Youth Knowledge #23

THE HISTORY OF YOUTH WORK IN EUROPE

Volume 6

**Connections, disconnections and reconnections –
The social dimension of youth work
in history and today**

Youth Partnership

Partnership between the European Commission
and the Council of Europe in the field of Youth

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THE HISTORY OF YOUTH WORK IN EUROPE

Youth work and social work

Connections, disconnections and reconnections –
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Volume 6

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Preface

Tanya Basarab, Hanjo Schild and Jan Vanhee

"The past is a foreign country: they do things differently there." (L. P. Hartley)

In order to learn from our past, the partnership between the European Commission and the Council of Europe in the field of youth has co-organised since 2008 a series of seminars on the history of youth work in Europe, initiated and supported first by the Flemish Community (the first, second and third conferences in 2008, 2009 and 2010), then by hosts in Estonia (the fourth conference, in 2011) and Finland (the fifth conference, 2014). In 2016, Malta took the initiative to hold a sixth conference on the History of Youth Work in Europe, looking at youth work and social work, organised jointly by the European Union–Council of Europe youth partnership and Aġenzija Żgħażagh (the National Youth Agency) of Malta.

As outlined in the concept papers for these history workshops, they do not aim at purifying an essential youth work concept irrespective of historical and cultural contexts. The aim from the outset has been rather to identify the close links between youth work developments and broader social and cultural trends, and how external factors have shaped the way youth work takes place today in Europe. The exercise of tracing back the roots of youth work and identifying different evolutions, and sometimes revolutions, in youth work within and between countries has helped to feed a fundamental discussion around youth work's multifaceted and multilayered identity. It has also helped to cope, in a constructive way, with recurrent youth work dilemmas, such as targeted versus universal provision, agency-driven priorities or a more lifeworld-oriented focus. Historical consciousness and cross-sectoral reflections also enabled us to go beyond restrictive discussions driven by the issues of the day and highlighted the way similar dilemmas have been reflected upon in education, social pedagogy, social work or other fields intersecting with youth work. In that sense the history workshops tried to clarify what youth work is, without confining youth work's identity to a description in terms of methods. Workshop after workshop, national historical contexts and cross-sectoral reflections shaped the building blocks of what is understood by youth work today, in a format driven by knowledge, evidence and analysis, and not constrained by policy pressures. As a result, today's policy makers, practitioners and researchers can draw on that body of common knowledge to define values, interaction, developments, policy contexts, methods and impact of youth work practice.

From an institutional perspective, the history workshops aimed to contribute to the following European political objectives:

> ▶ "to promote and support research in youth work and youth policy, including its historical dimension and its relevance for youth work policy today" as highlighted in the Resolution of the Council of the European Union on youth work;[1] and

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1. Resolution of the Council and of the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States, meeting within the Council, on youth work (2010/C 327/01): http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=celex%3A42010Y1204(01).

▶ "fostering national and European research on the different forms of youth work and their value, impact and merit" as stressed in the recommendation of the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers to member States on youth work.[2]

Or, to put it more simply, as Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, said in her speech at the Culture Forum in Brussels on 20 April 2016, we should be "proud of our heritage, open to the world. There is no other way to navigate a globalised world. If you don't know where you come from, you get lost very easily."[3]

Yet only if knowledge is shared will it start to multiply and support people in learning from this knowledge. Historical knowledge contextualises and makes issues socially relevant, and that is what the history workshops, and their resulting publications, have aimed to achieve.

Current discussions of youth work in many countries are coloured by rather technical questions on, for example, excluding some methods and including others, on defining boundaries between youth work and school or social work, or on (supposed) new methods to contribute to the social integration of vulnerable or "excluded" young people. Alternatively, such discussions are simply motivated by strategic reflections that result in "functionalisation" or "instrumentalisation" of youth work, for example, setting out its potential role in the "de-radicalisation" of young people. These restrictive discussions – limited only to methodological or strategic questions that relate directly to today's youth policy challenges – make youth work a vulnerable practice, especially in these times of austerity, and have a direct funding and resource implication. Although it is understandable that youth policy makers need to define and clarify the function of youth work in broader policy and programme terms, the history series has clearly elicited the universal dimensions of youth work that have withstood time and political contexts, and has articulated both its uniqueness and "distinction" as well as its purposeful and positive interaction with other fields.

The sixth conference on the History of Youth Work in Europe (Connections, disconnections and reconnections – The social dimension of youth work in history and today) looked at the relationship between youth work and social work and the role they play in social inclusion of young people. The conference aimed to identify concepts, tools and support measures for socially excluded young people and promote a common understanding of youth work as social practice. For the European Union–Council of Europe youth partnership, the focus on youth and social work, and on social inclusion of young people, was closely related to the project Mapping of Barriers to Social Inclusion for Young People in Vulnerable Situations and the role of youth work in supporting these young people.[4]

This thematic workshop sought to understand, from the origins and development of youth work, whether youth work positioned itself more as a non-formal educational

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2. Recommendation CM/Rec(2017)4 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on youth work: http://www.coe.int/en/web/youth/-/new-recommendation-to-the-council-of-europe-member-states-on-youth-work.

3. http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2016/160420_03_en.htm.

4. http://pjp-eu.coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/mapping-on-barriers-to-social-inclusion.

practice or as a social one, and where the balance between these two dimensions lies. While there was agreement that youth work needs to be further defined as a practice or profession in itself, and that the process of building its identity is ongoing in different countries, it became clear that when it comes to cross-sectoral perspective and interaction with social work, the picture is significantly more complex, much richer and considerably more dynamic than might have been foreseen.

Three broad pathways of youth work development in relation to social work can be identified across the countries that participated in the history workshop in Malta. In the first pathway, though with firm roots in social work, youth work has evolved into a separate, independent practice. Social work remains a state-guided, sometimes statutory, intervention that deals with young people as "clients", while youth work is more young-people-led and depends very much on voluntary engagement and on trust. In some countries, this separation has helped to establish the profession of youth worker in its own right, with a clearly described remit.

In the second pathway, youth work has been generally initiated by social work practitioners and has continued to operate within those remits, as a subsidiary support activity. It keeps a social work objective while using a mix of non-formal learning, social, therapeutic or interventionist social work or social pedagogy methods. This pathway inscribes youth work as a marginal, dependent dimension fostering experimentation within social work practice, and has been mutually enriching for the two, especially when social or youth workers cross the invisible "professional" divide.

Finally, there is a third pathway, where youth work may have (as in the first pathway) grown from social work or possibly originated and evolved as a separate practice with different objectives, values and outcomes. Today, however, youth work has returned to social work as an equal partner, contributing in a complementary way to the lives of more challenged and challenging young people. This can be mutually enriching for both "professions" as they address social pathologies in different ways and contribute to social inclusion; indeed, sometimes even more so than the first pathway, the third pathway can lead to stronger recognition of youth work (see also *The history of youth work in Europe – Vol. 5*). However, this pathway can result in youth work failing to reach out to and engage with more "ordinary" young people, who may need and want purposeful out-of-school activities but who do not present any social problems and nothing is offered to them.

Additional country (hi)stories from Spain, Croatia and Slovenia challenged workshop participants to look further at the implication for today's youth work in those countries in the context of their particular centralised (authoritarian) pasts.

This sixth volume of *The history of youth work in Europe*, in the series of Youth Knowledge books published by the European Union–Council of Europe youth partnership, documents many of the contributions on the social dimension of youth work that formed the main focus of the Malta history workshop and also includes two of the country (hi)stories of youth work that have, hitherto, not been covered in earlier publications in this series.

There is still a need to explore and collate some of the missing pieces of the history puzzle from a few more countries in Europe and from particular thematic areas in

which youth work takes place. The history of European/international youth organisations or social movements in which young people play a particular role also needs to be explored. These European and global youth (work) movements are, after all, emblematic of what youth work can achieve. That, however, is an aspiration for the future. For now, those who wish to explore further the history of youth work in Europe are invited to visit the European Knowledge Centre for Youth Policy (http://pjp-eu. coe.int/en/web/youth-partnership/knowledge-/-ekcyp), where all the individual contributions and the series of publications are available.

Introduction

Howard Williamson

In the 150 years that something called "youth work" has existed, in at least some parts of Europe, there have always been efforts to proclaim its educative, "opportunity-focused" and emancipatory elements and potential. Yet there is an equally powerful, if less often spoken, association with social work, "problem-solving" and regulatory traditions. As we have often registered, throughout this *History of youth work in Europe* series, youth work in different countries often simultaneously delivers practice that both produces autonomy for young people and constrains the lives of the young through protecting them or seeking to proscribe some forms of behaviour (the "cultural rescue" that underpinned British youth work in the 1950s, to "save" the young from contamination by American youth culture, is a case in point).

Sometimes these paradigms of youth work converged, blending in particular ways, permitting learning and development within strictly enforced parameters. More often, they diverged and ran quite separately, with more libertarian youth work available for those young people who were already accepted and acceptable, and more guided and directed youth work for those young people considered to still be troubled or troublesome.

That youth work is a child both of education (as non-formal learning) and of social work (as correctional or therapeutic intervention) is not in much doubt. The question is what kind of child has been produced, at different times, in different contexts. To what extent has youth work run in parallel with either, or both, of its "parents"; to what extent has it been harnessed and controlled by either of them; to what extent has it sought its own independence and matured in more hybrid ways?

This collection of papers is firmly positioned on the "social" (and social work) side of youth work. For a change, we are less interested in youth work as an educational or educative practice and more interested in it as a social and social work practice, in the way it has reached out to more marginalised, excluded, troubled and challenging young people – or at least has been expected to. Inevitably, we encounter very diverse accounts of the connections between youth work and social work (especially in the "early" days, whenever those happened to be), the disconnections (particularly as youth work strove to establish a distinctive identity through recognition that its practice differed clearly from social work), and sometimes reconnections (as youth work sometimes came to understand that its political credibility often rested on its capacity to contribute to some of the old goals of social work with young people, such as delinquency prevention, combating substance misuse or building self-efficacy and personal strengths).

The book derives from a seminar held in Malta in September 2016, at which the keynote speaker was Axel Pohl, talking about his seminal work with Andreas Walther around "youth welfare regimes". In Chapter 1, Pohl considers the place of youth work for both "mainstream" and "marginal" youth, and the idea of social work as both an institution (a distinctive professional practice) and an intervention (a style of engagement for particular purposes). Youth work can be seen as concerned with both developmental issues (thus bordering on a social work interventionist agenda) and questions of facilitating the agency and autonomy of young people, when perhaps youth work and social work part company.

Similar issues are addressed and discussed, though in different ways, by Christian Spatscheck in Chapter 2. In the context of Germany, he asks how broad and progressive social work can be, or needs to be, if it is to accommodate "youth work". Conversely, however, it also needs to be asked how eclectic and individualised youth work is. Youth work can, of course, be concerned primarily with emancipation, education and liberation, but it can also be focused more on control, regulation and correction. This is a dichotomy observed in many histories of youth work, whether or not it is embedded in discussions of relationships with social work. What is distinctive about Spatscheck's contribution is that he feels that there can be shared "anchoring points" and common ground under the umbrella of social pedagogy, thereby strengthening the potential for mutual support and development towards progressive democratic practice, which he argues is much needed today. It is a message that may take us by surprise but one to which other authors in this book also subscribe.

In Chapter 3, Ádám Nagy and Dániel Oross inform us that youth work in Hungary has inherited a strong legacy from the therapeutic and pathologising social work that prevailed in former times, though in more recent times there have been efforts to establish a social pedagogy based on "bottom-up", more client-centred practice rather than one determined and dictated from the top down. They make it clear, however, that youth work has, like social work, persisted with performing a compensatory role, not playing a part that is supplementary to formal education. In advancing their "onion model", they set out their vision of how youth work can be connected, holistically, to the broader context of youth policy, putting young people centre stage and detaching youth work from its traditional suffocation by social work on the one hand and simply "cultural" pursuits on the other.

There are strong parallels in the youth work story in the Slovak Republic, in Chapter 4. In their very detailed history (the privilege, perhaps, of speaking during the Presidency of the EU), Alžbeta Brozmanová Gregorová, Peter Lenčo and Jana Miháliková suggest – and this may of course be the result of even deeper probing – concurrent and complementary "crossover" developments in youth work, being attached differentially and simultaneously to ideas and aspirations for child rescue, the promotion of health and hygiene, care and development. Only in recent times have more educative and liberating conceptions of "youth work" taken hold. In both fascist and communist periods of Slovakia's history, the authors maintain that "youth work" and "social work" remained very separate. In their very different ways, neither was participative nor democratic, yet both could be viewed as constructive and supportive. Since 1989, both youth work and social work have undergone "dramatic changes"; the authors now see the possibility, both practically and philosophically, for youth work and

social work to come closer together as they work on shared agendas around the provision of support and the encouragement of autonomy and self-determination.

In Chapter 5, we return to western Europe, where Mick Conroy considers the specific youth justice elements of social work and the place and role of youth work within it, in the context of the United Kingdom. Historically, there have been times when both have held similar positions and perspectives, and times when they have been poles apart in both philosophy and practice. Conroy confirms the findings of many other contributors to this book: that there have been many overlapping and interweaving moments in the histories of youth work and social work, and asks whether the separation and distinction between the two have, too often, been spurious – or sacred.

In relation to Italy, Daniele Morciano and Armida Salvati also discuss, in Chapter 6, convergence and divergence between youth work and social work, invoking imagery of a see-saw, whereby at times youth work has been submerged in what might be considered social work agendas, such as health and hygiene, and at other times has sought independence, recognition, qualification and professionalisation. The picture is a complex one. Disconnections long ago changed with the fascist regime that forged close and uncontested links. They separated again after the Second World War, when social work focused on individual casework and youth work on collective association. There have been other changes since. The major divide between the two, however, has been in professional recognition: while social work is firmly connected to a legislative framework, youth work remains in legislative limbo, searching for resources and recognition wherever it can find it. In its favour is the growing convergence of opinion that young people are a resource to be cultivated (a classical position for youth work) and a policy framework that seeks to promote greater interprofessional collaboration.

The varied and various relationships between youth work and social work are, of course, even more difficult to debate because of the different understandings of these concepts within each of them, over time and in different contexts. In Chapter 7, Juha Nieminen and Anu Gretschel interrogate the concept of "social" in youth work, in the context of Finland. Youth work has struggled within itself, and in relation to external expectations, to balance if not reconcile universal and targeted provision, and to work out the extent to which it should remain separate rather than connected to other forms of provision. Historically, what counted as the "social" imperative in Finland has changed over time: nation-building, reconstruction, communality, social inclusion, citizenship. Youth work has played its part in all of this, through both a general practice and one concerned (most recently) with outreach and attention to exclusion, marginality and disadvantage. For the authors of this chapter, youth work has never been "unsocial"; it has always contributed to a distinctively Finnish understanding of "social" work.

Across the Gulf of Finland, in Estonia, another relationship has prevailed. Unlike many other countries where youth work has often been subordinated to social work priorities, youth work in Estonia has become more prominent and pivotal, with social work more in the background. In Chapter 8, Edgar Schlümmer argues that far from youth work being subsumed within social work, it is youth work that should display and demonstrate its capacity and capabilities for doing social work. The strength

of youth work in Estonia means that it should be engaging in both educational and developmental practice, and in more compensatory and therapeutic activity. In contrast to many other countries in Europe, youth work in Estonia approaches its collaborative practice – including its contribution to what might conventionally be thought of as social work – from a position of strength and recognition. The contemporary challenge for youth work is to ensure that new convergences and perspectives around such collaboration maintains an appropriate balance between the more educational and more social-work dimensions of youth work practice.

The view from Estonia would, until quite recently, have been anathema to Malta. As Miriam Teuma explains in Chapter 9, there has been an historical struggle to keep youth work clearly separated from any associations with social work. Youth work fought for a distinct identity that was patently not about resolving social problems or engaging in individual casework. It was, moreover, structurally and institutionally insulated from social work precisely because of its lack of recognition by or support from the state. Youth work was a voluntary endeavour delivered primarily by the church; social work had a formal statutory base and professional purpose. However, over time, there has been greater convergence, though a distinction in the value base of each profession remains. Nonetheless, youth work now holds much greater parity with social work in Malta, following the establishment of the Maltese Youth (Work) Agency, Aġenzija Żgħażagh, in 2010. The state-funded agency has promoted statutory youth work, established it as a profession with corresponding training, and has overseen a national youth policy. But its model has, paradoxically, been social work; developments in social work in Malta have served as a blueprint for the evolution of youth work there.

The "see-saw" analogy advanced in relation to Italy might well be applied also in France. But the bridging of education and social work suggested for youth work in Estonia, according to Laurent Besse and Jérome Camus in Chapter 10, could definitely not be applied in France. Nevertheless, there have been times in France, notably in the post-Second World War period, where youth work (*animation*) had its moments of domination and social work was largely sidelined. There has since, however, been a resurgence in what Besse and Camus call "social youth work", focusing on young people perceived to be problematic for a variety of reasons. As a result, "youth work" in its various guises has settled into what must increasingly be viewed as its default dichotomous position: regulatory and diversionary practice (social youth work, if you like) for difficult young people and emancipatory practice (educational youth work, it would seem) for more privileged young people. Those in the middle, and – significantly, because gender has rarely been discussed in these debates – young women, remain largely ignored.

In Chapter 11, Björn Andersson suggests that there has never been any real "youth work" in Sweden (I am sure that other Swedish colleagues on the European stage would disagree!). There is, however, a long tradition of "social work", or "social" work, with young people. Andersson posits six varieties of what might be described as "youth work"; as these move from youth associations to residential care, they get closer to conventional conceptions of social work. This diversity of practice with young people, conducted in different ways in different settings, is to be celebrated. It is also difficult to distinguish on the ground, in Andersson's view, where youth work

stops and something else – social work perhaps – begins. Certainly, as elsewhere, there are clear organisational, regulatory and institutional differences between youth work and social work. However, in reality, much greater convergence and blurring of the boundaries remains routinely unacknowledged.

The history of youth work in Europe series started with an endeavour to map histories of youth work in different countries. The series has evolved to explore not just country histories but also the history of youth work's relationship with political regimes, other agencies and practices (such as education, health, justice) and the consequences for youth work in terms of subjugation or independence. Hence this volume's preoccupation with the legacy of social work, and contemporary relationships between youth work and social work. However, not all country histories have yet been gathered, and two more appear in this volume. Chapter 12 is an extensive and illuminating history of youth work in Croatia. Much is, of course, until relatively recently, general to the whole of the former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Kosovo,[5] Montenegro, "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia). Marko Kovačić and Bojana Ćulum make many interesting observations. In the context of the current development of the European Solidarity Corps, they remind us of the work camps that were ubiquitous under state socialism but which produced important opportunities for association and for social mixing, the need for the former being flagged by the 2nd European Youth Work Declaration and the Council of Europe Recommendation on youth work (the importance of "space" for young people to come together). Furthermore, they reinforce the argument made forcefully in Volume 4 of the *History of youth work in Europe* series – that youth work can never be divorced from its political context. In Croatia, for stark and tragic reasons, youth work has emerged from the war of just some decades ago.

The other country history emanates from Spain. In Chapter 13, Rafa Merino, Carles Feixa and Almudena Moreno confirm the typical position in southern Europe, that there is little specific tradition or support for youth work, despite a tradition of youth associations and youth movements. Youth work on a broader front emerged following the end of the Franco regime and was considered, for a while, to be a significant policy area. It has, however, been adversely affected by the economic crisis in Spain and the austerity measures that have resulted from it. Merino, Feixa and Moreno suggest that, in the context of huge challenges for youth policy in Spain – economic conditions, political participation and third-sector decline – there is a need, more than ever, for forms of youth work developed by young people themselves in order to ensure that they can influence positively and purposefully their own and their country's future.

Whether or not youth work is umbilically attached to social work or actively detached from it, or was in the past, is not a matter just for academic debate. The many country histories reported throughout this *History of youth work in Europe* series and the wider debates in which the series has engaged illustrate the different ways in which youth work has played a part – and continues to play a part – in the lives of young people

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5. All references to Kosovo, whether to the territory, institutions or population, in this text shall be understood in full compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 and without prejudice to the status of Kosovo.

and in the countries in which they live. In relation to this volume, we see that youth work has been connected and disconnected, in myriad ways, to social-work-related issues such as healthy lifestyles, youth offending, youth care, social inclusion and therapeutic intervention. This may not be music to the ears of some involved in youth work, who would like to think of youth work practice as some kind of autonomous, young-person-centred, opportunity-focused provision forged on the anvil of voluntary relationships and governed by principles of equality, empowerment, participation and inclusion. Sadly it is not. The trouble with interrogating history is that it exposes some of the myths and fallacies of contemporary assumptions; it brings to the surface issues that, sometimes, we would rather leave submerged. Not that there is anything wrong, necessarily, with youth work engaging with problems, with health and hygiene (as it was once described), with rescue or even with regulation. Even today, these are issues which youth work is sucked towards through political expectations and sometimes through professional volition. And why not? Young people in challenging conditions and circumstances, like all young people, need youth work and the opportunities, experiences, support, information and advice that it provides. Everything hinges not so much on what is done, but on how it is done. That is what we can learn from history. Youth work's connection with social work is not in or of itself a bad thing. Youth work cannot sit smugly on an educational platform alone, disconnecting itself from working with social problems and social pathology. Youth work, as I have written many times, is essentially a social animal. But it does have to work out how it seeks to forge the links – connecting with the issues but not compromising on its principles. As we will note by way of conclusion to this volume, the strength of new and renewed convergence between youth work and social work, evidenced by the contributions to this book, somewhat took us by surprise, but we have been happy to seize the baton and argue that the alliance or enmity should be not between youth work and social work – where there have often been strong and positive connections over time – but between progressive and reactionary practice in either youth work or social work (and both can be present in both). Social work and youth work that share an aspiration towards individual autonomy, human flourishing and social cohesion should work together; social work and youth work that engage in individualising, pathologising and labelling young people should be opposed in both camps. We say more about this in our closing words. A better understanding of youth work's historical links with social work can help us to shape its relationship with social work in the future.

Part I

Youth work
and social work

Chapter 1

Youth transition regimes and youth work

Axel Pohl

Introduction

How is youth work connected to social work? Or to social (work) and youth policies? What are the connections between youth work and the "social"? How is youth work linked to the fabric of our societies? There are many ways to answer these questions. Some writers have focused on the history of ideas and philosophies that have guided the out-of-school and outside-of-family lives of young people – the milieu in which "youth work" takes place. Some start to reconstruct these links from political or faith-based movements, with a certain idea of what it means to be a young person. From structuralist or Marxist standpoints, answers start from (class) societies' distribution of labour and resources and link societies' answers to their analysis. Most of the resulting concepts of what youth work is or should be have three elements: an idea of what it means to be young (an epistemological claim), an idea of what outcomes of youth work are desirable (a normative claim) and at least an implicit idea of how the nature and methods of the work are related to certain outcomes (an explanatory claim).

The main argument of this chapter is that these are empirical questions that need to be answered by looking into historically contingent configurations of structures, practices and discourses in each country. The chapter proposes a theoretical and conceptual framework of analysis to study the history of youth work and its connections with social work and societal structures in the tradition of life course research, which has been taken up by comparative social policy research, and a specific strand labelled here as youth transition regimes research. As there is not enough space to summarise even the major strands of these traditions (though see Arts and Gelissen 2010; Lorenz 2006), only a couple of central aspects of this line of thought are referred to, for the contribution they can make to the debates around the above-mentioned questions.

The aim of this contribution is to approach these questions in order to:

▶ reflect on the genesis of the three concepts in life course and comparative welfare research;

▶ point to some of their strengths and weaknesses;

▶ explain some of their developments in recent times; and

▶ discuss what benefits the study of youth work can have from framing analysis in this way.

Youth transition regimes

Comparative research on youth policies and youth work is often done in a descriptive way that juxtaposes findings from different contexts. Often there is a lack of systematic comparison – and often this is related to the lack of a theoretically grounded "tertium comparationis", a common "scale" against which data and findings from two entities can be compared. Comparisons of youth work and youth policies have always drawn on aspects such as the institutional and organisational arrangements of youth work, the definition of its objectives and target groups (cf. Wallace and Bendit 2009). One approach to theoretically and methodologically frame these aspects is the "regimes of youth transitions" theory developed in the context of the European Group for Integrated Social Research (EGRIS). To understand the concept, it is necessary to embed it within its roots in life course research and comparative social policy.

Starting points: life course regimes and comparative welfare research

Some people ground youth work in the sociological account of youth as a phase in life that has some distinct traits that distinguish it from all other phases in life. An historically informed account of its origins will always centre around the emergence of the idea of education and the development of societal institutions to organise and frame the need to introduce newcomers to society. And there is a large consensus that youth work belongs to this "third sphere" or "third milieu", beyond the family and the school system, that comprises modern society's answers to the problem that, unlike in pre-modern circumstances, simply inheriting adults' roles and positions was no longer working.

The starting point of the research network EGRIS was to better understand the changing transitions from youth to adulthood across different European countries. The Misleading Trajectories project (EGRIS 2001; López Blasco, McNeish and Walther 2003) sought to shed some light on the institutional regulations of school-to-work transitions and their apparent contradictions with the emerging in-between situation of "young adults" as not yet adult and no longer youths. Youth Policy and Participation (YOYO) was a research project to study the scope for active engagement and self-determination in education and training programmes organised both in youth or social work settings in eight EU countries (Walther et al. 2006). The Thematic Study Concerning Policy Measures for Disadvantaged Youth, commissioned by the European Commission's DG for Employment and Social Affairs, looked into the labour market policies for young people in 13 EU countries (Pohl and Walther 2007; Walther and Pohl 2005). From the overarching analysis of the empirical data, Walther (2006) developed a comparative model of youth transition regimes in order to systematise the discovery of differences and similarities in different types of regimes.

The model drew on previous work in the field of life course research which is based on the assumption that the life course is the central arena where the individual biographies, societal divisions of labour and other goods, and state policies are connected in modern societies through the regulation and institutionalisation of life phases (cf. Heinz et al. 2009). The core of life course policies is the education and training

system and the welfare state regulating employment and social security through pensions, benefits and social services (cf. Lorenz 2006). The central question of life course policies is what is to be regarded as a "normal" life course and how deviations from it should be addressed – either by support or by negative sanctions. In many European countries the standard life course with its implied social integration seemed to be at least attainable by large proportions of the population during the post-Second World War period of the *trente glorieuses*, the 30 years when in large parts of western Europe economic growth and expanding welfare states were boosting high levels of labour market inclusion and welfare. From the mid-1970s on, however, some links between life phases, like the one between education and employment, were severely broken for a considerable proportion of the young generation. So, at the heart of understanding different life course policies lie the differences in socio-cultural constructions of "normalities".

Comparative welfare research was deeply marked by Gøsta Esping-Andersen's *Three worlds of welfare capitalism* (1990) (Arts and Gelissen 2010). Esping-Andersen's seminal work is deeply rooted in the analysis of the political economy of the welfare state. Its basic idea, though, remains a powerful tool for the analysis of the foundations of all public policies: the basic question he was posing was how states cover the costs of welfare: is it left up to the market and the individual to cater for, or is the state responsible for accommodating things like pensions, public health, insurance against the other risks of life? Or to put Esping-Andersen's thesis into simple words: which parts of life are considered a commodity with a price tag within an assumed free market and which parts are taken out of the market and taken on as a responsibility of the state?

We will see later on whether this is still an important issue or question for youth work. I also skip the extensive discussions on the validity of Esping-Andersen's typology and numerous criticisms that have been expressed, such as the static nature of the model and the unreflected underlying male breadwinner model. The model was further developed, for example, on the question whether one can put the welfare models of Germany and Italy into the same "conservative" regime type or whether it would be more appropriate to speak of four worlds and keep the two apart, as Gallie and Paugam (2000) did.

Regimes of youth transitions

The model of youth transition regimes combined and applied these concepts to the transition to adulthood. Important dimensions of this "tertium comparationis" are the structures of education and training systems, the nature of forms of entry to the labour market, and other socio-economic indicators of the societies under study. The second layer is the institutional arrangements of support, like the rights to benefits. And the third layer that emerged from the studies was that historically grown cultural patterns were important, such as the dominant meaning of "disadvantage" in youth transitions. A central role could also be found in a society's prevailing concepts of youth. Through an exploration of these items, four different regime types emerged:

▶ The *universalistic* regime type, most clearly visible in the Nordic countries, is based on the idea of individual social rights with ample opportunities

provided by the state with support mostly built into inclusive education and training systems.

▶ In the *employment-centred oriented* regime type of western Europe, selective education and training systems are guided by the central idea of youth as a stage for labour market positioning. "Disadvantage", therefore, is interpreted as a lack of training.

▶ The *liberal* regime type, to which the UK and Ireland can be associated, puts the goal of the economic independence of youth. Those who face difficulties in reaching that goal are perceived in terms of a lack of "employability".

▶ In the *under-institutionalised* regime type, composed mainly of southern European countries, there is a structural deficit in state policies leading to longer dependency on the family. Youth in general are seen as a disadvantaged group.

Post-socialist societies from the eastern parts of Europe, it should be noted, were empirically very hard to place into this typology.

Criticism and shortcomings

Of course, the main criticism one can raise against this model is its lack of dynamics – as with all typologies it lacks a longitudinal perspective and does not include a clear vision of change. One could also go one step further and claim that its validity is tied to a certain historical period. And of course, there are empirical signs of this, especially with the decline of the welfare state affected by neo-liberal governments or the financial crisis after 2008 that has led to what has been called a "hybridisation" of social models (Rubery 2011).

Another critical point can be made about the role of the nation state. Is it still appropriate to conceive of regimes as being bound to the nation state and are we not falling into the trap of methodological nationalism if we do so?

Applications and evolutions

Empirical tests of the model have been applied to the field of labour market entry to see whether the regime typology can explain different performances of countries in the integration of young people into the labour market (EUROFOUND 2014; Hadjivassiliou et al. 2016). Other fruitful applications brought to light new dimensions that can extend or modify the original model. Chevalier (2016) extended the model to "regimes of youth welfare citizenship" using welfare support and the selectivity of education as dimensions. Soler-i-Martí and Ferrer-Fons (2015) recently could show that "centrality" in regimes of youth transitions is a very important contextual predictor for explaining different forms of political participation among young people in Europe.

The model of youth transition regimes also is open enough to incorporate new insights from inequality research. These insights show that categories of inequality such as "ethnicity" need to be analysed in their intersection with other categories

and that these intersections need to be seen as a kind of vector of all levels, as the examples from my own research have shown (Pohl 2015).

Life course regimes is Walther's (2016) proposition for a wider framework for comparative analysis of social work that has been developed from the youth transition regimes model. His ideas start from the difficulties in identifying the objectives of youth work and social work in a cross-national perspective (different tasks across different institutions, professions and disciplines). Therefore, he proposes to think of social work as support in coping with the life course. This would allow the connection of the analysis of youth work and social work with life course regimes in a double perspective: social and youth work between supporting individuals in their biographies and "gate-keeping" in the institutionalised ("normal") life course regime. The main point of such a way of conceiving their relationship would be the deconstruction of "normalities" that underlie all social and youth policies. These normalities are products of structures and discourses that attribute the function of "secondary normalisation" to certain services where deviations from the "normal" life course are translated into needs for support (Böhnisch 1984). Life course regimes in this model function as configurations of normality that feed into the social construction of needs for support and the institutionalisation of access to support. With this model, one can then sort societal institutions into a grid with different stages of the life course as columns and fill them into the rows according to their function with respect to the imaginations of a "normal" life course (Table 1.1.).

Life course	Childhood	Youth	Adulthood	Old age
Basic institutions	Family	School, training	Employment, domestic/care work	Family
Mainstream social services	Childcare	Youth work	Health and labour market services	Pension schemes
"Secondary" normalisation	Family aid / Educational counselling	Youth/school social work, part-time foster care	Counselling	Counselling
Crisis intervention	Foster care, adoption services	Residential care / Clinical/therapeutic services	Homelessness, addiction, debt / Clinical/therapeutic services	Homes for the elderly
Segregation	Emergency care	Emergency care, youth psychiatry, youth prison	Psychiatry, prison	Special care

Source: Walther 2016: 10, based on Hamburger 2003: 156

Benefits: looking at youth work from a life course regime perspective

What is the benefit of the life course or youth transitions lens for the analysis of youth work? I propose to structure these benefits along three analytical dimensions: the regime perspective can help to analyse the epistemological claims of youth work concepts, and from these epistemological claims one can derive the explanatory claims of youth work, and it can also serve as a critical reflection on its normative claims.

Epistemological claims

So, lastly, we can go back to some of the key questions that these History of Youth Work in Europe seminars have addressed so well in the past: first of all: what is youth? I think the essence of what one can learn from the life course regime approach is that we have to conceptualise youth in its historically and locally contingent meaning. And we have to recognise that these conceptions of "youth" are clearly crucial for youth work. For example, if you conceive the youth phase as a time in life where the state has little control over young people's behaviour and this is perceived as problematic, youth work will have a very specific meaning with a strong emphasis on control. Indeed, as we know, "youth as a problem", right up to present times, was one important driver of the development in youth work.

Figure 1.1. Different concepts of youth and young adulthood (Walther 2016)
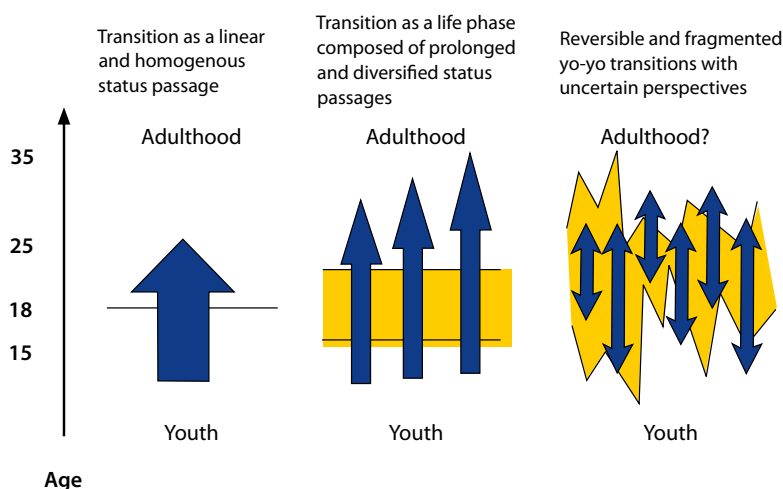
There are two ways in which youth work's epistemological claims can be analysed: first, in how they are "addressing" young people. The central question to youth workers here is "as what?" It makes a huge difference whether youth workers are addressing young people as part of the "underclass" or whether they start from the idea that these young people are lacking a status because they are not in education, training or employment (NEET). The approach applied on the ground will be very different (cf. Williamson 1997). The second way is to keep the gate-keeping function of life course institutions in mind. This function might be obvious for the education

system where young people's life chances are regulated via school certificates and other gates to certain positions in the social order. The gate-keeping function in youth work is less obvious, but still it can be analysed how concepts of youth work contribute to the reproduction of certain epistemological claims. One case in point is the shift in youth work provision to more school and employment-related offers. These have been criticised as helping to translate socially unequal structures into traits of young people that then can be treated by pedagogical methods. Therefore, it makes a huge difference whether youth work addresses young people as citizens or as bearers of human capital. Table 1.2. shows what consequences this archetypical distinction has on which policy sector is meant to provide work with young people, what aims and means can be deducted from the distinction and what motivation of young people is implied in the resulting activities.

Table 1.2. Different ways of addressing young people

Young people as …	Citizens	Human capital
Policy sector	Youth policy (soft)	Labour market and education policy (hard)
Meaning of citizenship	Democratic rights and civic engagement	Being part of workforce
Aims	Citizenship, empowerment	Employability, adaptation
Means	Non-formal learning, shared decision making	Pressure and control of training and job search
Motivation for activity	Intrinsic motivation	Extrinsic motivation

Source: derived from Pohl and Walther 2007

Explanatory claims

In my own study (Pohl 2015), findings point to interpretation lines like the importance of institutional arrangements and organisational roles that define how youth work deals with these distinctions. For example, there is a tendency for outreach or detached youth workers across the countries included in my study to reject the individualising interpretations of "activation" policies and instead to insist on structural explanations and barriers to successful transitions while in interviews with professionals with more "statutory" roles I find evidence for simple "othering" strategies that explain disadvantages in transition through references to the characteristics of the young people themselves. So, the regime typology cannot be used as an explanation of how youth work acts, but rather as a tool to ask the right questions.

Normative claims

Furthermore, the introduction of publicly funded youth work in many countries had its roots in a perception of young people either as a potential for societal change or as a threat to the social and symbolic order. Youth work in this vein can be judged against the normative claims inherent in each national, regional or local context.

So my argument is that youth has always been the projection of society's hopes and fears. This means that public discourses on youth play a major role in determining what youth work is meant to be in any particular society. This is a fact that is not often taken up by welfare and social policy-based analysis, which instead is often marked more by a macro-economic or an institutional perspective.

Conclusions: Why "normality assumptions" in youth work can only be discovered through comparison

The concept of youth transition, or life course, regimes is useful in this context to guide the analysis of how different dimensions of our social realities link into each other. The particular strength of this approach is its insistence on the historical coming into being of the current "politics of needs interpretation" as Fraser (1989) has coined it. By insisting that the different levels need to be analysed in a holistic way and that structures of inequality have always to be analysed with respect to their embeddedness within the dominant ways of perceiving young people's transitions, this approach offers new possible insights into how youth work research can involve these levels and not fall into the traps Walther has mentioned (2011): either not to be able to relate small-scale comparisons into a bigger picture of transnational developments or to stay at a superficial level of juxtaposing national experiences just for the sake of juxtapositions, as is often the case in European research – without explaining the differences which are mentioned. The downside of such an approach is that multilevel analysis either needs large-scale funding to be able to cover (and discover!) these dimensions empirically which is rarely found, especially in Europe – or to remain restricted to small-scale research projects, with the inevitable and considerable blind spots which cannot be bridged on the small-scale level alone.

Research approaches which try to link the different levels could also help to develop our understanding of how youth work is framed and limited by implicit "normality assumptions": practitioners' perceptions of their work are linked to the country-specific framings, but of course they are not determined by them. The main point is to develop a "reflexive" stance in youth work that is aware of its own "normality" frames. Further research could delve into the particular organisational and institutional arrangements that make "more reflexive" approaches more likely than others. This is also a caveat originally intended by Andreas Walther: the model has never been conceived to answer questions, but rather as a heuristic tool that can help to contextualise the meanings of youth work by systematising the questions we raise. But empirical positions, perspectives and answers still need to be found.

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Chapter 2

Youth work and social work in the German context

Christian Spatscheck

Youth work in Germany

The question "What is youth work in Germany?" needs to be considered across a variety of forms and core values, different welfare settings and different public discourses about what young people should be able to be and be able to do (Giesecke 1975; Krafeld 1984; Müller et al. 1964; Spatscheck 2009; Thole and Küster 2005). This leads to a variety of approaches to how to address young people's search for autonomy and the public demand to educate, guide and control young people. Early professional examples can be found among the first youth workers in Prussia at the beginning of the 20th century, the youth movements of the *Wandervögel* or the Scouts in the 1920s and 1930s. A regime change with the National Socialists' dictatorship then led to new attempts to form a "state youth" through the "youth work" of the *Hitlerjugend*. In the divided post-war Germany, other ideals were pursued, such as the creation of the new "socialist personality" through the Pioneers and the *Freie Deutsche Jugend* in the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East Germany). At the same time, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, West Germany) was endeavouring to re-establish a democratic form of youth work, and the youth movements of the 1960s and 1970s were searching for autonomous and emancipatory forms of youth work. After 1989, the reunified Germany founded new forms of open youth work or youth work in associations once again, and the search for the right approaches to the demands of the present and future continues today.

Despite its different forms and phases, one common attribute remains typical for youth work in Germany. The outlines and contents of youth work have always been negotiated and shaped between three actors: the state; youth and welfare associations; and youth movements. All continue to debate the right aims, values and forms of youth work (Spatscheck 2006).

To find a current definition of youth work in Germany, one can refer directly to the legal frameworks. In paragraph 11, section 1 of the German Child and Youth Welfare Law (SGB VIII) the key dimensions of youth work are formulated as follows:

> Required offers of youth work are to be supplied for the promotion of the *development* of young people. They should connect to the *interests* of the young people and should be *co-determined* and *co-designed* by them, enable them to *self-determination* and foster *co-responsibility,* and stimulate and lead to social *engagement*. (Translation and italics by the author.)

Interestingly, youth work in Germany is defined in the social code of law and not in the fields of education or citizenship education.

Further main attributes of youth work in Germany are defined through the different theory debates on youth work (e.g. Deinet and Sturzenhecker 2013; Thole 2000). A synopsis (Spatscheck 2005) outlines the main features of youth work, which are described as: a) an orientation towards the interests of young people; b) the creation of offers that are open and can be used voluntarily; c) the aim of participation and the enhancement of the autonomy of young people; and d) the creation of chances to take over responsibility for and engagement in society.

Youth work in Germany is offered in two main forms. The first form is "open child and youth work" (paragraph 11, SGB VIII). Here, open and informal educational opportunities are created with and for young people. Currently, more than 10 000 establishments exist which offer open youth work with more than 45 000 staff (Deinet and Sturzenhecker 2013). They are "open door places" in which to meet and associate, and to take part in, for example, group activities and projects, leisure activities and courses. The second form is "child and youth work in youth associations" (paragraph 12, SGB VIII). Here, mostly self-organised groups with certain value backgrounds can be found. Their main forms are, for example, youth work in religious organisations and churches, the Scouts, aid and welfare organisations, sports associations, youth organisations from political parties and unions, rural youth associations, or associations for culture or ecology. The group and community activities are organised in line with the shared interests and values of the organisations and the members, and usually demand formal membership and a certain continuity of activities.

Both forms of youth work require the ability to create informal learning settings. Youth work settings should be created along the ideals of: a) discursivity and dialogic encounter instead of "teaching and preaching"; b) the creation of protected spaces that help in gaining autonomy through trial, risk and also a space for failure; and c) the chances for an individual experience of the world that helps young people to discover and learn through personal action and feedback (Spatscheck 2005). Such fields for informal learning can also be characterised by the concept of a pedagogy of the creation of learning arrangements for learner-centred settings (Lindner 2014). This requires youth workers to be moderators, enhancers and creators of helpful settings, and to leave the idea of instruction and teaching behind.

To create characteristic settings, youth work can build on a variety of methods. The methods chapter in the leading German handbook of youth work (Deinet and Sturzenhecker 2013) provides methods for use in: project work; street work; mobile youth work; working with individuals; counselling; relational work; working with groups; political education; rituals; working with conflicts; mediation; eating and cooking; humour and irony; and travel and international youth exchanges.

As a relevant profession, youth work in Germany also requires spaces for a professional debate. One such example is the last *Fachkongress Jugendarbeit*, a large conference on child and youth work in Germany. The conference took place in September 2016 in Dortmund with about 1 500 participants and nearly 100 workshops (www.fachkongress-jugendarbeit.de). The conference programme contained controversial topics such as: the creation of "landscapes of education" (*Bildungslandschaften*);

participation and citizenship education; intercultural aspects and diversity; youth work and young refugees; international youth work; youth work and community development; youth work and digitalisation; youth policy; how to measure the effects of youth work; the identity and understanding of youth work as a profession; and the classic question "Are we reaching the right target groups?".

