

Scottish Youth Work: same, but different.

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Introduction

This chapter is written at an interesting point in our history. A hundred days from today, the Scottish people will vote in a referendum on Scottish independence from the United Kingdom. For people who have always seen a British commonality, a fundamental unity of traditions, of language, of culture and politics, of economy and history, the referendum and the aspirations of its proposers don't make a lot of sense. For others, a Scottish distinctiveness and an assertion of autonomy in the face of the English gravitational mass needs recognising and defending.

The history of youth work is not so different from this. Scottish youth work shares its origins with English developments, and innovations in London or Glasgow or Edinburgh or Manchester have flowed fluidly, even telegraphically, back and forth. While the energy of youth workers has been as vibrant in Scotland as in England, the weight of the Youth Service in England, the foundations of the Albemarle Report in creating a youth work discourse and the force of the National College in propagating it have meant that the voice of youth work in Scotland has generally shared the English understanding of youth work practice.

But Scotland is different: more different than can sometimes be seen from the outside. The political centre of gravity is in a different place in Scotland. Scotland sits to the left as well as to the north, with an affinity for democratic socialist approaches to social policy rather than American free market ideals: perhaps a function of a society that has developed out of the clans, rather than an aristocratic hierarchy. In youth policy, there is a stronger sense of young people being 'ours', rather than some hostile 'other'. Notwithstanding its historical place as the crucible of the theory and practice of industrial capitalism, the most pressing urgency in Scottish social policy is inequality: even if that is rendered somewhat ineffectual by successive Scottish Governments' more or less unequivocal commitment to capitalism. This has had an effect on the establishment of youth work also.

As with England, youth work in Scotland emerged in the ferment of the industrial revolution and in the great industrial cities of the Empire: or at least, youth work as we know it. No doubt there have been structures, traditions and persons to induct young people into adulthood from long before the nineteenth century, but that is beyond our scope for this chapter. Even in dealing with modern youth work and modern youth, it is impossible to cover the breadth of this experience here. Our intention is to focus on that which is distinctive about the Scottish experience and expression of youth work, and its distinctive contribution to the youth work tradition. Primarily, at least with regard to the period since 1960, it is written from the perspective of practitioners who lived and worked in Scotland during that time, rather than from study of the archives.

The emergence of youth work in the 19th century

The Industrial Revolution had a massive effect on the fabric of Scottish society, as elsewhere in Europe. The textile industry created an insatiable hunger for raw materials: wool, in the first instance, and for labour. The former led to the wholesale and brutal

expulsion of traditional agricultural communities from their land and their replacement with sheep. The Highland Clearances, as they were known, led to a mass migration either to the New World, or to the burgeoning industrial cities of the Central Belt and the north east. Ancient connections with land were severed and cauterized. Ancient and complex webs of relationship and interaction, within which young people would have found their social place and their journey to adulthood were destroyed. Young people, along with their parents and younger siblings, found themselves in the maw of the industrial mill, with the old institutions destroyed but the new not yet in place. This impacted differently on different social classes: but few escaped.

Government's response to this was limited. Indeed, Government itself, in the nineteenth century, was limited in terms of social intervention. The key institution for responding to social problems in the nineteenth century was the Religious Society. The Societies, usually independent of established church structures, represented a kind of entrepreneurial, innovative process in which typically charismatic individuals (often from the new capitalist classes) founded charitable organisations to address the very evident humanitarian needs of industrial society: and to proselytise the poor. Glaswegian David Naismith (1799-1839) was among these. Starting his first 'Youth's Society' at the age of 15 to support the work of church missions, he went on to found a large number of Societies, including the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement in 1824, and two years later, the Glasgow City Mission (Nicholls 1999). The Young Men's Society was a parallel evolutionary development to the YMCA, founded later in London in 1844, and morphed independently of the London enterprise into the Glasgow YMCA, which eventually affiliated with the YMCA Conference in 1905. This kind of youth organisation, often under the leadership of active and successful young people, sought to address gaps and vulnerabilities (such as affordable accommodation and congenial social space) created in the mass movement to the city. It represents one strand of youth work's DNA.

