Extending Entitlement Revisited: The Maintained Youth Service 2002-2007

Paper Number 3 – The Needs of Young People and the Maintained Youth Service Response

"The term 'needs of young people' litters documents and publications written about the Youth Service, most often, it can legitimately be claimed, from an adult perspective generally contextualised within a contemporary economic or social setting".

The concept of need[1] can be described as both complex and fraught with the danger of polarisation between paternalism and dictatorship, with both driven from a position of power imposed on the powerless (Doyle and Gough 1991, Langan 1998). Both of these approaches have some resonance with maintained Youth Service practice, as it is driven by a relationship between adults and young people where styles of intervention could be seen to be contained within a framework that includes paternalistic and dictatorial approaches, with a dominant adult perspective of what young people need common to both. The challenge when trying to identify the concept of need within this Youth Service context is attempting to identify ownership of 'the needs of young people'. This in itself is a complex debate. It has been suggested by Williamson (1996: iv) that work with young people within the boundaries of the maintained Youth Service is always informed by *"some synthesis of political, professional and personal agendas"* which have the potential to overwhelm the agendas of young people identified through their expressed need. The health agenda, anti-racist interventions and the environment were given by Williamson as examples of what have become significant agendas for adults working in the maintained Youth Service but are, he claims, of little overt interest to young people themselves. Concern was also expressed by Williamson about the ability of workers and young people to identify, in any reliable and valid way, the actual 'needs of young people'. For those working in the Youth Service, it was suggested that a diverse range of methods were used, including what was described as:

[1] Needs are what you must have to survive and live. Needs are essentials and include for example food, clothing and shelter (Doyle and Gough 1991).

> *"pseudo-objective evidence gleaned from local community profiles and 'needs audits'. For most, however, it was a personal synthesis of fact, perception and impression gained, obviously, from experience of close contact with young people in the locality"*
>
> (Ibid: 51)

It was further claimed by Williamson (1996:79) that the concept of 'need' for young people was often confused with 'wants' and 'issues', with the consequence that the concept becomes a *"highly elastic one"*. Adding another dimension to an already complex position are the conclusions of Williamson, who suggests that if those working within the maintained Youth Service restrict themselves to the definition of need expressed by young people, there is a risk that issues of importance to an education service would be overlooked, including the examples given previously, which might not be identified by young people themselves as either wants or needs.

Some philosophical support that illuminates the concept of need can, however, be found, particularly in regard to work-based motivation. Maslow (1954) pioneered the concept and introduced a five–tier hierarchy of needs (physiological needs, safety needs, love needs, esteem needs, self actualisation) and claimed that each level remained dominant until it had been satisfied, at which time the next level became dominant. Maslow further claimed that a need at the lower level of the hierarchy was always stronger than those at higher levels. Critics of the hierarchy of need theory claimed that it was vague and difficult to measure, that rigid demarcation of needs was suspect and the distinction between higher and lower order needs too simplistic (Gallagher et al. 1997). The proposition of Maslow, which became the benchmark of determining need, did, however, generate further debate and development. Hertzberg (1968) and Alderfer (1972) extended and refined the work, again focusing on the correlation between identification of needs, motivation and work. Within the wider context of determining more generic human needs, Doyle and Gough (1991) suggested that need as a definition is related to any necessary means for a given end and, as such, needs can be seen to be essentially relative. In the social setting, Bradshaw's taxonomy (Bradshaw 1977) claims *need* cannot be treated in isolation from the way it is defined and that there is a requirement to differentiate between four ways of determining the concept: *Normative*, a process

dependent on the setting of a desirable standard which is then compared against the state of an individual or a group, the difference being classified as a need; *Felt* need is a need closely aligned to the notion of want; *Expressed* need is felt need turned into action; *Comparative* need is obtained through studying the characteristics of a particular social group in receipt of a specific service and those with similar features that do not, the latter group then being defined as in need. Associated with the problem of need definition is the question of interpretation of the differences between needs and wants. Wants, it is claimed (Shakespeare 1995), are able to be satisfied by the mechanisms of the economic market, while needs are different in the sense that the prescribed remedy might not be wanted or desired by the individuals concerned.

