Issues in Community Service

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Preface

THE DECISION to write this paper came out of a two-day residential meeting of the staff of the Young Volunteer Resources Unit at the National Youth Bureau, which was designed to clarify current issues in the Unit's work and identify areas of priority for the following 12 months. One of the major concerns which emerged was the need for a theoretical look at community involvement by young people. Historically, because of its strong emphasis on 'action', community service has lacked critical analysis, and has relied for its justification either on material which is anecdotal or on views that assume that community service is a good thing. This paper should be seen as a first stage in a process which should help to redress this imbalance. I was asked to produce a paper which began to explore the historical perspectives of community service by young people and to develop these into a number of theoretical stances. This I have done through discussion with young volunteer organisers, youth workers and teachers and through following up references to community service in many of the major reports and other related literature. The material represents a wide range of views and assumptions and consequently leads to a number of possible interpretations. The conclusions I have drawn present my own tentative framework for looking at community involvement, and should be seen very much as a starting point for a continuing discussion.

The paper is written for teachers, social workers, youth officers and workers, policy makers, lecturers and others concerned with developing a wider understanding of what we mean by involving young people in the community. It is not prescriptive, or a manual of good practice. It is also intended to be used as the basis for a number of consultations during the next few months directed at identifying a more objective and coherent view of community involvement by young people. The paper has been printed in such a way as to leave space for personal comment, and if you wish to share these with the Unit I would be very interested in receiving them. These reactions might then either be used in the forthcoming consultations or be included within a revised publication.

Finally, I would like to thank all those who have been involved in the production of this paper at its various draft stages.

Dave Burley
November 1979

Introduction

IT IS NOT possible to provide any one definition of community service by young people. Rather, it must be considered in terms of its scope and prevailing assumptions about it. These lie to a very large extent with our past, and in this paper some of the main developments in community service are traced from their Victorian origins to current practice. These developments reflect predominant cultural and economic trends which have influenced society. They touch on older people's attitudes to the young, on the social status of young people in society and the degrees of control they were allowed to exercise; they touch on how need is identified and met in communities.

In its simplest form, community service has been described as a remedial activity—it aims to overcome an immediate need (e.g. the reduction of loneliness among the elderly through young people being involved in a home visiting scheme). In addition to giving service and meeting need, community service has been seen by many of its advocates as contributing to the personal development of the young who are giving the service. Some have described this as 'reciprocal' giving and receiving.

Many feel, however, that service in itself is a limiting term. In an extreme sense, there are those who advocate compulsory community service as a means of occupying the unemployed or as a substitute for National Service. These extreme views make a number of assumptions about young people and how they might be 'of use' to the community or be controlled by it.

To embrace a wider range of work with young people in the community, which may but not necessarily include the giving of service, the terms 'community involvement', 'social action' and, in some cases, 'social education', have been developed. The terminology reflects a shift of emphasis in aims and outcomes. Community involvement in this context emphasises the rights and responsibilities of young people to participate in society and to learn about it and their role within it.

The paper sets out to examine some of the above issues. After discussing the historical development it begins to provide a possible theoretical framework for community involvement.

Part I
Community Service, The Beginning?

The Charities, the University Settlements and the Public School Missions, the Uniformed Youth Movements, the Interwar Years

THE 19th century saw a rapid change from a rural to an urban society; the concern of voluntary organisations was with an adjustment from rural to urban living. Provision for the poor had been long established through the Poor Law of Elizabeth I. By the end of the 18th century, the condition under which such assistance was granted had become increasingly easy to obtain and correspondingly this put greater financial burden on the state. In the 19th century, the attitude of state intervention was therefore toughened. The view which dominated the century was the one of the self-made industrialist and the higher paid workers. This emphasised the principle that a man should provide for himself and his family by his own efforts, and that he could do so by the imaginative use of his own resources. This view is exemplified in the writings of Samuel Smiles: *Self Help* (1859), *Character* (1871) and *Thrift* (1875). The effect of this attitude was that charity became viewed as something only for the severely destitute; further it was felt that such charity should act as a 'deterrent', with the workhouse deliberately organised so that conditions inside compared unfavourably with those outside.

The response of many workers to this view was to set up friendly societies and benefit schemes which helped to provide security; these were the basis of modern trade unionism. However, many of the poor did not qualify for such schemes, nor was their employment sufficiently regular to enable them to pay weekly contributions. This group did not qualify as destitute in the normal sense, nor was it supported by the friendly societies; its needs were increasingly met by 'voluntary charities' which grew rapidly in the second half of the 19th century.

With the transition from rural to urban living, many of the old secular charities became inappropriate. They either existed in areas where no-one needed them, or their funds were so tied up in legacies involving property that they could not meet immediate needs. In 1853 a permanent board of Charity Commissioners was set up to reallocate the funds of outdated charities within the country. In addition, new voluntary charities were becoming increasingly popular.

They were financed by donations or annual subscriptions which were offered in the life-time of donors. These provided a regular and, importantly, a flexible income. The state became more accepting of the intervention of voluntary charities as the century progressed. For example, in 1834 the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws condemned them as competing with state relief; by 1869 the 'Goschen Minute' was suggesting a division of the poor into the destitute, who should be left in care of the authorities, and the rest, who were suitable recipients for such charity.

The voluntary societies were to be found in an ever-increasing variety of fields. In the 18th century their work was largely confined to educating the children of the poor and caring for sick; by the middle of the 19th century, their role had very much broadened. The early years of the 19th century were characterised by the numerous 'visiting societies' and 'general' or 'domestic' missions which were established in the towns. They used large numbers of voluntary workers, who would visit from house to house to assess the needs of the inhabitants and do what they could to help them. In the latter part of the century the general missions were largely replaced by a wide variety of Christian missions and specialist societies. Their work was diverse and included, to name but a few, infant nurseries, homes for older children and evening institutions for teenagers.

The charities grew for five main reasons:

- the growing awareness of the existence of social problems;
- a deepening sense of guilt at the unequal distribution of wealth and the appalling living conditions of an appreciable proportion of the population;
- the desire for publicity and power (a less worthy motive, though typical of the materialism of the Victorian era);
- fear of an emerging working class which would react to poverty by threatening the existing power holders;
- religious drive.

Women played a critical role in the establishment and running of charities. This involvement helped to improve the status of women and to educate them, and enabled middle-class women to stand for election as Poor Law Guardians and to accept paid positions of authority in voluntary and state institutions[1]. The charities also provided a foothold for women to gain increased recognition in a professional capacity. Thus voluntary work, even at this stage, was increasingly seen for some as a means of self-improvement and of social education.

The establishment of voluntary charities and the 'over-seeing' role of the Charities Commission helped to lay the

foundation stones of the welfare state. In addition to the direct relief which the charities provided, they helped to establish both a recognition within society of the need for such relief, and the need for the training of social workers. The Charities Commission insisted on social workers having a basic understanding of social problems and some expertise in how to meet them.

The social reforms of the later 19th century and the emergence of the working class as a more conscious social group heightened the feelings of anxiety amongst some of the middle classes. This was helped also by the evangelical zeal of the era. University Settlements were set up, for example, to convert and civilise the 'less fortunate' inhabitants of the cities by introducing young men and women from backgrounds of wealth and education to poverty and homelessness. The first Settlement, set up by Canon Samuel Barnett in 1894 at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel, established the pattern for future developments. The settlements provided both an outlet for students to live and work among the working class poor, and an opportunity to assuage their guilt and do something for someone else; they also provided an important opportunity to learn about social conditions and gain experience in meeting some of the needs thrown up by them.

There were also Public School Missions; the first was set up at Uppingham School by the headmaster, the Rev. Edward Thring, in 1864. This took the form of support for a boys' home in an East End parish in London. The public schools worked mainly through the medium of boys' clubs which they founded, sponsored and provided with manpower. The Settlements were broader than the missions in their range of activities, but they generally had and still have clubs of various kinds as an integral part of their work. They have always recognised that the students who live in the settlements and give service stand to gain as much as the recipients of the service. This has helped to establish a link between personal service, social education and, in some cases, career advancement.

By the end of the century the working class had emerged as a conscious social group; however, young people were not yet a conscious social group and were not destined to be until well after World War II. What was different, however, was the increasing interest demonstrated by the middle classes towards the young. To work in the Public School Missions and the University Settlements was the prerogative of a limited number of young, middle class adults. Although the majority of young people at this time had little or no free time, this was changing, as is reflected in part by the development of youth organisations in the last decades of the 19th century and the first of the 20th

century—for example, the Church Lads' Brigade, the Boys' Brigade, and the Scouts. This period saw the arrival of almost all the major British youth movements. It was a period of increasing economic and social uncertainty in Britain. The middle classes were feeling apprehensive about the future; they were threatened both overseas and at home, where the expanding influence of socialism and the growing strength of organised labour, leading eventually to the establishment of the Labour Party, threatened an intensification of class conflict.

The combination of internal and external threats to their own and the Empire's survival led the middle classes to place a renewed cultural and social emphasis on national unity. The social reforms at the end of the 19th century began to recognise the rights of young people and women, and slowly working class youth found itself with 'leisure time'. It was from this desire to preserve national identity and occupy the minds and bodies of the young working class in useful and profitable pursuits that the youth movements were formed. The movements combined a mixture of evangelical Christianity, public school manliness, imperialism and nationalism. They reflected an emphasis on the social conformity of the young and engendered a sense of duty and service to King, God, Country and Empire, partly because of increasing concern about the rise in juvenile crime[12]. It was in these groups that community service by the young working class had its origins.