On a (slightly) more secular note, educational activists such as Arthur Sweatman were arguing for extending the vision of the Ragged Schools and the educational Workers' Clubs to make special provision for young people. In an 1863 speech to the Social Science Association in Edinburgh, Sweatman argued that the condition of young people in Scotland called for specific educational intervention, outside school and in the leisure space, in order to offer young people the possibility of social improvement (Booton 1985). Sweatman cites a range of institutes in England which had followed this model, indicating that some provision within a club atmosphere was already emerging.

A third strand lies in the uniformed movements, the first of which also emerged in Glasgow in the late nineteenth century. William Alexander Smith (1854-1914), concerned at the irrelevance of church based programmes for the young, established the first Boys Brigade in 1883 (Springhall, Fraser and Hoare 1983). Directed in the first instance towards boys in poorer neighbourhoods and aimed at saving them from the pernicious environments in which they lived, the regimental style and adventure-oriented approach was taken up by the Scouting Movement in the first decades of the twentieth century, which went on to become perhaps the most successful youth work movement of all time. While both the Scouting Movement and the Boys Brigade denied para-military intent, there is no question that the Crimean and Boer wars, and the increasing military demands of Empire were part of the backdrop. This intensified in the first half of the twentieth century.

Youth Work and the Wars

Twice in the last century, major world wars in 1914 and 1939 erupted into the lives of families and communities in Scotland: and into the lives of young people. As well as the enlistment of masses of young Scottish men, or their fathers, uncles and brothers, and the involvement of sisters and mothers in 'war work', both wars required the establishment (and enforcement) of restrictions on residence and movement; personal, household and community safety measures; closure and change of use of public buildings, rationing of food, clothing, fuel and certain household goods; and restrictions on places of entertainment or leisure. The effects of these measures were differentially experienced by young people depending upon whether they lived in more densely populated urban and industrial areas or in rural and countryside settings – but they had impact.

It was not surprising that governments were concerned about the consequences of the wars upon all citizens – but notably children and young people. A common concern in both 1914 and 1939 was the rise of juvenile delinquency, interestingly also a concern in 1961 when national conscription of men was ended. The social and economic atmosphere was of course different in 1914, and there were no statutory facilities for social, leisure and recreational activities for young people at that time. A key issue which emerged at the outset of World War One was a concern for the good health and physical development of young people in Britain. Large numbers of young and older men volunteered for active service at the outbreak of war. In medical examination, many were found to be underdeveloped for their age, physically unfit or unwell – so much so that it became a major area of concern for the Prime Minister, parliament and army generals.

It was for this reason that attempts were made by the government to persuade voluntary organisations to provide facilities and activities for young people and to do what they could for their social and physical welfare (Patrick 2006: 18). Before long these concerns found their way into the aims and purposes of key voluntary organisations working in the youth work sphere throughout the period of the 20's, 30's and 40's and they now feature (in somewhat modified language) in the aims and objectives of statutory youth work agencies also. Traditional voluntary youth organisations such as the YMCA, Scouts, Guides, Boys Brigade and Girls Brigade had since their inception in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and in differing ways, incorporated these intentions into their aims. The red 3 sided YMCA logo is still recalled by many as the shorthand reminder that the YMCA programme is intended to develop "Body, Mind and Spirit".

Significant and ultimately far reaching moves in the development of youth work provision emerged in late 1939 with the issue of Government Circular 1486 "In the Service of Youth", and further in Circular 1516 "The Challenge of Youth" which urged the need for restructuring of youth work and a voluntary/statutory partnership. In these reports the Westminster Government acknowledges that the issues relating to young people in their leisure time required an approach which aligned youth work with schooling and other forms of educational provision. This did not mean that youth work would then, or in the future, receive proportionate levels of funding to other educational services, but it did open the doors to a voluntary/statutory partnership, the creation of local government Youth Committees which focused on youth issues, and the notion that young people's views should be sought on local committees. These reports were also forerunners for the introduction of a

capital grants scheme, modest local authority funding for some youth work developments and the financial support of some forms of training for voluntary and part time youth workers.

Albemarle: the impact on Scotland, and Scotland's response

Circulars 1486 and 1516 established the regulatory basis for youth work across the UK. However, provision for youth work remained patchy. In the postwar period, the picture for youth work across the country was by all accounts characterised by untrained volunteers working with limited resources in dilapidated buildings, and generally far short of the aspiration that the youth service would be an equal party with schools in the education enterprise. At the same time, the demographic surge in the youth population associated with the baby boom, the concern with juvenile delinquency and the attendant cultural anxiety around the emergence of a distinctive youth culture (including rock and roll, Teddy boys and mods and rockers) all led to a consensus that something needed to be done about the 'Service to Youth'.

