own starting point, and what was looked for was some progress in all three areas of understanding and skill” (Watkins, 1971,p.68),

Watkins' account shows quite clearly that an infrastructure with the potential for assessing and comparing individual students was in place. Whether comparison occurred or not, and despite the 'non-judgmental' disclaimer, it is clear that judgements were made of students in relation to some notion of what counted as an appropriate level of competence for them to leave the course with a Diploma. A number of techniques were adopted to facilitate assessment. These were based on the collation of different documents and files in which records of individual progress were kept. First, as suggested throughout the discussion in this chapter, students were constantly made visible to the College's tutelary authority. Whether this was in the context of the tutorial group, the one-to-one relationship with a tutor, or 'over the breakfast table', students were permanently located within the field of visibility structured by the College's organisation, systems and practices. This enabled tutors to form or reform judgements about individuals. Importantly, "individual records" of tutorial discussions and student progress within these were

kept by tutors, and this can be seen as part of the process of 'fixing' the individual in a network of documents.

Second, all practical work undertaken by students in youth centres or clubs was subject to a report by the Supervisor under whose authority the student had been working. An instrument was developed for this purpose in which the Supervisor's assessment could be formally encoded (Appendix 10). It included a long list of "qualities" which supervisors were required to "assess" in relation to the work performance of the student on placement. The qualities appear to be an attempt to codify the three areas which were identified earlier as forming the course's outcomes, and the assessment schedule was structured in terms a series of bi-polar statements forming three sections. These sections constitute a terrain upon which the persona of the individual student becomes subject to the systematic scrutiny of the Supervisor. The three sections were given the following headings: "Personality" in which a range of relevant traits are included, "Relationships" in which judgements are made about the student's capacity to form relationships with young people, voluntary helpers and colleagues, and "Attitude and Ability in Youth Work" a section which appears to be mainly concerned with the student's diligence and conscientiousness in the work placement. In addition, the schedule has space in which the Supervisor is invited to make comments about the student's "special strengths and weaknesses", "progress", and "likelihood of development with further training and experience". This assessment schedule offers a particular repertoire of dispositions and capabilities which constitute at least part of the College's perception of what the professional youth worker needs to achieve.

Although the schedule's assessment epistemology is not entirely clear, the schedule itself provides a technical form in which details of the student's individuality are constructed in terms of his characteristics, and through which these become visible to the authority and

judgement of the College. Along with other written documents, the schedule forms part of the individual student's archive, transforming him into a 'case', about which judgements of personal 'quality' and professional performance can be made.

The third technique of assessment used at the College was referred to by Watkins as the "most important document" in the assessment procedure (Watkins, 1971, p.68, Appendix 10). This was another schedule or form which co-ordinated in written form the assessment of student performance in four aspects of the course: 'college-based' or 'academic' work, "Field Work", "Work in Personal Tutorials and Personal Qualities", and work undertaken in relation to "Activities, to include programmed activities, activity groups, and Student Council work if any". The document also included a section in which the College Principal or Vice-Principal could report on the student. Although, as indicated, students did not receive grades or marks for individual pieces of written work, tutors were required in this assessment schedule to give grades in all sections. The grading system ranged from 'A' ("outstanding"), to 'C' ("very unsatisfactory"). This system of grading each student in every aspect of his work fixes him in relation to norms, thus making it possible to identify differences between individuals, and deviations from the required standard expressed in the norm. Those who deviate are immediately identifiable and remedial action or other intervention can be made. Having said that comparisons between students were not made, Watkins indicates that "Comparability between tutors was difficult to ensure" (ibid, p.68). This was the problem of reliability, and assessments were co-ordinated by the College's Principal and Vice-Principal who discussed each student's report with the tutor concerned, to ensure some consistency throughout the process, and as such acted as arbiter of truth. As Watkins points out, there was considerable anxiety among both staff and students about precisely what was being assessed at any given time. Students' work in the 'academic' subjects (given headings in the assessment schedule)

was considered in relation to 'evidence of understanding', 'contributions to discussion', 'presentation of seminar papers', 'written work', and 'relationships in the tutorial group'. However, because of the College's principal value of concern for "...the student as a whole person... ", how could discrete elements be assessed in separation from one another? Was the assessment under the heading "social studies" an assessment of work completed in this discrete area of study, or was it "an assessment by the social studies tutor" (ibid, p.69)? As Watkins suggests, this was left rather ambiguous:

"... the headings were used merely as a means to an end. If different tutors covered similar points so much the better whether they agreed or not; the important thing was that the matter was mentioned somewhere, and that the categories used were enough to impose an adequate structure on the record as a working document" (Watkins, 1967, p.69).

The assessment of "personal qualities" was most important because the whole vision of youth work adopted at the College relied on the idea of the self being the worker's primary tool in practice. This aspect of assessment apparently raised particular anxieties among students, with questions about precisely what was subject to assessment, how the assessment was made, and in the context of a relatively enclosed institution, was assessment perpetual? Watkins indicates that students were particularly anxious that they were being assessed during social events, sporting activities, and at mealtimes. It is likely, given the nature of the institution and the extremely powerful system of values which informed the regime which shaped it, that this was so. Panoptic regimes function in precisely this way.

The apparent 'fuzziness' which (perhaps inevitably) emerges in the process of assessment emanated from the underlying holistic epistemology in which for its advocates it was impossible to corrupt the integrity of the 'whole', whether that be the 'whole' person, or the 'whole' process of assessment. It led to the need for considerable 'interpretative work' to be

done by the tutorial staff of the College in enabling students to understand the nature of assessment, and why certain judgements were made at particular times. This interpretative work became constitutive of assessment itself: in essence a power-knowledge process designed to form or transform the professional competence of the College's students.

The National College established a paradigm for the training and education of youth workers. In Figure 2 the situation of youth work and professional education and training for youth work during the period which we have characterised as 'welfarism' or 'social government' is summarised.

Figure 2: Youth Work and Youth Workers in ‘Welfarism’ or ‘Social Government’ (1940-1970s)

(i) Youth work organisation	Youth service understood as a partnership of voluntary and statutory sectors of provision; expansion of youth work through the war years; contraction between the early 1950s and 1960; further expansion subject to the publication of the Albemarle Report in 1960; the ‘professionalisation’ of youth work.
(ii) Ideologies of youth	During the war years, youth as ‘national resource’ to be managed; mass youth culture in the 1950s and youth as a symbol of social change; the emergence of a ‘political analysis’ of youth in the late 1960s early 1970s.
(iii) Youth work practice ideologies	Encouragement of ‘self-discipline’ and ‘self-government’ in the formation of democratic citizens; the club as ‘moral community’; during the 1960s youth work affirmed as an ‘educational practice’: ‘liberal social education’; adoption of a ‘person-centred’ pedagogy; ‘experience’ and ‘participation’ as the primary sources of learning about self and others.
(iv) Youth workers	Increasingly selected on the basis of previous academic achievement and psychometric testing for ‘suitable personality’; across the voluntary and statutory sectors of provision c.550 youth workers in 1945, 700 in 1958, and 1600 in 1970.
(v) Education and training for youth work	University involvement encouraged by the Board of Education from 1941; increasingly ‘technical-rational’ approach; social science provides ‘disciplinary base’; the development of a ‘theory of practice’; courses run under Circular 1598, 1942-1948 at 5 Universities and Colleges with 302 enrolments (158 men and 144 women); National College, 1960-1971 (1100 graduates); humanistic discourse increases focus on the cultivation of a reflexive ‘professional self’; incorporation of ‘community work’ in youth work training from c.1970.
(vi) Youth work competence	Knowledge deriving from social science (e.g. psychology of adolescence, sociology of youth) and skills (e.g. group work and counselling); professional competence assessed in academic and practice areas: formal examination and the practicum provide evidence of competence.

Conclusions

Following publication of the Albemarle Report in 1960, the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders was established at Leicester as an ‘emergency training college’. It ran courses for youth workers until 1971. During that time just over 1000 students gained a professional qualification in youth work.

Chapter Eight has suggested that the organisation, content and ‘technology’ of the National College courses were instrumental in establishing a paradigm culture and approach -

essentially technical-rational - for subsequent professional training of youth workers. This was informed by a discourse of 'experiential' or 'participatory' learning, whose origins lay in Deweyan notions of 'democratic' and 'active' forms of education, and subsequently came to exert great influence on a range of formal and informal education practices and contexts (Boot and Reynolds, 1983, p.2). Professional education and training pursued at the National College constitutes an ontological and epistemological shift from previous practices in the professional formation of youth workers. This claim needs some qualification. The College's approach was predicated on an ontology of the person in which the individual's subjective experience - the self - was accorded privileged status, and was targeted by processes of professional formation. The self qua 'personality' was understood to be the youth worker's principal resource for practice. Because of this, active learning about self, and the gaining of self-knowledge was privileged over the (implicitly passive) learning of abstract and codified knowledge. The student was expected to develop self-knowledge which would enable him to mark the appropriate boundary between his own needs and desires, and those of others: the young people or adults with whom he would work. In effect, the development of self-knowledge was a means of establishing a 'topography of the self' and distinguishing its private and professional domains. At one level, it seems that professional training at the College aimed to separate the two, yet at another the private and the professional were seen as mutually influential.

Although openly valuing the individual's subjective experience, the processes of professional formation adopted at the National College should be understood in terms of the deployment of subtle yet increasingly invasive power-knowledge techniques. Various 'techniques of the self' were deployed and were calculated to touch the most intimate domains of the self, and induce students to reflect upon themselves and their relationships with others. In so doing, these techniques promised to reveal aspects of self which may have had previously

been unknown and unspoken. It has been suggested that they were designed to enable students to redefine and reconstruct themselves as 'professional' youth workers. The 'professional' self of the youth worker was painstakingly constructed through the 'confessional' practices of discussion and reflection with peers, of writing about and reflecting on oneself in a practice diary (and thus engaging in a particular relationship with self) and in the relationship with one's personal tutor or workplace supervisor. This reflexive process mirrored that which the new professionals would later be expected to undertake with young people.

Chapter Nine goes on to explore the emergence of 'competency-based' professional education in youth work and the ways in which this has attempted to further delineate and train the professional self in ever more detailed fashion.

Chapter Nine Competence and Competency in Youth Work

Introduction

In Chapter Eight, the development of a particular kind of technical-rational approach to the professional education and training of youth workers during the 1950s and 1960s was explored. In Chapter Nine, the incipient transformation of this to a specifically 'competency-based' approach is discussed. It is argued that competency-based models of professional education are another form of technical-rationality whose assumptions are an exaggerated form of the perspective which underlay the initiatives discussed in Chapter Eight.

As shown in Chapter Four the domain of the 'social' - exemplified by state sponsored collective welfare - and its allegedly corrosive effects on the moral health of the nation became the target of politicians and intellectuals on the political Right in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Part of the Right's assault on the political rationality underlying the social domain was aimed at the publicly funded human service professionals (teachers and social workers, for example). They, like others in the public services, were alleged to be monopolistic, bureaucratic, expensive and the source of a damaging morality. According to the Right, the welfarist ideology which supported the expansion of the public services was responsible for a wave of dependency, fecklessness and idleness amongst the young and the poor working class with whom many of these public professionals were thought to be influential. Part of the problem was framed in terms of the absence of accountability allegedly enjoyed by these professions. One critique of social work education was made in terms of the apparent lack of accountability of the "training industry" (Lait, 1981, p.35). Similar criticisms led to a perceived need to ensure that qualified public professionals (social workers or teachers, for example), were doing more than simply adopting the latest

'politically correct' stance, whether 'child-centred' teaching, or 'anti-discriminatory practice' in social work or youth work (Johnson, 1991, p.109). In this respect, competency-based professional education can be understood as a response to the perceived problem of accountability amongst the public professionals.¹⁶⁸ The adoption of competency-based approaches constitutes an attempt to introduce new disciplinary regimes into the education of professionals and their subsequent practice, in which the requirement for transparency and clear accountability can be met. An overly simple 'market' metaphor has been adopted by some commentators in their analyses of the emergence of competency-based models of professional education. For example, Dominelli suggests that 'competencies' are "*the politically correct*" approach for both employers and the state. She argues that competency-based approaches are to be seen as the "Taylorisation" and "proletarianisation" of professional work, a means of rigging the demand for skilled and qualified labour in the professional market place, and a tool for exploiting public professionals. For Dominelli, competency signals the newly acquired power of employers to define the work of professional staff (Dominelli, 1996, p.163). Similarly, some analysts in the field of youth work have argued that competency approaches to professional education in youth work are an expression of an "employers' agenda", and that they seek to redefine professionals as "human resources" to be managed and manipulated in employers' interests (Norton, Davies, Ireland and Nicholls, 1994, p.38-39; Davies and Norton, 1996, p.48). Although these criticisms are valuable, they have a tendency to portray the competency model as a form of professional education or training which is somehow imposed by malevolent employers or by 'the state'. In this sense the argument oversimplifies matters, and ignores the appeal of competency

¹⁶⁸ Other strategies have also been adopted to secure accountability including appraisal systems, performance - related pay, and the deployment of systems of performance indicators.

across a wide and politically heterogeneous constituency. As Bainbridge acknowledged ten years ago in his discussion of developments in the professional education of youth workers, a partnership "... is developing between a person centred developmental style of learning, expressed, for example, through portfolio methods, and a recognition of the need to identify the competencies required for the job - process and 'product' as two sides of the same coin" (Bainbridge, 1988, p.13). The critique of competency advanced recently neglects the ways in which the competency approach has (however spuriously) offered a response to needs for developing new and empowering modes of learning and accreditation, has become aligned with attempts to make further and higher education accessible to disadvantaged individuals and groups and has begun to offer solutions to a broad set of needs associated with governing a 'late-modern', flexible and information-based economy. Indeed, the discourse of competency's great virtue as a specifically 'governmental' strategy lies in its apparent capacity to form a 'natural' accommodation between individual self-management and the governance of a complex modern economy whilst also appealing to the humanist principles discussed in Chapter Eight. Gilbert Jessup explains this perfectly by saying that the competency model is primarily "... learner centred and stems from a concern that individuals should be given the opportunity to realise their potential... (and secondly) that the country needs to make much more effective use of its human resource to remain economically competitive" (Jessup, 1991, p.6). Competency's persuasive power lies precisely in its ability to bridge the divide between vocational and 'progressive-humanist' discourses. As Foucault has pointed out, "different and even contradictory" discourses can form constitutive parts of a single "strategy" (the strategy of competency, for example) whilst maintaining their discrete identities (Foucault, 1979, p.102).

To reduce the complex nature of competency as some have done, to a simple argument about the predominance of an 'employers' agenda offers a partial analysis of the problem. In the context of the discussion here, this argument has also failed to take account of the way in which these wider concerns (about access and relevance of professional education in particular) have permeated youth work. It also appears to have ignored the diverse network of institutions, groups and individuals which has contributed to the emergence of competency-based professional education and training of youth workers. This reflects earlier discussions in Chapter Two, where it was indicated that Foucault resists the idea that modern societies (and 'the state' in particular) can be understood in reductionist terms and as having some centralised author or power which regulates social life. The view taken in here is that power (embodied in systems of professional education and training) must be understood in terms of its dispersal through a diversity of activities and initiatives which constitute professional education and training. Professional education and training exists in its own material contexts and embodies and deploys distinctive knowledge, techniques and practices in its own ways. To understand this, it is necessary to identify the particular emergence of this network which constitutes professional education and training as such. Chapter Nine continues to explore this and draws on a multiplicity of sources ('central' and 'local') to do so.

Supply and demand: expanding professional education for youth workers

Since the early 1960s opportunities for becoming professionally qualified in youth work have increased significantly. Although the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders was successful with the 1100 students who completed its courses, it was closed by the Department of Education and Science because it was felt that one year courses for youth workers provided insufficient

“... time to reflect on ... studies or ... practical experiences, they cannot give substantial treatment to any single aspect of the curriculum and they are too tightly packed with information to leave much time for the improvements in reflective capacities and the development of intellectual skills which the task of the (Youth) Service calls for” (Department of Education and Science, 1969, p.111).

The Department argued that youth workers' professional training should be lengthened and located in polytechnics and colleges of education where appropriate links could be formed with teachers and social workers who were also undertaking professional training.¹⁶⁹ In 1971 eight two year courses of training for youth workers were established, and courses run by the National Association of Boys' Clubs and by YMCA were upgraded. Ten years later the Thompson Committee (Department of Education and Science, 1982) recommended the establishment of a regulatory body “... capable of endorsing and monitoring courses of both initial and in-service training for youth and community work” (ibid, p.96). Since 1961, the Joint Negotiating Committee for Youth and Community Workers (JNC)¹⁷⁰ had had responsibility in England and Wales for the professional conditions of service of youth and community workers. However, in response to Thompson, the DES established the Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work (CETYCW) which began to endorse programmes of initial professional training in 1983. CETYCW's responsibilities were incorporated by the Education and Training Standards Sub-Committee (ETS) of the National Youth Agency in 1991, which is now responsible for the endorsement of qualifications leading to recognition under the JNC.

¹⁶⁹ Following closure, the College's work was absorbed by Leicester Polytechnic where some of the College's staff went on to teach.

¹⁷⁰ Following Albemarle this committee which represents staff and employers' interests was originally entitled the Joint Negotiating Committee for Youth Leaders and from 1965 became the Joint Negotiating Committee for Youth Leaders and Community Centre Wardens. It took on its present title in 1987.

The establishment of CETYCW in 1983 was accompanied by an enormous expansion of initial professional training for youth workers. CETYCW's prediction in 1984 "If present trends continue, there will be a shortfall of trained personnel to staff the youth and community service" (Jardine, 1989, p.5) was an important factor encouraging this expansion. As some commentators have pointed out, CETYCW's position was uncritically accepted by the field and was based on the assumption that present trends to growth in youth and community work would continue throughout the 1980s. This "...crass, ill-thought out and inadequate..." attempt to assess demand in the youth and community work sector of the labour market ignored political, ideological and economic factors which were already constraining the growth of public services, and of course of youth and community work (Jeffs and Smith, 1993, p.16).¹⁷¹ Jeffs and Smith suggest that a further factor in the expansion of professional training for youth work was the argument that growth would improve possibilities for disadvantaged individuals and groups to gain access to higher education. However, in a situation where demand for qualified staff had contracted, as Jeffs and Smith argued had occurred, the benefits which the disadvantaged might accrue from higher education in these circumstances (as a route to meaningful and relatively well-remunerated employment) were illusory anyway. Jeffs and Smith further argued that expansion had occurred as a result of higher education institutions cynically seeking to increase their income from student fees (ibid, 1993, p.16). Whatever the reasons, significant growth in the number of training courses for youth workers during the 1980s (from 22 in 1984 to some 60 in 1991) was accompanied by a 42% rise in the allocation of training places by 1990 (from 380 in 1984 to 521 in 1988), and something like 1000 graduates from these courses by 1991

¹⁷¹ The idea of an impending 'shortfall' in full-time staffing in youth and community work was a primary factor underlying the establishment of Bainbridge's work which was instrumental in the 'competency' approach gaining currency in the professional education of youth and community workers (Bainbridge, 1988, foreword by Alan Sutton).

(Jardine, 1989, p.51, National Youth Agency, 1992b, p.5). The rapid and apparently disorganised expansion of professional training led to questions being asked about the purpose and content of courses, and suggestions that there needed to be clearer definitions of the common areas to be covered (Cane, 1992). These uncertainties reflect the ambiguity which had surrounded youth work since the 1940s. In 1992 it was recommended that a working group be established to define the "... distinctive elements which should form the core of all youth and community work training, including its moral and ethical base and the relationship between theory and practice" (National Youth Agency, 1992b, p.18). The implication was that expansion had led to confusion about course content and uncertainty about the professional competence of those qualifying as youth and community workers. This was part of a wider process in which the nature of competence was becoming increasingly contested by those involved at a time when new discourses of competency were emerging.

At present there are 6 major routes into qualified youth and community work. These include two year full-time or part-time DipHEs, BA degrees, Postgraduate courses at Certificate or Diploma level, higher degrees which incorporate a professional qualification, Accreditation Schemes and Apprenticeship programmes (National Youth Agency, 1997a, p.5). Their content and the 'learning outcomes' are closely regulated by ETS through a process of peer endorsement of all courses put forward by higher education institutions or other sponsors.

'Problematising' the professional education of youth workers

As suggested in Chapter Four, the broad political context in which competency-based approaches to professional education began to be influential was extremely important in the case of specific occupations like youth work. Competency was eminently suited to the

climate of mass higher education in the 1980s and early 1990s. The necessary 'economies of scale' achieved through modularisation and curriculum flexibility were well supported by an institutional economy in which the assessment of 'learning outcomes' could be made according to apparently clear and predetermined criteria. The notion of competency and its apparent transparency to learners as well as those 'delivering' training or education was a key element in this. However, as well as these 'global' circumstances, there were particular factors in youth work which created the conditions in which a curious alliance has been forged between the 'neo-progressive' forces of the competency movement (perhaps most clearly represented by the NCVQ), and advocates of the rather more traditional (in youth work terms at least) humanistic and 'person-centred' approaches which have dominated the professional education and training of youth workers since the 1960s and which were discussed in Chapter Eight.