The British youth movements were established to train and educate the minds of the working class young in the moral traditions of evangelical Christianity, service and loyalty to the community. They were initially a means of social control and did not acknowledge young people as being different from adults, with different needs and contributions to make to society. Their concern was with peaceful transition from childhood to adulthood. Leaders in the interwar years, however, began to identify 'youth' as a separate group and saw it having an important role to play in the future. They saw enormous energy and resourcefulness in youth, and emphasised its idealism and self-sacrifice. This view of youth was used by Hitler in 1936 in setting up the Hitler Jugend, a compulsory youth movement that swiftly became a service institution, with obligatory duties to perform such as helping to bring in the harvest, clearing bomb damage and digging trenches in East Prussia[13]. Another influential movement, which also called on the resourcefulness of youth, has had a longer history. The workcamp movement harnessed the idealism of young volunteers in service programmes in foreign countries and involved young adults in, for example, the reconstruction of

Europe after World War I. The first workcamp was organised by Pierre Ceresole in 1920 to reconstruct a village on the battlefield of Verdun. The philosophy of the workcamp was that international peace could be achieved by young adults from different countries working together in manual labour. The Quakers were also involved in the early workcamp movement. Pierre Ceresole's organisation became the Service Civile Internationale in 1930, and its British section is now International Voluntary Service.

Growing Interest in Community Service 1944-1968

Investment in Youth, Long-Term Volunteering, Short-Term Volunteering, Community Service in Schools, Community Service and the Youth Service, Young Volunteer Organisations

The years following World War II have seen an unprecedented interest in young people on the part of the government, institutions, individuals and the media. The period has also witnessed a new consciousness among young people, typified by the beatniks in the 50s and the hippies and student revolt in the 60s. Young people have spontaneously identified themselves as having special needs; they have introduced new styles of living and systems of values. The post-war period also witnessed an 'investment' in youth. The social and physical reconstruction after the war required the abilities and recourcefulness of youth. Although young people were recognised as future leaders and parents, there was also a feeling that youth owed something to society and should be provided with the opportunities to demonstrate this.

Investment in youth was seen largely as an investment in education. Many of the hopes and aspirations of the post-war period are reflected in the 1944 Education Act. Many of its requirements were not acted on until much later, but it established a number of significant principles. One of these, though not explicit in the act, was the anticipation of equal opportunity in education. The Act provided for a more egalitarian system. It also acknowledged a much wider role for education and saw it contributing not just towards the economy but also towards a more civilised life. It asked local education authorities to view schools in the context of their communities, to take responsibility for contributing to *'the spiritual, mental and physical development of the community'*. It placed a duty on local education authorities to continue with existing youth work and to extend the Youth Service, though response to this was marginal until the later 50s and the 60s. The termination of National Service in 1960 brought increased pressures on local authorities to make additional provision for youth, for there were many who feared that vital opportunities for developing physical fitness, self-reliance, discipline and

challenge would be denied to the young. The Youth Service should, therefore, compensate in civilian life by providing opportunities for young people to experience some of the positive aspects of military service. The future of the Youth Service at this time was guided by the publication of the Albemarle Report in 1960[4]. While acknowledging the place of 'challenge' within youth work, the report emphasised the need for social education through 'association'. This was a broader and less directive approach to working with young people, and required new and different styles of leadership from youth workers. The role of youth work was to provide an environment in which young people could meet and, if they wished, engage in activities. Much of the 'education' would happen naturally through association with their fellows.

The report also acknowledged the changing role of schools:

> 'Clubs and societies, foreign travel and social service are increasingly regarded as school life in which the pupils are encouraged to undertake a fuller responsibility ... The Youth Service must expect young people in the future to be more exacting in their demands; and it must take account of the schools' stronger sense of social purpose and of what is being done to encourage independence and responsibility in the adolescent.' (para. 81).

The report argued for young people to be involved in the organisation of the activities as fully as possible—*'the young must participate'*. Of community service the report gave a warning. It suggested that youth groups and clubs should make a careful study of the real needs of their community before offering practical help:

> 'Bedpans and drawsheets are not picturesque. the old and the sick can be demanding, most forms of help require sustained effort to be of any value ... This is a challenge which should be offered to young people in all its starkness, not by suggesting ready made schemes so much as helping them to an awareness of the needs of others and then leaving them to decide what they mean to do about it.' (para. 213).

Community service was thus seen by some as a 'challenge', a substitute in the absence of some of the former engagements of youth. The 60s saw a rapid growth in schemes of community service, both in schools and in youth organisations. Some of these were long-term volunteering opportunities involving young adults, e.g. Voluntary Service Overseas and Community Service Volunteers; others were for short-term volunteering, e.g. school- or club-based schemes taking place once or twice a week.

These attracted the 14-18 year olds. There were also weekend and summer workcamps.

Voluntary Service Overseas was set up in 1958 by Alec Dickson. Some of its inspiration was owed to the international volunteering movement of the interwar years, some to Dickson's personal philosophy. The development was not peculiar to Britain. During the 60s, based very much on the experience of VSO and IVS, most western countries developed some scheme, usually sponsored by the government, for involving young adults overseas. This was a period of transition from colonial to self-rule in the Third World. There was a feeling at the time that the problems of society could be alleviated by involving young people. Dickson was determined to prove this and had a strong conviction that the challenge lay in the developing countries. He saw in many examples of community service at home a deficiency in adventure and challenge. He equated the termination of military service with a denial for some young people of opportunities to demonstrate leadership and gain experience. In the transition from colonial to independent rule Dickson saw, through a process of community development, an opportunity to develop the concept of service. VSO was set up in the belief that young people would benefit from the period of service, as much as, if not more than, the client groups. The spirit in which it was set up is reminiscent of the Settlement movement:

> 'It comes to this then, that one of the most effective means of encouraging young people in the underdeveloped countries to make sacrifices for their community is for it to be manifestly clear that we expect the same sacrifices of our own young people. Indeed, in every respect, the quality of our way of life, the example of our own domestic self-denial and of our own national discipline is a far more important factor in this situation than the hardheaded exponents of material aid realise. Pitt's words are true today in a wider and deeper sense—that we save ourselves by our own exertions and others by our example'.[5]

The first VSOs were school leavers taking time off before university. The early years demonstrated that it was not just enthusiasm and sacrificial duty that were required by the Third World, but skills and experience. Increasingly it was recognised that what was needed were not school leavers but teachers, doctors, nurses and technicians.

Dickson wished to provide opportunities for a wider group of young people than was possible within VSO. It had appealed to the more academic young person and the

nature of the work and need for selection made it, to a very large extent, a pursuit for the elite few. Dickson decided to try and create opportunities for long-term volunteering at home, and this led to the establishment of CSV in 1962, to provide opportunities for service at home for periods of three to 12 months. *'To serve overseas, in other people's countries is a privilege—and so selection is inevitable. But to serve in Britain, your own country, that is your right'.*[6]

It was anticipated that CSV would provide opportunities for all young people to give if they so wished. It adopted a policy of non-selection, thus theoretically making opportunities available to the less traditional volunteer; in practice, however, it was usually the middle class school leaver looking for post-school experience who could 'afford' to live on the CSV allowance. Linked with Dickson's view of non-selection within CSV was the recognition that if community service was to be more universally accessible to young people, then the schools had the potential for major developments. He did much to introduce the notion of community service as a curriculum subject.

The first community service schemes in schools were organised in the public schools. By the 60s some of these had become well-established by people like Brian Phythian at Manchester Grammar School, George Eustance at Caldey Grange, Neil Patterson at Sevenoaks and Lawrence Bailey at Solihull. Opportunities for community service were thus still predominantly the prerogative of the middle class young. The 1944 Education Act called for a more egalitarian education system; it also gave local education authorities a responsibility for considering the school in the context of the community. The implications of the Act in relation to secondary school children were reflected in the Newsom Report, *Half Our Future*, published in 1963[7]. The report called for a more equitable distribution of resources and personnel, and included in its recommendations the desirability of young people in their last year at school experiencing some form of community service. The report also noted that community service was already taking place in many schools (not just in the public schools). Newsom recommended community service as a curricular subject; the report was concerned to see a relevant curriculum with which young people could identify. A connection was made in the learning process between 'learning' and 'doing':

> 'A study of young children, which appeals to many girls, might include not only their physical nature but their behaviour and emotional needs, and the relation of these to children's stories and literature . . . or again, since caring for the sick and the elderly is commonly a woman's responsibility, the school course might include home nursing, and visits of pupils to hospitals or of

errands of service to old people in the neighbourhood'. (para. 399).

Though presenting a very stereotyped view of the role of women in society, Newsom helped to focus on community service opportunities for girls. Until then the majority of opportunities in the public schools and in VSO had been predominantly for males.

Newsom saw the community service as facilitating *'training for leadership'* (para. 200) and *'providing pupils with a sense of responsibility'* (para. 196). Of the schools visited, the Newsom committee concluded: *'All find that boys and girls of less than average intelligence may be of more than average helpfulness.'*

Thus Newsom not only highlighted the opportunities for community service to be a curricular subject and one in which girls should take part, but identified community service as being particularly suitable for the 'less able'. It is from this point that community service begins to be associated with the less advantaged or less able young person. Community service was seen by the report as a tool for the social training of the young and the idea of service had been translated to the school curriculum without a voluntary prefix.

Both the Albemarle Report and the Newsom Report encouraged community service; they also recommended much closer links between schooling and the Youth Service. However, neither the schools nor the Youth Service, either independently or together, developed any detailed analysis of community service. In practice, following the Albemarle Report the statutory Youth Service witnessed a large injection of resources into building programmes and the creation of a body of professional youth workers. The emphasis was on provision for youth and leisure activities; the service did not adopt community service as a serious proposition during the 60s.