The Albemarle Committee was established in 1958 to inquire into the state of the Youth Service in England and Wales. As such, it had no direct mandate for Scotland. However, the Report of the Committee, and the initiatives that flowed from it were foundational also in shaping the practice in Scotland.

Sociologist and historian Michel Foucault argues that typically, discourses (the constellations of language and concept within which practices are formed) have a natural history in which at a certain point in time, the disparate strands of a practice are pulled together, often by a single author, into a coherent frame: the discourse (Foucault 1986). This frame becomes the context then within which all recognisable practice is performed. So Charles Darwin founds the discourse of evolutionary biology. Adam Smith founds economics.

The Albemarle Report founds the modern discourse of youth work, at least for Britain. The key tensions, purposes, and frameworks are drawn together in this document: youth work's contemporary self-understanding is grounded there. The Report is by no means beyond criticism, but it is revealing that any historical analysis of youth work in the UK (including this one) will go back to the Report as a founding document. The specific ways that Albemarle penetrated the consciousness of Scottish youth workers has yet to be documented. But some things are clear.

First, the Report places youth work squarely before the Parliament at Westminster, and in terms that win the Parliament's enthusiastic affirmation. In that it defines youth work in terms that youth workers recognise, and these definitions are also affirmed by the powerful, it puts youth work objectively in a new position.

Second, there are a range of reforms and investments that have a profound effect on youth work in Scotland. The Youth Service in Scotland never achieved the kind of established status that it did in England, especially after the investment following Albemarle. But Scottish youth work did share in the relative bounty, and the premises on which that investment was founded took hold as strongly in Scotland. Especially, the clarion call for the training of youth workers in the Report flowed directly into the establishment of youth work training parallel to teacher training at Moray House in Edinburgh in 1961, and Jordanhill

College in Glasgow in 1964. Qualified staff to teach in these programmes were generally not available locally, and usually had to be imported from England. Through them the English/Albemarle discourse about the nature of youth work all become orthodox north of the border also.

Third, the Albemarle vision for the Youth Service flows directly into Scotland's own foundational document, *Adult Education: the Challenge of Change*, otherwise known as the Alexander Report (Scottish Education Department 1975). Alexander constitutes a key discontinuity between the practice in England and Scotland, and pulls youth work into a different set of relationships, resolving some tensions and creating others.

The Alexander Report and the Community Education Service

As the title indicates, the Alexander Report is not principally about youth work. The practice of Adult Education, which had a long and distinguished tradition in Scotland, was languishing in the mid-1970s. Universal secondary education and the technical colleges had largely taken over the adult education movement's historical role in educating working class communities, and the profession was increasingly restricted to offering recreational courses for the leisured middle class. However, concerns remained about persistent literacy problems, especially in poorer communities; about the educational gap between people who had grown up in the first half of the century and the postwar generation; and about the risks of radicalisation posed by an uneducated industrial working class (Mackie, Sercombe and Ryan 2013).

The problem was that adult educators seemed to have little capacity to reach that kind of constituency. But youth workers did. In a marriage between adult education and youth work, Alexander could see the critical mass, the street smarts and engagement methodologies of youth work matched with the redoubtable intellectual traditions of adult education into a new force for social change. For good measure, the Report included the emerging practice of Community Development in a proposal for a new Service, the Community Education Service, picking up the best of the Youth Service south of the border but wider and richer and more collaborative.

The impact of Alexander was mixed. At the level of government policy, in the practice of local authorities, and in training provision in universities and colleges, Community Education and the partnership of youth work, adult education and community development became dominant as discourse. In the non-government sector, youth work organisations continued to define their work as youth work, and individuals continued to identify as youth workers, adult educators or community developers, though there was also a lot of movement between roles. Generally, the 'three strands' retained an independent existence as well as a collective one. Peak coordinating organisations for adult education, youth work and community development continued to coexist with organisations for community education (renamed Community Learning and Development (CLD) in 2004).

