The Journal of the Youth Affairs Network of Queensland Incorporated

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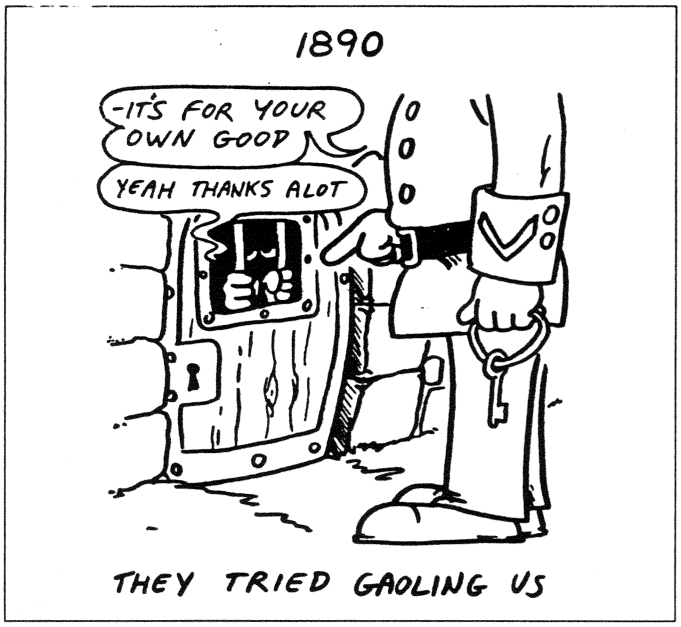

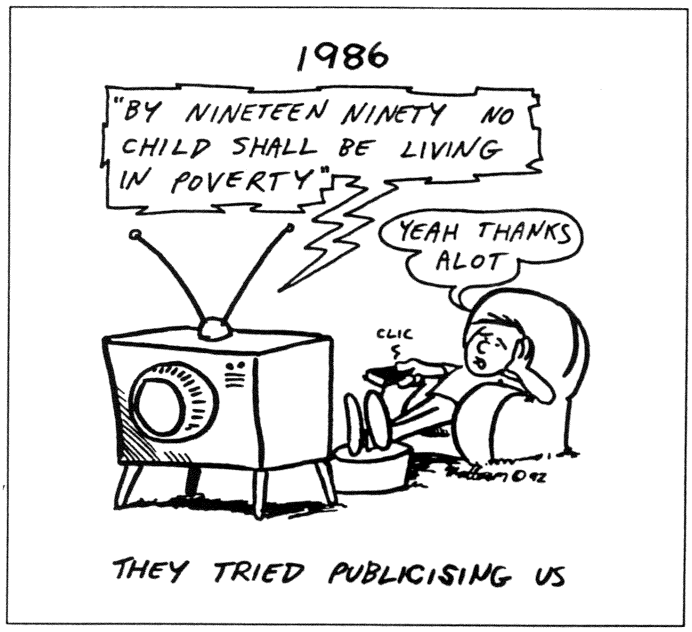

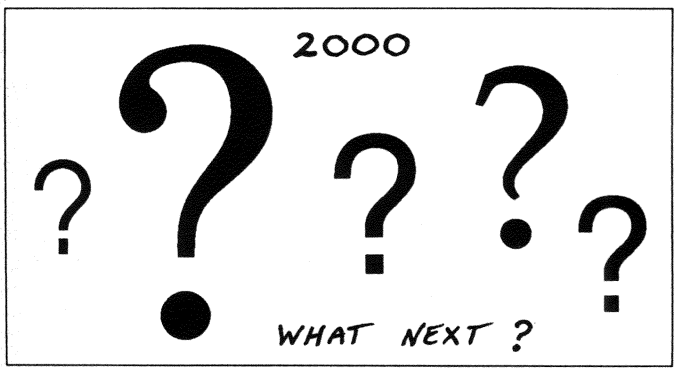

YOUNG PEOPLE AND YOUTH POLICY

Why Youthworkers Need Policy Skills

Queensland Government Youth Policy Project

Prison Aversion Programs for Young People

Homeless Young People: The Education Option

... and a whole lot more!

YOUTH AFFAIRS NETWORK OF QUEENSLAND INC

WHAT IS YANQ?

The Youth Affairs Network of Queensland (YANQ) Inc. is the independent, non-government umbrella organisation of community based groups and individuals from Queensland's youth sector.

Operational since 1989, YANQ was incorporated in January 1991. The Network acts to promote the interests and well-being of young people in Queensland, especially disadvantaged young people. It advocates for them to government and the community and encourages the development of policies and programs responsive to the needs of young people.

YANQ also supports the development of regional networks in the non-government youth sector. It is YANQ's view that the development of stronger networks will lead to better services for young people as information and skills are shared.

YANQ consists of over 200 individual and organisational members throughout Queensland, including youth services, advocacy groups, church groups and community organisations with interests in areas as diverse as juvenile justice, housing, health, rural issues, young people with disabilities, young women's issues and young people from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-English speaking backgrounds. Associate members are drawn from federal, state and local government bodies.

WHAT DOES YANQ DO?

YANQ employs three staff in its Brisbane-based secretariat. It undertakes a variety of activities designed to raise the profile of and encourage action on issues affecting young people. Activities include:

- submissions to government reviews; • making representations to government/other influential bodies; • undertaking campaigns and lobbying; • consulting and liaising with members and the field; • publishing newsletters and journals; • initiating projects; • disseminating information to members and the field; • providing training; and • cooperating with interstate and national youth affairs bodies.

HOW DOES YANQ WORK?

YANQ is managed by a Coordinating Committee elected by the Ordinary (non-government) membership to oversee its day to day operation and supervision of staff.

YANQ holds a Policy Forum at least once a year at which delegates representing the membership give direction for YANQ's policy-making and activities for the next twelve months. Delegates to Policy Forum must be Ordinary members.

YANQ working parties on specific issues may be formed at any time during the year. Any interested member may participate in such working parties.

YANQ's decision making processes are based on a consensus model.

YANQ PUBLICATIONS

NEWSLETTER

Since 1989 the YANQ Newsletter has been published quarterly but from March 1992 *Network Noise* will be the bi-monthly YANQ newsletter. Members are encouraged to contribute to the newsletter which is ideal for communicating news on: • training events; • youth programs; • interagency or youth forum meetings; • publications and resources; • positions vacant; • changes of address. As of 1992 *Network Noise* will be distributed to subscribers and YANQ members only.

JOURNAL

transitions is the YANQ journal published three times per year. It presents in-depth articles on research and topical issues of relevance to youth affairs, both in Queensland and nationally. It is an ideal forum for youth service providers to describe and analyse their work. *transitions* is distributed to subscribers and members only.

WHO CAN JOIN?

Membership of YANQ is open to anyone with a proven interest in youth affairs.