Within the voluntary sector, dating back to the creation of the uniformed youth movements, there has been a variety of service activity. The climate in the 60s encouraged its continued existence, although the range and quality of the work varied considerably. The Scouts, for example, saw community service as an integral part of Scout training; and there is a service requirement in the conditions for gaining the Queen's Scout Badge: *'A Scout's duty is to be useful and to help others'*.[8] In general, community service in Scouting at this time was somewhat detached and typified by the 'good turn'.

The Girls' Friendly Society, founded in 1875 by Mrs Townsend, had developed into an organisation which

recognised the need for girls to be trained, in body, mind and spirit, to withstand the tensions of modern life. Included in their programme was *'training for members as home makers, wives and mothers of the future, and to be responsible citizens in industry, commerce and social service'.*[9]

The Christian Education Movement also promoted voluntary activity by young people. It gave young people the opportunity to question and discover the Christian faith and encouraged them to think about the implications of belief. There was a feeling that young people needed to see Christianity expressed in action that was *'vital, essential and relevant'.*[10]

International Voluntary Service offered a range of residential service opportunities, including short-term projects, in which 20 to 30 volunteers from different countries served together for between two weeks and three months, and local weekend workcamps. IVS also offered long-term service opportunities to qualified volunteers.

Many of these organisations, as well as many schools, were aided in their service orientation by the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. This was set up in 1956 and could be used by any existing organisation. It encouraged recognition of individuality and personal work, and included various forms of community service options.

A wide variety of organisations, from the Co-operative Societies' Youth Movement to United Nations Associations, practised community service. The difficulty many of them faced, and still face, is that the 'service' part of their youth programmes is only part of a total programme and all too often inadequate preparation and support are available. Further, few organisations have considered the implications of some of the work they do. The Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme created a situation, as in Scouting, of a 'reward' or 'incentive' for services carried out. Once the 'hours' have been completed by the young person there is often inadequate thought given to follow-up.

A more co-ordinated response to community service came with the development in the 60s of young volunteer organisations, specifically set up to promote and develop community work by young people. They were established in the context of the ideals of the 60s, i.e. that young people have something to offer society and should be given the opportunities to express their enthusiasm. The inability of the schools and the Youth Service to develop community service effectively helped to create a situation in which specialist organisations for voluntary work by young people filled a necessary gap in provision. The first founders of young volunteer organisations gained their experience from community service in public schools. For

example, Lawrence Bailey at Solihull School set up one of the first young volunteer organisations, Birmingham Young Volunteers, in 1965. Some of the early organisations were set up and run by CSVs. Generally they acted as clearing houses, recruiting and placing individuals and groups in response to requests from other voluntary and statutory agencies. Some organisations, in response to a need, either independently or jointly initiated a project for which they recruited volunteers. Young volunteer organisations were funded in a variety of ways. Grants were received from social service departments in local authorities, from local education authorities and from private trusts.

An example of a young volunteer organisation was the London-based Task Force, set up by Anthony Steen in October 1964 as a specialist agency concerned with the care of the elderly[11]. Task Force was initially set up in the London boroughs, but in 1967 schemes were promoted in Chesterfield, Derbyshire, and St. Albans, Hertfordshire. Task Force was established to give an efficient service, involving young people and school children on a large scale. By 1969, 3500 old people were receiving help from Task Force and over 8000 volunteers were involved, 5000 of them still at school. Steen set up Task Force primarily for the benefit of old people, but also in the belief that young people had something positive and real to offer the elderly. Like Dickson, Steen identified adolescence not as a transitional period between childhood and adulthood but as an age of achievement in its own right. However, from the very start Task Force had an identity crisis; was it to be regarded primarily as a service giving 'care' to the elderly, or was its main task to become a social education project for the young? This led to a long debate within Task Force which was only finally resolved in 1974 when it confirmed its purpose as working with pensioners, leaving the social education of the young to teachers and youth workers. Task Force's problem was one of balance between providing a service and educating the young; this is a central issue in the community service debate. There were those who thought young people were unreliable or unsuited to such work. Giving the necessary support to young people in community service could be time-consuming, and thus not cost- or time-effective.

The Aves Report of 1969[12] warned voluntary groups away from school volunteers:

> 'Schools seek opportunities for service by children but we are doubtful whether enough thought is always given to whether the services they offer are needed, or can appropriately be undertaken by very young volunteers whose assistance is likely to be available for only a short time'. (para. 214).

The critics were outweighed by the wave of enthusiasm for community service. The Queen, in her 1965 Christmas message, spoke of *'youth on the march'*. In 1965 the *Daily Mirror* followed this up with its crusade for youth in action. It was the era of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the new campaigning agencies like the Child Poverty Action Group, in which young adults played a prominent role. The government response to community service by young people was the Bessey Report of 1965. Its brief was *'to consider whether there should be facilities for the co-ordination of community service by young people in England and Wales and to make recommendations.'*

While community service was acclaimed as a good and beneficial activity, little or no research had taken place to establish why it was 'good' and what was an effective work method. Even the Bessey Report[13] did not contribute a philosophical base for community service. It accepted the principle of community service without question, further reaffirmed the place of community service for the less able. It suggested that community service placements for *'the children of relatively low initiative'* were *'no less valuable —and possibly more so—than for others.'* (para. 22). The report recommended a National Council for Service by Young People with officers, based in local education authorities, co-ordinating and giving support to service through local advisory councils and clearing houses for voluntary work. The recommendations were not taken up. Instead, three years later, the DES preferred to give a grant to a new style of agency, the Young Volunteer Force Foundation.

YVFF was a prestigious and well-funded organisation, with £100,000 grant over three years. The government was impressed

> 'by the widespread enthusiasm of young people to render service to the community and furthermore was concerned that this fund of energy and goodwill should be used to the full in collaboration with existing statutory and voluntary bodies, so as to support the work already being done and to increase the opportunities for Voluntary Service'.[14]

YVFF's director was Anthony Steen. It was established to provide an advisory and consultancy service to help local and hospital authorities and voluntary organisations to make more effective contacts between volunteers on the one hand, and the community on the other. YVFF marks a transitional period in the development of community service; it very soon became involved in community development work and, as a consequence, in the first real analysis of the appropriateness of community service as a

method of youth work with young people.

However, staff soon become dissatisfied with 'dishing out' jobs:

> 'The belief was that young people should be educated so that involvement was a learning process about society, about their place in society, and about what they could change in society . . . if we are talking about problems which exist in society we should certainly not just talk about the young, nor should we be talking about community (service) work as the sole point of attack. Perhaps we should be saying more of the local authority, about power structures, about strategy and community development'.[15]

Influences on and Developments in Community Service 1968-1979

Community Development, Social Services and Community Development, the Educational Response to Community Development (Educational Priority Areas, the Youth Service, the School Curriculum), Community Development and Young Volunteer Work (the Educational Role of the Charities, Young Volunteer Force Foundation, National Working Party of Young Volunteer Organisers), Community Care (Voluntary Service Co-ordinators, Community Service Orders), Recent Developments (Youth Unemployment Programmes, Queen's Silver Jubilee Award, Workcamps)

In the 1960s education, community and social work operated within a set of norms based on co-operation and consensus. There was the belief that if only opportunities were made available to all, all would be able to benefit from those opportunities. By the end of the decade there were many who had become unconvinced by the equal opportunity argument. Expansion in education, health and social services was not relieving the poverty and deprivation in Britain as had been hoped in the optimism of the post-war years. In 1963 Anthony Crosland, in *The Conservative Enemy*, first wrote of the 'weak' and 'strong' concepts of equality. The strong concept assumes that it is necessary to compensate for poor backgrounds, whereas the weak assumes that all can compete equally, and that it is necessary simply to equalise competitive chances for social justice to be achieved.

The popular response to the uncertainty came from young people in the protest movements of the period, from music and from new experiments in living. The hippies, for example, developed a new lifestyle, a new system of values and a new way of conducting revolution in opposition to the ruling class hierarchy. They used tactics which surprised and ridiculed people in positions of responsibility and began to promote values which ran counter to prevailing norms. They, among others, helped to set poor against rich, communal against individual. They helped introduce changes in attitudes, both within personal relationships and towards the wider society. There was a

reaction against institutions and professionalism. The official response to the protest movements and the assertion of new values was to analyse the situation as a deficiency in 'participation opportunities'. Institutions and ruling groups had become too remote from those they were set up to serve. The general public, it was felt, were not being involved in the services offered to them; mechanisms did not exist for their involvement in the planning of services. There was also a recognition of the need for positive discrimination in some services, including education. Government departments turned to new 'community oriented' services under the banner of community development. There was a community work boom:

> '. . . community development describes a process, usually in neighbourhoods, more rarely in communities of interest where attempts are made to mobilise the total resources of the community for the protection, support and enrichment of individuals and groups being part of the whole. From this single aim may spring various activities including the integration of social service, the inauguration of ad hoc committees and associations, the spread of information about existing provision, acts of personal service and political action. Whenever there is a choice, self-help will be preferred to outside help.
>
> 'The criterion applied to all these efforts will be how far they maximise the possibilities of the community's self-determination: they will be judged to have succeeded or failed by the practical demonstration in all feasible areas, or the hope that the community should define its own needs and organise resources to satisfy them'.[16]

In 1968 James Callaghan, as Home Secretary, announced the Urban Programme, which helped to establish the principles of positive discrimination and of providing resources for the development of neighbourhood community work. He was acting on the recommendations of the Seebohm Report[17], which urged:

- the involvement of consumers in decision making affecting social service provision;
- that communities were to be seen as 'givers' of service as well as receivers;
- that resources should be allocated to inner city areas;
- the establishment of 'generic' social case workers.