The Community Education configuration had some advantages. It arguably produced a culture more amenable to collaboration, and a professional culture more open to methodological diversity. While the Albemarle tradition has been powerfully constructive in England, it has also been to some extent restrictive, especially when it comes to one-on-one

work, casework or work in which attendance is less than voluntary in some way. This has prompted doubts about youth work in schools, for example, and led to the wholesale youth work rejection of the Connexions programme. While youth work in England is still diverse, there is a sense that the open club in a working-class community remains the paradigm for youth work methodology.

The broader configuration has also placed the practice more centrally in the Scottish Government's field of vision. While funding for the sector has never matched government rhetoric, Community Education/CLD has maintained an unchallenged claim to be the key agent for intervention at the community level on questions of poverty, inequality and social exclusion. Authorities in Scotland have never been particularly generous, but they have not, as has sometimes been the case in England, been ambivalent or dismissive about youth work.

The cost has been a certain diffusion of purpose. Youth workers at least in the statutory sector can be (and have been) reassigned to adult education or regeneration projects that don't have anything much to do with young people. Practices can be (and have been) forcibly genericised. The more diffuse focus in comparison with the solid weight of the Youth Service in England has meant that Scottish youth work has not matched the intellectual output represented by writers such as Mark Smith, Tony Jeffs, Bernard Davies, Kerry Young, Jean Spence, Sarah Banks and others.

Policy can also be subject to competing interests. The client of the Alexander Report was adult education, with youth work as the vehicle. The policy shift driving the name change from Community Education to Community Learning and Development in 2004 was effectively a policy coup d'état on the part of community developers, with serious consequences for the deprofessionalisation of youth workers and an attempt to subjugate the non-government sector under community planning regimes. The cost of mainstream (and cross-party) government support has been that youth work has also been more compliant in being folded into the objectives of the state. On balance, however, the Community Education/CLD configuration has offered some protection to youth work, compared with England.

The Thatcher Years

The different political centre of gravity in Scotland always creates problems when there is a government of the right in Westminster. At minimum, Scotland is effectively disenfranchised. At best, noblesse oblige means that Scotland is at least treated fairly: at worst, cynically, with disregard, or even brutality. There is certainly an opinion in Scotland that the Westminster government under Margaret Thatcher (1979 to 1990) fell under the latter category.

Local government reform in Scotland in 1975 had forged a landscape in which there were 9 large Regional Councils, 53 District Councils and 3 Island Councils replacing a myriad of smaller Councils whose responsibilities were related much more closely to County, Burgh or City boundaries. Many of the new regional councils were very large (Strathclyde, Lothian, Dundee, Stirling and Highland Regions for example) and therefore the local tax base from which a proportion of council expenditure would be drawn was high, compared with

previous, smaller administrations. Strathclyde Region served a constituency which was half the population of Scotland, and it was one of the largest local authorities in Europe.

This change was critical for youth work and community education, now under regional council jurisdiction. At a local level, for youth workers and other community education colleagues, there was a richer mix of inter-professional support and a new and growing opportunity to work with colleagues from Social Work, Police, Schools and Careers Service. Joint in-service training and staff development became a regular feature of professional lives, which allowed youth workers and others to share their perspectives on work with young people and to hear about and observe the techniques and approaches used by those in other services.

Many, if not most Regional Councils set up very influential and powerful officer/council member interdisciplinary working parties which examined topics related to young people, where contesting views helped to create proposals to take to the Regional Council for action. Working groups of this kind often included young people and voluntary organisation representation. Some of the very best interdisciplinary policy and practice initiatives in youth work emerged from joint officer/member groups in Lothian, Tayside, Highland, Strathclyde, Clackmannan, Stirling and elsewhere, offering an opportunity for leading councillors to learn more of the 'real world' experiences of the youth work scene, young people's lives, and appreciate the challenges which public services faced when working in the community.

Despite periodic central government cutbacks, funding was proportionately better than that which had existed during the lifetime of previous smaller burgh and city councils. For example, in 1987 the community education budget for statutory services in Strathclyde Region was £33m (or £81m current equivalent). There was permissive legislation to allow voluntary youth organisations to apply to regional councils for annual revenue grants to assist with the running of their programmes and activities, and for capital grants relating to building programmes. Whilst there were always more applications than regional grants committees could satisfy, these grants were welcomed by voluntary organisations as an essential lifeline in a difficult financial climate. In Strathclyde Region 1987 the annual revenue grants disbursed to voluntary organisations was over £2m (£5m current equivalent). Scottish services were also successful in attracting Commonwealth and European funds.