Perceptions of specific problems with professional training and education for youth workers during the 1980s and 1990s were important factors in permitting competency to gain a place on the agenda of youth work education and training. Two main criticisms centred around the way in which the courses of professional education were seen to establish and manage the 'theory-practice' relationship, and the way in which the processes involved were believed or not to lead to an appropriately competent (in the conventional sense) professional worker. Part of the criticism of academy-based professional education is that the potential for conflicting definitions of the nature of professional activity and knowledge is present as a consequence of its location. Conflict is created and exacerbated through the differential status accorded by the academy to 'science' and 'applied' knowledge or 'skill', and the associated division of labour between academics and practitioners. Arguably, this creates the conditions in which theory and practice are believed to become separated. In the case of

youth work, the problem of 'defining the nature of the profession' is even more acute because of the deep ambiguity which has surrounded the objectives of youth work since the 1940s. As suggested in Chapter Six, the nature, purposes and aims of social education, which have provided youth work's underlying rationale since the 1960s, are also essentially contested despite the existence of a 'national statement' of purpose for youth work. This is expressed in such vague terms as to be open to an almost infinite range of interpretations, and reflecting this, the content of professional education for youth workers has varied accordingly. The practices and processes of the competency-based approach to training and education are designed to transform such ambiguity, inconsistency and opacity into a new language of transparency and transferability. Their deployment in the context of youth work is discussed a little later in this chapter. In this section of Chapter Nine, a number of specific analyses and criticisms of the professional education of youth workers which emerged during the 1980s and early 1990s are discussed. These are construed here as part of a process which has 'problematized' the professional education of youth workers articulating this in terms of substantive problems which require resolution. The initial discussion draws primarily on four main texts which are supported by other sources where appropriate. The texts are

- A national report of work undertaken by a 'Panel' established under the auspices of the National Youth Bureau (forerunner of the National Youth Agency) to consider the development of training for part-time youth workers. The Report was entitled *Starting from Strengths*, (Bolger and Scott, 1984). Although focusing on the training of part-time youth workers, this work established a paradigm in which the idea of 'competency' was initially introduced into analysis of professional education and training for full-time youth work. This work was not undertaken by or on behalf of 'employers', and the Panel comprised academics and practising trainers from both the statutory and voluntary sectors of the youth service;

- A paper on 'apprenticeship' modes of professional education and training in youth work (Sinclair, 1987). This paper reflected the interest that grew in the 1980s in the concept of 'apprenticeship' in the professional education of youth workers and signalled strong interest in 'work-based' forms of education and training. It also informed the thinking behind the 25 DES/DfE sponsored 'apprenticeship' programmes which operated in England and Wales for 3 years from 1989;

- A report of a national project established by CETYCW exploring the possibility of 'validating learning from experience' in youth work: *Taking the Experience Route*, (Bainbridge, 1988). This work was the first attempt to identify specific 'competencies' for professional youth work. Its Steering Group comprised academics, trainers (including Trevor Sinclair referred to previously), representatives of both 'staff' and 'employers' on JNC and a representative of the Department of Education and Science;

- An HMI report on professional education and training for youth work on 11 courses during the 1980s (Department of Education and Science, 1990). HMI voiced a series of criticisms of the state of professional education and training for youth work focusing particularly on the relationship between theory and practice.

These sources have been extremely influential in different ways in elaborating a discursive terrain on which it has been possible to insert and develop the idea of competency-based professional education and training in youth work. Importantly, none of these texts can be considered to operate specifically or exclusively in the interests of the employers of youth workers, although employers (local education authorities and voluntary youth organisations) were involved in the work discussed in the texts. Rather, as a general trend the competency approach has been encouraged and developed by a diverse network of interests.

The precise nature of the way in which these texts problematise the professional education and training of youth workers is examined initially. Four main themes are discussed in turn.

(i) defining a curriculum for the professional education of youth workers

The ambiguity which has been shown to have characterised youth work since at least the 1940s was identified as being reflected in the curricula of the 11 courses which were inspected during the 1980s. Although HMI indicated that the courses aimed to achieve knowledge and understanding among their students which was broadly comparable, the "... present diversity in subjects taught and the emphasis given to them is such that it is difficult for potential employers and others to know what knowledge and skills can be expected in someone who has recently qualified". The Inspectors point out that the higher education

institutions running these courses were often responding to “local” needs and conditions, and under pressure from specific “interest groups”, including employers, to structure courses in particular ways and to include or exclude particular curriculum areas. For example, HMI pointed out that some courses were criticised by employers for placing too much curriculum emphasis on ‘community work’ at the expense of preparing students to work with young people (Department of Education and Science, 1990, p.3). This suggests that consensus over the necessary content of initial qualifying courses was not established. It appears that HMI had identified significant differences in definition of the nature of professional youth work itself, with the inevitable attendant variations in conceptions of ‘professional competence’ held by the academy and by employers. Similarly, in comparing courses at different institutions, the Inspectors pointed to differences in what stood as necessary professional preparation for youth work. This was reflected in the significant variations detected by HMI in the curricula adopted on the different courses inspected. All the courses “... allow some measure of student choice in the subjects studied, but while some courses have a core curriculum which all students follow... others have a curriculum largely agreed between students and staff” (ibid, p.3). It is difficult to imagine how, given such apparent variation in what academic institutions regard as necessary preparation for professional work, any consistency could exist in definitions of ‘professional competence’. In one sense without a consensus of a basic kind over these matters the claim to professional identity in the occupation is also seriously jeopardised. However, the courses inspected by HMI typify the ‘technocratic’ mode of professional education discussed in Chapter Four with the separation of ‘high level’ and ‘discipline-based’ theory from practice. One of the weaknesses associated with this model is the potential for diversity in the knowledge-base transmitted as a consequence of high institutional autonomy on the part of course providers. Although the

JNC (established under Albemarle) had held responsibility since 1961 for scrutinising courses offering initial professional qualifications in youth work, detailed national guidelines on the content of these courses were only agreed in the mid and late 1980s. Prior to this, CETYCW's guidelines for courses of initial professional education referred to the Thompson Report's definition of settings in which youth work is delivered, rather than defining any particular competence required of youth workers.¹⁷² Arguably, institutional autonomy and discretion in interpreting the guidelines was considerably higher at this time than has subsequently been the case. As will be shown, the current guidelines for courses of this nature have moved very much closer to a competency-based model in which it is implied that ambiguity can be all but eliminated.

Although HMI were critical of what was seen as the ambiguity surrounding the curriculum of professional education and training for youth work their view was that the curriculum should be formalised and strengthened. In contrast, Bolger and Scott advanced what amounted to a critique of curriculum as such in the context of course provision. In their analysis, courses entail an often inappropriate set of transactions between students (or 'learners') and 'professional interests', which they argued often sought to promote a particular syllabus (and thus a formal body of knowledge) on those seeking qualification (Bolger and Scott, 1984, p.10). Bolger and Scott's argument sought to disturb the form of such transactions by replacing the conventional notion of curriculum with a strategy in which learners become the primary authors of their own learning by deploying their own past experience as a form of 'live' curriculum. As suggested earlier, the ambiguous nature of contemporary youth work is a significant factor in defining the nature of professional

¹⁷² This is referred to in Thompson as "face-to-face work", with young people and communities, and "management work" with staff and material resources (Department of Education and Science, 1982, p.87).

preparation for youth work. Without some consensus on what youth work seeks to achieve, it is difficult to define the kind of competence needed by its practitioners. Yet, youth work itself is an essentially contested and contestable enterprise, whose specific purposes and outcomes are difficult to define in anything but the vaguest terms. Different interests clearly take different views of what counts as youth work. The 'statement of purpose' adopted for youth work in the early 1990s provides confirming evidence of the difficulty in getting universally acceptable definitions of the work. The juxtaposition of 'liberal' and 'radical' forms of social education in this for example indicates the potential for conflicting definitions of objectives and outcomes in both 'theory and practice'. This is unsurprising given the fundamentally 'moral' character of the occupation's professed objectives, the definition and meaning of which are inevitably open to dispute. One suspects that this overall problem of definition is reflected in the observations from HMI, and is undoubtedly a contributory factor in the appeal and growing importance of competence-based routes to education and training in youth work. In a political and social climate in which accountability and 'value for money' have become dominant motifs, it is hardly surprising that attention is drawn to apparent inconsistencies as identified by the Inspectorate. The promise of the competency model is that these difficulties can be resolved. By clarifying expectations on all parties involved (employers, course providers and students) all can become clear of the expectations which apply to them.

(ii) theory and practice in the professional education of youth workers

As suggested earlier, one of the weaknesses of the technocratic model of professional education lies in its propensity to create a disjunction between theory and practice. In its report, the Inspectorate continued its critique of youth workers' professional education by drawing attention to the extant relationship between theory and practice on the courses that

were inspected. This was initially explored in terms of the relationship between ‘academic’ components of the courses inspected, and the areas of ‘professional skill’ which were believed necessary for practice. Appendix 11 shows the Inspector’s somewhat rudimentary analysis of course content (which may be entirely reflective of the provider institutions’ own analysis) across the 11 institutions which were visited. Despite highlighting the variations between courses, they were able to point to similarities and were critical of the “mainly sociological” orientation which they believed most courses had adopted during the 1980s. As well as criticising sociology as the particular knowledge-base, HMI articulated further analysis of the relationship between knowledge and ‘skill’, and thus about the relationship between theory and practice. As the Inspectors put it

“... sociology is commonly the strongest single influence on the way topics are examined, and evidence from sociological studies is pre-eminent in much of the teaching and learning. It helps students to develop their understanding of society and its institutions that they will need in their professional work. But the explanations it offers of the broad sweep of social organisation may not, on their own, be helpful to people who will be working for change with groups and individuals. Hence, sociological interpretations might usefully be balanced by others which arise from analysing the educational experiences of and processes of groups and individuals” (ibid, p.13).

It is not difficult to detect an implicit appeal here for youth work to acknowledge its rather more modest potential than some of the critical sociology of the 1970s and 1980s seemed to offer. One might also point to a scepticism of sociology, perhaps the paradigm ‘social’ science of the post-war period. Further criticism is implied of the general focus in youth workers’ professional education on so-called ‘issues’: race, gender, class or disability, for example, which apparently formed a substantial element of course curricula. As argued in Chapter Six, throughout the 1970s and 1980s ‘radical social education’ focused on the ‘issues’ which its advocates claimed structured young people’s experiences and so often

marginalised their lives. In Chapter Six, the sociological lineage of the notion of 'issues' was also suggested. Dominant youth work discourse was at that time (and to some degree at present judging by the 'statement of purpose' referred to earlier) construed as a practice - often referred to as 'issue-based' youth work - which sought to enable young people to understand these 'issues' and the underlying 'social forces' in order to 'take control' rather than be controlled by them. This reflects the dominant sociological focus of youth workers' professional education at this time. However, HMI's criticism seemed not solely to be that these so-called 'issues' had been inappropriately identified as forming the terrain of social education, but rather that too little attention seemed to be given by professional educators to preparing youth workers for the business of dealing with them in a practical way. The Inspectorate's report clearly indicates that insufficient attention was being given to the development of what it regarded as the essential skills of counselling, group work, curriculum development and general 'human resource management'. Its inspection did not often reveal "... teaching designed explicitly to extend the range and depth of professional skills in such areas"(ibid, p.9). In this respect, HMI echoed the assertion already made by Bainbridge that "Awareness and knowledge of issues is not in itself enough. It has to be translated into competence to act" (Bainbridge, 1988, p.13). These observations constitute a clear criticism of the practices which the Inspectorate claimed had led to a major disjunction between theory and practice. It was shown in Chapter Four, that perceptions of 'vocational' elements (skills and specifically 'professional' knowledge, for example) being marginalised by higher status discipline-based knowledge form a long-standing criticism of technocratic academy-based professional education. The separation between these elements is one substantive reason why competency-based approaches which claim to integrate theory and practice have had such a wide appeal amongst some of the interest groups involved in professional education, not least

the employers of public professionals who fund professional work and the state institutions and apparatuses ultimately responsible for granting professional license.

As this thesis has shown, the fieldwork placement - the 'practicum' - has long been a central element in youth workers' professional preparation and aimed particularly at integrating theory and practice. According to HMI, on the typical two-year academy-based qualifying course, 40% of the student's time would be spent in fieldwork placements of different kinds. In the courses inspected during the 1980s, according to the Inspectorate, these placements did not

“... necessarily ensure that the students learn professional skills which are new to them or develop those in which they are particularly weak... The learning of new skills and the development of weaker ones together with understanding of appropriate applications, need to be given fuller attention in the time spent at college” (ibid, p.5).

Reflecting similar criticisms which were made of courses in the 1940s, the Inspectors argued that placements often entailed students' involvement in “humdrum and ordinary” work, allegedly all-too-frequently based on 'recreation' rather than on the educational principles which underlay official discourses of youth work and social education. This constitutes substantive criticism of the way in which specifically 'work-based' learning was being deployed in professional preparation for youth work as well as criticism of the work itself.

In making these criticisms, the Inspectorate sought to mark out a rather different terrain of professional education and training for youth work - one essentially rooted in practice and the acquisition of skills - from that which apparently predominated in the higher education institutions whose courses were inspected in the 1980s. The Inspectorate's analysis constituted a major 'permissive' contribution to the appeal of 'work-based' training and education which deploy the notion of 'competency' in judging the professional

accomplishments of novice practitioners. In the summary to their report, the Inspectors acknowledged that the courses they had inspected had achieved much in the terms of enhancing students' "personal growth" and "self-confidence". It was shown in Chapter Eight that 'personal growth' was seen as a major function of professional training for youth work at the National College and apparently continued to be important on courses in the 1980s.¹⁷³ Yet, as "... specific training for professional youth work... they are less satisfactory: few courses devote sufficient time to the knowledge and skills necessary for good practice in social education. This deficiency needs to be addressed if the training courses are to meet the needs of the modern youth service" (ibid, p.2). This signalled a criticism of the 'curriculum of the self' which had emerged through the National College in the 1960s and 1970s. Competency-based approaches have become a response to this "deficiency" in youth work training.

(iii) 'academic' learning and the problem of power

During the 1970s and 1980s a much broader critique of the 'professional ideal' became established in relation to the human-service occupations in particular. Its intellectual expression ranged from 'anti-psychiatry' (exemplified in the work of Laing and Cooper in Britain), to the work of Illich and Freire in education, and it underlay the work of a number of well-known American and British Marxist sociologists. This was referred to in Chapter Three. Although heterogeneous, this critique was widely influential, and emerged as a critical perspective in the context of professional education for the human service occupations. It had its expression in British youth work through the 1984 Report 'Starting from Strengths' (SfS), which was based on a research project considering how the

¹⁷³ This is unsurprising as many of those involved in running the courses were either the same people who had been involved in the 1960s or had themselves trained at the College.

development of training opportunities for youth workers might be enhanced. Although primarily concerned with part-time youth work, the project attempted (with some success) to advance a critique of 'professionalism' and 'professional training' in youth work. This critique received a warm reception in a context in which the relevance of the 'professional ideal' in youth and community work had been subject to challenge by advocates of 'anti-professionalism' and "client-centred" approaches (Cox and Derricourt, 1975, p.87). *SfS* sought to develop an alternative account of how 'professional competence' could be delineated and acquired by youth workers to that which it characterised as the conventional pedagogy of 'training courses'. It attempted to disrupt the perception that the 'professional' (the qualified and expert full-time youth worker) was the desirable model against which the part-time 'non-professional trainee' could be judged. For the authors of *SfS*, the conventional notion of professionalism constituted a set of "needs and deficits" in the novice, determined and defined through professional discourse. Such a hierarchy of knowledge and expertise, *SfS* implied, had been continuously reproduced through the institutions in which professional formation is undertaken, and was thus inevitably reflected in the professional's work with client groups. The authors of *SfS* argued that a thorough reorientation of this power-relationship should be sought in order to

"... take note of the flawed contributions of both professional and non-professional... (by seeking) to achieve a genuinely equal mix of involvement between participants less distinguishable as trainers and students and more nearly mutual learners" (Bolger and Scott, 1984, p.28).

Thus, by seeking to redefine the part-time youth worker, *SfS* inevitably focused attention on full-time youth workers. As this quotation suggests, one of the arguments in *SfS* concerned what its authors saw as the redistribution of power. In this context, power was understood in

terms of a 'zero-sum' model in which some actors 'have' power and some do not. *SfS* sought to remove power from the expert professional - the 'trainer' for example - by giving authority to non-professional trainees by recognising and valuing their background and previous experience. In this respect, the underlying rationale of *SfS* might be seen to depart from earlier and dominant models of professional education and training for youth workers. However, as shown in Chapter Eight (p.263), the idea that a tutor on a course of professional education could act with students in part of a "... a common experience of learning" (Watkins, 1967, p.84), was acknowledged at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders in the 1960s. In effect *SfS* revisited what has been a powerful motif in youth work since the 1960s: the 'non-judgmental' and 'non-directive' stance of practitioner or indeed educator or trainer. As such the underlying philosophy of *SfS* was partly a reaffirmation of the familiar humanist epistemology and egalitarian politics of the Albemarle period, itself a reworking of an earlier discourse of human relations psychology. As argued in Chapter Eight, this was an influential perspective in professional education and training for youth work in the 1960s. The point here is not to rehearse the criticism of that stance but to show its recurrence in youth work discourse and the extent to which through *SfS*, the first parts of a discursive and practical relationship between modes of 'person-centred' learning and the discourse of competency were being forged. In *SfS* youth work and the training which youth workers received in preparation and support of their work continued to be construed in terms of the 'project of the self' - "enabling people to grow" - although most significant for the discussion here, it was combined with an apparently sharper focus on the need to prepare individuals for the "day-to-day practice with young people" which they were to take on in their work settings (Bolger and Scott, 1984, p.19). *SfS* argued that individuals come to youth work with a sense that their "personal needs" might somehow be fulfilled through their involvement in the work. Part of

the rationale of *SfS* was that 'needs' should be recognised as 'strengths' and as real potential for work with young people. Rather than being thought of in terms of their 'deficit' status - an assumption adopted by the model of professional formation which allegedly characterised most professional education and training - novice youth workers should be perceived as repositories of powerful and relevant experiences. It was these which *SfS* argued should be viewed as strengths from which the subsequent process of constructing and enhancing competence in the workplace should begin. Individual and collective experience, rather than elitist knowledge in the form of professional curricula would provide the material to be worked through by the aspirant youth worker in the process of professional formation. Clearly a new discourse of professionalism is evident here. Professional education and training *SfS* argued, should seek to accommodate (and in the process maximise) personal experience with the occupational expectations of youth work. Personal experience - qua 'strengths' - was implicitly argued to pose a challenge to the authority of 'academic' knowledge, and regarded in *SfS* as being epistemologically more 'authentic' than knowledge deriving from the academy. The latter was regarded as distant, potentially oppressive and of doubtful relevance in the practical (and of course egalitarian) world of work with young people. It is easy to see why such a critique was warmly received in the context of the dominant discourses and ideologies which had come to characterise youth work since the early 1960s. Such a perspective, rejecting the implicit hierarchies of conventional professionalism, is the consummate expression of 1960s egalitarianism, echoes of which continued to resonate through youth work.

Although there was nothing new about the general stance taken by *SfS*, its critique of the contexts, processes and institutional forms which training for part-time youth workers had assumed since the 1960s was new. These relied on the worthiness of a suffocating

'professionalism' which was regarded by both the political left and the right as "disabling" because of its propensity to impose the dubious authority of its own exclusive and mystifying world-view on those outside its 'charmed circle' (Illich, 1977, p.11; Johnson, 1991, p.104-110). It was precisely this critique of professionalism which became influential in relation to the professional education of full-time youth workers, and which contributed to the emergence of the discourse of competency in the professional education of youth workers. For the authors of *S/S*, the argument concerned the power to define what counts as 'professional competence' and who should 'hold' such power (Davies and Durkin, 1991, p.5). In this argument power is once again understood as something that one either 'has' or does not 'have, and if one (or in this case an institution) has it, then one is able to use it to dominate others.¹⁷⁴ In the context of Bolger and Scott's analysis of professional education, power is clearly understood as a negative and repressive force, used hitherto as a weapon to coerce individuals - youth workers in the process of training - to think and act in particular ways whilst effectively marginalising their own experiences. Exposure to the canon of received knowledge effectively structures a process of "semi-professional socialisation" which apparently constitutes the achievement of professional competence in particular ways and in a specific form (Bolger and Scott, 1984, p.29). *S/S* sought to engage in a process of 'redistributing' the power of definition in order to take account of the capacity that novice youth workers have to produce meaning from their own authentic experiences of life and work rather than relying on the dominance of knowledge and theory distributed through courses of professional education and training organised in the academy. Throughout *S/S*, the authors argue that training for youth work should seek opportunities for recognising and

¹⁷⁴ As we have already argued, this is a very limited (and indeed limiting) view because it fails to take account of the 'gentle' side of power, and the way that it 'works' through discourses. Of course Bolger and Scott's approach is no more immune to the presence and workings of power than any other.

affirming the personal experiences of novice youth workers. In aiming to change what is understood as the 'power of definition' - by marking out one terrain of professionalism rather than another - of what counts towards competence, it clearly had the potential to substitute one disciplinary regime for another. The anticipation of a notion of 'competency' although nowhere defined as such in the Report, is clearly evident particularly in the emphasis placed on the transferability of skills which were construed as the basis of practice.