Social change, it was felt, would come about by involving people in thinking, deciding, planning and playing an active part in the development and operation of services that affected their daily lives. In 1969, participative opportunities were also extended to local planning. The Skeffington

Report[18] recommended the opening of numerous channels through which the public could take part in the planning process and suggested that this would be aided more effectively by the intervention of community development workers. The allocation of funds to cities led to appointments of full-time staff responsible for promoting and servicing such groups as tenants' associations, welfare rights groups, women's refuges, pre-school playgroups and community transport organisations.

The Seebohm Report was complemented by the Gulbenkian Study Group's *Community Work and Social Change*[19], which developed community work practice on a community development model and established guidelines for training workers. Between them, the two reports helped to formalise the shift away from the consensus approach of the 60s to neighbourhood-based community work.

In the new participation debate there was also a recognition of the key role of voluntary bodies and volunteers in the community development process. The rapid growth in the number of volunteers, both young and old, led in 1969 to the publication of the Aves Report which examined the role of voluntary workers in social services and called for a body to promote current developments in volunteering. The report explored the partnership between voluntary work and statutory provision. It recognised that voluntary involvement was not just an ad hoc extension of volunteers' goodwill, but that voluntary services, too, had to be planned, managed and evaluated, necessitating training and support of volunteers. The report led to the establishment of the Volunteer Centre in 1973. It also expressed strong reservations about voluntary work by young people in school time; it did not wish to see patients in hospitals becoming the innocent victims of groups of school children observing them as part of a school social studies course. It also questioned what effect ill-prepared and ill-conceived schemes would have on the personal development of the young people involved, and raised the question of whether it was realistic or right for school children to be involved in service as a compulsory part of their education.

The more conscious and planned approach towards volunteering coincided with a worsening economic position. There was concern about the increased costs within the social and health services and particularly within residential care. These problems were met under a new umbrella term, 'community care'. This, at a time of economic stringency, was seen as a method of reducing costs and providing opportunities for residents in institutions to spend more time out in the community, and, where possible, it encouraged rehabilitation as a cost-saving measure. There was also a belief that residential care should be a

last resort. Where this was not possible, members of the community were encouraged to come into institutions and break isolationism among residents. Voluntary service co-ordinators were appointed in hospitals, prisons and in social service departments to promote the more effective use of volunteers, and the Voluntary Service Unit at the Home Office was set up in 1973 to act as a link between government departments and voluntary organisations and to stimulate the use of volunteers. The Volunteer Centre, for example, receives its funding from the VSU.

Another development within community care was Community Service Orders, first established in 1972. At that time, soaring costs in prisons and Borstals, together with the rising juvenile crime rate, made CSOs an attractive alternative to custodial care. However, they were based on legislation which 'assumed' the benefits of service, and not on research findings. The philosophy and practice of CSOs is discussed in *Community Service Orders*[20] but it is worth looking briefly at the content of the Act:

> 'Where a person who has attained the age of 17 is convicted of an offence, punishable with imprisonment, the court may, instead of dealing with him in any other way . . . make an order . . . requiring him to perform unpaid work'. (p.1).

The original legislation was seen as providing an alternative to a custodial sentence, but even during the pilot period three schemes began to regard CSOs as a method of 'treatment'. The deprivation of leisure represents the penal aspect of CSOs, in contrast to the 'volunteer' who may be doing service as a leisure pursuit. The responsibility for the work rests entirely with the organiser, who can determine when and where and at what time the work is to be carried out:

> 'It is hoped that in all cases the offender will be able to gain the reward of seeing the value of this work to the recipient'. (p.31).

With the introduction of CSOs community service was not only associated with the less able youngster but also with the young offender. A place for community service within intermediate treatment has been given a stamp of approval by the DHSS in its local authority circular, although community service is not a necessary or formal part of intermediate treatment[21].

In the late 60s it was acknowledged that merely providing equality of educational opportunity was a sham. The most influential expression of this view was the 1967 Plowden Report[22] on primary education, which identified low educational standards in areas of social deprivation as

being linked with influences external to the school, what it called *'the neighbourhood structure of life'*. The report called for positive discrimination in education and recommended the setting up of Educational Priority Areas. It also called for action research in EPAs, which led to a research project jointly sponsored by the SSRC and the DES, and directed by A. H. Halsey[23].

The EPAs led to a movement away from the preoccupation with equality of 'access' towards a concern with the equality of 'outcomes' between social groups. They recognised a need for a wide programme of social reform which would democratise local power structures and diversify local occupational opportunities, and that:

> 'Society would look to its schools for a supply of young people educated for political and social responsibility and linked to their communites not by failure in competition but by rich opportunities for work and life'.[24]

This called for a curriculum and school structure of a very different kind to the current norm: *'Teaching and curricula must use and reflect the social and economic problems which surround the children in their daily lives'*. The Plowden Committee saw the primary schools as the obvious starting point for community schools.

The Gulbenkian Report, *Community Work and Social Change*, acknowledged the Plowden Report's recommendations for closer links between schools and social welfare services. It also recognised the need for the Youth Service to be more related to the community at large and suggested that, as young people were maturing earlier, they warranted adult rights and privileges at an earlier age.

The response to community development within the Youth Service came with the publication of the Fairbairn-Milson Report, *Youth and Community Work in the 70s*[25]. It encouraged a change of focus for the Youth Service; youth centres were to be opened up to the community and, echoing the Gulbenkian Report's recommendations, it advocated that youth workers should become youth and community workers. It was an attempt to provide a generic 'community' education service parallel to similar community-oriented services within social services.

The report stressed the importance of working with unattached youth: *'It saw the malaise of British Society as a deficiency of participation opportunities particularly for young people and most especially at local neighbourhood level'*[26]. In relation to community service, the report acknowledged the valuable work being done but questioned

the way in which young people were involved and the extent to which they were part of the decision-making processes surrounding their involvement in the community:

> 'However, we think that when young people could discover human needs themselves and decide what to do about meeting them, they are often only allowed to proceed under adult direction; that, when they need help to do this, they are often told by adults what to do, instead of being involved in the discovery of need and decisions about action; and that personal service is usually seen as the only goal, though young people could be helped and encouraged to go beyond this and attack the underlying causes of social problems. We consider therefore that a more responsible role should be given to the young people concerned'. (para. 206).

The report highlighted the need for community service to be a real learning process, an opportunity for participation in one's own community. It is worth comparing this view with Dickson's earlier statements focusing on 'service' and 'self-sacrifice'. The report points away from service by young people towards a process whereby young people are involved in identifying what they feel to be important and receiving support from adults in that process. The adult worker becomes a facilitator rather than an organiser.

In practice many of the recommendations of the Fairbairn-Milson Report were not adopted. The 70s saw an increasing division between those who chose to do community service through a young volunteer programme and those who were coerced into doing community service, e.g. within a school curriculum or a Community Service Order. The warnings against prescription in the Fairbairn-Milson Report were not, in general, heeded by the main advocates of service.

Within schooling and higher education, 1945 to the mid-60s witnessed a massive expansion. Both the Labour and Conservative party were in general agreement about the desirability of investment in education. There was a joint belief that schools would not only contribute towards the economy but also towards a more civilised life. The school population in England and Wales rose from six million in 1969 to nine million in 1977, partly as the product of an increased child population but also as the result of conscious policies, including the raising of the school leaving age in 1949 from 14 to 15 and again in 1972 from 15 to 16. There was also public demand for education. For the Conservatives, the benefits of education were seen as providing equal opportunities, while the Labour party hoped to achieve greater social equality through education. Both parties

equated educational expansion with economic expansion.[27]

Towards the end of the 60s confidence in an expanded education system began to be weakened. Although the wheels had been set in motion for continued educational expansion into the 70s, many were dissatisfied with the redistributive power of the welfare state. From then on more doubt was cast on the desirability not only of expanding education but also of experiments in education. Labour's drive towards comprehensive education (1964-1970) and the establishment of Education Priority Areas met with opposition. Not all shared the confidence of the Plowden Report in the ability of education to play a role in helping to bring about social change and social equality; doubts and reservations have become more familiarly highlighted in the publication *Fight for Education*, the first of the Black Papers attacking liberal education in 1969 [28]. However, while the education debate was evolving, the late 60s and early 70s saw major educational developments. Within education there was a questioning of its purpose and function on a scale that was unprecedented. The concern for the individual child and the less able student which had emerged in the 60s became more self-evident in this period. There was a call for a relevant curriculum. The growth of higher education had also brought about a growth in the development of the social sciences. The curricula of this period were far more 'socially based', and experiments in schooling not only assessed curricula in relation to the schools but, following Plowden and Fairbairn-Milson, experiments in community schooling were promoted. The universities had equipped teachers with far wider terms of reference than had previously existed within rigid subject disciplines. Teaching methods necessarily changed. The role of the teacher was extended, and many became involved in the pastoral care networks established in the secondary modern and comprehensive schools. Extra-curricular activities were also extended and within this network many schemes of community service emerged.

The concern for a more appropriate curriculum became particularly acute with the raising of the school leaving age (RoSLA) in 1972. This period saw a mushrooming of community service schemes in schools. It also saw rapid developments in work experience schemes in schools and attempts by teachers, increasingly finding themselves ill-equipped to work with groups of reluctant older pupils, to construct courses round their specific needs.