ORDINARY MEMBERSHIP

Is available to individuals and organisations from the ***non-government*** sector and entitles you to: • nominate for the Coordinating Committee & Policy Forum; • full voting rights; • six newsletters and three journals per year; • information on campaigns and reviews; • opportunities to participate in YANQ workshops.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

Is available to individuals, departments and services from local, state or federal ***government*** and entitles you to: • six newsletters and three journals per year; • information on campaigns and reviews; • opportunities to participate in YANQ workshops. Associate members do not have voting rights and cannot nominate for the Coordinating Committee or Policy Forum.

SUBSCRIBERS

Subscribers receive six newsletters and three journals per year.

MEMBERSHIP FEES PER ANNUM

Individual	Income < $16,000	$5.00
	$16,000 - $50,000	$20.00
	Income > $50,000	$30.00
Organisation	No funding	$5.00
	Funding < $100,000	$35.00
	Funding > $100,000	$50.00
Government	Department or Service	$70.00
Subscribers	*transitions* & *Network Noise*	$50.00

Membership fees are due and payable on a calendar year basis (covering the period 1 January - 31 December)

See Inside Back Cover for Membership Form

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This journal is intended as an open forum. Therefore the views expressed in this publication are not necessarily the views of the Network or the members of the Editorial Committee.

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editorial ...

This month the theme of *transitions* is the critical issue of youth policy. Given the attention currently being given to a range of youth issues at national, state and local levels this is timely.

The notion of policy conjures up different meanings for various practitioners. For some it has to do with processes distant from the reality of work with young people. For others it is a focal point for attention and action. Regardless of our particular role in youthwork, policy in the broader sense - whether stated or implicit - is of critical importance in defining how services to young people are constructed. Policy, by its presence or absence, substantially determines the opportunities young people have in our society.

A pervading theme through many of the following articles is the importance of the "context" in which young people and policy exist. Multi-faceted, it has political, economic, historical and social dimensions.

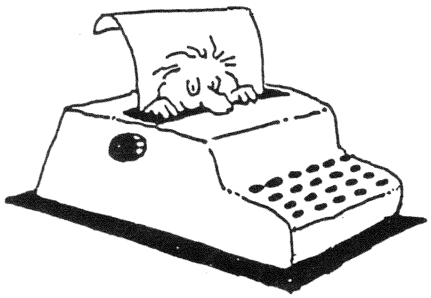
Several articles in this issue examine the history of youth policy in Australia. David Pyvis traces youth policy trends from colonial times to the present. Judith Bessant and Peter Miller closely examine the period since Labor came into federal government in 1983. These articles show that historical analysis is necessary in order to differentiate between the rhetoric of stated government policy and its real logic and effect.

There are many specific areas of policy debate. The debate on the juvenile justice system in Queensland and what it should look like continues. Articles by Professor Paul Wilson, and Richard Hil and Robyn Keast in different ways argue that individualised "law and order" approaches are not useful in preventing crime. Underlying such analyses is the understanding that much policy about young people individualises issues that are social, economic and political in nature. Adam Jamrozik links this trend in youth policy to issues of class and inequality.

Andrew Jones poses a range of questions about the field's role in policy development. There is a clear link between these questions and the reflections of Corrie Macdonald in her article on the Queensland Government's Youth Policy Project. She argues that whilst there is, and will continue to be, tension between an espoused openness in government policy-making and the "rigours of political reality", there are clear lessons to be learnt from the Policy Project's progress to date.

Increasingly it is being recognised that policy for young people intersects traditional boundaries. Robyn Hartley examines the critical relationship between homelessness and continuing education, concluding that it is necessary to develop a more valued place for young people in our society.

Policy also exists at agency level, reflected in agency practice. Morrie O'Connor outlines a "developmental" approach for working with young people.



There are also contributions from two Queensland government departments on policies and services they provide or are developing. These are welcomed and it is hoped that ongoing developments and debates around state government policy can be reflected in further contributions to this journal from both the community and government.

The perspectives offered in this issue of *transitions* should not be read uncritically. What is needed in the development of policy about young people is an increased comfort in exploring policy questions, further development and use of legitimised arenas for debating the directions that policy should take, and clear acknowledgement of the rights of young people to a valued place in our society.

Phil Crane

Why Youthworkers Need Policy Skills

Andrew Jones

Andrew Jones was recently employed by YANQ and the Youth Sector Training Council to develop and conduct workshops for youthworkers throughout Queensland on "Coordination and Policy Making Skills". These workshops covered two broad areas: gaining an understanding of the philosophies and processes involved in policy development; and the acquisition of practical skills to enable participants to become more involved in the policy area. Here Andrew outlines 5 reasons for youthworkers to acquire policy skills.

Youthworkers may need to develop policy skills for many different reasons. Some workers have little training and experience in policy-related matters - for them it is a new field of work. Others are highly experienced players. They have lobbied, organised, pressured, petitioned, consulted, delegated, marched, boycotted, demonstrated, conferenced, fund-raised, caucused and electioneered (and much else besides) over many a long weekend and often late into the night. They have written policy papers, letters to the editor, draft discussion papers, statements of objectives, pamphlets, articles for newsletters, funding applications, responses to program reviews, briefing notes and policy documents of many descriptions. Some of them have become policy-makers themselves; instead of 'being consulted' they now 'consult'.

This diversity needs to be acknowledged. However, we can also ask: why does the youth sector as a whole need to develop its policy skills? Some of the key issues that the sector needs to address are:

1 The perceived gap between 'needs' and 'policies'

Workers in the 'front-line' organisations are often aware of the enormous gaps between, on the one hand, the unmet needs of young people and the seriousness of the issues and problems that they face, and, on the other hand, the apparent shortcomings and inappropriateness of youth policy. As a consequence, many workers in the youth sector seek or wish to become active in processes to influence policy.

2 The increasing demands on workers in the youth field to participate in policy processes

Currently, there is a major emphasis, at least officially, in public policy on 'consultation' and participation in policy processes. This is often welcomed by front-line workers, but poses many difficult issues.

• How 'genuine' are these invitations to participate in policy processes? • How much influence can a group exert through 'official' consultative processes? • Do we have the time and skills to take part in more than a token fashion? • Whose interests do these processes serve? • Can young people themselves be involved in these processes in meaningful ways? • Is it all worth the time and effort?

3 The increasing complexity of the youth policy field

The youth policy field has always been complex - but it is now becoming more diverse, crowded and 'messy'. There is an increasing number of players in both the government and non-government sector. There is much more policy work going on. The number of issues seems endless.

- How can we make sense of all of this?
- How can we participate meaningfully and effectively in this turbulent setting?

4 The frustrating nature of the policy process

It sometimes seems that taking part in policy is a waste of time.

• Does anyone ever listen? • Does anyone ever really have any influence? • Is anyone really in control? • Why can't it all be more straight-forward? • Do I really want to buy into these processes?

5 The perceived need to build a more effective 'youth policy community'

Policy processes are becoming more complex and more sophisticated and groups of people and organisations who wish to be effective in their policy work need to consider how well equipped they are collectively to take part in policy. This raises issues of 'organisation' e.g. who, if anyone, should speak for the youth sector? How will policy work be done? It also raises issues of 'culture' i.e. are there attitudes, values and processes in the sector which facilitate or impede effective participation in policy?