Social work in Germany

The development of social work in Germany can be described as the evolution of a "schizophrenic profession". Both in practice and in theory, the two traditions of social work and social pedagogy have coexisted for a rather long time: as a voluntary practice since the Middle Ages, and as a profession and an academic training for more than 100 years (Engelke, Spatscheck and Borrmann 2016). It is only in the last 25 years that the two strands have been merged into the single profession of *Soziale Arbeit* (social work, written with a capital "S"), which includes the traditions, theories and practices of both social work and social pedagogy.

The formation of *Soziale Arbeit*

Social work	Social pedagogy
(*Sozialarbeit*)	(*Sozialpädagogik*)
Focus: Poverty reduction	Focus: Education/inclusion of children/youth
Cause: Need for help	Cause: Factual need for education (*Erziehungstatsache*)
Context: Women's, social and peace movements	Context: Youth movements, progressive education
Since the 1990s both merged to form "*Soziale Arbeit*"	
Subject matter: Prevention of and coping with social problems	
Or: Support for the leading of life ("*Lebensführung*")	

The broader understanding of *Soziale Arbeit* containing both traditions also means that, unlike in many other countries and welfare systems, youth work in Germany is regarded as a unique and special part of social work. In addition, this thematic connection means that youth work is predominantly regarded as a social activity, albeit with pedagogical approaches and implications.

The idea of integration of the public tasks of helping and educating young people and their families is also reflected in the development of the system of child and youth welfare in Germany. It is organised into "four pillars" that can be characterised as follows (Jordan, Maykus and Stuckstätte 2012): a) general promotion – youth work, day care, playgrounds; b) counselling and support – counselling of parents, crisis centres, school-related social work, social work with disadvantaged young people; c) help for families and child protection – non-residential and residential settings for families and young people; and d) governmental tasks – legal assistance, guardianships, social work in family or criminal courts.

Interestingly, it is not only the national system of social work in Germany that follows such an integrative perspective. The internationally negotiated "Global Definition of Social Work" by the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) also formulate such a broad perspective that integrates emancipatory approaches and a human rights-oriented approach:

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes *social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people*. Principles of *social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities* are central to social work. Underpinned by *theories* of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous *knowledge*, social work *engages* people and structures to *address life challenges and enhance wellbeing*. (2014, italics by the author)

Such a broad understanding of social work is also reflected in the definition of social work's subject matter in German theory debates. A leading and widely accepted definition of social work is "prevention of and coping with social problems" (see Engelke, Spatscheck and Borrmann 2016). An even broader definition regards the "support for the leading of life" ("*Lebensführung*") as the subject matter of social work (see Otto, Scherr and Ziegler 2010).

This encompassing understanding of social work is reflected in a variety of theories of social work in the German academic discourse. The field can be characterised along many different paradigms. The ongoing debate features the following main theories (Engelke, Borrmann and Spatscheck 2014):

a) hermeneutic approaches from authors like Hans Thiersch, Klaus Mollenhauer, Michael Winkler or Burkhard Müller that refer to the German tradition of humanities and the *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* (hermeneutic pedagogy);
b) the lifeworld approach from Hans Thiersch, which refers to critical thinking and hermeneutics and includes references to Jürgen Habermas, Alfred Schütz and Edmund Husserl;
c) the coping paradigm from Lothar Böhnisch, which includes references to critical thinking, and theories from Ulrich Beck, Émile Durkheim and Carl Mennicke;
d) a reflexive approach to social work from Hans-Uwe Otto, Bernd Dewe and Werner Thole, which refers to theories of professionality, critical thinking and authors like Ulrich Beck and Pierre Bourdieu;
e) radical and critical approaches from authors like Manfred Kappeler, Timm Kunstreich, Susanne Maurer or Fabian Kessl, referring to critical power analyses from Theodor W. Adorno, Hannah Arendt, Karl Marx, or also Michel Foucault, or theories of intersectionality or postcolonialism;
f) systemic approaches from Silvia Staub-Bernasconi (critical realism) or from Heiko Kleve and Björn Kraus (social constructivism), referring to Mario Bunge or respectively to Niklas Luhmann and theories of social constructivism;
g) spatial approaches to social work from Ulrich Deinet, Christian Reutlinger, Richard Krisch or Fabian Kessl, referring to theories of social spaces, acquirement, power and critical social geography.

These theories create a common ground for a publicly engaged social work that not only refers to individual and personal problems but also integrates the idea of

the democratic and critical shaping of society through discourses about legitimate rights and needs, and the relevance to think and act together with the target groups of social work.

Connections

A comparison of the definitions and concepts of youth work and social work shows the similarities and overlapping tasks between the two professions. The following three connections in particular can be identified.

Both professions refer to the concept of social pedagogy as a theoretical reference. The key idea of social pedagogy is that all processes of education and development are social and not just individual affairs. Hence, individualistic approaches are regarded as a shortcoming. Social pedagogy, instead, tries to integrate perspectives and analyses about the lifeworlds and the spatial and societal situations of its target groups. This "social" perspective helps in finding an orientation when designing interventions of youth work and social work in line with a broader approach that reflects the effects of power and tries to create solidarity and social change for and with the target groups.

The theoretical background in social pedagogy leads to common principles. Both youth work and social work are defined around the ideal of democratic participation. Furthermore, they are both connected to the ideal of *Bildung*, which aims to enable the involved subjects to fulfil and reach their full individual and social potential. Lastly, both professions strive to reach greater social justice and empowerment through their interventions.

The shared principles also lead to common aims for interventions. Both youth work and social work aim to create settings that enable the development of individuals in line with their perspectives, interests and needs. Also, both professions should enable the inclusion of potentially excluded target groups and support their full realisation in the areas of citizenship and education.

Disconnections

In some cases, however, both youth workers and social workers lose their focus and do not keep to their professional aims and values. These developments are visible in both professions and cannot be attributed to the concepts themselves, but rather to shortcomings in the design of practice and organisational frameworks. In this context especially, the following three problems emerge.

Both youth work and social work tend to neglect poverty and inequality. Non-reflective practice routines and budgetary pressures lead to the development of functional-ising approaches that teach individuals to be good market subjects rather than to seek and secure their rights and opportunities for personal and social development. When following such individualising approaches, both professions tend to focus on correction and the technical reduction of behavioural problems. However, when such concepts predominate, youth work and social work ignore the social causes of exclusion and the professional task of fostering emancipation. Both professions

need to develop solidarity and should fulfil their ethical mandates, which requires active positioning instead of a functionalising approach.

Other cases show that both professions do not always manage to empower their target groups in the way that they should. Organisational and societal routines, processes of technical standardisation, a high pressure on cost reduction, a lack of staff and a growing focus on bureaucracy often prevent youth workers and social workers from discharging their original tasks.

Finally, many youth workers and social workers tend to forget their public role. Both professions have a chance to support and create concrete forms of active citizenship and democratic participation. But these professional tasks need to be actively shaped through democratic processes.

Reconnections

Living in contemporary societies requires coping with the following tasks and challenges, from which the necessary reconnections between youth work and social work can be made.

All Western countries are dominated by a "post-political situation" (Biesta 2011). Further analyses in this area are provided by authors like Colin Crouch, Jacques Rancière or Chantal Mouffe. Many citizens have become disenchanted with politics, are turning towards populist and anti-democratic movements, absent themselves from voting and often no longer feel represented by the political and societal "elites". Facing these developments, the institutions of youth work and social work need to remember and rediscover their public function to reshape democracy and to offer places for concrete and effective forms of participation. Here, youth work might help social work with its broader professional experience. Many public and welfare-related institutions and organisations have lost their appeal and ability to create spaces for controversial political debates and discourses, and also settings that foster social cohesion. Youth work and social work could make a difference here, and, at the same time, reaffirm their legitimation as professions with a public approach.

Many citizens of our modern societies are facing precarious prospects for their economic participation. This issue is also situated in the contexts of a global climate crisis and a "peak everything" of limited resources. Hence, the social question of economic participation needs to be increasingly linked to a reflection on the social and ecological limits to growth. With this background, social work and youth work are conceptually challenged to address the question of how post-growth societies and post-growth economies could be developed and how sustainable approaches to quality of life and prosperity could be realised beyond growth models. In this context, both professions need to find answers and models for the thematic connection between the social/economic and the ecological question. Currently, there are only initial ideas about how this task could be designed. Here, social work might help youth work with its broader experience in the field of socio-economic participation.

The third challenge for both professions is the need to deal with increasing diversity and plurality and to develop models and concepts for reaching integration, participation and social cohesion in pluralistic societies and communities. Here, an

ideal model could be the concept of the "parapolis" (Terkessidis 2015). This term describes communities and societies that are leading ongoing political and social discourses on how to live together in situations of increasing and persisting social pluralities without expecting to reach a common sameness in all aspects of life. Discourses about how to form communities and societies that are solidary without expecting their members to submit uniformly to certain cultural unities are not easy to lead. They need time and space and are also challenging to individual and social identities and to the question of social justice. Beyond that, the idea of a parapolis is especially challenged by populist and fundamentalist movements that essentially oppose these ideals. In this new and complex situation, both youth work and social work encounter new terrain and need to learn from each other how to design this challenging professional task.

A concluding outlook

The themes and challenges that have been described in this chapter call for longer and bigger societal projects that need to be carried out with a clear focus and vision. Such projects are often in danger of losing this focus. A point of orientation for both youth work and social work could be derived from the following conceptual trinity that was also formulated as a guiding theme for a *Festschrift* for the social pedagogue and youth worker Franz Josef Krafeld (Spatscheck and Wagenblass 2013). This book explores the meaning of and the thematic connections between:

- ▶ *Bildung* in the sense of individual and social development;
- ▶ *participation* in the sense of active and accessible democracy for all people; and
- ▶ *justice* in the sense of social, individual and institutional justice.

These three key principles of social pedagogy might need to be reformulated and adapted in line with the challenges we are currently experiencing. A discourse on their relevance and meaning could help to describe and develop key criteria for interventions that foster democracy, the realisation of human rights and the possibility of achieving individual and social development. In addition, such debates could also help to identify the key challenges for institutions and organisations involved with both youth work and social work in the context of their different and changing social spaces and societies.

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Chapter 3

The tradition of youth work in Hungary: the onion model

Ádám Nagy and Dániel Oross

Introduction

Looking at the issues related to young people from a public policy approach, the results and recommendations of the 2008 report "Youth policy in Hungary" (Walther et al., 2008) still hold. After the regime change following the end of communist rule in 1989 the progress of youth policy was not a steady process in Hungary. Youth infrastructure has developed only partially, and roles and responsibilities of the actors are unclear in many cases. There is no common perception of youth, youth policy and youth work. Offering information to young people appears to be the most advanced area where there are uniform requirements and close networks. Youth policy is hardly regulated in many cases; there is an absence of written documents and legally binding agreements among different actors. Instead of comprehensive, coherent policy co-ordination there are several parallel processes and dysfunctions in the youth field.

The second European Youth Centre of the Council of Europe has been located in Budapest for more than 20 years. Since 2014, the EU Commissioner responsible for youth policies in Europe is Hungarian. These could be signs of a strong and well-co-ordinated youth policy in Hungary, but unfortunately this is not the case. Hungary needs to catch up with European processes and go beyond merely imitating results. The country report of the European Union (European Commission 2014) does not paint a rosy picture of the state of Hungarian youth work, particularly in comparison with other EU countries. The "soft" criteria of the White Paper "A New Impetus for European Youth" only had limited effects in bringing Hungary into line with Europe and achieved some minor results, but not real structural changes. There were no real changes concerning the relationship between citizens and the state. The state continued to be dominant in the field of youth affairs, and initiatives aimed at strengthening civil society failed.

The creation of the Youth Act is a long-desired ambition of different actors within the youth field but attempts by the Hungarian Parliament to accept the document have already ended in failure on three occasions (2000, 2006, 2009). Almost every major umbrella organisation of Hungarian youth (such as the Youth Professionals Co-operation Conference, and the National Youth Council) support the creation of the Youth Act, which could provide a legal framework for governmental and municipal functions and tasks related to young people.

Instead of giving an historical perspective on Hungarian youth and youth movements or focusing on what the Hungarian Government does (see Nagy 2010) and how youth policy has changed since 1989 (see Oross 2015), this chapter aims to explain where youth workers are coming from and how their tasks can be arranged into a complex model that connects youth work to related policy and practice. The chapter aims to contribute to a better understanding of youth work as a practice and a discipline in Europe by presenting the origins of youth work in Hungary. Beyond reflecting on those social, cultural and political histories that have shaped it, we also describe – through a presentation of the "onion model" – the response of Hungarian youth work to questions about how the community, society and the state should act in order to fulfil the needs of young people. As a theoretical model it explains how actors of youth work in Hungary have developed their own answers regarding the possibility of making Hungarian youth work practice part of a cross-sectoral, integrated approach to youth policy. By doing so, our arguments might add to the literature on the "magic triangle" model (Chisholm 2006: 27) and contribute to the debate on how youth work is heading towards a "magic pyramid" (Zentner 2016).

Three traditions of Hungarian youth work

In this section we describe the origins of Hungarian youth work. Social work, social pedagogy and youth movements have existed in almost every European country (Coussée 2009; Coussée 2010, Mairesse 2009, Siurala 2012, Verschelden et al. 2009). Youth movements and youth NGOs have experienced a long-term evolution in different "welfare systems" (see Chapter 1), ranging from so-called social-democratic systems (Finland) through to countries typified as liberal (United Kingdom: Davies 2009) to more conservative welfare regimes (Germany, France and Flanders: Van Ewijk 2010. Unlike in the above-mentioned systems, however, the development of youth work in central and eastern Europe during the 20th century was stalled several times by the "history of interruption" (Wootsch 2010). Despite this interrupted development, three different traditions have left their mark on youth work in Hungary: pedagogy, social work and cultural public work. We will therefore describe the impact of these traditions on Hungarian youth work in detail.

Insufficient pedagogical practice

From an evolutionary point of view the school is "a very important institution, we owe it the democratic apparatus of modern states. Without school there would be no modern society" (Csányi 2011: 7) – not only because school teaches us to read and write, but also because "incidentally" it also teaches us how to treat power relations (ibid.). Within Hungarian society, school also provided a platform for young

people to be together and many active participants of Hungarian youth work have educational, pedagogical backgrounds.

In 1989-90 the Hungarian school system had to face new challenges and was expected to play new roles. However, intellectual, organisational, technical and financial resources were not provided to fulfil these additional roles and functions (e.g. offering childcare, providing equal opportunities, teaching democratic skills, considering labour market needs: Bessenyei 2007). The accumulation of these expected functions of the school system led to each task being given less and less attention. The performance of the Hungarian school system weakened as a result, and the increasing number of assigned functions held back the system from the bumpy road of rejuvenation. The proliferation of school controversies made it impossible for the school system to fulfil all its tasks. Radical school criticisms have appeared (see, for example, Karácsony 1946, 1999; Mihály 1999; Trencsényi 1995) and their content varied from overall alteration, revolutionary social changes in education and teaching (for example, Dewey 1938; Illich 1971) to the demolition of the panoptical traditional school institutions. Generally, the Hungarian school system is criticised for the following characteristics (Mihály 1999: 95):

▶ the overcrowded curricula, with few other services provided by schools;
▶ the organisation of knowledge: a compulsory curriculum for all students that is impersonal and alienating;
▶ the conditions and the context in which knowledge is being disseminated;
▶ the effects of education on students' personalities;
▶ the assumptions of schools with regard to the students;
▶ the internal atmosphere of schools;
▶ the relationship between teachers and students.

Hungarian schools find themselves in a difficult situation when they try to deal with these issues because internal structures and processes do not allow them to tackle the new situations and challenges that arose after the reforms. Although today the statement is generally accepted by Hungarian youth workers that "children need a place" somewhere between the family and society, there is little consensus around how that "place" should function. New generations need a place where they can receive input to help them understand our urbanised and globalised world. However, it is argued recurrently whether or not school is one (the only one?) place where these inputs can be provided. Critics of this concept argue that students need more than one forum to integrate the norms and values of society and to associate with their peers. Due to the criticised features of schools mentioned above (especially the overcrowded curricula and the internal atmosphere of schools) youth workers often find it difficult to co-operate with schools in Hungary.

The sphere of students' free-time activities is very different from that of the school context, because roles that individuals play in that context are chosen spontaneously (and not imposed by any power relations) and change according to the needs of the community that is being formed during free-time activities. This leads to contradictions between what young people learn in schools and what they learn through experience during activities organised by youth workers.

The tradition of social work – The roots of youth work

During the development of modern societies there was a strong belief that education in school can solve all the problems of youth education (e.g. creating equal opportunities for everyone to start a career: Wrozynski 2000). However, the introduction of compulsory education alone was not able to handle the transition to modernity, so it was necessary to create socio-pedagogical institutions (Giesecke 2000). While the school has a top-down character (that came from the elite and became accessible to all social groups gradually) social pedagogy had a bottom-up development (ibid.). Social pedagogy became available for marginalised groups of society and the profession has evolved to become accessible to all young people.

In social work, a horizontal relationship and co-operation has always been the way to address problems, whereas pedagogy, because of its hierarchical student–teacher relationship, does not handle the challenges facing young people in the same way.

Social pedagogy has always been the stepchild of science education (ibid.). It happened mainly because "normal" socialisation was imagined to take place between the walls of the institutions (schools), and social pedagogy was available only for those on the margins and "at risk", who were unable to become socialised in that context. However, by the end of the 20th century social pedagogy had been reinterpreted as relevant to all; after all, the "risk society" described by Ulrich Beck (1992) applied more or less to everyone. This has led to a widened customer base for the discipline, and the number of professionals and participants has correspondingly increased (Kozma and Tomasz 2000). Social pedagogy requires its own emancipation: social learning has to be considered as important as cognitive learning in the school system.

Since the tradition of social work stands very close to youth work, many actors of Hungarian youth work come from that context. Social work has always questioned the usefulness – or at least the primary role – of authoritarian teaching methods. Social pedagogy is "a unitary psychological and pedagogical concept of people left behind" (Niemeyer 2000) and is an opportunity to compensate disadvantages (Thiersch 2000). It aims to give opportunity to disadvantaged groups in society and to search for evidence to better understand those groups (Mollenhauer 2000).

Poverty and exclusion has hit young Hungarians particularly hard; in fact they have been the losers in the new democratic political system (Andorka 1996). Following the regime change dozens of local, spontaneous, semi-institutional services were created to solve that problem; they have defined their own tasks and in most cases were linked neither to each other nor to the central government (Beke, Ditzendy and Nagy 2004). This pro-social behaviour has developed both on an individual and a community level. At the individual level it is a reaction to help troubled fellow citizens. On a community level assistance can be understood as any activity that is carried out by an existing community that aims to handle the problems of its members. It supports people facing particular problems in order to be able to create and successfully operate their community to address their problems (Tóbiás 2011).

While in the past, social pedagogy considered its primary task to be that of working with marginalised groups of society and people at risk (Schlieper 2000), it is now a service for the entire social spectrum. It has been argued, however, that whereas

for "traditional" targets or clients, social pedagogy remains "hard" social pedagogy addressing social disadvantage and exclusion, for other young people it becomes a "soft" social pedagogy (Kozma and Tomasz 2000) that cares for their mental health (Niemeyer 2000).

Today, youth work that grew out of social work in Hungary can be perceived and interpreted very broadly. Its subject terrain covers exclusion, prevention, participation, empowerment – everything that is important from the aspect of young people's social integration. The activity today covers not only crisis situations but aims to contribute to prevention. It is no longer responsible exclusively for the management of problem situations, but aims rather to help the development of skills that enable successful integration into society. Because of the proliferation of choices in life it is no longer possible to give young people universal personalised advice, but a helping attitude (supporting the perspective that "everyone's an expert in his or her own life") is needed (Thiersch 2000). The tradition of social work is important because since 1989, in addition to pedagogy, it has had a great impact on the evolution and practice of youth work in Hungary.

The tradition of cultural public work

The third tradition of Hungarian youth work originates from the leisure-time activities of the cultural public sector. Independent school camps, youth governments, youth centres, youth clubs and community areas already belonged to the natural context of community development in Hungary before the regime change in 1989-90. These activities had French origins and were brought to Hungary by *animateurs* (public educators) who were responsible for the regional development of the villages. In search of a solution to out-migration and depopulation, their activities were carried out and co-ordinated during the 1980s by the Hungarian Institute for Culture. The heritage of cultural public work through youth work can be found today in vibrant communities beyond the walls of the school system. These communities give space to non-formal learning, independent activity and self-organisation of young people. The last quarter of a century has, of course, also transformed these spheres, especially due to the changing role of leisure space in socialisation during the postmodern era (Nagy 2013). This change is characterised by the way in which the youth of the Hungarian youth camps of the socialist era became the "youth of festivals" during the millennium and how young Hungarians became "screenagers" during the 2010s.

To sum up, many actors of Hungarian youth work were trained originally as teachers, social workers or cultural public workers. However, the basis for any distinct profession is provided by its distinctive training. Since 2003 there has been youth worker training in Hungary. Comparing the number of students in training (approximately 5 000) since the inception of the programme and the employment opportunities provided by the state (approximately 500) we see a striking difference. The solution of either downscaling the training or widening employment opportunities (e.g. by the counties, municipalities or by non-profits) needs to be considered. All in all, it seems that until today turning quantity into quality has not been successful (Nagy 2015: 110).

The content of youth work in Hungary

Unlike the "magic triangle" model (Chisholm 2006: 27) and the "magic pyramid" (Zentner 2016) the "onion model" puts young people and their communities at the centre. By inventing this model Hungarian youth work responded to the question of how the community, society and the state should act in order to fulfil those needs of young people that are not covered by the school system (and by the family). The starting point of the model is that the life of the affected age groups during the process of becoming adults is indivisible: it cannot be treated as separated along different disciplines and professions. The onion model therefore enables an "over-arching" of approaches of the different sectors.

The basic concept of the onion model comes from a parliamentary resolution accepted in 2009. The so-called National Youth Strategy (National Youth Strategy 2009) declared:

> We see them when they are at school – but we do not see them if they [are] outside; we see them when they are patients – but we do not see them when they risk their health; we see them when they become unemployed – but we do not see when they fail at the labour market in absence of skills; we help them if we are notified that they need help – but we do not care about them when they have no contact with the system, etc.

The onion model enables us to arrange different elements of youth work (such as camps, youth offices, virtual youth work, youth research) into a coherent concept that is comparable to other European models. In this model – and it is unique compared to other European models – all those areas (youth workers, professionals within the youth field and horizontal youth activities) are embodied in a way that can offer systematic answers to problems arising at individual or community level and that education alone cannot solve. It integrates those areas, topics and problems that cannot be addressed by the family or the school system either because they are not given sufficient attention, or because the power structure of those institutions (e.g. classrooms) do not allow appropriate management of those issues. Thus, the freedom of choice and social expectations can only be reconciled if supply-orientation of different services prevails over the obligation-based secondary socialisation sphere of the school system (and statutory regulator role of the state). In light of this and with regard to differences among different groups of youth the fundamental objectives of the model are:

- ▶ supporting young people in becoming responsible citizens of their communities and their society;
- ▶ supporting leisure activities;

And they are implemented:

- ▶ in a service-oriented manner;
- ▶ in case of an emergency;
- ▶ in all areas of socialisation.

The onion model combines the so-called vertical and horizontal approaches. The model does not contain methods, for example non-formal learning, fun activities or games (although they are an important part of youth work). Neither does it narrow down youth policy to the sphere of decision making, convert issues related to youth to mere sociological issues nor over-emphasise the role of non-formal pedagogy.

Rather, the model seeks to interpret and integrate the stock of tasks in connection with young people, using a different approach from that elaborated by the "magic triangle" (Chisholm et al. 2011; Milmeister and Williamson 2006; Williamson 2002, 2007). It includes, *inter alia*, support for youth initiatives, creation of opportunities for participation, involvement of the affected age groups in decision-making processes, community support systems for youth research, support for youth organisations, and the analysis of the relationship between young people and the legal system. The onion model consolidates into a unified framework those elements and issues that are important for the practice of youth work but are often interpreted in a fragmented manner such as, for example, drug prevention, camps and festivals, youth offices, participation and involvement.

The onion model (see Figure 3.1.) includes all areas of Hungarian youth work that are in many cases not supported by the school or the family, although they are necessary activities for young people. It is based on the immediate (specific) and the indirect (abstract) nature of the activities related to the individual and the community. At the centre of the model there is the individual (or community) itself, with whom the activities take place. In our case, youth activity is understood as all those activities related to young people that happen in leisure time, on a voluntary basis.

▶ The activities located in the inner ring are directly linked to the individual or to the community (**youth work**). Youth work is defined as a concept that is closely related to youth generations and their members, activities integrating all those activities that arise from the direct interaction of young people and the actors related to them. These activities offer professional services to solve particular problems arising from specific life events and circumstances. They aim to assist young people's social involvement, personal development, and participation. Youth work is mostly linked to development-oriented activities (developing personalities, communities, groups, areas, settlements) and supporting innovation. It includes solidarity, tolerance and, as part of that, the development of empathy. Important are the settings in which the activities take place and also the list of objectives for the activity concerned.

▶ The middle ring (**youth professionals**) includes all activities that have indirect contact with the individuals (and their communities). The areas occupied by youth professionals are those segments where indirect services (organisation, framework) are provided for young people at a higher level of abstraction. This includes all activities that can provide methodological support to those actors who have direct interaction with young people. These activities provide the "background" for youth work.

▶ The outer ring (**youth and society**) contains the horizontal approach where interdisciplinary linkages to other professions are located. Horizontal youth activities include any activity related to youth age groups that has strong links to another discipline or profession (such as education, social work, culture or the economy) as well. Through these linkages competences can be provided that are necessary to young people (e.g. family planning, labour market position, developing entrepreneurial skills, child benefit system, supporting youth media and youth culture).

As mentioned above, the approach of the onion model is a professional, issues-based one that is organised in line with individual and community needs. It differs from the top-down (social, societal and generational) approach of youth policy. This bottom-up system is based on the individual and collective needs of young people. The starting point of the approach is that while the impact of traditional institutions of socialisation (the family and the school) is weakening, the weight of leisure time (and media) activities is increasing.

Figure 3.1. The onion model
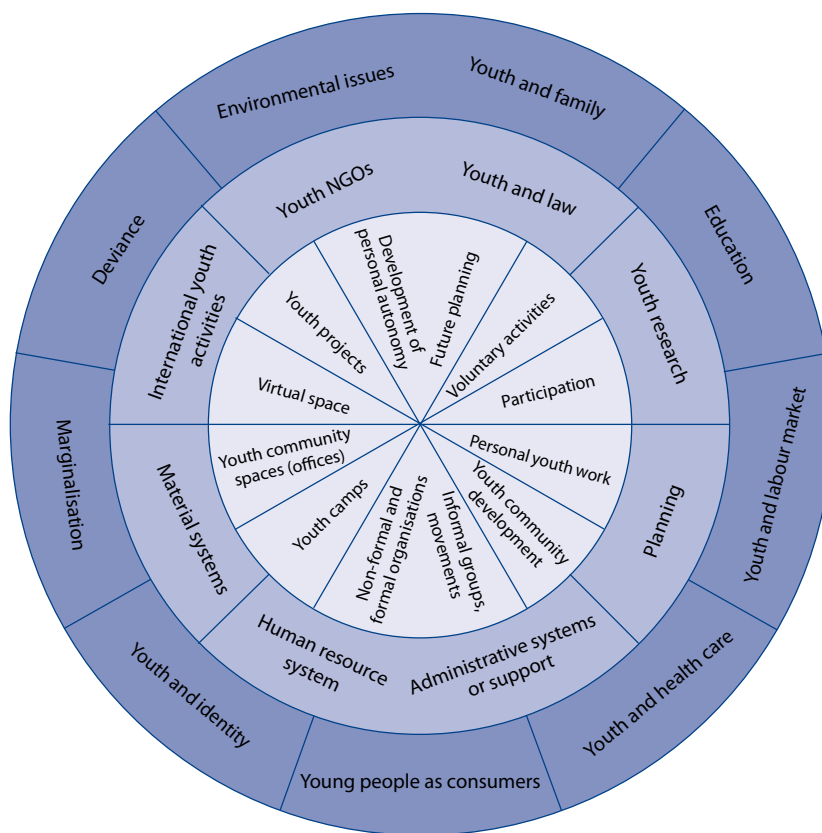
(*Source*: own data)

The onion model contains 12 activities related to youth work (inner ring), eight activities related to youth professionals (middle ring) and nine horizontal activities related to youth and society (outer ring)(Table 3.1.). The onion model has three layers. There is no hierarchy among the elements, however: the model is built up from the inside out. The distance from the centre of the "onion" expresses how far an element is from young people and their communities.

Table 3.1. The system of youth policies in Hungary

Activities related to youth work	Activities related to youth professionals	Horizontal activities related to youth and society
1. Development of personal autonomy 2. Future planning 3. Voluntary activities 4. Participation 5. Personal youth work 6. Youth community development 7. Informal groups, movements 8. Non-formal and formal organisations 9. Youth camps 10. Youth community spaces (offices) 11. Virtual space 12. Youth projects	1. Youth and law 2. Youth research 3. Planning 4. System of tasks 5. Human resource system 6. Material systems 7. International youth activities 8. Youth NGOs	1. Youth and family 2. Education 3. Youth and labour market 4. Youth and health care 5. Young people as consumers 6. Youth and identity 7. Marginalisation 8. Deviance 9. Environmental issues

(*Source*: own data)

Different actors of Hungarian youth policy have focused, as described above, on developing an integrated model to respond to the multiple challenges that the school system was no longer able to solve. However, the state (the government) continues to ignore stakeholders' perspectives and has instead followed its own imaginary and self-delusionary road since at least 2010. Both the history of youth-worker training and the history of youth policy institutions are eloquent examples of that. In Hungary, theoretical developments and research ideas are not transformed into policy solutions (which could be executed in practice by youth work). Instead, half-solutions, not real resolutions, are offered, and persisting problems are conveniently swept under the carpet.

Conclusion

The tradition of Hungarian youth work has been shaped by the pedagogical practice of teachers, by the social work practice of building horizontal relationships and co-operation with young people and by the leisure-time activities of cultural public work. Since 2003, the basis for the distinct profession is provided by youth-worker training. But as we have described above, youth work has continued to be a complementary, ancillary area in Hungary, and has less prestige than related professions.

However, the onion model shows that different actors of youth work in Hungary have embraced a cross-sectoral and integrated approach to youth policy and have developed their own answers as to how it is possible to make this approach part of

Hungarian youth work practice. Unlike the "magic triangle" or the "magic pyramid" (Zentner 2016) model that aims to describe the dialogue and co-operation between main actors in the field of youth, the onion model puts young people and their communities at the centre and incorporates all those activities related to young people that happen in leisure time, on a voluntary basis. The onion model contains 12 activities related to youth work, eight activities related to youth professionals and nine horizontal activities. By presenting the model we aim to contribute to a better understanding of youth work's multifaceted and multilayered identity, and we hope that it can stimulate discussion about connections, disconnections and reconnections in the youth field.

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Chapter 4
Youth work and social work in the Slovak Republic: connections and disconnections

Alžbeta Brozmanová Gregorová, Peter Lenčo and Jana Miháliková

Introduction

Youth work and social work with youth have been influenced significantly by the political situation in Slovakia[6] during their respective pathways of development. The political situation has had an impact on their content and quality, as well as on their development during particular periods, and on their mutual relations and fields of activity. From the early 20th century youth work and social work were gradually separated from church activities in the social-health arena concerning all citizens, including general hospitals, almshouses and brotherhoods. The first signs of youth work can be found in the education area of trade associations and in school association activities.

To understand the mutual correlations and the situation in individual eras, we have divided our analysis into several periods; in relevant introductions we briefly specify connections with respect to political developments and the more general situation in our country. We also focus on the clarification of the status of youth work and social work with youth, particularly in their institutional context. We provide instances of some organisations that may serve as an inspiration for current youth work and social work practice, too. Since the current legislation defines youth as young people up to 30 years of age the presented historical analysis of the target group is relevant.

Youth work and social work at the turn of the 20th century

Prior to the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, Slovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, more precisely part of Hungary. Legislative measures and the related institutional background of youth work and social work were then defined by legal regulations applicable to the whole of Hungary.

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6.   The sixth History of Youth Work in Europe seminar, though held in Malta, took place during the Slovak Republic's Presidency of the European Union. Given the absence of Slovakia's contribution to previous seminars, this was felt to be an opportune moment for a comprehensive elaboration of the country's history of youth work within the context of its relationship with social work.

Youth work before 1918 was marked by a commitment to Slovak national self-consciousness during the Hungarian "Magyarisation". The national liberation and national unification movement was primarily connected with activities of various (literature, reading, charity, student and economic) associations (Dudeková 1998). Students were active in student clubs operating in close connection with schools, especially in larger towns. The foremost student organisation of that period was the Slovak Youth Union. There were also self-study clubs for students which were functioning at schools with their student council, even though these were formed under teachers' supervision (Bernát 2008; Kominarec 2008; Michalička 2001). From a broader perspective, there were temperance or moderation associations (the first one founded in 1840) and Sunday schools (the first in 1834) which included young people. A significant role was played by the new association Matica slovenská, whose representatives felt the need to promote learning about Slovak culture and history; therefore they greatly supported Slovak students. Although Matica slovenská was officially dissolved in 1875, the government formed the Hungarian-Royal Slovak Educational Association from it later on (Botto 1923).

The most widely known mass sports association was Czech Sokol, with branches in Slovakia. Besides physical education and sports activities forming its basis, it strived for the overall physical, personal and moral development of citizens (Holubec 1920). In the mid-1890s Catholic gymnastic associations grew stronger, particularly in Moravia, leading to the formation of Czechoslovak Orol in 1909. Orol started in Slovakia only after 1918. Another competitive organisation for physical training was the Workers' Sports Union; the first Slovak union was founded in Bratislava in 1912. There was great rivalry between physical training and sports organisations, not only in the sense of sports competing with each other but as a result of various ideological issues. It has been suggested that physical training organisations experienced their "golden age" after the First World War (Gálik 2007; Holubec 1920).

Due to its methodology, scouting was identified among those sports and physical training organisations that had a special focus on work with young people. A. B. Svojsík brought scouting to Czechoslovakia, and in 1912 he organised the first tentative outdoors summer camp in Lipnica. The first Scout troop in Slovakia was formed in 1913 at the grammar school in Komárno. In June 1914, Junák – Union of Scouts was founded. Scouting then gradually grew into a great movement and fully developed after the First World War.

The period before the First World War therefore laid the foundations of youth work in Slovakia in various areas, and although it was greatly restricted during the war years, youth work continued to develop again after it ended.

The end of the 19th century in Slovakia, as in other countries, also witnessed the gradual development and professionalisation of social work, particularly as a result of urbanisation and industrialisation. Care for children and young people was one of the key issues in Slovakia during that period, apart from care of the poor, the homeless and alcoholics. As Brnula (2013) writes, care for children and young people grew, with particular attention paid to three groups:

▶ orphaned and abandoned children and young people;
▶ wandering children and young people (youth on the streets) and delinquent children;
▶ children with disabilities.

Care for these groups of children and young people was provided largely by associations, charity and church organisations and communities, though certain legal measures (e.g. Civil Code of 1811, Criminal Code of 1852 and School Act of 1868) constituted some rights for young people, but did not deal with endangered youth or youth committing crime. As Kodymová (2001) states, random and fractured care was gradually changed to more organised care based on principles of individualisation and prevention at the beginning of the 20th century. The state, through its co-ordination of provision, also took over the care of children and young people. Several legislative measures were adopted, including solutions to social issues related to children and young people, and numerous organisations emerged with the intention of providing support.

Care for orphaned and abandoned children

Various institutions provided care for abandoned children and orphans: from simple charity shelters, (church, monastic, association, municipality and countrywide) orphanages to institutions with state care. Besides overall provision (accommodation, food, clothing, etc.) and education, the residents received basic, sometimes vocational, school education (Drenko 2002). By the significant measure of legal norm enactment in 1901 (Legal Article VII/1901), the state took over the management of care provision for abandoned and orphaned children. Legal protection of these children up to the age of 15 was determined by the act, with two public children's homes established in Košice and Rimavská Sobota in 1904. Abandoned children were defined as those under 15 having no possessions, no family or relatives and not receiving care from any social institution. A wardship court determined whether or not the child was abandoned and until the resolution of the wardship the municipality took care of the child. According to the law, abandoned children were also children whose care or education was neglected and those committing criminal activity (Kováčiková 2000). As stated by Dudeková (2003), steps to formalise care for abandoned children were at least partly aimed at decreasing orphans' mortality rates in non-state orphanages. This intention, however, failed and the system of care for these children had many negative aspects. Children were in fact forced to work, and many remained neglected, with some family residential communities not complying with basic health and hygiene requirements.

Care for begging and delinquent youth

Monasteries and orphanages had provided care for poor and begging youth since medieval times. A significant milestone in so-called safeguarding measures in criminal law was reflected in the gradual separation of juvenile and underage delinquents from the adult criminal justice system. In the second half of the 19th century, houses of correction replaced institutions for begging, wandering and neglected youth. Within present-day Slovakia, Penal Code amendment of Legal Article XXXVI of 1908 and Legal Article VII of 1913 adjusted the juvenile justice system in Hungary. Courts were empowered to issue young people with warnings, detention, a stay in a house of correction, a prison sentence or a financial penalty. They could order aftercare or protective custody to juveniles aged 12 to 18 whose educational deficiencies were not being dealt with in the family (Kováčiková 2010).

Special care for delinquent youth started in Slovakia at the beginning of the 20th century. The first correction institution was founded in Košice in 1903 – the Košice royal house of correction (*Košická kráľovská polepšovňa*) for the re-education of sentenced, neglected and amoral, antisocial juveniles. In all, 240 boys were gradually placed there. In 1919, the house of correction was renamed the Institution of Comenius for the education of abandoned youth (*Komenského ústav pre výchovu opustenej mládeže*). A similar facility was founded in Slávnica in 1907.

Care for young people with disabilities

Care for children with various disabilities was initially a part of care for adults and abandoned and orphaned children; later special institutions were established for these young people, specialised according to the type of disability.

Expenses saving and higher-level professional care led to the employment of qualified staff. Despite only a few special care institutions existing in Slovakia and Hungary at the beginning of the 20th century, the trend towards gradual specialisation and professionalisation grew stronger. Hungary had several specialised institutions for children in 1900 (100 orphanages and 14 asylum houses, one institution for the blind, seven for children with severe speech and hearing impairments and three for children with a mental disability), but the situation changed quickly in subsequent years. In 1911, the numbers increased to 109 orphanages, nine institutions for the blind, 16 for children with severe speech and hearing impairments (of which three were in Slovakia: in Jelšava, Kremnica and Bratislava) and eight for children with a mental disability (with only one private institution in Slovakia, "Blumov ústav" in Plešivec). While facilities in villages provided care for only 10 to 20 individuals, two Budapest almshouses provided care for some 3 500 adults and children (Dudeková 2003).

Other activities in social work with young people

By the mid-1830s, women's civic associations had been established in the towns, which brought new forms of care for the poor. For example, the movement that established *opatrovne* (nurseries providing care for children aged three to six while their parents were working) gained popularity. Women's associations often organised other activities for helping poor children and young people (for example, providing food and clothes), and later on they founded various types of advisory services. As Brnula (2013) writes, another social-work sphere was the sphere of "work", gaining interest mainly where child labour had to be monitored.

Youth work and social work during the Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938)

In 1918, newly formed Czechoslovakia took over social legislation from Austria-Hungary; however, new social measures and independent procedures were required in respect of domestic conditions. In relation to youth work and social work there were two significant developments.

First, there was the growth of civic association activities and non-profit organisations. This first Czechoslovak Republic period is also defined as the age of associations,

with the state-guaranteed right of association by constitution and other measures. The number of voluntary associations, clubs and foundations grew significantly. They were created for various purposes and often also reflected religious, ethnic and professional affiliation or political belief. Social and health associations and foundations were especially prominent. Even though many engaged in increasingly professionalised activities, the majority operated on a voluntary basis.

Second, this period witnessed innovative social policy that aimed to improve social conditions across a broad spectrum of the population. Several acts were ratified that provided the legal basis for public social care; social insurance provided material support for employees in case of illness, old age and disability. In co-operation with private associations, the state established a network of institutions, assuming they would complement each other internally and organisationally (Kodymová 2001).

The formation of Czechoslovakia brought new challenges and opportunities in youth work. The competences of the newly formed department in the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment included formal education, self-improvement and social care for youth issues, church, fund and charitable activities. The system of work with children and young people in out-of-school time, which was formed in interwar Czechoslovakia, was practically similar to modern practices and forms.

Youth work was performed mainly by educational and self-study clubs. Regular meetings of clubs pursued systematic activities and work in selected areas of interest. Tea parties and other sessions provided freer meetings with students, with programmes of an entertainment and educational nature, including presenting the results of the interest activities of individual clubs. Schools offered space for doing sports aside from formal education. Various trips, excursions and community activities were arranged, including theatre performances, celebrations and parties. Libraries, an inseparable part of schools, served as a pedagogical influence over leisure time. From historical sources, we can see a closer connection of schools with associations and their activities than today, possibly because teachers were their leaders, sustaining their commitment towards the growing generation and fulfilling their duties to be involved in activities aimed at self-improvement. Youth work activities were recognised not only as developing the interests of young people in specific areas but also as an important place for social interaction, learning to co-operate and building up young people's character.

The activities of physical training and sports organisations and associations can be illustrated through the provision made by Sokol and Orol, the most attended Czechoslovak organisations. The aim of Sokol was to improve the health, strength, courage and perseverance of all Czechoslovaks, trying to raise the morality of youth and craft solid character into their souls. Its important feature was education towards democracy and equality. It also included national defence education as a way to guard and protect the freedom only recently gained. Sokol fought against alcoholism and other vices, and aimed at the physical, mental and moral development of youth (Holubec 1920). Similarly, Orol's aim was the education of a nationally aware people, responsible for themselves and their nation. The content was education towards justice and equal civil rights resulting in solidarity, unity and national unification (Gálik 2007). These organisations performed a variety of activities. In the 1920s, an

interest in tourism and time spent in nature steadily grew; the response was trips, walks, excursions and camps. And in order to support quality youth work in their organisation, numerous educational courses for trainers and coaches were arranged and many methodological handbooks and magazines were published (Česká obec sokolská 2015). Workers' sports unions were active too. Left-wing organisations were separated from the Union of Workers' Sports Associations and formed the Federation of Workers' Sports Unions in 1921. Left-wing organisations criticised the church, religious organisations and democratic organisations, hence their activities, for example in organising May celebrations during May religious services or encouraging the participation of young people in strikes, demonstrations and politically motivated activities (Budský 1961). Sports associations, with their voluntary engagement and interest in nature, attracted young people. Consequently, young people's involvement in the activities of sports associations and sports clubs was noticed by the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, which increasingly directed it through regulations (1928, 1937).