The concept of need for the maintained Youth Service

While the philosophical debate about needs identification is important, the method whereby theory is related to practice in the Youth Service context is central to the focus of this investigation, which is attempting to measure how effectively the maintained Youth Service is able to meet the needs of young people and the requirements of government while maintaining its organisational integrity. The term 'needs of young people' litters documents and publications written about the Youth Service, most often, it can legitimately be claimed, from an adult perspective generally contextualised within a contemporary economic or social setting.

Circular 1516 (Board of Education 1940) provided a list of young people's needs, including them developing *'normal relationships'* and *'bodily fitness'* as well as *'building character'*. It was claimed (Ministry of Education 1945) that young people had the right to both opportunities and facilities for voluntary leisure time activities that met their basic needs as developing citizens in a modern social setting, with the *"satisfaction of those needs being the very raison d'etre of the Youth Service"* (ibid: 6). The Albemarle Report (Ministry of Education 1960:13) continued this trend of what could be described as well-meaning adults identifying the needs of young people within the *"changing social and industrial conditions and the current trends in other branches of the education service"*. The Youth Service, the Albemarle Report claimed, was to ensure that the *social needs of*

young people were met before their needs for training and formal instruction" (ibid: 52). Further attainment of these social needs would be through the bringing together of young people in groups of their own choosing, in association with what were described as "helpful adults" who would be interested in gaining their confidence as a means of involving them in discussions about *"ethical matters, sex, of adjustment to the world of work, the problems of marriage and home-making and of full adult responsibility"* (ibid). Central to this counsel was the quality of relationship developed between the adult worker and the young person, who was described as often too shy or lacking in confidence to discuss these and a range of other issues with parents or other adults. Milson and Fairbairn (Department of Education and Science 1969:22) continued the theme of linking the needs of young people to what they described as *"encouraging adults who believe in their possibilities"*. Some further guidance on the needs of young people was also given by Marchent (1972), who claimed young people had a range of fundamental needs including food, safety and sleep. Young people were described as needing to love and to be loved if they were to achieve their potential. Marchent made the further claim that young people's needs included having a good opinion of themselves and for this good opinion to be shared by others.

The Thompson Report (HMSO 1982:13) also listed some of the perceived needs of young people. Perhaps their most important comment in the context of this investigation was their claim that when those working with young people in the Youth Service attempted to define the needs of young people, the outcome was:

> *"descriptions of the qualities and attributes which the proposers think young people aspire to, or should aspire to, or which they think society wants them to have, and which they think their particular methods will inculcate".*

This was a clear recognition of the existent association between adult workers and young people within the maintained Youth Service which, having been made, provided an opportunity for the reconfiguration of the relationship between adult and young person in order to more fully understand and respond to their identified needs. Interestingly, the issue of identifying and responding to the needs of young people using the maintained

Youth Service was not included in the report on the Youth Service in Wales (Welsh Office 1984). Coopers and Lybrand Deloitte (1991) did comment, however, and made the claim that there was an obvious weakness between Youth Service practice and the clearly understood needs of young people and recommended a system for the development of a strategic plan driven by an assessment of young people's needs against which funding would be allocated.