For all of these reasons, 'policy work' poses a major challenge for workers in the youth sector.

Andrew Jones is a Lecturer in Social Work and Social Policy at the University of Queensland and undertakes consultancy and training activities in the human services field.

lessons to from the Queensland

Corrie

The Queensland Government has been working on a Youth Policy since March 1991. In December 1991 community based representatives were appointed to a Youth Policy Reference Group and have been involved in the Government's process since that time.

The Youth Policy Project is currently engaged in community consultations. It is useful at this time to consider the pitfalls and positives of the policy development process so far and to reflect on what lessons might be learned for both the remainder of this project and future policy development processes. Here Corrie Macdonald, observer on the Youth Policy Reference Group, suggests a number of issues for consideration by both Government and the community sector.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

Since a Labor Government came to power in 1989, an organizational and political discourse new to Queensland but recognizable from other States has dominated the policy development agenda. Notions of "accountability" and "consultation" have become highly significant, part of an "open door" model represented as facilitating the effective flow of information between government and the community. Commissions have been put in place to ensure the efficient and accountable operation of the public sector, including the Public Sector Management Commission which has systematically reviewed and Queensland Government departments.

At the same time as espousing ideals, however, all governments must contend with the rigours of political and organizational reality. Maintaining office is vital and decisions regarding processes and programs must satisfy political as well as policy ends.

Furthermore, a government in its first term is always feeling its way to a certain extent, and Ministers must familiarise themselves with their portfolios. In the case of the Queensland Labor Government, its election after 32 years of Conservative Coalition or National Party rule also saw a substantial change of staff within the bureaucracy. When Labor came to power, many public servants departed and there was a significant influx of new staff, many from either the community sector or interstate. In quite a few instances, the positions they fill and the structures within which they work are also new.

Thus the government has brought with it the energy of some new ideals, Ministers and bureaucrats. At the same time, however, it confronts the old and ongoing issue of political survival, as well as the need of a new organization to develop its skills and structures in order to be able to effectively realise its ideals. Any understanding of the Youth Policy Project (or any other current policy project) needs to be situated in this context.

THE POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The development of a Queensland Government youth policy was endorsed by State Cabinet in March 1991. At that time, the Division of Youth, located in the Department of Tourism, Sport and Racing (DTSR) was charged with the responsibility of coordinating an Inter-Departmental Committee (IDC) on Youth Affairs, comprised of representatives from those government departments having programs or policies relating to young people.

The Division of Youth, in conjunction with the IDC, was given the task of developing the Youth Policy. Between March and December officers working in the Division commenced research and attempted to begin some kind of consultative process around the Youth Policy. However, a number of obstacles confronted them at this time.

First, there was a lack of clarity as to the exact nature of the exact outcomes of the Youth Policy. Was it to be a framework document for other departments to use

be learned

Government Youth Policy Project

Macdonald

in devising their own, detailed youth policies? Was it to be a prescriptive document which actually outlined what each department should be doing in relation to young people? Or was it to be something else entirely?

Secondly, the IDC faced operating difficulties not uncommon to such bodies. The role of the DTSR as a coordinating department was not clearly recognised across government and many members of the IDC were not sufficiently senior to be able to actually make decisions which would bind their departments. The operation of the IDC was very low-profile and relatively ineffective. Thus little work took place on the Youth Policy during this early phase.

In late 1991 the Public Sector Management Commission (PSMC) reviewed DTSR, including the Division of Youth. One of the outcomes of this review was the abolition of the IDC (for the reasons noted above) and the reconstitution of the Division of Youth as the Youth Bureau. Staff numbers for the Youth Bureau were significantly less than those allocated to the Division.

Surprisingly, given the downgrading in size and staff of the Youth Bureau, the PSMC also recommended that the Bureau coordinate the completion of a youth policy by March 1992.

In December, two bodies were formally established to undertake the Youth Policy Project. First, there was the Youth Policy Project Team, comprised of those officers previously located in the Division of Youth who were already working on the Youth Policy, plus a number of Youth Bureau field staff and casual staff.

Supporting and advising the Youth Policy Project team was the Youth Policy Reference Group, made up of representatives from government departments and the community. Community representatives were appointed by the Minister for Tourism, Sport and Racing.

From January 1992, the Youth Policy Reference Group met, usually twice a month, to discuss the progress of a draft Youth Policy document. At the same time, written submissions from the general community were being accepted and also fed into the draft. Members of the Reference Group were asked to comment in detail on the many drafts of the the 16-chapter document, which emerged as a Discussion Paper, rather than a Policy as such.

> “ Once the writing of the Youth Policy commences, community input will not be sought ... ”

During March, while the Discussion Paper was still being drafted, Government decided that the project should be extended in order to allow further community consultation on the Youth Policy. The Minister requested that the Reference Group be ongoing and oversee the consultation phase as it had the drafting phase. Members agreed, and DTSR contracted a consultant, Howard Nielsen, to develop a process for the consultation. Mr Nielsen discussed the development of the consultation process with a number of people, including Reference Group members.

In May, a Joint Officers Group (JOG) was formed, made up of representatives of government departments. Many of its members are the same as those on the Reference Group. Government officers have indicated that a group comprised solely of government representatives is necessary to formulate what is, after all, government policy.

At the time of writing it is July, and the Discussion Paper has been finalised and an Executive Summary prepared. The consultation process is underway. At the conclusion of the consultation process, a consultation report will be prepared and will apparently be publicly available. Written submissions are once more being accepted on the contents of the Discussion Paper. The Consultation Report and the results of the written submission will be forwarded to the JOG which will then write the actual Youth Policy (timetabled to emerge in late 1992).

At the most recent meeting of the Reference Group in late June, community representatives were informed that the Group was likely to have one more meeting only, to reflect on the consultation process. Once the writing of the Youth Policy commences, community input will not be sought and the development of the Policy will become the sole responsibility of the JOG.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PROCESS

There are many aspects of the Youth Policy Project on which one could fruitfully reflect. This paper will concentrate on three which have, in my

opinion, proved most problematic so far: collaboration between government officers and community representatives; participation by community representatives in government-convened bodies; and establishment and adherence to timelines. It will not consider the community consultation process currently being undertaken by the Project.

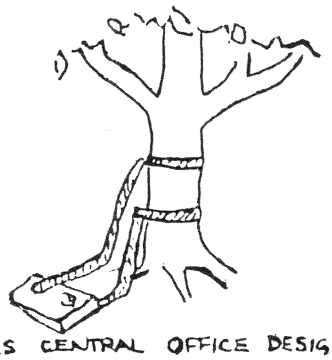
COLLABORATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT OFFICERS AND COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

One of the aims of the the Youth Policy Reference Group was to encourage collaborative work on the Youth Policy Project by representatives of government departments and representatives from the community. This has proved problematic for a number of reasons.