(iv) the authenticity of experience and the context of work

Further criticism of professional education's technical-rational approach, and its separation of theory and practice underlies the development, during the late 1980s and early 1990s, of a number of so-called 'apprenticeship' programmes of youth work training which led to professional qualification in youth work.¹⁷⁵ These programmes were characterised by 'experiential' modes of learning, and typically had 4 main features which built on Bolger and Scott's critique (Department for Education and Welsh Office, 1993, 30):

- emphasis on skill-based learning, with theory emerging from practice, not imposed upon it;
- validation of previous experience;
- academic validation of on-the-job training;
- workers-in-training paid to learn and work.

Signalling the importance of work, participants on these programmes typically spent 60% of their time in work-based practice. The remainder was spent undertaking 'theory-based' learning, although the evaluation of the apprenticeship schemes funded by the DFE indicates that the latter was open to wide interpretation.

¹⁷⁵ The distinction between 'education' and 'training' is particularly marked in this context. As we shall see, these programmes (and their successors) have been much concerned with enhancing the individual practitioner's capacity to 'perform' or to 'do'. In the context of political pre-occupations with enterprise and competitiveness, skills have assumed a leading place on the agenda of professional preparation, and 'liberal' forms of knowledge, which may have characterised professional education in the past, have arguably become marginalised.

Whilst these programmes were not specifically 'competency-based' as such their sponsors were concerned to reform the link between theory and practice in youth work. As one sponsor suggested

"... we were training for a job. We needed development of experience, not just academic core then a practical added, or even some kind of integration of those two, but the assumption that people were coming to a course with life experience behind them. The question in training for Community and Youth Work was: how can you then enhance that experience to enable the people to do a job at the end of it?" (ibid, p.31).

Sharing a wider critique of professional education and training in youth work, the advocates of the apprenticeship model of professional training argued that the location of professional formation in the academy had rendered it inaccessible to many people who had both the potential and desire to work as 'professional' youth workers. This argument was part of a wider reaction to technical-rationalism in the human services. In this it was suggested that the knowledge and skills necessary for this work had become over-professionalised, and appropriated by professional self-interest to the extent that a problematic division had opened up between 'workers' and 'clients' (Davies and Durkin, 1991, p.3), and reflecting the separation between 'theory' and 'practice'. This reproduced the structures of hierarchy and inequality which at least some youth workers were committed to change through their practice. The advocates of the first apprenticeship programme for the professional preparation of youth workers rejected "college type courses" because they were "... not appropriate on the grounds of their remoteness from practice and the fact of their inadequate attention to the realities of rampant discrimination and oppression" (Sinclair, 1987). Underlying apprenticeship-based professional education and training was a desire to reconfigure the professional identity of the youth worker by moving away from a model of professional preparation which, the advocates of apprenticeship argued, systematically

disadvantaged people from the working class, women and those from minority ethnic communities. It was, they argued, these very people who had experienced disadvantage at first hand who would make the most positive contribution to youth work through the mobilisation and deployment of their 'lived experience'.

The advocates of apprenticeship argued that hitherto, not only had the institutional location of professional education for youth work¹⁷⁶ been elitist, but its practices had also relied on the acquisition of a body of essentially elite and canonical knowledge. This entailed an ambiguous perception and relationship with 'theory' on the part of the apprenticeship programmes.¹⁷⁷ On the one hand theory was acknowledged as important and valuable, yet on the other hand theory deriving from the academy was seen to be both remote and irrelevant to the day-to-day life and practice of those for whom apprenticeship training was intended to benefit. This did not mean that theory was entirely eschewed, but it was only valuable when "returned to the arena of action". Like those involved in running the National College a decade earlier, the advocates of apprenticeship argued that theory was only really admissible if it was rooted in direct personal experience. Typically combined with a quasi-Marxist social analysis, and embodying a somewhat romantic perspective (in some ways rehearsing that of the National College), reflection on personal experience took on an almost mystical

¹⁷⁶ It is worth noting that Sinclair and the programme with which he was associated took a view of youth work ('community and youth work') which was heavily influenced by a 'community development' approach. For him, this work was a "... radical instrument that could make a real impact restructuring society along lines that would bring about social and racial justice" (Sinclair, 1987, p.21). In this sense, the model of youth work operating here could be seen as embodying the 'radical' genre of social education discussed in Chapter Seven, committed to structural change through challenging racism and inequality, and the redistribution of opportunities.

¹⁷⁷ This ambiguity is evident throughout the DFE's evaluation report of the apprenticeship schemes which it supported. Each of the schemes had to secure professional endorsement, and they operated in partnership with academic institutions to achieve this. Interestingly, Grisbrook shows that Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work (then responsible for endorsement of professional education and training for youth work) were content in the main to leave the question of 'academic content' of the schemes to the partner institutions who were involved in their development (Grisbrook, 1990, p.8). This meant that the individual institutions had considerable discretion in determining academic content.

status in some of the apprenticeship programmes.¹⁷⁸ As in the National College programmes, group-based learning was adopted by the apprenticeship schemes, and ‘the group’ took on great significance in providing an arena in which its members’ personal experience could be analysed and reflected upon, and from which theory could be developed (Department for Education and Welsh Office, 1993, p.55-58).¹⁷⁹ Personal experience was viewed as fundamentally ‘real’, its apparently self-evident probity, its virtue and authenticity appeared unquestionable. The task for the apprenticeship programmes was to find a way of transforming raw day-to-day experiences of oppression into professional competence in future youth work practice. Arguing that theory should “originate” in the practice and lived experiences of those engaged in training, Sinclair emphasised the importance of “doing” in comparison with “theorising in abstract”, and in this respect Sinclair’s position (particularly his perception of the relationship between theory and practice) is easily accommodated in the more recent discourse of competency. Sinclair suggests that theories

“...arise out of action... and are best understood whilst actively engaged in implementing them... By the end of the course it is hoped that apprentices will have become skilled at constructing their own ‘practice-theory’, which is self-checking, continually expanding, informing and altering practice, and forging a continuum in which theory and practice are merged” (Sinclair, 1987, p.22 and p.26).

This is ironically close to the arguments advanced by the competency movement and by the NCVQ. Jessup, for example, makes a similar point when he suggests that “Competent professionals tend to acquire a set of guiding principles, of which they are often only partially

¹⁷⁸ Sinclair, for example, argued that an individual’s reflection on experience could lead to the development of “action consciousness”, which in turn could “... enable a person to rise above the struggle for mere survival to conduct and do battles with the realities of structural in-equalities (sic). Apprentices have to become both actors in and directors of their own destiny” (Sinclair, 1987, p.24).

¹⁷⁹ The general approach taken, and Sinclair’s own position, is deeply resonant of the work of Freire, whose critique of the ‘banking’ concept of education is well known. Freire’s advocacy of the deployment of the experience of oppression led to what he referred to as the ‘pedagogy of the oppressed’, which seems to have found fertile ground in training for professional youth work at this time (Freire, 1970, Chapter 3).

conscious, derived largely from their experience. These may build on 'academic' theories and knowledge or be only loosely related" (Jessup, 1991, p.127). Sinclair's quotation contains an underlying argument about how and by whom professional knowledge should be defined. For Sinclair, like Jessup, it is clear that the emerging professional (construed by Sinclair as the indigenous 'local' activist rather than in terms of the objective detachment more traditionally associated with professional work and thus relying on a very different discourse of professionalism) should have considerable authority in marking the boundaries of professional knowledge. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Maslow's idea of 'self-actualisation' and Rogers' notion of the 'fully functioning person' are cited by Sinclair as motifs which provide the intellectual underpinning to the position advocated, with Kolb's 'learning cycle' offering a guideline to the actual practice of teaching and learning. This approach, again consistent with Jessup's views is described by Bainbridge as a "... style of learning based on enquiry and experience rather than didactic teaching" (Bainbridge, 1988, p.5). In this respect, it is clear that the entire pedagogy of the apprenticeship programme discussed by Sinclair and the wider field of experiential learning on which this is based reflect the humanistic 'person-centred' approach so familiar at the National College a decade or more earlier whilst also being consistent with the models of competency espoused by NCVQ.

The discourse of apprenticeship is framed in terms of a vocabulary of 'work'. Participants on apprenticeship programmes were referred to as 'apprentices' or 'workers-in-training', rather than as students. For Sinclair, this is a vocabulary with which he claims working class people are familiar, and it is therefore both accessible and meaningful to those at whom the apprenticeship programme is aimed. As a social form, apprenticeship is saturated by the everyday rules and routines of work, and it relies on the novice acquiring the skills necessary for practice through his or her relationship with a "master practitioner" who

acts as the 'mentor' to the apprentice. Apprenticeship privileges matters concerned with the experience of work, its skills and routine knowledge in a particularly intense way.¹⁸⁰ Similar relationships were an integral part of the process of professional formation at the National College in the 1960s. As Sinclair suggests, the mentor is concerned with "... making apprentices self determining and equipping them with understanding of the processes rather than enforcing particular practice skills" (ibid, p.24). Clearly, the mentor occupies an important role in marking the boundaries and content of learning. Typically in the apprenticeship, the role of knowledge is constrained by its relevance to the mastery of practice routines, which may be more or less complex or sophisticated. However, by acknowledging a role for theory Sinclair seems to suggest that as a form of professional preparation for youth work, apprenticeships entail something rather more than this. However, even in Sinclair's model the role of knowledge is evidently subordinate to practice and experience.

As suggested in Chapter Four, apprenticeship characteristically entails the acquisition of 'cookbook' knowledge - 'tips and wrinkles' - which derives from practice, rather than knowledge whose origin lies in academic disciplines. It is the particularity of the apprenticeship experience which renders it an effective means of learning practical skills and routines but which also imposes limitations on the transferability of knowledge or skill beyond the immediate situation in which they are acquired. Most significant for this discussion is that the direct relationship between knowledge and practice entailed by apprenticeship characteristically reflects the role of knowledge in competency-based approaches to training and education. Superficially at least, knowledge is only relevant

¹⁸⁰ Indeed, such relationships can be understood in terms of pastoral forms of power, with the 'master' having a tutelary authority - an authority to 'speak the truth' about work practice - in relation to the apprentice.

insofar as it has an immediate bearing on work practice.¹⁸¹ It is in that respect that the apprenticeship programmes of the late 1980s and early 1990s are immensely significant in creating conditions in which competency has become influential in the professional education of youth workers. Sinclair's work has been influential in extending work-based programmes of professional education for youth work. By the late 1980s 5 apprenticeship programmes had been established by partnerships and consortia of local authorities and higher education institutions. In 1989, the Department for Education funded the establishment of 25 apprenticeship programmes designed to extend youth work in inner-city areas in England and Wales by providing accessible routes to professional qualification for indigenous young people aged from 18 to 25. As the evaluation report for this shows, Sinclair's article was very influential in determining the principles for these programmes (Department for Education and Welsh Office, 1993, p.9).¹⁸² These schemes (and other apprenticeship programmes in other parts of the country) established a legitimacy for an approach to the professional education of youth workers which emphasised "skill-based learning with theory emerging from practice, not imposed on it"; "validation of previous experience"; "academic validation of on-the-job learning"; "workers-in-training paid to learn and work" (ibid, p.30). These principles emphasise the sometimes extreme way in which those involved rejected 'conventional' academy-based models of professional formation.

In this section of Chapter Nine four main themes have been identified: the nature of curriculum, the relationship between theory and practice, the problem of power and the role of personal experience. In effect, these have 'problematized' the professional education and

¹⁸¹ However, in the context of the apprenticeship as a social form, it is also important not to ignore the role of (perhaps other kinds of) knowledge in the dissemination of an occupation's normative codes of conduct, and thus the potential for shaping the apprentice's view of self and the world.

¹⁸² Apparently the idea for these programmes came from an HMI visit to the USA in 1987 where similar programmes of peer education in the context of urban renewal had been established. Inner city disturbances in Britain seem to have made it an idea for the times.

training of youth workers. The chapter goes on from here to consider how the discourse of competency offers a range of 'technical solutions' to the problems identified in this analysis.

Marking Out the Ground of Youth Work: techniques for 'presenting absent things'¹⁸³

The establishment of apprenticeship programmes of professional education for youth workers in the 1980s signalled an incipient and deep-seated anxiety about (or even antagonism towards) formal 'theory' in youth work. The language of apprenticeship with its connotations of craft skill, artisanship and of 'doing rather than thinking' is a significant departure from a discourse of professionalism in which the acquisition and deployment of esoteric knowledge as well as professional skill had predominated. As such, the adoption of the apprenticeship motif can be understood as an attempt to symbolise in unequivocal terms the value of 'practice' in youth work in the context of a range of uncertainties about the effectiveness of extant means of acquiring professional competence. In this sense, 'competency' can be seen as a retreat from (inevitable) uncertainty about the essentially moral and ambiguous nature of youth work (structured by complex and contestable notions like 'education', and accounts of 'issues' which were claimed to shape young peoples' lives) into the apparent security of 'the real' as embodied in practice: what youth workers actually do. Responding to the difficulties which had been identified with professional education for youth work during the 1980s, attempts were made to 'fix' youth work in the gaze of a new rationality which was beginning to emerge in the competency movement. In the following parts of Chapter Nine, the move towards an explicitly competency-based approach to the acquisition of professional qualifications in youth work is explored. The discussion takes a particular view of the

¹⁸³ The words come from Latour (1986, p.8). They are used to suggest how the techniques of competency (by providing systematic statements of detailed 'competencies', for example) seem to be able to 'conjure up' in visual and textual form entities which would otherwise be neither present nor accessible. As such, competency statements are 'representations' of individuals' capacities and dispositions, but of course are none the less 'real' for that.

significance of competency. As suggested earlier in this thesis, the competency approach has been criticised from a range of different perspectives. Its allegedly behaviourist stance, for example, has been argued by some commentators to be inappropriate to professional work which requires the complex exercise of discretion. Other critics have argued that competency is an ideologically motivated tool designed to manipulate the labour force by concealing the interests of employers and the state. Further arguments about the 'technical utility' of the competency approach and its potential in achieving what its advocates claim for it have formed another critical strand. Although valuable, critics appear to have ignored the way in which competency can be regarded as a technical innovation designed to make "absent things" present (in the form of 'competencies') in a way that renders them amenable to thought and to manipulation. As suggested in the case of youth work, it has been extremely difficult to ensure that the capability of the aspirant or novice professional (defined in various ways at different times) is 'up to standard' and appropriate to the work role required of him. Competency represents a technical means of attempting to ensure such things are made clear. In the remainder of this chapter this is explored in the context of youth work.

The importance of apparently minor technical innovations in disciplinary societies (the time-table or the school register, or techniques of book-keeping and notation, for example) is a major theme in Foucault's work. Similarly, in discussing the Western colonisation of the Pacific region, Latour suggests that great social and historical forces like economic interests, the imperatives of capitalism or the spirit of imperialism are "... empty terms as long as one does not take into account Mercator's projection, marine clocks and their markers, copper engravings of maps, rutters, the keeping of 'log books'..." (Latour, 1986, p.6). Latour's point is that techniques and technologies of these sorts had an indispensable role in facilitating the capacity to manipulate and manage reality by allowing those using

them to make particular kinds of claims and arguments about that reality which could be 'captured' and rendered 'mobile' through their use. In a similar way, the development of the techniques of competency has the potential (and is designed for this purpose) of capturing the complexities of individual and collective capability (construed as competence) and making them amenable to inspection, judgement and subsequent manipulation.

As indicated in previous sections of this chapter, in the absence of shared and palpable definitions of youth work and the competence required to become a professional in the field, those involved as either students or professional educators were thought by some critics to be surrounded by a sense of ambiguity and uncertainty about what precisely stood as professional competence in youth work. Apparently those providing courses of professional education were unable to make convincing cases to the relevant 'authority' (HMI) about what they were doing: in particular about the results of their attempts to form appropriately trained and skilled practitioners. Part of the problem here (and drawing on Latour's earlier point) was that the territory of youth work appeared not to have been sufficiently well 'mapped': there seemed little agreement on what constituted the territory itself, the relative positions of key landmarks had not been properly identified, contours had been left largely uncharted and boundaries between different features remained unmarked. In short the territory itself remained something of a topographical mystery. The importance of competency is that it seems to offer the potential of providing a clear map of a specific area of work and, rather like a conventional atlas, enables the specifics ('the geography') of one area of work to be located and mapped in relation to those of others. This point is well made by the advocates of competency-based education and training. As indicated in Chapter Four, the process of 'functional analysis' is designed to identify and expose all aspects of a particular domain of work by "... breaking the work role for a particular occupational area into purposes and

functions... It is therefore essentially integrative and should provide NCVQ (National Council for Vocational Qualifications) with an occupational map across the whole economy” (Mitchell, 1989, p.58). Mitchell’s point reminds us of the powerful ‘governmental’ facility that competency techniques offer, enabling alignments and links to be made between different levels: between a specific occupation and a whole economy, the ‘competencies’ acquired by a single individual and the resources required by a prosperous and efficient nation state.¹⁸⁴ In short these are techniques which promise to govern *each* and *all*. The NVQ framework, Jessup suggests, has been established to “... overcome the confusion created by numerous awarding bodies competing in the same or overlapping occupational areas... This lack of coherence has often created problems in the career progression and mobility of individuals and inefficiencies in the VET (Vocational Education and Training) provision” (Jessup, 1989, p.67). Without over-stretching the metaphor, like Latour’s imperialists in the Pacific, the advocates of competency in youth work can be regarded as attempting to colonise a difficult and sometimes hostile terrain. To achieve their objectives, they have deployed techniques which have enabled them to represent and examine youth work in new ways: and as such to provide novel ‘maps’ of the ground on which they stand. Indeed, the process of functional analysis which has recently been undertaken in youth work has been referred to as “functional mapping”.

In his discussion of the difficulties associated with ‘validating’ individuals’ previous experience as a route to achieving professional qualification in youth work (and thus mirroring the challenge posed to those concerned with the training of part-time youth workers

¹⁸⁴ This potential becomes even more apparent in the context of European labour market strategy, difficulties in which have already been identified as “... the lack of a genuine European market in skills and occupations; the lack of mutual transparency and the limited recognition of qualifications and skills at Community level... (European Commission, 1994, p.135). A competency-based system presumably has considerable potential to resolve difficulties of this kind.

by *Starting from Strengths*),¹⁸⁵ Bainbridge argued that an accurate analysis (a map) of youth work and its component activities was necessary to achieve this. It would be impossible, he argued

“... to establish a scheme to validate an individual’s ability to do the work unless we first define the knowledge and skills required for effective practice. Identifying core competencies means a shift away from defining training by listing issues and values towards answering the question ‘what does a person need in order to do the job?’ The answer to this takes in both issues and values but locates them within a context of the knowledge and skills required for effective practice” (Bainbridge, 1988, p.13).

In the following sections, the process of ‘mapping’ youth work is discussed from the early initiatives taken by Bainbridge, to more recent developments in which strategies developed by NCVQ have been deployed in analysing the nature of youth work.