The blueprint, political justification and legislation for the establishment of regional councils in Scotland had been the work of the previous Labour government and it was apparent early in Mrs Thatcher's administration that the large, powerful, Labour-dominated regional councils in Scotland were a problem. They were often stridently oppositional, undermining policy pushes from Westminster, constituting a powerful and well-resourced organisational base for support for the Opposition in Westminster and resistance to her Government's policies, constantly throwing up new demands for social infrastructure. The Government was determined to break the power of Regional Councils, and in 1996 Regional Councils were dissolved and 32 smaller regional councils created.

The Thatcher administration was committed to monetarist economics, to the strict control of the money supply and to reducing government's economic footprint. There were wholesale reductions in public spending and social services such as education and housing. Government support for heavy industry, including steel, shipbuilding and heavy manufacture

was withdrawn, with no provision for alternative economic development, no soft landing. High levels of unemployment followed, with particularly intense problems in the labour catchments affected by deindustrialisation. Very large numbers of young people could not find work. Community education services in local authorities, including youth work, together with youth careers services, youth unemployment schemes, and urban aid projects all suffered cuts in revenue, expenditure and a reduction of service provision. Unsurprisingly, these policies generated a large public outcry and led to the growth of grassroots community protests and the extension of grassroots community work.

Excursus: International youth work and the European relationship

Scotland has always had a strong international outlook. Historically, the nation has looked to Europe as much as to England: indeed, has occasionally been allied with France against England rather than the other way around. Movements of trade and people between Scotland and Scandinavia have always been fluid, and territory has changed hands between Scotland and Norway relatively recently. Strong trade links with the Baltic and Low countries and a large early influx from those countries and from Italy at various stages in the last century meant there was an awareness of a world beyond the immediate environment. The socialist tradition which stretches back to the 20's via the Spanish Civil War and the Labour movement has added to the international dimension. Beyond Europe, the Scottish diaspora has also created myriad links across the Commonwealth and the Americas.

The twinning movement post war saw individual towns, schools and youth groups forge long standing links with communities throughout Europe. By 1990 Scotland had 26 towns twinned with the same number in Germany. The Scottish Community Education Council and its predecessor made strong pre-EU links with Europe and other countries via the British Council and Commonwealth Youth Exchange Council. Its linked youth travel agency spawned a massive increase in international youth club trips particularly around skiing. This was linked to developments at Aviemore and Glenshee which put a previously elite pastime within the reach of working class people.

The Scottish Community Education Council (and its successor Community Learning Scotland) were pivotal in setting up both Eurodesk, which was operated under licence by YouthLink Scotland on behalf of the UK Government till 2008, and Young Scot Scotland's own Youth Information and Citizenship charity, which celebrated its 30th birthday in 2011. It in turn helped form The European Youth Card Association (EYCA) which now covers almost every country in the EU. Both organisations continue to invest in international work despite recent funding setbacks, convinced of its worth and value in helping young people form a world view.

New Labour

The Conservative government was succeeded in 1997 by the 'New Labour' government of Tony Blair, which held office until its defeat in 2010. Heralded by many youth workers after many years of conservative rule, Blair's government took a particular interest in the non-government sector. Discarding traditional Labour commitments to socialism, and especially the socialisation of the means of production, New Labour embraced the logic of capitalism and especially the effectiveness of the market in governing decisions over resources. Blair's 'Third Way' between laissez faire capitalism and socialist state provision included a key role

in partnership with Government for the so-called Third Sector, that of civil society, in addressing Britain's social needs. New Labour was arguably corporatist, rather than socialist.

In order to do that effectively, of course, Third Sector organisations needed resources. Under the logic of New Labour, resources would be closely tied to Government objectives, and organisations held closely accountable not only for the proper expenditure of funds but also for the effectiveness of their programmes. Effectiveness would increasingly be measured using the tools, the evidence regime, and the language of business, otherwise known as New Public Management. Where resources were limited, they would increasingly be 'targeted' at problems prioritised by the Government. Funds would be allocated competitively, with governments active in creating a market in which services were purchased by funders on behalf of 'consumers' of those services.