In 1994, a major survey was carried out in Wales (WYA 1994b), involving 1,000 young people between the ages of 13 and 19, via schools, sixth form colleges, youth centres, the high street and other places where young people met. The findings of the survey (which replicated a similar survey being carried out in France at the same time) provided a wealth of information about young people in Wales. Four specific questions within the questionnaire produced answers of particular relevance to this investigation. The first asked for an opinion about family and friends. The responses identified that 89% of young people felt at ease with their family, 88% had high levels of confidence in their parents and 84% stated that their grandparents were important to them. The second asked for comments about employment and work: 69% indicated that school was a good preparation for work but only 42% believed that employers had confidence in young people. The third question asked about participation and commitment to their community: 87% said they would be willing to take responsibility in community life, 72% stated they were in favour of a form of national service related to social, humanitarian or environmental issues, and 68% claimed they would like to be involved in community action of the sort that would improve the quality of life for all members of the community. The fourth asked respondents to identify the three things they would like in future life. A *'job'* was the first priority, listed by 62% of respondents, followed by a *'comfortable living'*, selected by 42%, *'a family'* (42%), and *'happiness'* (24%). At the bottom of this list were *'Welsh autonomy'* (1%), a *'say in the political process'* (1%) and a *'good education/go to university'* (5%).

When young people were asked through the survey to identify how best their needs could be catered for, the top five answers were to:

1. *create a youth facility in every community (84%)*
2. *create centres for debate between young people and adults (58%)*
3. *create a youth committee in every community (57%)*
4. *have regular consultation at local level with young people on questions concerning them (57%)*
5. *ensure that local politicians are required to consult with young people on matters that concern their social and educational lives (57%)*

WYA (1994b:4)

The articulation by young people of the need for somewhere to go and for things to do was further recognised by the research of Williamson (1996:35), which concluded that young people had four needs of the Youth Service, which were:

- The need for association – somewhere to go;
- The need for activities – something to do;
- The need for autonomy – some space of our own; and
- The need for advice – someone to talk to.

Like the Thompson Report (HMSO 1982), Williamson too was critical of the ability of those working in the maintained Youth Service to respond to the needs of young people in an effective way. A critical factor in this, Williamson claimed, was the backgrounds of workers, which, it was suggested, had the potential to influence the types of curriculum activities offered to young people. As a consequence:

> *"ex-teachers and sports leaders were more inclined to give preference and priority to the provision of competitions and activities as a mechanism for promoting participation…In contrast, those trained professionally in youth and community work placed a greater emphasis on discussion, issue-based intervention, advocacy and advice/information work as a mechanism for promoting participation"*
>
> Williamson (1996:84)

The outcome of such an approach when related to the identification of the needs of young people using the maintained Youth Service could therefore be seen to be more a product of worker preference than any expressed needs of young people (ibid: 84). Some examples of this approach were given through workers' interpretations of the needs of

young people, which identified a more sophisticated list than that obtained from young people during the same research project and included providing:

- opportunities to meet the personal and social needs of young people;
- supported space for young people;
- activities to address the health needs of young people (drinking, drug use and sexual health);
- support to meet the transition needs of young people (education, employment and housing); and
- mechanisms to meet the information needs of young people.

Further evidence of the needs of young people from their perspective can be found in a publicity campaign (South Wales Echo November 2nd 1996) to promote the launch of *'Agenda for a Generation'* (UK Youth Work Alliance 1996). Davies, Chairman of the Wales Youth Agency, claimed the needs of young people could be met by *"a properly resourced Youth Service"* (South Wales Echo 2nd November 1996:6). Young people interviewed for the newspaper confirmed this claim and broadened the debate by claiming:

> *"There is a real need for young people to have their say. Nobody seems to listen and there is nowhere for them to go"*
>
> Nicholas Hay (18 years)

> *"I think there should be more outdoor activities available so kids can learn skills in mixing and looking after themselves"*
>
> Andrew Jones (19 years)

> *"There is nothing to do. A lot get into trouble because they hang around on streets getting involved in crime"*
>
> Nabila Shamsan (14 years)

> *"There are not enough youth provisions. But there is never enough that can be done and no cash to do it with"*
>
> Matt Briknall (18 years)

While young people had identified getting 'a job' as their most important need (WYA 1994b), a survey involving more than 5,500 employers in Wales identified the skills they

needed to become employed (Mori Research 1998). These included generic skills, vocational skills and job-specific skills. Generic skills, identified as *"practical attributes"*, were described as the key skills because without them, it was claimed, individuals would find it difficult to operate in the workplace. These practical attributes were described in the survey as:

1. Being able to communicate effectively (88% of employer respondents);
2. Having the ability to learn (81% of employer respondents);
3. Being able to operate effectively in a team (81% of employer respondents);
4. Showing initiative (80% of employer respondents); and
5. Having the ability to follow instructions (79% of employer respondents).