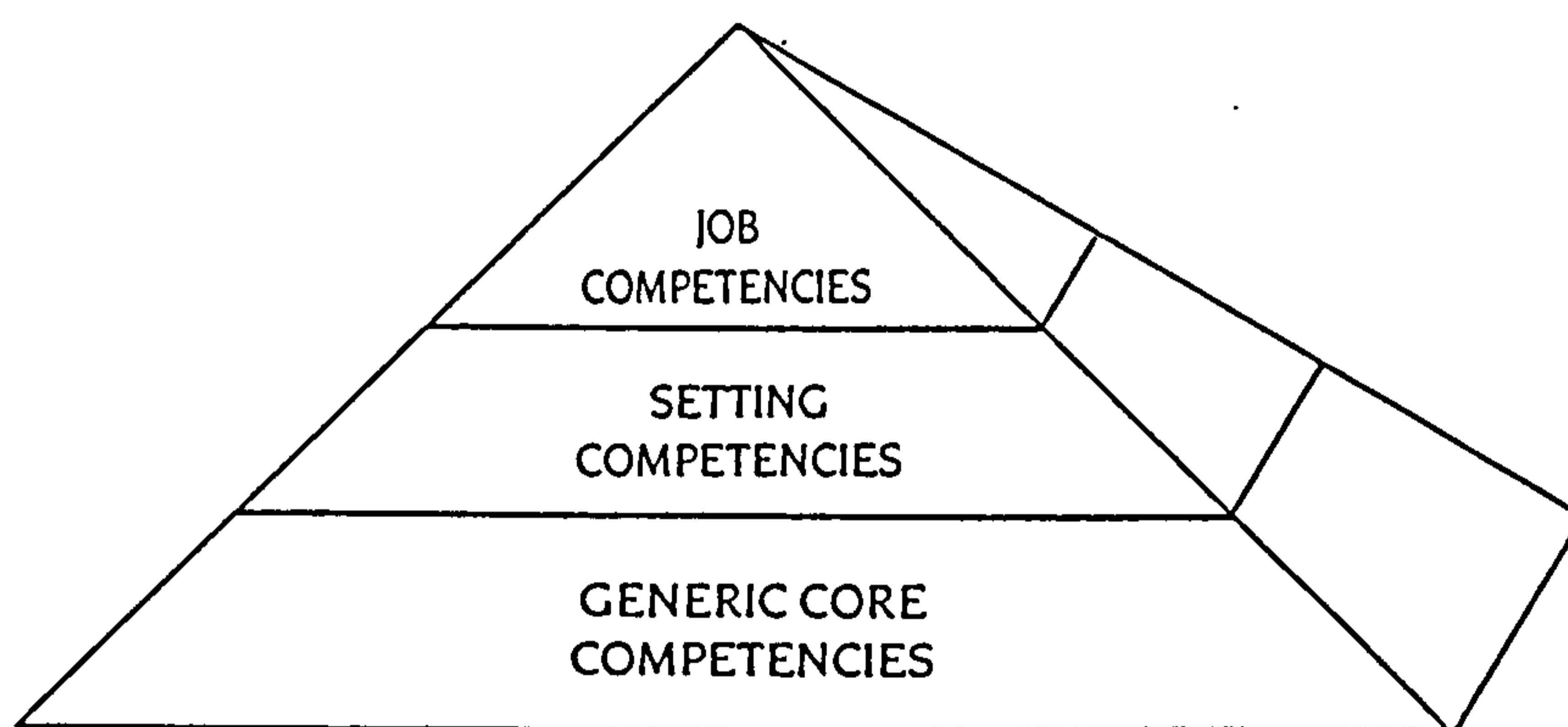
(i) Initial attempts to identify and map ‘competencies’ in youth work

By 1988 the first attempts to achieve an accurate account of competence in youth work had already been made. Given the ambiguous nature of youth work, this process has inevitably been characterised by different perceptions of what counts as professional competence. Such definitions are functions of ideological position, and a matter of struggle and contestation. Contrary to NCVQ’s implied position and despite its technical assurance, competency’s underlying ‘objective’ and ‘rational’ epistemology is neither neutral nor apolitical. ‘Functional analysis’ constitutes the work of constructing particular ‘truths’ and as such is saturated by power.

¹⁸⁵ Bolger and Scott argued that one of the first requirements from any “... accrediting body would be to draw up a statement of the competencies required by part-time and voluntary workers... which would ensure that organisations and authorities have a clear view about what they require”. Although Bolger and Scott did not explicitly define the meaning of the term ‘competencies’, they point to the possible tensions between employer requirements and the “individual learning needs” of the youth worker which they recognised were inherent in this approach. (Bolger and Scott, 1984, p.30).

Over the last ten years there have been three major attempts to provide 'definitive' accounts of competence in youth work, Bainbridge's being the first of these. Bainbridge has already been quoted as suggesting the existence of a "partnership" between the needs of learners and those of employers who wished to define what was required for effective youth work. Bainbridge's model of 'competencies' (in the plural) is designed to respond to both of these needs. The following diagram is used by Bainbridge to describe his model of competence.

Figure 1: The "Competency Pyramid"



(Source: Bainbridge, 1988, p.22)

Bainbridge's 'pyramid' signifies a hierarchy structured in terms of a transition from the general to the particular, and in which different levels of competence are identified at different degrees of definition. His analysis starts at the base of the pyramid, this being formed by "generic core competencies", which Bainbridge claims would be required by anyone working in the general field of youth and community work. These generic elements support the "setting competences" which define the competence needed in a more particular context in which a youth worker might operate: in project or centre-based youth work, for example. Finally, the apex of the pyramid contains specific "job competencies" which are envisaged as being particular to a given youth work job. Bainbridge argues that this

combination offers the possibility of integrating employers' specific work requirements with the individual's own values, skills and knowledge. The latter combination constitutes, for Bainbridge, an individual's "competencies" (again in the plural), although the particular combination of these is unspecified (Bainbridge, 1988, p.23). In any case, one suspects that Bainbridge was referring here to 'competence' in the conventional sense rather than 'competencies' in the atomised sense used by NCVQ. The model of so-called "generic core competencies" is offered in the form of a relatively simple list (Appendix 12) made up of three main elements: "underlying principles", "skills" and "knowledge". To define these Bainbridge's working group took the JNC definition of grading criteria for youth workers,¹⁸⁶ and identified "all the tasks which a qualified youth and community worker is expected to perform and asked what competencies would be required" (ibid, p.23, my emphasis). This identification of concrete tasks was supplemented by an analysis of course documents from existing training courses. There are at least two issues here. First, it is ironic in the wider sense that it was the existing courses and in particular their content and organisation that Bainbridge used to determine 'generic core competences'. It was from these courses, according to HMI, that a major part of the extant problem of professional education and training for youth work derived. Second, it is not made clear how "all the tasks" were or indeed could ever be successfully identified, and it seems inevitable that to some degree any means of classifying youth work (or indeed any other kind of work) is open to challenge. Surely it would be possible to define an infinite range of tasks of this kind, depending on the degree of definition and differentiation between them? Presumably some criteria rather than others were adopted (either implicitly or explicitly) to decide which definitions of skills and knowledge were to count as "generic core competencies"? Although a 'theory' or 'model' of

¹⁸⁶ Criteria used by employers to determine staff grades, and a particular definition of youth work.

a youth worker (in the form of the JNC grading criteria) was adopted to guide the group's thinking, reductionism would inevitably have crept in to the process of classifying skills and knowledge. At best, such a logic of enquiry can provide little more than a very rough guide to the nature of complex professional work, and suggests the fundamental methodological weakness of this approach. As Bainbridge says, the model presented in his paper is "refinement number four". What about number five or six? Where does the process of refinement or reduction cease and why? These questions are left unanswered in Bainbridge's work.

Despite the methodological weaknesses in Bainbridge's model, it represents an attempt to create a new way of representing and thinking about youth work. There are a number of points here. First, the model identifies a set of "underlying principles" which are constituted by statements of the values and general purposes which justify youth work. In effect, these offer a prescription of the ideal and indeed necessary dispositions which individual youth workers are expected to adopt in order to practise competently. Second, the model delineates a repertoire of five clusters of "skills" (Appendix 12). These mark out a series of behaviours which form the basis of youth work and of 'competent' practice. Third, these skills or behaviours are then aligned with a body of discrete areas of "knowledge" which apparently inform them and which are 'read off' directly from the skills themselves. It is implied that the individual must have acquired these areas of knowledge in order to be able to use the skills effectively, and thus to perform competently. So, for example, in order to "establish relationships and trust with young people and adults" (defined as a "skill"), an individual "...needs to know: principles and practice of social education". In this way, the model proposes a simple one-way relationship between skill and knowledge: the former requires the latter for successful and (presumably) 'competent' performance. In this sense,

Bainbridge's essentially instrumental approach is entirely consistent with a technical-rational model which privileges simple means-ends relationships. No indication is given in Bainbridge (and perhaps could not be given) of how skills and knowledge interact in sometimes contradictory ways in the complexity of professional work. The model appears quite indifferent to the 'logic-in-action' of 'reflective practice', as discussed in Chapter Four.

However, Bainbridge's model must be understood in the light of wider criticisms of the fragmentation of theory and practice. The model attempted to reconcile these by specifying skills and the knowledge required to underpin these. However, Bainbridge's categories of 'skills' and 'knowledge' are by no means homogenous and appear to contain different kinds of entities. For example, there appear to be quite significant differences between say the 'skill' of "initiating and sustaining developmental work with young people" (whatever that might be) and that of "writing clear reports and papers". These entail very different kinds of performances on the part of the individual and the definition of the latter seems very much more straightforward than that of the former. This is important in the context of making judgements about effective performance, which implies the need for a 'theory' of "developmental work" in order to both identify and judge it. Similarly, there are clearly different kinds of 'knowing' implied by Bainbridge's model of the knowledge necessary for competent practice. So, for example, knowing "how to relate theory to own life experience" entails quite a different form of knowing to say "basic book-keeping and budgeting". Bainbridge's category of knowledge includes a complex combination of knowledge as relatively simple 'facts' and knowledge as the cognitive ability to analyse, reflect and judge complex situations. Nevertheless, Bainbridge's model attempts to 'conjure up' a range of entities (values, attitudes, skills and knowledge) which in one sense had no former presence, or indeed existence. By doing this, the model claims to make these visible

and as such amenable to various kinds of work by employers, professional trainers or educators and individuals themselves.

Interestingly (and importantly), Bainbridge's model incorporates a series of statements about the 'self' of the youth worker which are construed as 'core competencies'. It is difficult to see logically how such entities as these 'personal attributes' can be regarded as 'competencies' as such even in Bainbridge's definition of the term. As shown earlier in this thesis, these aspects of the self have assumed an important role in competency-based approaches to education and training. Some of Bainbridge's so-called skills associated with the "use of self" seem much closer to the "personal skills" which were identified in Chapter Four as having such an important place in the discourse of enterprise. Mirroring Bainbridge's position, the CBI argued that it was these skills which should be seen as the "fundamental competencies which underpin almost any collection of tasks and activities" (McNeil, 1994, p.17). Given the power of entrepreneurial 'cultures of the self' currently, it would be surprising if these ideas did not emerge in youth work as in other contexts. Skills and activities associated with the calculated management and deployment of 'the self' have played a significant role in youth work discourse since the 1940s, and it would be surprising not to find a reference to these in an analysis such as Bainbridge's.

The major significance of Bainbridge's model is that it was quickly incorporated in the guidelines which were issued by the Education and Training Standards Sub-Committee of the National Youth Agency to providers of courses of professional education and training for youth workers. This means that before any course offering an initial professional qualification in youth work can be recognised by JNC, course providers must demonstrate that students will achieve a repertoire of "learning outcomes" which are informed by the Bainbridge model (National Youth Agency, 1997b, p.10-15).

(ii) Reaffirming 'core values'

In response to the expansion of routes to professional qualification and of the National Youth Agency assuming responsibility for the professional endorsement of courses, an attempt was made in 1992 to define the “distinctive elements which form the core” of professional training for youth workers (National Youth Agency, 1993). Like Bainbridge, the Working Group charged with this work based its analysis on existing statements of the purpose and functions of youth work, a sample of course documents and the Group’s “collective experience and current work”.¹⁸⁷ In this sense, the Group’s work suffers the same weaknesses as did Bainbridge’s attempt to achieve the same outcome, and the epistemological status of the Group’s analysis cannot be shown to be different in principle to that of Bainbridge. It represents a different analysis - another version of professional competence and identity - rather than a necessarily better one, although in contrast to Bainbridge’s simplistic view of the relation between ‘knowledge and skill’, the Group appeared to recognise the inherent complexity and ambiguity of professional youth work. However, in criticising Bainbridge’s ‘generic core competencies’, the Group argued that “... they contained no sense of priority, that there were some areas which were missing, e.g. education and planning and evaluation; some things such as intervention needed to be described differently and some such as management in more detail” (ibid, p.18). Part of this criticism reflects the possibility for infinite regress to occur in the continuous - and reductionist - attempt to define competence in this way.

The outcomes of the exercise undertaken by the Working Group were a powerful reaffirmation of an older set of youth work values, perhaps made in response to the somewhat

¹⁸⁷ The Group comprised youth and community work practitioners, members of NYA and professional educators, and was chaired by Doug Nicholls, General Secretary of the Community and Youth Workers’ Union.

technicist and instrumental approach suggested by Bainbridge's work. Arguably, the outcomes of the 'Core Working Group' reflect much of the approach which underlay the National College's activities in the 1960s: a commitment to a 'holistic' view of the person, an 'integration' of theory and practice and an emphasis on the 'processes' entailed in learning, both for novice professionals as well as for the young people with whom they work. Although these older values provided a starting point for the Group's analysis, it adopted a perspective on youth work which incorporated elements of the 'radical' view of social education referred to in Chapter Six. The Group defined youth work as characterised by five primary concerns "... critical to the educational purpose or outcome of youth and community work" (ibid, p.14) and which in effect were conceived as the necessary values to which the competent practitioner must be committed and which should inform practice. The principles reflect the 'radical' genre of social education discussed in Chapter Six:

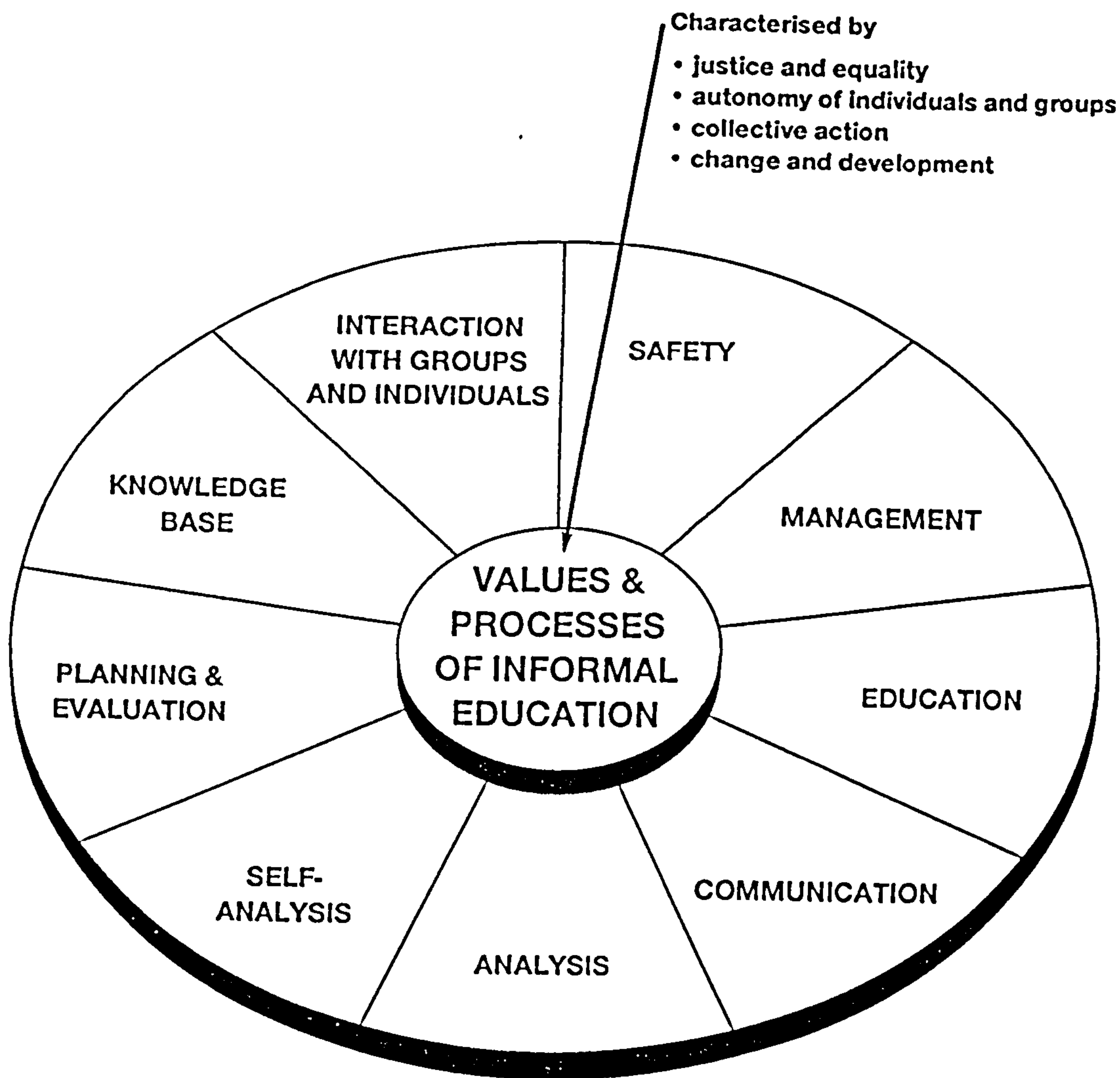
- informal education processes;
- collective action;
- autonomy of individuals and groups;
- change and development;
- justice and inequality.

The apparent simplicity of the relationship between theory and practice in Bainbridge's account of 'generic core competencies' is contrasted by the Working Group's appeal to youth work's essential complexity. It contends that competence resides in the deployment of a sophisticated and shifting combination of knowledge and skill, supported by a consistent value position. The Working Group argued that youth work (as "informal education" rather than 'social education')

“... entails a complex synthesis of a high level of skill, knowledge, analysis and understanding, all underpinned by a commitment to and understanding of the values of the work. This was seen to equate to professional competence... Workers must have the ability to make judgements and act, these in turn rest upon a high level of skill’s (sic) attainment, a commitment to continuing professional development whilst drawing upon and assessing their knowledge of different disciplines, and of practice” (ibid, p.19).

In principle, there is nothing here in terms of content which is very different from Bainbridge’s analysis: he also argued that “competencies” could be defined as a combination of value, knowledge and skill although the precise nature of this was left unspecified. However, the difference appears to lie in the way in which the relationships between the elements themselves are construed, and the level of complexity attributed to the processes entailed in practising in a way commensurate with ‘professional competence’. Whereas Bainbridge devised a somewhat atomised or fragmented account of knowledge and skill, the Working Group sought to demonstrate the essential integrity of professional competence. To emphasise the complexity of the underlying relationships and processes of youth work, the Working Group presented its model of professional competence in two visual forms, both strikingly different from Bainbridge’s. The first (overleaf) offers an identification of the “core elements of youth and community work training”.

Figure 2: Core Elements of youth and Community Work Training

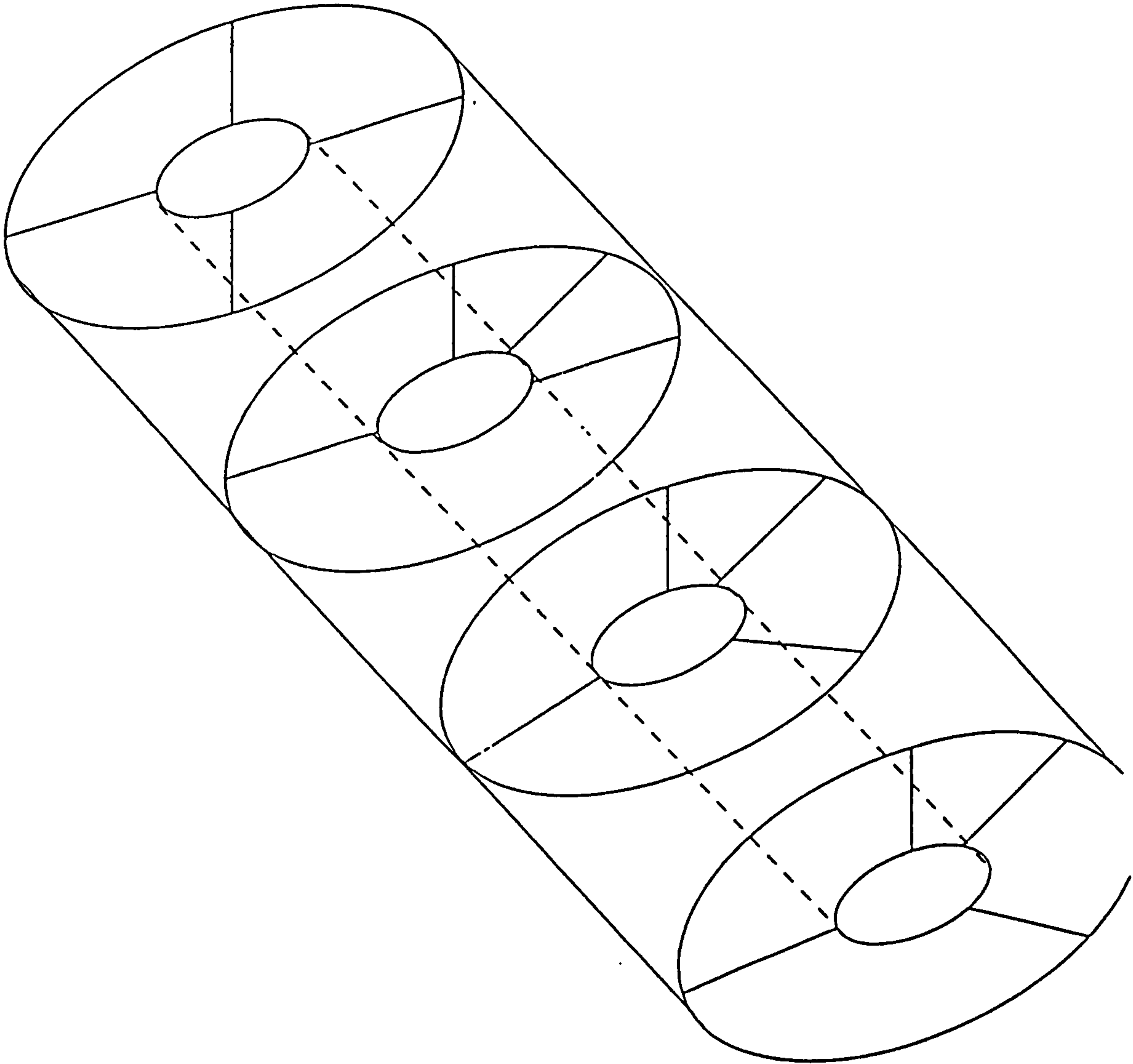


(Source: National Youth Agency, 1993, p.21)

This image is reminiscent of the way in which the National College documentation of the 1960s represented its courses. In both, a central core of values is surrounded by an outer ring of 'content', areas which the professional is required to know about in some (unspecified) way or be able to do. It is extremely difficult to gain any real sense of either 'performance elements' or specific aspects of knowledge from the Group's depiction of competence. As it argued, there was little purpose in producing a further "list of roles and functions" as Bainbridge had done. However, in a particularly confusing part of the Group's report it is

suggested that initial professional training should focus on equipping “people with the generic core applied in the general context of youth and community work”, although the Group argued that “job-specific” requirements are the employers’ responsibility at the point of induction. Having argued this, the Group goes on to suggest that initial professional training should also “... look at specific setting requirements so that workers are able to operate competently in those settings “ (ibid, p.20, my emphasis). None of these “setting requirements” are specified and at one level one is left unclear of precisely what constitutes the underlying view of professional competence, and the level of generality at which initial professional training should operate. One suspects that the view taken is that it should requisitely operate at the level of Bainbridge’s “generic core competencies”, although this is not clear. However, perhaps the most significant aspect of the Group’s way of representing what is necessary in the professional education and training of youth workers lies in its appeal to notions of ‘integration’ and ‘holism’. As Watkins suggested in his account of courses at the National College, the difficulty in describing “...any part of an integrated course in detail arises from its inter-relationship with every other part...” (Watkins, 1971, p.18). This problem appears to characterise the Working Group’s analysis as well, and they argued that the ‘core’ of professional competence was “... less about the separation of the functional strands, but rather their fusion together with the appropriate values, through and into action... The core is distinctive because of its holistic nature...” (National Youth Agency, 1993, p.19). The two-dimensional representation of professional competence shown in Figure 2 above is taken a step further to three dimensions by using a number of circles in series along the central axis of a cylinder in an attempt to create a “... more complex model than a simple hierarchy” (ibid, p.23).