For most teachers the RoSLA period proved to be difficult.RoSLA forced many to continue their search for new teaching methods and for a relevant curriculum. In

some schools special RoSLA blocks were set up; in others there was an attempt to integrate RoSLA pupils with the rest of the school. In anticipation of RoSLA, the Youth Service reacted with a publication from the National Association of Youth Service Officers (now NAYCEO), *The Schools and the Youth Service*, in September 1969[29]. It was promoted by the Schools Council Working Paper No. 2, *Raising of the School Leaving Age* (1966), which had relevance to the beliefs and objectives of youth workers. *The Schools and the Youth Service* suggested that there should be far greater co-operation between schools and the Youth Service in the social education of the 14-16 year olds. It felt that schools and teachers had much to learn from youth work methods and recommended the appointment of youth tutors in an attempt to bring the Youth Service, and more flexible methods of work, into the schools. Youth tutors were usually appointed either as teachers or youth workers to a community college, school or youth centre with a joint commitment to youth work and to the school. Several appointments included a responsibility for community service work. The NAYSO report also recommended that youth work method as defined in the report had a number of important implications for the changing role of the teacher and of the nature of the learning process:

> 'The Youth Service definition of social education is not confined to establishing satisfactory personal relationships and learning social etiquette. It is concerned with effecting political action through democratic processes, in knowing one's limitations and abilities, in the exercise of discretion, in the ability to mobilise one's experience in order to take decisions and make choices, to evaluate the pressure to which one is subject from other members of society or the group and to test various lines of action or reaction in the face of these influences. Schools and the Youth Service should provide a basis for ongoing development of social education which is complementary'. (para. 14).

The report stressed the need for the teacher to 'share' with his or her students in the education process. It also saw the growth of teachers' centres as a potential focus where teachers, youth workers and others could jointly work towards a more 'generic' Youth Service. In a number of areas, the report noted:

> 'Head teachers, youth employment officers, probation officers, further education principals and youth service officers have held conferences about co-operation and the co-ordination of resources. A number of these joint committees have found it useful to instigate schemes specifically designed to promote and improve links between school and the community. Many of these

schemes have taken as their theme the giving of service'. (para. 37).

While there was closer co-operation between schools, the Youth Service and other groups in general, teachers and the school system found it difficult to adjust to the new demands RoSLA had imposed. New community-oriented curricula were developed with a stronger emphasis on social and life skills, but the method of teaching still tended to be book-based. Part of the new curricula included the development of Mode III examinations in community or social studies, and in some cases examination boards recognised practical community involvement as part of the examination assessment. Community service on the curriculum thus not only introduced a semi-compulsory element into the work but created a situation where it was also an examination subject. This was taken up by the Schools Council Paper No. 17, *Community Service and the Curriculum*[30]. Its view of compulsion was that:

> 'To schools which have already brought such activity into the curriculum the distinction between what is voluntary and what is compulsory does not raise difficulties either of practice or philosophy'. (Foreward).

The report did not develop a philosophy of community service, but rather assessed community service work in relation to links which could be made between community service and existing curricular subjects. Like Newsom, it saw community service as having special relevance to the less able. It also failed to recognise the real costs involved in establishing effective community service work:

> 'money—community service does not require much (for the principal investment is in the skill and energy of the teacher) but sufficient is needed for schools to be able to meet small expenses quickly'. (para. 69).

This represented a serious underestimation of the real resource needs of community service programmes. In the absence of research, community service was assessed on a set of assumptions. The DES circular *Community Service in Education*[31] also failed to assess community service in relation to a theoretical base. It was descriptive and outlined the range of community service currently taking place in schools.

It did acknowledge, however, that from the point of view of the school *'it is right to consider first the objectives of community service in terms of benefits to pupils and students.'* It also reconfirmed the utilitarian, task-centred view of community service:

> 'Another factor of importance is the practical nature of the work done, its simple and indisputable utility.

> Naturally tasks must be carefully chosen if they are to have this character and their utility must be apparent to the young volunteer'.(p.3).

Choice of task here refers to choice by the teacher. In the educational upheaval of the late 60s and 70s, the schools accepted a more socially-oriented curriculum supported by pastoral care networks. Sociology and psychology appeared as 'A' level choices for the first time. Sex education was introduced on a wider scale. Schools became less formal and many offered a wide range of extra-curricular activities. Despite these developments and the emergence of RoSLA, community service, though popular, was never considered in sufficient depth against the changing curriculum patterns, nor was it adequately considered by the schools in relation to community development, particularly as represented in Fairbairn-Milson. The image of community service became increasingly associated with the less able 14-16 year old unable to benefit from an academic education.

The recommendations of the Seebohm Report and some of the changes in schooling (the move towards comprehensives, RoSLA, experiments in community education and curriculum development) helped to make social service agencies and schools more open to the community. In schools, with more pupils spending time out of school on community service, work experience and in other field work situations, both teachers and pupils began to develop wider associations with their local communities. Local voluntary groups, e.g. Age Concern and Shelter, were asked to provide talks and films in schools and youth clubs. The more 'relevant' curriculum had brought with it a dearth of teaching materials, and teachers wrote to ask national agencies for suitable teaching aids. In response the national agencies, e.g. Shelter, the Child Poverty Action Group and Oxfam, produced teaching kits and in some cases appointed youth officers, not only to promote fundraising with school children but primarily to assist teachers in using their organisations' materials and developing new ones.

CSV also received requests from teachers about community service and how to set up schemes in their schools; also for information on specific areas of need, e.g. the handicapped and the elderly. The demand for information rapidly increased in the 60s, and in 1970 it was decided to set up the Schools Advisory Service for teachers involved in community service. Many of the CSV materials were also used in social studies courses not specifically related to active service. It must be remembered, too, that the Schools Council was also encouraging the development of new curriculum materials at this time, such as the Stenhouse

Humanities Project[32] which encouraged teachers to introduce 'controversial' issues into the classroom and to use 'discussion' rather than 'instruction' as the central mode of teaching.

A form of partnership thus emerged between schools and voluntary bodies. It grew in a period of general social concern; there was a predominant feeling that young people should be helped to understand social problems. There was also a strong optimism in the late 60s that social change was possible and that young people had a major role to play in bringing it about. The optimism was also shared by some of the young, as demonstrated by the student unrest of 1967 with the sit-ins at the London School of Economics, and the student revolts of 1968 in Paris. The campaigning charities, the students and other youth movements demonstrated alternative methods of voluntary involvement in community service. They showed the need to give consideration to the causes of social deprivation and to bring about the change in new ways, through protest, action and education. An example of the change in emphasis came within the universities' community service programmes. In the 1968 Birmingham Rag Week the Rag Committee, for the first time in student history, organised practical community projects in inner city areas. These included building an adventure playground and helping to restore a hostel for single parent families. Similar developments took place in some of the London colleges. These varied from the traditional community service activities in which students were usually engaged, and it is from this period that Student Community Action originates. It rested on the practice and aims of the campaigning organisations, basing itself on issues rather than servicing needs.

The greater interaction between the education service, voluntary bodies and other statutory agencies helped to produce a more critical look at community service and to question some of the underlying assumptions. Two significant developments in this period were the establishment of the Young Volunteer Force Foundation in 1968 and the setting up of the National Working Party of Young Volunteer Organisers in 1970.

YVFF was set up to provide an advisory service to local authorities in England and Wales wishing to set up voluntary community service projects. Field work staff were to be available to move into an area for up to six months to assist in establishing the projects and to train local staff who would run the agency when YVFF pulled out. The initial focus of the work was on traditional community service through a clearing house system.

Very early on it became evident that the original intentions of YVFF and the experience of field work staff were at variance. In the first annual report reservations were expressed about the ability of the community service model to bring about social change. In areas of social dislocation field work staff did not consider that solely working with young people would actually meet the real needs of a given area. A deeper look at community needs was required and that meant looking at *'power structures, strategies and community development'*.

While central headquarters continued to advertise YVFF as an agency promoting voluntary service by young people, field workers were diversifying their work. In 1971, 12 projects existed in England and Wales, broadly covering the areas of voluntary community service, informal youth work, social education and community development.

When local authorities initially invited the Foundation to assist in setting up projects their expectations were of well-motivated young people giving generously of their services. When they found field work staff predominantly working with the non-traditional volunteer (for which the Foundation was set up) they were confused and, as in the case of the Heanor Project, urged field workers to transfer their allegiance to *'nice youngsters who would repay our attention by lots of volunteer work'*.[33] At the Kingswood Project, Gloucestershire, the YVFF grant was withdrawn after nine months because the premises attracted the local Hells Angels. The councillors felt there was little evidence of voluntary community service: field work staff increasingly diagnosed needs shared by the young, their parents and the elderly; community service by young people, they felt, was not going to be able to address itself to fundamental social change. The concentration on community development rapidly steered YVFF away from its initial purpose. In 1970, the DES Inspectorate assessed the work to date and, recognising the interests of staff, helped confirm YVFF's direction away from volunteer work to community development. The restructuring of the Foundation was embodied in the James Report (1971), produced by a review committee approved by the DES. The report further promoted the community development aspects of field work and recommended that the headquarters should concentrate less on publicity and more on a professional service to field workers. YVFF is now the Community Projects Foundation.