First, while community representatives generally approached the Reference Group willing, able and often keen to speak their minds, departmental representatives were in a different position. Like those appointed to the earlier IDC on Youth Affairs, many bureaucrats were not sufficiently senior to be able to comment freely on matters without reference to other officers from their departments. Thus, for example, if an issue from the draft document was being discussed at a Reference Group meeting, and members were asked to express their opinions, the five community representatives could comment freely, while most departmental representatives sat in silence, constrained by their status.

Second, many departments did not have prior experience in collaborating with other departments. It was not always clear which department had responsibility for an issue under discussion or for various parts of the policy-development process. Departments traditionally used to working largely in isolation and shouldering prime responsibility for particular program areas were sometimes reluctant to accept what they perceived as "outside" intervention. Some of the difficulties which had occurred on the IDC arose once more as the Youth Bureau tried to develop new processes for coordinating a whole-of-government perspective on youth affairs.

Such communication gaps between departments made it even more difficult for community representatives to be part of a cooperative effort.



Third, as in any gathering, members had differing levels of skill in collaborative work and different understandings of what problem solving meant. Combined with the constraints of office experienced by some members, this made it difficult to work through issues and reach conclusions which satisfied all concerned.

Fourth, no particular structures were set up to encourage the exchange of ideas or collaborative development of solutions. While meetings were capably chaired, processes were not facilitated to encourage activities such as brainstorming, collaborative problem solving or true dialogue. Innovative processes are very important when attempting to overcome the perceived boundaries between departments and between "community" and "government".

Lessons to be learned

If collaboration between government and community representatives is to be successful:

- All appointees must hold a position which allows them to express themselves freely and engage in dialogue.

- Relationships between participating departments must be re-framed to encourage collaboration rather than isolation or competition.

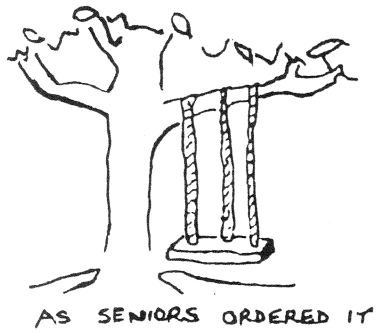
- A process must be developed which takes into account different levels of skill in group problem-solving and allows individuals from different backgrounds to work in a collaborative fashion - for this purpose, a facilitator should be used.

PARTICIPATION BY COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES IN GOVERNMENT CONVENED BODIES

Much has been written concerning the nature of good and bad community consultation but not a great deal has referred to appropriate processes for the involvement of community representatives on government-convened bodies such as Ministerial Advisory Councils and Reference Groups. This paper will consider some of the matters which arise in relation to that issue.

Decision-Making Processes

It was made plain from the outset that the Youth Policy Reference Group was set up to advise and comment on the Youth Policy Project, not to endorse its outcomes. Reference Group members - and particularly community representatives - were not being given either the power or the responsibility to determine the final nature of a government document. The Reference Group and its



individual members could make recommendations but could not make decisions. This was understood by community representatives when they accepted positions on the Group.

Nevertheless, Ministerial appointees did expect that their advisory role on the Reference Group would entitle them to an understanding of how decisions were being made following group meetings. Throughout the operation of the Youth Policy Reference Group, decisions had to be made in relation to a number of matters but particularly concerning what would and would not be included in the Discussion Paper. These decisions were made by government officers, sometimes from the Youth Policy Project Team but on other occasions by representatives of powerful departments or, more recently, by the JOG.

Community representatives and other Reference Group members have never been provided with any guidelines - written or otherwise - concerning the way in which decisions are made in relation to matters under consideration by the group. In the event that group members disagreed on a point (which was not uncommon) there were no guidelines or procedures to suggest how the Youth Policy Project Team would make a decision between points of view. In the absence of a functioning collaborative model, this issue is critical.

It was somewhat discomforting for community representatives not to know the standards by which verbal or written comments they provided would be judged. This was particularly the case when individuals were spending hours compiling commentary on extensive documentation, as some community representatives did.

Not only does this lack of clarity regarding decision-making confuse members about the operation of a group, but it can also lead to a reluctance on the part of participants, particularly those from the community who are not privy to "behind the scenes" information, to contribute to a process. It is easy for community based representatives to begin to wonder if there is any point in expressing a view when it may or may not be taken into account, depending on the (unknown) rules which are operating.

This is not to say that the opinions of the community representatives on the Youth Policy Reference Group were ignored by the Youth Policy Project Team or that the Discussion Paper does not reflect some non-government input. However, a sense of confusion has pervaded much of the community involvement in providing feedback on documents and processes so far.

Lessons to be learned

If community representatives on government auspiced bodies are to fully understand and contribute to policy development processes and not grow disillusioned with their involvement they must:

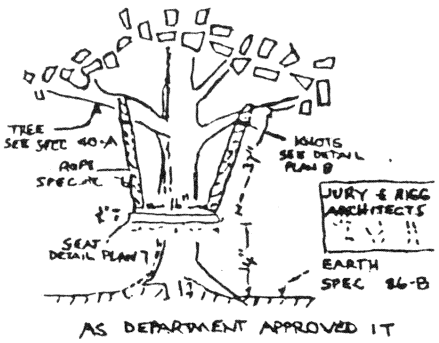
- be provided with or involved in negotiating written guidelines explaining the manner in which decisions are to be made either by those bodies or using the recommend-ations made by those bodies.
- request such guidelines very early in the process!

Community Input at Critical Times in the Policy Development Process

One of the problem areas of the Youth Policy Project has been the uncertainty surrounding the nature of documents to be produced at different stages. When the Youth Policy Reference Group was originally formed, it seemed that it would be part of a process due to conclude in March 1992 which would produce a Youth Policy, whatever that might mean. Community representatives joined the Group under that understanding.