Figure 3: Model of Complex Core Elements of Training



(Source: National Youth Agency, 1993, p.22)

One is left almost entirely unclear of the nature of the added dimension in the model, other than to connote an essential complexity to the work it purports to describe. The model provides no detailed definition of specific knowledge or skill that might constitute professional competence, other than that contained in the figure above. No indication is

given of how individual competence (whatever it might be) should be judged, other than to assert that

“At all levels of practice for which training prepares workers they must be informed by and imbued with a commitment to the central or core values of youth and community work which must be demonstrated and assessed at all stages of the training process” (ibid, p.23).

One suspects that the Group was caught in a double-bind which might ultimately be seen to have frustrated its task. Throughout its report, one senses a clear reluctance to engage in the technician activity of specifying ‘competencies’ in the way that Bainbridge had done. Rather, the idea of ‘professional competence’ as a relatively complex notion and determined largely by a value orientation remains the dominant idea in this work. This is a view informed by Winter’s work on professional competence in social work which itself draws on a diverse literature including Schön’s notion of ‘reflective practice’, Kolb’s process of ‘experiential learning’ and broader notions of the professional as ‘action researcher’ (Winter, 1991). These perspectives stress an epistemology which relies on the idea of the practitioner apprehending the world through direct experience and engaging in analytic and interpretative reflection which in turn leads to ‘theory-building’ and the development of personal resources to be used in subsequent practice. The Group refers to seven criteria which it draws from Winter’s work,¹⁸⁸ and which are claimed to inform its analysis and model, although the extent to which these criteria are present in the model is not clear from the text. Nor is it clear how such criteria could help in the definition of the “distinctive elements” which the Group claims should characterise professional education and training for youth work, the dominant discourse of which at this time was competency-based. Winter’s criteria are broad, and

¹⁸⁸ These are ‘commitment to professional values’, ‘continuous professional learning’, ‘interpersonal effectiveness’, ‘effective communication’, ‘executive effectiveness’, ‘effective synthesis of a wide range of knowledge’ and ‘intellectual flexibility’ (National Youth Agency, 1993, p.19).

arguably do not provide the type of 'map' of youth work which earlier analyses suggested was required. Although providing one definition of core elements at one level and on one register, the Group adopted a language of 'values' and 'processes' which reprises an earlier humanistic discourse and which is plainly incommensurate with the dominant discourse of competency. As such, it was unlikely that the Working Group's analysis would have gained much currency amongst those pressing for transparency, accountability and an unambiguous definition of youth work. The analysis added little which would be seen to resolve the problems of professional education in youth work as they were construed in those terms. However, this model has considerable appeal to those whose perspective on youth work and the professional education of youth workers should remain within the 'paradigm of reflective practice': some academics, some practitioners and certainly the Community and Youth Workers' Union. It is difficult to identify any specific evidence of the Group's report being influential in youth work's professional education and training. It is perhaps best understood as embodying a particular discourse of youth work. As such it offers one definition of the work and the professional competence which underlies it. Predictably, the NVQ-influenced discourse of competency has assumed a high profile in the development of definitions of professional competence in youth work.

"Functional mapping of youth work"

As part of the National Standards Programme (NSP) all occupational sectors of the economy are becoming subject to 'functional mapping' by the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE). Mapping of the "youth sector" was undertaken between September 1996 and February 1997 (Brown and Draper, 1997, p.3). Although this work has yet to lead to the specification of "standards" - descriptions of 'competence' - its partial completion signals the insertion of a discourse of competency which derives from the perspectives,

methodology and aspirations of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications. As such, youth work has become one more 'occupational sector' whose geography is now formally 'mapped', in terms of both its 'internal' contours and dimensions (numbers of people engaged in the work, numbers of qualified workers, titles of posts, job descriptions, the purpose and nature of the work) and its external relations with other 'sectors' (for example, with 'Advice, Guidance, Counselling and Psychotherapy'; 'Training and Development'; 'Management'; 'Special Needs Housing' all of which have been more or less 'mapped' as part of the NSP). When a sector has been mapped, a process which identifies the 'competencies' required to achieve the purposes of the sector's work, it is then possible to deploy NVQ methodology to identify the appropriate 'standards' which should apply to competence. Standards, as Fletcher points out, are "... employment-led... developed by the industry for the industry (and) reflect the expectations of employment" (Fletcher, 1991, p.167, original emphasis). Debling confirms the extent to which the advocates of NVQs place competence entirely in the framework of work performance. Competence, Debling states

"... pertains to the ability to perform the activities within a function or an occupational area to the levels of performance expected in employment. It is a broad concept which embodies the ability to transfer skills and knowledge to new situations within the occupational area. It encompasses organisation and planning of work, innovation and coping with non-routine activities. It includes those qualities of personal effectiveness that are required in the workplace to deal with co-workers, managers and customers. A competent individual can: perform a particular function or satisfy a particular role in a diversity of settings, over an extended period of time; and respond effectively to irregular occurrences in environments having different characteristics" (Debling, 1989, p.80).

In turn standards "... describe competence in such a way that it can link with performance - they are benchmarks derived from concepts of competence against which performance is measured and judged" (Mansfield, 1989, p.30). As such, 'competency' and 'standards'

facilitate the commodification of competence; they appear to transform ambiguity into transferable entities which can be made subject to rational calculation. Their acquisition signals the appropriate normalisation of the individual who bears them. Moreover, as Brown and Draper argue in relation to the 'youth sector', it becomes possible for standards from different sectors to become mutually informing, or to be imported from one to another (Brown and Draper, p.61). In effect, the mapping of youth work becomes part of the overall project of establishing a 'regional geography' of related occupations, whilst simultaneously identifying exactly what is required of those working in them. Potentially, these form the basic components of an 'atlas' of an entire economy and its labour market. There is little doubt that the scope for the exercise of enormous power lies in the sheer scale of NCVQ's operation. In the context of pan-European attempts to manage competency (European Union, 1994, p.133-138) this can be seen as an extraordinary example of governance.

However, to return to the 'youth sector'. The consultants adopted an apparently wide-ranging consultation with the youth work field, although the results of this suggest a heavy 'managerialist' interest in the process, supporting the criticism that 'competency' has a particular appeal to employers and managers.¹⁸⁹ Equally, the method of consultation undoubtedly influenced its outcomes. The mapping process involves 'functional analysis' which assumes that it is possible to determine a transparent (and agreed) statement of purposes for any given occupation (its end), which leads to the specification of the

¹⁸⁹ The 'Project Steering Group' for the mapping exercise was representative of "key stakeholders" from the local authority and voluntary sectors of youth work, who according to the consultants were "fully part of the project process". Notably, however, the trade unions representing youth work (who have been highly critical of the competency-approach) were absent. It is also difficult to be sure of how representative were those involved in subsequent consultation procedures. Four regional "functional mapping workshops" involved about 24 people in total. Given that the consultants themselves point out that there are some 5000 full-time youth workers, 50000 part-time youth workers and 500000 volunteers in youth work in England and Wales it would be difficult to claim any degree of representativeness in the consultation process. Draft maps and questionnaires were circulated to 820 individuals and organisations, from which 247 responses were received. However, as the consultants indicate more than 50% of respondents were "middle and senior managers" (Brown and Draper, 1997, p.12 and 37).

appropriate means by which purposes can be achieved. As has been argued, in the case of an essentially 'moral' enterprise such as youth work, unambiguous and universally accepted statements of purpose cannot be determined to any degree of specificity and could not be expressed in the language of 'key purposes' which constitute the starting point for the specification of competencies anyway. However, the consultants working on the mapping exercise for youth work identified the following 'key purpose' for youth work:

"Facilitate and support young people's growth through dependence to interdependence, by encouraging their personal and social education and helping them to take a positive role in the development of their communities and society" (Brown and Draper, 1997, p.43).

The 'core values' and 'scope' within which the 'key purpose' of youth work is to be achieved are shown in Appendix 13 with the 'functional map' developed from these. It is interesting to compare the visual representation provided by the latter with earlier attempts to represent professional competence in youth work. As shown earlier, Bainbridge relied on a relatively simple list of skills and the knowledge which was entailed by these. The 'Core Group' depicted professional competence as a complex, 'integrated' and 'holistic' construct in which values and practice were indissoluble. The 'functional map' deriving from the 'functional analysis' of youth work assumes the form of a central system with a series of constitutive sub-systems. In this it appears machine-like and mechanical, gives the impression of rationality and is apparently closed to influence from outside itself. Such a model of competence mirrors functionalist models of organisation and is vulnerable to the criticisms made of 'systems theory' generally, and particularly in organisation analysis. Systems theory - like this model of competence - reifies organisation by regarding it as a consensual system and by focusing on 'official' definitions of organisational tasks and functions. These are accorded an existence independent of the social processes through which members of an

organisation construct their own reality. Systems theory therefore ignores social action.¹⁹⁰ Its normative assumptions of consensus over purposes and procedures in organisations are acutely problematic, as it fails to recognise that ‘official’ discourses are both mediated and resisted through a range of practices and strategies adopted by members of organisations. Such a representation of a complex entity - an organisation or ‘professional competence’ for example - can give no sense of the ways in which the inevitably different and contested discourses involved interact in tension, and in sometimes contradictory ways.

The ‘functional map’ of youth work is vulnerable to the criticisms of ‘competency’ which were referred to earlier. The map is behaviourist insofar as it is built on assumptions about the individual’s capacity to perform discrete and more or less routinised tasks at the appropriate time. The atomisation of professional competence into the range of observable tasks identified in the functional map equates professional competence with the systematic performance of this range of discrete tasks. This means that the possibility of professional competence inhering in the complex and managed (on the basis of professional judgement) combination of various elements, and the possibility that the ‘whole is greater than the sum of the parts’ is ignored. In effect, this approach to professional competence is “...positivist, reductionist, ignores underlying attributes, ignores group processes and their effort on performance, is atheoretical, ignores the complexity of performance in the real world and ignores the role of professional judgement in intelligent performance” (Gonczi, 1994, p.29). Perhaps most significantly it is the way in which this model of professional competence has privileged individual performance and ignored the essentially social context of work, and the complex social relations through which work is constituted that has alarmed some analysts

¹⁹⁰ In this respect its derivatives - like competency - are entirely inconsistent with the dominant values of youth work.

(Jones and Moore, 1996). The apparent transparency of the 'evidence' which advocates of the competency approach constantly emphasise assumes that work performance somehow 'speaks for itself'. It does not. Competence is a 'construct' and cannot be directly apprehended by an observer (Wolf, 1989, p.40). At best, competence may be inferred from performance and requires the observer (perhaps in the form of an assessor) to 'make sense' of what has been observed in terms of a socially shared language of observation. Thus, evidence of competence is a social construction elaborated through the practices and language of assessment on which the competency approach relies. However, it is precisely this focus on individual performance which affords the discourse of competency its potential. This has given it firm political appeal at a time when so much energy has been invested in the attempt to transform 'social government' to a strategy of 'governance through individuals'. In order to govern in this way, one must be able to represent that which requires governance (in Latour's terms, one needs to devise a map making a territory thinkable and mobile). One must enable the 'competence' (construed in whatever way) of an individual to be exposed to the rational gaze of the relevant authorities so that it might be judged, and where necessary enable individuals to reconstruct or remake their own competence according to appropriate norms. The 'functional map' of youth work is part of such a strategy designed to do this by offering a technical and rational means of generating knowledge. The practice of government - at either individual or political level - is dependent on establishing the 'means of knowing'. Competency and its practices aim to provide this. Figure 4 summarises the main features of youth work and professional education and training for youth work in the context of 'Advanced or Neo-Liberalism'.

Figure 4: Youth Work and Youth Workers in ‘Advanced or Neo-Liberalism’ (1980s to the present)

(i) Youth work organisation	Expansion of youth work in both voluntary and statutory sectors; political demands for accountability; ‘managerialisation’ of youth work; the development of ‘youth work curriculum’ incorporating performance indicators in the early 1990s.
(ii) Ideologies of youth	Increasing importance of sociological analyses of youth (construed as a critical period of transition) as well as psychological models emphasising individual pathology; youth as a problematic state and category; youth unemployment confirms the need to achieve secure governance of the young; the ‘underclass’ and ‘young people at risk’.
(iii) Youth work practice ideologies	‘Radical social education’ perceives young people in terms of their membership of distinct groups; the discourses of race, gender, disability etc.; youth work articulated in terms of ‘social justice; earlier models of ‘self-government’ now construed as ‘participation’ in a range of youth work opportunities; ‘liberal’ and ‘radical’ genres of social education mesh in practice; the discourse of ‘empowerment’; expansion of youth work techniques (detached work, information and counselling, youth arts work, etc.); debate over youth work as ‘universal’ or ‘targeted’; work with ‘at risk’ young people.
(iv) Youth workers	Selection on the basis of previous experience and academic achievement; increasing youth worker numbers: 3000 in 1980, 7000 in 1997.
(v) Education and training for youth work	From 1970, expansion of professional education and training for youth work in higher education; critique of professional education and training focuses on separation of theory and practice, professional ideology, academic elitism and the marginalisation of novices’ experience; continuing technical-rational mode of organisation but growing reliance on the ‘discourse of competency’.
(vi) Youth work competence	Competence construed in terms of appropriate combination of ‘knowledge’, ‘skills’ and ‘values’, the latter relying on a framework of social justice and anti-discrimination; the idea of professional competence contested in the wider context of changes in education and training; professional competence assessed in academic and practice areas; move towards ‘NVQ look-alike’ competency statements for youth work; the development of ‘standards’.

New panopticism in youth work?

The Panopticon offers a useful metaphor for understanding the ways in which the discourse of competency might ‘work’ in the professional education and training of youth workers.

There are a number of points to be made here.

As suggested in Chapter Two, surveillance and the ‘perpetual gaze’ are a central part of power’s operation in modern ‘disciplinary’ societies. Surveillance is exemplified in

Bentham's Panopticon whose construction of individual spaces or cells, renders the individual continuously visible to an unseen authority: to perpetual surveillance in the form of hierarchical observation. The "functional mapping" of youth work is also part of such a 'panoptic' system which 'maps' a series of individual spaces (like panoptic cells) in which the learner is situated and permanently visible (and subject) to both the authority which manages the system, and to himself. The 'architecture' of the 'functional map' (Appendix 13) creates and illuminates a series of spaces in a way which is entirely reminiscent of the hierarchical system of normative regulation which characterises panopticism. The processes and practices involved in demonstrating the individual competencies (the production of a portfolio of evidence, for example, as discussed in Chapter Four) expose the individual learner to the gaze and subsequent judgement of both self and some external authority. "Functional mapping" of youth work and of other occupations can be seen as an important example of the construction of a new domain of knowledge of individuals, produced and constituted by techniques of power. Defining competency in an atomistic way as does the functional map of youth work, facilitates processes of constant checking and assessment of the individual's performance - either by self or other - and thereby the development of his 'competencies'. Assessors or mentors, whose responsibility this is, are placed in the position of being able to inspect or investigate the spaces created by the functional map, to illuminate one space or another at any given time and to check the individual's performance in these. The map provides a systematic and rational means of doing this, an approach which for some commentators renders earlier means of assessment in professional education entirely redundant because of their erroneous concentration on knowledge and theory at the expense of 'performance'. Power techniques like these ensure that the individual is "... inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are

recorded, in which the uninterrupted work of writing links the centre and the periphery... in which each individual is constantly located, examined and distributed... ” (Foucault, 1977, p.197). The textual paraphernalia of competence statements and the evidence supporting the acquisition of competency is one such form of writing. It promises visibility, transparency and accountability in professional education and training in youth work.¹⁹¹ The aspiration to achieve this emerged from the problematisation of youth work which various commentators advanced in the 1980s and early 1990s, reflecting “... an impatience with the vague soggy nature of much past (youth work) practice” (Bainbridge, 1988, p.12).

The ‘functional map’ of youth work and the ‘standards’ which will undoubtedly be drawn up from it will offer a set of norms against which individual performance (or competence in this instance) can be described, constructed and assessed.¹⁹² It thus creates the possibility for normalising judgement to be further systematised in the professional education and training of youth workers. This process begins with the observation of individual conduct, behaviour or performance in relation to an established norm which is constituted by statements of competence and their attendant standards. By facilitating comparison against these apparently transparent norms (and against others), the individual is marked out in terms of his similarities and differences with others. Difference or deviation from the specified norm can, in principle, be rationally and objectively ascertained and the appropriate corrective or developmental action taken: in essence a process of ‘disciplining difference’. The material form in which observation and normalisation are most effectively embodied is the examination, the paradigmatic expression of disciplinary power. Examination occurs on the specific site in which the individual is made visible, in a schoolroom or in relation to the

¹⁹¹ It is important to be cautious about the optimistic claims of apparently rational systems like competency. As we have already acknowledged, there are vast differences between ‘disciplinary’ and ‘disciplined’ societies.

¹⁹² At the time of writing, plans have been made to establish “agreed comprehensive standards for training youth workers” by the year 2000 (National Youth Agency, 1998).

national standards for a specific occupation, for example. It is characterised by written or textual output in which knowledge of an individual is encoded and which constructs him as an object of knowledge whilst simultaneously subjecting him to the power of discipline. Examination illuminates various details of the individual so that he can be appropriately assessed (in relation to his personality or his 'competencies', for example), and gathers data about the individual which can be deployed in furnishing the means of 'knowing' him. This material can be combined with data from other sources to form new bodies of generalisable knowledge in the form of 'collective facts' about wider populations, and which form part of a simultaneous process of individualisation and totalisation which underlie the activity of governance. In the context of competence, these data have the potential to contribute to governmental decisions about improving the relevance and distribution of education and training opportunities, and through this creating appropriate alignments between labour supply and demand.

As suggested in Chapter Two, Foucault's analysis of individual 'subject' formation reveals a duality in the meaning of the term 'subject'. The practices and techniques which underlie the competency approach suggest that the individual is intended to become subject to the various external authorities which animate the competency approach to education and training. The relationships between individuals and these authorities may be either 'disciplinary' in their incorporation and deployment of surveillance, normalisation and the examination, or they may also be characterised by elements of 'pastoral power'. In this, a kind of 'spiritual' or 'affective' guidance becomes the organising principle of the relationship between an individual and a mentor, with techniques of self-disclosure and confession assuming great importance. The individual's relationship with the mentor (a tutor or workplace supervisor, for example) is intended to encourage and enhance the development of

the individual's capacity to attain self-knowledge and the capacity to engage in self-scrutiny as part of the formation of the professional and competent self. In Chapter Eight, it was suggested that the activities of the National College were characterised by both these forms of power. The potential for pastoral relationships to abound in the context of competency-based education and training is also high. Perhaps equally important in a liberal society is the way in which the term 'subject' also implies the development of the individual's capacity to become 'subject to himself'; reflexively subject to his own conscience or self-knowledge, and thus responsible for his own 'production' of himself. Whilst discipline exerted from 'outside' of the individual is extremely important in making modern power work, the competency approach also attempts to 'empower' the individual to attain a sense of his own capacity and potential in his own authorship of himself. When deployed with experiential and so-called 'open' learning techniques - as in 'portfolio-based' systems, for example - competency-based learning aims to ensure that the individual becomes his own interlocutor by enabling him to know precisely and unambiguously what is required of him in terms of his own learning and performance. For example, the portfolio aims to become the vehicle through which the individual can subsequently construct an appropriate professional identity by providing evidence (in the form of texts, reflective writing, reports on work completed, testimonials, photographs and so on) which allegedly demonstrates what the individual knows and is able to do, and the values he claims underpin this (Bolger and Scott, 1984, p.29). The work required to identify this is evidently significant, as

“Hidden within all students, whatever their age, aspirations or qualifications, lies a mass of knowledge and skills acquired in a wide variety of ways and distributed between heart, head and hands. Some is significant; some insignificant. The task of both student and teacher is to bring this mass out into the open, to identify it through appropriate assessment, to record it as evidence on paper, on tape, or by artefact, and to put it to use (Evans, 1987, p.11).