The survey also identified both the future evolution of the Welsh economy and the changing importance of the skills required for employment. Growth was forecast to be strongest in retailing, wholesale, hotels and catering, which would be linked to anticipated growth in tourism. There was also an expectation of growth in public-service employment, particularly in health and teaching, corporate management and administration, and service-sector occupations. The survey also identified that there would be fewer low-skilled industrial jobs and that the numbers of agricultural labourers would continue to decline. Within these occupational changes, there would be some re-ordering of the ranking of particular skills and by 2007, the practical attributes required would be:

1. Understanding customer needs;
2. Ability to learn;
3. Communication;
4. Team working; and
5. Showing initiative.

From the information obtained from the 1994 survey of young people (with its identification of 'a job' as the most important need for young people) and the listing of the practical attributes needed for employment, it is possible to conclude that a key responsibility for the maintained Youth Service to enable it to meet the needs of young people and the requirements of government is the development of a curriculum that will

enable young people to attain the identified practical attributes. The maintained Youth Service will, however, be faced with two challenges in doing so. First, it will need to develop and use reliable and valid mechanisms to measure levels of attainment – the distance travelled by young people as a result of its intervention. Second, it will have to do so in a way that reflects its organisational purposes and values and not resort to measurements of the sort used by formal education.

In the Youth Service context, some further identification of the needs of young people can be extracted from the text in 'Learning is for Everyone' (Welsh Office 1998). Young people, the report claimed, needed to be involved in a Youth Service process which would motivate them to return to learning. Within this agenda, the seminal need for young people was identified as educational attainment within the formal setting. The purpose of this educational attainment was described in *'Extending Entitlement: supporting young people in Wales'* (NAW 2000a) as the means of both finding a job and progressing in employment. This position replicated the views of Blair (1996:66), who claimed *"the more you learn the more you earn. That is your way to do well out of life"*.

Other aspects of life for young people (outside of the educational attainment-employment continuum), with their own specific set of needs, require identification within this investigation to reflect their wider interests. Extending Entitlement (NAW 2000a) provided some evidence about the needs of young people from their perspective through a process of consultation with 17 focus groups, involving an unspecified number of young people, which resulted in the identification of a number of specific young people 'needs', which included:

- a meeting place controlled by young people without undue interference from adults;
- signing up to a conventional lifestyle centred on finding a job, home and car ownership;
- having access to Internet and IT facilities;
- joined up services to meet specific problems such as homelessness, health and poverty; and
- the availability of appropriate information.

Some concerns were expressed within the Extending Entitlement document about the reliability and validity of the focus-group process and the subsequent outcomes listed above. Of particular importance to this investigation was the recognition of how difficult it is for adults to engage in meaningful debate with young people in order to identify their needs. What appeared to have happened, when obtaining evidence for inclusion in a key strategic document, was the continuation of a traditional paternalistic approach, a view supported by the comment *"the convenors* (of the individual focus groups) *included their own summary of themes"* (NAW 2000a:90). As a consequence, doubt can be cast on the listing of the needs of young people within a wide range of government documents which could legitimately be criticised for promoting a particular agenda – usually party political – within the guise of articulated needs of young people. Care should be taken to follow a process alluded to in Extending Entitlement, which suggested there was a need (for adults) to build effective consultation into the process (of determining the needs of young people) to allow for a more accurate identification of the real needs of young people.