YVFF expressed for the first time articulate and considered reservations about the appropriateness of community service by young people. At the time of the DES review, many field workers felt that community service was not intrinsically wrong but merely papered over the cracks. Subsequently, however, as outlined in *Young*

Volunteers?, Chris Alinson argued that the Foundation increasingly associated with *'the idea of introducing the needy young to the needy elderly* (which) *was an alarmingly mistaken manoeuvre.'*

While local groups of teachers and youth workers met to discuss community service and undergo some training, as yet there was no national representation. YVFF did not establish a central information and advisory service for young volunteer work. In 1970 the National Working Party of Young Volunteer Organisers was set up by some young volunteer agencies to give support to, and represent the interests of, the young volunteer field. In 1974 the NWP managed to secure funds from the Voluntary Service Unit at the Home Office to establish the Young Volunteer Resources Unit at the National Youth Bureau to provide information, training and development services to the field. The NWP, like YVFF, helped to challenge many of the traditional assumptions underlying the giving of service. It helped to shift the emphasis away from the idea that service given to those in need might also be of benefit to the young person, towards a notion of a fuller involvement by young people in their own communities. It emphasised the rights and responsibilities of young people to participate in community affairs.

> 'Effective participation depends upon the young people, through a process of social education, being able to learn about themselves, their community and their role within it. This process will also enable young people to acquire skills, knowledge and confidence and to learn to question and to care'.[54]

Thus community involvement, though not precluding the giving of service, became more consciously a process through which young people could learn about themselves and their communities, an emphasis not just on action but on understanding social problems and community issues.

Recent Developments

With rising unemployment among young people, community service has appeared in successive youth employment programmes. Job Creation Programmes, Special Temporary Employment Programmes, Community Industry and the Youth Opportunities Programme have, under the sponsorship of the Manpower Services Commission, developed community service opportunities. In 1978 the Holland Report recommended provision for 15,000 community service placements within the Youth Opportunities Programme. Community Service had also become a tool for the occupation of the unemployed.

The particular aim of Community Industry, set up in 1971-2, was *'to prepare for regular employment (in as short a time as practicable) unemployed young people who, for various reasons find it more difficult than their contemporaries to obtain and keep jobs, with special emphasis on those who are socially and personally disadvantaged'*.[45] Included in the staff's responsibility were advisory, counselling and stimulating functions. In practice the community service part of Community Industry was largely limited to traditional, task-centred work. The Job Creation Programme, set up in October 1975, had a much wider scope. The aim was to provide jobs, in quantity, which were of social or community benefit, particularly, though not solely, for young unemployed people. Sponsors were encouraged to employ school leavers but they were not obliged to. In practice JCP attracted many mature people, including college leavers, many of whom were able to use JCP sponsorship to enter into community development work, either to support existing projects or to set up new ones. Young volunteer organisations were involved in supervising JCP appointees on their projects, and many alternative community-based projects emerged under JCP sponsorship, e.g. community arts and community transport. Its successor, STEP, (1978) does not have a specific community-oriented base, but there are still a number of STEP appointments within the community work and young volunteer field.

In contrast to the development of quasi-compulsory community service programmes within unemployment programmes, 1977 witnessed a revival in the assertion of voluntary community involvement by young people through the Queen's Silver Jubilee Appeal. The appeal was dedicated to young people, with the purpose of giving them greater opportunity to serve the communities in which they lived. The advertising leaflet sent out by the Youth Involvement Committee of the Jubilee Appeal emphasised that service was not about using young people, but about enabling them to participate in community affairs. There is now a substantial fund for young people to draw on in pursuit of increased community participation. The trust makes provision for young people under 25, whether members of established organisations or not, to apply for grants so that they can start or develop schemes which can help others. So far, recipients of grants have included youth bands, youth action projects and work with ethnic minorities.

Some groups continue to emphasise community service as a residential experience. In 1978, over 6000 young people aged 16-25 were involved in some workcamp activity. In 1973, the Workcamp Organisers' Co-ordinating Committee was set up to provide to the workcamp field a

similar support network to that provided by NWPYVO. It is, as yet, a small body and has only recently been formally constituted. It emphasises the residential aspects of workcamps as an important part of community involvement, stressing that living together can be an important element in the social education of young people.

An area of increasing interest is the role of the media in both the recruitment of volunteers and the creation of greater awareness of social issues among young people, whether as producers or consumers. This is an important area of development[146].

Part II

In this section there is an attempt to identify a number of inter-related stances within community involvement, voluntary involvement, meeting needs and social education.

Voluntary Involvement

Community service initially emphasised the service given by young people to those in need. There was a belief that such an experience would also benefit the young person. From the start, an educational component was recognised, but the main emphasis was the giving and provision of a service. Over the years, the emphasis has generally been less on the service given and more on the personal and educational benefits to the young person. The introduction of community service orders and the use of community service within schools have helped to enhance the educational, training role, perhaps at the expense of fuller consideration of the voluntary contribution. Many groups which refer to young volunteers use 'volunteers' as an umbrella term for groups of young people with widely differing motives, coming or sent from different situations. Many workers feel 'voluntary' is an inappropriate label for an activity which is essentially designed for educational purposes. Broadly there is the distinction between those who come of their own volition and volunteer, and those who are semi-coerced into coming, e.g. within a school programme. Further, there is the distinction between the emphasis given to the service rendered and that given to the educational and personal needs of the young person.

Some are concerned about the incompatibility between these two sets of motivations, the 'voluntary' and the 'semi-coerced'. To define community service as a community service order, for example, or as a compulsory component of a school curriculum, turns what is perceived essentially as a voluntary activity into something that is 'less good' or 'less pure'. Many young volunteer organisers, for example, particularly after RoSLA, were asked by teachers to engage reluctant students in acts of service to the community, either to relieve themselves of difficult pupils, or in many instances, in a genuine belief that community service would be of value to them. This led to a confusion of aims and objectives for all parties involved, and to many unsatisfactory community service placements. A more recent development has been the introduction of community service in the Youth Opportunities Programme with a pay-

ment of £23.50 a week. There are those who argue that this devalues what is essentially a voluntary activity into something which is non-voluntary (i.e. it is paid work) and semi-compulsory (i.e. a choice within a limited programme). The uncertainties which surround the community involvement of young people extend also to confusion in adult volunteering. For example, the debate about whether or not volunteers should be paid or unpaid, or whether reimbursement of travel expenses incurred while doing voluntary work constitutes payment, is part of a long dialogue within some voluntary bodies. There is a certain degree of mystique surrounding the word voluntary, and there is still a popular conception of volunteering, dating from its origins in 19th century philanthropy, which sees the individual as providing a service to someone in need, with no immediate expectation of reward. This has become known as the 'non-reciprocal' view of giving.

More recently, as has been shown in the development of community service and community involvement by young people, the focus has shifted towards a reciprocal view of giving and receiving. This more openly promotes and acknowledges the personal and educational benefits of community involvement. Within adult volunteering, hospital co-ordinating and volunteer bureau staff, for example, now recognise more often the reciprocal nature of the activity, and this is reflected in more careful matching, training and support for the volunteer.

In an attempt to clarify many of the meanings and practices in work which may be broadly categorised as voluntary, the Volunteer Centre is currently trying to establish a conceptual framework for volunteering. The first half of *Towards a Definition of Volunteer Involvement* by Diana Leat[47] examines the logic of voluntary activity as it is currently conceived; the second half analyses Richard Titmuss' philosophy of gift giving. Having examined these, the paper attempts to look for the development of a new approach to volunteering. Diana Leat sees this in the transformation of volunteering into friendship.

The main concern in the paper is the balance of control in a volunteer/client relationship—in order to give, someone has to receive, and consequently the giver exercises power over the receiver. The basis of Titmuss' analysis (in the *Gift Giving Relationship*) is taken from the view that blood donation is represented as a form of gift giving, the nearest thing to the expression of pure altruism, involving as it does the giving of a gift to a stranger with no certainty of a return gift. It has been taken by many to provide a model for the development of all forms of voluntary action. Leat points out that gift giving between strangers is a rather

limited category of volunteering; it includes blood donation, committee work, some forms of fundraising. In practice, gifts are distributed in a much wider context.

Titmuss suggests that the *'opportunity to behave altruistically, to exercise a moral choice to give in non-monetary forms to strangers, is an essential human right'*. This might be equated with Dickson's comment on the right to serve one's own country in establishing CSV. R. H. S. Crossman has suggested that one of the main causes of the social disintegration from which our country is now suffering is the frustration of the altruistic motive[38].

This may be compared with fears in the 60s that young people were not only protected from human suffering but also that they lacked opportunities for meeting need and feeling wanted. In this sense voluntary activity and the provision of structures for its practice and promotion, e.g. young volunteer organisations, may be seen as an expression of the right to give, a right which, in Dickson's view, is supported by the biological need to help. The psychiatrist Peter Scott suggests that our helping behaviour is somehow instinctive[39]. There is very little evidence to date for this position. It is generally considered that altruistic tendencies are influenced more by conditioned responses.

Developing Titmuss' thesis, Leat argues that:

> 'If volunteering is to be identified with gift giving, the volunteer/client relationship cannot be regarded as one of equality. The volunteer as initial gift giver irreversibly subordinates the client'.[40]

In preference to this view of volunteering and the implied imbalance of control between giver and recipient, Leat concludes that volunteering should be the pursuit of equality within a relationship *'in which there is genuine equality and a real reciprocity of rights and duties'*.[41]

In some respects, this is close to Dickson's view of reciprocity as the recognition of the 'mutual experience'. It is based on the assumption that young people have something to offer society and that they themselves have special needs. In an article, *Keeping Our Balance—a report on CSV*, Dickson examines the duality of service experience:

> 'It was as a marriage of two complementary needs that CSV was first conceived—the need of young people to feel wanted and the need of the society for what they have to contribute. Later we raised this basic four lettered word to the level of mystique by reference to 'reciprocity'—the idea that one problem might be solved by another—immigrant youngsters from one-room family backgrounds, might, for example, find haven and help if they were to do their 'homework' on

orthopaedic wards at the bedside of unvisited patients'.[42]

In his more recent work Dickson extends these complementary roles into 'study service' and concludes that 'voluntary' and 'compulsory' begin to lose their significance when students find themselves solving real problems and responding to genuine needs. Study service combines study with action, e.g. a group of school pupils might in their woodwork classes be preparing aids for the handicapped.