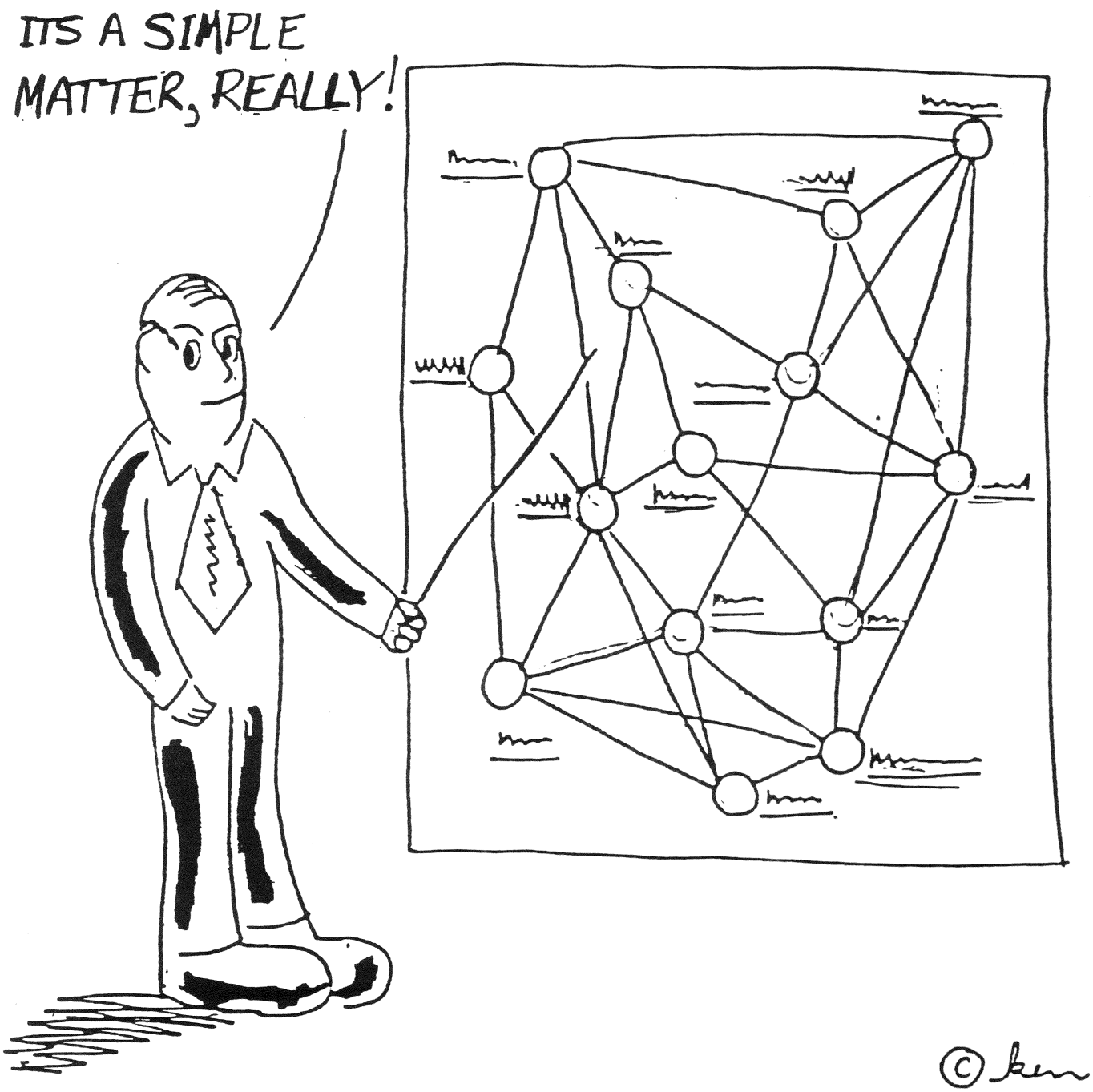
However, in March 1992 it was decided that a community consultation around the Youth Policy was desirable, and that the document on which the Reference Group had been providing comment was in fact a Discussion Paper to stimulate thought around the issues.

The community consultation was described to Community Representatives as a process which would lead to the production of a document and initially the nature of that document was a little confused. It was then clarified that the document produced by the consultation would be a consultation report only. The actual Youth Policy would in fact be compiled using the Discussion Paper and consultation report but with its final content to be



decided by government officers on the JOG. At the time of writing there has been no provision made for community comment on a draft Youth Policy prior to its endorsement by Government.

Community Representatives joined the Youth Policy Reference Group on the understanding that they would be providing advice on the development of a Youth Policy. Many have contributed considerable time and effort commenting on drafts of the Discussion Paper and the proposed consultation process. It is disconcerting, disappointing and inappropriate to be told very late in the process that the draft on which



comment has been made is in fact a Discussion Paper only, and that comment will not be invited on a draft of the actual Policy.

At one point the Discussion Paper included a section suggesting possible directions for government programs in relation to particular issue areas. However, the JOG made a decision to remove this section, which JOG members felt preempted determinations on policy to be made at a later stage. Thus, as it has now been released, the Discussion Paper does not give any real indication of the direction the government's Youth Policy may take; rather it provides background information on the issues. The Youth Policy eventually drafted by the JOG may be quite dissimilar to the contents of either the Discussion Paper or the consultation report, yet community representatives - and other community members - are not to be given the opportunity to raise points of concern prior to its passage through Cabinet.

The broader issue here is that if members of the community are to take seriously their role in policy development processes and to feel that their contributions are valued by government, it is vital that they be allowed to participate in some way at the critical moments in that process.

In the case of the Youth Policy Project, it would be appropriate if the assistance already given by the community to government was recognised by government in turn providing an opportunity for all interested parties to comment on a draft policy. This has been undertaken by a number of Queensland Government departments since the change in government, and would not represent any radical departure from current practices.

Lessons to be Learned

• If government is serious about incorporating the knowledge of the community in policy development processes, community members must be able to participate in critical as well as less critical parts of the policy development process.

ESTABLISHMENT AND ADHERENCE TO TIMELINES

When the Youth Policy Reference Group first formed, March 1992 was the deadline for the conclusion of the project. In March it was decided that the project would run until late 1992. The community consultation phase of the project was announced with a little under two months notice.

A myriad of political and organizational factors affect the progress and timeline of any government policy project. There seems little point in railing against their existence, as this has never yet succeeded in rendering non-political what is always a political process, nor in removing the administrative glitches which dog most organizations, including government bureaucracies.

Nevertheless, there are ways in which both government and the community can deal better with this matter. Government, in making decisions regarding timelines and changes to timelines, would do well to take into account the feelings of community members in any cost-benefit analysis in which they might engage. Also, if it is seeking to gather quality information, this is more likely to be forthcoming when adequate notice is given.

Notifying groups as quickly as possible of any alterations to timelines is essential. Community members may have planned work around specific dates with which they have been provided and changes to dates may seriously disrupt such plans. Alternatively, they may inspire a sigh of relief as workers realise they have a longer than expected period to respond to a government initiative. Either way it is important that information concerning changes to timelines be widely disseminated.

Regionally-based community groups can form and identify themselves to relevant field staff or bureaucrats so that when short timelines occur, identifiable groups are known to those seeking information. In the case of the youth sector, regional networks of the kind YANQ is trying to encourage can become useful contact points for a variety of groups seeking information about young people in diverse areas and circumstances throughout Queensland. The better known a group is, the more likely it is to receive early warning of an impending process of this type. The identification of existing networks can allow detailed feedback on proposals to be accessed quickly.

This does not mean that groups are obliged to participate in any government process. This is an entirely separate issue and one which must be considered on its own merits. If, in weighing up the importance of the project and the suitability of the process that has been proposed, groups decide they would prefer not to participate at all, or unless the process is changed, that is a valid decision. This presupposes, however, that a group at least exists and has some idea of what it subscribes to and how to access the opinions of its members.

Lessons to be Learned

If timelines for government policy development processes are to help and not hinder processes:

• Timelines must reflect the reality of the task at hand.

• Where community consultations are involved, the impact of changed timelines on community members must be considered in any cost-benefit analysis.

• All stakeholders should be promptly informed of changes to timelines

In addition:

• Community members should use existing networks or create new ones to form ongoing regional groups which can be identified to government representatives, thus increasing their ability to respond within short timelines.