Catholic intelligence representatives had striven for the more systematic establishment of Scout troops in Slovakia since 1922. They set up their individual organisation Slovak Catholic Scouts in 1928 and published the magazine *Scout* for members from 1930. This was followed by *Girl Guide*, as well as handbooks for working with children and young people. Scout leaders were prepared through training courses, for example Forest School (Milla 2008). In Czechoslovakia, there were also small left-wing Scout organisations – Spartak Scouts and Scouts of Work, forming the organisation Spartak Scouts of Work in 1924, with only about 4 000 members, whereas Junák – Union of Scouts recorded 28 000 members in 1928 (Bartoš et al. 1967). There were also other organisations and movements acting on similar principles, especially the League of Forest Wisdom (Woodcraft Folk), and also branches of German organisations such as the *Pfadfinderbund* and *Sudetendeutscher Wandervögel*.

The tramping movement started at the beginning of the 1930s as one of the consequences of gradual industrialisation – young people employed in factories were searching for closer contact with nature, friendship and the free life. The first provisional tramp cottages and settlements grew in the Czech lands, in Slovakia, initially only around Bratislava. At first, the public did not pay much attention to them, but with growing numbers of young boys and girls involved, moralistic reports and articles emerged describing (and expressing concern about) the free life of tramps without adult supervision, with corresponding opportunities for young people's lascivious behaviour. Therefore, in April 1931, common camping in nature, tents, cottages and log houses, wearing insufficient swimwear, swimming in restricted locations and carrying weapons were prohibited. Even though tramping, in terms of its philosophical foundations, was against any formal organisational processes, the assembly of tramping groups was organised in 1931. The tramping community also published its own magazine *Tramp* (Bartoš et al. 1967) for members and other interested people.

Besides scouting, branches of other worldwide organisations were founded in the Czechoslovak Republic in the 1920s: in 1920, the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) and in 1923, the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association). One characteristic of the YMCA approach to youth work was its complexity, as it included both social pedagogy and social work. With financial support from the American

branch of the YMCA, it was able to construct buildings for organising its activities and providing various services in Czechoslovakia. In 1923, the central committee of the YMCA administered 14 organised local branches, of which three had their own buildings, and another six were having buildings constructed. Two other branches worked with university students. The YMCA also opened up two camping sites for young people – one of them in the Orava region (in the northern part of Slovakia). Membership consisted of young people from 12 years of age – initially only boys could join but later on girls could as well. The YMCA and YWCA ran various activities, but the greatest innovation was in providing room for young people in the sense of "open" clubs, even though organised activities still formed the greatest part of its work (*YMCA v Československu* 1924).

The Czechoslovak Red Cross organisation also paid great attention to children and young people through its dedicated section, Youth of the Red Cross, after the First World War. Favourable conditions for the development of this organisation were due to the state of the public health sector after the war and the support of the president's wife, Alice Masaryková, who was the organisation's leader. At this time Youth of the Red Cross had 92 135 members; 3 481 classes from 1 602 schools were participating in Slovakia in the academic year 1927/28 (Cincík 1928). The main task of the organisation was the dissemination of education about health and hygiene among pupils and students. Young people were also encouraged to pay attention to their surroundings and to contribute to its improvement by voluntary and charity work. Furthermore, they communicated with other branches of the organisation both within the country and abroad (Čečetka and Marták 1935; Čečetka 1935; Cincík 1928; Šteller 1936).

Students were associated with numerous new small-size associations and organisations which copied many current political party and religious affiliations in the Czechoslovak Republic and in Slovakia. The central organisation in the latter was the Union of Slovak Students, formed in Banská Bystrica in 1921. Its aim was "to improve the social position of Slovak university students, act on their behalf before authorities, quicken construction of the University of Comenius, strive for a Slovak technical university, publish the magazine *Young Slovakia* and co-operate with the Central Union of Czechoslovak Students" (Kopáč 1971: 35).

The Communist Youth Union of Czechoslovakia, founded in 1921, changed its name to the Young Communist League of Czechoslovakia (Komsomol) during its second convention in 1922. Its communication tool was the magazine *Young Communist*. Even though its activity was officially stopped in the same year, many groups continued illegally or in different youth organisations, declaring their support for communist ideology (especially in sports unions or socialistically-tuned Scout organisations). Left-wing academic youth participated in the Association of Socialist Academics, founded in 1928. In 1932, activities of all organisations that were associated with the Communist Party and also the Komsomol were officially stopped, resulting in the establishment of youth sections directly within the Communist Party. Another left-wing organisation operating at that time was the Union of Poor and Progressive Students (established in 1932), outwardly a tourist organisation, but with Marxist education woven through it (Bartoš et al. 1967).

There were many other youth organisations linked to political parties: for example, the Imperial Union of Republican Youth Agrarian Party, the Young Generation of Czechoslovak People's Party, the Young Generation of Czechoslovak National Democracy, the Youth of National Fascist Community, the Youth of National League and the Youth of Czechoslovak Middle-Class Traders' Party. There were also student organisations of a religious nature active in Slovakia during this time: for example, the Centre of Slovak Catholic Students, the Academic League, the Centre of Slovak Evangelical Students and the Central Union of Jewish Academics of Slovakia. In the mid-1930s, there was an effort to unify associations and youth organisations in Slovakia, but it failed due to philosophical and political differences. Left-wing parties, together with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, founded the Slovak Youth Union in 1936, and published the magazine *Youth Altogether* in 1937. In spite of concerted efforts at the start, the Slovak Youth Union did not become a nationwide organisation (Bartoš et al. 1967).

Despite strong ideological convictions and the corresponding direction of the activities of these diverse organisations, provision for young people delivered rich activity in the sphere of non-formal education. Standing up for young people's interests and needs and seeking adequate forms and methods became the issue of their survival, which was reflected in a programme of regular meetings and occasional events. Therefore, besides lectures and training, organisations also arranged various shared trips, parties, camps, cultural, sports and other events.

During the first Czechoslovak Republic, the central authority for state administration in the social sphere was the Ministry of Social Care. The Ministry's competence included care for youth and social work with young people, which was guaranteed by the state, but numerous non-state (municipality, association and church) entities also participated in its realisation. The state, through the Ministry, granted subsidies for the provision of activities focused on youth care.

The protection of children and young people came within the sphere of public youth care (also guaranteed by the state), which managed to connect health, social and educational provision, thus achieving a complex concept of social care. State authorities often gave their tasks to non-state bodies: public guardianship, protection of children in foster care and illegitimate children, and also social-health care performed by advisory services. Only limited state care was directly provided.

A specific juvenile justice system gradually came into being, with an active role for social work. Act No. 256/1921 on the protection of children in foster care came into effect in 1921, and a government regulation in 1930 ordered supervision of children in foster care and illegitimate children under the age of 14. The operation of this separate supervision was assigned to one state organisation, the wardship court, and one non-state organisation – District Youth Care (Okresná starostlivosť o mládež), which was mostly founded by women, as stated by Kállay and Levická (2015). Together they covered the whole Czechoslovak Republic but were independent from each other. Due to their positive results, they were entrusted with the provision of aftercare, which was arranged by supervisory trustees.

In 1931, youth criminal justice was consolidated by law and government regulation. According to legal provisions, those under the age of criminal responsibility (under

14) and juveniles (from 14 to 18) were not supposed to be punished but educated. The law emphasised the principle to punish least and educate most (Cisár 1942). Short-term punishment and protective education were carried out at the Institution of Comenius for the education of abandoned youth in Košice, and also at Slovenská Ľupča from 1937. The association Záchrana (Rescue) took care of amoral girls; it established a shelter for socially deprived, pregnant, abandoned and unemployed women in Bratislava in 1927. A girls' educational institution was opened in Likier-Hnúšťa in 1936.

Government Regulation No. 40/1932 saw the development of another institution of public guardians of district youth care to undertake immediate supervision of all underage young people. Many municipalities did not acknowledge public guardians because they already had their own. Inspection activity was split, because as well as supervision consultants, there were also public guardians of district youth care and public guardians of municipalities within the sphere of the wardship court (ibid.).

The areas that were not guaranteed by the state included: youth care; social-health counselling (for example, counselling on contraception, on disabilities, etc.); recreational activities; hygiene and health care; care focused on the fight against what was then seen as sociopathological phenomena (alcoholism, prostitution, sexually transmitted diseases); career advisory service; leisure-time activities for children and youth; and support for students and young people from poor backgrounds. The most significant feature of non-state care was the involvement of the middle classes. Non-state organisations received almost no public funding thus creating the need for them to raise funds and perform actions for supporting their activities (Kodymová 2001).

Municipalities were mainly in charge of care of the poor as well the education of children, and therefore they established *opatrovne*, homes providing care and protection, and day shelters for children, while also building holiday camps for poor children and organising feeding stations (ibid.).

Care for children and young people was provided through outreach work, advisory services (e.g. advisory services for mother and child, careers advisory services) and through institutional care. Social workers undertook casework practice based on a systematic assessment, and adjusted what had previously been random help to more intentional preventive casework aimed at reaching individuals and monitoring their progress. They undertook counselling and elaborated professional diagnoses.

The Czechoslovak Red Cross had started developing significant activities in its care of children and young people since 1919 by founding orphanages – shelters with an older woman caring for a small number of orphans. Some were connected with workshops for the purposeful employment of children.

Institutional care in Slovakia was differentiated by the group of people who were placed in them (for example, orphanages, homes for elderly people, institutions for physically disabled children). Nutrition, accommodation, treatment and medical care were provided for them (Matoušek 1995).

Youth work and social work during the first Slovak Republic (1939-45)

Civil society functioning in Slovakia was interrupted by Hitler coming to power in 1933 and the subsequent political developments in Europe. In 1938, after a declaration of autonomy and the formation of the Slovak state, with a commitment to lead foreign policy in compliance with Nazi Germany, many democratic organisations were banned and associations dissolved. The state wanted to control these associations and therefore appointed to them its own delegates and officials. Czechs and Jews were excluded from association life. Associations loyal to the state formation at that time gained support for their activities. Existing associations had to be unified in organisations such as Hlinka's Guard and Hlinka's Youth, founded by the monopoly Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Dudeková 1998; Mannová 1991). Only some associations which were administered by the church (except Jewish associations) and working on a confession basis were allowed.

Youth work continued in content, form and method as it had in the Czechoslovak Republic period. The cultural-educational activities of teachers were directed by the Centre of Enlightenment at the Ministry of Education and National Enlightenment, established in 1941 (Mátej 1976). But many activities and material-technical provision were affected by the political, social and economic situation. Teachers tried to preserve the activities of school clubs or create a room for self-study clubs. Compared to the previous period, co-operation with various associations during out-of-school time disappeared from school activity as they were prohibited and replaced by the activities of Hlinka's Youth, to which a majority of pupils (forcibly) belonged (*Výročná správa odbornej školy pre ženské povolania Ružomberok* 1943; *Výročné správy Gymnázium Ružomberok* 1919-1944).

As Hlinka's Youth had the most prominent place in youth work during the first Slovak Republic, playing an important role in influencing a whole generation of young people, it therefore deserves special attention. It affiliated children and young people aged 6 to 20, boys and girls separately. Its aim was "to bring up committed patriots to the state and nation in the spirit of Christian principles by national defence education and pre-military training of boys and girls" (Milla 2008: 10). The organisation's structure and activities were similar to that of the Scouts, supplemented by the ideology of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Domasta 1940; Milla 2008). Its educational methods and forms resembled the fascist youth organisation in National Socialist Germany – the Hitler-Jugend (Somr 1987). The preparation of leaders was conducted at leadership school, where they learned about the principles of the leadership programme and the ideology and structure of the organisation, and carried out pre-military defence activities, sports and various activities related to interests and hobbies. Hlinka's Youth co-operated closely with Hlinka's Guard. It led to the militarisation of young people and was incorporated in guard, discipline and security services (Milla 2008). After the Second World War (1945), Hlinka's Youth was dissolved and its property was given to the state or to the new united organisation being formed – the Slovak Youth Union.

With regard to Hlinka's Youth, despite the positive aspects related to the life experiences of young people involved in the group activities, and youth leaders and youth workers believing in their contribution to the development of young people, the

underlying (Christian) National Socialism and the fascist ideology of a totalitarian regime that was implemented through this organisation cannot be overlooked. Through that lens, the activity of Hlinka's Youth and its representatives must be denounced as being non-democratic, markedly contributing to the ideological indoctrination of young people by using forms and methods that attracted them.

In relation to social work, educational youth care was entrusted to Hlinka's Youth during the first Slovak Republic; social-health care that had been developed during the first Czechoslovak Republic and provided by many organisations was concentrated into Regional Centres of Youth Care (*Krajinského ústredia starostlivosti o mládež*). Both organisations were supposed to co-operate with each other. However, legal measures related to social work with youth from the period of the Czechoslovak Republic remained applicable.

Detailed information on social-health care for young people during the first Slovak Republic is provided by Hájovský (1941). Social care for youth was divided into state care performed by state administration and voluntary care performed by voluntary organisations. The difference was in the financing of care. In 1941, the following state institutions provided care for young people: two state children's homes (for found or abandoned children under 15); three state orphanages (for orphans and half-orphans); three state institutions for children and young people with severe speech and hearing impairments (for children aged 6 to 14); one state institution for the blind; two state educational institutions; and two institutions for the mentally ill (these were private, but the state had reserved places in them). The following institutions provided by voluntary organisations were working in the same year: 24 district children's homes; one children's home for begging and wandering youth; four shelters for apprentices; three institutions for those with severe speech and hearing impairments; one institution for the blind; two institutions for the physically disabled; four institutions for the mentally ill and epileptics; and three for amoral, antisocial children and young people. Churches also administered several orphanages (Hájovský 1941).

Act No. 213/1941 on the public protection of youth, public guardianship and amendment of aftercare consolidated the duplication of supervision of underage young people, while only public guardians supervised underage young people dependent on public protection under the wardship court's control. According to the law, underage children of divorced parents, of those not living together, children in foster care and in aftercare were subject to public protection. Public guardians could be persons *sui juris* and with good reputation; persons interested in the education of young people, social workers and officials from organisations providing voluntary care for youth, and also those living in the same region as entrusted children, were preferred as public guardians. The act introduced an Aftercare Institute. According to the law, aftercare was performed by the wardship court. Protective guardians had to be in immediate and regular contact with their entrusted person in order to monitor their physical, mental and moral development, to make sure these individuals were not neglected, were attending school or working, and to prevent unwanted activities. In case of problems, a protective guardian submitted a report to the public guardian, who in turn reported to the wardship court. The protective guardian was entitled to visit his or her "ward" and also to summon them.

In Slovakia in 1941, careers advisory services were providing parents or young people with advice and an overview of labour market opportunities, and also support in finding employment. They co-operated with labour and trade licensing offices. Young people in need who were working were also supported in various ways, through, for example, maintenance allowances, the purchase of clothing, stays in sanatoriums and the acceptance of apprentices in homes during the holidays.

One of the most significant organisations was the Social Institute of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, established in Bratislava. Kováčiková (2010) has summarised its roles as: providing social and social-health care, ensuring its realisation, looking into the management of charity and voluntary associations and submitting assessments on their tasks. Its competences included care for youth in their family and care for abandoned, wandering and begging or otherwise dependent young people (Zpráva 1942). Brnula's opinion (2013) that this action, in terms of social work, may be viewed positively can broadly be supported. However, in terms of human rights and social justice, it is not possible to agree that it was true social work, given that it took place when basic human rights and freedoms were not maintained.

Youth work and social work from 1945 to 1989

In May 1945, at the end of the Second World War the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic came into being. After 1945, approximately 10 000 associations resurrected their activities with over half a million members (many committed to youth work, such as Slovak Sokol, Slovak Orol, League of Forest Wisdom (Woodcraft Folk), Slovak Scouting, the YMCA and the Salesians, as well as social work with young people). In June 1945, the National Front government decided to create unified mass organisations (trade unions, youth unions, sports unions, women's unions), and all the existing associations of the respective group had to join in. The communist totalitarian regime was imposed in February 1948, resulting in the total incorporation of existing associations under the National Front. It was prohibited to use terms such as "association" and "associating" and the basic principles of voluntary membership and internal democracy of the association were violated. The assets of associations, church and charity organisations and foundations were nationalised (Dudeková 1998). A reform movement reached its peak in 1968 (the Prague Spring), seeking the partial democratisation of the regime, but its progress was reversed as a result of invasion by five Warsaw Pact armies on 21 August 1968. Subsequently, there was a return to "normalisation" (until 1989) and military occupation by the Soviet Union (until 1991).

With regard to youth work, from August 1945 national youth unions were established. Communist activists led the first Pioneer groups who were copying the Soviet Union Komsomol example. The Czechoslovak Youth Union (ČSM) was formed on 23-24 April 1949 by connecting four national youth unions: Czech, Slovak, German and Polish. ČSM was a part of the National Front and the most important decisions were presented at the Congress of the Communist Party pf Czechoslovakia (KSČ) or the Central Committee of the KSČ, with delegated powers. Youth work had been presented as an "objective necessity of socialistic society". Through ČSM, the Communist Party led and educated "the new man" who was ready for life in the new society and who was resistant to "bourgeois and petty bourgeois relics" (Svatoš et al. 1978). ČSM

also led young people to initiate participation in economic development and to join in "youth constructions", such as the building of railroads and dams. Ideological education took various forms.

At a unifying conference in 1949, the framework organisational principles of the Pioneer Organisation (PO SZM) and the Pioneer emblem were accepted (ibid.). ČSM was responsible for the development of the Pioneer Organisation. There followed a period of cadre screening, suspicions and repressions, which also affected the Youth Union in the early 1950s. The ČSM leadership was subsequently withdrawn and members of ČSM were excluded from the KSČ. These repressions caused stagnation and visible ČSM decline (Beláň 2015).

The reform period of the 1960s was mirrored in youth work. PO SZM split into two equal organisations, and five other children's organisations were formed and brought together into the Association of Children and Youth Organisations of Slovakia in 1969 (ibid.). With the entry of Warsaw Pact army troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 the situation changed again. The Prague conference in 1970 renewed a unified youth organisation under the name of the Socialistic Youth Union (SZM), formed by two territorial republic organisations. Basic documents were accepted – programme declarations, statutes, programme and organisational principles for the Pioneer Organisation of SZM (Svatoš et al. 1978). Independent organisations were banned. Obligatory membership in socialistic youth and children's organisations ceased only after the "velvet" revolution of 1989.

At the beginning of this period, Pioneer troops were formed by factories in the towns, while their establishment within schools was recommended by the KSČ in 1960. Pioneer groups, formed by troops (school classes) then became a part of basic school structures; the role was to provide education for the future citizens of the socialistic state through "out-of-school" education (Act No.186/1960). Troops consisted of a number of smaller teams and were co-ordinated by elected boards. Troop leaders were nominally "volunteers" – teachers, parents, factory activists – but they were working only under the leadership of instructors (aged 15-18), with Pioneer group leaders offering help with teaching methods. Pioneer group leaders were in fact school employees. KSČ, SZM and PO SZM worked at district, regional, republic and central levels. Delegates met at congresses (SZM) or conferences (PO SZM).

Pioneer groups organised systematic work with children up to the age of 15 who were attending basic schools. From 1949, Houses of Pioneers and Youth (organised according to the Soviet Union model) provided space for the development of children and young people's hobbies and personal interests. There were clubs, specialised activities, ensembles and also specialists for the support of Pioneer groups' work in schools, called the methodology department (Svatoš et al. 1978). Another tradition, the Pioneer recreation camps, had started in 1949, which provided free stays for children and young people over the age of seven (copying the camp Artek, in the Soviet Union).

The education and training of Pioneer workers and those responsible for the training in Pioneer methods was financially and personally supported by the state. From 1950, the Central House of Pioneers started in Prague Karlín, and in 1951 the Central House of Pioneers and Youth of Klement Gottwald was founded in Bratislava – these

facilities became the methodological and educational centres for youth work (ibid.). The need for the professionalisation of youth workers led to the establishment of a special secondary pedagogical school – the School of Pioneer Workers in Seč, serving as an educational and experimental centre where various tools, activities etc. were prepared and tested during students´ practical training, later promoted at national level as recommended ones. The school in Seč operated from 1953 to 1984. Youth work was reflected at a professional level in pedagogical theory and practice. In the 1960s, leisure-time education as a partial discipline within educational studies/ science was established, which dealt with out-of-school education. It evolved into masters degree university studies in youth work (Kratochvílová 2010). The field of study called pedagogy of children and youth movement was later derived from it and started in Prešov and Banská Bystrica in 1984.

From 1958, PO SZM's educational system came under the heading "What a Pioneer should know and manage". This was approved at the 3rd Congress of the ČSM, which implemented youth work for children aged 6 to 9, forming groups called "Sparks". By 1966, the educational system called Flames and Ways was introduced, which was a set of requirements containing new tasks and specific Pioneer activities (*Výchovný systém Pionierskej organizácie SZM pre iskry a pionierov – Záväzná časť* 1985). Interest groups started after 1966 and apart from its compulsory elements, Pioneers could learn more about different thematic fields inspired by specific professions (*Výchovný systém Pionierskej organizácie SZM pre iskry a pionierov – Nadstavbová časť* 1983) and they could obtain special badges – technician, natural historian, artist, sportsman, tourist, country defender and practical girl. Young people could also focus on other areas of their interests, such as historian, philatelist, hunter, theatre artist, singer or swimmer. It involved self-study or work in smaller interest groups with a professional practice consultant: Pioneers kept a diary about the results of their efforts and the consultant confirmed competences gained followed by a final interview. From 1952 onwards, the movements of Young Michurins (oriented towards botany and zoology) and Young Technicians (focused on mechanical engineering) developed.

A part of the educational system made use of uniforms and various rituals (lining up, report giving, flag raising, photograph taken under the red flag, and others). From 1959, so-called statewide games were launched, with children under the age of 15 participating. In 1959, for example, Smer Praha/Direction Prague took place, where Pioneers learned military songs, visited locations of fights, organised defence games, drew sketches of their town liberation and searched for survivors of Czechoslovak soldiers fallen at Dukla. In 1961, "Quest after the Red Flag" events took place, during which Pioneers learned of the KSČ and the founding of the Czechoslovak Komsomol, searched for the first Komsomol members, the party's long-serving members, and invited them for sessions. They searched for historical battle locations where the proletariat fought, and met officials of villages and towns (Svatoš et al. 1978).

The education system was based on egalitarian principles. "Sparks" and Pioneers were encouraged to help their weaker classmates out of mutual solidarity rather than social help. Pioneers had patronages over "Sparks" troops and older Pioneers over younger ones, helping them with learning or home duties. Roma children especially remained under the leaders' educational influence during afternoon activities which were part of the Pioneer and "Sparks" troops' meetings. Traditional activities included

care for elderly citizens (shopping, help and visits) and visits to orphanages. Pioneer workers led the preparation of activities according to the needs and current situation of the children and young people (while supporting children with certain forms of disadvantage). Another expression of traditional socialistic solidarity was through various fund raising such as for a digger (excavating machine) for Cambodia.

Besides the development of the youth movement described above, youth work was strongly established as a part of the school educational system. School Act (No. 95/1948) implemented a unified school system that included institutions of non-formal education, and a substantial part of this was the development of students' interest activities. Youth work was therefore developing during this period in the following three ways:

- ▶ activities provided by schools and teachers at the end of formal education classes in interest areas – out-of-school clubs and community activities;

- ▶ activities provided by other educational facilities – school clubs, pupils' homes (dormitories), children's homes (foster care institutions), Houses of Pioneers and Youth and groups of young natural historians, technicians and tourists;

- ▶ social organisations for children, youth and adults, especially the Pioneer Organisation and the Czechoslovak Youth Union. (Kratochvílová, text not published).

From 1945 to 1989, social policy and social care depended completely, in terms of both finance and organisation, on state authorities. Not much attention was paid to social care, on the assumption that all social problems would disappear when class differences ceased to exist. Act No. 174/1948 concerning the domestic right to citizenship based on the town or village where a person lived was cancelled and replaced by Czechoslovak state citizenship. The duty of social provision and care for all citizens was thereby transferred to the state. It also took over all charity and non-state institutions, children's homes and educational institutions, assuming all related expenses.

Care for abandoned and orphaned children was directed to state collective care within state social policy. In 1947, Act No. 48/1947 on socio-legal protection of youth cancelled associations of district care for youth and Slovak central youth care and replaced them with separate committees of district national committees and a social care committee. The state took over the care expenses. Alternative care facilities were changed into educational facilities guided by socialist pedagogy principles; collective education formed the basis of these (Kováčiková 2000). Alternative care was limited, then completely terminated by the act of 1952 and renewed only in 1973. Organisational reforms split the social care sphere into state departments. This also affected spheres of care for abandoned children and youth (according to the child's age, the Department of Health, Education and Justice was in charge).

Care for delinquent youth passed through many changes from 1945 to 1989. Responsibility, structure and names of facilities were changed. Facilities were differentiated according to the young person's age, the severity of offences committed and the degree of behavioural disorders. Kováčiková (2000) states that Makarenko principles of education (militaristic, collective, drill and work based) applied, while schools and professional preparation courses were established alongside them in 1945-55.

Care for disabled youth was provided mostly in institutional facilities providing for large volumes of people, located away from towns and villages.

Criticism of the system increased in frequency during the 1960s. The formulation of new social policy concepts and a renewal of social care thinking occurred in the mid-1960s, which led to the development of social work as a profession. A methodological guide published in 1968 (*Sociálny pracovník*, Ministry of labour, social affairs and family 1968), confirmed social work as a socially serious and necessary discipline. Social work was oriented to children and youth, and also to people with disabilities and the elderly during the period of "normalisation", as the communist regime sought to return to the way of life that had prevailed prior to the attempted revolution of 1968. Vocational social work started in large factories and with young people.

Youth work and social work after 1989

The revolution in November 1989 brought dramatic political and social changes. People were encouraged to establish many political parties, as well as non-governmental organisations and voluntary engagement regarding young people.

The post-revolution period marked the dissolution of the mass organisation of children and young people, the re-establishment of some "old" organisations from before 1945 (such as the YMCA, Slovak Scouting, and the Salesians that had first been established by Don Bosco). Newly gained freedom was expressed in the booming formation of new children's and youth organisations. PO SZM and Pioneer groups were abolished in schools, though the Houses of Pioneers and Youth (renamed as Houses of Children and Youth, and later Leisure-Time Centres) continued as part of schools and school facilities.

The Youth Council of Slovakia (RmS) has been functioning since 1990. Its original aims were: the guarantee of equal relationships between children and youth organisations within Slovakia and bringing together international children and youth movements. Initially, RmS solved issues of youth organisations' funding, state policy towards youth and sharing premises after the previous SZM, which was provided by the Foundation of Children and Youth. Since 1999, RmS has been stabilised in three basic spheres: advocacy for member organisations (proceedings with state administration, municipality, institutions), service for member organisations (such as training of organisation workers, presentation of organisations) and foreign activity (representation of organisations at international forums, bilateral proceedings).

Youth policy and work with youth were influenced by the Department of Youth in the Ministry of Education. In 1992, the first post-revolution document of the Ministry of Education of the Slovak Republic, which defined the approach of the Slovak Republic towards young people (including youth work), was the so-called Principles of State Policy of the Slovak Republic towards Youth ("Principles 1992"). Part of the finances originally funding SZM and PO SZM was transferred to Programmes of Protection and Support of Children and Youth, functioning from 1993 to 2007. State policy towards youth after 2000 was defined in other documents: Concept of State Policy in Relation to Children and Youth until 2007, Key Areas and Action Plans of State

Policy towards Children and Youth in the Slovak Republic for 2008-13 and in the Strategy of the Slovak Republic for Youth for the years 2014-20.

The Central House of Pioneers and Youth of Klement Gottwald, the present IUVENTA – Slovak Youth Institute – originally continued for a few years after the revolution with several work streams: methodological support of activities and clubs in Houses of Children and Youth/Leisure-Time Centres, organisation of traditional competitions in school subjects (Olympiads), and it later became the administrator of the first programmes foreshadowing wider co-operation in Europe, including during the European Union accession and membership period (CEEPUS, Youth for Europe, Youth in Action, YOUTH and the present Erasmus+). Since 2000, IUVENTA has been preparing background material for legislative documents, being assigned various tasks in the youth field by the Department of Youth, (strategies, reports, grant programmes) and participating in supporting the specification of youth policy in consultation with target groups, especially children and youth organisations.

Act No. 282/2008 on Support of Youth Work defined the target group of "youth" as up to the age of 30 and implemented the official terms "youth worker", "youth leader" and "young leader". The act also deals with the financing of youth organisations and youth work provisions from public funds. Current youth work is delivered by various organisations and institutions such as children and youth organisations (currently 19 supra-regional and nationwide organisations with approximately 75 000 members); and a network of Leisure-Time Centres (Youth Clubs) belonging to the school system. Two national projects focusing on improvement competencies of youth workers were co-financed from the European Social Fund: Komprax – Competences for Practice (2011-15); and Praktik – Practical skills through informal education with youth (2013-15) implemented by IUVENTA.

Social work with youth also went through dramatic changes following the revolution. The social sphere and social policy were transformed across many aspects (for example, decentralisation, humanisation, democratisation, the exclusion of state paternalism, deinstitutionalisation and transition to community forms of care) and brought about new forms of professionalisation of social work. These changes were connected through legislative measures and also through the formation of new institutions and (public and non-public) organisations focused on various areas of social work performance. The management of social work with youth was gradually taken over by the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Family. Various powers (for example in the area of social services, but also socio-legal protection of children and youth) were transferred to higher territorial units (regional municipalities), villages and towns. Moreover, practice responsibility for social work with young people was also taken on by many non-state agencies.

Jusko (2009) discusses target groups of social work with youth, classifying youth at risk, subcultures of youth and non-organised youth. He argues that social work with youth includes a broad range of activities, from the area of employment and young people's position in the labour market, through living, health and healthy lifestyle issues, to work with ethnic minorities, youth impaired by health issues, socially inadaptable youth, and more, including aiming to help young people to find solutions to and overcome socially problematic situations connected with study, employment,

family and partnership issues. The main aim of social work with youth is to provide all young people with the opportunity for self-definition, self-articulation, self-organisation of their lives and self-establishment in life.

Conclusion

The historical development of youth work and social work with youth has been marked by significant discontinuity in individual periods caused by political regime changes, especially by alternating forced authoritarian regimes. However, this chapter has also suggested that both forms of youth work in Slovakia were developed autonomously. In history, only a few organisations managed to bridge both – youth work and social work with youth. While the youth work field (primarily focused on the "mainstream and non-problematic" youth population) was initially connected mainly with the area of upbringing and education (particularly leisure time and interest activities), social work with youth (primarily focused on "problematic" youth and youth at risk) was interconnected with social care. This development resulted in the current form of their specification and mutual relations.

While youth work is developed primarily within the policy area of education, social work with youth particularly falls in the policy area of employment, social affairs and family. The legislative anchoring of youth work is within the Act on Support of Youth Work, but also in the so-called School Act. Social work with youth, in contrast, has its backbone in several legal regulations, mainly in the act on socio-legal protection of children and social guardianship, the Family Act, the Act on Social Services and the Act on Social Work.

Both youth worker and social worker are in the competency profile specifications of the national system of occupations (www.sustavapovolani.sk). Even though many specified competences, knowledge and skills are common, it is sufficient for a youth worker to have "only" completed secondary vocational education, whereas a social work assistant must hold a bachelor degree and a social worker a master's degree, in both cases in the scientific field of social work.

The competency profiles of youth worker and social worker with youth are reflected in differences in preparation for the performance of these activities. Preparation for youth work in Slovakia is performed within the secondary education system (pedagogical and social academies), in the informal education system and in the university education system (within study programmes: pedagogy, leisure time pedagoy, social pedagogy and social work). This is related to the fact that the study field "youth work" is not placed in the basic document allowing creation of study programmes and their submission for accreditation (the system of study fields of university education). By contrast, with the Act on Social Work of 2015, education for undertaking social work with youth is completed only by university education and only within the study field of social work (it is no longer possible for graduates of other programmes to practise as social workers with youth).

Differences in practical performance of youth work and social work with youth are also significant. Youth workers are often volunteers, while social workers with youth usually function as paid employees co-operating with or co-ordinating volunteers.

Despite these distinctions, it is also useful to note the common fields of activity regarding youth work and social work with youth, which include an open environment, outreach work, work in residential facilities for youth and activities organised within various organisations (such as children and youth organisations, and low-threshold clubs). Furthermore, youth work connects with the school setting, whereas social work with youth is more related to family settings and the performance of socio-legal protection and social guardianship. Prevailing methods of youth work are group activities, whereas work with individuals is more predominant in social work with youth. Social workers are, however, no longer bureaucrats and life organisers, but now more of a guide and counsellor able to accept clients as individuals capable of solving their own problems. Social work, however, still maintains a social protection function and formal control in relation to youth, aiming to prevent the occurrence or recurrence of unfavourable life situations.

Despite these differences, there is potential space for co-operation in several areas. The Strategy of the Slovak Republic for Youth for the years 2014-20 stresses the need for intersectional and intersectoral measures. In the current documents of youth policy (at European as well as national level) specific attention is paid to young people with fewer opportunities. Ever-growing poverty, unemployment, migration and ethnic minority issues, and also increasing problems related to racism and extremism, are challenges faced by youth work as well as social work with youth. In our opinion, there should be a common effort for finding solutions, rather than seeing each other as competitors. Both forms of working with young people are, today, actually based on the principles of respecting basic human rights, social justice, a partnership approach and mutual respect.

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Chapter 5

Youth work and youth justice in England and Wales: the history of a tense and troubled relationship

Mick Conroy

Introduction

As a starting point, it is important to recognise that through using previous historically documented frameworks such as Coussée, Lorenz and Verschelden (2010), Dugmore, Pickford and Angus (2007), Rose (1997), Davies (1999) and Jeffs (1979) we are better able to establish a sense of identity and a continuity of endeavour for those involved in various youth work organisations and services that have developed working practices to support the lives of young people. In the same way that youth work history can be said to have been dominated by the ongoing "universal work versus targeted work" debate (Davies 1999), so too has the history of youth justice work been characterised by antagonism between two dominant paradigms:

> The history of youth justice is a history of conflict, contradictions, ambiguity and compromise in a system that has traditionally pursued the twin goals of welfare and justice. (Muncie, Hughes and McLaughlin 2006: 1)

Moreover, in youth justice there have been attempts to fuse the welfare and justice approaches in the belief that this would form what Dugmore, Pickford and Angus (2007: 28) describe as a "seamless, merged practice". Similarly, developments within youth work policy and practice have at various times provided opportunities to make a contribution to welfarist approaches emerging in youth justice settings. For many youth work practitioners, however, participation in youth justice system programmes has often been seen as an unwanted and unnecessary departure from a welfarist approach, arguing that its punitive and targeted nature undermines the youth work profession's core commitment to open-access youth work, voluntary engagement and provision of universally accessible, non-stigmatising facilities (Davies 1999).

For other youth workers, contributions to working within the youth justice agenda have often been seen as a way to influence the treatment and reparation work done with young offenders and, according to Teasdale and Powell (cited in Jeffs and Smith 2002: 90), practitioners can use their experience of participative approaches as a means of enlightening other professionals with regard to more welfarist and youth-friendly ways of working.

Historical similarities

Some interesting parallels can be drawn between the respective developments of youth work and the youth justice system (Barry 2005). Each of the two disciplines can claim to have been born out of a concern for the welfare and rescue of young people (Jeffs and Smith 2002). Early youth work was carried out by Victorian philanthropists like John Pounds (1766-1839), who showed a moral concern for "ragged children" living in poverty on the streets or in the workhouses. This approach was characterised by an emphasis on relationships and voluntary participation and, more broadly, the welfare and education of the children involved. Much of this early welfare emanated from the (mainly) Christian ideal of the church organisations, and crucial to this movement was the formation of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) by George Williams in 1844, which became the first dedicated youth organisation in the United Kingdom (UK) (Jeffs 1979). The YMCA development was followed by a marked growth in the number of institutes, lads' clubs, and girls' clubs, which were established in order to "rescue and rehabilitate" those working-class young people who it was deemed did not have the necessary respect or regard for middle-class order and who were therefore in danger of involvement with criminal behaviour (Rose 1997). Davies (1999) reports on this developing concern towards the behaviour and morality of young people and claims that the welfarist intentions of early youth work pioneers contained "motives which at the very least were mixed". Entwined with their founding compassionate approach were anxieties about young working-class men breaking the law and the failure of young women to live up to the feminine ideals of the time. Thus emerged a narrative around the control of delinquency, even within early youth work initiatives. For example, the Boys Brigade required that its officers should "promote discipline and obedience, and encourage physical and moral culture" (Davies 1999: 9).

On the youth justice (or what might be called youth social work) front at this time, similar reactions to the mistreatment of children at "risk of" or already engaged in criminal activity led to the emergence of a lobby known as "the child savers". This included Mary Carpenter, whose aim was to protect children "who are not yet fallen into actual crime, but who are almost certain from their ignorance and destitution to do so" (Horn 2010: 97). Driven by a strong set of religious beliefs, she campaigned on behalf of poor children and in particular for the education and welfare of young offenders in prison. Her work became influential enough to affect parts of the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854, which recognised such education as a possible alternative to prison for younger offenders (Smith 2007). Challenging the dominant (punishment-based) ideology of the time Carpenter claimed that "Love draws with human cords far stronger than chains of iron" (Carpenter 2013/1851: 74). Her lobbying for welfare and education elements within punishment and sentencing was to pave the way for alternatives to adult prison to be considered for juveniles, such as the

Borstal school system of youth detention centres, the first of which opened in Borstal, Kent, in 1902. The "child savers" ideology towards young offenders of Victorian Britain, which emanated from prison reformers such as Carpenter, can readily be compared to the early youth work principles of rescue, welfare and protection (Davies 1999). As has been seen, there is evidence enough during these times of a convergence between youth work and youth justice which sought a welfarist approach. However, the strong commitment to the founding principles of early youth work based on voluntary engagement and universal access for all young people (as opposed to a targeted and punitive approach) had perhaps already become established as early indicators of prospective barriers to any joined-up delivery.

The growth of state intervention and strategies

The early 20th century saw the welfarist lobby in youth justice gain further momentum as the 1908 Children's Act saw the introduction of juvenile courts where cases involving young people could be dealt with separately. For example, a juvenile could be discharged to the supervision of a probation officer (the Probation Act of 1907 made that possible) or parents could be ordered to give security for a child's good behaviour (Inglis 1909). The provision of a probation officer whose role was defined as to "advise, assist and befriend", was an approach to working with young offenders that was not dramatically removed from the youth work being undertaken at the time in the aforementioned youth institutes.

Following the First World War (1914-18), it is worth mentioning the granting of powers to local education authorities to establish "Juvenile Organising Committees" for youth work (Smith 1988). It is also notable that the very title "Juvenile Organising Committees" resonates with the setting up of "juvenile courts" and confirms the use of similar terminology, as well as seemingly common approaches to work with individuals such as the "advising, assisting and befriending" role of the probation workers. In tune with that approach to probation work, the key characteristics of youth work revolved around an emphasis on relationships, a commitment to association, and a belief that practitioners should be approachable (Jeffs and Smith 2002).

Subsequent policies such as the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 attempted to consolidate the shift towards the "rehabilitative ideal", promising to reduce recidivism through treatment and corrective training (based on modern psychiatry). This act removed the punishment of whipping and introduced the idea of detention centres for young offenders which, while being less severe environments than borstals, were still set up to deliver a short, sharp, shock to offenders. However, the anti-welfarist stance within the criminal justice system was soon looking to counteract the claims of those supporting the "child saver" movement, and supporters of a more punitive approach saw their case strengthened by the fact that subsequently the 1948 act had a minimal effect on reducing crime. In fact, recorded crime increased by 7% between 1930 and 1948 and an even further growth rate of 10% for 1949 and 1950 (Bailey 1987). For young people, post-war prosperity had brought major cultural changes and influences such as American rock music, new fashions and films. These began to create generational differences and later came to be known as moral panics (Cohen 1972). During the 1950s and 1960s they were generally associated with the

rise of the "teenager", and youth subcultures such as Teddy boys, and later mods and rockers, all distinguishable by their clothes, style and behaviours which were somewhat alien to the previous generation (McDowell 2009).

These behaviours and fashions came to be linked with the deviant behaviour of young people and there followed a predictable anxiety around the growing number of subcultures among young people. Indeed, the sociologist Frank Musgrove warned at this time that young people having widely rejected the authority of the current adult-dominated social order would be "united in hostility against them" (Musgrove 1964: 2). Fuelled by the magnified concern of the media and reports of the 1958 riots in Nottingham and Brixton, the government had ordered a review into the perceived "youth problem" in order to ascertain what role the youth service should have in light of these changed social conditions. This perhaps indicated a potential role for youth work within the youth justice system in the provision of diversionary activity to help restore social order. This review led to the publication of the Albemarle Report (Ministry of Education, 1960) which, according to Davies (1999), heralded a period in the 1960s that was a "golden age" for the youth service. The Albemarle Report established that the concern of the youth service should be with the "whole" young person (in other words, his or her emotional, physical and social development) and the report was a major factor in determining a shift away from seeing the youth service as being solely concerned with leisure pursuits (Jeffs and Smith 1987). This shift therefore surely presented an opportunity for youth workers to contribute to other policy areas such as youth justice, especially given the growing concern about adolescent behaviour and the rising levels of crime among young people which were reported as an annexe to the full report.

Subsequently, however, there were no specific recommendations to assist with youth crime and Lord Hailsham reported that the "youth service is not, and does not like to be thought of as just a more attractive alternative to Borstal" though, in acknowledging the contribution that youth workers might make, Hailsham added that "there might, as a by-product of the youth service be less juvenile crime" (Davies 1999: 41).

According to Jeffs and Smith (1987) the youth service saw itself in competition with commercial leisure activities and chose to adopt a "something for everyone" approach which worked against those who saw a specific role in work with juvenile justice departments. Commentators such as Foreman (Foreman 1987) compares post-Albemarle youth work as being "the development of the redcoat style", alluding to the famous "redcoats" who organised games and leisure activities while working in the Butlins holiday camps, which became popular during the 1960s. This "jack of all trades and master of none" image of youth work perhaps meant it was under-skilled, ill-equipped and unprepared when intermediate treatment (IT) was introduced following the 1968 White Paper "Children in trouble" and the subsequent 1969 Children and Young Persons Act. Intermediate treatment schemes offered alternatives to custodial sentences with a community-based remit and involved some systematic efforts to draw youth workers into local youth justice teams (Davies 1999). This was done with some initial successes during this period, as some youth workers became involved in delivering IT programmes, and there were degrees of convergence between youth work and youth justice work on a level not reached previously (or, arguably perhaps, since). The National Youth Bureau in Leicester had

an IT Unit during the 1970s and innovative methods of work such as "detached youth work" were put forward by researchers as exemplars of "youth service schemes to reduce delinquency" (Davies 1999: 91). The Unit in Leicester gave priority to working with young offenders, to bridging the youth work–youth justice divide, and working with those deemed to be "at risk". Several regional youth work conferences were held to talk about the contribution youth work might make to IT programmes locally and two publications of Youth Service IT specials were produced in 1973 and 1977 (Davies 1999: 157). Furthering the progress of convergence between youth work and youth justice at this time, Wales also formed its own Intermediate Treatment Forum which was launched in 1976. This later grew into a practitioner-led group called Cynnydd (translates as "progress" in Welsh) which would go on to collaborate with youth services in delivering schemes such as the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme in working with young offenders on probation in 1991 in an effort to divert them from crime. This group was supported financially by the Wales Youth Agency via the National Voluntary Youth Organisation grant scheme, giving clear evidence of support for youth justice work from youth work at a national level.