This new regime of governance was mixed in its effects. Arguably, it helped to organise the sector, provided standards for a qualified workforce and for training. For example, Community Education Validation and Endorsement (CeVe) was established in 1991, given delegated powers by the then Scottish Office to endorse Community Education courses at universities and colleges and with private providers. Standards were established through a survey of employers who specified the 'competences' needed by this workforce. The Competences were codified, and became the basis for approval of training courses. CeVe morphed into the Approvals Committee of the Standards Council for CLD for Scotland, and in its current form it approves, through a panel of peers, training and development courses for part time and volunteer colleagues and a range of degree level professional qualifications. These now include opportunities at most levels for youth workers though the generic qualification at ordinary and honours degree level remains 'the standard'.

A further development in the governance of youth work was the process of inspection: compulsory for statutory services, elective for the voluntary sector. Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education in Scotland (HMIE) developed the first *How Good is our Community Learning and Development?* appraisal policy in 2000. This was followed by an inspection cycle of all 32 local authorities until 2005. This provided HMIE with a unique perspective on CLD delivered by local authorities and voluntary sector organisations.

Young Scot and Youth Information were also established in this period, backed by a cocktail of funding from local and national government, business, philanthropy and national agencies such as the Police and Health Service. This piece of work was originally part of the Scottish Community Education Council portfolio but was then floated as a separate charity in 1993. It has now a substantial spread of services including on-line available to all Young Scots from 11-26 years of age. There are over half a million Young Scot's Discount/Proof of Age Cards in circulation.

The forming of the Scottish Youth Parliament came from discussions that took place with SCEC/Community Learning Scotland Government COSLA and others following on from the International Year of Youth in 1995. Elected by young people rather than appointed, as is often the case with Youth Parliaments, the parliament held its first meeting at Murrayfield Stadium exactly one day before the first ever devolved Scottish Parliament met on the Mound in 1999. Young Parliamentarians were invited to join the opening of the Parliament.

Despite one or two rocky periods in its short history the Youth Parliament has become a real force for the voice of young people and is now built into the fabric of Scottish public life.

YouthLink Scotland was also born, or reborn, in this period, an outcome of an extensive rationalisation of quasi-government bodies in 2001-2. In some ways a forced partnership between the voluntary and statutory elements of the youth work sector, it was an attempt to create a one door approach to youth work issues. After a somewhat turbulent beginning, Youthlink has slowly but surely found its way and its voice, largely succeeding in the attempt to represent the entire sector. The development of a Policy Forum and the production of the Nature and Purpose of Youth Work Statement were key early milestones and it has continued to keep the balance between advocacy for the sector and a consultative facility for Government and policy makers. It had a pivotal role in the development of the refreshed National Youth Work Strategy, launched in April 2014.

Devolution and post-devolution

In May 2007 a change in government of seismic proportions took place when the Scottish Nationalist Party took control of a minority government from the Labour/Liberal Democrat Coalition. For the Youth Work Sector this represented an immediate threat. Only two months previously the first ever Youth Work Strategy had been launched, with funding package attached, following a wide public consultation. It was not at all certain that if the new government would honour the commitments of the outgoing government. Thankfully by the summer it was clear that this was the case and so a year of action was put in motion to raise the profile of youth work, improve quality of service provision and training, and make stronger links with schools and with other government policies around health, justice, and employability.

The next four years saw a much closer working relationship develop between the national voluntary organisations and government with the role of volunteers and their importance to social cohesion being recognised. At the same time the sector was involved in developing new strategies around antisocial behaviour, proceeds of crime, knife crime, anti-sectarianism and the Curriculum for Excellence, the SNP's broad education strategy. New sources of funding were lobbied for and secured: the proceeds from dormant bank accounts, and resources drawn from confiscated assets deemed to be proceeds of crime were not huge pots of money but nevertheless proved crucial for the sector in difficult times.

On the governance front, following an extensive consultation with the CLD sector, HMIE developed *How Good is our Community Learning and Development 2?* in 2006 and a second inspection cycle commenced. This development was notable for a much stronger alignment with Curriculum for Excellence, the new Scottish Government's education policy, and a more consistent focus on the outcomes of CLD work. In 2011, HMIE merged with Learning and Teaching Scotland to form Education Scotland. The inspections now focused upon Learning Communities – the group of CLD services, especially youth work, delivered around the catchment area of a secondary school. This dramatically increased both the number of inspections of CLD and the profile and recognition of youth work across Scotland, especially in improving things for young people in disadvantaged areas. This was reflected in changes in legislation and policy covering both youth work and adult learning in 2014. The establishment and funding, in 2009, of the Standards Council for CLD in Scotland with a

direct mandate to professionalise the sector also indicates the generally appreciative stance held by the Scottish government.