Meeting Needs

Need is a term which appears frequently in any discussion of community involvement—*whose* needs and *how* are these needs identified? There are most obviously the needs of the clients and the needs of the young people and workers involved, but there are also broader community needs.

Before looking further, brief mention must be made of what is meant by 'community' and of some of the pressures currently acting on it. Simplistically, community can be one or all of the following four groups:

- the community of shared values and beliefs;
- the community of interest or work;
- the community of residence within a geographical area;
- the community of the family.

The community of residence, which is taken here to be the main focus, might be more accurately described as 'neighbourhood'. A neighbourhood may be a collection of families and individuals within a particular locality or it may be a whole town or city. There is no uniform view. Whatever the views, neighbourhoods eventually break down into self-defined or administratively manageable groupings. They represent a plurality of interests with a wide range of societal pressures acting on them.

A coherent neighbourhood is one which is able to give support to its members, identify issues and act on them to the mutual benefit of those involved. As well as looking to the welfare of its own members, a community has to make decisions about and contribute to the welfare of those outside the group. The formal process of this is through social democracy. The informal process is more complex and less quantifiable. The community also has a responsibility to look after and make provision for those who are weak, such as the elderly and the handicapped. There are many who fear that the traditional mechanisms for holding a community together are breaking down. Despite the variety of ways to approach these issues there is uncertainty about which ones to take; there is uncertainty about what the nature of intervention into community life should be. However, within these uncertainties there are two distinctive trends.

First, there are those who feel that a more efficient use of statutory services and deployment of voluntary help will enable adequate care to be developed. This method rests on a high degree of professional control. It runs the risk of rendering the community subservient to the expertise of professional knowledge, and of viewing volunteers as performing prescribed tasks. Second, there is the view that

favours self-determination, emphasising participation, long term prevention, and choice for all clients and volunteers involved. Statutory provision is seen as a resource to the community.

The Community Development Projects have done much to pioneer work of this kind. The distinction, in many senses, reflects the traditional demarcation between views of community service and community involvement by young people. However, the major factor characterising the second is that through self-determination, the community will 'learn' to stand on its own feet rather than be 'dependent'. Essentially this is a learning process. Some might even define it as a community education process. This rests on the belief that, unless brought out and allowed to develop, qualities of confidence, empathy and decision-making remain dormant. Community education in this sense concentrates on the informal process of social democracy enabling the formal processes to become more representative of their true interests. The young volunteer field, for example, has increasingly adopted a view of community involvement which emphasises young people's participation in community affairs:

> 'Effective participation depends upon the young people, through a process of social education, being able to learn about themselves, their community and their role within it. This process will also enable young people both to acquire skills, knowledge and confidence and to learn to question and to care.
>
> 'In addition to being appropriate to the needs of the community, community involvement ought to be relevant to the needs of the volunteers and involve them both in the identification of social and community need and in the formulation of appropriate courses of action. The volunteers need opportunities to involve themselves in decision making, to exercise choice, to take initiatives and to both reflect upon and interpret their experiences. To achieve these aims great attention must be paid to preparation, support and follow-up.
>
> 'Alongside this concern for the development of the volunteer there has been a parallel concern for the development of the community. In this context the involvement of young people is more concerned with enabling the community to develop its ability to act on its own behalf rather than with providing a service which reinforces dependence upon others'.[43]

Hence meeting needs has increasingly been seen as a complex process. It has moved away from a predominant focus on the delivery of service to the needy to include the

wider roles of individuals in society and their rights and social responsibilities. There has been recognition that it is not just enough to meet an immediate need, such as the care for the sick or the elderly, without considering it in the light of broader social issues such as the way people relate to one another, the distribution of wealth and the knowledge available to individuals to enable them to make realistic choices.

Social Education

Some Views

Social education is a broad term representing many differences of interpretation and practice. Although its origins are unclear, during the 60s it acquired more general use. Social education may be described as a process that enables individuals and groups to understand more about themselves and the society in which they are living. From this broader understanding and increased awareness, it is argued that individuals and groups will have the ability and the confidence to participate more fully in society.

> 'In a rapidly changing and increasingly complex society, social education is about the balance between:
>
> - coming to terms with oneself as an individual needing to cope with uncertainty
> - relating appropriately with those around one as an active member of groups, communities and society at large.
>
> This process is at the same time intensely personal and essentially social. Its focus is on learning by and through experience designed to encourage and enable people to:
>
> - broaden their outlook and interests and make the most of their talents
> - discover their potential and limitations and make realistic choices
> - establish and build valued relationships and cope with transitions from dependence to independence, from adolescence to adulthood
> - learn more about themselves, others and society, and about institutions and what is involved in changing them
> - identify their needs and act to meet them'.[44]

One of the key elements in social education is experiential learning. It emphasises that learning takes place from young people's own experiences. Learning is an active process, not a passive one. It encourages people to analyse critically and respond creatively. Social education is concerned with the personal development of the individual, but increasingly there is a recognition that it is also about the individual in relation to the group and, correspondingly, about the outcome of group decisions and group pressures: i.e. it is a political process. This was recognised, for example, in the NAYSO report *The Schools and the Youth Service.*

As we have seen, it saw the Youth Service as being concerned with effective political action through democratic processes . . . *'the ability to mobilise experience in order to take decisions and make choices'.*[45] It recommended that schools and the Youth Service should work together to develop social education. By implication this required schools to be more political. However, the political involvement or participation of young people in society has to be measured against an educational tradition which views politics as separate from education. This is further reinforced by the traditional belief in the neutrality of education.

'Critical learning' includes knowledge of personal consciousness, of confidence, of ideas of self and assessments of potential. It also includes knowing the ways of improving these and building up the individual's ability to participate. The more recent views of social education recognise that, in order to achieve this degree of involvement, skills must be acquired—in decision-making, communication and observation, in the ability to obtain, process and use information, and in the ability to work in groups and to gain confidence in one's capabilities for action. Thus social education is inherently a political process, either overtly or implicitly. If it is accepted that communities are complex structures with both formal and informal procedures, then there is a need to learn about them and how to work within them and influence them, which infers more power and therefore more control. It also implies a very different form of intervention on the part of the worker.

Community service has traditionally been concerned with the sick, the elderly, the handicapped and children. Politically these have been regarded as 'safe' areas. However, the industrial troubles of the winter of 1978 raised key questions about the role of the volunteer in an industrial dispute, even in these normally safe areas. The Wolfenden Report[46] acknowledged that voluntary service has inevitable political implications. 1978 brought these to a head, and adult and young volunteers became embroiled in a wrangle between trades unions (NUPE and CoHSE) and hospital patients. It is interesting to note the issues facing the worker in this situation. Where, here, is the demarcation between party politics and the politics of everyday life? To what extent do workers withhold their own beliefs? Where is the line to be drawn between political involvement and political education? There is an interesting breakdown of 'political education' in the Inspectorate's *Curriculum 11-16*[47]. In a chapter on 'Political Competence' the paper describes politics in terms of the fundamental questions of what happens when people disagree and how differences are resolved. Politics, it suggests, is concerned with ethical questions and moral problems.

In a recent paper, *From Social Education to Social and Life Skills Training: In Whose Interests?*, Bernard Davies highlights the development of social education to include political education:

> 'For in effect what youth workers are doing when they stress the importance of helping young people to develop politically is extending the definition of 'social' so that it includes the knowledge and capabilities needed for exercising power, that is, for dealing more productively with large scale (the macro) institutions and processes in our society'.[48]

The ultimate development of this, Davies concludes, is that the action which follows can only be individualistic up to a point; eventually those involved will join others acting collectively to secure some power and some influence—they will join to form pressure groups, trades unions and political parties.

The Youth Service has been concerned more recently with political education, e.g. through the British Youth Council's political education project, but its predominant concern (post Fairbairn-Milson) has been with increased participative opportunities for young people, which in practice have been interpreted as formal procedures of voting, representation on committees and the integration of the young into our institutions. A recent example of this form of participation is the recommendation of the Taylor Committee on the functions and composition of school governing bodies, that *'provision should be made for a school's pupils, or at least some of them, to play a part in the government of the school'*.[49] The fuller implications of participation have only recently been explored officially. In 1978, the now disbanded Youth Service Forum published a report on the encouragement of youth participation and concluded that *'political involvement of the young should be seen as a small part of the endeavour to involve many people in the common pursuit of a decent society'*.[50]

Bernard Davies points to dangers in another more recent development of social education, namely social and life skills training. This term is in current use on a large scale within the Youth Opportunities Programme of the MSC, also within intermediate treatment programmes. Davies, while acknowledging that it would be naïve to assume that social education does not act as a controlling mechanism on young people in many situations, stresses that youth workers and teachers must urgently consider social and life skills training's potential to control rather than liberate. In social and life skills training, Davies sees a *'significant shift away from, both in conception and practice, some of social education's most important commitments and opportunities'*.