As such competence becomes enshrined in the materials which constitute the portfolio as an 'archive of the self'. The work of creating this is an exemplary technique of the self in which, with support and guidance from the necessary authority, the individual takes responsibility for his own 'self-production'. As such, he becomes subject in the sense that his own actions produce his own subjectivity.

Conclusions

Chapter Nine has outlined the expansion of professional education and training for youth workers from the late 1970s onwards. Against this background, the chapter has discussed the 'radical problematisation' to which technical-rational approaches to the education and training of youth workers was subjected during this period. Four major areas were the focus of criticism. First, the curriculum. Some critics asserted there was little overall consistency in the content of courses leading to professional qualification in youth work. HMI, for example, argued for the development of an unambiguous curriculum whilst later, others identified specific areas of competence which they argued should constitute professional practice. Second, a disjunction in the theory-practice relationship was identified by some authoritative critics: the separation of theory and practice characteristic of technical-rational professional education entailed criticism of the perceived dominance of an 'issues-based' (theory-based) approach to youth work at the expense of the acquisition and development of practical skills.

Third, criticism centred on professional power and academic elitism. This focused on 'conventional' course-based pedagogies located in the academy. The 'professional ideal' with its associated hierarchical distribution of knowledge and participants was argued to be inappropriate to an occupation - youth work - whose fundamental purpose was emancipatory.

Fourth, the primacy of 'personal experience'. It was argued that experience rather than 'formal' knowledge should be the foundation of practice, as it was experience and not 'abstract knowledge' which was authentically 'human' and thus appropriate to practices like youth work.

Chapter Nine has suggested that its apparent capacity to bridge the divide between vocationalist and progressive/humanist interests has rendered the discourse and practices of competency attractive to both perspectives. Advocates of competency-based education and training in youth work (and indeed more widely), seem keen to claim that 'competency' offers the basis to a new educational theory. However, as suggested, in epistemological terms 'competency' is a flawed notion. In the context of professional work in particular (and undoubtedly in other work settings) the underlying reductionism of competency means that it is unable to take account of complex professional competence, most appropriately understood as a form of "cultural accomplishment" (Jones and Moore, 1996, p.88). The search for competency's appeal - and indeed its power - must therefore lie elsewhere. It has been implied that the discourse of competency is persuasive in three ways, all of which accord with the politics of neo-liberalism. First, it encourages individuals to take responsibility for their own learning and is thus consistent with ideas of enterprise. Second, it offers the capacity to regulate and manage individual learners and the practices of learning and thus contributes to achieving accountability. Third, it forms links between individuals, their 'needs' and the requirements of a wider economy. These requirements are formulated in detailed statements of 'competencies' - like those contained in the "functional map of youth work" - which allegedly underpin work performance, and whose acquisition can lead to qualifications and as such demonstrates a convincing instrumental logic at both individual and collective levels. In this sense competency-based education and training becomes a technical means of specifying,

regulating and distributing 'expertise'. It is essentially governmental, and as an exemplary form of power-knowledge, the discourse of competency is intended to be 'totalising' (in the sense that its systems and practices accommodate everything: for example, in terms of NVQs), yet by dealing with the micro-level of the 'individual self' by specifying exactly what aspects of self the individual is required to cultivate and demonstrate, it also has a vital 'individualising' function.

Chapter Ten

Conclusions

In this thesis youth work's shifting objectives and the changing means by which its practitioners have acquired competence have been explored. In Chapter Ten the main arguments in the thesis are summarised. These are briefly referred to in five sections. In each section substantive concerns with youth work and underlying theoretical interests in the concept of power are identified. Chapter Ten concludes with suggestions for further research.

(i) The human services and 'productive power'

Throughout this thesis, an analysis of power in its concrete material settings, and in its dispersal through networks of institutions, organisations, techniques, ideas and practices has been developed, drawing on the work of Foucault. It has been argued that the human service professions - the example has been youth workers - are active agents and vehicles of power. Three forms of professional power practice were identified. First, relying on their claims to expertise (and emulating the 'established professions'), they seek occupational authority and control through social closure. Second, these groups are bound up in wider structures of 'governmental' power. They have become part of the 'governmentalised state' and professional knowledge is embedded in a range of governmental practices routinely deployed to manage and regulate the conduct of sections of the population. Third, as the problem of government has come to be seen as the regulation of population, the human service professions have become routinely involved in the detailed management of population. As was shown in the case of youth workers, professional knowledge and practice is calculated to shape or reshape the subjective domains of their individual clients. They have consistently attempted to cultivate changes in the young people with whom they work, trying to 'improve' their bodies through exercise and drill or 'sex education', 'develop their character' through

the disciplinary or pastoral regimes of the youth organisations, or shape their capacities to make 'responsible decisions' through their experiences in 'self-governing' youth groups. Youth workers have sought to mould young people in accordance with normative models of the 'good', 'responsible' and, above all, self-regulating citizen. In this, young people have been conscripted into the process of their own subjection: working on their own bodies, their own thoughts and their own conduct under the tutelage of youth workers. In these instances, it has been argued that power has 'productive' functions. It constitutes individual subjects in particular ways and as particular identities, whether as individual young people or as professional youth workers.

(ii) Youth work knowledge

As part of increasingly elaborate nineteenth century analyses of population, youth became seen as a distinct social category. Youth work emerged as a practice concerned with governing working class young people. It was justified by the 'discourse of adolescence' and the assumption that the main institutions of socialisation (the family, for example) were inadequate to their task. Youth work has always been situated in the relatively unregulated interstices of home, school and work. The domain of 'leisure' became a space which youth workers have reconfigured and traversed with practices designed to achieve young people's 'informal social education'.

As a form of 'power-knowledge', psychological discourse gave a 'scientific' (and thus authoritative) account of young people and their problems. It contributed to representing adolescence as a state whose effective management required expert attention. It has been argued that the adolescent is an object created in discourse, shifting in accordance with various forms of knowledge (medical, legal, psychological, sociological, etc.) which have illuminated its contours at different times. Perhaps the only consistency is that young people have been

situated between the poles of vulnerability and danger. As a consequence of historically-specific factors (urbanisation, poverty, 'consumer-culture', inequality, 'social exclusion', etc.) it has been assumed that 'naturally' vulnerable young people can all too easily become dangerous. Successful transition to adulthood could not be guaranteed to occur naturally. This 'pathological' view of youth embodied in a combination of scientific, moral and social knowledge, has remained important in justifying youth work and marking out a territory on which youth work's expertise has flourished.

Since the 1930s, youth workers (and indeed others) have construed their activities as 'expert' practices. They have increasingly relied on knowledge deriving from the human sciences to form a theoretical and practice base to their work, justifying their claim to professional status and simultaneously guiding their practice. University involvement in the education and training of youth workers during the 1940s confirmed youth work's significance as a mechanism contributing to the 'management of growing up'. By this time, youth work was part of wider governmental apparatuses, although it remained highly differentiated and dispersed across a range of sites. Limited professionalisation in the early 1960s led to youth work's expertise being more clearly defined in technical and abstract terms. Group work, counselling and the 'brokerage' of social and ethical knowledge have provided a continuing foundation for youth work as an expert practice and, as such, constitute a distinctive and continuing youth work competence.

The analysis of power employed here suggests that government is conditional on expertise. As a resource of power, expertise re-constructs the (essentially moral) 'objects of politics' in technical terms. Expertise renders the world knowable and, in principle at least, governable. Youth work is an example of practices which have elaborated the 'means and ends' of governing young people.

(iii) Rationalities of professional education: 'technical-rationalism'

It was suggested that up to the 1920s or so, individual preparation for youth work was 'pre-technocratic' or apprenticeship-based. No occupation of youth work existed as such, although interest in it grew and a body of 'youth work knowledge' developed. From the 1930s onwards small numbers of people took up 'career' youth work in the Church and voluntary organisations. Preparation for this became organised in specialised courses of professional training and education. The underlying principles of these courses reflected a rationality which also shaped wider political aspirations. As 'welfarism' became socially organised on the basis of objective definitions of social problems and the subsequent deployment of technical (and 'value-free') expertise, so did education and training for youth work reflect 'technical-rationalism'. As an approach to professional education and training, technical-rationalism has three elements. First, a systematic knowledge base (often 'basic science' which supports the legitimacy of claims to professional autonomy and status) offers the technical means of defining and resolving social problems. Second, a 'theory of practice' constitutes a series of universal principles which guide practice. Third, practical skills and dispositions are acquired through the novice's immersion in guided workbase practice. Together, these three elements form a power-knowledge conjunction, deepening the capacity of governmental power.

Typically, as has been shown, technical-rational practice has been controlled by academic rather than practitioner cultures. Implying a two-stage approach to the application of professional judgement, technical-rationalism is vulnerable to the criticism that it fails to recognise the nature of professionals' tacit knowledge and their practice-based 'reflection-in-action'. Mirroring the disjunction between academic and practitioner cultures,

knowledge and practice becomes 'separated' to the detriment of practice. These criticisms were shown to have been levelled at professional education for youth work.

(iv) The discourse of competency: transitions to 'hi-tech-rationality'

As welfarist political rationality has been transformed to 'neo-liberalism', so rationalities of professional education and training have also changed. Criticism of 'old-style' technical-rationalism created the conditions in which the discourse of competency has become influential in youth work. As shown, critics of technical-rational professional education in youth work pointed to the fragmentation of theory and practice, ambiguous and differentiated curricula in different institutions, elitist academic cultures and the marginalisation of learners' experience. For some critics, NVQ-style competency approaches offer a solution to these problems by offering a set of apparently transparent occupational standards. Neo-liberalism's pre-occupation with individual responsibility is reflected in the discourse of competency's almost exclusive focus on the individual learner's work performance. Competency techniques and practices (especially in NVQ form) commodify expertise, and it was argued that their appeal lies in their claims to objectify competence (to make it knowable and calculable), whilst apparently adopting a progressive, 'empowering' and learner-centred stance.

Competency appears to transform the opacity of professional practice by defining professional work transparently and in terms of universal standards. Competence is represented as a repertoire of narrowly defined and abstract behaviours and dispositions. This has considerable scope for making professionals (and professional educators) accountable across a range of often separate or remote locations (in different professional settings or across a number of higher education institutions). Mapping the boundaries to competence imposes new visibilities on professional activities. For example, professional educators are now required to monitor their adherence to norms against which professional competence is

now universally defined. Youth workers (and their managers) are obliged to judge their own interventions according to formal statements of their 'key roles' and 'functions'. Whether these forms of 'distantiated' regulation actually work needs further research. However, the significance of the discourse of competency is that it opens up new possibilities in policing the activities of professionals and professional educators and subjecting them to new regimes of power.

It is evident that the discourse of competency is formed in a confluence of sovereign power (through the centralised activities of NCVQ, for example), disciplinary power (the individuating and normalising techniques of competency) and governmental power (part of a strategy of managing competence across the population). It is suggested that although modernity may be characterised by disciplinary power, it is important not to ignore its relation to other forms of power.

(v) Constructing competence: shaping the 'professional self'

There are historical continuities and discontinuities in conceptions of youth work identities and, as such, competence. An example of discontinuity lies in changed perceptions of the underlying knowledge and dispositions necessary for practice. In early twentieth century youth work, moral virtue and 'class knowledge' were regarded as sufficient. Later, 'natural flair' was augmented with a body of formal, systematic and objective knowledge deriving from the social and human sciences. This was explored in terms of an incipient technical-rationalism.

However, from the 1940s onwards, the acquisition of knowledge alone was regarded as insufficient to ensure professional competence. 'Techniques' and 'practices of the self' became important in constructing the self as a professional resource. These practices exemplify power's dispersal through the social body (and indeed its encounter with

individuals), and include the various means by which novice professionals have been encouraged to engage with self, to 'know' and act upon the self more extensively and more effectively in assembling an appropriate professional persona. Techniques for self-disclosure, self-problematisation and self-improvement were developed and deployed from the 1940s onwards. For example, it was noted that commentators like Kuenstler and Halmos advocated the reflexive acquisition of 'self-knowledge' as part of professional formation. Introspection, they argued, was the route to "personal insight" and "wisdom", both apparently indispensable capacities for the professional youth worker. The need to 'know' and act upon the self as part of professional formation was institutionalised in a repertoire of techniques at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders in the 1960s. Novice professionals were offered guidance from tutors in achieving increased self-knowledge through confessional techniques ('supervision'), from reflection on interaction with others (in the 'small group', for example), and through the exploration entailed in writing about self (the process of 'recording'). It was suggested that these techniques were deployed in the context of a 'panoptic' institution in which individuals were subject to constant and minute surveillance. It was argued that these practices established a paradigm for subsequent education and training in youth work.

The discourse of competency has considerable potential to extend practices of the self through its model of professional competence. Specified normatively, competencies provide the learner with a template against which he can define himself and his existing level of competence (or implicitly, incompetence). The matrix of competencies acts like 'panoptic' architecture - a 'virtual' panopticon - enabling individual and isolated learners (as well as tutors, supervisors and mentors) to exercise permanent, detailed and systematic surveillance and judgement on himself and his learning. Learning through the competency approach is presented in a narrative of 'empowerment', exhorting the individual to take control of his

own life and affairs as part of a wider neo-liberal culture of the self. As such, competency is part of a broader repertoire of practices which have assumed significance over a range of sites: 'appraisal', 'performance-related remuneration', 'benchmarking', 'total-quality-management', 'quality assurance' and measuring and ranking techniques whose output often takes the form of 'league tables'. These disparate ideas and practices offer various 'means of governing' based on tactics of representing, problematising and knowing sectors of reality. Each of them needs to be explored in its own relative autonomy.

Limitations and possibilities for further research

As the foregoing discussion suggests, the thesis has explored substantive and theoretical areas which were identified as its focus in the introductory chapter. However, a piece of work of this kind has inevitable limitations. Deriving from the initial research interest identified earlier, three areas come to mind. There is a need for further research in these.

First, this research identifies a number of historical problems that warrant further work. This exploration of youth work's shifting objectives identifies its incorporation in apparatuses of dispersed and diffused governmental power: part of the 'governmentalisation of the state'. There is much of historical interest here. Youth work's wartime role is of particular significance, and has received little attention elsewhere. Its participation in young people's 'registration' during the war conceals an ideological struggle between those who regarded youth work as an 'educational' endeavour, and others for whom it was a means of conscripting youthful energy to the war effort. The struggle between educational and other objectives is of substantive interest to the history of education, and in the wider analysis of governmental strategies. Attempts made during the 1940s to encourage the universities to offer education and training for youth work are important. The mixed success in achieving an academic base at that time is important in the history of youth work's professionalisation, and

its relation to similar occupations. Further research would contribute to the sociology of the human service professions

Second, the study has focused on 'official' discourse. Because of its historical perspective, this was inevitable. Appropriately enough, government reports, archive material from voluntary organisations and official bodies, and formal texts about youth work and youth workers have provided the data sources for the work. These indicate much about the objectives and justifications deployed in the areas which have been explored. However, other data sources might have been used to take the study in different directions. For example, in connection with the work of the National College in the 1960s, it would be possible to undertake historical research exploring perceptions of those involved at the time. Even exploration of professional education and training for youth work in the immediate post-war years is possible as some of those involved are still alive.¹⁹³

In using 'official' material, it is possible to idealise the workings of power; to assume that those who exercise power actually achieve their outcomes. This is not so. Systems of social regulation frequently fail in their attempts to rationalise and capture reality, and institutional practices often do not produce appropriately formed subjects. Power is always contested and further research could explore other perceptions of the ways in which systems and practices operate. How did the practices of the self referred to actually impact on those involved? In which specific ways did institutional arrangements, at say the National College, contribute to experiences of professional formation? Such questions need to take account of the inevitable resistance to the mechanisms of power arising in institutional life, the unintended outcomes and apparent 'failures', as well as 'successes', in reaching intended

¹⁹³ The author has been in touch with some of them. A research proposal has already been drafted to undertake work exploring some of the early developments referred to in the thesis.

objectives. Such research is important in contributing to the history of mechanisms and practices of professional education.

Third and finally, there is important substantive and theoretical research to be completed in relation to contemporary practices of competency. It has been argued that these practices instantiate a potentially invasive power which co-opts individuals in their own subjection. The scope for exercising governmental power becomes marked in the connection between competency's individualising practices, and the wider totality of political objectives. Competency practices are deployed as narratives of 'empowerment', and in progressive and learner-friendly terms. However, in contrast to the claims of their advocates, it is important to know how the practices of competency are experienced by learners. Are they 'learner-friendly'? Do they promote access? Do learners experience them as individuating, isolating or normalising? What does 'empowerment' signify for those at whom these practices are aimed? And, to what extent do learners acquire professional competence through them? Work on these questions could be undertaken through ethnographic work, exploring learners' experiences in these practices. Such research would seek to identify power's material effects in its concrete locations, rather than as an abstract property or entity.

This thesis started by registering concerns about the discourse of competency and its possible effects. The research has heightened those concerns. It has supported the view that the move to competency-based education and training represents a transition to 'hi-tech-rationalism'. What appears to be a mechanism for the resolution of contradiction or the clarification of ambiguity in professional work and professional education also has scope to reconfigure or reconstitute educational practice as something else. This is perhaps where the power (and arguably the danger) of the discourse of competency lies. Its seductive 'clarifying' capacity, is matched only by its scope for constructing professional identities in

its own image. Of course, it shares this with other strategies in the formation of professional competence and identity. However, and in contrast, competency marks the attempt to effect closure on the inevitable and necessary debate about the nature of educational practice.

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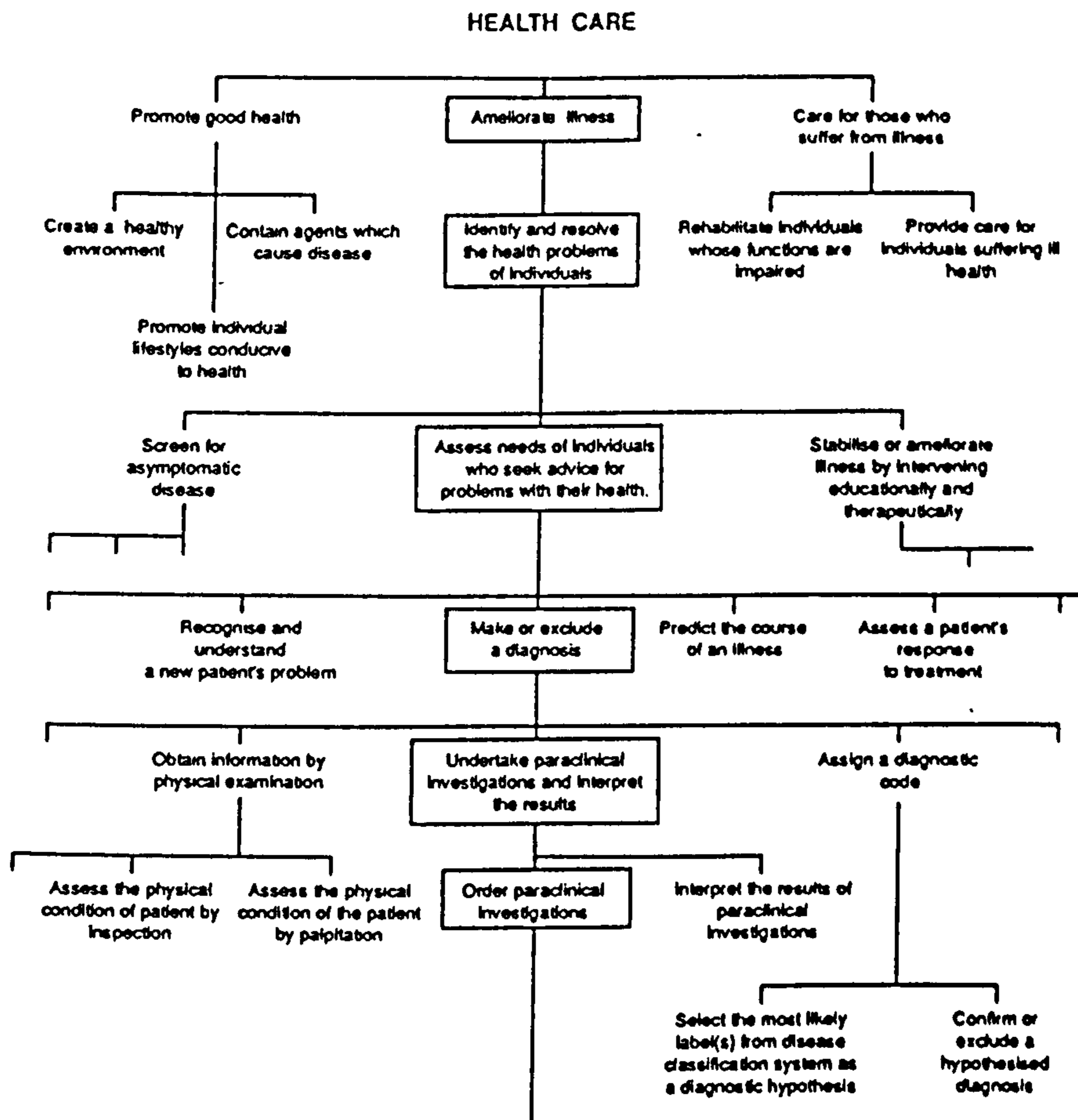
Appendix 1

Summary of Forms of Professional Education and Training

	Pre-Technocratic Discourse	Technical-Rational Discourse	Discourse of Competency
Focus	Acquisition of unique occupational routines, values and culture through novice's immersion in the traditions of practice.	Acquisition of 'expertise' in the form of: (i) systematic body of knowledge; (ii) a 'theory of practice' incorporating skills and values; (iii) practical competence through testing (i) and (ii) in the context of supervised practice.	Discrete and atomised 'competencies' normatively specified; acquisition of competencies through practice and reflection on practice.
Theory/Practice	Informal theory routinely generated from practice and closely integrated with practice.	Opposition of theory/practice and fact/value; instrumental logic of means/ends; 'techne'.	Theory developed from experience of practice and closely integrated with practice.
Epistemological Forms	Concrete and routine knowledge derived from practice; 'tips and wrinkles'; 'handbook knowledge'; occupational knowledge; 'know-how'; tacit knowledge.	Codified and public body of abstract, esoteric and 'value-free' knowledge forming a 'disciplinary' base; empirically derived knowledge - basic science - provides occupational authority in the context of different modes of delivery.	Codified knowledge important only insofar as it enables successful performance; knowledge derived from various sources.
Institutional Context/Social Forms	Apprenticeship or mentorship to experienced practitioners/teachers; 'work-based' or 'on-the-job' learning; 'learning by experience'; laissez-faire.	Combination of academy and work-base; 'supervised' practice; separation of academic and practice cultures, but academic culture (high status) dominates.	Work-base and academy but work-base ('practice') culture dominates to reflect importance of performance.
Competence	Command of occupational practices and routines.	Successful application of theory to practice; competence as the capacity to act on the basis of reason; assessed in both academy and practice.	Demonstration of acquired 'competencies'; competence as the 'right performance' in relation to specific definition of 'key purpose'.