Overall, however, and despite some of the successes of the IT programme, there was resistance among youth work practitioners to move towards what was seen as a "deficit" model for youth work and in the eyes of the majority within the field these steps were considered to be an "unacceptable version of extreme targeting and the pre-labelling of young people" (Teasdale and Powell 1987: 87). Perhaps more importantly, a perceived threat was detected to the core youth work principles and values of voluntary participation and universal access, which became the main defence put forward by proponents of voluntary open-access youth work (Gilchrist, Jeffs and Spence 2003). Teasdale and Powell (Cited in Jeffs and Smith, 2002: 82), in support of the "redcoat" theme mentioned above, also offer another potential explanation for the retreat of youth work from youth justice work in their citing of the apparent lack of specialist knowledge among youth workers of some of the more complex factors related to juvenile delinquency (such as judicial processes, legal status, criminology theories and psychological counselling).

The youth worker – Jack of all trades and master of none?

By the end of the 1970s, youth work had also shifted into the realms of community development following the Milson-Fairbairn report (Department of Education and Science, 1969) and this period saw moves to focus not only on workers as youth workers but as youth and community workers. This requirement for a flexible approach was described as a "potential weakness", leaving youth work vulnerable to not being "able to colonise a territory of its own" (Bradford 2008: 58).

The mid-1970s saw the emergence of a so-called "underclass" of young unemployed people (Murray 1996) engaged in increasing levels of criminality and juvenile delinquency. Further social tensions and political struggles led to the "winter of discontent" in 1978-79 which culminated in the election of a conservative government claiming that the decline in public morality should be the concern of parents, teachers and the community. The new Thatcher government therefore introduced a new emphasis on the role of youth work to promote "active citizenship" and "community action"

(Goldson and Muncie 2012: 12). This period raised questions for youth work practitioners about whether community organisations were being utilised as "agents of social control as opposed to agents of social change" (White 1990) and unsurprisingly there was again resistance among practitioners to move towards the "social control" aspects of conservative ideologies around law and order. There were calls for an end to the confusing array of overlapping welfare-oriented and punishment-based tariffs at the disposal of the courts. Consequently, under the 1982 Criminal Justice Act specific measures such as Supervised Activity Orders and Night Restriction Orders were brought in to intensify the coercive aspects of intervention (Smith 2007: 3). Here we see a shift from the rehabilitative agenda of the 1970s towards an emphasis on making the punishment fit the crime by restoration of appropriate "offence criteria" as being the basis for sentencing decisions. This relates to what was described as a prominence towards "just desserts, deterrence and control" (ibid.).

Although the tough talking "short, sharp shock" regime of the conservative government represented a victory to those who supported the "justice" rather than "welfare" model of intervention, we should be careful not to assume that this filtered through entirely into practice. Having been elected on a tough law and order stance, the Thatcher government soon found itself facing research which undermined and discredited the "short, sharp shock" approach (Thornton et al. 1984). Subsequently, a combination of academics, practitioners and senior civil servants developed alternative models that were based on research that had indicated that intense early intervention involving removing young people from their home and placing them in custody or care institutions often did more harm than good. The continued debates between the welfare lobbyists and the more punitive-minded government officials became an unlikely alliance but one that led to something of a golden age for community alternatives, described as an "anti-custody orthodoxy" (Haines and Drakeford 1998: 47). This seemed somewhat incongruous with the message from the government ministers of the day. Two distinctive practices emerged which set out to reduce the supposed harmful effects of intervention. One of these was a diversionary scheme through the development of cautioning and the other consisted of community-based initiatives and supervision orders as an alternative to custody (Haines and Drakeford 1998: 32).

In the same year as the 1982 Criminal Justice Act, the "Thompson report into youth work" (Department of Education and Science 1982) was published and its content contradicted much of the victim-blaming, "individual responsibility" agenda brought in by the Conservatives under the act. The Thompson report placed youth work practice parameters firmly within its historic values around voluntary engagement and open access, applauding the youth service for "the freedom young people had whether to participate or not" and (crucially in the context of this chapter) "the *non-authoritative* relationship between workers and young people" (ibid.: 48, emphasis added). The focus on the "non-authoritative" relationship and the promotion of young people's participation by the report added additional barriers to any possible further convergence with youth justice associations with authority and control.

Additionally, the National Youth Bureau Board (NYB) repeatedly expressed concern over the way that the law and police were dealing with young people, and the National Council for Voluntary Youth Services (NCVYS) detailed their own concerns strongly, by

stating that "law and order could become the altar on which the freedom of young people, their confidence in the police and their trust in youth workers be sacrificed" (cited in Davies 1999: 84). Against this oppositional background, youth work links with youth justice work were confined to relatively short-term inputs such as holiday play schemes for young people which were funded by police authorities. However, as the core funding for youth work contracted in the early 1990s, these partnerships became a way of providing additional youth work activities and supporting youth service programmes. According to Davies (1999) this period had drawn the youth service more formally into crime prevention than had happened previously, although many youth workers had always seen themselves as having a somewhat unseen role in diverting young people from crime as well as other related social problems. This is highlighted by Williamson in describing his own youth work practice during the 1980s: "I was there for the most troubled and troublesome, dealing unsensationally and often invisibly with issues to do with drugs, crime, sexual health and homeless-ness" (Williamson 2013: 21).

Could the imposition of a curriculum finally shape the youth work contribution?

Between 1989 and 1992 a series of ministerial conferences were held to review youth work policy in the UK. At the first conference (1989), urging youth workers to mirror their teaching colleagues in formal education, the government minister Alun Howarth challenged youth workers to adopt the notion of a "curriculum" which would clearly outline what youth work offered. The service debated the notion of a curriculum and the third ministerial conference (1992) saw pressure from minister Nigel Foreman for youth work to either evidence what it contributed to other policy agendas such as health, careers guidance and crime prevention or risk funding for the service if it failed to do so. The youth service needed to respond to the changed political situation and new managerialism ideologies around accountability, set outcomes, target setting, monitoring and evaluation. The subsequent shift to a focus on differing curriculum areas around work with young unemployed, health promotion and support for formal education perhaps further distanced any statutory youth work from any national youth work policy drive around crime prevention or strategic relationships with youth justice.

However, in 1996 the Audit Commission report "Misspent youth" (Audit Commission 1996) suggested that youth work could play a significant role in diverting young people from criminal activity and cited a number of endorsements from practices which had demonstrated a degree of success. These short-term convergences between the police and youth work were seen as sufficiently credible to perhaps make an impact on reducing crime in communities but a lack of any "hard" evidence left the government unconvinced from a value-for-money perspective. Evaluations from a youth work perspective conveyed the difficulties attendant to reconciling the tensions between person-centred youth work methods and the hard-line law and order expectations of youth justice (Davies 1999: 87).

The significance of a priority towards youth work support for other policy areas, including schools, was further embedded by the Labour election victory of 1997,

which was won on the mantra of Labour's big idea to tackle social exclusion with a focus on the three priorities of "Education, Education, Education".

The Home Secretary, Jack Straw, also launched the newly elected Labour government's White Paper "No more excuses: a new approach to tackling youth crime in England and Wales", promising a "root and branch reform of the youth justice system" (Home Office 1997). The central premise was that to prevent offending and reoffending by young people, it was necessary to stop making excuses for youth crime and accept that young people above the age of criminal responsibility are generally mature enough to be accountable for their actions and the law should recognise this. In order to provide "more strategic direction, set standards and measure performance", the government set up a new Youth Justice Board for England and Wales under the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. The proposals also included a new national network of youth offending teams (YOTs) providing programmes to stop offending behaviour. The YOTs consisted of practitioners from education, health, social care services, the police and probation, and sometimes youth work, although the developments across the regions were again piecemeal in terms of levels of involvement by youth services.

A government-commissioned audit of the youth service in 1997 reported that while much of the work going on was of high quality, any distinctive and unique contribution that the youth service provided for young people's development remained unreliably embedded in its practice (Davies 1999). An inability to produce quantitative research detailing the impact that youth work had on areas of social policy became a sticking point in convincing politicians about the value and validity of its role. A governmental Green Paper produced to review youth work in England in 1998 focused mainly on how youth work could contribute to formal education and to the work of other policy areas, including youth unemployment, rather than seeing any direct contribution of youth work in its own right outside of formal delivery settings.

A more positive view of the youth work role emerged in relation to a paper being produced for Wales where the newly devolved National Assembly for Wales gave full recognition to the role of the youth service in its flagship policy *Extending entitlement: Supporting young people in Wales* (National Assembly for Wales 2000). The Welsh policy envisioned a much more prominent role for youth services than did the reductionist view of youth service policy in England and therefore, potentially at least, a closer partnership with youth justice work. Further guidance to local authorities in Wales issued in 2002 required each of the 22 local authorities in Wales to set up local Children and Young People Partnerships; each partner was required to draw up a Young People's Strategy informed by other local strategies such as those dealing with crime and disorder, and youth offending. Defenders of the traditional role for youth work again wrestled with the new realities of the shift towards targeted work while trying to retain practice which offered the more person-centred, democratic forms of youth work. Howard Williamson, himself involved in the writing and production of *Extending entitlement* (National Assembly for Wales 2000) in his capacity as vice-chair of the Wales Youth Agency, and a board member of the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, encouraged the youth services of both England and Wales to broaden their outlook in terms of accepting the realities of delivery and partnership work with agencies such as youth offending teams. He had previously argued that in order to survive, youth services should embrace the work that contributed

to wider-ranging social issues including crime, training and health, while "simultaneously arguing forcefully for the first step requirement of open access traditional youth work" (Williamson 1998).

In Wales, these arguments contributed to the philosophy of the All Wales Youth Offending Strategy (Welsh Assembly Government/Youth Justice Board 2004) in which there was a degree of ideological convergence between youth work and youth justice work. Williamson, with one foot in the youth work camp and eyes firmly on young people's rights, was able to insist on inclusion of the wording that young offenders are "children first, offenders second" and key elements of the strategy were focused on community-based alternatives to custody that were in the best interests of the child. The "children first, offenders second" mantra paved the way for future youth justice initiatives to adopt similar youth work ideology within youth justice policy frameworks (see Case and Haines, 2015).

A parting of youth-work policy waves between England and Wales

In England, *Transforming youth work: resourcing excellent youth services* (Department of Education and Skills 2002) embraced the "Connexions" strategy, a new youth support service launched in 2000 delivered by so-called personal advisers drawn from education welfare, the careers service and some parts of the youth service. This firmly positioned youth workers in the hybrid role of youth work/careers advisers and working on an inclusion agenda with young people not engaged in education, employment or training (NEET). The scale of the shift, for example towards work with young people who were NEET, and a stronger focus on curriculum delivery and young people achieving accredited outcomes, has tipped the balance significantly away from the forms of relationship and approach that have been central to the development of youth work for well over a century.

Recent policy developments in Wales have similarly steered youth services more towards the education and employment agenda, to the point where there are perhaps less striking differences between youth work policy in England and in Wales. This is highlighted by the introduction of the Youth Engagement and Progression (YEP) Framework (Welsh Government 2013), which identified youth workers as being particularly suited to the lead-worker role in working with young people designated as NEET and, similarly to England, working alongside careers advisers. Additionally, the National Strategy for Youth Work in Wales (Welsh Government 2014) embraces the YEP framework and prescribes clear outcomes required by youth work with regard to its contribution to formal education.

Resistance by youth workers to the instrumental frameworks and clinical assessment processes such as ASSETPlus in the work undertaken by YOTs has been partly tempered by the fact that youth workers in England and Wales now find themselves completing similar Common Assessment Forms (CAFs), taking on casework, and recording curriculum activities undertaken by young people that they are working on, rather than with. And so we are witnessing the erosion of the professed distinctiveness of traditional, young-person-centred, process-led youth work as it becomes instrumentalised and its values compromised by neo-liberalism and the new

management revolution across the past 30 years. Neo-liberalism has engendered a more adult-centric and compliance-focused professional youth work characterised by increasingly prescriptive managerialism, inflexibility, enforcement-led and individualised target-driven approaches visited upon "at risk" populations.

England has now seen the relegation of youth policy to local level and in many regions its most recent youth policy statement "Positive for Youth" (UK Government 2011) requires outcome measurements and social impact evidence from any funded provision. The youth justice contribution from youth work has now shifted from the treatment and intervention approach in the 1970s to prevention by economic means in 2016 – that is, getting NEETs a job or formal accredited training opportunities means they are less likely to fall into criminal behaviour. For youth-work policy in Wales, there is still hope for a less reductionist and more entitlement-based approach for youth work than that evident currently in England, particular as the current Welsh Government minister responsible for youth work has made a commitment to refreshing *Extending entitlement*. The National Strategy for Youth Work in Wales (Welsh Government 2014) still recognises and emphasises the positive role that universal, open-access youth work can have on the lives of young people. In trying to embrace both ends of the open access-targeted spectrum there is also the additional purpose for open-access youth work to recognise that "it is vitally important that open-access provision is used to effectively connect young people with more targeted or specialised support where this is appropriate" (Welsh Government 2014). Additionally, part of the more optimistic approach in Wales includes the fact that it became the first devolved nation in the UK to incorporate the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations General Assembly 1989) into domestic legislation. Moreover, in 2011, The National Assembly for Wales voted in favour of the general principles of the Proposed Rights of Children and Young Persons (Wales) Measure, which places a statutory duty on local authorities to demonstrate how they are incorporating the Convention on the Rights of the Child into their service delivery. Other recent initiatives include a youth "offer" for young people through the Wales Charter for Youth Work (Welsh Government 2016), which sets out minimum expectations for youth work at a standard that should be adhered to across Wales.

Future relationships for youth work and youth justice

For current practice, it is worth exploring what the youth justice system and future models of delivery might adopt from youth work principles and purposes. New research emerging from the work of youth justice academics is promoting and campaigning for what is being proposed as a new model of delivering youth justice, known as "Children First Youth Work" (CFYW), for youth offending teams to adopt (Case and Haines, 2015). This will again open up possibilities for a renewed commitment from youth work to assist youth justice in helping those most in need and at risk of exclusion from society. Case and Haines claim that the CFYW model offers an alternative to the adult-centric, system-centric and compliance-focused elements of both youth justice and youth work that can limit children's capacity to contribute to and participate in voluntary and meaningful supportive interventions. It will be interesting to see how youth workers respond to the inclusion of the term "youth work" in the title of a proposed delivery model for a seemingly oppositional

professional practice. As we have seen, the history of youth justice legislation and policy tells us that a merger of the two has, until now, been practically impossible at both political and professional levels. Perhaps the CFYW model offers a new opportunity for youth work to contribute to a more person-centred approach to our young people in the criminal justice system.

Final thoughts

In concluding this historical overview, it is worth noting that there have been many opportunities for youth work to contribute to and help blend the justice and welfare debate into some symmetrical equilibrium – a vision of future practice where the justice seekers and the welfare bringers can find a mutually agreed pathway to supporting the lives of young people, particularly those proclaimed by others to be troubled and troublesome. If this can be achieved, then what emerges is the "perfect practice" model that we all seek. However, in the quest for this "holy grail", consecutive youth justice and youth work administrations have at different times favoured either side of the welfare versus justice debate and the pendulum has periodically swung from one side to the other as attempts have been made to generate a union between the two ideologies.

As has been reported throughout this chapter, the adherence to the voluntary engagement principle has been a consistent barrier to aligning youth work with youth justice work. It is contended that if youth work is ever to be effective in the youth justice arena, it then perhaps needs to do what Jon Ord (2009) referred to as "thinking the unthinkable" and to reimagine what we mean by the voluntary engagement principle. If we accept that young people in targeted provisions or those on compulsory attendance in youth offending teams still have an element of choice as to whether to engage or not with the worker, then can we not redefine voluntary engagement as being whether the young person is continuing to be engaged with the process or not? While recognising the undoubted value of the purist version of voluntary participation as a dynamic of practice, can we any longer insist that it is a necessary condition of youth work? Proponents of the traditional approach to youth work, such as the organisation In Defence of Youth Work, find it difficult to accept the notion of young people being "confined" to a place by youth workers. For them, the targeted and youth justice agenda removes youth work from its traditional ethos. Yet is there not a counter argument in this lesson from history, which evidences the perennial targeting of young people ever since the youth work within the "ragged schools" of Victorian times?

Conclusion

We are therefore presented with the perhaps familiar and uncontroversial conclusion that a youth work role in the youth justice system becomes dependent not only on political priorities of the day but also on the extent to which youth workers are willing to embrace the apparent oppositional philosophy of youth justice work and abandon current definitions of the "voluntary engagement" principle and the "universal, open-access" agenda. This demands that youth work has to, following Howard Williamson's often used phrase, "distinguish between its cherished values

(to be defended) and its sacred cows (to be slain)". Until such a debate is resolved around whether the voluntary engagement principle is a "cherished value" to be defended at all costs or a "sacred cow" to be slain in the acceptance of the "targeted" youth work that takes place within some youth justice teams, then tensions around partnerships and collaboration with youth justice will inevitably always remain.

The proposed Children First Youth Work model above goes beyond youth justice into all areas of the young person's life, relating to them in holistic terms and normalising a positive approach to them when they offend. Case and Haines (2015) assert that a systematic expansion of the principles established in relation to youth justice into wider spheres of work with children and young people is possible. There is now, more than ever, a strong case for a move from punitive youth justice systems towards the more positive Children First Youth Work model for youth justice settings and youth work in England and Wales, thus providing the opportunity for practitioners to again contribute to the revival and survival of the welfarist approach within youth justice work.

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Chapter 6

Two see-saws in motion: youth work and social work in Italy

Daniele Morciano and Armida Salvati

Introduction

This chapter addresses the history of youth work and social work in Italy in the period from 1900 until today. In this historical reconstruction we highlight the alternating connections and disconnections between youth work and social work practices. In the early 20th century a state of separation existed between control-oriented social work and youth work that functioned within the education system for those from bourgeois families. Both practices would have had strong co-operation from the Fascist regime oriented towards the implementation of a totalitarian political and social system. After the Second World War, a new disconnection occurred between institutionalised social work based on the case management of youth problems on one side, and a more informal youth work practice featuring a community approach on the other. From the 1980s until today, finally, youth work and social work seem to be looking with increasing interest at a new potentiality of co-operation, that of empowering young people as a resource for society by helping them to face the personal, social and structural barriers that impede their potential. The analysis takes into account the different representations of young people throughout the evolution of the practice of youth work and social work in Italy in the time frame considered. The chapter also draws attention to the main drivers that motivated the development of the profession of social work recognised by the state, as well as the difficulties of the development of a professional and institutional foundation of youth work in the Italian context.

Disconnection: social work to control and youth work to educate

Professional social work was established in Italy later than in the UK. Before the First World War the Catholic Church was mainly responsible for this particular area of work, at least until the establishment of the Italian Constitution in 1948. Article 38 of the Constitution declares the right to assistance for "every citizen unable to work and without the necessary resources to live". It focuses attention on the duty of the Italian state to take care of citizens who are physically or economically unable to look after themselves and cannot therefore lead a respectable life. Youth as a social category, however, was not considered in public policy until the beginning of the 1960s.

In the early 20th century, the earliest forms of professional social work in Italy were oriented towards factory workers. The social work task was to assist workers and at the same time to control insurgencies (Bartolomei and Passera 2010). It was a service that was both a help and a control for young people who were increasingly perceived as dangerous by Italian public opinion between the end of the 1800s and the first two decades of the 1900s. This was similarly the case in other western and eastern European states. A combination of demographic, economic and social factors brought about the progressive disruption of traditional patterns of integration of young people within adult society. These factors included the increased demographic incidence of youth on the total population, the crisis of centuries-old agricultural economies (due to international competition); the loss of traditional forms of access for young people to trades based on apprenticeships; and changes in family roles brought about by new work in the manufacturing sector. A mass of unskilled and unemployed young people went hand in hand with the loosening of family ties, membership and rules (Dogliani 2003). During the First World War, a considerable number of children who had not received the call to arms found themselves working in military industries and areas behind the front line (logistics, fortifications) (Gorgolini 2005). It is estimated that in 1918 over 70 000 children under the age of 16 were employed in ancillary military industries (Bianchi 1991). Such children were thus forced into the role of adults from an early age, riven also by the absence of fathers who had left for the front. These "young militarized workers" (Gorgolini 2005) experienced greater freedom in expressing their opposition to the war, as well as to long working hours and exhausting working conditions, exacerbated by strict military discipline. The rejection of such hardship was expressed through strikes, absenteeism, petty theft and fleeing.

While entrusting the solution to the problem of dangerous youth from deprived, working classes in society to policies of repression and institutionalisation, the professional, educated classes began to direct their attention towards the education of the young through group activities beyond school. "[B]y the turn of the century, they began to notice the limits of youth education based simply on the suffocating methods of education in high schools and technical schools" (Fincardi and Papa 2007: 6). Indeed, neither the school nor the family seemed able to "regulate the public or private conduct of youth, turning them towards the liberal values of dynamic social and national competition" (ibid.). Sports activities, games, excursions and other forms of spare-time social activities began to be promoted among young males from the bourgeoisie in order to "temper the body and the individual" and thus cultivate and mature values based on patriotism and national competitiveness.

These youth work activities were increasingly carried out by Scout associations that were established during the early 20th century. Founded in 1912, The Corpo Nazionale dei Giovani Esploratori (CNGEI) (National Body of Youth Scouts) became the leading secular Scout organisation supported by the state. Four years later, the Associazione Scoutistica Cattolica Italiana (ASCI) (Italian Catholic Scout Association) would place the Baden-Powell model in an explicitly Christian vision of life and society (Trova 1986).

As in the religious sphere, youth associations were also promoted between socialist and communist political movements (Degl'Innocenti 2012; Dogliani 2003; Fincardi and Papa 2007). These political movements were to provide a new space within the

mass parties for the political action of young people. The Federazione Giovanile Socialista (FGS) (Socialist Youth Federation), for example, was founded in 1907 with the objectives of pacifist education and union protection for a growing class of young workers.

While social workers were engaged in the factories acting as agents of control of the working class, youth associations supported by the socialist and communist political movements founded the People's Houses. These were places where the integration of political education with leisure activities took place within the tradition of the mutual aid associations and worker co-operatives, which had spread from the second half of the 1800s. Activities of artistic production and fulfilment (choirs and bands, social theatre, concert halls) were combined with those of self-education (libraries, reading rooms) as well as recreational spaces (cafés, restaurants, bars) (Orsi 2013). The People's Houses, therefore, offered new youth work activities to young people coming from more privileged socio-economic backgrounds, as alternatives to the youth education offered by the state or church and the local parishes. As Degl'Innocenti recalls "the People's Houses were presented as antithetical to palaces and castles, the emblems of aristocratic power, the middle-class house, symbol of small private property, as well as the Church" (Degl'Innocenti 2012: 328).

Connection: social work and youth work as integrated functions of the Fascist regime

The Fascist movement placed youth at the centre of its political project. In fact, the ultimate goal of Fascism in terms of youth was the exploitation of youthful vitality in order to service its expansionist and militarist political project, doing so through a clever combination of measures of repression, social control and education.

Even if not yet trained at professional level, social workers started to be involved by the Fascist regime in the Opera Nazionale Maternità e Infanzia (ONMI), the programme entrusted with the task of dealing with the issue of evermore unruly youth, and were therefore more likely to perceive protest as rebellion and disobedience, rather than as expressions of hardship. Indeed, the ONMI established "observation centres for minors with the task of not only punishing, but also controlling forms of deviance and psychological and physical defects in the generations of *new Italians*" (Dogliani 2003: 69-70; original emphasis).

Alongside social work organisations like the ONMI, the fascists established a unique state intervention in out-of-school education of young people. In this regard, the fascistisation of new generations of Italians is considered by historians as "the most successful attempt among those undertaken by Fascism to organise Italians according to orders, genres and generations" (Dogliani 2003: 106). In order to do this, Fascism developed a mass education policy that aimed to fully occupy the leisure time of youth, leading even to the exploitation of schools as a means of ideological indoctrination.

In 1926, to this end, Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) was founded, an autonomous body with the task of educating young people aged 8 to 18 through the following: "a) a sense of discipline and military education in the young; b) military

education; c) gymnastic physical education; d) spiritual and cultural education; e) vocational and technical education" (Baris 2011: 196).

A further success factor of Fascist mass youth education can be identified in the ability to create a new widespread network of local educational spaces. In several cases, the Case del Fascio (House of Fascio) was established as a result of the forced closure of existing associations. Despite their different forms, these spaces followed a standard architectural pattern (gyms, showers, libraries, cinemas, sports facilities) with the ultimate intention of hosting activities of education, propaganda and political involvement carried out by the Fascist youth organisations.

However, it is perhaps the educational Fascist summer camps for children and adolescents that "have left more lasting traces, at least in the memories of Italians" (Dogliani 2003: 118). Specially created housing developments were established where children and young people spent holiday periods away from their families, with recreational activities integrated with those of health and healing. With a total of 806 904 children and adolescents accommodated and 960 structures created in a decade, the Fascist colonies (together with 2 000 daytime heliotherapy camps in different cities) were fully integrated into the policies of "social hygiene for the improvement of the Italian *lineage*" (ibid.; original emphasis).

Located within the history of education in Italy from the early 1900s onwards, the uniqueness of Fascism also lies in being the first (and perhaps the only) government to have regulated and recognised the profession of the youth educator at an institutional level. Indeed, with the growth of the ONB, the number of operators involved such as sports instructors, gym teachers, youth bodies and ONMI assistants also increased. Fascism was also to implement two youth sport instructor training schools, one in Rome for men in 1928 and the other in Orvieto for women four years later. By training a total of 138 000 youth instructors in 1938, Fascism "aimed to forge *new* men and women, models for the new generations of Italians" (ibid.: 120; emphasis added).

Disconnection: social work as casework, youth as new collective actor

After the Second World War, professional social work arrived in Italy from the United States together with financial help and music culture. The first schools of social work were organised in the north of Italy and their aim was to train a new professional figure, in Italy called "social assistant". This new job (predominantly, for a long time, a female job) aimed, as today, to help citizens who were in trouble and indigent on the difficult route towards autonomy.

This professional role of social assistant also included the theoretical methodology of social work. The 1950s in Italy had a strong psychological approach focused on the individual (the case management approach) while group work and community work were only marginally used. Social research at the time had as a result a vision of young people as a vague social category in which different and rebel lifestyles were included (that is, the Teddy boys) (Jedlowski and Leccardi 2003). Young people in this period were strongly against traditions and rules. For this reason, they were considered potentially dangerous for society.

The rise of young people as new social actors had already begun with the involvement of young people in the Resistance during the Second World War, as well as with their commitment to the work of social and material reconstruction in the immediate post-war period, thereby providing an intense experience of participation in Italian history. This instigated the gradual emergence of young people as social subjects, able to express their own autonomous and original contribution to society (Dogliani 2003). In a different respect, however, the 1950s were dominated by a general climate of adultism. Historians describe the 1950s as a period of "darkness, conformist and hierarchical in relations between the sexes, between classes, between generations; young people were repressed in their customs, sexuality and divided in culture" (ibid.: 182). It is no coincidence, therefore, that in this climate young people began to claim, in different forms, the right to be recognised as an active social subject with their own specific and particular way of being.

The real youth question – both politically and literally – emerged in the following decade. As in the rest of the world, the year 1968 in Italy was full of student movements that demanded liberty and democracy in all aspects of Italian society. Social services also experienced a critical spring during the 1960s. Specifically, there were two main questions, the first being whether or not social services should be considered an agent of change or whether social work should just remain a defender of the status quo. The economic boom, however, left unsolved the second question of social equality. In this period, a Marxist position became important in understanding the situation of the young; according to this perspective, the problems arising from the abuse of drugs, deviance and behavioural risks should be addressed through a system that included the group, the family and the social milieu, rather than focusing on the individual (Campanini 2002). Accordingly, in the last years of the 1960s the left wing of the government organised young people in the FGCI (Federation of Young Italian Communists) as a space for political youth participation (Bernini, Trivelli and Serri 1976).

Reconnection: preventing youth problems

The 1970s in Italy was not a peaceful decade because of the terrorist strategy adopted by the extremist political fringes of both left and right. This was the period when the youth problem became a political problem; young people had a different and conflicted political vision, producing a generation gap with regard to prominent issues and the ways to address them (Collettivo di Controinformazione 1977; Manconi 1990). In 1978, with the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, the leader of the major political party, Christian Democracy, the revolutionary spirit of youth movements collapsed. In particular, the extremist political movement *Brigate Rosse* (Red Brigades) had wanted to impede Aldo Moro's attempt to involve the Communist Party in the government led by the Christian Democracy party. In fact, entering the national government would have meant accepting a compromise with the capitalist political institutions that the radical communist fringes wanted to change.

A widespread negative attitude towards any kind of revolutionary ideology, therefore, arose during the 1970s due to the climate of violence and terror as well as to the sense of failure or betrayal of the ideals pursued by the youth movement of 1968.

In fact, Moro's murder and other terrorist attacks led public opinion to associate the revolutionary agenda of the youth movement of the 1960s with terrorist violence.

Social work at the time was divided between those who had a paternalistic attitude and those who tried to give voice to young people, although the loss of the revolutionary spirit continued to express itself in new forms of social participation, even if not linked with political parties or movements. Youth participation between the 1970s and 1980s became less associated with a vision of the future based on specific political ideologies. In other ways, young people were increasingly involved in different forms of social engagement addressing the problems of the present, such as disarmament, peace, environmental protection, women's rights, varying forms of marginalisation and social fragility (Dal Toso 1995). The growing involvement in voluntary work continued until the establishment of the Civil Service during the 1990s as an alternative to military service.

One of the darkest sides of this transition stage, however, was the diffusion of drugs among young people and young adults. The use of heroin and cocaine increased, especially between the 1970s and 1980s, with a growing number of deaths caused by overdose. The role of social workers, therefore, became more and more necessary in the therapeutic communities for drug addiction, as well as in preventive detached social work (Franzoni and Anconelli 2014).

In the meantime, the Framework Law 883/1978 established the national health service within social policy in a wider idea of welfare. The keywords of this period were prevention and information. In particular, prevention was the most important element of the general public social service and specific policies such as those related to drug addiction. From the 1970s there was a high prevalence of drug use among young people. Therapeutic communities for recovery had therefore been introduced into the third sector (or voluntary sphere) during this period. The administrative orders (Law 685/1975), in addition to repressive intervention, were proposing an approach oriented towards prevention and harm reduction (Bertelli 2007; Franzoni and Anconelli 2014).

When oriented towards prevention, social work was practised as a form of non-formal education. Social workers were therefore increasingly involved in out-of-school education during the leisure time of young people and in encouraging peer-to-peer learning and group experiences.

In tune with the preventive and reparative mission of professional social work, during the same period direct intervention of the state in the youth work sector resumed in the social policies of local authorities (Bazzanella 2010). This occurred, for example, with the Progetti Giovani (*Youth projects*) and, soon after, with the Centri di aggregazione giovanile (*Centres for youth groups*) funded by Law 285/1997 (Provisions for the promotion of rights and opportunities for childhood and adolescence). The Progetti Giovani youth centres have, since the 1970s, represented places for the production and realisation of youth policy. From the 1970s to 1990s, the Progetti Giovani youth projects were, for example, promoted by more than half of municipalities with over 10 000 inhabitants (Gruppo Abele 1994). Developing from the need to address issues facing young people, the Progetti Giovani have often overseen the development of meeting spaces where young people can express their creativity and also as centres

of education on health issues (for example drugs, sexuality, alcoholism). The 1980s and 1990s saw the spread of the national CAG, centres funded by Law 285/97 which, by the year 2000, numbered around 900 projects across the country (Italian National Childhood and Adolescence Documentation and Analysis Centre 2001). Even at the beginning of 2000, such provision continued to be funded, accounting for 35% of the total projects resourced through the aforementioned Law 285/97. Research on the issue is still lacking in Italy, despite the proliferation of such experiences in both urban areas and smaller towns. In 2006, it was estimated that there were 1 400 such spaces throughout the country (Bazzanella 2010).

With the reorganisation of the social services system initiated by Law 328/2000 (Framework law for the realisation of the integrated system of interventions and social services), centres for adolescents and young people would continue to operate within the sphere of local social and health services with structures mainly entrusted to management by third-sector organisations.

A persistent disconnection: social workers as professionals, youth workers as ...?

From the Second World War until the present day, a clear disconnection is evident between a national legislative framework for professional social work and a legislative vacuum in national youth policy, along with the absence of a specific professional role of youth worker. Social workers in Italy are currently professionals trained through specific higher education courses. A three-year degree and a state examination are required to become a professional social worker. A further two years of academic training allows for the holding of a management role as a specialist social worker. A national professional register supports the continuing professional education of social workers, as well as giving them the respect of the code of ethics. The social work profession, therefore, is recognised by national law and social workers are formally included in public social and health services, as well as in the social and educational services provided by the third sector.

In contrast, various regulated professions in the sphere of education (for example professional educator, socio-cultural educator, community worker) are still not focused on young people, while practical experience in the field remains the only viable pathway for specialising in youth work. Such limitation also exists in relation to social workers as long as they are regularly engaged in the private sector as educators. This limitation seems indicative of how a vision still prevails in Italy of youth work being understood essentially as a front-line activity or as education oriented towards specific (religious or political) ideologies. The only space for more structured skills development for youth workers relates to the planning and implementation of projects funded by the European Union youth policy programmes. The creation of a professional youth worker whose youth training and certification is regulated by the state on the basis of specific accreditation systems (as, for example, in countries such as Ireland, the UK, Sweden and Finland) seems a challenge that the various associations and youth centres in Italy are still struggling to grasp (Bazzanella 2010). Despite a number of projects supported by European Union programmes, in Italy there is still no specific national public policy or programme with the specific

purpose of developing youth work professionals, services, practices or evaluation. As highlighted in the last European Union report on youth work in Europe (Dunne et al. 2014) priority assigned to youth work by national government seems to be "slightly increasing (however) no law defining or regulating youth work (exists) and youth work is generally not perceived as a policy priority" (ibid.). Even if training initiatives about youth work are increasing at local level, they are not linked to any public accreditation or recognition framework. As stated in the last European Union youth work report: "it is not only the scarcity of training prospects in some cases, but also where opportunities exist, gaining recognition or having those experiences validated" (ibid.: 128).

A new possible connection: working for youth problems to unlock youth potential

Although such disconnection is evident at a legislative and policy level, increasing pressure comes from social policy to integrate public professional social work and private, non-professional (in the sense of being voluntary) youth work at the practice level. Such co-operation seems increasingly required to face what appears to be a shared primary issue for youth policy and social policy, namely youth unemployment. In general, the youth question in the 1990s was firmly connected to the problem of unemployment. Many youth policies in the 1990s were aimed at increasing work possibilities for young people by way of self-employment and through supporting the school-to-work transition.

Of particular importance in Italy was Law 285/97 establishing provisions for the promotion of rights and opportunities for children and adolescents; it was the first step for the third sector in terms of the legal regulation of educative social co-operatives and other non-profit organisations. Its aim was to support social and educational work on the outskirts of towns and cities and where there was a lack of space for group experiences and associative life in leisure time (what were known as *Centri di aggregazione giovanile* (Centres for youth groups) in Italy between the 1980s and 1990s). The law rolled out new modalities of co-operation between public and private actors. Working practices with young people, therefore, made an important contribution and gave a significant impetus to the development of a welfare mix approach. Networking became increasingly important in social work as well as in wider work with young people.

Moreover, in the most recent years of the new millennium, the keyword seems to be "resource". Creativity, initiative, self-motivation and innovation can and must be based on young people. Not imparting the value of these to the young will lose resources for all of society. Even social investment policies are interested in this phenomenon, in recovering resources before they get wasted as a result of the discouragement caused by a system that does not accord value to young people. The aim of different policies since the 1990s has been to stop the dispersion of resources and energy caused by unemployment, which especially penalises those young people who have studied for considerable lengths of time (Ranci and Pavolini 2015).

This opening up of social work to embrace a vision of youth as a resource to be valued (and not only as a problem for society) coincided with a phase of youth policy

more oriented towards objectives of youth empowerment and emancipation. In particular, this phase was launched in Italy in 2006 with the establishment of the first Ministry of Youth and the creation of a national fund for youth policies. This new period of youth policy contributed to the creation of a policy and cultural context that encourages innovation in youth and social policy. Social policy, as well as youth policy, is now more oriented towards a combination of prevention, reparation and empowerment approaches. A challenge now seems open for social workers and youth workers, namely in the building of integrated policy and interprofessional practices where solutions to youth problems are not imposed using a top-down control-oriented approach, but co-constructed together with young people as a process of empowerment, discovering and improving motivation and skills, self-fulfilment and social emancipation.

Youth centres as spaces for experimenting with new connections

A space for innovative experimentation based on co-operation between youth workers and social workers could, for example, be provided by the new public youth spaces supported by the National Youth Fund from 2006 and entrusted to third-sector management, such as the Laboratori Urbani Giovanili (Urban Youth Lab) in Apulia (Morciano 2015; Morciano et al. 2013), Visioni Urbane in Basilicata and the Officine dell'arte in Lazio. The distinctive feature of these spaces is their attempt to provide learning experiences closely connected with practice and explicitly focused on the interests, motivations and passions of young people. These new spaces therefore seem to be designed as containers of a large number of resources (such as equipment, information, relationship networks, learning experiences) that young people can use in order to create their own projects or collaborate in the implementation of existing projects. An underlying principle is the attempt to diversify and develop opportunities for the active use of these spaces, ranging from the ability to cultivate a hobby to the realisation of projects aimed at entrepreneurship and business creation. These new centres therefore tend to develop as incubators of new projects derived from youth initiatives through the internal creation of a hub of diverse tangible and intangible resources.

These new experiences of centre-based youth work, however, are faced with the need to cope with drastic cuts to the public funding dedicated to youth policies. Indeed, following the allocation of €130 million during the first two years (2006-07), the National Fund for Youth Policy budget has steadily decreased, reaching €13 million in 2014. This decrease is part of a general cut to public funds for social policy. (A dossier prepared by CGIL, one of the major labour unions in Italy, calculates how from 2008 to 2014, the fund for social policies has been cut from an original amount of €923.3 million to €69.95 million.) Furthermore, the Ministry of Youth was abolished in 2011, thus ushering in the present situation of a weak focus on youth policies.

Conclusion

The metaphor of a continuous movement of two different see-saws, one in front of the other, seems to represent the historical evolution of social work and youth work in Italy, characterised by alternate moments of proximity or distance.

The history of youth work in Italy mainly corresponds to the history of educational associations for young people operating in the third-sector sphere. The only systematic state intervention for youth education was established by the Fascist regime, which did produce a phase of strong intersection between social work and state-based youth education: the former entrusted with a number of services for the social control of youth delinquency and rebellion, the latter established to exploit youthful vitality and channel it for an expansionist and militarist political project.

Following the Second World War, youth work in Italy was again characterised by limited state intervention and a simultaneous offering from political or religious youth associations. The first youth policy interventions during the 1980s launched a stage of increasing commitment to public-funded youth centres and the entrustment of youth work projects to the third sector. This phase is still ongoing and includes a resistance to build a common national framework of youth work principles, objectives, approaches and skills.

The launch of a public youth policy during the 1980s appeared in tune with social work and social policies operating at local level. Both private youth work and public social work focused on a reparative approach to health or social problems involving young people (including issues such as delinquency, early school leaving, alcohol abuse, drug addiction, sex education, teenage pregnancy, unemployment) until the beginning of the 21st century.

A phase of youth policy more oriented towards youth empowerment was launched in 2006, when a Ministry of Youth and a National Fund for Youth Policy were established for the first time. The abolition of the Ministry of Youth in 2011 and the decrease in resources provided by the National Fund for Youth Policy (from €130 million in 2006 to €13 million in 2014) is part of the current uncertain period for youth policy and youth work in Italy.

A disconnection is still clear in Italy between a national legislative framework for social policy and professional social work, and a legislative vacuum in national youth policy and youth work. Although such disconnection continues to prevail at a legislative level, there is an increasing potential for integration between social workers and youth workers at the level of practice. Today, the two see-saws of social work and youth work seem to come closer when social policy pushes youth workers to develop new approaches based on networking with different operators and professionals elsewhere in the youth sector. At the same time, the cuts to public funding for social policy caused a decrease in job opportunities for youth workers, who are therefore pushed to develop new job co-operation with other third-sector organisations, including those working with youth.

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Chapter 7

The "social" in youth work: snapshots of Finnish youth work policy and history

Juha Nieminen and Anu Gretschel

Introduction

I n recent years, there has been heated discussion concerning the relationship between youth work and social work nationally in Finland and more widely in the international arena. The fundamental question in this discussion revolves around the professional substance of youth work: Is youth work a field in its own right, or has it merged with the field of social work? A final consensus has not yet been reached, perhaps due to the fact that the question has generated different answers depending on the professional, scientific, political, national or cultural background of the participants. These answers have been connected with various functional, administrative, financial and educational solutions, and social stances.

In Finland, the social nature of youth work has been addressed in several recent reforms of the Youth Act. As yet, it remains to be discovered how far the outreach youth work requirements first included in the Youth Act in 2010 as an amendment, and incorporated in the most recent act of 2017, will push youth work in Finland towards the realm of specialised social work. At the European level, the concept paper (EU–Council of Europe Youth Partnership/Aġenzija Żgħażagħ 2016) for the sixth seminar on the History of Youth Work asked the sessions "to clarify what youth work is, without confining youth work's identity to a description in terms of current methods". The paper shows that in many countries, the discussion is coloured by technical discourse that excludes some methods and includes others, defines boundaries between youth work, school or social work or presents new methods of integrating vulnerable young people only. According to the concept paper, "the restriction of the discussion to rather methodical questions with a direct relevance for today's policies makes youth work a vulnerable practice in these times of austerity".

In general, the tone of the discussion has not been very elevated. In fact, it has focused extensively on comparing the disparities and parities of youth work and social work. Furthermore, youth work as a concept, profession, discipline and field has been considered dependent on the ability to implement the different aims, ethos and methods of social work. Thus, the analysis of youth work has been relative (comparing youth work and social work), but any analysis of youth work itself has lacked depth. Consequently, although many years have elapsed, we are still somewhat ignorant of the social characteristics of youth work. The basic question, therefore, should shift from the relative to the essential: What is "social" in youth work?

The aim of this chapter is to describe the social aspect of youth work during different periods and to show how youth work has always been connected to everyday policy. The chapter is retrospective in nature. It will start with recent discussion and work back in time to the beginning of the 20th century. This brief contribution does not offer a comprehensive analysis nor does it cover all of the features of the topic in each historical epoch, but it will try to illustrate aspects of the "social" in youth work by means of selected historical excerpts.

The notional challenge of this chapter is the loose, unfocused and non-theoretical use of the concept "social" in youth work and in historical research on youth work. Moreover, dictionaries of the English and Finnish languages provide more than 10 definitions of "social". In fact, the concept of "social" has, at least, the following meanings:

- ▶ sociality;
- ▶ being extroverted;
- ▶ interactivity;
- ▶ communality;
- ▶ societal.