However, driven by its political agenda, the rhetoric of the National Assembly for ever-improving educational attainment was repeated in The Learning Country (NAW 2001a:8) by the claim "*we want learning to be an everyday part of working and non working life"*. Other comments in the Learning Country gave greater insight into the government's perception of the needs of young people when the need for impartial information and support and the involvement of young people in developing systems for themselves was identified. Extending Entitlement: supporting young people in Wales Consultation on the Draft Direction and Guidance (NAW 2001c:7) listed 10 basic entitlements for every young person in Wales, written to meet the identified needs of young people from the first Extending Entitlement Report. The Entitlements were:

- Education, training and work experience – tailored to their needs;
- Basic skills which open doors to a full life and promote social inclusion;
- A wide and varied range of opportunities to participate in volunteering and active citizenship;
- High quality, responsive and accessible services and facilities;

- Independent, specialist careers advice and guidance and student support and counselling services;
- Personal support and advice – where and when needed and in appropriate formats – with clear ground rules on confidentiality;
- Advice on health, housing, benefits and other issues provided in accessible and welcoming settings;
- Recreational, and social opportunities in a safe and accessible environment;
- Sporting, artistic, musical and outdoor experiences to develop talents, broaden horizons and promote rounded perspectives, including both national and international contexts; and
- The right to be consulted, to participate in decision-making and to be heard, on all matters which concern them or have an impact on their lives.

There is little evidence available to identify the involvement of young people in the writing of these entitlements. It is, however, possible to identify some of the political priorities of New Labour, with its focus on economic and social regeneration through greater educational attainment, which suggest a continuation of a controlling approach to the needs of young people driven by an adult-led plan within the contemporary political agenda. This is an approach contrary to that of the maintained Youth Service which places it in a vulnerable position within the emerging policy framework being developed for young people.

It is clearly recognised that young people are not a homogenous group (Williamson 1996) but are nevertheless capable of being sub-divided into a small number of groups, the identification of which will be useful to this investigation, particularly in relation to identifying need from a maintained Youth Service perspective. Young people in Wales, like their counterparts elsewhere in the UK, can be seen to lead their lives in a generally compartmentalised way. For the significant majority of those up to 16 years of age, the two main compartments – outside of the family – are formal education and leisure. Post-16, the two compartments become work and leisure, although there has been, in recent years, a significant increase in further or higher education being undertaken by growing numbers of young people. In addition, there has been the relatively recent recognition and

political acceptance of a further group who can be identified as socially excluded, who are described by the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) set up by New Labour in 1997 as being:

> *".disproportionately from poor backgrounds in deprived areas. They may suffer multiple disadvantage and few recover from the poor start that they have had…where life goes wrong, or continues to go wrong…social exclusion in latter life is disproportionately the result. They are much more likely to be unemployed, dependent on benefits, to live in unstable family structures and be depressed about their lives"*
>
> (SEU 1999:8)

Within this model, the maintained Youth Service in Wales has the opportunity to work with young people who can be identified as:

1. in compulsory education, with a range of leisure time requirements during the late afternoon and evenings, at weekends and during school holidays;
2. in work, with more flexible and perhaps more sophisticated leisure-time requirements;
3. in post-compulsory education or training, with more flexible and perhaps more sophisticated leisure-time requirements; and
4. excluded from employment, education or training, with perhaps a range of complex requirements related to, for example, homelessness, financial poverty, involvement in criminal activities, poor health, and limited or no family support.