Financial support for youth work across the nation has been uneven since the SNP succession, however, especially since the 2008 financial crisis. In a major shift in the relationship between the Scottish Government and local authorities known generically as the Concordat, decision-making for a great deal of social policy was devolved to local authorities, with almost all central prescription for the use of particular funds removed. The Scottish Government set objectives at the broadest level, and local authorities then enter into an Agreement in which they spell out how these objectives would be met at the regional level. There was a great deal of fear that in a time of fiscal restraint, youth work would be squeezed out under the pressure of local authorities continuing to pay for those services for which they had legal obligation, and that continuing support for youth work would depend on the very variable sympathy of local councillors.

In some local authority areas, this is not far from the truth. In others, the funds available to youth work have actually increased. In practice, the access that young people have to youth workers varies widely. This has come under some Scottish Government attention, with the requirement for closer accountability for local authorities in meeting obligations, and with stronger backing for a National Youth Work Strategy. Local Authority provision became harder to delineate as review after review saw youth work moved between various services although with a few exceptions youth work has fared better than its partners. A key strategy has been the linking of youth work with the Curriculum for Excellence, and in some authorities this has been largely successful. A key role for youth work in partnership with schools has been increasingly recognised, though there are still endemic problems around parity of esteem, protectionism and understanding of roles.

One of the key statements within the original strategy was the recognition that all young people could benefit from being involved in a youth work setting and that it was not only targeted services that mattered. The educational role of youth work and its ability to reach those furthest away from formal systems was recognised. This was a great encouragement to generic providers while it still made it clear how youth work was a service that could make a significant difference to those most at risk and on the cusp of exclusion and crime.

The nature and purpose of Youth Work statement appeared to be taking root. It remains to be seen what will happen over the next few years but at least within government and increasingly within wider society seeing young people as an asset rather than a liability seems to be gaining some traction.

Conclusion

Generally, the picture for youth work in Scotland is not dissimilar from the rest of the United Kingdom. Similar origins in the Industrial Revolution gave rise to similar responses, carried by very similar kinds of organisations. The institutional recognition of youth work as a practice, and its location administratively and discursively within the field of Education under Circulars 1486 and 1516 created a common language which was then cemented by the power of the Albemarle Report of 1960 and the resources which flowed from its political success. Scotland shared Albemarle's characterisation of youth work as association,

training and challenge, located administratively and conceptually within Education as a professional discipline, as well as the methodological practice of starting where the young person is at, the voluntary principle and youth work's location in the leisure space.

The differences, however, are significant. Like most of the world, Scotland never really had a Youth Service in the way that England and Wales did, with all the power and legacy of a national institution that the Service provided. Hitching youth work to adult education and to community development has shaped youth work practice north of the border in particular ways. The consistently left-leaning Scottish constituency, and the enduring political currency of questions of inequality contribute to a different political environment, one that is systematically more sympathetic, if not necessarily more generous. Some differences in key issues persist. No doubt partly because of the weather, immigration (and attendant racism) has never been the issue in Scotland that it has further south, though Protestant/Catholic sectarian conflict has attracted more attention.

The future is hard to predict. At this current moment, where colleagues in England have seen support for youth work dissolve under the pressure of the Global Financial Crisis and the current Minister for Education, the Scottish Government has just reaffirmed its support not only for Community Learning and Development in general and for youth work in particular. However, the demands for 'efficiency savings' continue, and there is no sense of the recession having ended for the youth work sector. Despite the cross-party commitment to a more equal society and the Scottish Government's ambitions to make Scotland the best place in the world to grow up in, deep, intransigent poverty remains in the de-industrialised heartlands of the Central Belt. There are certainly levers like the Curriculum for Excellence and the Prevention Agenda that the youth work sector can pull on to make a claim on resources, and there is a sympathetic ear across parties in government, but the contradictions are endemic and outcomes are still uncertain.

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