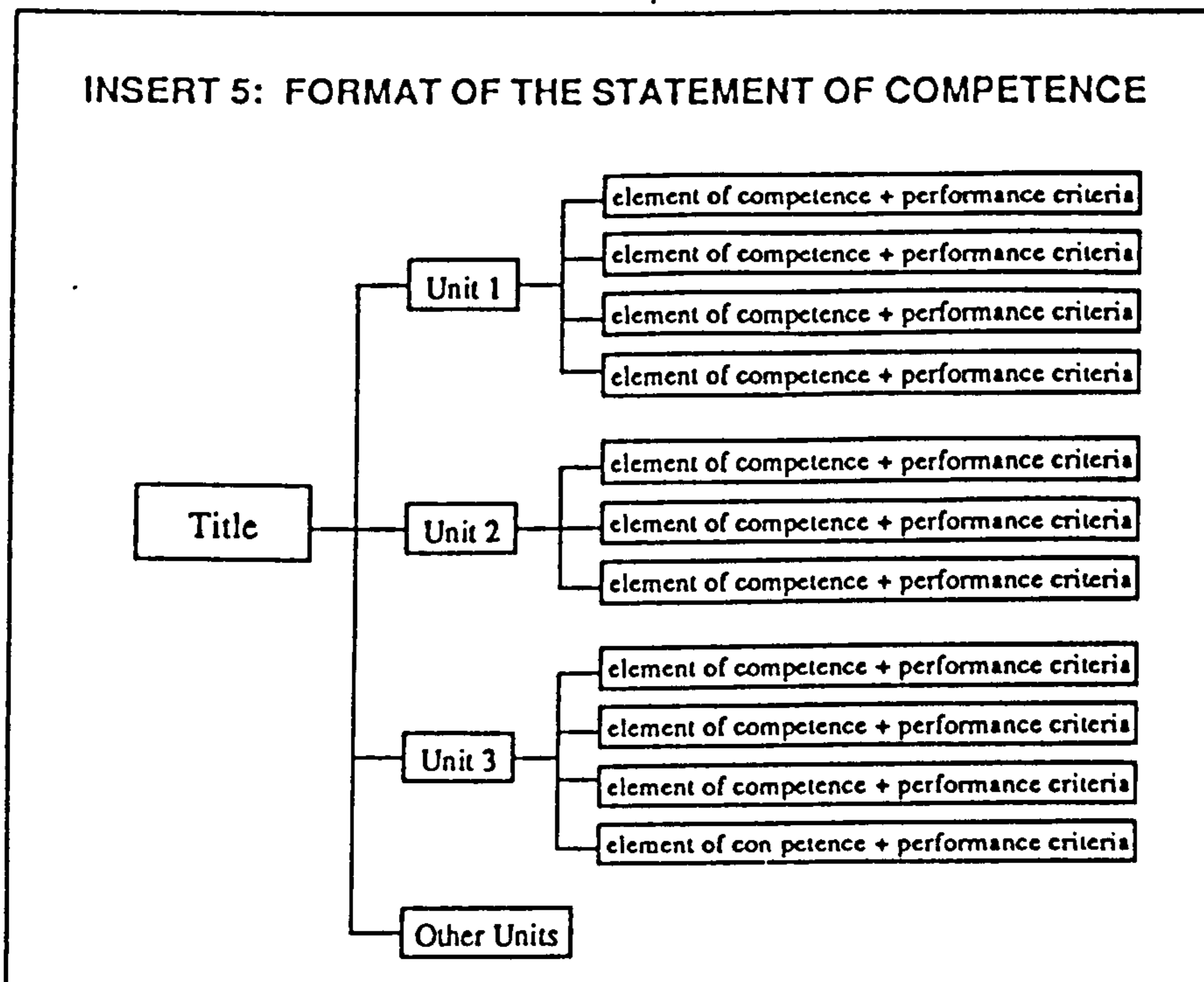
Appendix 2
Functional Analysis of Healthcare
 (Source: Jessup, 1991, p.38).

INSERT 13: FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF HEALTH CARE

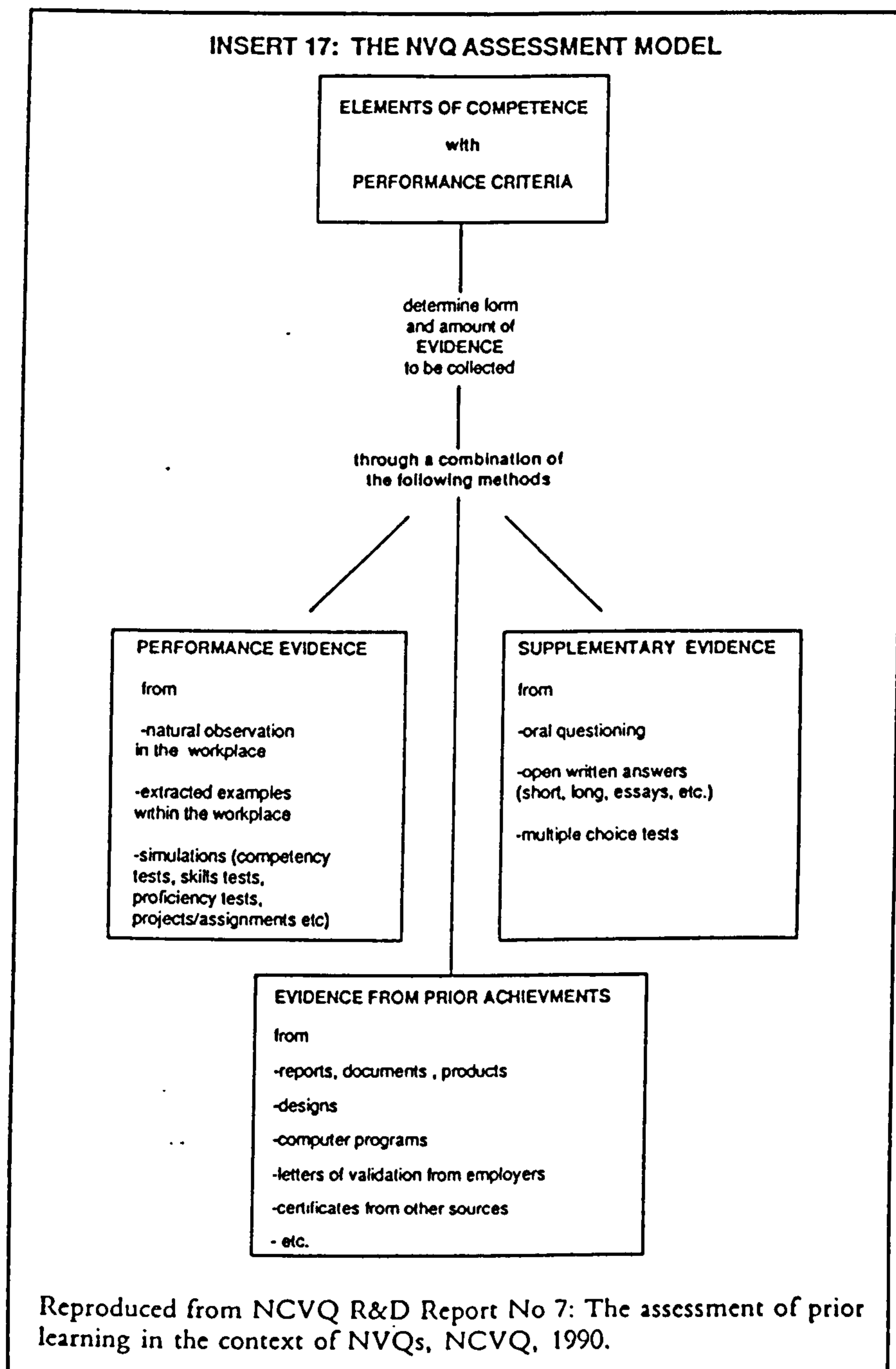


ELEMENT	Order paraclinical investigations
PERFORMANCE CRITERIA	The investigations ordered are capable of confirming or excluding the presence of the suspected pathophysiological disturbances An investigation is ordered only if the cost (money, delay, unpleasantness and danger to patient) are justified in terms of the refinements the results might make to the management of the case
RANGE	Haematology Biochemistry Pathology Bacteriology Virology Radiology Ultrasound

Appendix 3
Format of Competency Statement
(Source: Jessup, 1991, p.17).



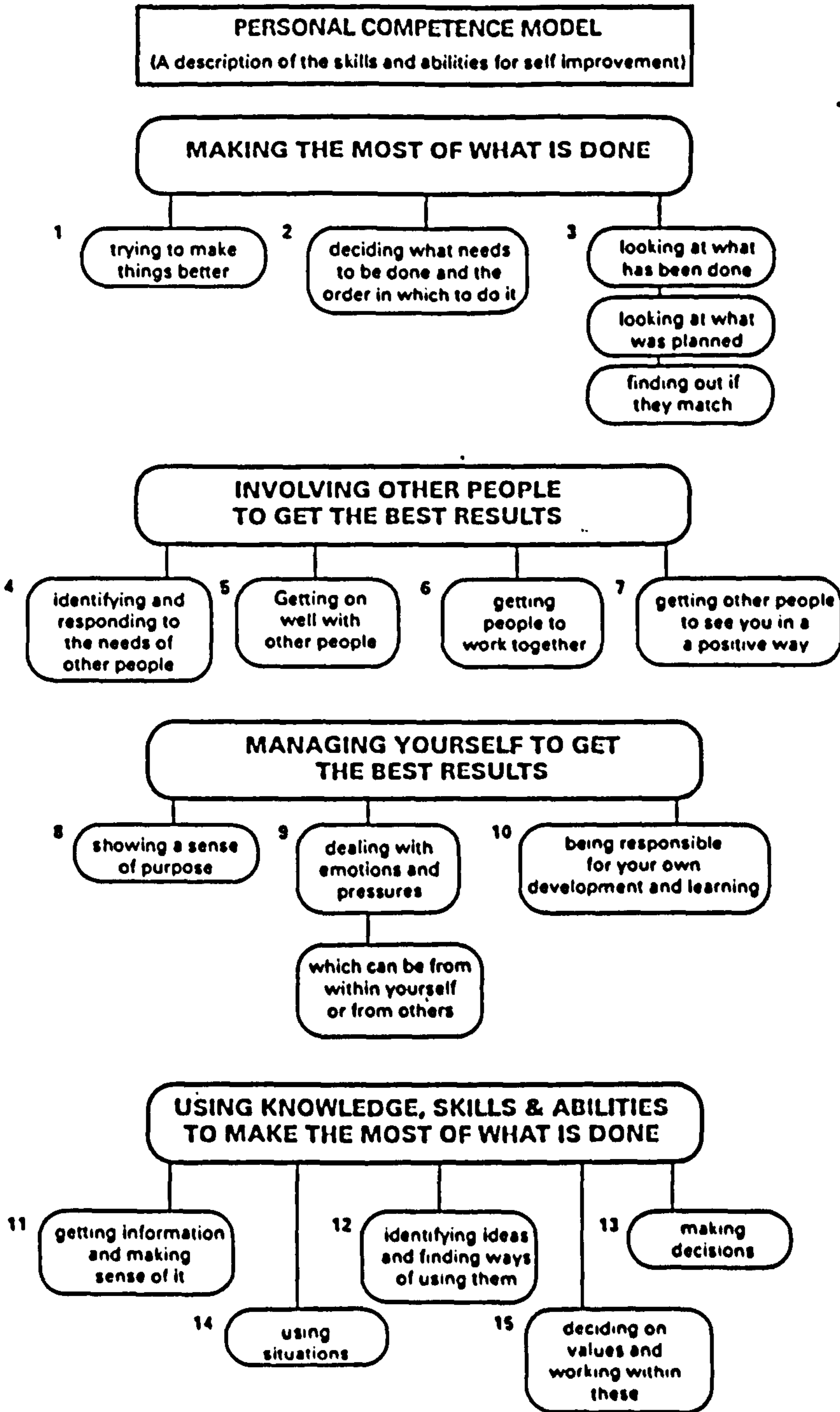
Appendix 4
 Model of NVQ Assessment
 (Source: Jessup, 1991, p.58).



Appendix 5

Model of 'Personal Competence for Managers'

(Source: Parker, 1992, p.6).



Appendix 6

Programme for Youth Camp, 1908

(Source: Russell and Rigby, 1908, p.384-385).

(Chapter XV.)

CAMP PROGRAMME

HEROD STREET LADS' CLUB, ANCOATS, MANCHESTER,
and 5TH MANCHESTER COMPANY, THE BOYS' BRIGADE.

Issued by order of the Officer Commanding.

WHIT-WEEK CAMP

PENMON, NEAR BEAUMARIS, 1908.

DAILY TIME-TABLE

<i>Rivalls</i>	6.30 A.M.
<i>Fall in for Drill</i>	7.15 "
<i>Breakfast</i>	7.40 "
<i>Officers' Breakfast</i>	8.30 "
<i>Sick Parade at Hospital Tent</i>	9 "
<i>Tent Inspection</i>	9.30 "
<i>Drill</i>	10 "
<i>Dinner</i>	12.15 P.M.
<i>Officers' Dinner</i>	1. 0 "
<i>Tea</i>	5.30 "
<i>Officers' Tea</i>	6 "
<i>First Post</i>	8.45 "
<i>Sick Parade at Hospital Tent</i>	9 "
<i>Supper</i>	9.30 "
<i>Last Post</i>	9.45 "
<i>Lights out</i>	10 "

PROGRAMME

General Notice.—Lads will be free after drill each day until 8.30 P.M.; but all who want meals in Camp must be present at the time stated, as meals will NOT be provided for late comers.

Camp Service.—Every lad in Camp MUST attend the Service on Sunday at 11 A.M.

Full Uniform to be worn.

No games will be allowed on Sunday, but walks and bathing will be arranged.

Drill.—Every lad in Camp, except the Band and Orderlies on duty, must take part in the Physical Drill at 7.15 each morning. Every Brigade Boy must also fall in for Company Drill at 10 A.M. in full uniform, and the duration of the drill will depend on the smartness of the "Fall in" and of the drill.

Tent Inspection.—Each occupant of the smartest tent in each line will receive as a prize a silver B.D. breast pin. The condition of caps, belts, and haversacks will be taken into account. Old Boys as well as Brigade Boys must be present at the Tent Inspection.

Bathing Parade.—Will be held daily as the tide serves and other arrangements permit.

Football.—Various matches will be arranged, probably with teams from Beaumaris, and with Salford Lads' Club at Llandudua. There will also be a Lines Competition to begin, if possible, on Monday evening at 7.30 P.M.

Cricket.—Inter-Company and other matches will be arranged.

Sports.—Water Sports at 3.30 on Tuesday afternoon. Field Sports at 6.30 on Thursday evening.

Inspection.—The Official Inspection of the Camp will be made on Thursday morning by Captain Langdon of the "Clia."

Aber Falls.—On Monday there will be an excursion to the Falls starting from Camp immediately after Drill. No charge will be made for Brigade Boys, but old lads will bear the cost, probably about 1s. 2d.

Carnarvon Castle.—On Wednesday a special steamer will leave Penmon Jetty immediately after Drill for Carnarvon. This is a delightful trip up the Menai Straits, landing at Carnarvon to visit the Castle. Cost old boys about 2s., Brigade Boys 1s. 6d. over 14, under 14, 1s.

Baron Hill Park.—On Friday afternoon there will be a walk from Camp through the ground of Baron Hill Park. Distance about 8 miles. Other trips to the Nant Francon Pass, and possibly Llandudno, will be arranged for the old boys.

Appendix 7








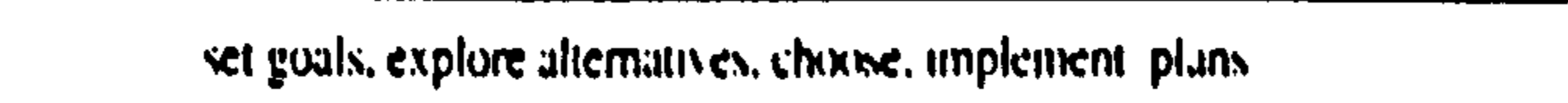

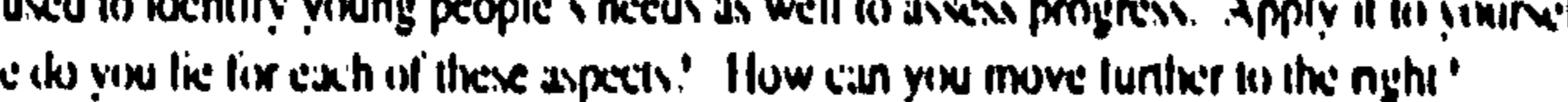
Youth Registration in Coventry, 1942)

(Source: Board of Education and Scottish Education Department, 1942, p.7).

Youth Organisations	Boys (17-18)	Boys (16-17)	Girls (17-18)	Girls (16-17)	Totals
Evening Classes	57	28	6	12	103
Home Guard and Army Cadets	98	57			155
Air Training Corps	87	42			129
Royal Corps of Signals Cadets	9	10			19
Sea Cadets	27	51			78
Police Auxiliary Messenger Service	16	8			24
Civil defence Messenger Service	40	17	26	46	129
NFS Messenger Service	19	24			43
St John Ambulance Cadets	10	9	41	48	108
British Red Cross	1		7		8
Territorial Army Reserve	1				1
Boys' Brigade	2				2
Church Lads' Brigade	1				1
Boy Scouts Association	1				1
Youth Centres	148	76	84	153	461
Clubs, Fellowships, Guilds, etc.	52	15	78	115	260
Girls' Training Corps and Women's Junior Air Corps			119	142	261
Home Emergency Service			6	9	15
Women's Voluntary Services			50	31	81
YWCA			10		10
YMCA Canteen			2		2
Girls' Friendly Society			6		6
Girl Guides Association			7	8	15
Totals	569	337	442	564	1912

Appendix 8
Model of 'Personal and Social Skills'
 (Source: Huskins, 1996, p.20).