As a result, the priority target group of young people for the Youth Service, those aged between 13 and 19, are those who need to make, or who are about to make, a number of key transitions. These include the transition from school to work, from compulsory education to post-compulsory education, from financial dependence to financial independence and from dependent decision making to independent decision making. The categorising of young people in this way does not suggest there is no further requirement for greater refinement of the categories. Within each of the sub-divisions, the search to identify the needs of young people could require further sub-divisions. As an example, young people in school (category 1) could be identified either as academic achievers, because they are able to meet agreed educational benchmarks for success, or as academic underachievers or academic failures. Each of these categories within the main sub-

divisions could require a different set of responses to meet a particular set of needs. Within this complex environment, the process of identifying and responding to the sometimes-individual needs of young people becomes time consuming, resource intensive and dependent on interventions by skilled and well-supported staff. This process will be particularly relevant to determining and responding to the needs of those young people identified as having a range of interconnected difficulties within category four, which is a priority group for government in its campaign to reduce levels of youth disaffection for economic and social reasons. As a consequence, one of the government's priorities for the maintained Youth Service is the development of an appropriate curriculum for young people described as disaffected; the outcome of the intervention is their return to formal education, training or work (HMSO 2000b). Within the arguments presented by Maslow and others, any approach to achieving this goal would be dependent on strategies capable of satisfying basic physiological, safety, love and belongingness needs before the higher needs in the hierarchy can be met – including a return to learning. These strategies would be dependent on both a partnership approach to working with young people across a range of government and voluntary agencies and the acceptance by the individual involved of the integrity of the process. The Youth Service, driven by its young-person-first approach, could find it difficult philosophically to use its relationship-building skills with young people, who are affected by the negative factors that result in their disaffection, to involve them in a range of measurable activities that may be inappropriate in meeting their current needs. If the Youth Service does adopt this stance it can be argued that its traditional young people- first approach is being diluted in favour of an overt political agenda

There has been, however, an insistence by both New Labour and the Welsh Assembly Government that the needs of young people would be met through enhanced formal education opportunities and improved formal education attainment, with the role of the maintained Youth Service being to act as a conduit between young people and school or the workplace. However, the validity of this one-dimensional stance, which promotes the view that formal education attainment can help with problems such as economic competitiveness and social disadvantage, has been vigorously challenged, firstly because it is seen to fail to develop in young people the ability effectively to transfer formal

educational experiences into work or leisure; and secondly because it fails to encourage wider problem-solving and continuing learning (Bentley 1998). Arguments are also presented to suggest that the measurements of formal levels of education are inappropriate as a standard of attainment because of their failure to measure real levels of education. These real levels, it is claimed, should include education and learning obtained from outside of the institutionalised and accredited arena and can be located, as non-formal and informal learning processes, within both work and leisure. It can also be argued therefore that for those young people coming into contact with the maintained Youth Service in Wales, a core need is appropriate education which recognises both a well articulated philosophical position and the need to develop a broader approach to learning than is perhaps the position for a significant number of young people. This broader approach is promoted by Gardner (1983, 1991, 1999), who challenges the view that intelligence is a single entity capable of measurement through an IQ test. The work of Gardner is part of a wider debate on the range and nature of intelligence which includes the work of Salovey and Mayer (1990) who articulated the theory of emotional intelligence and provided the foundation for the work of Goleman (1996) with its conclusion that the concept was perhaps more important than other factors such as social class or raw IQ. Another contributor to the debate was Perkins (1995) who rejected the idea that intelligence is a fixed or unitary quality and that to a significant degree the capacity for intelligent behaviour can be learned.

Gardner's contribution was the hypothesis that there were multiple- intelligences, which included:

1. Linguistic – able to use in an effective way spoken and written language, ability to use language to remember information;
2. Logical Mathematical – being able to detect pattern, reason deductively and think logically;
3. Musical – able to recognise and compose musical pitches, tones and rhythms;
4. Body-kinaesthetic – able to use mental abilities to co-ordinate bodily movements;
5. Spatial – to recognise and use the patterns of wide space and more confined areas;
6. Interpersonal – ability to understand the intentions, motivations and desires of other people; and