CONCLUSION

The process of the Youth Policy Project is one example of a government attempting to introduce ideas and practices which begin to consider community perspectives in the policy development process. At the same time, it is still confronted by political realities and by departments not used to engaging in cooperative ventures and which, in many instances, have undergone rapid change and are still on a steep learning curve.

Political exigencies will never disappear and it is useless for the community sector to hope they will. However, government departments can develop better skills in implementing processes involving community members and also be more cognisant of the needs of community members when making or amending plans, including timelines. It is especially important that community representatives invited to sit on government-convened bodies are able to access or negotiate written guidelines to the operation of such groups, and particularly their decision-making rules. It is also vital that community members making substantial contributions to the research phase of policy development have their contributions recognised by being given the opportunity to comment at the more critical moments in the process. In the case of the Youth Policy Project, comment should be called for on the draft policy prior to its presentation to Cabinet.

The community sector, in turn, must develop structures and skills which allow it to participate more effectively in government policy development processes. Community representatives must become more assertive in requesting guidelines for their participation and for decision-making processes. Unfortunately, it seems that while short timelines and hurried calls for comment will never completely disappear, the community sector can be in a better position to engage in or critique government processes when regional groups are better organised and better known.

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INTERVENTION: WHAT FOR?

A Critical Survey of Government Youth Policies in Australia

David Pyvis

The purpose of this paper is to contest certain assertions made about the history and purpose of youth policy in Australia and to offer an alternative perspective. The views to be challenged could be described as the Commonwealth's 'official line' on its dealings with young people.

Introduction

The repeated suggestion coming from Canberra is that youth policy - genuine youth policy - represents something of a new event in Australian politics. A clear contrast is unashamedly drawn between past and present government attitudes to the young. Indifference has apparently given way to interest and a sense of purpose. The young have been discovered, officially acknowledged as a client population of the Commonwealth. Hereon after their needs will be met. Let the celebrations begin!

As to the 'newness' of Australian youth policy, it would be unreasonable not to recognise that it is good politics for a government to lay claim to being a trend setter. To flavour the rhetoric with hyperbole is also hardly a crime in politics. Yet in the end, the triumphant tone still riles because the assertions are misleading and the self-praise has not been earned. One of the aims of this paper is to show that the history of the relationship between governments and young people in this country is not one of neglect but of careful, prolonged and deliberate intervention. For as long as there have been politicians in this country, the management of young people - especially young (working class) males - has been one of their chief preoccupations.

Why Youth Policy?

Why? Why should governments want to interfere with the young? To help them? This is obviously the explanation governments would like to foster. And yet, despite what is implied, the ruling imperative is not service to youth. Intervention arises from the perception of youth as a resource - as a force to be harnessed and deployed for or against the state. Working with this view governments cannot afford to ignore youth. They have to ensure that the young are governable, amenable to discipline and productive for the state. There is a purpose behind youth policy, a prevailing, enduring logic, reflected still in current policies. Ironically, when governments target the young, they ensure their marginalisation, precisely because the dominant aim is not to give succour but to control, direct and utilise.

Colonial Youth Policy

When did governments first take an interest in Australian youth? Consider the following command. It was delivered in 1805 from the British Government to Governor Bligh of New South Wales:

... you will feel the particular necessity that the Government should interfere on behalf of the rising generation, and by the assertion of authority as well as encouragement, endeavour to educate them in religious as well as industrious habits (quoted in Burns and Goodnow, 1979).

The 'rising generation' was white, native-born youth - the freeborn sons and daughters of the convicts. With the emergence of this very first generation of young Australians the "particular necessity" for intervention with the young was recognised. It was driven by the fear that the young might grow up to be like their parents, might become a burden on the state. Train the young in habits of virtue and industry, make them obedient and useful - this was the command.

The request for 'interference' led to the establishment of Schools of Industry for the 'rising generation'. Parents were not allowed to enter the Schools or speak to

their offspring except on special days. Even when parents were admitted, communication between family members could take place only with an official present to monitor the conversation. In 1834, MS authorities even legislated to prevent 'graduates' of the Schools from returning home. The Governor was empowered to bind young people as apprentices (Gandevia, 1978). In this fashion the state was able to reap the benefits of this first training scheme for Australian youth.

Another group of young people attracted government interest in the early days of colonisation. More than two thousand "juveniles" (Gandevia, 1978) - young convicts mostly male and mostly aged between 14 and 20 years - were sent in separate cargoes to Australia in the 1830s and 1840s. Special training centres were

> "In 1882, flogging was reintroduced specifically and exclusively for young males aged between 10 and 20 years."

established so that the "juveniles" might become learned in industry and even perhaps in virtue. Sydney's Carter's Barracks and Tasmania's Point Puer (Latin for 'boy') were two sites used. In the 1840s "juveniles" were illegally introduced into the 'free' Swan River Colony. The authorities were short of labour and in consultation with the British Government hit on the idea of extracting young prisoners from British gaols and importing them as "government immigrants" and "apprentices". (Leg irons were removed before departure from British shores.) Despite the euphemisms employed by the rulers of the Colony, British records describe these shipments as convict deliveries (Bateson, 1957). Curiously, the first white person hanged in Western Australia (in 1844) was a fifteen year old 'apprentice', John Gavin, who had been taken from Parkhurst Gaol on the Isle of Wight (Thomas and Stewart, 1978). Colonial administrators might have done the 'juveniles' a kindness in taking them from British gaols to train and employ them. But they were given special attention because the authorities thought they could be trained and even reformed, a view not held of adult convicts.

"Problem" Youth

In the first half of the 19th Century, the harnessing of the youth resource - the 'rising generation' especially - proceeded largely to the satisfaction of the authorities. This complacency shattered in the second half of the century. In the 1850s, the exodus of adults to the gold fields made virtual orphans out of many young people, who were obliged to take to the streets, scrounging, begging and sometimes stealing to survive. The courts jammed with young offenders, mainly in the 14 - 16 year age bracket (Pyvis, 1991). Governments in NSW and Victoria began to speak of street 'infestations', with working-class youth described as an "encumbrance and a curse to society" (Parkes, 1892). It was decided that what vagrant youth 'needed' was incarceration, discipline and skills training. In the 1860s, legislation was enacted to clear the streets and to ensure that the 'idle' young were "turned to productive account" (NSW Royal Commission, 1873-74).

Industrial Schools for Girls

Under Industrial Schools Acts thousands of 'vagrant' young people were incarcerated for periods of up to five years. The average length of detention was two years, four months (Williamson, 1983). Life in the schools was not pleasant, not the direct fault of governments perhaps, but still the effect of their policies. The first girls' school established under NSW industrial schooling legislation had to be shut down because the riotous behaviour of the inmates was giving the press good copy and embarrassing the Government. This school (at Newcastle) witnessed six general outbreaks of rioting in three years. Before the decision was made to close the School the Government was obliged to station a sergeant and six constables there (Mainland Mercury, April 1871). A new school, Biloela, on Cockatoo Island, was created out of the Colony's former major prison. Here is a description of Biloela:

THEY TRIED ENLISTING US

Constructed for prison purposes, the buildings still retain all the characteristics of a prison. The dormitories are essentially gaol-like and cheerless. Stone floors hewn from the solid rock, all worn away by the tread of the countless criminals who for years occupied this island - grated iron doors, with massive locks and heavy bolts; instead of windows, grated apertures high in the blank walls (The NSW Royal Commission, 1873-74).