On the rebound, even in the social sciences the concept of "social" is unclear, and it has been called an "essentially contested concept" due to associated complexity and different viewpoints that are sometimes also contradictory (Dolwick 2009; Fuglsang and Sørensen 2006; Pyyhtinen 2010). Numerous implicit and explicit theories around the concept of "social" exist. For example, according to Georg Simmel, "social" means the impulse to gravitate towards and connect with other human beings. Simmel considers the social as an association, which is a reciprocal process leading, for instance, to an institution or society (Pyyhtinen 2010).

In the following snapshots, a broader standpoint on "social" will lead us to abandon the simple juxtaposition of youth work and social work. Instead of listing the differences, we will chart the different ideas and forms of "social" in youth work. The historical snapshots describe developments in youth work and connect them to the wider concurrent trajectories prevalent in Finnish society at the time. The chapter also mentions selected youth employment activities to illustrate the continuities and changes of the "social" in youth work.

Snapshot 1: Recent social dimensions – outreach off the beaten track (2008-17)

As mentioned in the introduction, a new Youth Act came into force at the beginning of 2017, replacing the previous act of 2006.

In autumn 2016, the Finnish Parliament debated the new Youth Act. During the discussion, MPs from the opposition frequently challenged the government's suggestion of cutting a quarter of the budget allocated to outreach youth work and youth workshops. A contradiction between action and talk was also pointed out: the key action of creating multiprofessional youth guidance one-stop shops would be rendered meaningless by the cuts, if young people could not be reached in the first place and if there were no facilities, such as youth workshops, to which they could be directed (Parliament of Finland 2016).

Later the government amended the budget and it was reduced by €1.6 million in 2017. This sum is approximately a third of the outreach youth work budget from the previous year (€6 million in 2016). Finnish Youth Cooperation – Allianssi, an umbrella organisation of more than 120 youth organisations, stated that the annual debate on cuts puts the whole outreach youth work system in jeopardy (Finnish Government 2016a; Finnish Youth Cooperation – Allianssi 2016; personal exchange with Hanna Sauli, 17 January 2017).

Outreach youth work was an integral part of the amendment to the Youth Act of 2010. The purpose of outreach work as set out in the act is

> to reach those in need of support and help him or her to engage with the services that will promote his or her growth and independence and his or her access to education and to the labour market.

In the revised version of the act, the aims are even broader; involvement in society and support of life-management are also mentioned. As is typical in youth work, the co-operation of young people with outreach youth work is voluntary. On the other hand, different authorities are required by law to provide information on discontinued education, military or non-military service, if they consider a need for intervention and support is warranted. Walldén (2008: 3) has aptly described Finnish outreach youth work as "network based work where young people are reached and found 'between' public services".

Outreach youth work has been subsidised by the state since 2008 when €2.5 million was allocated to it. That same year, a total of €15.5 million was allocated to improving youth work, education and employment services in order to better respond to youth alienation and prevent marginalisation. Consequently, more than a hundred outreach youth workers were hired in almost every second local authority: 148 municipalities in all. (Walldén and Häggman 2008: 4)

The history of outreach youth work in Finland also illuminates the lifespan of the Youth Guarantee framework in the Finnish context. The state subsidy package of 2008 saw the start of a process where, in 2013, public authorities were given a three-month time limit in which to offer a young person employment, trial work, a study place, a place at a workshop or a rehabilitation placement after registering as unemployed. In that year, outreach work reached 15 000 young people and the aim was to expand it to cover the whole country (see for example Ministry of Finance 2013: 26-28). Based on the Government Programme (2011-15), €60 million was spent annually on implementing the Youth Guarantee, of which outreach youth work received €8 million. Finland was commended as a good example on which to build the Youth Guarantee European recommendation (European Union 2012, 2013; Finnish Government 2011).

In 2015, outreach youth work was already available in 98% of the municipalities (Finnish Government 2016b). Due to statutory requirements and state subsidies, the outreach youth work system established itself quite quickly. The municipalities were actively hiring outreach youth work employees. However, in the meantime, other opinions worthy of attention were being voiced: in 2012, outreach youth workers had already raised concerns about temporary funding leading to short-term posts and changing team members (Outreach Youth Workers of Southern Finland 2012).

In 2013, despite criticism (see pamphlet composed by more than 50 authors, Gretschel et al. 2014), there was faith that young people would be found, put back on the "straight and narrow" and placed in employment. Yet, it was later noticed by the authorities that the same young people were repeatedly turning up in the nets of the outreach workers, either due to a lack of job vacancies or other problems. The Youth Guarantee working group stated in its report: "The implementation of the Youth Guarantee has been disrupted by the poor economic situation and not all the objectives connected to youth employment have been reached" (Ministry of Employment and the Economy 2015).

So far, the year 2017 has seen a decrease in activity surrounding the Youth Guarantee in Finland. According to the Government Programme (Finnish Government 2015), the Youth Guarantee is still in operation, but it will gradually be transformed into a "Community Guarantee". This will be implemented with approximately €10 million per year instead of the previous sum of €60 million. As a result of the government programme policy of service deregulation, the municipalities now have more freedom to provide services in accordance with local needs (Youth Act 2016). Had state funding for outreach youth work been cut as planned in the earlier budget drafts for the year 2017, the municipalities would have suddenly been forced to choose whether or not to invest in outreach youth work or general youth work (*Personal exchange from Pirkko Suhonen, 24 January 2017*).

In the Youth Guarantee framework, outreach youth work was considered necessary for reaching young people. In this sense, young people were contacted in a youth-friendly way. What was probably neglected in the planning of such action was the notion that outreach youth work should be based on human relations, as Puuronen (2014) has described. According to her, the main issue is to support young people to reach the goals they have set, including the recognition of needs arising from their life situations. As Puuronen suggests, it seems that after a recession it appears to be difficult to discuss social policy without mentioning economic policy (ibid.: 10-11). Rooted in the European discussion of "social inclusion" (for example European Union 2003), the Youth Act of 2006 declared the social empowerment of young people to be one of the main aims of youth work. It could be considered that in earlier years, the scope of youth welfare support and inclusion within communities (see for example Gretschel 2007: 246) was broader than the process of targeting youth "not in employment, education or training" – or NEETs – in the name of the Youth Guarantee 10 years later (see for example Gretschel et al. 2014).

It was noted earlier in this chapter that the effects of outreach youth work on the development of youth work in Finland are, as yet, unknown. In recent years, developments in youth work have mainly occurred in outreach and targeted youth work

in the spirit of the Youth Guarantee. At the same time, the evaluation and development of universal or "open" youth work services meant for all young people have been less apparent (see for example Ministry of Finance 2013: 26-28). However, the worth of the Youth Guarantee as a political focus now seems to be decreasing in the national debate, which may affect the funding of outreach youth work in the future. In one sense, this turning point could be useful: it provides an opportunity to treat and plan youth work services as one entity. Further, it could lead to the growth of youth work availability in environments which fall between or are excluded from the agendas of universal and targeted youth work.

Snapshot 2: The social dimension of youth work in the welfare society of the 1960s and 1970s

In recent debate, the concept of societal change has almost become a cliché. In reality, according to numerous studies (for example Ojala, Eloranta and Jalava 2006), rapid changes in Finnish society had already occurred in the 1960s. The change from an agricultural to industrial and service-based occupation structure was faster than in most industrialised western countries. The mental ethos of society also altered: the fabric of post-war reconstructive society was seen as a part of the structures of old power and culture. Gradually, these structures were challenged by the modern concepts and practices of democracy, equality and welfare. The pressure of the baby-boom generation, more or less elitist youth radicalism, mass communication and the strengthening of youth cultures made room for the rising generation.

New strategies for integrating a large group of young people into society were required because of the demographic pressure of the baby-boom generation. Besides conventional educational and small-group-work-based youth work, it was also necessary to define new measures to steer and allocate resources to young people. Youth employment, schooling and training, housing and health, family welfare and conscription, as well as a culture of participation and self-motivation, were among key issues. Economic growth, the strengthening ideology of the egalitarian and collectivist Nordic welfare state (see Kananen 2014) and favourable political trends created auspicious circumstances for the state at the centre of youth policy and youth work.

Comprehensive youth policy had tried to influence young people's growth environments since the 1960s (see Nieminen 2016a). Political youth movements and youth advocacy organisations became the key actors of youth policy, and gradually integrated youth policy was adopted as a strategy of public administration by the state and municipalities. The basic idea was to influence young people's growth environments through research, rational planning and local decision making. Politically aware young people, though in the minority, attempted to influence society with the help of youth policy strategy, youth organisations and municipal youth boards.

The question of youth employment also found its place in youth policy. The Parliamentary Youth Committee, which sat from 1977-80, saw mechanisation and automation as the biggest changes in working life. The economic recession in the middle of the 1970s created significant youth unemployment in Finland, and the committee made some suggestions to improve the employment of young people.

One of the proposals was "the youth education and job guarantee", which was implemented as an experiment in the 1980s (Komiteanmietintö 1980a, 1980b). It is noteworthy that the committee's proposals concerning youth unemployment were aimed at the fields of education, social policy, employment authorities and careers counselling, and less at youth work.

The rise of youth policy in the 1960s and 1970s resulted in a reassessment of the "social" in youth work. Youth work was seen as a means of implementing the welfare state and as a trailblazer of youth policy, because it had to contribute to different sectors of society affecting youth. It was assumed that in the welfare state, society would take greater responsibility for youth welfare. The strategy of integrated youth policy broadened the concept of "social" to mean "societal", in addition to interactional and communal. This society-integrated interpretation of "social" did not replace the fundamental meaning of social as communal in youth work, but simply added a new dimension. The idea of community and communality had already taken a strong foothold in youth work during the previous decades.

Snapshot 3: Communality in rebuilding society in the 1940s and 1950s

After the Second World War, Finland as a nation faced the challenges of paying war reparations to the Soviet Union, rearranging internal and foreign policy (see Rainio-Niemi 2014), resuming economic life and creating a feeling of security.

During the age of reconstruction (from 1944 to the beginning of the 1960s), Finland used youth work as a means of rebuilding society, engaging its citizens and calming post-war restless youth, while simultaneously developing co-operation between different social circles and re-establishing the balance of peacetime life. The intention of these measures was to ensure that young people would learn civic ideals and practices in small groups within voluntary youth organisations. Youth work saw young people as future citizens who were expected to acquire social and citizenship skills involving mutual trust, responsibility, participation, co-operation and public spirit; standing for election to voluntary posts; and working in a group without adult supervision.

This vision was also validated by research and youth work theory. The most influential scientific theory of youth work was constructed by Rafael Helanko. (1953; see also Nieminen 2013). He was a Scout leader in the Finnish Boy Scout movement, but also a teacher and scientist. His sociological dissertation *The boys' gangs of Turku during the years 1944-1951*. It was a significant youth study dealing with the basic features of boys' peer groups. Helanko found regularities in the progress and structure of the boys' socialisation in peer groups. The most important general conclusion of the study was that peer groups are not always a source of antisocial or criminal behaviour, but they are an essential agent for the socialisation process as a whole. Social interaction is an important feature of becoming civilised – humans are social by nature.

Helanko (1960) saw youth work primarily as a pedagogical institution. According to him, the main function of youth work was to guide, supervise and direct the natural peer groups of young people. Youth work had to adapt its activities to the regularities

of the natural socialisation process: the phases, rhythm, expanding nature and continuity of the peer groups. Helanko's theory of youth work offered the foundation for group work in many youth organisations in spite of their ideological differences. For example, according to one case study (Nieminen 2016b), the significant meaning of youth work to young people in the 1940s and 1950s was the social character of youth work's immediate surroundings. Close peer relationships held a fundamental meaning in youth work. Communities formed by settlement youth work gave young people shelter, confidence, and feelings of acceptance and shared experiences.

Besides communality in youth work, alternative seeds in the social aspect of youth work had begun to germinate. At the beginning of the 1950s, there was considerable youth unemployment in Finland. A state committee was appointed in 1954 to find methods of rectifying the situation. Also, the national Council of Voluntary Youth Organisations made plans and proposals to address youth employment opportunities. In 1954, the council revealed proposals to improve the poor employment situation and to develop vocational education and vocational courses for jobless young people. At the end of the 1950s, the Council of Voluntary Youth Organisations appointed a new youth employment committee (Nieminen 1995: 278-80). Although youth unemployment was acknowledged, it was not yet generally considered a significant social issue. The initiatives in the field of youth work concerning youth unemployment therefore expressed a wider understanding of the social situation of youth at the time.

Nevertheless, group work laid the methodical foundation of youth work, and it became the main environment for social interaction in youth work. Youth group activity became more widely accepted and it occurred within the socially limited world of youth organisations.

Snapshot 4: Social problems and uniformity in the nation state 1917-44

Finland became independent in 1917. In 1918 there was a violent civil war between the right wing (the Whites) and those close to the labour movement (the Reds) (see Tepora and Roselius 2014). The violence and terror of this war resulted in a deep chasm between the victors (the Whites) and the losers (the Reds), which was also reflected in youth work. The huge number of orphans, a shortage of food, the bad living conditions in cities and deep class distinctions led to the development of child and youth welfare practices. Young people were often seen as potential loafers and criminals, and this interpretation led to child and youth welfare interventions to deal with social problems. The Child Welfare Law was passed in 1936, but it belittled voluntary and preventive youth work done by contemporary youth organisations (Nieminen 1995: 157-61). However, the law was a significant turning point in the differentiation between youth work and social work in Finland.

Working-class youth epitomised typical youth of the 1920s and 1930s. At that time, the number of working-class young people in the cities increased. First, they attended elementary school and then worked in industry. They were second generation workers, growing up as members of their social class (Haapala 2003). Not all of them found employment and many were employed as casual labour (such as errand boys

or girls, shoe shiners, newspaper vendors). The depression of the 1930s also affected young people. Some youth work organisations worked with urban youth. In 1915, the Young Men's Christian Association of Helsinki had founded an office known as the "Mars express office", which offered jobless and impecunious youths monthly paid jobs, care and leisure activities (see Nieminen 1995: 107). The City of Helsinki also used its services. "Mars" operated for decades and it was a "workshop" of its time. The aim of the office was to help boys and prevent social problems.

Besides addressing social problems, youth work also played an active role in the unification process of the Finnish nation state after the traumatic civil war. The emphasis of Christian youth work moved from diverse voluntary youth organisations to the established Finnish Lutheran Church. Finnish-speaking youth organisations dominated the scene and Swedish-speaking youth organisations profiled themselves as a means of support to the national minority. To advance the unity of the nation, the state resorted to forms of extreme power in preventing communist youth movements. For example, communist youth organisations were disbanded by the authorities. The aim of many youth activities was to infuse a mutual notion of patriotism into young people and a will to defend their country. The Anglo-American Scout movement and the Young Farmers movement also espoused nationalism during the 1930s.

During the interwar period, the societal dimension of youth work was represented by the new Finnish nation state. Future generations were prepared for the duties of the nation state. National defence challenged the young nation since the existence of Finland depended on the ability to defend itself. During the interwar period, youth work became the national answer to a "boy problem", including the issue of defence. Finland saw a noteworthy growth of work with boys: boys' clubs, boys' sports and outdoor games. Furthermore, work with girls trained them in housework, caring and nursing. Eventually, the fear of war was realised in 1939, when the Winter War between Finland and the Soviet Union broke out.

Before the Second World War, youth organisations did not co-operate closely, and there was a social gap between the "white" and "red" organisations. One of the first experiences of broader co-operation was gained during the war years in the "Nuorten Talkoot" child and youth movement (Varjo 1979). The word "Talkoot" is an old Finnish word meaning mutual voluntary help, mainly in agricultural work. In English, the corresponding word is perhaps the American expression "bee".

The aim of "Nuorten Talkoot" was to stimulate children and young people to participate in voluntary gathering, picking, agricultural and assistive activities to help the household and neighbours. The representatives of federal youth organisations formed a joint council to plan and lead such activities. This work and other activities were highly valued and appreciated. They not only provided economic benefits but also had an obvious educational function. More than one million children and youths participated in the "Nuorten Talkoot" during 1941-47. Such collaborative activity meant that youth organisations were prepared to accept the idea of co-operation for the sake of national uniformity.

In "Nuorten Talkoot", wartime society used the know-how of existing youth organisations. By means of voluntary work, the younger generation joined in the battle for the homeland. The "social" was realised both at the nation-state and small-group

level through "the bee". Some voluntary activities were carried out individually but they were permeated by the ideology of patriotism and unification.

Citizenship as social at the turn of the 20th century

In Finland at the turn of the 20th century, the stable society of land estates collapsed and a modern class society began to emerge. The new era created new opportunities for ordinary people, but the wake of industrialisation, democratisation and liberalisation also brought problems. The concept of "human" transformed slowly from "humble" to "citizen". Basically, the rights of a citizen gave everyone the opportunity to participate in societal issues and to establish and join an association. Generally, formal associations and pressure groups are typical in societies where industrialisation, urbanisation and democratisation are sufficiently developed. At the turn of the century, several groups with different intentions and status in society existed. Social participation through social movements and formal associations became a sign of a developed democratic state.

As the commonplace saying in Finland goes, Finland was the "promised land of associations". The seeds of this rich field of associations were sown at the turn of the 20th century, as also in the case of youth movements and youth work organisations. For instance, Finnish Labour women founded the "Ideal Union" for the children of workers' families. After the general strike of 1905, Labour youth became active, and the Social Democratic Youth Federation was founded in 1906, in Tampere. The Social Democratic Youth Federation adopted socialist enlightenment as a means of youth work, and the class struggle was an important part of the programme from the beginning. The non-political League of Finnish School Youth was founded in 1906, and the aim of the league was to develop a good spirit among school clubs. But the school authorities criticised the league because they thought schoolboys and girls had no right to manifest their aims. In this emerging political-corporative tradition of youth work, young people constituted a pressure group and united around a political idea or field of study.

According to the dominant culture of the time, politics was not suitable for minors, and young people were expected to form political opinions only on reaching maturity. In the Labour youth movement there was a more positive attitude to direct political youth activity. Non-political youth work was also accepted as a useful means of general civic education required by the new civic society.

During this period, Finland was an autonomous grand duchy of the Russian Empire (see Jussila, Hentilä and Nevakivi 1999), and the Russian emperor followed Finnish civic organisations closely. Freedom of association was a potential arena for promoting national aims and separatism, and the first youth organisations were monitored by the emperor's regime. Therefore, the early activity of home-grown Finnish youth associations, social-democratic Ideal Unions and the Anglo-American Scout movement was rejected. The birth of the modern civil society infused the "social" into the lives of both the population and the authorities in new ways.

However, many Finnish young people did not actively follow the spirit of the time. They did not have social or cultural interests, nor did they have much time for leisure

and recreational pursuits. The majority of youth lived in the countryside (see Haapala 2003), and farmwork as well as other pressures to earn a living consumed their time. Young people's social life and interaction were limited to their immediate natural surroundings, and the need to socialise was fulfilled by family, near relatives and the household. There were loose youth groups in the countryside and a growing number of well-knit youth groups in the cities, but the group as the basis of interactive youth work was only just taking shape.

Merging snapshots – Connecting young people

Youth work has played a significant role in building Finnish society throughout its history, but its societal context has varied. At the beginning of the 20th century, social participation in youth movements and associations started to offer an escape from a traditional class society, by broadening the circles of social life. The societal framework for the "social" in youth work changed from an old privilege-based class society to a modern civil society. The inter-war and the Second-World-War period saw the development of a divided people into a unified nation capable of defending itself. The objectives and operations of youth work were connected with these developments, and different organisations implemented activities from alleviating social problems to supporting a nation at war. In the reconstructive nation state of the 1940s and 1950s, youth associations were seen as platforms for developing co-operation between different social circles and learning civic ideals. For the first time, research-based knowledge on the educational value of peer groups became available, and the small group became the established social form of youth work.

Since the 1960s the societal feature of youth work has broadened. Earlier, if youth work had participated in building civil society and the nation state, now was the era of the welfare state and society. This period also sought to discover the role society could play in the life of the younger generation: what were the interests of young people and how did the welfare state acknowledge them? As the newest example of the relationship between youth work and society, the role of outreach youth work was described in connection to the Youth Guarantee framework. This time, the motivating power of change was the gross domestic product (GDP), a indicator key was used in showing how well the welfare state has been maintained. A typical trend of this era was the adoption and application of definitions and frameworks shaping youth work prevalent in European discussion. Likewise, Finland has also been an example to other countries, for instance in how it invests in youth services development in the context of Youth Guarantee, for example.

Nonetheless, youth work is also valuable in itself, without its economic, political, national or any other implications in society. Threats in the societal sphere, such as unemployment, have an impact on the personal. Throughout its history youth work has been meaningful for individual young people. It offers interactivity, trusting relationships and a multitude of groups and communities. Youth work connects young people to other human beings as well as to society. Youth work is never unsocial.

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Chapter 8

Youth work and social work relations in Estonia

Edgar Schlümmer

Introduction

Estonian youth work has more than 100 years of tradition; it has been embedded into learning and education from the very start by means of non-formal education. Youth work is directed towards the positive development of youth, as well as to the shaping of knowledge, skills and attitudes.

The distinction of youth as the period between childhood and adulthood, as well as the emergence of youth work, took place at the same time in Estonia as it did in the rest of Europe, which was at the beginning of the 19th century. The socio-cultural changes that occurred at the time created the premise and need for the conceptualisation of youth as a stage of life and as a social category between childhood and children on the one hand, and adulthood and adults on the other. The emergence of specific objectives and methods related to young people was also one of the development stages that helped define youth and young people (Gevers and Vos 2009).

Early developments in youth work

Estonian national awakening began in the middle of the 19th century under the influence of the French Revolution, the ideas of Romanticism, and the rise of German nationalism. It took place in the same way as among other eastern European nationalities (for example, Czechs, Finns or Latvians) with no experience of statehood in their recent past. Social movements were popular among the Baltic Germans as early as the first half of the 19th century but they did not become widespread among Estonians until the second half of the century. Baltic German singing societies were not merely choirs but organisations with statutes, among the members of which were singers, as well as those handling more functional affairs. Such organisations were status-based and they brought together Baltic Germans of higher status. Singing societies were established in Tartu, Pärnu and Viljandi. Practising music was not the only activity for such societies, as the emphasis was rather put on social interchange, for which many meetings were organised. The first choirs and singing societies were established by German pastors or parish clerks as early as 1866. At first, the activities were limited to singing (Taru, Pilve and Kaasik 2015). In the context of the so-called ancient history of youth work, before the middle of the 19th century, we can mainly refer to the following forms of youth work: student organisations; congregations, voluntary associations and groups at schools (ibid.). The role of congregations in the development of youth work soon diminished and youth work continued to develop through the support of rural schools, educational societies and recreational activities.

In an effort to find a link between social work and youth work, we can, in a sense, speak of their relations in the ancient history of youth work. In the context of Estonia, the structures of both originated from the same place, meaning that, at the beginning, social and youth work were both practised mainly in churches (including church schools, Sunday schools, Christian households, educational facilities and Christian youth associations). However, it should be kept in mind that the practice of youth work at churches was linked to the education provided in church schools rather than the vigorous development of public schools and educational societies.

The practice of social work also began and was largely based in churches, even after the formation of public services. The practice of social work was transferred from churches and associations to local governments in the second half of the 19th century (Kriisk 2014). Youth work developed rapidly alongside and within the education system during Estonia's first period of independence, the Soviet occupation, and the restoration of independence. However, the nature of social work changed according to the ruling regime. For example, the Soviet Union declared poverty officially nonexistent. Social welfare was considered to be secondary (ibid.).

Contemporary connections

There are still some connections between youth work and social work when it comes to definitions. For example, "social welfare" means a system of procedures related to the provision or grant of social services, social benefits, emergency social assistance and other assistance, the purpose of which is to support the ability of a person to cope independently, work and participate actively in social life, and at the same time to prevent social problems from arising or deepening at individual, family or social levels (Riigi Teataja [hereinafter RT] I 30.12.2015, 5 Social Welfare Act, 17.12.2016). Deriving from the same legislation, "social worker" means a person with higher education and appropriate professional training employed in social welfare.

The definition of youth work also comprises autonomy and developing active citizenship; this, however, is not done through assistance (as if a young person were the object of an activity) but by creating conditions and unlocking the potential of youth – with a young person as the subject. Youth work is concerned with the creation of conditions for promoting the diverse development of young people, which enables them to be active through their own free will, outside of their families, in formal education and in work (RT I 2010, 44, 262, Youth Work Act, 17.12.2016). In the context of the acts effective in Estonia today, the boundaries of the legal definition may become blurred. For example, the regulation on youth work closely related to social work defined "well-being" in 2016 as the condition supporting the development of the child, in which the physical, medical, psychological, emotional, social, cognitive, educational and economic needs of the child are satisfied (RT I 06.12.2014, 1, Child Protection Act, 15.01.2017). According to this definition, all aspects of life are interconnected, which means that in general they are also connected to the objective of youth work.

Distinctions

Figuratively speaking, however, beyond some legislative convergence, youth work differs radically from social work in terms of its approach. Youth work is directed towards providing a fishing rod (teaching skills, self-confidence, empowerment) and social work is directed towards providing fish: that is, solving the issue at hand. In terms of organisation and practice, youth work and social work have many important differences. For example, youth work is a service that is organised and financed by local governments and provided to young people in places as close to them as possible. Social work is mostly a state regulated and financed service that is organised only to some extent at the local level.

As mentioned above, youth work is a part of learning (or, in the modern sense, lifelong learning) in Estonia; it is, however, separately regulated, because youth work is not only about learning and teaching. It is about active citizenship, employability, social inclusion etc. Youth work is an area of youth policy which defines principles of youth policy; that is why both are regulated separately also on a strategic level. In addition to the Youth Work Act there is a Hobby Schools Act (RTI 2007, 4, 19). Other youth work developments are planned, such as the Youth Field Development Plan for 2014-2020 (Government of the Republic Order No. 572 of 19 December 2013). Youth work is very specifically targeted at a certain target group, has to take into account its peculiarities and, additionally, uses specific methods and measures.

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, youth work was developed systematically in Estonia, that is, the provision of youth work was regulated as a public service (recreational activities taking place at schools and student councils – legislated in 1922) and conditions were set and a judicial framework was established for activities taking place outside of schools and civil society organisations (educational societies and youth associations were legislated for in 1936, including consultation with young people). Social work regulations entered into force around the same time – 1925 (Kriisk 2014). The Youth Organisation Act (1936) may be considered the first legal measure regarding youth work. The act created several other points of reference for the organisation of youth work. The right and obligation to organise youth work belonged to the Ministry of Education and was carried out by the Department of Youth, the director (Youth Director) of which was appointed by the head of state based on a proposal from the Minister of Education. The establishment of youth organisations outside of schools was co-ordinated with associations and the laws of the unions within the associations, as well as other relevant laws. All the activities of the organisations had to meet the objectives and comply with the rules laid down by these laws (Taru, Pilve and Kaasik 2015).

During the Soviet period, the development of youth work went hand in hand with the development of the educational system, whereby many forms of activity and formats, such as hobby schools, were added. However, some of the youth work options that had previously existed were banned or eliminated, such as youth associations, except unionwide organisations such as the Pioneers or the Komsomol, the Young Communist League. In addition, the Estonian Students' Building Brigade and the Estonian Secondary School Working Brigade were launched. The ideological regime very much valued and invested in youth in Estonia, as well as elsewhere in the Soviet

Union's sphere of influence in Europe. Youth work was practised everywhere. Social work was far less visible, as it was usual to send people with issues that required intervention to large institutions in remote places.

Parallel tracks today

Following the restoration of independence, until today, youth work and social work have developed independently of each other, despite having common points of reference in terms of the people who provide it. For example, in rural areas, a social adviser might have also dealt with issues concerning youth work and, more often, an educational adviser has been responsible for the youth field if a dedicated youth work adviser has not been available. The legal basis for youth work was strengthened in the first decade of independence (the Local Government Organisation Act entered into force in 1993 and the Youth Work Act in 1999/2000). Planning became more strategic (Concept of Youth Work 2001; Youth Work Development Plan 2006; Youth Field Development Plan 2014) and professional (formal education became available from 1992, currently also at master's level; professional standard 2006/2012/2017). Financing was reorganised and increased at the national and local level and the number of structures increased from a couple of hundred to around 1 000 youth work institutions. Estonia is one of the countries with a policy commitment of viewing all young people as a resource – the so-called universalistic model (Schizerotto and Gasperoni 2001). Social work is, in contrast, more protective. But there are, of course, links. A young person who is coping well with themselves and the community is prepared for development. This approach to youth policy, based on the positive involvement and multilateral development of a person, relies on youth work traditions and values (Schlümmer 2013). The strong development of youth work in Estonia has also influenced wider youth policy perspectives, which is why the Government of Estonia declared its commitment to an integrated youth policy in 2006.

Conclusion

Youth work entails supporting the positive development of young people and is a very important investment in the future, not only a solution for an emergency. Youth work is a part of lifelong learning, but not limited to that. Youth work considers a (young) person to be a partner, not a ward or a client.

Due to the strength and clear distinction of youth work as a field and a speciality, different methods can be developed and tested, including giving more attention to young people in difficult situations (often described as those "at risk"). There are enough youth workers and institutions in Estonia to be able to use the methods of youth work to involve more hard-to-reach target groups. In this context, we can talk about the fact that, at the present time, youth work and social work are converging in terms of certain audiences and co-operating in finding and empowering young people and helping them solve the issues at hand. Youth work is focusing more of its attention on hard-to-reach or "at risk" young people due to the fact that the field is developing dynamically in relation to young people and their needs. This means that if youth unemployment is a problem, youth work has to make more efforts to alleviate or prevent the situation, for example, by ensuring that young people are

exposed to the labour market context as early as possible by way of voluntary and other related activities.

The strength of youth work in Estonia is also characterised by the fact that the organisations in the field (the Ministry of Education and Research, the Estonian Youth Work Centre) implement joint programmes at the national level and co-ordinate interventions in education, child protection and the justice system. Some youth-work activities are targeted at youth on the streets, finding young people who are "NEET" (Not in Education, Employment or Training) and making them active; this also involves social work and other activities to alleviate the issues at hand.

Youth work and youth workers are not afraid of co-operation, because the youth-work sector is a partner with a strong and well-established identity. However, it should be kept in mind that youth work is almost the only public service that is still growing while others are shrinking. The number of youth workers is increasing whereas there is a shortage of specialists in other fields. For the future, this might pose a risk of youth-work resources (structures, people) being captured and colonised in order to carry out additional tasks in associated fields. This could include the possibility of being expected to discharge an increasing proportion of what might be called "social-work" responsibilities at the expense of the more universalistic and young-person positive development policy and practice that has characterised Estonian youth work for more than a century.

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Chapter 9

The past made us: perspectives on the development of youth work and social work in Malta

Miriam Teuma

Introduction

There are interesting similarities and dissimilarities in the development of youth work and social work over the past century in Malta. While both had their origins in the Catholic culture of the region and the British imperial presence, they took different paths for most of the 20th century. Social work was gradually integrated into, and was to become an important feature of, the emerging state welfare system, while youth work remained largely the preserve of the Church and the voluntary sector. Both social work and youth work were relatively late in achieving professional recognition and status. By the 21st century, the common features that both came to share – state-supported, clear training and career paths, and professional recognition and status – served only to further highlight the differences between the two. While it would be simplistic, in the case of Malta, to describe the role of social work as "solving problems" and youth work that of "developing potential", there is some substance in the claim that this is how the Maltese state and the wider public have come to see them. And this is also, in part, how the two professions have come to see themselves.

This chapter will explore the different paths social work and youth work have taken in Malta. It will portray how they gradually came closer together and how their growing similarities in terms of professional parity and a blurring of the lines in terms of professional purpose and practice, paradoxically accentuated inherent differences. These differences have in turn given rise to both challenges and opportunities for the roles social work and youth work play in supporting young people.

Context

Following the Treaty of Paris (1814), Malta came under British imperial rule. The British role in Malta was essentially strategic and did not tend, in general, to interfere with or disrupt local customs or traditions. Nor did it seek to wipe out the local language or culture. It also avoided serious disputes with the Catholic Church that had for

centuries played a pivotal and defining role in Maltese culture and society. However, the British had a significant influence in shaping modern Malta. The English language was adopted almost universally by the Maltese people and Britain played a formative role in the emergence of the country's political and administrative governance as well as in its education and justice systems.

Both the Catholic Church and the British presence were also to shape and influence the development of youth work and social work in Malta.

Youth work (1900-90)

Youth work in Malta had its antecedents in the work of the Catholic Church and its voluntary organisations such as the Society of Christian Doctrine, Catholic Action and the Salesians, all established in Malta at the beginning of the 20th century. The British presence brought about the Malta Scout Association, which applied for membership of the British Scout Movement in 1908. Until 1966, the Malta Scout Association was a branch of the British Association. Following Malta's gaining of independence in 1964, the Maltese Catholic Scout Association became a member of the World Scout Conference in 1966. The Girl Guides were established in 1923 and proved to be one of the most active and widespread voluntary organisations in Malta.

The role adopted by both the Catholic Church and voluntary youth bodies associated with the British presence in youth work practice and activities was essentially paternalistic, directional and what was deemed character-forming in the light of Christian morals and mores. While the influence of the Catholic Church and the British presence was dominant and pervasive up to the 1960s, the following decades saw the emergence of different trends and approaches.

The reforms of the Second Vatican Council (1963-65) saw the emergence of a more socially conscious and oriented Church. In the 1970s and early 1980s, youth centres run by local parish priests and youth-led groups run by Catholic Action were established. New movements also started running local or national youth groups, some of which embodied what has been described as an overtly sectarian vision of Catholicism with very hierarchical structures, while others, such as the Focolare Movement and Comunione and Liberazione, tended to be somewhat selective in their choice of members (Teuma 2009).

The youth-work ethos and underpinning values and principles fostered by Church groups and voluntary youth organisations, such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, has had an enduring influence on the subsequent development of youth work in Malta. This ethos comprises a number of defining features. First, youth work was a voluntary activity on the part of both adults and young people who participated, organised by the Church and voluntary youth organisations, and independent of the state. This had a dual effect; one positive, the other less so. Free of state involvement, youth work developed its own vision and dynamic. Whatever differences in aim and method that existed between the Church – and sometimes within the Church – and voluntary youth organisations, they shared common ideals and aspirations. However, without state support, youth work lacked financial resources and training and remained entirely voluntary throughout the 20th century. Second, youth work

reached out to and sought to engage all young people. It was educative, aspirational, idealistic and holistic and sought to prepare young people for both this world and the next. While it readily perceived dangers and problems confronting young people's material and spiritual well-being, its prevailing spirit was to promote and articulate what was best in young people both as individuals, social beings, citizens and children of God.

Social work (1900-2004)

Until the end of the Second World War, social work in Malta had been pioneered by the Catholic Church and charitable foundations. The first known Maltese to study sociology was a priest, Maurice Grech, who became the founder of the Diocesan Children Homes' Office that oversaw homes for foundling and orphaned children which were a feature of late 19th-century and early 20th-century Malta (Schembri 2002).

The emerging welfare state in post-war Britain also affected Malta, and from the 1950s onwards the role of the state in the development of social work was to be paramount.

The government-commissioned Ross Report of 1959 (Ross 1959) made recommendations for action across a wide range of perceived "social problem" areas: childcare, the supervision of children, schooling, adoption, probation, the juvenile court and the treatment of what were described as "delinquent minors".

Prior to this, in 1957, a new division was set up in the Department of Emigration, Labour and Social Welfare which was responsible for social welfare services. The following year, the department appointed a number of family welfare officers whose responsibilities included "childcare, probation, family casework and other problems that fall under the umbrella of social work" (Schembri 2002: 14). From the late 1950s until the late 1970s, the Welfare Division, as it came to be known, worked with families, including single mothers, focused on issues such as childcare and juvenile delinquency and employed various interventions such as aftercare and casework. Throughout this period, social-work practice in Britain greatly influenced social-work practice in Malta, primarily because social workers continued to be trained in Britain and the legacy of British institutions continued long after Malta had secured its independence in 1964. However the training, employment and recognition of social workers by the new Maltese state continued to be both uneven and fitful.

Sociology was first taught at the University of Malta in the early 1970s and by the middle of the decade a Department of Social Studies had been established with the help of the Open University. Subsequently reconstituted as the Department of Sociology, it went on to offer courses in sociology and social science from primary degree to PhD level.

The 1980s also witnessed a number of important developments. Legislative changes, including the Children and Young Persons (Care Order) Act of 1980 and the Juvenile Court Act of 1980 were the catalyst for increasing interest in, and demand for, trained social workers. In 1984, the Institute of Social Workers was founded by social workers and academics. It drafted a code of professional ethics; while the Institute did not last, it contributed to an increasing state and public awareness of the need for trained

social workers. In 1987, the Department of Welfare was established, which became became the main provider of social welfare services and employer of social workers.

In 1990, the Ministry for Social Policy published the Green Paper "A caring society in a changing world", which proposed reforms to the provision of social welfare services. The 1990s also saw the establishment of the Maltese Association of Social Workers and the first collective employment agreement between social workers and the state; the agreement gave social work professional recognition while also specifying that social work could only be practised by appropriately qualified social workers with at least diploma-level qualifications. These developments culminated in the Social Work Profession Act 2004, which provided for the formal recognition and regulation of social work as a profession.

One of the most significant differences in the development of youth work and social work in Malta was the involvement of the state. The state was the main institutional player as regards social work. In contrast, the Church was the main institutional player as regards youth work. This does not mean that the Church was disinterested in social issues: it has always had its own social agenda, was a leader in the study of sociology and employed social workers through Caritas Malta. The state, however, showed no interest in youth work until the 1990s. While the state first employed social workers – family welfare officers – in the late 1950s, it was to be over 50 years before it employed its first youth workers, following the establishment of the national youth agency, Aġenzija Żgħażagħ, in 2010. The Maltese state also tended to see social work as a means of addressing perceived "social problems" associated with families, such as single mothers, adoption and juvenile delinquency. Social work was at once more contextualised and issues-driven than youth work and more focused and rigorous in its methodologies and practices, while at the same time broader in scope in terms of the age profile of its clients and the ways in which it interacted with fellow practitioners and professionals.

Youth work (1990-2010)

Until the 1990s, the Maltese state had displayed little or no interest in youth work and provided no support, financial or otherwise. However, the decade was to usher in a number of significant changes in the state's attitude to youth work.

In 1992, the University of Malta established an Institute of Youth Studies (now the Department of Youth and Community Studies) to provide training for those who wished to pursue a professional career as youth and community workers. The first group of graduate students founded the Maltese Association of Youth Workers (MAY) in 1998. MAY subsequently published a code of ethics for youth workers in 2001. Following a national youth conference, the first of its kind in Malta, the National Youth Council was established in 1992.

In 1993, a new Ministry for Youth and the Arts was established and published the first document on youth policy. Malta's first national youth policy in 1993 (Ministry for Youth and the Arts 1993) was followed by others in 1999, 2004 and 2010. These series of policies, while reasonably comprehensive, were largely aspirational, weak on specifics and lacking detail, and it was not until 2010 that the issue of how a national

youth policy might be coherently and effectively implemented was addressed. There was, however, a noticeable shift in tone over time, from one that was patriarchal, circumspect and cautious to one that was more positive and supportive of young people.

In 2003, as a result of Malta's participation in the Council of Europe's Steering Committee for Youth, a review of youth policy in Malta was conducted by an international panel of experts, and its report (Ciorbaru et al. 2005) was to have a lasting impact on the development of youth policy in Malta.

These developments, at least in part, reflected changes in Malta's political landscape. Malta's accession to the European Union in 2004 was to have significant consequences for youth work. Membership of the European Union provided youth work with new sources of funding, through Youth in Action, as well as a new and expanded policy horizon, through the Youth Working Party and the Council of Youth Ministers. The momentum generated at both national and European level culminated in the establishment in 2010 of the national youth agency, Aġenzija Żgħażagħ, which opened a new chapter in the history of youth work in Malta.

Youth work and social work in the new century

In the 21st century, it would appear that in Malta both social work and youth work have reached the "promised land" after the struggles and uncertainties of previous decades. Sustained state support, clearly defined training and career paths and status and recognition as professions have redefined and reinvigorated both. These changes in the context of social work might be described as both evolutionary and constructive; in the case of youth work they are little less than transformational.

The Foundation for Social Welfare Services (FSWS), which was established in 1998, took over the role of social welfare service provider for the state, with responsibility for social welfare services and staff, including social workers. The aim in establishing the FSWS was to provide "quality and timely service and help develop individuals to become responsible, integrated and productive members of society who value life as a resource for self actualisation". It was also to act as a catalyst "for change and development in the social welfare sector in Malta, consistent with the real and emerging needs of children, families and the community in order to avoid social exclusion" (Foundation for Social Welfare Services 2012).

The FSWS operates under the Ministry for Family and Social Solidarity, which oversees a number of socially related national policies and strategies covering children, parenting, poverty reduction and social inclusion, and the rights of people with disabilities.

The FSWS also encorporates two other entities: the national agency for children, families and the community, Aġenzija Appoġġ, which aims to safeguard and promote their well-being through the development and provision of psychosocial welfare services; and Aġenzija Sedqa, which aims to increase public awareness of the harm caused by addictive behaviours and to support those who have developed an addiction to modify their lifestyle.

The establishment of the Aġenzija Żgħażagħ in 2010 had three transformational consequences for youth work in Malta.

First, in its first five years of operation the agency put in place administrative structures and operational procedures for the promotion and implementation of youth work practice and youth-related services and is now the main employer of professionally qualified youth workers in Malta. It has also developed and implemented a wide range of programmes, projects and initiatives in youth empowerment and created new spaces at local community level for young people, including youth activity centres, youth cafés and youth hubs. The agency has placed a strong focus on engaging with and consulting young people on their views, concerns and aspirations and in promoting their democratic participation and intercultural and social awareness.

Second, the Youth Work Profession Act of 2014 gave formal professional recognition and status to youth workers, regulated the profession and determined the qualifications and conditions under which youth workers could acquire such recognition. The act provided for a Youth Work Profession Board to regulate the practice of youth work and eligibility to practise. The act also formally recognised the existence of academically qualified and professionally organised youth workers in Malta and provided for a code of ethics for youth workers.

Third, the agency was instrumental in drafting and overseeing the national youth policy *Towards 2020 – A shared vision for the future of young people*, which it will also manage and implement over the five-year period 2015-20. This was the first national youth policy to be based on widespread consultation and the first to have a particular instrument, Aġenzija Żgħażagħ, to implement policy with the financial and political support of the state.

The achievement of sustained state support, clear training and career paths and professional recognition, status and parity also coincided with a blurring of the boundaries in terms of professional purpose and practice. Both the concept and practice of youth work and social work have undergone change over time, often driven by external demands and pressures. The definition of social work adopted by the International Federation of Social Workers in 2014 reflects these changes, and is not incompatible with youth work:

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledges, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing. (International Federation of Social Workers 2014)

These changes have been reflected in Malta, where the traditional concept and practice of social work has undergone change and development. Youth work in Europe, it could be argued, has also become more contextualised, issues-driven and focused on solving problems – things formerly associated with social work. The European Union's youth agenda in recent times is replete with references to unemployment, radicalisation, intercultural dialogue, social inclusion and upskilling, and youth policy in Malta has reflected these changes.