Self-Assessment chart for youth workers

<p style="text-align: center;">PERSONAL AND SOCIAL SKILLS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">YOUTH WORK PROJECTS - ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS SKILL AREAS AND PROGRESSIVE LEVELS OF COMPETENCE</p>		
PROGRESSIVE	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	SCALE
1 self-esteem & self-awareness	develop self-esteem & accurate self-image, strengths, weaknesses 	personal integrity
2 communication skills	listen actively, communicate verbally, non-verbally, in writing 	communicate effectively
3 interpersonal skills	work in groups, ask for and give help, be assertive, support others 	good personal relationships
4 explore & manage feelings	recognise and manage feelings: anger, fear etc: develop self-control 	emotional health
5 understand & identify with others	explore others' feelings, including gender, race, victims of crime 	empathic with others
6 values development	explore values & consequences, right & wrong, moral standards 	conscious value system
7 problem solving	define problem, obtain information, make decision, on own & in groups 	finding effective solutions
8 negotiation skills	explain own & listen to others' views, reach acceptable solutions 	agreed outcomes
9 action planning	set goals, explore alternatives, choose, implement plans 	controlling life
10 reviewing skills	reflect on actions, assess performance, apply lessons, build on strengths 	learning from experience

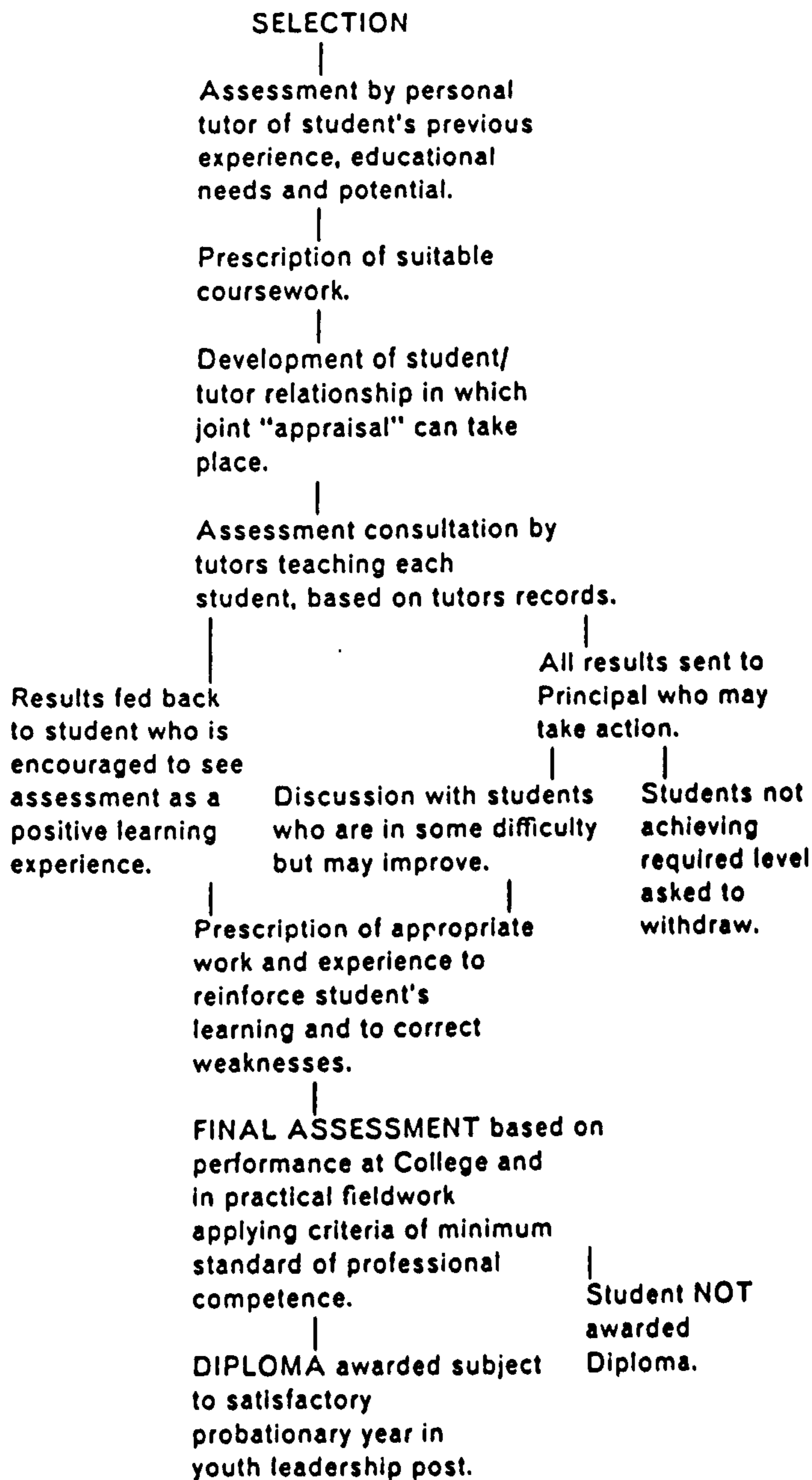
This chart can be used to identify young people's needs as well to assess progress. Apply it to yourself!
 Where on the scale do you lie for each of these aspects? How can you move further to the right?

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Appendix 9

National College For the Training of Youth Leaders. Process of Assessment

(Source: Watkins, 1971, p.75).



Appendix 10

National College For the Training of Youth Leaders, Assessment Schedule and Student Record
(Source: NCTYL, undated).

THE NATIONAL COLLEGE FOR THE TRAINING OF YOUTH LEADERS

Supervisor's Report on Student's Practical Work

Name of Student:

Name of Supervisor:

Period of Field Work: From

to

Name of Organisation:

A. Field Work Programme: (attendance and duties with the organisation, sessions with the leader etc.)

B. Assessment of Qualities of Student

Please mark with a tick the appropriate column: where necessary add comments to qualify.

<u>Personality</u>	X	Tends to X	Satisfactory	Tends to Y	Y	Comments
	1. Pleasing and attractive manner	X				
2. Manner positive and direct					Y	Off-putting and uninspiring a. Manner lacking in forcefulness b. Dominating and over-forceful

	X	Y	Comments
3. Steady temperament			
4. Tactful and discreet			
5. Alert and quick on the uptake			
6. Adaptable			
7. Intelligently sympathetic			
<u>Relationships</u> 8. Establishes good relationships Leaders Voluntary Helpers Boys Girls Mixed Groups			
9. Adaptable: gets on with many different types of young people <u>Attitude and Ability in Youth Work</u> 10. Hardworking and willing 1. Keenly interested in all aspects of the work 2. Has taken pains to acquire knowledge relevant to the work.		Only successful with certain types of young people. Which types? Relationships difficult to establish and maintain Prone to slackness Casual in his approach to the work a. Thinks he knows b. Does not bother to learn	

	X	X	Tends to X	Satisfacto	Tends to Y	Y	Y
13. Sees the need for good administration							Places little importance on this aspect of the work
14. Is methodical in all aspects of his work							Haphazard
15. Applies himself to the routine tasks							Inclined to avoid these
16. Reliable under pressure							Easily gets into a flap
17. Ready to carry responsibility							Leans too much on other people
18. Makes good use of his activity skills and his interests							a. Uses them for wrong purposes b. Is unable to interest others
19. Shows initiative							Usually needs prompting
20. Will ask and take advice							a. Disinclined to take advice b. Asks for guidance unnecessarily
21. Firm in making decisions							Indecisive
22. Makes sound judgements							Judgments unreliable
23. Observant							Fails to notice obviously important matters
24. Undertakes a normal allocation of work without undue strain							Is easily overwhelmed by a normal allocation of work

C. Leader's Comments: (to include a note of any special strengths and weaknesses, student's progress during the period, likelihood of development with further training and experience.)

D. General Assessment of Student's Field Work Practice

Please indicate your assessment of the student's general ability, by underlining the appropriate comment.

Very Good

Good

Satisfactory

Borderline

Failure

Signature:

Date:

Year

STUDENT RECORD

Name Group Personal Tutor

<u>Date</u>			<u>Grade</u>	<u>In:</u>
	1.	<u>Principles & Practice.</u> (Seminar performance including written work and other preparation for seminar and seminar tutor)		
<u>Date</u>	2.	<u>Social Studies.</u> (Seminar performance including written work and other preparation for seminar and seminar tutor)		
<u>Date</u>	3.	<u>Human Growth & Development.</u> (Seminar performance including written work & other preparation for seminar & seminar tutor)		

<u>Date</u>		<u>Grade</u>	<u>Init</u>
4.	<u>English.</u> (Seminar & tutorial performance and level of achievement)		
5.	<u>General Studies</u>		
6.	<u>Field Work</u> a) <u>Weekly Contact</u> b) <u>F.W.1</u> c) <u>F.W.II</u>		

Date 7. Work in Personal Tutorials & Personal Qualities.
(To include performance in T.A.G.s)

Grade Init

Date 8. Activities. (To include programmed activities, activity groups,
and Student Council work, if any.)

Date 9. Assessment Comments. (To be used by Principal & Vice-Principal.

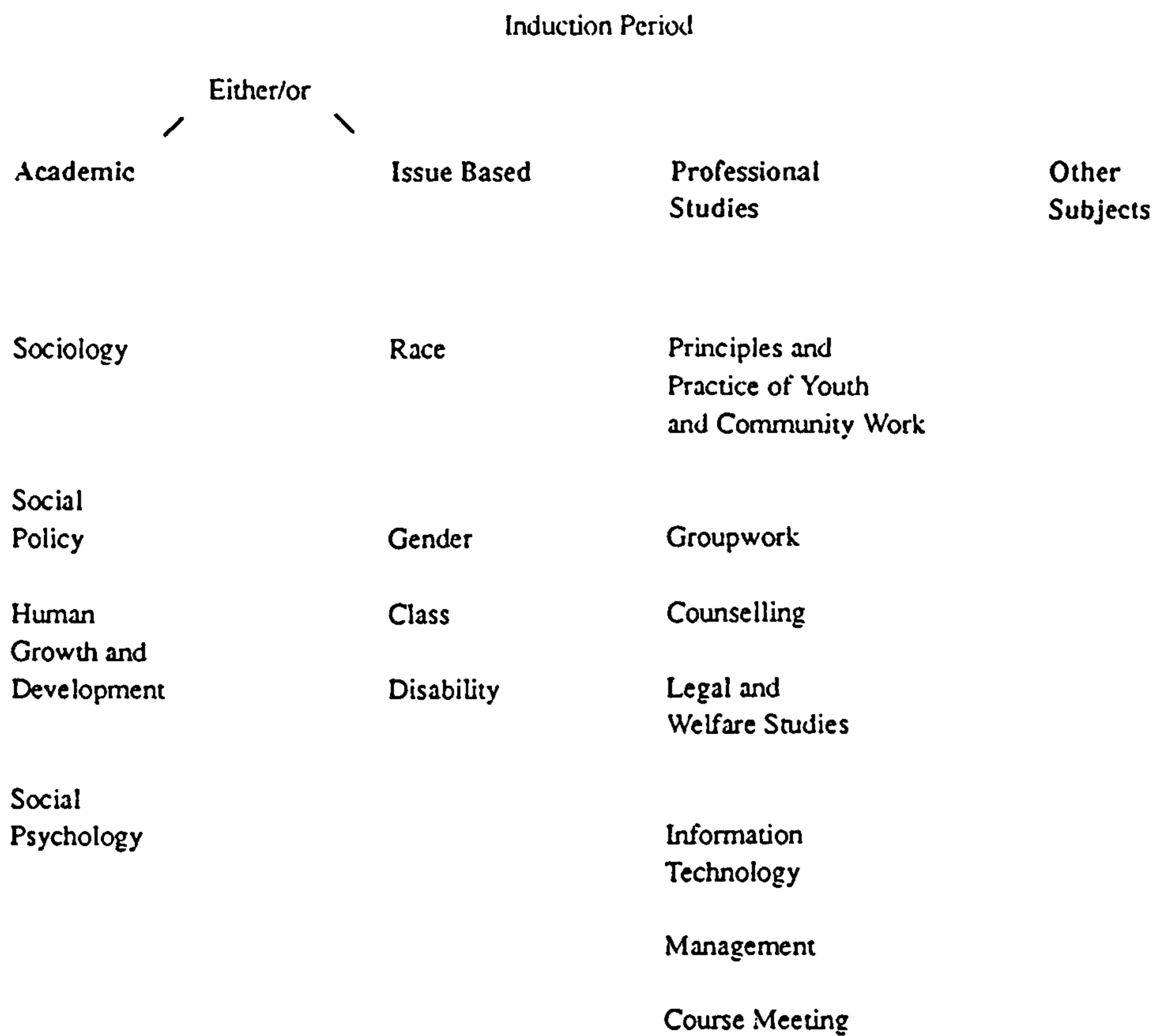
Init

Date 10. General Progress. (Comments, decisions for action and results from
co-ordinating groups, recorded by Personal Tutor)

Appendix 11

Course Content in Professional Education for Youth and Community Work

(Source: Department of Education and Science, 1990, p.7).



Appendix 12
“Generic Core Competences”
(Source: Bainbridge, 1988, p.24-25).

SKILLS	KNOWLEDGE
<p>1. USE OF SELF <i>A worker needs to be able to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - listen, observe and interpret. - evaluate self & develop understanding of own strengths/weaknesses. - determine ways of developing and extending own skills. - be aware of choice of roles, determine appropriate role, & understand its boundaries. - identify own values, understand how they influence practice, & handle differences between own values & those of others. - recognise the power dimension in working situations. - manage own use of time. - work as a member of a team. - work in isolation. - recognise, and act on, need for own support. <p>2. INTERVENTION <i>Work with individuals:</i> <i>A worker needs to be able to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - establish relationships of trust with young people & adults. - assess individual needs & respond appropriately. - enable individuals to develop knowledge, skills, confidence. - understand and take on a range of roles, e.g. advocacy, advice, counselling, befriending, enabling, organising. <p><i>Work with groups and communities</i> <i>A worker needs to be able to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - initiate and sustain developmental work with young people. - involve people in issues which affect their lives. - initiate, enable and sustain a group. - understand and recognise a variety of roles within groups. - recognise & respond to power & discrimination within/between groups. - recognise, and assist groups to respond to, structural inequality & structural causes of social problems. - support and enable community groups to identify needs and determine appropriate responses. - set the work within an appreciation of its area & community context. <p>3. ANALYSIS, PLANNING, EVALUATION <i>A worker needs to be able to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gather, analyse and interpret information/evidence. - set realistic goals/objectives. - establish priorities in relation to policy. - formulate work programmes related to agreed objectives. - devise methods for monitoring and recording progress. - evaluate outcomes and respond appropriately <p>4. MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATION <i>A worker needs to be able to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - apply "Analysis" skills (see 3) to management of self/staff. - devise, sustain, & work within, participative models of decision making. - service meetings, committees, understand/operate committee procedures. - devise & maintain appropriate recording & administrative systems. - devise and maintain procedures for managing finances. - ensure that management structures, procedures, & documentation are based on equal opportunities principles. - develop work programmes for self, staff and agency. - support and supervise staff. - devise and sustain staff development policy for self and staff in negotiation with employer (within limits of own work role). - liaise, negotiate with external agencies, local authority etc.. - use basic fund-raising techniques. - develop working knowledge of, and use, local and national information, support and resources. <p>5. COMMUNICATION <i>A worker needs to be able to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - organise information and make it accessible. - make effective verbal presentations. - write clear reports & other papers, e.g. letters, grant applications, newsletters. - use a variety of other media for work with individuals & groups, & for publicising the work. - understand the political context of the agency & handle effectively. 	<p>1. USE OF SELF <i>A worker needs to know:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - how to assess own strengths/weaknesses. - how to learn from life experience. - basic understanding of values in Y. & C. Work. - basic principles/methods of teamwork. - principles/practice of support/supervision <p>2. INTERVENTION <i>Work with individuals:</i> <i>A worker needs to know:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - principles and practice of social education. - basic processes of human growth and development. - how to relate theory to own life experience. - basic counselling, information, advice, advocacy <p><i>Work with groups and communities:</i> <i>A worker needs to know:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - basic principles and practice of groupwork. - basic principles and practice of community work, community education. <p><i>General knowledge required for practice:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - history/development of youth and community work. - key reports. - broad social policy developments since 1945. - structure of local and central government. - basic knowledge of national Y & CW organisations. - grounding in key issues, e.g. equal opportunities, welfare rights, unemployment, housing, homelessness. - historical/structural explanations of inequality & discrimination. <p>3. ANALYSIS, PLANNING, EVALUATION <i>A worker needs to know:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - how to conduct basic research and enquiry. - how to plan a work programme. - how to record. - how to evaluate. <p>4. MANAGEMENT AND ORGANISATION <i>A worker needs to know:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - methods/models of participatory decision making. - how committees operate. - how to establish administrative systems. - basic book-keeping and budgeting. - examples of effective equal opportunities practice. - principles/practice of support/supervision. - principles/practice of staff development. - how to plan staff training. - who does what and when in local government. - basic fund-raising techniques. <p>5. COMMUNICATION <i>A worker needs to know:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - how to write reports, minutes etc.. - how to make verbal presentations. - how to use a variety of media.

UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES
<p><i>A worker needs to understand and acknowledge:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - social education as the core process in Youth and Community work - the ability of people to resolve problems and change themselves - the tension and distinction between empowering and controlling people - the worth, ability and rights of people - the right to self determination - the importance of collective action and collaborative working relationships <p><i>A worker needs to understand and acknowledge a requirement to:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - respect and value the pluralistic culture of society - confront inequality and discrimination - recognise the influence of the worker and her/his values - recognise self as a changing being.

Appendix 13
Functional Map of Youth Work
(Source: National Youth Agency, 1997, p.25-28).

THE FUNCTIONAL MAP OF YOUTH WORK

KEY PURPOSE

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

Core Values

Youth work is informed by a set of beliefs which include a commitment to equal opportunity, and to young people as partners in learning and decision making. We recognise youth work by these qualities:

- it offers its services in places where young people can choose to participate;
- it encourages young people to be critical in their responses to their own experience and to the world around them;
- it works with young people to help them make informed choices about their personal responsibilities within their communities;
- it complements school and college-based education by encouraging young people to achieve and fulfil their potential; and
- it works with other agencies to encourage society to be responsive to young people's needs.

Scope

Youth work offers its services to young people regardless of their ethnicity, gender, social class, ability, religious affiliation or sexual orientation.

Youth workers offer opportunities for learning, information, counselling and support to young people and their communities.

Youth workers are essentially creative in the methods they use to educate young people. They recognise new opportunities for learning when they arise and use learning media which young people enjoy and through which they can explore their role safely.

Youth work addresses the development of the whole person, including social, spiritual, emotional, physical and intellectual education.

Youth work takes place in informal settings, indoors and outdoors, in the community and away from the community, in places set aside for young people and places where the community meets and goes about its business.

KEY ROLES	FIRST LEVEL BREAKDOWN	SECOND LEVEL BREAKDOWN	THIRD LEVEL BREAKDOWN	
A Build and maintain relationships to enhance young people's personal and social education	A1 Build and maintain effective relationships with young people			
	A2 Build and maintain effective relationships with colleagues			
	A3 Build and maintain relationships with those with an interest in the development of young people	A3.1 Build and maintain relationships with other organisations		
	A4 Build and maintain relationships with the communities in which young people live	A3.2 Build and maintain relationships with resource holders and relevant students		
B In partnership with young people and other stakeholders, plan and develop strategies to meet the needs of young people	B1 Gather, analyse and interpret information to identify needs			
	B2 Help individuals and groups to identify their own development needs	B3.1 Establish the availability of resources		
	B3 In partnership with young people and other organisations, work to secure resources to meet identified needs	B3.2 Develop initial plans to meet identified needs		
	B4 In partnership with young people plan interventions on the basis of available resources	B3.3 Secure resources to support planned interventions		
	B5 Develop programmes and services			
C In partnership with young people and other stakeholders, deliver programmes and services to meet the identified needs of young people	C1 Create learning environments which enhance the growth of young people	C1.1 Ensure safe working environments	C1.1.1 Provide opportunities for shared experience	
		C1.2 Protect young people from abuse	C1.1.2 Challenge oppressive and discriminating behaviour in self and others	
		C1.3 Encourage and celebrate diversity		
	C2 Offer and provide support and advocacy with and for young people	C1.4 Manage one's own and young people's behaviour to promote learning for all		
		C2.1 Respond to individual need		
		C2.2 Facilitate young people's access to and use of information		
		C2.3 Facilitate young people's understanding of and action upon the issues and situations which affect their lives and communities		
	C3 Facilitate learning experiences which allow young people to grow	C2.4 Act for and on behalf of young people		
		C3.1 Facilitate the informal and structured learning experience of individuals and groups of young people	C3.1.1 Recognise and facilitate informal learning opportunities with individuals and groups of young people	
		C3.2 Review learning experiences with young people	C3.1.2 Facilitate formal learning opportunities with individuals and groups of young people	
	C4 Manage and support youth work services	C3.3 Review progress and evaluate programmes with young people		
		C4.1 Manage people	C4.1.1 Recruit and select youth workers	
		C4.2 Manage Projects	C4.1.2 Develop teams and individuals to deliver youth work programmes and services	
C4.3 Operate and maintain sites, systems and processes to allow youth work organisations to achieve their objectives		C4.1.3 Manage the performance of teams and individuals		
D Contribute to the improvement of programme and service delivery	D1 Establish policy for and improve youth work provision	D1.1 Establish policy for youth work provision		
		D1.2 Establish monitoring and evaluation frameworks for youth work provision		
		D1.3 Monitor youth work provision		
		D1.4 Review and improve youth work provision		
	D2 Evaluate and develop personal practice	D2.1 Clarify own values base and ways of relating to young people and society		
		D2.2 Improve personal practice		