One of the architects of industrial schooling legislation, Henry Parkes (1892) remarked that it was "a fact, however painful, that young girls who fall within the circumstances of neglect and destitution contemplated by the law, are much more difficult to rescue than boys of similar ages." In hindsight it might be said that this had much to do with the treatment of the girls in the schools. An investigation of a 'state of insurrection' at Biloela reported the following details:

Black eyes, the result of blows inflicted by the Superintendent and his wife, appear to have been exhibited by several of the girls, and caning by the Superintendent leaving black marks for days on tall grown girls with the physique of women, are spoken of as matters of common occurrence. One witness describes a girl with blood streaming out of her nose, and handfuls of hair torn out in a violent struggle that took place on her resisting a caning by the Superintendent; others speak of the use of gags and the putting on of strait-waist coats by the police ... All these girls, who were from 14 - 18 years ... complained of having been beaten, dragged by the hair, caught by the throat, and of having their heads struck and rubbed against a wall .

(NSW Royal Commission, 1873-74).

Nautical Schools for Boys

Boys received slightly different treatment. The NSW and Victorian governments both agreed that the 'cure' for troublesome boys was (not to incarcerate them in former prisons but) to send them to sea. Parkes was behind this idea. In 1856 he told the Sydney Chamber of Commerce that the establishment of a 'nautical school' would divert "a stream of life, that undirected might become dangerous to society, into a channel of great usefulness" (McDonald, 1966). So vagabond boys were marooned on rotting hulks moored in the town harbours. Life on board the hulks, called 'nautical schools', was also difficult. For example, the rules for the Victorian hulk *Deborah* mention "warders" patrolling the derelict after the boys were "locked up for the night" (papers presented to the Victorian Parliament, 1864-65). The rules further advise that solitary confinement was "not to exceed three days" and bread and water diets were to last only forty-eight hours. Relatives could visit only once a month on written application from the boys, and then conversation was only allowed in the presence of an officer.

From the mid-1860s to the mid 1890s, thousands of young males - classified under the Acts as 'neglected' - were sent to the hulks for sea discipline and to acquire habits of virtue and industry. To convey some idea of the effect of this government legislation, one hulk, the *Vernon*, moored in Sydney Harbour, was sent more than 2000 boys. In 1892, Parkes (1892) triumphantly declared that

the *Vernon* was "now admitted to be one of the most useful institutions in the colony". That this judgement could be made after the suffering inflicted on this and other hulks is a fairly clear indication of government priorities in dealing with (working class) youth.

The prime motivation behind the establishment of the nautical and industrial schools was not the desire to help the young. Nor was industrial schooling simply about inculcating habits of virtue and industry. Governments insisted that the young be put to use during their incarceration. In particular, girls were exploited as a cheap form of labour. As an example, an 1894 NSW Government Report mentions that 165 inmates of the Paramatta Industrial School - working from dawn to dusk - saved the Colony more than 883 pounds in one year by washing, boiling, blueing, wringing, drying, starching, mangling and ironing 171,132 articles of linen! The girls, of course, received no payment for their labours. They were receiving an education in how to be useful.

Floggings for Rebellious Youth

By the 1880s, the Government's industrial schooling legislation was in danger of exacerbating the problems it was supposed to solve. Williamson (1982) comments that far from making inmates penitent and pliable, the industrial schools turned many girls "irrevocably towards a life of rebellion".

The press also began to take an interest in 'wicked' youth and spoke of the "blight" (the *Bulletin* 8/1/1881) and the "plague-spot" (*Sydney Quarterly Magazine*, 1884) that struck 'Young Australia'. In 1881, the Bulletin referred to the "youth of the nationhood" as "fully fed, not hardly worked, precocious, lustful" and frequently "brutalised by a shocking familiarity with revolting indecency". Politicians complained about young people making the nights "hideous with their misconduct" (NSW Votes and Proceedings, 1881). The NSW Parliament was told that "many young people were incorrigibly bad, lamentable as it was to say so" (Sir Laired Stephens CPD, 1882) and that "many of the present evils arising from the bad characters of young men were due to the humanitarian dread of whipping" (Campbell CPD, 1882).

The result was more legislation targeting the young. The NSW Government ordered the arming of its police force to deal with the 'larrikin' menace. In 1882, flogging was reintroduced specifically and exclusively for young males aged

> "The obligation of the young to the state was a key argument used to promote the policy of compulsory military training. The need to discipline the young was also belaboured."

between 10 and 20 years. Under NSW law a male in the offending age bracket could be sentenced by two magistrates to 18 lashes for picking a flower or writing a naughty word on a wall, or uttering a blasphemy or an obscenity in public. Victorian politicians pondered following the lead and re-introduced whipping for young offenders. Their considerations alarmed Victorian youth who rallied in opposition. For example, at Ballarat, five hundred people aged between twelve and eighteen protested the proposed 'flogging' bill.

Their motion was "against the tyrannical measure proposed in the Upper House, and that the said measure is degrading to the youth of the colony" (Murray, 1973). Manning Clark (1978) even suggests that at Ned Kelly's trial, Justice Redmond Barry, spoke of "foolish, inconsiderate, ill-conducted, unprincipled youths ... who ... if civilization was to survive... must be shown that felons were as degraded as the wild beasts of the field". Meanwhile, South Australia introduced industrial schools, for example, at Magill. And on Rottnest island, the WA Government built a reformatory to detain young offenders "long enough to learn a trade, and to be instructed at school, to eradicate, if possible, their youthful vices." (WA Votes and Proceedings, 1882).

Confronted by high levels of youth unemployment and homelessness, the Federal Government has in recent times decreed the solution is education and training. So-called 'street-kids' have been reinstated in schools and training centres in order to acquire skills and habits to fit them for society and the workplace. This is touted as a unique policy development but NSW and Victorian legislators chose a similar route more than one hundred and twenty years ago. Perhaps we should hope the results this time will be better.

Youth Policy for a New Federalism

What of policies on the young since Federation? When did the Commonwealth first seriously and systematically target youth? In 1983 with the arrival of the Hawke Government? Sherington and Irving (1989) claim the interest was present from Federation. They say that "the major role for the new Commonwealth Government in youth policies was in the area of defence legislation". They are correct.