The social work and youth work profession acts and Malta's national youth policy *Towards 2020* can be seen as examples not only of change and development

– professional parity in terms of sustained state support, clear training and career paths and recognition and the increasing blurring of boundaries in terms of professional purpose and practice – but also of the enduring historical legacies and experiences of social work and youth work in Malta.

The Social Work Profession Act of 2004 effectively served as a model for the Youth Work Profession Act of 2014. The acts gave formal professional recognition and status to social workers and youth workers, regulated the professions and determined the qualifications and conditions under which social workers and youth workers could acquire such recognition. The acts provided for professional boards to regulate the practice, and eligibility to practise, and for codes of ethics. Effectively, the acts ensured professional parity between the two professions.

However, it is in the definitions of "social work" and "youth work" in the respective Acts that the distinct historical legacies are most apparent. The Social Work Profession Act of 2004 was amended in 2016 to include the definition of social work adopted by the International Federation of Social Workers in 2014. As for the definition of youth work, under the provisions of the Youth Work Profession Act of 2014:

> "youth work" in Malta is a non-formal learning activity aimed at the personal, social and political development of young people. Youth workers engage with young people within their communities, including the voluntary sector and support them in realising their potential and address life's challenges critically and creatively to bring about social change. Youth work takes into account all strands of diversity and focuses on all young people between thirteen (13) to thirty (30). (Laws of Malta 2014)

While both definitions are positive and assertive and share common values, sentiments and aspirations, there are also revealing differences. Social work is practice-based, an academic discipline, underpinned by theories. Central to its concerns are issues such as social justice and human rights. It engages with people and structures. Youth work is a non-formal learning activity aimed at holistic development and realising potential. It addresses challenges critically and creatively, is both communal and voluntary and workers engage with all young people from diverse backgrounds.

Towards 2020, the national youth policy, is at least in part an avowal of the ethos and values of youth work in Malta over the past century. Its vision is of young people who are:

> respected, valued and listened to ... supported and encouraged in building fulfilling personal and social relationships and in developing their innate abilities and talents for the benefit of themselves, their communities and society. (Ministry for Education and Employment 2015).

The policy espouses values of respect for "the individuality, worth and dignity of all young people" and "the right to have their voices heard" and in the recognition of the "beliefs, culture and shared experiences of Malta". It also commits to sustained support for "all young people in developing their … capacities, skills, talents, strengths and abilities" and in "promoting their physical, mental, emotional and spiritual well-being" in solidarity with their families and communities (ibid.).

The policy's description of youth work fleshes out the definition found in the Youth Work Profession Act:

> a planned learning programme, project or activity aimed at the personal, social and political development of young people based on their voluntary participation and on mutually respectful and supportive relationships between young people and adults and built on a strong working relationship between the individual young person and youth workers. (ibid.)

The description is not only a policy imperative, it is also one full of historical resonance.

Towards 2020, however, is also, in part, a reflection of the role and possibilities of youth work in contemporary Malta and Europe. Its aims and structure resemble those of the renewed framework for European co-operation in the youth field (2010-18) and comprise two interrelated policy aims:

▶ to effectively support and encourage the young individual in fulfilling her/his potential and aspirations while addressing their needs and concerns; and

▶ to effectively support young people as active and responsible citizens who fully participate in and contribute to the social, economic and cultural life of the nation and Europe. (ibid)

This is to be achieved through two strategies: one focused on youth work and services for young people and the second focused on cross-sectoral support for young people. Each strategy has accompanying action plans.

The strategy focused on cross-sectoral supports for young people seeks to encourage and facilitate co-operative endeavour, mutual support and burden sharing not only across departments of state and public bodies but also with the private and voluntary sectors and with fellow professionals and practitioners. Two action plans under this strategy are of particular relevance for co-operative efforts between youth workers and social workers. The Action Plan for Health and Well-being proposes action in addressing issues such as healthy lifestyles, sexual health and responsible relationships, mental health and emotional well-being, substance abuse and addictive behaviour, bullying and disability. The Action Plan on Social Inclusion proposes action in addressing issues facing young migrants, families at risk of poverty, LGBTIQ young people and young people leaving care and detention.

The purpose is not for youth work to emulate social work, or for youth workers to act as social workers, but rather to explore the boundaries and possibilities of youth work in diverse settings and how it interfaces with other professions, such as social work, in building mutually supportive relationships and jointly formulating original and inventive ways of encouraging and helping young people.

Where will professional parity lead to? Professional rivalries and staking out and defence of professional territory? Will social workers be inclined to see youth work as merely an aspect of social work, but lacking its methodological rigour and academic weight? Will youth workers incline to the view that social work is replete with arcane methodologies based on dubious theories? Or will youth workers and social workers learn to work together on the basis of parity of esteem and a spirit of mutual support and endeavour to the benefit of young people with whom they work?

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to trace the development of youth work and social work in Malta over the past century. Both were shaped and strongly influenced by the Catholic Church and the British presence: youth work more by the Church and social work more by the state. Youth work remained a voluntary activity on the part of individuals and groups for most of the period under consideration: the state, both British and Maltese, played no role. While social work was of greater interest to the state, support for it was limited, uneven and fitful. Youth work lagged behind social work in terms of recognition and development. Sociology and social work only came to be taught at university level in the 1970s: youth work almost 20 years later. Social work achieved professional recognition in 2004: youth work 10 years later. For most of the period under consideration both struggled in their different ways. When sustained state support, clear training and career paths and professional parity were finally achieved, they remained distinct activities despite the blurring of their professional purpose and practices.

The reason for this continuing distinction between the nature and role of social work and those of youth work in Malta may have less to do with theories about what social work and youth work actually are, the particular methods employed, practices engaged in or people supported and more to do with the historical legacy and experience of both over time. It is this historical legacy that has shaped how youth workers and social workers see themselves and each other and how others have come to see them.

The past made us; what the future holds is another matter.

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Chapter 10

From mutual ignorance to ignorance? Youth work and social work in France since 1945

Laurent Besse and Jérome Camus

Introduction

Today in France the concept of *animation*, an approximation for "youth work", tends to be part of a large but loose entity. Both "social workers" and *animateurs* (youth workers) are likely to call themselves *intervenants sociaux* (social support workers) or even *travailleurs sociaux* (social workers). These facts are new and rather surprising when one considers what social work, historically, was in France since it originated in the first half of the 20th century. It is even more striking when one takes into account the origins of youth work and what its features were in the French context until the 1980s. Historically, youth work and social work were two distinct worlds with very little in common, despite regular attempts to co-ordinate them and make them work together. In the last 30 years or so, they partly merged; however, in terms of professional qualifications, for example, the two domains remain clearly delineated. Rather than the "merging" of youth work and social work, it is more pertinent to speak of youth work being slowly engulfed or annexed by a new type of social work, whose boundaries have expanded at the expense of its unity and public image. This change tells us quite a lot about youth work and social work and, moreover, says much about the evolution of the youth question within French society since the late 1970s.

Two questions will be addressed throughout the rest of this chapter.

▶ How and why youth work (or rather its French equivalent) emerged in France probably later than in some north-western European countries and why action regarding young people was mainly educative and cultural when it was institutionalised in the 1960s, thereby positioning social workers on the very margin of this action.

▶ What the current apparent reconciliation of social work and youth work – not to say the integration of youth work within a broader but weaker social work – tells us about the state of youth in French society today and especially about young people at the lower end of the social spectrum.

Sociocultural youth work for young people: a dream of the 1960s?

It is important to bear in mind that "youth" as a political category and even as an administrative category has long been contentious and controversial in France. This stems from the fact that the first youth policy was the responsibility of a dictatorship – the Vichy regime in the 1940s. This contrasts dramatically with England and Wales where the youth service was also established in 1940 but by a democracy fighting to keep the world free. Nonetheless, up to the 1960s, the idea of "youth policy" had some scent of totalitarianism about it. Notwithstanding this concern, in France youth organisations never did attract levels of participation as large as in England or Belgium and most of these organisations were faith-based around Catholicism; the *laïques* (secular forces) never did succeed in creating such youth movements. They were much more successful with sport and, above all, "cultural", artistic organisations. The struggle between Catholic forces and republican secular forces was central in shaping French political and social life. The Ligue de l'enseignement, the main body of the secular side, and many school teachers working in secular educational associations, opposed the idea of a ministry of youth in the 1950s, asserting that there was already one ministry of youth – the Ministry of Education, whose role was not only to provide schooling but also to develop citizenship.

Many countries experienced a rejuvenation after the Second World War but the "baby boom" was all the more important in France, for unlike most other European countries France had experienced a long demographic decline since the last decades of the 19th century, which had turned the birth rate into an obsession. At last, the long expected new wave of fertility had arrived (Sauvy 1959). In the first decade after the Second World War, the young children born between 1946 and 1953 would soon become teenagers in a society that was experiencing a rapid growth of income and was on the verge of entering the alluring but daunting consumer society.

The common feeling among social activists and thinkers was that the country was experiencing a crisis of its traditional structures, namely the school system, which was criticised for not being ready to prepare for the modernity that French society was facing at that time. *Animation socio-culturelle* – a term coined in the early 1960s – was seen as a way of responding to the challenges of the time, especially regarding what was called the "youth problem". As was noted earlier, the term *animation* is, in France, the closest approximation to the idea of youth work. It had its heyday between 1962 and 1973 when hundreds of youth centres were built, and when thousands of youth workers were recruited. Throughout most of the 1960s youth policy was based on *animation*. The word "policy" is, however, partly inadequate as it conveys a sense of coherence and organisation that does not fit well with the rather pragmatic and piecemeal aspect of what was actually implemented. Whatever its name, this "action" was driven by an educational and cultural orientation. Its scope was universal in the sense that all young people were supposed to benefit from it: boys and girls, young people from rural and urban areas, young workers and students. It was seen as a way of enhancing civic conscience and participation among young people and to foster *démocratisation culturelle*, a French expression meaning the enlargement of cultural practices (especially access to art and artistic practices).

The most typical institutions of the 1960s and 1970s were significantly called MJCs (*Maisons des jeunes et de la culture*; houses for youth and culture) which bear some resemblance to youth centres but with a more ambitious orientation towards the arts. In cities, most of them hosted a performance hall, some a theatre hall. Though they were mainly attended by young people between the ages of 15 and 25, the MJCs were also open to the general public (in other words, older people too) and they advocated strongly the mixing of young people and adults.

Education versus social work

MJC youth workers defined their new profession in opposition to teachers whose pedagogy, they claimed, was traditional – some said even undemocratic – and, above all, ineffective, especially outside the classroom. Schoolteachers (school masters, who had historically played a key role in cultural matters beyond the school) were now considered to be out of date, according to members of the Ligue de l'enseignement. But these youth workers also opposed the model of the social assistants who in the 1960s typified the social worker: their practices were seen by youth workers as patronising and not democratic enough (Besse 2008). The gender issue was of some importance in this rejection: youth workers were men whereas social assistants were still women, often spinsters, the older ones typically from the most privileged backgrounds. Though not systematically Catholic, they remained inspired by religious values, not least because the majority of training schools they attended were still faith-based, even if the qualification was granted by the government. Social work was seen as the legacy of the Christian charitable work of the 19th century, which for an historian is partly an oversimplification, but it was an opinion widely held in the 1950s and 1960s (Bouquet, Garcette and Salomon 1995). Even if some of the new youth workers were also Christians, at least from their upbringing and their early militancy in, for example, the JOC (*Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne*; young Christian workers' association) or the Catholic Scouts, they opposed the vision of clerical structures and the legacy of charitable work. They did not identify themselves as social workers.

Earlier, in the late 1940s, there had been attempts to make connections between social work and what was then called *éducation populaire*, which approximately means non-formal education for both young people and adults, often in collaboration with the schooling system or the churches. One interesting fact was that these initiatives for connections came from the most secular supporters of social work. The co-operation proved to be all but easy. The stress put on techniques derived from the growing influence of American casework on social work in contrast to cultural matters that were seen as exclusively on the side of *éducation populaire* made the encounter unlikely (Richez 2011). The growing importance of specialised educators (*éducateurs spécialisés*) in the 1960s did not change this stand-off situation as much as might have been expected. These new professionals, whose role had been professionalised since the war, were to be called "social workers" by the end of the decade, even undermining the role of the social assistant as being a social worker. They dealt mainly with young people, described as maladjusted, a category which encompassed young people with disabilities and those attached to the juvenile justice system. The specialised educators were mostly men, trained in institutes that were both faith-based and secular. As Maurice Herzog, the long-standing under-secretary for Youth

pointed out in 1959, *animateurs* dealt with "young people with no problems", that is, young people attending secondary school or finding their way into the labour market. Young people "with problems", however, were dealt with by specialised educators, especially street-based youth workers, depending on subsidies from the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Social Affairs. Little was done to make these two categories work together, despite the fact that from 1961 to 1963 street-based youth workers and MJC youth workers experienced a period of common training in order to create bridges. But the experiment failed, as the differences between the two worlds of "working with young people" proved to have been underestimated. The only real example of the intersection between social work and education was to be found at that time within the *Foyers de jeunes travailleurs* (young workers' hostels). These settings were diverse but they had a strong legacy of social Catholicism through the JOC. They had strong links with the Ministries of Housing and of Social Affairs and also with the administration of Youth and Sports. They did not limit their influence on the educative and cultural side, and they paid attention to the daily life of young people, but their activity was not seen as social work.

The idea of youth work fitted into the dream of the 1960s of a no-class society, or at least a kind of averaging, a dream whereby social conditions in French society would gradually converge towards a large lower middle class. Parallel to the secondary and technical schooling that experienced a surge in the 1960s, youth work was thought of as a way of enhancing opportunities for people. In this respect it was seen as "social" but not in the restricted meaning of caring for deprived people or dealing with the social question in the 19th-century way. The 1960s were the decade of what was then called "human sciences": psychology, sociology and communication. Debates in France, as in other western European countries, were influenced by North American theories, especially outside university. Communication and social psychology were seen as offering techniques to understand and transform what was called "mass society". David Riesman's book *The lonely crowd* (1950) was known among cultural, educational activists well before it was translated into French in 1964. Youth work was seen as way of making society more fluid, more communicational. And Carl Rogers was seen as influential in shaping youth work ideology, probably more so than its effective practice. The first department of youth work within French universities was established in Bordeaux in 1967 by Robert Escarpit, a specialist in English literature who then introduced communication sciences to France. He was also a Marxist who was close to the Communist Party, although not an affiliated member, and he was also a prominent member of the Ligue de l'enseignement. The heirs of the Catholic tradition were probably even more sensitive to the influence of human sciences: they were seen as tools to escape from the "charitable works syndrome" (Poujol 1993).

Youth work was then consensual within French society. Politicians from different views supported the idea of building youth centres: the planning laws which funded sports and youth buildings in the 1960s were supported unanimously – a virtually unique event in the decade. The idea of recruiting youth workers was not always popular at this level but it was popular enough to propel a movement of recruitment and training, which radically changed the face of youth work. Those who criticised the professionalisation of youth work decreased rapidly after 1965. But it did not lead to a professional status, not even to a standard diploma. For a long time, to some

extent until today, youth work has remained a sector where on-the-job training has been the way of entering the profession. The administration did not favour a status for what was seen as an emerging profession. But opposition also came from the youth and cultural organisations, which were very fond of their independence and of their ideological specificities, and were anxious to keep their own training. Even when the CAPASE (*Certificat d'aptitude à la promotion des activités socio-éducatives*) became the official qualification threshold for the managers of youth centres, the effective criterion for reaching that position was still ground-level work experience.

This contrasts strongly with the changes experienced by social work at the same time. From 1946, social assistants had a status and were required to have a diploma, the earliest form of which could be traced back to 1932. And the new specialised educators gained a national collective pay agreement in 1966 and a diploma (*diplôme d'État d'éducateur specialisé*) the year after; the position of *éducateurs* was exclusively held by certified specialised educators only (Boussion 2013). The contrast with youth workers was obvious.

By the end of the decade, youth work was even further challenged. The events of May 1968 put an end to some illusions about the consensus around youth work and turned the debates into more critical views. Youth centres then were blamed for being places of unrest and the figure of the youth worker became much more controversial. But probably of more importance was the decline of the belief in the powers of youth work, especially for young people. Sociological enquiries and daily practice in youth centres had shown by the end of the 1960s that youth work had partly missed at least one of its targets: youth centres had clearly had difficulties in attracting young people from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds, apart from the new category of technicians. Its democratic promise, as a result, was challenged.

The age of social intervention

A new youth question emerged in the late 1970s in the context of increasing unemployment, which was affecting young people first, and a growing concern regarding delinquency. The Barre Plan (named after the prime minister) for youth employment in 1977 was the first programme to address young people regarding jobs. The same year the report *Réponse à la violence* was published.[7] This focused on young people's delinquency, criticising the role of youth centres, among other institutions, and accusing them of failing to offer young people what they expected and thus paving the way for delinquency. A few years later urban riots began, such as the 1981 riots of les Minguettes, a social housing area in a suburb of Lyons. These riots were the first to be subjected to extensive media coverage. The theme of "integration" began to spread, with the famous Schwartz report of September 1981 illustrating well the turn towards integration (Schwartz 1981). One of the main recommendations of the report was to create "local integration centres", and as early as March 1982 local agencies were created in order to help young people to find housing, training and jobs. If the youth centre

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7. *Réponses à la violence* (1977), report of the study group headed by Alain Peyrefitte, La Documentation Française, available at : www.ladocumentationfrancaise.fr/rapports-publics/774023100/index.shtml

epitomised the 1960s, the job centre or, more accurately, the "local centre" could be said to exemplify the 1980s. Integration advisers were recruited, some of whom were reoriented and redeployed youth workers. They were the first of the new *intervenants sociaux* whose number increased drastically in the 1980s, many of them working within the regeneration schemes of the *banlieues*, the urban deprived working-class housing areas that can be found in many large French cities.

The growing importance of social work linked with employment policies changed the very nature of public action towards young people. The global tendency was towards the generalisation of schemes whose common philosophy was based on restoring "individual involvement or responsibility". The RMI (minimum income support allowance) established in 1988 is emblematic of the whole mutation of social action. It consists of an allowance which is conditional on the involvement of the recipient in a process of a return to employment. The unemployed person, once seen as a victim of technological advancement, of the economic system or of the economic crisis, was now required to take responsibility: it was their personal duty to take charge of themselves. Remaining unemployed arouses suspicions of idleness, of misuse of benefits, even of psychiatric deficiencies (part of the social problems becoming addressed in terms of health or disability problems, especially mental health ones). Even if the RMI is restricted to people over 25, it makes visible the profound changes in social action that have affected young people whose main problem, since the late 1970s, has been unemployment.

Two features are particularly evident. First, social action increasingly targets some territories, called *quartiers*, which signify (deprived) areas, concentrating in these places measures and institutions aimed at unemployed people, whether or not they are beneficiaries of the RMI. Secondly, this new social action tends to fragment by its very nature: each institution, each *intervenant social* asserts the specificity of his or her work within an ever denser and more heterogeneous network of *travailleurs sociaux* (Ion and Ravon 2005): some work within job centres (today *Pôle emploi*), others in "local centres", and they try to help match the demand for work with the standards of the job market, while others work towards helping beneficiaries to improve their presentation to potential employers (CV and presentation workshops, for example – all often outsourced), not to speak of people organising remotivation sessions. This fragmentation leads to competition among institutions to gain subsidies and secure public resources. The youth work institutions established in the *quartiers* cannot escape from this general trend. They have turned themselves into access points, or rather, orientation centres towards social services: there, young people are supposed to find gateways to the specialised service that can address their specific needs: for example, help for homework or parenthood mentoring. Youth work (and youth workers) have therefore remained "generalist" practitioners, as opposed to the new (more specialist) *intervenants sociaux*. This can be seen as a way of keeping a global view of young people as opposed to the specialised, partial and compartmentalised perspectives of these new social support workers. A more pessimistic view would stress the fact that the so-called generalist position of youth workers is the product of their position on the ladder of social intervention: they are down at the bottom, street-level "interveners". The migration of quite a large number of youth workers to positions in "local centres" or other positions on the more social side of social

intervention (Mauger 2001) is one indication of the fact that the reconfiguration of social action in the 1980s and 1990s has reduced the prestige of youth work within the world of social and cultural intervention. This rather pessimistic view is partly counterbalanced by the fact that youth work was – at last – given in 1988 "a sector conventional agreement", which means that conditions of employement and wages are standardised at national level, which can be seen as proof of a kind of autonomy, even if this agreement does not specify the training required, or provide a statutory basis for youth work (and youth workers).

At the same time, youth work also lost some of those dimensions that had been central during the 1960s when it was first developed, such as "cultural democratisation", which has been challenged by the growing importance of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, whose prestige has been steadily enhanced since the 1970s. Sociocultural youth work (*animation socioculturelle*) was by the mid-1980s being challenged both on the social and on the cultural sides of its field of intervention, having been torn between those two dimensions (Ion 1986). What is called youth work elsewhere in Europe had, by then, become something quite small and is still shrinking.

The most acute challenge to youth work comes, however, from the youth question itself, which turns from educational to social matters as youth unemployment grows and as access to the labour market becomes more selective than ever, linked to a growing and more selective schooling system (Baudelot and Establet 2007).

A tale of two kinds of youth?

From a French perspective, youth is today synonymous with young people attending school. The population having the secondary school final exam grew from 25% in 1985 to 60% in 1992 and led to a massive growth in the student population during the early 1990s. New students are no longer young intellectuals with middle-class backgrounds living out their university time as "amateurs", as in the 1960s. Instead, today, young people are rather anxious about their studies, the career options available to them and, above all, the value of their degrees on the labour market. In the context of mass unemployment affecting young people more than any other segment of the population, study and career strategies are no longer considered in terms of personal improvement and development, but rather in terms of placement in a market where degrees and qualifications are seen as key advantages. Schooling is now central within the life course of young people. The so-called ivory tower of school is criticised by business leaders, who now call for the greater integration of job-oriented requirements within curricula, and who want internships to be made compulsory. These critics are far from the critics of the school system in the 1960s, of which youth work (*animation*) was a part. Academic studies, especially liberal studies, have lost part of their importance, especially in higher education. In this context, where the national objective is still to have 80% of a generation passing the secondary school final exams, those who do not enter the main track are seen as a social problem, not to say posing "the" social problem: the integration of young people. For them, new aspects of social work are laid out: a mission to integrate them into the labour market and into social life (housing, mobility). Among these "off the track" young people, the *jeunes de banlieues*, are young males from working-class

backgrounds, living in deprived social housing estates, mainly foreign, especially of Arab origins and who are engaged in petty crime and drug trafficking. They typify antisocial young people: the early school leavers, delinquents and those with no occupation who are the exact opposite of the young student from the normal track. This parallel draws a portrait of two kinds of youth, not to say two kinds of nation.

As we have seen, youth work is overwhelmed by the schooling system, which is supposed to guarantee integration, especially into the labour market, meritocracy and what we might call an "openness" that is a civic sense and a form of cultural emancipation. The new social work which is directed towards young people has filled the interstitial space between family and school. Youth work is then rolled back from children, leisure and the margins of social work. What remains of youth policies – under this very name – is on one side the "politics of engagement", policies which attempt to sustain involvement and commitment within the city, which are a way of reinforcing citizenship in a country where citizenship is supposed to be central. On the other side are policies that could be termed "piecemeal policies". Since the late 1990s, which saw France putting an end to compulsory military service, which had been central in the lives of many generations, a large spectrum of measures were taken to encourage young people to get involved in public life in order to enhance their sense of belonging to the nation. These schemes, such as *Envie d'agir* (desire to act), which were implemented by the Ministry of Youth and Sports, were soon presented as opportunities to gain and develop new competencies, especially those preparing their entry to the labour market. These two approaches, both civic and instrumental, are to be found again in today's schemes, and are considered so important because they tend to be a way of addressing youth unemployment by creating quasi-jobs within which undeniable precariousness (for example, wages not on a legal basis, fragmented working time) can be presented as a way of testing effort and dedication. This could also be said of the civic service or the European Voluntary Service programme through which opportunities are seized by young people coming from more affluent backgrounds, to the quasi-exclusion of disadvantaged youth. These schemes address *de facto* students, even if they were not planned for.

Youth work is still present within these plans but not in the way it might be thought. It may be mainly present because it offers precarious employment in, for example, summer camps or leisure centres for children under 13. Youth workers are now often students aged between 17 and 21, mainly young people (young adults) who treat these precarious (part-time, low-paid) jobs as a way of complementing their financial resources and their competences but also as a way of testing or experiencing their vocation. If French youth can be described in terms of a two-nation youth with a two-sided face, the same can be said of policies addressing young people. In parallel with these schemes directed *de facto* towards students, the "main-track" young people, there are other kinds of public action that have been laid out for the other group of young people. Employment-related issues lead the way in all government action, followed by schemes aimed at tackling school dropouts and preventing all kinds of forms of behaviour that are analysed as self-endangering (such as alcohol and drug abuse, and other addictions) – in a word, young people "at risk". These young people are inherently seen as a risk population. Since the 1990s, a medically oriented approach concerning sexuality, food behaviour and an ever-increasing

number of "addictions" has been deployed. Born in the public health sector, these issues have since spread out into education, training and labour market policy as "risks" that are seen as barriers on the road to academic attainment, "employability" and labour market integration.

In deprived areas, policies addressing crime issues (including the prevention of urban riots after the November 2005 riots) follow the same lines, including of course youth work. Fifty years ago, as noted above, working with young people in a youth centre was driven primarily by a perspective of "openness", a sense of a collective dimension of emancipation produced through cultural activities. Today, even if this dimension is still a long-term ideal for youth workers, it tends to be overshadowed by the imperative of managing risk. The aim is to create and build a relationship; the purpose is to work on the way young people plan their future regarding studies and employment. Accepting that one should not oversimplify or embellish a past that has never been as shiny as is sometimes believed, youth centres have nevertheless been turned into spaces of social intervention and direction rather than emancipatory educational and cultural environments.

From youth and sport to social cohesion

There is often a kind of inertia in administrative structures. Changes that occurred in the youth work sector in the 1980s and 1990s were not immediately reflected in official institutions. It is only in the last decade that these mutations have become visible. In 2007, under President Sarkozy, the Ministry of Youth and Sports became part of a new Ministry of Health, Youth and Sports, within which the central body was the Department of Social Affairs. More than ever, youth administration was moving to the outer margins. The effective responsibility for youth was sometimes assigned to an "under-secretary of state", whose remit changed from what was initially "active solidarity against poverty and youth" to no mention of "youth" at all within its official title. In 2010, "youth" went back to the Ministry of Education whereas "sports" remained independent. But it was far from a mere return to the old organisation. From January 2010, the former Departmental Directorates for Youth and Sports which had been – since 1946 – the devolved bodies for youth and sports governmental administration were absorbed into a new Department of Social Cohesion centred on social action and under the Ministry of Social Affairs, though by that time the Ministry's own name had changed to one responsible for "active solidarities and social cohesion" (DDCS). The return of the left to power in 2012 resulted in the recreation of a Ministry of Youth and Sports with even the addition of "popular education" to its title, which was seen as a sign of recognition to the associative world that had supported the election of François Hollande. Nothing changed, however, within the organisation of the administration: the DDCS has remained at the core of the structure of youth policies, with cultural and pedagogical issues continuing to be marginalised, as the specific responsibilities of the civil servants formerly attached to the late "youth and sports" directories have been diluted. In 2014, at national level, youth and sports were again reintegrated into a new Ministry of the City, youth and sports; "the politics of the city" (what might be called urban policy) in France is little more than a euphemism for naming policies addressing the difficulties of urban deprived areas. And whatever the results of the next elections (presidential and general) in France, the end of a youth and sports

national administration is more than likely. At the level of local authorities (cities and "departments", i. e. provinces), the situation is probably not as clear as at the national level, but the general trend is also towards an inclusion of youth policies within social affairs rather than educational or cultural affairs. And viewed from the side of local associations acting for young people, the picture is very evident: the MJCs (houses of youth and culture), which were at the forefront of 1960s youth work based on leisure and education, are closing one after another, with those remaining turning into social centres, especially in deprived areas. In the 1960s, social centres were run by social assistants, who were social workers as defined against the new genre of youth workers. Since then, social centres have moved from the provision of social assistance to a more comprehensive form of community work, and their workers are no longer social assistants. But their growth in terms of numbers and influence, while youth centres have been in steady decline, draws a good picture of the evolution of the relationship between youth work – as understood in France – and social work.

Further differentiating the young

Young people, whatever their status – whether students or "young people with problems" – are spontaneously thought of as male, even if girls have made up the majority of students since the late 1980s. And though delinquency is mostly a male affair, poverty within deprived areas also affects young women. Social action swings between undifferentiated – that is to say male-oriented – policies and special targeted measures for girls, oriented towards problems thought of specifically as female problems such as parenthood and prevention of domestic violence. Probably more than for boys, action towards young girls is increasingly social action where the influence of the youth work tradition – if any – is virtually nonexistent. But one should not forget another category of young people, the least noticeable: those who do not attend university but do not fit into the category of "young people with problems" either. We can think of a large number of young girls but also of all those young people in, for example, vocational training or technical schools. For them, transition from childhood to adulthood is rather short and rather early within the lifecycle. These are "unnoticeable" and "unnoticed" young people, ignored by social policies. They make occasional use of social support facilities, notably when entering the labour market. Their ambitions are shaped by the realism of the achievable: leaving their parents' home to become a couple, owning their own homes, having steady employment (especially for boys), having a child (especially for girls) (Schwartz 2014). They are all in the blind spot of both youth work and social intervention and probably of many public policies too. Schemes aimed at enhancing civic commitment do not really address them, because the hidden curriculum of that provision is based on a middle-class student model. The young people in the middle see it as "not for us", which can lead to a form of irony when considering the so-called "opportunities" available for young people (Bory and Simonet 2013). But they consider with even more reluctance the social side of youth policies: their deep awareness of the fragility of their status makes them strongly oppose the idea of being confused with "young people with problems", targeted by youth policies which are mainly a form of social and security policies. This is far from the dream of the sociocultural policy of the 1960s and its dream of a classless society.

Conclusion

In the 1960s, the French model of youth work was born, finding its origins both in the legacy of *éducation populaire* and in the need to address the challenges of urban and affluent society that the country was experiencing. The global orientation was towards culture, arts and leisure. These were seen as the keys to civic participation and developing a civic sense. Co-operation with social work was the exception and the new youth workers did not want to be confused with social workers. Delinquents and pre-delinquents were supported by specific social workers (specialised educators) whose links with youth workers were loose. The horizon was the building of an open, inclusive and more egalitarian society whose base would have been a large "middle class".

Fifty years later, youth work in France is very difficult to picture. Youth work, and especially youth clubs, have experienced a decline which contrasts sharply with the rise of a wide range of educational and cultural activities for children under 11. Two kinds of policies address two categories of young people. Mass unemployment, school dropouts and other social problems have paved the way for social youth work, not to say social work, targeting young men of working-class origins, especially those coming from urban deprived areas (*banlieues*). On the other hand, national and European schemes focus on students from more privileged backgrounds, trying to enhance their opportunities (whether social, cultural or job-oriented). In some senses, these schemes retain some of the inspiration of the 1960s – internationalism, for example. However, the continuity should not be overestimated: while yesterday's youth policies put the emphasis on the collective dimension, today's schemes are based upon a philosophy which makes individuals the core of its action – their capability, their talent but also their sense of responsibility are thought to be the keys to young people's success or failure.

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The relationship between youth work and social work in Sweden

Björn Andersson

Introduction

In this chapter the relationship between youth work and social work is considered in relation to the Swedish context. In Sweden, with its long history as a welfare state, almost all professional efforts to address the social conditions of young people are organised, regulated and financed by the public sector. For reasons discussed in the chapter, the concept of social work has come to be the general category used to identify these efforts. Therefore, few people call themselves "youth workers", although some social workers certainly perform tasks and relate to young people in ways that in other contexts would be understood as youth work. This situation opens up the possibility of both specific patterns of agreement and conflict among groups of youth workers and social workers, which illustrate the complex and contextual character of the relationship between the two.

Youth work in Sweden

One should not expect to find much youth work in Sweden. Certainly, there are lots of social and pedagogical efforts throughout the country that are directed towards young people, but few of them would be identified by the concept of "youth work". Likewise, it is difficult to find any books reflecting on the general practice of youth work or to find university courses educating people to become a youth worker. So in spite of the fact that there are quite a number of people, both volunteers and professionals, who actually work with young people, few would say that they are youth workers in a sense that connects them to a collective identity. The term is not much used as a general categorisation, so reasonably youth work does not represent what has been called a "moral occupational community" (Evetts 2006: 136).

People in this occupational field would rather say that they "work with young people" and specify by describing the organisational setting where they work, the group of young people they work with, or the specific activity they engage in as the basis for categorisation.

There is, nevertheless, definitely a "youth issue" in Sweden. The living conditions, the habits and the morals of young people have been discussed and investigated for hundreds of years (Olson 1992). Young people are often understood in relation to different social and psychological problems and described as a group that is very sensitive and vulnerable to the troubles of contemporary society.

One expression of this is the national youth policy governing all state efforts directed at young people. This is recognition of the importance of being aware of the special needs of young people and of directing efforts to support youth as a collective. The policy was first adopted in 1997 (Forkby 2014) and has since then been reworked twice. In the last version, adopted by the Swedish Parliament in 2014, it says that:

> The objective of the Government's youth policy is for all young people to have decent living conditions, the power to shape their lives and influence over developments in society. (Government Offices of Sweden 2015)

Furthermore, the policy states that the general goal applies to all central government decisions and measures that concern young people between the ages of 13 and 25. The Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society is responsible for the follow-up and evaluation of how public services actually live up to these policy aspirations.

One aim of the national youth policy is that all public administration should apply a "youth perspective" when they plan, organise and implement their efforts. Much of this work is carried out by municipal administrations; however, the municipalities are not obliged to adopt the national policy. They are expected, however, to follow the intentions of the policy.

Social work

One general category that many of the professionals working with youth issues in Sweden would relate themselves to is "social work". There has been specialised training for social workers in Sweden for decades; the first course started in Stockholm as early as 1921. For a long time the training was organised by public educational institutions outside the university, but from the late 1960s integration with the university system took place. In 1977 this was completed when social work was established as a university discipline in its own right. The social work programme encompasses undergraduate studies for three-and-a-half years, with the graduation title *socionom*, and then there are master's programmes as well as doctoral studies available.

Through these developments, social work has been given a privileged position. Other educational provision in, for example, "care" and "social pedagogy", have been integrated as part of the training to become a social worker. The practice field of social work is in Sweden a part of the welfare system and is mostly organised within the public sector. It is within this sector that much of the work with young people and on youth issues is done. So, when discussing the relationship between youth work and social work in Sweden, this is not so much a question of connections and disconnections between two different occupational areas, but rather it is about different positions within the field of social work.

Areas of work with young people

In order to discuss the relations between different types of work with young people, I will present six areas where work can be identified that is directed towards meeting the needs of young people or where work is done on issues labelled as "youth problems". I will then discuss which areas and efforts can be seen as equivalents to youth work in the Swedish context.

Youth movements/associations

As in many other European countries, work with youth issues in Sweden started in the early youth movements and associations (Verschelden et al. 2009: 159-63). On the one hand, there is a tradition of autonomy and young people's self-organisation with roots stretching back into the social structures of rural society (Mitterauer 1988). On the other hand, there is a tradition of idea-based associations, for example Christian association or the Scouts, that were led by adults and in the early days often had a programme where moral education and the accentuation of sound values were prominent elements. The two traditions still exist, but a very general trend is that many of the movements have turned into associations and become increasingly adult-led. At the same time, the understanding of young people's needs and the importance of involving them in organisational work has increased.

There is a huge variety of activities among these associations, but sports activities dominate (MUCF 2014). The number of young people taking part in activities organised by associations has been decreasing for several years. Mostly these associations engage volunteers as leaders of the activities. There are, however, a number of organisations that also employ professional workers. Many of these associations get financial support from public resources.

Recreational and activity-orientated youth centres

Some of the youth associations started meeting places for young people labelled "youth clubs", "recreational centres" or "settlements" (Brange 1982). From this emanates a tradition of activity-oriented youth work starting out from young people's leisure time and the social rituals and cultural expressions connected to young people's everyday lives. From the beginning this was rather authoritarian in style, but eventually participatory qualities were introduced and young people took part more on their own terms. During the 1950s these youth recreational centres were taken over by the municipalities and a number of new ones were started. Normally these recreational centres are set up in special localities or as part of a school building. They are usually quite well equipped and have a focus on young people in the local area. Sometimes they are aimed at specific target groups, such as young people with disabilities. These centres have employed "youth leaders" and, for more than 50 years, there has been some level of training for "recreation and leisure-time" leaders, for example the two-year training course run by the Folk High Schools, an educational body that offers education for adults, but which does not have university status. This, as a result, ranks the youth leader (youth work) qualification lower than the social work degree, which in practice has consequences for job opportunities and salary level.

Outreach and "field work"

Outreach and detached youth work in Sweden is called "field work". This was intro-duced in the larger cities during the 1950s and has since then established a stable tradition. Today, there are about 500 "field workers" across the country who provide an outreach or detached approach to making contact with and relating to young people in outdoor meeting places. The field workers link young people to other ser-vices, but also run activities and provide support directly. These include activities at all levels: individual, group and community work. These field workers either have the three-and-a-half-year university degree in social work (the *socionom*) or they have completed the two-year training course as a leisure-time leader. The field workers are often organised in special teams and are employed by the public services. Often the team is part of the social services department, but sometimes it is connected to a department responsible for recreational and cultural services.

Investigative/support-oriented services

Most social work in Sweden is organised and carried out in local social services cen-tres. The municipalities are responsible for these services; however, they are partly regulated by national law and regulations. So, to a certain degree the municipalities are required to offer social support, but aside from that they can provide supplemen-tary services. One service that must be delivered is investigating and reporting on circumstances where young people may be involved in or experiencing, for example, crime, abuse, truancy and family problems. The social services have, in some cases, the possibility to resort to coercive measures, but there is an overall emphasis on endeavouring to find voluntary solutions and there are a number of support- and treatment-oriented approaches that social workers adopt. Aside from that they often link to other services and available specialist units. In general the work at these social services centres is regulated and reactive work, but the centres may also organise more proactive and preventive measures. Almost all social workers in this field have the three-and-a-half-year university degree in social work.

Residential care

Sweden has a tradition of working with young people in residential and foster care. This has long historical roots, but has declined in recent years in favour of less intrusive solutions. This work is organised by the state, the municipalities or by private initi-atives. Those who work in the area of institutional care of young people have quite diverse backgrounds. Many do have a degree in social work, particularly those at a managerial level, but those who work most directly with young people often have a shorter education. This is often understood in terms of social pedagogy and for many years there was specific training for social pedagogues. For the past 15 years, however, this has been incorporated into the university social work programme.

Therapeutic work

There is a possibility for young people to get advice and therapeutic care within the framework of youth psychology and psychiatry, at youth guidance centres or in pri-vately owned psychotherapeutic practices. There are also specialised units offering

support and treatment to young people with, for example, drug-related problems or eating disorders. The psychodynamic tradition has for many years been strong, but cognitive methodology has increased significantly in recent years. There is also medical treatment available. Those working in these fields of practice would normally have had quite extensive training. Most of them have a university education, usually in psychology or social work, and on top of that additional therapeutic and other relevant specialist qualifications.

So what is "youth work"?

The six different areas of work with young people that I have pointed out above are not based on any universally accepted classification. It is my interpretation of the field, and others would certainly advance different perspectives.

It should also be underlined that the list is not exhaustive. Linked to other areas of activity, such as school and health care, there are often special social workers that deal with social issues in relation to the organisation's core mission. There are also examples of professionals working with young people in specific projects or focusing on a specific theme. One such example is the participation of young people in society, which manifests itself in the form of local youth councils and youth parliaments. However, people working in activities not directly referred to in the six areas have largely the same educational background as mentioned earlier and they often have, through their jobs, considerable contact with other organisations that work with young people. So in many ways, there are connections.

What the classification indicates clearly is that work with young people in Sweden is carried out in a number of different ways that are compatible with the general description of youth work, which is work that:

> takes place in a wide range of settings, it varies from unstructured activities to fairly structured programmes, it reaches a large diversity of young people, touches a lot of different themes and is on the interface with many other disciplines and practices. (Coussée 2009: 7)

The interesting question is, of course, which aspects of the work with young people listed in the six areas should be categorised as youth work on the basis of how this concept is used in a European context?

It has often been pointed out that youth work is not easy to define (Coussée, Williamson and Verschelden 2012: 253-5), but in the *Official Journal of the European Union* of 14 June 2013, it says that: "Youth work belongs to the area of 'out-of-school' education, as well as specific leisure time activities managed by professional or voluntary youth workers and youth leaders." (EUR-Lex 2013)

Further, the following defining features are from a study issued by the European Commission:

> The term "youth work" is used to describe a diverse range of activities, topics and measures provided by a range of actors in assorted fields and settings. However, at the heart of youth work there are three core features that define it as youth work distinct from other policy fields: a focus on young people, personal development, and voluntary participation. (European Commission 2014: 4)

Starting out from these characteristics of youth work it seems reasonable to argue that the Swedish work with young people that best corresponds with the European understanding of youth work are the activity-oriented and outreach sectors, but also parts of what associations do. Based on my experience, it is also in these areas where one finds professionals who easily tie in with the European discussion on youth work.

Professionals in the other sectors would predominantly see themselves as social workers, though, as mentioned earlier, often with supplementary occupational specifications. For example, many of those working in the therapeutic sector would probably rather see themselves as "psychotherapists" and refer to their connections with a therapeutic community. By comparison with many other European countries, Sweden arguably has a comparatively broad concept of social work. It is not just the statutory sector that defines social work, but the concept is embraced by a number of different approaches and services. Therefore social work in Sweden is the statutory sector plus a number of other approaches, and the vast majority of this is organised within the public sector and seen as part of the welfare state provision. Important in this context is the establishment of social work as a university discipline in 1977. This has given the profession occupational status and a fruitful connection to further education and research.

Connections and disconnections

In the following discussion of connections and disconnections I will discuss the relationship between social work and youth work in Sweden, but I will also give examples of disconnections within the youth work sector. For simplicity, I will refer to the "youth work" sector in Sweden following the distinction made earlier.

One important level has to do with the organisational affiliation and the regulations that frame youth work. Although almost all social work and youth work is organised within the public welfare services, this sector is divided into different organisational areas with specific tasks and traditions. As mentioned earlier, the basic structure of the Swedish welfare system is that the national state decides about general laws and regulations, while it is up to municipalities to execute and design the services. Municipalities must, therefore, follow the general rules, but at the same time there is room for local solutions. Municipalities may also add activities that are considered important, based on perceived local needs and circumstances. The area of youth work typically contains tasks that the municipalities are not required by law to maintain, though many of them actually have legal support. For example, municipalities are required to operate proactively and to be well informed about the social conditions of people living in the municipality, but how this knowledge should be obtained and which measures should be taken are not generally regulated. For this reason, municipalities are not obliged to set up detached youth work or to provide recreational centres for young people.