The Manpower Services Commission was set up in the 70s to ensure that the skills residing in the labour force met requirements of the economy at a time when skilled labour was in short supply. It was established to compensate for the apparent inability of schools to turn out the desired work force. Thus, when the MSC introduced social and life skills training into the Youth Opportunities Programme, its prime concern was not with independent thinking and political action, but with a marketable labour force. Davies associates the origins of social and life skills not with social education, but with the social training that has taken place in work with the mentally handicapped, with prisoners and those seeking psychological help. These categories, he says, have usually undergone training out of some personal inadequacy or voluntary submission to therapy:

> 'It has been assumed that those being 'trained' have few if any rights to define their problems in their own way, or to decide for themselves if and how they wish to be trained'.

Here an analogy can be made between the development of social education and social and life skills training with the increased application of community service in the 60s and 70s as an activity suitable for the less able. What had originally been a voluntary activity was turned by some into a semi-compulsory programme within a school curriculum.

In conclusion, Davies urges that if youth workers, teachers and others involved in social education wish to preserve some of the person-centred and creative goals of social education, then they must address themselves to clearer concepts of the 'what' and 'how' of social education. In particular, social educators must abandon *'the morally neutral and apolitical stances which they took up in the 60s'.*

Social Education and Community Involvement

The more radical community involvement projects specifically define their work in terms of social education. Most young volunteer organisations introduce some form of social education in the preparation, training and support of volunteers. However, social education projects differ from traditional community service in that they view the total work as a learning process, and correspondingly there is a very specific form of intervention by the workers. Examples of these projects are the Watford and Birmingham Young Volunteers' Social Education Projects.

The Watford project was set up by YVFF in 1971 to work with the fourth and fifth year pupils from local secondary schools for half a day a week and to undertake project work on various local community issues arising out of their own interests. The latest statement of its aims and objectives is:

> 'To encourage an expanding awareness of the community through exploration of particular issues, and through this:
>
> a to foster a heightening personal awareness and the development of caring attitude;
>
> b to provide opportunities for student-motivated social action, leading to an increased sense of personal work as the student realises his own ability to act effectively on important community issues;
>
> c to foster the ability to recognise areas of common concern and to instil confidence in the process of co-operation—leading to the development of a variety of problem-solving and social skills within the group context.
>
> The emphasis is on the process (how the group works, developing social skills), rather than the product (e.g. video, report) of the work: a group would be deemed just as successful a group if it came to some conclusion as to why its particular project had not worked out right/ what structures were opposing it, and either came to terms with this or found out how to change it, in fact, they would probably get more out of the project than a group which had sailed through with no problems'.

Some of the practical projects which have emerged have included:

- building a wendy house for a local playgroup;
- producing a video tape about the problems of leaving

school and finding employment, with special showings to the headmaster, careers department and parents;
- surveying vandalism and leisure facilities for teenagers;
- producing a slide-tape show on residential care.

Birmingham Young Volunteers has similar aims. The agency was initially set up in 1965 to promote the active involvement of young people in their community. Its work consists of area based project work with young people out of school hours, and social education work with a number of Birmingham schools during school time. Birmingham social education workers either work face to face with groups of pupils or through the dissemination of ideas, practice and resources to other interested teachers and schools. A typical group has 15-20 pupils with a teacher from the school and a BYV worker, usually in a centre away from the school. This is normally for one half day a week throughout a school year. The pupils get to know one another with help from the staff and are encouraged to explore the meaning of community through visits and investigations, some of which lead to practical projects, Both BYV and the Watford project emphasise that groups should be of mixed ability and that the practical outcomes are incidental. What is essential is the process through which young people go to arrive at the understanding and decisions they make.

The Watford and Birmingham projects are unusual for their specialist approach to social education. It is more usual for workers to introduce social education through support and follow up to projects and through enabling young people themselves to identify need. This can be achieved through discussions, workshops, weekend training events, social meetings. Many participants in young volunteer organisations are also encouraged to have the maximum involvement in running their own organisations.

Comment

Different people and groups have invested in the concept of service a range of values and assumptions, from national pride in the resourcefulness of the young to seeing it as a means of social education. Emphasis on sacrificial duty and service to one's country are now more or less redundant concepts in community service. However, there are still moral overtones in much community service practice, based in part on the consistent assumption that community service is automatically good and that young people, given a chance, want to help others. This has led to a wide range of services being promised to individuals and groups on behalf of young people, and to a number of claims for the ability of community service to bring about change in the individual volunteers and in society. This was particularly prominent in the later 60s when many saw young people in the front of social change. Community service has also been seen as a means of bringing about change in character. The introduction of Community Service Orders was seen initially as an alternative to custodial sentences, emphasising punishment as deprivation of leisure time; they were rapidly adopted as forms of treatment.

Community service is also associated with action; the successful accomplishment of tasks. As presented in the Schools Council paper, it is noted for its utilitarian nature. The origins date back to the notion of a practical expression of Christianity, but other assumptions have emerged from this emphasis on the achievement of tasks, which has led many policy makers, teachers and youth workers to make another close association, that practical equals 'less able'. The adoption of practical tasks requires commitment and hard work but not necessarily intelligence. All the major reports have made the analogy between community service and the less able. Another feature of this focus on practical tasks has been the particular role attached to girls. Dating from the Newsom Report, community service in schools was extended to enable girls to learn to care for the sick and the elderly, commonly a woman's responsibility. Girls in schools, for example, are more prepared than boys to do some form of community service necessitating dropping an alternative subject. Now, far more girls than boys are involved, a reversal of the predominantly male involvement through the public schools in the early days. This is reinforced by the traditional caring role attributed to women and reflects the sexual stereotyping at home, school and work.

Close to this is the view of the social status of young people generally held by adults. In the last section, it was

suggested that volunteering is not quite as simple as it first appears; that the assumptions and practice are complex and in need of reassessment. It is interesting to note that when young people are involved in voluntary work, it is more commonly known as community service; adult involvement, however, is more usually known as volunteering. The differences in terms reflect society's differences in attitude to the young and to adults. Young people are seen as having obligations to give service to the community. This notion is also extended into the kinds of services that are promised by adults on behalf of young people. Diana Leat's paper points to the imbalance in the volunteer/client relationship in a voluntary setting; a further analogy might be the imbalance between adults and young people in the services they are involved in. The promotion of community service, even when the reciprocal nature of the activity is acknowledged, has led, in many instances, to a range of unsolicited claims of beneficial results for those involved, and assumptions about the presumed needs not only of client groups, but also of the needs of the young working with them. It may not be enough to assume that, because a young person has visited a children's hospital regularly over a period of six months, this has either been a beneficial experience for the patients or for the young person, even more so if the attendance has been compulsory. The results of visits are likely to depend on a whole range of factors, particularly the degree of support that the young person has received and even more so the terms on which the initial placement was negotiated.

A central characteristic of community service, as with early voluntary work in the secular charities, has been the recognition that it creates a learning experience for the volunteer. In the 19th century the social sciences did not exist; experience was the only way of learning about society and social conditions. Today it is possible to acquire this information through a variety of channels without necessarily having direct experience. From the references to schools and education however, it has been suggested that learning cannot and should not be separated from real life experiences. Alec Dickson, for example, has moved his philosophy a long way from the early days of VSO. While always acknowledging the education aspect of community service, more recently he has advocated opportunities for study service. By relating study to service, he sees a whole range of new learning patterns emerging. Similarly, young volunteer organisations, by working with schools and other groups, have helped to explore new ways of learning through community participation. Ultimately these have major implications for the future structure and development of the education services. It may be argued that, within the context of community education, community service or

community involvement may begin to become a more total part of education. Broadly, community education may be described in relation to two main developments. One is the shared use of educational facilities within the local community, and the other the community development approach based on community learning and participation not necessarily linked with formal structures. Both developments overlap, but in general acknowledge that learning is a lifelong process and that education can and should not be divorced from ordinary living.

Community involvement, therefore, may be described as covering a wide range of work; the term may be used to describe some forms of community service or it may refer to a group of young people engaged in community development. It may be described as involving young people in all aspects of society in so far as these affect their lives. Important questions should be asked about the nature of that involvement, the terms on which it takes place, what it aims to do and the values upon which it rests. A fuller involvement of young people should mean a greater degree of control by them over their true interests through possession of relevant knowledge and the establishment of relationships.

A thorough study of some of these issues is essential if community involvement is to continue to develop as a method of work with young people. There has been an almost total lack of research in this field and partly as a consequence it has remained a relatively peripheral activity within youth work and schooling. It is time that it was taken seriously by government departments and local authorities and appropriate resources allocated.

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Glossary

Intermediate Treatment

Intermediate Treatment is action through a range of community based programmes planned to meet identified needs of children and young people who are at risk of appearing or who have appeared before the courts.

Middle Class

It is used to refer to those mainly in non-manual occupations who have the time, skill, resources to gain influence and exercise control in the communities in which they live.

Pastoral Care

This refers to systems in schools which specifically provide structures for taking an interest in school pupils' personal welfare e.g. house system, tutor groups etc.

Working Class

It is used to refer broadly to those in manual occupations or young people drawn from parents in manual occupations. They tend not to have access to resources of time, skills which might be geared to gaining more control and influence in the communities in which they live.

Young Person

Young Person refers to young people aged 14-25. Young Adult (where this is used) refers to those between 18-25.

Youth Opportunities Programme

A planned programme of opportunities for work experience and training designed to help school leavers find future employment sponsored by the Manpower Services Commission.

Issues in Community Service examines some of the assumptions underlying 'community service' and 'community involvement' by young people.

After tracing the historical development of community service in the UK, Dave Burley looks at three aspects of community involvement—Volunteering, Meeting Needs and Social Education.

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