7. Intrapersonal – the capacity to understand self, to appreciate one's feelings, fears and motivations.

Gardner claimed that the first two have dominance within the school setting, the next three are related to the arts and the last two are personal intelligences. Gardner further claimed that all seven intelligences are needed to live life well. The identification of the theory of multiple intelligences is useful in the context of this investigation even though the criteria identified are not without their critics (White 1996). Nevertheless, they are identified as an example of a broader perspective of intelligence that suggests there are a number of ways of teaching and also a number of contexts within which teaching can take place. This would suggest the need for a more equitable partnership between formal and non-formal learning of the sort delivered by an effective Youth Service. As a result of a new, more evenly balanced partnership, young people would have enhanced opportunities to access learning of a sort that is not provided by an education or training institution and typically does not lead by necessity to certification (HMSO 2000c). The learning offered by the maintained Youth Service would nevertheless be predominantly structured learning (in terms of objectives, time and support), with outcomes being intentional from the learner's perspective. Non-formal learning as a voluntary process is concerned to ensure that individuals are actively involved in assessing need, designing learning experiences, locating resources and evaluating learning (Knowles 1975). This action is made possible it is claimed, as a result of a maturing process within which individual self-concept moves from dependency to interdependency assisted by an expanding bank of experience that becomes useful as a learning resource (Knowles 1984). This model has, however, been created primarily in literature focused on the education of adults, with minimal support from youth work, although Youth Service philosophers (Jeffs 1979, Jeffs and Smith 1999, Banks 1999) have been concerned to make distinctions between formal and non-formal methods. A weakness of this polarised debate between formal and non-formal paradigms of learning is the failure to identify the need to develop a continuum between teacher-directed learning and student-directed learning. The argument would also seem to fail to recognise the problems associated with moving young people, still relatively inexperienced with life, from a disciplined, compulsory education environment into a liberal learning environment within which young people make the transfer from

formal school-based teaching and learning to a process of lifelong learning owned by the individual.

Despite some difficulties arising from concerns over the too focused use of formal styles of learning and the importance of educational attainment as a means of achieving a particular economic and social agenda, the principle of becoming involved in the process of improving education attainment as a means of increasing employment opportunities should not be too difficult a step for those working within the Youth Service to take. Driven by a young-people-first approach, the Youth Service has always been concerned to promote a way of working focused on the needs of young people which is clearly led by employment (WYA 1994b). The challenge for the maintained Youth Service is to provide cogent arguments that result in its predominantly non-formal community-based teaching and learning approach becoming a recognised partner in the education of young people.

Summary

There does not appear to be a simple answer to the concept of need when it is related to young people within the maintained Youth Service context. There is evidence within the literature examined to suggest that it is a concept often reduced to an ideal through a paternalistic approach that passes easily over the ideal of individual ownership linked to establishing the characteristics of a 'life worth living'. It is, however, a concept that can, in the opinion of such non-formal educators as Illich (1971), Jarvis (1983), Brookfield (1987) and Freire (1996), be altered through young people having access to, and involvement in, appropriate education. As a consequence of such access and involvement, young people will be enabled to determine for themselves both the characteristics of a life worth living and the identification of their individual needs to achieve this.

As a consequence, the maintained Youth Service is not generally an organisation providing interventions that meet the 'basic needs' as described by Maslow, the government-identified 'employment needs of young people' or the 'crime reduction needs of government'. Instead, the work being carried out with young people is generally

concerned to make a contribution to them meeting their broad educational needs of the sort promoted by Gardner. This approach requires an evaluation to be made about the effectiveness of an educational process, delivered in non-formal settings, that is planned, purposeful and conscious, leading to the further development of a range of personal and social skills, including those *"practical attributes"* described previously in this paper. By making a contribution to developing these skills, it can legitimately be claimed that the maintained Youth Service is able to meet the employment and security needs of young people and the requirements of government with its economic and social regeneration agenda while maintaining its organisational integrity.

John Rose 2017, taken from PhD research

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