One consequence of this is that youth work tends to be subject to cuts when savings have to be made in public finances. The mandatory interventions through social work do not suffer from this in the same way. This creates a feeling among youth workers of belonging to an area that is easy to dispose of and this functions as a cohesive factor that creates solidarity among youth workers; an atmosphere of "us against them".

At the same time, the organisational affiliation of youth work operates in a divisive way. For a long time the municipal activities were administered in specific task-structured departments. Social work then belonged to the social services department, while the recreation centres delivering youth work were part of the recreation department. These organisations were significant in building up different identities and traditions. One contributory factor in this was educational background, where people in social services departments in general had a higher level of education, recognition and, consequently, remuneration.

For the past 30 years, however, the organisational situation has been quite different. During that time, most municipalities have changed to a political and administrative structure based on districts, where all activities are organised at a local level. The organisational arrangements for social work and youth work are therefore now the same, holding some promise for greater collaboration and convergence.

Interestingly, however, the old organisational belongings and affiliations have proved tenacious. There is still an identity gap between youth workers belonging to the recreational field and youth workers connected to the social services. The difference in educational background probably remains one of the factors behind this divide, but work tasks and career possibilities also play a role.

One thing experienced by youth workers with organisational connections to social work, for example most detached youth workers, is the contagious effect of the reputation that social workers are keen to use coercive measures against young people. This affects the ability to create trusting relationships; and detached youth workers, when approaching new groups, therefore often have to deal with an initial hesitancy from young people.

A second important level of distinction between youth work and social work has to do with job tasks and the structure of the work. Youth work has its focus on young people's leisure time and the life they live outside socially controlled and rule-oriented institutions like the school. The youth work mission is often formulated in broad terms. In this respect there is a clear difference in relation to many of the tasks social workers carry out, which are far more narrowly defined.

One obvious difference between social work and youth work is the office-dependence and bureaucratic organisation that characterises much social work. Youth workers are spatially focused either on environments where young people informally congregate or in arranging accessible meeting places. Social workers are more tied to routines where young people are referred to them and to working with individual investigative and treatment processes.

An important aspect of this has to do with what proportion of the working hours are devoted to direct contact with young people. A study initiated by the National Coordinator for Children measured this among social workers working with children and youth. The results show a diminishing trend when it comes to time spent with young people. Only 10 minutes per day, which represents 2% of the daily working hours, was spent on individual calls with children and young people. Time spent on documentation was 35% (Regeringskansliet 2016).

This can be compared to a similar study I conducted a couple of years ago concerning how detached youth workers in Gothenburg spent their working hours (Andersson 2014). The result was that the youth workers on average spent 42% of their time in direct contact with young people. There can be little doubt that youth workers spend, in comparison with social workers, a lot more time in direct interaction with young people.

One question that has been discussed for many years within the field of youth work, especially among those working in recreation centres, concerns how the "target group" should be defined (Ungdomsstyrelsen 2008: 7-10). One tradition holds that the centres should be aimed generally at young people; they should be "open access" and everybody should be welcome. The important mission in this view is that the centres can help young people to meet across borders of age, sex and social background. According to another tradition, recreation centres should primarily direct their endeavours to meeting the needs of young people who live in risk environments and show signs of socially problematic situations. One consequence of the latter orientation is that it connects youth work in recreational centres with social work, generating arguably a more "therapeutic" function even for "recreational" youth workers.

Finally, the theory and methodology that informs practice is important for the relationship between youth work and social work. Generally, there is a similarity in youth work concerning its general orientation and its emphasis on the voluntary nature of engagement, and young people's participation in the work being carried out. This has to do with how young people should be understood and has implications for how the work is organised and what kind of methods that should be used. In many respects, these are uniting factors for youth work.

At the same time, however, there are theoretical and methodological issues that cut across the field of youth work. One example is how youth workers should relate to young people's drug-use habits. The official view in Sweden is very strict and all substance abuse is criminal. Within the field of youth work there are strongly differing opinions on how youth workers should relate to young people's drug use. Some hold the view that every sign of drug use should be notified and reported to the police, while others advocate a much more liberal standpoint and underline the importance of keeping a working relationship with the young person. In general terms, this has to do with the question of how youth workers should relate to crime among young people. It also applies to other similar topics such as graffiti, but the drug issue is a particular one in Sweden since it is linked to personal values. It demonstrates the ideological and moral component that is present in all human service organisations (Hasenfeld 1983).

Conclusion

In spite of the very limited use of the concept and category of "youth work" in Sweden, there is no problem identifying a professional field of activities directed towards young people that clearly possesses all the attributes of youth work. However, for a variety of historical reasons, social work has become a collective term used for a variety of social activities covering a broader field than what is common in many

other countries. It is much more than just social casework. What we can see, however, is how Swedish youth work is kept together – and distinguished from other forms of social work – through its basic mission and fundamental approaches, such as the voluntary relationship and an orientation towards the informal lives and spaces of young people. Also, the position in the organisation is of importance. Youth work effort is often considered as a voluntary commitment on the side of the municipality and therefore exposed to cutbacks in times of limited public resources. Also, youth work is to a much lesser degree dependent on bureaucratic procedures and office spaces. Youth workers spend more time in the field in direct contact with young people.

These characteristics disconnect youth work from social work, but there are also connections through proximity in organisational and administrative arrangements, and possibilities of shared views on important youth issues.

Irrespective of the relationship between youth workers and social workers, there are also things that disconnect youth workers from one another. This has to do with traditions and organisational affiliation, differences in education and views on specific youth issues. Here we can see the formation of groups that cut across the fields of youth work and social work, paradoxically renewing or establishing other forms of connection. This indicates that the discussion on youth work should not only be concerned with how representatives of this professional category relate to others, such as social workers, but also on the differences and possible transformative relations within youth work itself.

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Part II

Two more histories

Chapter 12

A new kid on the block: youth work meets youth policy in Croatia

Marko Kovačić and Bojana Ćulum

Introduction

Despite the fact that youth work is often seen as one of the key aspects of youth policy (Schild and Vanhee 2014), its development does not always follow the development of youth policy in general. Croatia is one of those countries with rather well-articulated youth policies but within which youth work still suffers from serious deficiencies in terms of regulation and recognition. Anchored mostly in civil society organisations (predominantly in youth clubs and youth centres), youth work practice in Croatia has followed a curious and peculiar path in its development. Starting in the socialist era of former Yugoslavia, followed by a war period in the 1990s, up to the contemporary understanding within the youth policy framework, youth work in Croatia has evolved into a rather atypical area of youth policy (Bužinkić et al. 2015). In this chapter we seek to describe and analyse contemporary processes related to youth work in order to situate youth work in the context of the youth field, youth policy and a wider societal perspective.

There are a number of disclaimers relevant for the story of youth work in Croatia that need to be addressed before proceeding with its description, analysis and critical reflection. As demonstrated in several cases (ibid.; Kovačić and Ćulum 2015), data on youth work in Croatia are scarce. There is no empirical research on youth work practice, nor academic texts on youth work conceptualisation applied to the Croatian context. Furthermore, until recently there have been no official governmental documents providing for youth work as a relevant element within a youth policy framework. One can say the state had no interest in its development, regulation and/or perspective. It is of no surprise, therefore, that most information on youth work in Croatia could only be acquired from reports developed by various youth organisations, while at the same time those who work with young people (youth workers) suffer from a lack of competence in the area (Kovačić and Ćulum 2015). In the light of these caveats, we argue that it is necessary to provide a context for youth work development and illustrate present-day attempts to professionalise this practice.

This chapter consists of three sections, which together follow a logical matrix: contextualisation – problem identification – policy response. Consequently, the first section provides a historical perspective of youth work development in Croatia. The second section offers an overview of Croatian youth policy with a particular emphasis on youth work, discussing the definition of youth work in Croatia, the platform of its practice, and what influences its framing in the way it is conceptualised today. In the third section, we delineate and analyse a number of issues and propose policy solutions regarding youth work regulation. The idea of this chapter is to critically examine youth work policy initiatives at the national level or, in other words, to offer an interpretation of the ongoing process of youth work professionalisation. We seek to provide a coherent academic argument about youth work as a policy priority, and offer some recommendations as well, aiming to make a contribution to holistic youth policy development in a national context.

Youth work in Croatia – how did we get here?

When discussing youth work in Croatia, three major developmental stages can be identified that led to contemporary understanding of youth work in Croatia: the Yugoslav period, the early 1990s, and the late 1990s to early 2000s.

Yugoslav period

As argued in the article on the history of youth work in Croatia (Bužinkić et al. 2015), the inception of youth work in the territory of Croatia can be found in the former Yugoslavia with directed development by the Communist Party. Conditionally speaking, three types of youth work can be identified in the former Yugoslavia – youth organisations, youth work actions and youth sections of other organisations. To a significant extent, this is in fact a false distinction: the three types of youth work overlap considerably in the sense that youth organisations often co-ordinated youth work actions in co-operation with youth sections of other organisations. For clarity of understanding, however, it is useful to address each of them separately.

The most important entities within the youth sector in the former Yugoslavia were certainly youth organisations, formally constituted as the youth wing of the Communist Party (Šarić 2016). Two of the most prominent (youth) organisations were The League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia (Savez komunističke omladine Jugoslavije) and The United League of Anti-Fascist Youth of Croatia (Ujedinjeni savez antifašističke omladine Hrvatske), from 1946 known as the People's Youth of Croatia (Narodna omladina Hrvatske). The main idea, as argued by Šarić (ibid.), was to transmit the values of the Communist Party and thereby create an enabling environment for ideological upbringing. The League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and The People's Youth of Croatia, through debate clubs in schools, science groups, rural organisations and particularly youth work actions, promoted socialist values in order to strengthen dominant societal norms. Šarić and Jurić (1992) elaborately describe the negative effects of such organisations on youth and society in large. They claim such organisations suppressed liberty and creativity and at the same time produced repression and centralisation. On the other hand, these organisations supported youth engagement via youth cultural organisations, arts, sport activities,

technical education and a youth press. Despite Šarić and Jurić's (negative) review of the activities of youth organisations in the former Yugoslavia, there are certain positive interpretations missing from their analysis. Firstly, they ignore the development of social cohesion and social capital as a direct result of youth organisations' activities (Senjković 2016). In addition, the beneficial effects of volunteering and young people's social contact with other young people from different backgrounds are not recognised at all. Lastly, Šarić and Jurić only modestly explore the effect of these organisations on the professional development of young people. To sum up, even though The League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and The People's Youth of Croatia were without any doubt an important link in the promotion of undemocratic practices within the communist regime, their activities had, without any doubt as well, quite positive effects on young people and society as a whole. It was, indeed, their heritage that has facilitated present-day youth work.

Perhaps the most well-known type of youth work in the former Yugoslavia was youth work actions, popularly known as ORAs – Omladinska Radna Akcija. Being recognised as the most Yugoslav social phenomenon of all (ibid.), youth work actions were in fact public activities conducted by young people and organised by The Young Communist League of Yugoslavia with two main goals in place – (re-)building public infrastructure (such as dams, roads, bridges, railways, hospitals, etc.) and (re-)building trust and collective identity and spirit – all needed after the Second World War. Such need for (re-)building infrastructure and society at large was in common with so many other countries, therefore the internationality of ORAs was fully in place, with young people coming from more than a dozen countries regularly and sometimes working "24/7" (Senjković 2017). Participation in such activities was strongly encouraged by the state and one of the goals was to spread the communist propaganda. These youth actions were meant to be "the great school of socialism builders" (Senjković 2017: 9). Having around 60 000-70 000 young people engaged in every action was a "common thing" for around two decades, when youth interest and participation started to decline during the 1970s (ibid.).

Such youth action activities were indeed a source of (cheap) and fast labour for the state, but on the other hand, they also provided vocational and professional educational experience, a precursor to getting into the labour market/industry, exercises for building character, places where good friendships and love relationships were made, as well as great fun and a kind of free holiday, even a heroic adventure – as reported by many who had participated (Senjković 2017). Those managing the youth work actions and being responsible for their outcomes – brigade commanders – were young people themselves with no necessary experience in working with young people, nor training in youth work, pedagogy, the educational field, social work and/or psychology. However, they represented "professional youth workers" to a certain extent and were prone to invest in their own educational and professional growth by engaging in many non-formal courses offered by The Young Communist League of Yugoslavia.

ORAs were undoubtedly very efficient platforms for associating with different and various young people from one's own country as well as from other countries, deliberation and interpretation of the socialist doctrines, and vocational out-of-school education. The youth work actions experienced their own transition over time and the educational

character outgrew the political one, making ORAs the most socialist phenomenon in the former Yugoslavia – one that had had significant educational and professional influence on hundreds of thousands of young people throughout that time.

In comparison with contemporary youth work, youth work actions of that time had four distinctive features not typical of youth work. Firstly, there was no co-creation of activities with young people, as all those were carefully planned beforehand, structured by the state and "simply" delivered by The Young Communist League of Yugoslavia. Secondly, unlike contemporary youth work practice where voluntary participation is highly praised and desirable, in the case of the youth work actions, although not compulsory, (voluntary) participation was highly expected. Thirdly, many educational courses offered (today labelled as non-formal) were focused on gaining experience and competencies for certain vocations needed to elevate Yugoslavian industry. In that particular context, gender-tailored vocational/professional education, as a fourth distinctive feature, was in place. While young men usually engaged in courses for drivers, electricians, masons or welders, young women were offered courses in tailoring and sewing, typing, doing make-up, arranging flowers, etc. Regardless of all these differences, youth work actions also had an immense impact on the development of youth work in Croatia.

Coupled with youth organisations that were an integral part of the communist regime, the youth service-providing organisations were the third type of youth work in the former Yugoslavia. Mostly oriented towards organising cultural, technical, sport and leisure-time activities, such enterprises were an important feature of everyday life for (young) people. Organisational forms such as youth choirs, women's youth clubs and youth sport clubs helped young people to develop their skills and discover talents they might have.

Early 1990s

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, former Yugoslav countries experienced armed conflict in their territories. The war impacted heavily on various social, political and other spheres of life and the youth sector was no exception to that rule. In order to understand youth work in the 1990s one should be aware of the political situation at that time. From 1991 to 1995 Croatia was facing a war between Croats seeking independence from Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav People's Army consisting mainly of Serbs. At that time, in 1992, Franjo Tuđman won the first presidential elections, becoming the President of Croatia, a function he held until his death in 1999. Franjo Tuđman saw Croatia as an independent and nationalistic entity of Croats in which other nations and nationalities were often seen as the enemies of the state (Kovačić 2013).

There are open debates about the nature of the Croatian political system in the last decade of the 20th century. Some consider it authoritarian (Pusić 1998), while others believe that such an attribution is exaggeration, though they admit to there being some authoritarian elements (see Kasapović 2001). Others (still) claim that in the early 1990s Croatia was nothing more and nothing less than true democracy (mostly politicians attached to the right-wing party – the Croatian Democratic Union). Despite these disagreements, there is a consensus among political scientists that Croatia at that time was a highly institutionalised semi-presidential country without extreme right and left populism (Zakošek 2008: 509).

The civil society arena in the early 1990s was very limited, as Veljak (2001) argued, it was the case of a "reduced civil society" (2001: 2). He emphasises that Croatian polity was not liberal-democratic at that time and that civil society could not have been fulfilling all of its roles. Non-governmental organisations that were pro-democratisation and transparency were not usually taken seriously by the government – the President of the Republic of Croatia himself either ignored their efforts or publicly devalued their work and achievements. It is within this broader context that the situation regarding youth work should be considered. The main "paradigmatic shift" of youth work in the early 1990s in Croatia was built upon a very different notion towards young people – Croatian youth was seen as a subject in need of various social services, while previously youth work was treated as a subject that delivered services following the agenda of a (former) political regime in order to build an infrastructure and mobilise support for the socialist political regime.

As argued by Bužinkić et al. (2015), the Anti-war Campaign in Croatia presents the salient point for understanding the (historical) development of youth work in Croatia. It was established in 1991 as a civic voice against the violence that occurred after the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The Anti-war Campaign was created and energetically pushed forward by a significant number of youth peace activists in Croatia and was supported by many international and supranational funding organisations. Thousands of young people from Croatia and abroad were engaged as volunteers in designing and delivering various bottom-up and direct fieldwork actions throughout war zones and in many divided communities. These actions can be divided into three groups (ibid.): Direct peacebuilding, which was one of the main activities of the Anti-war Campaign during and after the war, symbolising the bottom-up peace building directly supported by the United Nations and based on the principle of exchange with international volunteers; Direct protection of human rights, played out through fieldwork with civilian victims of war (the work of an organisation, Suncokret, in refugee camps, offering psychosocial and economic support in daily life); and Media activism, mainly represented through publishing one of the first politically radical and ultimately critical fanzines *ARKzin*, but many other fanzines and alternative newspapers as well.

In addition, many involved in this emerging field of practice were also in the constant search for, and worked to build, the horizontal, co-led and co-operative structures between young people and other relevant actors, and to create a culture of consensual decision making. As Zakošek (2008) argued, advocating the right to conscientious objection for military service, and protesting against violence and requests for solidarity, were the basis of youth work during that period. Zakošek (ibid.) further argues that such a specific context of youth advocacy undoubtedly contributed to the creation of a specific sub-political field.

From this overview, several conclusions regarding youth work in the 1990s can be drawn. Youth work was exclusively based within civil society. Furthermore, it was subversive and avant-garde in relation to the political and social context of that time. In the early 1990s, youth work was not perceived by the state as a threat, more as an activity without substantial influence (Bužinkić et al. 2015). Moreover, youth work was strongly supported by the international community and due to its peacebuilding character it developed very distinctive principles and *modi operandi*, as will be seen in the text that follows. As a result of such a specific context in the early 1990s, youth work at the end of the 1990s continued to develop towards a strong field of non-formal (youth) education.

Late 1990s to early 2000s

After the end of the war, certain legacies remained within the youth sector. Youth organisations engaged in delivering various youth work activities, mostly focusing on different non-formal educational programmes but still with a strong emphasis on non-violent communication, non-violent action, conflict resolution and transformation (ibid.). Such non-formal activities were designed to enable young people to engage in community-building activities and to develop their leadership skills. One of specificities of this period was close co-operation between youth civil society organisations and educational institutions. Different youth organisations' programmes were taking place in elementary and secondary schools, offering a real-life perspective in contrast to the outdated official curriculum.

At that time there was a proliferation of youth, cultural and other civic initiatives registered as civil society organisations and their numbers increased dramatically, which soon led to the Croatian Youth Network being established, as noted by Bužinkić et al. (ibid.: 41):

> gathering of a majority of youth organizations happened in 2002, when the Croatian Youth Network was established as a program for exchange and an advocacy coalition. Bringing together twenty eight active civic, peacebuilding, cultural, media activism, environmental and other youth organisations, The Croatian Youth Network gathered these main actors to ensure continuous advocacy and support in youth development.

The focus on personal and social development of young people, while relying on non-violent communication, peacebuilding and peace-maintaining activities in different contested spaces at the same time helped in strengthening social capital and social cohesion among different youth groups. Despite empirical research results that show low values of civic and political trust, and participation, and high levels of social distance among youth, this started to change in the direction of a better-developed civic and political culture (Ilišin and Radin 2002). Civil society organisations providing youth work slowly started to consolidate their role, becoming partners or watchdogs in different governmental initiatives and moving in the direction of youth advocacy. Today, as a result, youth work has a specific place within the youth policy framework of contemporary Croatia.

Youth work within youth policy today

The current state of youth work development in Croatia is characterised by a strong orientation towards advocacy for the professionalisation and regulation of youth work. Youth civil society organisations in Croatia have considerable influence on creating youth policy in general (Kovačić 2015). Following youth policies in terms of infrastructure (state bodies), regulations (acts and youth strategies) and decision-making processes (certain aspects of co-management) (Williamson 2002), Croatian youth policy has certainly started to be comparable to those of different European countries. Despite relatively well-developed youth policy in Croatia, interestingly, the weakest link is youth work itself. Before exploring the present-day situation regarding youth work, however, the broader situation regarding youth policy in general will be presented in order to convey the wider context in which youth work is positioned.

A very brief overview of youth policy in Croatia

There are two fundamental aspects of any public policy overview – normative acts and actors. In today's youth policy landscape in Croatia, there are several norma- tive acts that construct youth policy. The National Youth Programme (NYP) is a key policy document in the youth sector. Its goal is the advancement of activities in the public administration and public institutions that help young people improve their lives and optimally integrate into society (NYP 2014: 18). The table below presents a grid of priorities and objectives which summarise youth policy in Croatia. Apart from the NYP, there is also an Act on Youth Advisory Boards, which is a document that regulates youth participation in decision-making processes and governs public affairs at local and regional level, including informing young people and securing their participation by consulting them on decisions that have an impact on their lives.

Youth policy in Croatia: priority areas and objectives

Priority area	Objectives
Education, professional training and lifelong learning	– Active citizenship and non-violence – Youth work – Competitiveness in the labour market
Employment and entrepreneurships	– Labour market integration
Social protection and social inclusion	– Determine the category "youth in poverty risk" – Raising awareness among state authorities about different vulnerable groups – Improving the support system for vulnerable youth
Health and social care	– Multidisciplinary advisory centres – Health education
Active participation of young people in society and politics	– Enabling environment for youth organisations – Youth in the decision-making process – Quality and availability of volunteer programmes
Youth in the European and global context	– Financial support for active participation – Mobility and better representation in IGOs
Youth and culture	– More cultural content in formal education – More accessible cultural content – Financial support for culture – Sustainability and stability of places where culture can be exercised – Analytical support

Source: Kovačić 2016

The distinction between state and non-state actors and within non-state actors, civil society organisations and experts is key to understanding youth policy in Croatia. The constellation and role of state actors in Croatia is rather hard to determine in a simplistic manner that corresponds to the reality of the current state of affairs. On the

one hand, the consolidation of responsibilities, which the Ministry for Demography, Family, Youth and Social Policy has undertaken in terms of co-ordination and direction of youth policy, is apparent. Even though there is only one service that deals with a variety of youth issues within the ministry, certain shifts towards more coherent and rational youth policy fields are actively being pursued. Apart from the ministry, two more entities are relevant to youth policy outcomes, namely the Committee on Family, Youth and Sports of the Croatian Parliament and the local and regional/ county governmental units. Unfortunately, despite the ambitious jurisdiction, the Committee on Family, Youth and Sports of the Croatian Parliament did not succeed in creating stronger relationships with any relevant youth policy stakeholder, while local and regional/county governments usually lack both (policy) aspirations and the resources to support initiatives focused on creating local youth policy frameworks.

When discussing non-state (non-formal or non-institutional) actors involved in youth policy in Croatia, in accordance to Colebatch's criteria (2004), there are several that are significant enough to be mentioned and analysed. In theory, the most important stakeholders in youth policy are young people themselves. As argued by many (Williamson 2002; Hall, Williamson and Coffey 2000; Tolman and Pittman 2001) young people should be co-creators of decisions and policies that concern them directly.

In Croatia, however, young people do not believe that their voice matters. Recent studies (Ilišin and Spajić-Vrkaš 2015; Ilišin et al. 2013; Kovačić and Vrbat 2014) show that young people are indifferent towards politics and that the level of their participation in politics and society in general is very low. The second relevant non-state actors in youth policy in Croatia are youth organisations. As seen in the previous section, their development was strongly influenced by peacebuilding initiatives and an orientation towards advocacy. A third non-state actor worth mentioning in this context is the academic community. In Croatia, there are very few researchers whose focus is on youth. Those who are, however, have been involved in all policy processes and consulted for all major decisions in the youth sector, thus contributing significantly to youth policy development at both national and local level.

Youth work – where are we now?

For the first time, in 2014, youth work found its place within a national youth strategy. This National Youth Programme stipulates that an analysis and definition of youth work in Croatia should be completed by the end of 2017, as a starting point for its professionalisation. So far, there has been no empirical research on youth work in Croatia which would portray the scope, dynamics and perspectives of youth work. Nevertheless, from the literature, interviews with relevant stakeholders and ministerial and civil society organisations' reports, and the (recent) survey on the youth work profession conducted by the Croatian Employment Service in 2016, four major features of contemporary youth work in Croatia can be observed.

First, youth work as a term is still not recognised in the Croatian discourse. A literal translation of youth work in Croatian is "working with young people" (*rad s mladima*). We argue, however, that this is not a coherent concept but rather a descriptive category without specific and concrete meaning. In other words, youth work as such is accepted and understood only among a limited number of youth

experts and some civil society professionals. Due to the lack of standardisation in understanding what youth work actually is, it is difficult to offer an unambiguous definition of this practice. Furthermore, this is compounded by the lack of academic texts, empirical research and policy measures about youth work. As a result, there are various interpretations and understandings of youth work, even among people working with young people. The survey on the youth work profession (Croatian Employment Bureau 2016) discovered that youth professionals understand youth work as project management, running workshops for young people, designing education intended for young people, providing youth information and counselling, and organising activities for young people. From this list it is obvious that youth work suffers from considerable vagueness and can be understood as a "stretched concept" (Sartori 1970). Besides, it seems that the "youth for youth by youth" principle, one that nurtures youth engagement and empowerment, has been used interchangeably and sometimes even replaced more by a "servicing youth" principle.

Second, youth work is not recognised as a profession, meaning that neither in the national registry of professions nor within the Croatian Qualification Framework is there any reference to "youth worker" as a profession. Furthermore, in Croatia there are no formal educational programmes that offer a degree in youth work, and so those working with young people are often not qualified sufficiently as "youth workers" (there are, for example, many sociologists, IT experts and primary school teachers who call themselves youth workers, but their formal education has not provided them with an adequate set of competences in the field of youth work). Moreover, Croatia still does not offer recognition and validation of non-formal and informal learning; as a result, youth workers cannot get official documents where their competences acquired through practice or non-formal education would be officially acknowledged.

The third relevant feature of youth work in Croatia is its approach to projects and funding. Relevant sources (Bužinkić et al. 2015; Croatian Employment Bureau, 2016) reveal that youth organisations are forced to deliver a number of projects in order to secure basic (and usually only one-year) funding for offering activities for young people. Due to such inadequately developed institutional support for youth organ- isations, youth work activities are mostly (short-term) project activities and heavily influenced by the criteria of different donors and calls for proposals. Such project dynamics make activities less sustainable and it becomes more difficult to focus on the process of engagement with young people, which is one of the key principles of youth work (Young 2006). On the other hand, there are some (Spence 2004; Zeldin 2004) arguing that while process is important, it is outcomes that actually count. Moreover, the project dynamics of youth work do not allow youth workers to focus on developing their competences due to extensive administrative tasks that the management of projects requires (Croatian Employment Bureau, 2016).

In terms of places where youth work actually happens, youth clubs and youth centres are the two most important. Youth clubs in Croatia are understood as entities at local level, where young people co-create their activities. Youth club programmes are based on the needs of a specific community, and activities should be free of charge and open to all young people. Youth workers supervise these activities. In addition, youth clubs should have their own space exclusively intended for the club's activities

and should promote healthy lifestyles for young people (Kovačić and Ćulum 2015). In other words, youth clubs are the embodiment of youth work – autonomous spaces and incubators of ideas and initiatives, seen as seeds of (youth) active citizenship (Williamson 1995, 2007). Youth centres, on the other hand, encompass many more services, and do not necessarily include only youth work activities but can offer various cultural, media, sports, social, voluntary, sociopolitical and other programmes, under a more diverse "umbrella" of "working with young people".

All these policy challenges and features of youth work call for the state to regulate youth work and create enabling environments for its development. Since 2015 some important steps have been made in that direction.

Policy responses

Following earlier discussion in this chapter, it is evident that youth work in Croatia is still facing severe challenges, particularly due to its lack of recognition by the government. Nevertheless, in the last three years there have been several policy responses that aim to regulate and professionalise youth work. The first step in the process of professionalisation of youth work at governmental level is the fact that the National Youth Programme now acknowledges the regulation of youth work as one of the priorities of Croatian youth policy. Within this document a policy measure was stipulated which states that the ministry responsible for youth should define and analyse the situation regarding youth work in Croatia. In order to meet this objective, in 2015 the Ministry of Social Policy and Youth (now called the Ministry for Demography, Family, Youth and Social Policy) decided to establish a national working expert group whose task would be to analyse the situation regarding youth work and propose recommendations for its professionalisation. Relevant policy actors (state officials, civil society and academic community representatives) were appointed to start working on this issue. Very soon it became clear that this task was more demanding and too ambitious for one working group to deal with without a quality needs assessment. As a result, it was decided that the Ministry of Social Policy and Youth would apply to the European Social Fund for resources to conduct a quality and comprehensive analysis on the situation regarding youth work. It was envisaged that results from this research derived from the perspectives of youth work providers, other youth organisations and young people themselves would be the basis for the development of a coherent qualification framework for "youth worker" as a profession. Meanwhile, members of the expert group agreed on the nature of youth work relevant to the Croatian context and clarified the differentiation between youth work and other similar professions/activities (so-called "working with young people"). Youth work is therefore understood as a process activity of education, oriented towards young people as its primary beneficiaries, which is created with the purpose of offering support to young people in their process of independence. This is done under the supervision of professional youth workers who support young people in their personal and social development in order to become full members of the society of which they are already a part. Youth work encompasses activities and programmes co-created with young people, based on methods and principles of non-formal education, with the goal of offering support to help young people develop into conscious, responsible and active members of their community.

Parallel with the inception of this professionalisation process, at the academic level certain initiatives for establishing a formal educational programme for youth workers have already taken place. By signing the memorandum of understanding, the Institute for Social Research in Zagreb and the University of Rijeka embarked on a joint project of creating the lifelong learning educational programme Young People in Contemporary Society, the first of its kind in the Western Balkans region. One semester-long programme, accredited with 30 European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) credits is designed as a certified programme for the professional development of those already working with young people in civil society organisations or in other institutions relevant for carrying out the measures and activities outlined within the National Youth Programme, as well as for those considering a career in the youth work field. The first cycle of the programme will start in January 2018 and its evaluation will certainly influence the future agenda of development and professionalisation of youth work and youth workers in Croatia.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief overview of youth work development in Croatia. Youth work in Croatia has its origins in former Yugoslavia and continued its development within the political and societal context faced by Croatia in the early 1990s. Youth work in Croatia subsequently remained strongly influenced by the wider sociopolitical context in which it was taking place. Only recently, Croatian youth policy makers have started to understand the relevance of the recognition of youth work. Despite numerous challenges facing the youth sector (and youth work as part of it), it is encouraging that the regulation and professionalisation of youth work is one of the political priorities. Therefore, the steps presented towards the professionalisation of youth work, as outlined in the National Youth Programme (the establishment of the expert working group, insisting on an evidence-based approach for policy making and launching academic programmes for youth workers) are unquestionably positive. The important question remains, however, whether or not the constellation of powers and interests remain benevolent, or become indifferent, towards the further professionalisation of youth work in the future.

In the light of this question, we argue, the metaphor of "a new kid on the block" is appropriate for illustrating the present-day situation regarding youth work in Croatia – youth work could fit into the existing youth policy context without any problems, but it could equally end up being bullied and harassed and, ultimately, excluded once again.

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Chapter 13

A brief history of youth work in Spain

Rafa Merino, Carles Feixa and Almudena Moreno

Introduction

The first step before undertaking this brief review of the history of youth work in Spain will be to provide some clarifications concerning the actual concept of youth work. It is not easy to find a suitable translation in Spanish, and there is no equivalent in the academic literature on youth. Furthermore, there may be some confusion over the meaning of the word "work" because, in Spanish, it is associated with the job market, where, as everyone knows, the insecurity faced by young people is an issue which dates back at least to the crisis of the 1970s and the first labour reforms of the 1980s. Neither is the word "youth" free from misunderstandings and contradictions. One misunderstanding that is usually overlooked is the confusion between youth and young people (Casal, Merino and Garcia 2011). On the one hand, we have "youth", seen usually from an "adultocratic" perspective as a more or less homogeneous social group, arousing public concern either because of the threat posed by the supposed predominance of anomic or counter-cultural behaviour or because of this age group's structural precariousness. On the other hand, we have "young people" enjoying a certain degree of autonomy in developed societies and striving to become social players on an individual or collective level, with demands, actions and organisations that depart from the traditional models for the transition to adulthood.

It therefore makes sense to talk about "youth work" when young people emerge as differentiated social players, when they act as a specific category distinct from other social groups, see themselves as separate, and are so seen by established social structures. We can thus define youth work on the basis of three elements which belong to the same semantic field but have different, although in some respects related, dynamics:

▶ young people's social movements and associations, either as social and educational frameworks for young people or as specifically youth movements that identify themselves as such;

▶ policies aimed at youth as a social group, often defined, simply but effectively, as an age group;

▶ social and educational work with young people, especially young people and groups of young people at risk. Although the word "risk" is itself not unambiguous (Romaní 2011), social work with young people is often confined to young people in a situation of social, educational and/or work-related risk, or young people exhibiting antisocial behaviour.

The emergence of young people as a social group and as individual and/or collective players is obviously related to a society's economic, cultural and historical development. In this respect, recent Spanish history has some specific features that will be outlined very briefly in order to help understand the emergence, development and consolidation of the entire youth work sector. Strange as it may seem, there is no comprehensive work dealing with the history of Spanish youth in the modern era. There are only partial contributions, such as a dictionary of pre-civil war youth political organisations (Casteràs 1974), a brief article on youth associations up to 1936 (Sáez 1982), some compilations dealing with specific periods, such as the interwar period (Souto 2007) and the Franco years (Mir 2007), and an overview, which has not been updated, of the history of youth in modern Catalonia (Ucelay da Cal 1987).

First of all, as will be explained in the next section, the early origins of youth work have to be seen in the context of the late and uneven development of the economic, social, cultural and political structures of Spanish capitalism. Owing to the country's small industrial base (with the well-known exceptions of Catalonia and the Basque Country), its low level of urban development and the delays in developing a modern education system, youth as a specific social group took a long time to appear on the public agenda, except for philanthropic reasons or for directly political reasons in the turbulent years of the first third of the 20th century.

In the third section, we discuss a very bleak period of modern Spanish history, the Francoist dictatorship. In the fascist sociopolitical movements of European countries in the 1930s, albeit with some distinctive features in Spain (the influence of the Catholic religion and the fact that they won the Civil War and stayed in power until the 1970s), youth was seen as a vehicle for ideological indoctrination, and a whole youth policy *avant la lettre* emerged, with the setting up of youth organisations subservient to the new fascistoid regime, which were linked with educational institutions, but also with specific new leisure-time activities. Starting in the 1960s, with the rise of anti-Franco social and political movements, the repercussions of the May 1968 student protests in France and the first counter-cultural youth movements, young people played a significant part in the social changes that brought the Franco regime to an end.

As will be seen in the fourth section, the transition to a democratic regime contributed to the expansion and consolidation of the youth work field and to a gradual convergence with other European countries (at a faster pace after Spain joined the European Union in 1986). Youth policies were developed at all levels of public administration, a whole network of youth organisations came into being (centred on youth councils) and social and educational work with young people became more professional and technical. Although there were some darker sides (the disaffection of the more highly politicised anti-Franco youth or the severity of the recession in the late 1970s and its impact on the collapse of the labour market), it may be said that a more or less comparable system of youth work to that of other European countries was gradually constructed.

The sudden emergence of the "*indignados*" of the 15-M movement on the Spanish public agenda in 2011, with major international repercussions, represented what we may describe as a paradigm shift in young people's way of thinking and acting. In our conclusion, we therefore provide a brief analysis of this paradigm shift, in

which the effects of the economic recession and the crisis of political legitimacy were combined with some specifically Spanish elements (the real-estate bubble and the high degree of political and institutional corruption), with ongoing consequences in terms of young people's participation in collective action, the reorganisation of youth policies and young people's new (and also old) socio-educational demands.

Origins of youth work

> In this age of rejuvenation of humankind, we are all obliged to be young. Republican Youth of Lleida felt this present great juncture in history strongly and intimately. Its works testify to its spirit and are the best promise for a shining future. (*El Ideal*, January 1919)

> We are living in an age of heroism, and anguish … Youth is faced with the danger of imminent war … Youth, our heroic youth, has accomplished its duties. The duties of the present hour. Taking up arms and fighting until the reaction is finally defeated. To this end, it is guarding the streets with weapons at the ready. We must crush the reaction. And then defend victory and continue the fight nobly and sincerely. (*Combat*, July 1936)

These two quotations taken from two youth periodicals represent two contrasting moments in the origins of youth work in Spain. The first is from a speech by Julián Besteiro – one of the leaders of the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) – at the inauguration of the new headquarters of Republican Youth of Lleida, one of many local politico-cultural organisations whose interests combined political renewal with youth issues. The second is from an editorial published in the news organ of Iberian Communist Youth (linked with the anti-Stalinist POUM, the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) in the early days of the civil war, associating youth with the crisis and ideological and military confrontation.

The birth of youth work in Spain has a number of distinctive features in relation to other European countries. First, as a consequence of late industrial and urban development there was considerable delay in the arrival and consolidation of the main associative, educational and political trends in the youth field. Second, there was the central role played by the Catholic Church in contrast to the marginal and subordinate role of the state. Third, the strong paternalistic or local political control exercised by adult institutions and the failure to give youth movements a say in the country's social and political development (at least until the advent of the Second Republic in 1931). Fourth, there was the almost exclusively male membership of most associations (with the exception of the Second Republic, the civil war and the anti-Franco movement). Last, there was the pioneering role played in the development of youth projects by the two regions with the highest levels of industrialisation and, at the same time, emerging nationalist movements: the Basque Country and Catalonia.

The first experiments in youth work were promoted by the Catholic Church in the late 19th century. Catholic Action sought to "re-evangelise" young people from both the emerging urban middle classes and the working classes by providing education for them in their free time, because of the risk that they would be drawn to revolutionary ideologies. Christian schools played a major role, but it was mainly in the parishes that some priests began to experiment with more modern and more grassroots forms of contact with children and adolescents. Mention should also be made of the Jesuit-inspired Marian Congregations, which sought to educate the elites in Christian

values, using their offspring to do charitable work among the most deprived sections of the population. However, innovative European initiatives such as holiday camps or specialised Catholic Action movements of the Young Christian Workers type did not come until much later, gaining a strong foothold only in Catalonia, where a renewal movement linked in many respects with nationalism came to the fore and, in the first third of the century up to the outbreak of the Civil War, played an important role in educating the emerging middle classes and disseminating new practices such as sport and hiking (Carrasco 1987; Vila-Abadal 1985). Of particular note was the Federation of Young Christians of Catalonia, which had thousands of followers and experienced the paradox of being persecuted both by some republican circles and by the fascists (Oliveras 1989).

In contrast to this education by the clergy, which sometimes had an anti-modern tinge, there were educational renewal movements which focused on combating illiteracy, extending compulsory schooling and promoting innovative teaching methods, such as the New School Movement, the Free Teaching Institution and the School Institutes (Monés 1987). Other significant initiatives included hygienism (which sought to improve the health of the new generations by promoting, for example, holiday centres in the country or at the seaside) and the Pedagogical Missions (which sought to bring education and culture to rural communities, using cultural media such as mobile libraries, theatre and film). It should be remembered that, at this time, the majority of young people in rural areas did not study but worked as farm hands or apprentices (Lorite 1987; Mayayo 1987).

In the field of education in leisure, the Scout movement became established very quickly, especially in the larger cities. The initial impetus came from members of the armed forces (who founded Exploradores de España, Scouts of Spain, to spread patriotic ideals). In 1913 a Spanish delegation participated in the first major international Scout gathering in Birmingham, England; and Spain was one of the founder members of the international Scout movement in 1922. In 1933 the church promoted a confessional branch, called Scouts Hispanos, which was short-lived. Scouting was also linked with the Montessori, Decroly and Casa de los Niños educational movements and with such concepts as centres of interest, active schooling and custom schooling. It was in Catalonia that it had the greatest impact, in connection with emerging nationalism. The Jovestels de Cataluña, who were linked with the CADCI (a non-manual workers' organisation combining the working-class movement with Catalan nationalism), already had two centres in operation in 1912. In addition to Exploradores de España, branches linked to Catalan nationalism emerged, one confessional, promoted by the writer Folch i Torres, known as Pomells de Joventut (founded in 1920), the other non-religious, including such organisations as Jove Atlàntida (founded in 1923), sponsored by republican and anarchist groups, and the Palestra group (founded in 1930), sponsored by Batista i Roca after his studies in England, and with a pro-independence line. All these branches were banned at the end of the war and did not reappear until well into the post-war period (Serra 1968; Solà 1987).

After the First Federal Republic (1868-72), broad sections of working-class and student youth were attracted to republican and revolutionary ideologies. The new ideas were often associated with young people (Ucelay da Cal 1987). Foremost among these was anarchism, which combined politics with a counter-cultural tradition characterised

by such practices as vegetarianism, the promotion of Esperanto, country outings, co-education, and people's libraries, which were very popular among working-class and rural youth (Tavera 1987). In the socialist and communist camp, social work with young people took the form of pioneer groups modelled on the Soviet Komsomol (Casteràs 1974). Mention should also be made of the youth wing of the populist Radical Party, known as the Jóvenes Bárbaros (young barbarians). During the military dictatorship of Primo de Rivera (1923-31), a number of conservative patriotic youth movements were formed, but did not have too much impact (Vila-Abadal 1985).

Also worth mentioning is the anti-conscription movement. Compulsory military service was introduced in Spain under the First Republic, although there were quota systems that ensured young people from privileged backgrounds did not have to perform their service – they paid others to go in their place. For young people in rural areas, leaving their community and their family to do three years' military service was a big problem. Furthermore, the colonial wars in Cuba (1898) and Morocco (1911-27) meant that military service was not a game but a dangerous activity, resulting in death for many young people. A large anti-militarist movement emerged in this context. The year 1909 saw popular uprisings against conscription for the Rif War (the "tragic week"). But fugitives and deserters were the most tangible effect in the longer term (Abelló 1987).

All this effervescence resulted in the Second Republic (1931-36), a period experienced by many young people as a new awakening for youth at all levels: political, cultural, artistic and educational (Souto 2007). In Madrid, places such as the Free Teaching Institution and the Student Residence attracted young artists – such as the poet Federico García Lorca, the painter Salvador Dalí and the film-maker Luis Buñuel. In Catalonia, many of these groups became politicised under one or other of the different banners: republicanism, anarcho-syndicalism, socialism, and communism. In many towns and cities, student clubs appeared and livened up the local nightlife, using new musical rhythms such as jazz and swing as the path to modernisation. We should also bear in mind the impact of the artistic avant-garde, which attracted many young artists (Vallcorba-Plana 1987). At the same time, the economic and political crisis foreshadowed a climate of social conflict that would lead eventually to military conflict. For young people making the transition to adulthood during the Civil War, this was an experience of liberation, heightened by the arrival of young people from all over the world to fight in the International Brigades. However, one cannot help but be reminded of their fractured lives. The trauma of war disrupted the patterns of everyday life and the bridges that mark the passage from childhood to full social integration were destroyed:

> Our youth was a bridging generation between here and there. And the river which flows between here and there swallowed some, while others managed to get across. … I think this made us grow up faster. Our young years went by in leaps and bounds. Everything which our childhood and youth should have been, the war took it away. What was traumatic for young people was that people went through the whole war and were then put in concentration camps. And when they came home, they had no work. They had to go on the black market, after being trained by the big black marketeers … Young people suffered the most damage. (Lluís, born in 1921; quoted in Feixa 1991)

The Francoist dictatorship

> A special task falls to those responsible for guiding our young generation, our youth, which has seen such radical changes in its way of life. Who does not remember that group of ragged "pioneers" with its loud demands? Its brazen and confrontational policy positions, its atheistic slogans and foul-mouthed calls for bloody class struggle, its displays of perverse and shameless instincts, have been replaced by a youth imbued with noble ideas and magnanimous ideals, conscious of having come to the world with a specific mission to serve God and our common destiny. (*Clara Voz*, April 1946)

> To put it properly, we would say that the conflict is generational … Many of us wonder where it is all going to stop. If you look at the photo of these angry young people who want to change everything that has been established – although the alternative programme they are offering is pretty poor – you will see how they listen with a look of veneration on their faces to the new long-haired and anarchistic young leaders of today. (*La Mañana*, May 1968)

The above two quotations evoke another two key moments in the attempt to establish a new state-sponsored model of youth work. The first illustrates the new regime's attempt at ideological indoctrination of young people, making a clean break with the past. The second refers to the generational change experienced as a result of the student movement of 1968, when the regime realised that it was losing the nation's youth because of the radical "lifestyle change" that was occurring. The Francoist dictatorship meant a return to political, cultural and religious monolithism. In a context of severe repression, economic insecurity, autarky and international isolation, we saw the rise of a "sceptical generation" which survived with the aim of forgetting the war and becoming adults. At the same time, youth policy became a state policy: the new regime regarded young people as its "favourite project" (Molinero and Ysàs 1987). During this period, we can distinguish between two stages: the post-war years and National Catholicism (1939-59) and late Francoism with the opening up of the economy and the crisis of legitimacy (1959-75).

From the Francoist army's military victory up to the end of the Second World War, the new regime attempted to introduce totalitarian types of youth regimentation similar to those promoted by Italian Fascism – the Barilla – and by German Nazism –the Hitlerjugend (Mir 2007). Initially they were called Franco's Youth Falanges (on the national-socialist model of paramilitary squadrons behind a leader) and used instructors from the Hitlerjugend itself. Then they became "youth organisations" forming the youth section of the single party (the Falange), which incorporated young people from other right-wing organisations (such as Carlism). After the Second World War they were re-formed as the Youth Front – Frente de Juventudes, or FJ for short. The FJ gradually shed its more clearly fascist trappings, although it continued to be a totalitarian organisation (Sáez 1988). The dictator sought to win the hearts of the new generation while educating them in National Catholicism (the Spanish version of National Socialism) and banishing the liberal, republican and socialist ideologies that had prevailed during the Second Republic. The instructors of the FJ – who were trained at academies located in different parts of Spain – were assigned the task of organising indoctrination activities at school ("forming the national spirit", and paramilitary sports such as collective gymnastics) and, above all, leisure-time activities such as so-called summer camps. For this purpose, the regime built a network

of youth facilities: youth hostels, student residences, and camp sites. In parallel to the FJ, special sections were created for women (the Female Section) and students (the Spanish University Syndicate). Although these organisations were supposed to be for all young people, their scope was inevitably limited to the most convinced among them, those who did not have the means to go elsewhere and those who participated on an ad hoc basis in certain recreational activities. From 1959, when the regime opened up the economy, the FJ became the Spanish Youth Organisation, which prioritised leisure-time education and sporting and recreational activities without completely overlooking political training.

Apart from the regime's own youth organisations, the only other bodies authorised in the first two decades of the Franco regime were those which grew up within the Catholic Church, although the least controllable among them – such as the Federation of Young Catalan Catholics (FJCC) and the Catholic Young Workers (JOC) – were initially banned. Within Catholic Action, there was a gradual development of specialised movements – for example, young workers, students, Young Farmers – which, over time, would become the breeding ground for the anti-Franco movement (Carrasco 1987). The Boy Scouts were re-formed in 1948 by Antoni Batlle, and in some places such as Catalonia they also became a setting for the learning of democratic culture (Solà 1987). In the 1960s young people began to mobilise against the regime (Aranguren 1961). Initially it was resistance of a cultural type that was reflected in new lifestyles, new moral values, new musical movements (such as protest songs or modern music) and new artistic movements, foremost among which was the so-called "gauche divine", mainly offspring of the Barcelona upper class devoted to artistic activities such as literature, cinema, architecture or photography. They were all left-wing oriented but not in the traditional way, more in their lifestyle, which included parties in night clubs and holidays in the Catalan coast (Regàs and Rubio 2001). In the vanguard of these movements were students, who had already led a first revolt in 1956 (Mesa 1982) and who, after 1968, turned the campuses of universities into "freedom zones" (Rodríguez 2009). Another noteworthy phenomenon was emigration, both internal (from rural areas to urban areas and from the rural south to the industrialised north) and to other European countries. In the latter case it was promoted by the regime itself through agreements with governments such as those of Germany and Switzerland as a means of obtaining foreign currency and financing the country's economic revival. As a result of this, young people of migrant origin living in the suburbs of large cities were faced with serious problems of housing and social services, leading to a growing social and political awareness (García-Nieto and Comín 1974).

In 1970, Father José María López Riocerezo, a prolific author of "edifying" books for young people, published a study (López Riocerezo 1970) entitled *Problemática mundial del gamberrismo y sus posibles soluciones* (The global problem of hooliganism and possible solutions to it), in which he turned his attention to a whole series of manifestations of youth non-conformism, from delinquency to fashion trends: the *gamberros*, *blousons noirs*, Teddy boys, *vitelloni*, *raggare*, rockers, beatniks, *macarras*, hippies, *Halbstarkes*, *provos*, *yé-yés*, *rocanroleros* and *pavitos*. These were all variants of the same species: the "rebel without a cause". The author started from the premise that hooliganism was one of the most urgent present-day social problems. For him,

the hooligan was nothing more than the Spanish variant of a foreign model which people were trying to import. The Vagrancy Act referred to the danger represented by

> those who insolently and cynically attack the rules of social coexistence through physical aggression or damage to property without there being any reason not merely to justify it but even to explain its origins or purpose. (López Riocerezo 1970:14)

According to López Riocerezo, Spain was faced with a very mild form of the phenomenon. Statistics for 1963 showed that, in Spain, there were only 161 delinquents for every 100 000 inhabitants (as compared with 852 in the United Kingdom, 455 in the United States, 378 in Germany and 216 in Italy):

> Although the disease is universal, its virulence differs from one country to another. In Spain, for example, we have a relatively low rate compared to countries with the same degree of civilisation, due perhaps to historical constants, the weight of the centuries and family traditions, which, as we know, represent baggage which cannot be easily shed. (López Riocerezo 1970: 244)

But he ends by acknowledging that

> although juvenile delinquency rates are lower in Spain than in other European countries … delinquency is the outcome of a set of highly complex effects and causes which are closely interrelated with the change from a rural and agricultural to an industrial and post-industrial society. When this transition happens quickly, a cultural and sociological crisis occurs, closing the channels for the individual's integration into the norms of society. Spain is experiencing a process of this kind … "Yé-yés", "hippies" and their long-haired ilk, and other dissenting young people, are shouting out against the social and family crisis. (ibid.: 269)

The other trend in youth rebellion was counter-cultural (Feixa and Porzio 2005). In 1969, the journalist Jesús Torbado published *La Europa de los jóvenes*, a book dedicated to a description of European youth in the 1960s (Torbado 1969). Torbado was a journalist who had already defined himself in other articles as a defender of youth against the clichés and classifications which society customarily used to refer to them. His aim was to describe the reality and to make known the youth movements that were of such concern to adult society. *La Europa de los jóvenes* was the fruit of the author's first-hand experiences with the most representative youth groups of the time in European capital cities. There were three main prior assumptions. First, western societies, caught up in the progress of industrialisation and the new consumer society, were undergoing radical changes in their traditional forms of organisation and values. Second, young people felt out of place, deprived of family and educational support, and, third, the majority of young people were totally apolitical. For Torbado, adult society, institutions and families were those guilty of the acts of hooliganism which they attributed to young people, who, moreover, were confused with those he calls "adolescents". Young people were responsible human beings who studied or worked. Those guilty of misbehaviour were those he defines as adolescents. European youth cultures are described from a positive perspective, with emphasis placed on the creativity which young people displayed in their words and acts. He says that when the hippy or beatnik lifestyles arrived in Spain, they were stripped of

their substance. Everything that was avant-garde about hippies in the United States, for example, became mere fashion:

> The new youth trends have indeed come to Spain, but only the more laughable aspects are left and the element of seriousness which they contain has gone by the board … The rebels are not the trendy millionaires who drive 850 coupés, the fake hippies, the well-healed young gentlemen with long hair, the sophisticated musicians or the girls in miniskirts. All of these are part of the new bourgeoisie, much more traditionalist than is claimed … Who are the young people who actually live in their time, i.e. in 1968, who discuss new ideas, put them into practice or reject them, who live in the real world far from appearances which are more sophisticated than philosophical, more formal than fundamental? … Spain's real new generation is at university, in the factories or in the fields; in other words, it works and does flaunt itself. (Torbado 1969: 159-60)

The final years of the Franco regime saw a dual trend among young people (Colomer 1987). On the one hand, the new generations became politicised, swelling the ranks of the republican parties' youth sections (socialist, communist, nationalist and Christian Democrat youth), new-style, more radical formations (such as the Young Red Guard of Spain) and even terrorist groups (ETA, FRAP). The death sentences imposed on some young militants (such as ETA members and Salvador Antich) acted as a spur to these movements. On the other hand, social work of a voluntary and co-operative nature in local communities became institutionalised, usually sponsored by the youth committees of residents' associations, parish assemblies or underground trade unions, thus foreshadowing the "street work" that would develop with the advent of democracy: the struggle for better living conditions alongside the more marginalised young people became a fight for democracy (Reguant and Castillejo 1976).

The democratic transition

> To a greater or lesser extent, we all imagine that we know who the "drop-outs" are. We all "know" that they reject the system. We all "know" that they take drugs, that they are bad people, that they even steal and are dirty; in short, we all know what the authorities want us to know about them. Because the authorities take external and superfluous aspects of the dropout mentality and caricature them in order to discredit them, making us believe that they are its essence and substance … But the basic question lies in the rejection of all ways of life imposed by the system. The system exploits us and forces us to consume what we produce, although it is unnecessary and even harmful to us; it forces us to play a role and to adjust to it, without deviating from it. ("Pasotismo y pasotas", *Demà*, April 1979)

> The recession was affecting us disproportionately as young people and we were starting to glimpse a very uncertain future, if not actually one of exclusion. Some sections of the media called us the "lost generation" or the "neither-nor generation". I did not see it like that. At the age of 23, I am a "both person", both studying and working. (VV.AA 2011: 24-5)

In Spain we can say that the tradition of youth work as the institutionalisation of work with young people began with the transition to democracy in the 1970s. Under Franco, youth work had been linked to religious actions sponsored by the Catholic Church. Starting from the democratic transition, however, youth work began to

be noticed and to be regarded as an important policy area. Article 48 of the 1978 Constitution says:

> The public authorities shall promote conditions directed towards the free and effective participation of young people in political, social, economic and cultural development.

The Spanish Institute for Youth (INJUVE) was founded in 1977. It was restructured in 1985 to become the type of organisation it is now, attached to the Ministry of Health, Social Services and Equality. Although powers relating to youth matters lie with the autonomous communities, INJUVE does have some important responsibilities – co-ordinating and running youth information services and youth mobility programmes, such as Youth in Action, and co-ordinating volunteer activities via the Alliance of European Voluntary Service Organisations. The Spanish Youth Council was founded in 1983 to promote youth participation in the cultural, economic, social and political spheres. All the autonomous communities and Spanish youth organisations are represented on this body. The International Year of Youth in 1985 was a milestone for youth work because it was the year in which public youth policies took off. In Spain, responsibility for youth policy currently lies with the autonomous communities, the decentralisation structures created after the dictatorship to deal with the claim of regions with a strong nationalistic background, such as Catalonia and the Basque Country. Specifially, the process of transferring powers began in Catalonia in 1980 and ended in 1989 in the other regions. Although overall responsibility lies with the autonomous communities, the local and provincial authorities also have some youth-related responsibilities and usually have a department for youth that, in some cases, covers other policy areas too. Youth policies became standard practice in the 1990s. That decade saw the consolidation of a network of youth organisations mainly funded by the public authorities, and it was also in that decade that educational work with young people began to develop as a result of the professionalisation of social education and social services. Given the current economic recession and the resulting cuts in public funding, many youth associations and youth departments set up in the various public authorities during the 1990s are now at risk of being disbanded as a result of lack of funds, with all that this entails in terms of a weakening of youth work (European Commission 2014).

Youth work is not officially recognised as a profession in Spain. Some youth work activities have involved a wide range of professionals (social workers, social educators and community development workers). The employment conditions for these workers depend on the authority employing them and the importance they attach to youth work. These professionals usually work in the youth departments of the autonomous communities, local authority youth departments and provincial social services departments. Some municipalities have "youth houses" where mainly recreational and educational activities are organised for young people of different ages. This suggests that the lack of a professional status for youth work is due to the low level of political commitment to promoting its real professionalisation. In some autonomous communities these workers have formed associations to highlight the importance of work with young people, such as the Association of Youth Technicians in Catalonia. It would indeed be necessary to create a specific "youth work" qualification in formal education in order to draw attention to the importance of activities with

this section of the population at a time when young people are being particularly hard hit by the effects of the recession. There have been some Spanish universities offering postgraduate programmes focused on youth work and/or youth policy and research, but nowadays only one masters degree still exists in Catalonia. The lack of recognition and the high fees discourage future youth workers. Many youth workers, particularly those working in municipalities, have acquired their skills in the voluntary sector, in NGOs devoted to education in leisure time such as the Scouts or similar, and trained in courses provided by these kinds of organisations. In 2011, the Spanish Qualifications Framework incorporated a new qualification concerning the promotion of free-time activities for children and young people, but at level 2 (vocational training) and with little effect on youth work training.

Youth policies in Spain have been influenced by the notion of youth as a transitional stage. Youth has been defined in youth-related research basically as a stage of transition to and integration with the sphere of adult responsibilities (Casal, Merino and Garcia 2011). This explains why, historically, youth policies have been formulated in linear terms and have been geared essentially to training, employment and housing, without this having entailed any substantial improvement in young people's life opportunities (Bayón 2009; Moreno Mínguez 2012). As well illustrated by Comas (2007), youth policies in Spain have been formulated on the basis of this conception of youth as a finite, transient stage. However, as may be seen from the constitutional framework, youth policies should be cross-sectoral and designed to promote citizen participation, although they have generally been seen as transitional policies. In fact, we could say that the indeterminate nature of youth policies in Spain has led to a plurality of ambiguous youth policies in local authorities and the autonomous communities, whose policies have basically involved drawing up youth programmes and organising recreational and educational activities for young people. It should be noted that there are also more universalistic policies, like those drawn up in the various ministries, linked to training, employment or the family, which impact on young people's transition processes. Paradoxically, although these policies are the ones that have the greatest impact on young people's living conditions and opportunities, often they are not regarded as youth policies, and those which are actually conceived as youth policies focusing on leisure aspects and participation receive only peripheral attention (Casal 2002).

However that may be, youth policies have mainly adopted a generational approach. Policies aimed at specific groups of young people are hard to find, with the notable exception of those aimed at young people with disabilities, young people belonging to ethnic minorities such as Roma and, to a lesser extent, young immigrants. The main target groups are unemployed young people who have abandoned their studies and young people with disabilities. However, young immigrants do not appear to be an established policy area. This ambiguity of youth policies is reflected in studies on youth work in Spain (European Union–Council of Europe Youth Partnership, 2006, 2009). One example of this is the absence of a specific "youth" line of research in national research and development plans. Although we do not seem to have specific studies on youth work, there are some reference publications dealing indirectly with the subject, such as the youth reports produced by INJUVE every four years since 1985. This body is also responsible for the Youth Review that is widely distributed

in Spain. Attention should also be drawn to the youth reports produced since 1982 by the Fundación Santa María, and to the periodic statistical reports produced by the Spanish Youth Council, among many others.

The recession has affected Spanish youth in various ways. The best known is the high rate of youth unemployment in Spain and another that is less well known but has major social repercussions is the new social and political activism triggered by the recession. The day of protest on 15 May 2011 (the 15-M movement) was a landmark in the mobilisation of young people and contributed both to greater visibility for youth movements and to a rethinking of policies on youth and youth work. Although, as already mentioned in this section, Spain does not have a specific youth work policy, the economic crisis and the youth movements and platforms which emerged from 15-M have in a way enhanced the institutional role of youth work. According to Tejerina (2010), the Spanish party-political system is to some extent the legacy of the bi-party system of the democratic transition, just as Spain's social movements are the legacy of the Franco regime's cultural policy (delegitimisation of certain forms of protest). However, the economic crisis and the 15-M movement have given rise to new, not strictly institutionalised forms of youth mobilisation such as the re-emergence of the anti-Bologna student movement, the "Youth without a future" movement, the various anti-eviction platforms and the many other forms of action which can be seen in various local areas. For the youth social movements which emerged after 15-M, social networks and the internet are crucial for organising debate, mobilisation and social and political participation (Castells 2012; Gil García 2012). For example, the youth-led "We're not leaving, they're kicking us out" campaign was promoted by means of videos, graphic designs and interactive work on social networks, mainly Facebook and Twitter, and was very successful in terms of youth participation and mobilisation. In the Spanish context, marked by a protracted recession, insecure living conditions for young people and a high degree of disaffection with the traditional structures of social, economic and political life, we are seeing the emergence of new dissident forms of social and political mobilisation in which young people play a major role. These alternative forms of participation exist side by side with the traditional forms of social and political participation. It is precisely the nation's institutions that must find a response to the precarious situation of young people through active employment policies that up to now have not achieved their objectives. It remains to be seen how the European Youth Guarantee scheme, to which a large budget has been allocated in each country and whose aim is to guarantee jobs or alternatives in education and training for young people in the first few months after obtaining a qualification, will translate into life opportunities for young people. The labour market integration of young people under decent conditions could be a first step towards reducing the high levels of political disaffection among them and restoring confidence in institutions as a form of social cohesion and structuring.

Conclusion

To conclude this brief review of the history of youth work in Spain, we feel it would be appropriate to outline, briefly again, the three major challenges with which youth policies in the broad sense are confronted.

The first is to improve living conditions and opportunities for young people. The prevailing view of youth as a transitional stage has to be seen in the context of the recurring economic crises that have made it difficult for many generations to enter the labour market and consolidate a social, professional and family status. To a European observer, the situation of Spanish youth would seem explosive, but we have two safeguards, the family and school. Spain is a clear example of a family-oriented welfare regime (Esping-Andersen 2002). The age at which young people leave the parental home has risen steadily (currently the average age is 29 to 30), which shows that the family is helping, as it always has, to cushion the effects of the recession. One of the effects of the latest economic crisis has been an increase in enrolment in secondary education, especially vocational education, either as a reskilling strategy (the most optimistic view) or as a delaying strategy (the most negative view). It remains to be seen what impact the new EU Youth Guarantee scheme will have. It does not appear to be very innovative in relation to previous schemes based on training and bonuses for hiring young people, but it may at least mark a new trend in fiscal adjustment policies and policies to streamline the welfare state (Cabasés and Pardell 2014).

The second challenge is to legitimise channels for sociopolitical participation. We have gone from authoritarian structures with fascist tendencies to democratic structures that are, however, not entirely free from paternalism. A recurring argument in present-day political debate in Spain is that young people did not vote for the 1978 Constitution (technically, all those born since 1958), and it is seen as a product of the older generation that is often useless for meeting the new demands. There was a lot of talk in the 1980s about young people's disaffection with politics, admittedly from the idealised perspective of the young people who fought the Franco regime. But the last few years have seen a new "engagement", a renewed interest in politics which is not necessarily or mainly pursued through institutions, but has not given up the idea of changing them either. It remains to be seen whether these new "bottom-top" strategies will fit in with, transform or translate into "top-down" strategies.

The third is the professionalisation of youth work. In its most militant form, the voluntary sector played a very important part in the fight against Francoism, but it remained important during the democratic transition, partly as a result of the failure to establish a strong welfare state comparable to those of neighbouring countries. As well as being weak, the welfare state was focused on the areas that enjoyed the greatest social consensus (and, more cynically, provided the best electoral returns), such as education and health, leaving very little room for marginal issues such as youth or culture. It was in social services that there were major developments. We may consider that a milestone was reached, first in 1992 with the creation of university social studies courses, which contributed to the process of professionalising the sector, and a few years later with the creation of professional schools of social studies, although the main focus of social educators is work with children, adolescents and young people in situations of social risk. But it is also true that professionalisation has meant introducing a certain amount of bureaucracy, which, among other things, has turned young people into users of services. The weakness of public policies also had a lot to do with the transformation of the voluntary sector into a "third sector": the inadequacy of public funding meant a loss of job security for social services

professionals. Lastly, it seems that one – albeit difficult – objective to achieve would be to improve the working conditions of youth workers and their training, as well as ensuring that young people are not solely dependent on welfare, be it public or administered by not-for-profit organisations, or pursuing something which has already become a catchphrase: youth empowerment (Richez et al. 2012).

Although some authors have predicted the slow decline of youth work in Spain, and even its disappearance, as one of the pernicious effects of so-called "austerity policies" (Comas 2007; Soler, Planas and Feixa 2014), at the very time when the period of youth is stretching to unimagined limits and when conditions of social hardship and vulnerability are no longer confined to marginalised sectors, youth work is more necessary today than ever – not as an external resource provided by the adult world or the state, but as one of the "social skills" which young players should learn to use in order to become adults (although in a very different way from their great-grandparents a century before).

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Chapter 14

Multiple opinions: the challenges of youth work and social work

Howard Williamson, Filip Coussée and Tanya Basarab

Introduction

The early History of Youth Work in Europe seminars demonstrated convincingly that youth work is, as Williamson (2008) had already asserted, unequivocally a "social" animal. Such a conclusion, however, inevitably raises questions about the relationship between youth work and social work. These questions give rise to interesting but tense debate on how youth work should relate to social problems or, more specifically, how youth work should relate to young people who are the most vulnerable, or linked, to the various social problems that modern societies have to face – the "troubled" and the "troublesome".

Some argue firmly that youth work should not be "contaminated" by the individualised, problem-focused approach that is very often the dominant paradigm in social work. Others argue that youth work must embody a paramount objective of more equal opportunities in society and therefore should also focus on those young people who are most in need. In both approaches the same question is relevant: how should youth work relate to social work? In some countries the borders between both practices have been, and sometimes remain, rather blurred. As Spatscheck has argued in this volume in the context of Germany, this is certainly the case where the academic discipline of social pedagogy traditionally underpins both practices. The argument prevails not only in Germany but also, though perhaps to a lesser extent, in Spain, the Nordic countries and some central and eastern European countries such as Slovakia or Poland. There are other countries, such as England and Wales, that have distinguished very strongly between social work and youth work.

In previous History of Youth Work in Europe seminars, participants have referred to the so-called litmus test: if we think of our kids (as "clients") receiving an intervention or benefiting from a service, then we call it "social work", but if we encourage our kids (as "young people") to take up an opportunity or connect with an experience, then it must be "youth work". This approach enables youth workers to distinguish themselves from social workers, acquiring a positive identity that is projected as very different from individual casework and is posited as preventive, not therapeutic, and based on group work. The litmus test approach is not, of course, undisputed, and in many countries youth work has transformed over the last few decades into a targeted practice focusing on young people in need (see the histories of Spain and

Italy in this volume, but also many country reports in the previous volumes). Youth workers then tend to adopt principles and methods of social work. This leads to the observations (as, for example, illustrated by Judith Metz, in her keynote paper in her country history of the Netherlands – though it is not reported in this volume) that parents are happy if their children do not participate in youth work, because that means that they are doing well.

Over time, therefore, there has often been a (hi)story where youth work has not only emerged from social work origins but has sometimes returned to a form of social work with children and young people. There is, however, also the persistence of forms of youth work that focus on informal and non-formal learning, recreation and association – an educative youth work that has derived from, and develops through, the inter-action between "youth workers" and young people on a dialogical and negotiated basis. In many countries, this strand of youth work keeps itself, or is actively kept, far away from government support and interference. In different contexts, these two forms of "youth work" have been kept apart from each other – the first being in fact a form of social work with young people, or youth social work, the second being a practice of learning and development of young people, or non-formal education. In some parts of Europe, only the latter is routinely and typically called youth work, although sometimes the whole spectrum of activity – both social work and educational forms of "youth work" practice – is encapsulated by the term. Conversely, elsewhere in Europe, the confusion, hesitation and uncertainty in naming youth work turns into a situation where youth work simply has no name. Participants in the seminar that produced this volume from Sweden, Spain, Italy and Moldova confirmed that they struggle to find words in their vocabulary to delineate the practice of youth work.

A central premise in preparing the seminar was that this tense discussion needs a broader perspective. Perhaps, we argued in the preparatory paper for the seminar, these tensions do not play out between any definitive understanding of youth work on the one hand and social work on the other hand, but rather between certain approaches to youth work as well as social work and possibly the shared values underpinning them. As in the previous seminars, we worked on the assumption that historical exploration might enable us to acquire a wider perspective through fruitful comparative discussion and analysis, and ultimately produce a more calibrated understanding of the legacy of social work for youth work.

Shifting definitions of youth work

One intriguing observation at the start of the seminar was that most participants stated that youth work in many countries today is *de facto* a targeted practice, with little reference to approaches that had evolved from different roots and were more prominent in the past. That became very clear in Marco Kovačić's contention that: "there is no youth work in Croatia". This rather blunt statement was not designed to disparage existing youth work activity or the work of youth associations in Croatia but referred to the fact that there is no curricularised practice that could be labelled as youth work. Other participants were less extreme in their denomination of youth work, and they still often referred to some level of professionalised, and more or less curricularised, practice. Though not reported in this volume, this was illustrated in

both Ion Donea's history of the relatively young Republic of Moldova and Judith Metz's reflection on the situation in the Netherlands. Among most of the seminar participants it seemed quite common to define youth work as a rather recent, professionalised practice. It was, indeed, in the very first of the history seminars that this argument came strongly to the fore. Then, however, there was the assertion of youth work's historical and potential "shape" as a broad, lifeworld-oriented, pedagogical practice not targeting particular problems, but enabling general youth development. That perspective has also persisted, as was evident within the country histories of Spain, Italy, France and the Slovak Republic (and that of the former Yugoslavia, provided by Janez Skulj, though this is not reported in this volume). All histories outlined diverse historical shapes of youth work, some with undulating connections to social work, some less so. They all sketched a diverse and rich field of associations, movements and organisations that reflected different expectations and aspirations, and focused on a huge range of functions such as *animation*, poverty relief, evangelical mission, education and health promotion. Many of these were initiated and carried out by civil society, yet among many seminar participants there was a clear presumption that only professionalised youth work was relevant to the seminar on the grounds that the debate concerned relationships with professionalised and usually state-sponsored or supported social work.

From the start of the seminar we were therefore very strongly reminded of a central message from the very first history workshop: youth work is a practice characterised by unfinished professionalisation (Lorenz 2009). It is exactly this "neither fish nor fowl" status that allows youth workers – paid or voluntary – to engage themselves in a blurred, open-ended practice focusing explicitly on recreation and informal education, using fuzzy concepts such as association and emancipation and making connections to diverse youth cultural groups and social movements. It has indeed been a tendency of the last decades to reframe youth work as a profession, following in the footsteps of other practice within the "caring professions" such as physicians, social workers, nurses or teachers. Many youth workers have supported this reframing of their identity and trajectory because it enables them to identify themselves as a distinct profession with its own distinctive body of knowledge and a unique expertise and social status. This has not, however, been an unambiguously positive step, not least because youth workers in these times of austerity have become even more dependent on state funds, while government guidelines demand that they focus on short-term projects designed to combat the effects of increasing social problems such as poverty and a lack of decent jobs. More independent, "purist" conceptions of youth work have thereby become contaminated, and arguably corrupted by, or subordinated to, wider labour market priorities (such as tackling unemployment or promoting "employability") on the one hand, and health and social work priorities (such as tackling drug misuse or promoting health lifestyles, tackling delinquency and other "pathologies" or promoting resilience and psychological well-being) on the other.

By the end of the second History of Youth Work in Europe seminar we had decided that there is no real or pure youth work. There were, instead, two archetypical approaches. At the time, we labelled the targeted, project-based and often problem-driven practices as the "transit zone" approach, aiming at the smooth integration of young

people into existing society. Next to that we distinguished practices that could be seen as a social and cultural "forum", questioning the terms under which young people have to integrate and providing a focus on the critical investigation of young people's access to social and political resources. In both approaches youth work is operating in the social sphere, trying to cope with the potential tensions between individual aspirations and public expectations and resources. Both approaches accommodate a mix of contributions by both volunteers and paid youth workers. In both approaches the informal sphere and the leisure opportunities are, more or less, both a magnet and an engine to make things happen. This means that we end up with a very differentiated field of practices where everybody is doing some kind of youth work: through associations, movements, state provision (clubs and street work); from a therapeutic perspective to projects with cultural aims or the promotion of adventure and the outdoor life; sometimes adult-led and sometimes self-governed by young people, with many points of organisation, governance and planning in between. The diversity is enormous. But, as one of the participants in Malta asserted emphatically, it is not because one runs a youth club that he or she does youth work. Youth work may or may not be done in youth "clubs" any more (or less) than youth work may, or may not, take place in more formal institutional or therapeutic environments. Even the philosophical, as well as contextual, basis of youth work is open for debate. As Williamson (2008) has argued: there might be "sacred cows" to be slain, just as there are definitely "cherished values" to be defended.

So, in Malta, we arrived quite rapidly at the question that underpinned each and every history workshop: what counts as (good) youth work? The answer depends, inevitably, on time and place, and some groups of young people have different needs to other groups, but it is quite clear that youth work should, indeed must, relate to other social and pedagogical practices in a given society, whatever its claims for distinction. Youth work is, of course, not school; youth work practices are not sports clubs or employment services; youth workers are not police officers or health counsellors, and so forth. Still, it is patently clear that youth work has evolved and continues to evolve alongside other practices. In situations where formal education or health care have their own deficiencies and drawbacks, youth workers are likely to prioritise other things than in a situation where these basic provisions are well established. In most western European societies these basic provisions have classically, at least since the Second World War, been part of the comprehensive social, pedagogical and cultural arrangements at the heart of their welfare states, as described in this volume by Axel Pohl.

In his keynote speech to the Malta history workshop, Pohl also drew our attention to the changed and still rapidly changing position and status of "youth" in society. The clear separation between youth and adulthood has increasingly been blurred since the last decades of the previous century. Pohl refers to the concept of the yo-yos, where a prolonged youth phase mixes up with early adulthood (working while studying, from family back to being single, and other parallel and reversible trends). Such evolving patterns in youth transitions inevitably change the potential role and function of youth work, as Williamson (1985) suggested would be the case, over 30 years ago. To fully understand the role and position of youth work in postmodern, capitalist

societies it is therefore helpful to look at the role and position of the other central player in the social field: social work.

What is social work?

In many countries in Europe and beyond, social work has acquired a quite stable recognition with a legal status, deontological code and professional association. There is even an international federation of social workers that enacted a global definition of the social work profession:

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledges, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing. (Hare 2004, 407)

It is very interesting to see how this definition relates the practice of social work to the democratic process in our societies and to human rights and social justice. These are precisely the values that, traditionally, one might routinely have connected with youth work. The adherence of social work practitioners to this framework may be questionable, but this definition clearly points to the fact that, although youth work and social work are far from being identical twins, they do stem from the same roots. Behind the seemingly stable identity and recognition of social work lies a reality that approximates to the heterogeneity in the youth work field, both in methods and perspectives. Methodologically, social work is sometimes restricted to social administration. Other workers focus on group work and still others on community development and social action. Some social workers uncritically construct social inclusion as an individual asset (a question of acquiring necessary knowledge and skills). Others identify themselves with social movements opposing this restrictive perspective on social inclusion, pointing to the unequal and unjust redistribution of wealth in capitalist market societies, situating social work within a framework of decommodification and thus defining it as a corrective practice to market inequalities.

Somewhat to the surprise of many of the participants at the seminar, there emerged at least three interesting parallels between the histories of youth work and social work. First, many historical accounts illustrated that social work is in fact often as heterogeneous as youth work: from government-sponsored to movement-led and various hybrid positions inbetween; from child saving to community social work; embracing general social administration, care for the elderly, mental health institutions, forensic work, child protection and, for a time in the UK, something called "intermediate treatment" (a hybrid practice between youth work and criminal justice). The diversity in the field of social work was striking and, as in youth work's history, there are many routes taken and not taken. So, perhaps, like youth workers, social workers are also not always quite aware of who they are and who they serve.

Second, the patchwork identity of social work has made it vulnerable to the reframing that is very strongly illustrated in the Spanish and Italian histories: from the 1980s social work was required to target specific problems and problem groups. This led

to a situation where practices that were no longer necessary from the perspective of government were reconnecting to social movements or previous (both conservative and more radical) traditions. This has led to a resurgence in both private patronage and the faith-based organisation of social work, reproducing ways in which social work had operated in the pre-welfare state era. As Howard Sercombe reported to the seminar in relation to the history of British youth and social work (not written up for this volume), this evolution brings social work closer than we might have imagined to youth work's status of unfinished professionalisation.

Third, along with the reframing of social work there was a strong de-ideologisation. Notwithstanding the different meanings that could be identified in the whole range of practices, there has always been a clear and pronounced connection between social and pedagogical practices and the desired social order. That became all the more clear in totalitarian regimes, but as Janez Skulj argued convincingly in his history of youth and social work in former Yugoslavia, the link was there too in less totalitarian times.

There has always been a clear ideological mission behind social work. Social workers focused on evangelisation, alphabetisation, social education, work with the poor or sobriety promotion. Their civilising mission was not hidden. This mission-driven focus and formalisation of the practice sometimes functioned as a straitjacket, but at least it enabled social workers to be a part of the social debate. Starting from the 1980s, an extremely political age of bipolar worlds, a strong depoliticisation (following Margaret Thatcher's famous remark that "there is no such thing as society"!) veiled the political agenda in which social workers received a more functional role. Their mission was made invisible, and thus indisputable, disabling social work from playing a role in the debate on how to organise society through balancing freedom and equity through solidarity. In addition, and perhaps because it has developed a deontology of its own, social work also has to continuously grapple with its own demons and sometimes with opposing schools and visions of how to arrive at the desired results (some leaning on more conservative, protection approaches and others on more empowering and rights-based ones).

Their respective histories across many European countries show that youth work and social work are in fact quite close relatives, although social work has taken other routes and become more problem-oriented, with specific target groups, using methods grounded in social casework involving a dimension of authority and often securing formally and publicly recognised professional status. With youth work arguably moving in the same direction today, we can contend that this could mean that the reach of youth work is at risk of losing sight of the "ordinary kids", once famously defined as those whose names are neither inscribed on the honours' boards of their schools nor scratched into the desks (Brown 1987).

If we "leave those kids alone", if youth work loses sight of the "ordinary kids", society then loses much of the huge potential of youth work as a platform or forum for learning and experimenting with participation, human rights, democracy building and renewal. As professional youth workers tend to work more for, and on, young people and less with, and alongside, young people, youth work would easily further evolve towards a solution-oriented method aimed at the smooth integration of

young people in difficulty, thereby obliterating the forum function of youth work and, as a result, overlooking a significant source of democratic input in our society and arguably contributing further to the erosion of a democratic spirit.

As Miriam Teuma argues in this volume, the divergent roads of social work and youth work in Malta led, despite the shared roots, to a situation where social work and youth work moved away from each other. Indeed, voluntary youth work fought hard to avoid association with statutory social work, perhaps through fear of being overtaken or contaminated by social work, but also through a commitment to asserting its own identity. The situation is different today. The distinct historical legacies are still apparent, but the internationally agreed definition of social work is not incompatible with youth work, either in Malta or elsewhere. The question today, therefore, is less about struggling for conceptual distinction and more about how to relate to each other, perhaps in a strong partnership, but without moving into one single practice.

Simplistic dichotomies or legitimate boundaries

As shown by other contributions to this volume (particularly Andersson on Sweden and Nagy and Oross on Hungary) youth work and social work have shared roots in settlement movements, ragged schools, Sunday schools and patronages, but subsequently the mainstream in both practices followed divergent routes. Whereas mainstream youth work became a universal, voluntary provision supporting groups of young people in their development into active citizens, social work developed as an individualised, targeted, rather therapeutic provision, with a public mandate to intervene in the private lives of people who failed to be successful in becoming independent of state support. A democratisation of social work from within has been growing over the last decades with initiatives of working in participatory ways and involving the "clients" or beneficiaries on a less authoritarian footing. Participatory social work has been hard to conceive for some social workers but it has also opened up the field to more experimental, beneficiary or community-driven approaches (European Anti-Poverty Network 2009, 2012).

At the seminar, Mick Conroy (Wales, UK) and Biljana Vasilevska ("the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia") invited us to think the unthinkable. What about youth social work and "yocial workers" (yo-sos for the yo-yos)? As Rafa Merino also argued in addressing points of convergence, crossover and connection between the two, there are youth workers that act as agents of control and there are social workers that promote agency, autonomy and empowerment. This could strike insensitively at some of the "cherished values" of youth work, like the principle of voluntary participation, and prospectively turn them into "sacred cows" ready for the slaughter. Conroy trod a fine line between the two, maintaining that the relationship between (youth) worker and young people is more important than voluntariness per se; the test of professional practice is the capacity to remain engaged, on both sides – to remain engaged with each other. This is, indeed, more important than whether one labels a practice as youth work or social work. Paraphrasing Mary Carpenter (an English social and pedagogical reformer of the 19th century) Conroy posited that "love must be the ruling sentiment of all who attempt to influence and guide the children from the so-called dangerous and perishing classes". That is the point

where social work and youth work seem to meet each other. Youth work operates from the private perspective, aiming to transform private interests of groups of young people into public concerns, whereas social work traditionally starts from public expectations and tries to translate them into individual pedagogical questions. In its development process, youth work has also generated expectations of contributing to bigger societal objectives, not estranged to social work, such as democracy and social cohesion.

In this comparison of different traditions, it became clear that both practices are different, but equal, and equally diverse. They can challenge each other in their democratic mission: both youth work and social work are about defining needs and balancing private needs with public space and opportunities. In a true democracy there are no simple pedagogical answers to social problems, especially not in European welfare states that are democracies opting for market capitalism as the central mechanism for the allocation of resources, thus trying to reach the increasingly unreachable balance between freedom and equity.

Conclusion: there is a valuable and complementary place for both youth work and social work

It is important to define both youth work and social work as practices that relate differentially and flexibly to dominant practices and policies of socialisation and social inclusion of young people. As Pohl argued, followed by Nieminen and Gretschel on Finland, throughout Europe national regimes have been converging into a model where inclusion opportunities are provided essentially through the labour market. In an increasingly tertiarised market that moves low-skilled jobs to low-wage countries, many young people have little or no prospects for social inclusion through the market. It is tempting, as a result, to frame youth work and social work as extra support mechanisms to help individual young people to acquire the necessary skills and attitudes for labour market insertion, but this leads to "fire brigade" social policies that are of no help in the long term and support a social and economic system that is not sustainable over the decades to come. There might be some cherry-picking gains, but the lack of decent jobs will remain or even increase. And in that scenario there will be an uphill struggle between affirmation or the fading away of the extra value of traditional youth and social work. Realising social inclusion and cohesion is far too big an issue to be dependent on practices such as youth and social work without a properly functioning welfare system and supporting social protection mechanisms.

This is the subject of a huge social debate and political challenge. That is exactly where the traditions of both youth work and social work show their added value. In political regimes where social inclusion is centred around the labour market and the school system is increasingly preoccupied with labour market skills, there is a huge need for practices that address the negative consequences of social exclusion and practices that explore alternative inclusion trajectories and which are committed to broadening existing youth transition regimes and institutionalised definitions of young people's needs. History seems to prove that this is the only way to handle the real big issues. Of course there are other strategies to promote "young people's social

and professional integration as an essential component to reach the objectives of Europe's Lisbon strategy for growth and jobs, at the same time as promoting personal fulfilment, social cohesion and active citizenship" (Council of the European Union 2009). But there is no encompassing strategy to achieve all those goals at the same time. History has taught us that fostering our slow, but accessible and vivid democracy is the least worst strategy for people living together in all their diversity, chasing the quest of reconciling liberty and equity and thereby preventing the extremes of poverty, illness and criminality that might ultimately produce social breakdown, and possibly revolution.

The Malta workshop explored at length the cross-sectoral dimension between youth work and social work, reflecting only partially and narrowly in that process on the overall mission of youth work throughout its development. This exploration was rather challenging because this convergence and divergence of the two fields has been framed through their common or overlapping objectives – social cohesion and social inclusion of disadvantaged young people.

With this in mind, a careful conclusion, therefore, has to be that social work practices address consequences of social exclusion and help individuals and families to live their life in a decent way. Youth work (along with adult/popular education) is then the practice that brings (young) people together, bridging where possible gender, socio-economic status and race. Through peer learning and experiential learning it enables them to acquire biographical and institutional competencies which help them to understand and improve their situation and to critically reflect on the feasibility and legitimacy of alternative trajectories that could lead to social inclusion. Since many young people feel very threatened and estranged in their daily struggle, youth work provisions offer a safe place, open up lifeworlds, raise aspirations and put out extra beacons to enable young people to oriente themselves and acquire biographical and institutional competencies. That is where youth work adds to the democratic mission to keep all (young) people aboard, enable them to lead a decent life and not to give up the basic values of democracy and human rights. Youth work is about fun and dialogue, not teaching or preaching, but in this practice lies a fundamental and powerful source of individual and social learning. Paraphrasing Edgar Schlümmer, when he spoke about Estonia (also in this volume): youth work is a little democracy adding to big democracy. In this democratic mission and mandate youth work definitely finds a critical friend in social work. It could be a minefield of compromise and dissolution, but it is in the first place a commonly created landscape of development and social learning, where the boundaries between both practices reflect more the open borders of Schengen Europe rather than the bounded territories of Fortress Europe.

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This sixth publication in the History of Youth Work in Europe project based on the workshop held in Malta – Connections, Disconnections and Reconnections: The Social Dimension of Youth Work, in History and Today – looks at the relationship between youth work and social work and the role youth work can play in the social inclusion of young people. Contributors have reflected on concepts, tools and support measures for more vulnerable and often socially excluded young people and have sought to promote a common understanding of youth work as a social practice.

The workshop that led to this book sought to understand where youth work has positioned itself from its origins, through its development, to its contemporary identity. Is youth work as much a social practice as a non-formal educational one? Where does the balance between these two dimensions lie? What are the mutually enriching dimensions of these two fields in terms of their impact on young people's lives?

While most agree that youth work needs to be further defined as a practice or profession in itself and that the process of shaping its identity continues in different ways in different countries, it is clear that when it comes to a cross-sectoral perspective and youth work's interaction with social work, the picture becomes significantly more complex, arguably much richer and certainly more dynamic than might have hitherto been foreseen.

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