Compulsory Military Training

In 1901, the new Commonwealth decided that it wanted a white Australia. Supposing the new, white state besieged by its enemies, the national parliament contemplated introducing compulsory weapons training and military drill for adult male civilians. The idea was rejected, or at least put in abeyance, because of the hostile reaction feared from the electorate. (The Boer War had just been fought.) So politicians finally settled on the alternative of compulsory physical drill for boys of 12 and 13 years and compulsory military training for those 14 to 18 years. As one politician put it "if we cannot impose compulsory training on men between the ages of 18 and 22 or 23 years of age, we must fall back on the compulsory training of our youths" (Senator Dobson CPD, 1904). Billy Hughes spoke more optimistically of the proposal. He suggested that a youth training scheme would be effective because the young "will be more manageable, and so the system can be gradually and almost imperceptibly fitted on to the people" (quoted in Jauncey, 1935).

The claim that young males were "more manageable" was a volte-face on the political wisdom of the 'larrikin' era. But of course, from Hughes' viewpoint, there was some truth to the argument because the young had few avenues of protest. They could not vote out politicians who obliged them to submit to compulsory military training. In addition, the industrial schooling legislation of the 1860s gave State governments the right to compel young people to be 'educated' and 'trained'. In the 1870s, legislation for elementary schooling consolidated their position. In the national parliament, proponents of the military scheme seized on the idea of treating it as a supplement to the school curicula:

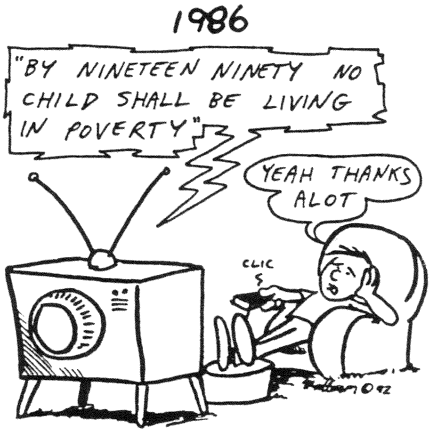
The principle underlying the system which I advocate is that we have a right to call on the youths of the Commonwealth to train themselves in the art of defence just as we have the right to compel them to go to school and learn to read and write... (Senator Dobson CPD, 1904).

The obligation of the young to the state was a key argument used to promote the policy of compulsory military training. The need to discipline the young was also belaboured.

Almost everybody in the Australian Parliament supported compulsory military training for male youth. Before

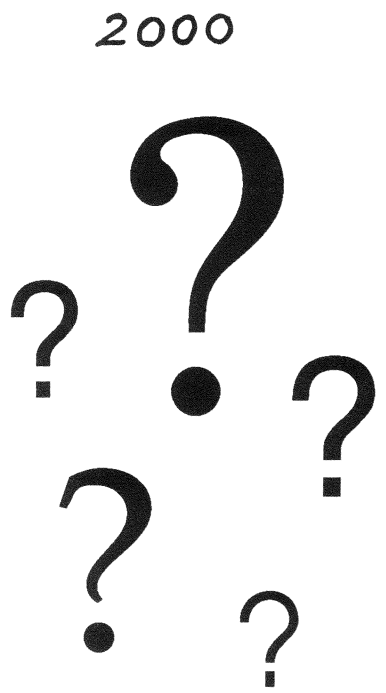
> "... the young had few avenues of protest. They could not vote out politicians who obliged them to submit to compulsory military training."

and after inception, support for the scheme transcended party affiliations. The policy was officially endorsed under a Free Trader/Protectionist coalition, and, in 1911, was first administered by a Labor Government!



THEY TRIED PUBLICISING US

In 1911, more than 150,000 young males, aged between 14 and 18 years, registered for compulsory military training. (Younger boys were to enlist through the schools.) Between 1911 and 1929, when the scheme was finally discontinued for lack of funds, hundreds of thousands of youths were given a compulsory 'military education'. Many did not want it. In 1919 the Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia (No. 12) observed that "a slight amount of opposition to the (military training) scheme has been manifested" and blamed "shirkers". By 1919 this "slight amount of opposition" had led to 56,000 prosecutions (Barrett, 1979). In just the first three years of operation (1911-14) 27,749 youths were prosecuted for refusing to train. Most were fined but 5732 - all under the age of 18 - were actually imprisoned (Inglis, 1968). Jauncey (1935) points out that since the entire number of compulsory trainees from Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania was only 22,575, the volume of pre-War prosecutions actually exceeded the number of cadets to be supplied by these three States! Boys were frequently made to serve their sentences in remote coastal fortresses. They were put in the care of the military - beyond jurisdiction of civil courts. Solitary confinement and bread and water diets were used to 'persuade' the more recalcitrant to perform their military duties. When parents of incarcerated boys objected to this treatment the Minister of Defence, Senator Millen, merely remarked to Parliament that "we have a law which place a universal obligation on the young people of this country" (CPD, 1914).



Youth Policy in the Depression

Compulsory military training was suspended in 1929. The Depression began in that year and youth joblessness increased dramatically. The Commonwealth gave little attention to the plight of the young unemployed, concentrating instead on the family 'breadwinners'.

It is worth noting that in 1924 the Commonwealth Arbitration Court had ruled against a basic minimum wage for school leavers, arguing that the setting of a basic wage would encourage "inflated ideas of self importance" and "habits of extravagance" in the young (Pitman, quoted in Short, 1986). During the years 1929-33 the young were discouraged from "scabbing on their fathers" by laws restricting their employment. For many businesses ratios of juniors to seniors were set. (Usually industries were limited to employing one male or female junior for every three adults.) School leavers were not included on the unemployment statistics. The Commonwealth failed to 'notice' youth unemployment until 1934 - an election year. Then the speeches began, but there was precious little sympathy for the young unemployed. Instead intervention was considered necessary, in Prime Minister Lyons words, to prevent the creation of "a nation of revolutionaries".

Keeping the Young "Fit"

The problem lingered and politicians worried that the youth resource was being wasted. Parliament cast envious glances overseas, at the Hitler youth. it seemed the Nazis had found a really effective way of utilising their idle (and potentially dangerous) young. In 1938, the Commonwealth announced that it was concerned about the 'fitness' of Australian youth. Money was provided to the States that they might make the young 'fit'. Prime Minister Menzies spoke of the need to develop in youth "a sense of community and racial responsibility".

He demanded "positive, remedial and corrective training" of youth (CPD, 1939). The fitness movement swept Australia, targeting young people (mainly boys) in the age bracket of 14-21 years. Huge youth rallies were organized and the young were required to make the following pledge:

For the future welfare of our State, our commonwealth, and our Empire, we pledge ourselves to remain mentally, morally and physically fit (quoted in Gray, 1982).

Policies on Youth Unemployment

Creating an Australian version of the Hitler Jurgend was not the only move the Commonwealth made on youth unemployment. In June 1939, the following list of options for dealing with youth unemployment was tabled in the national parliament (see below). The list has been included because of the light it sheds on the claim of the Hawke Government to be producing 'innovative' solutions to youth unemployment:

Government Strategies to Tackle Youth Unemployment - 1939

- The raising of the school leaving age and the raising of the age for admission into employment.
- Compulsory attendance at education centres of unemployed young persons.
- Part time attendance of employed young persons at educational centres until the age of 18 years.
- Vocational training ... with provisions for supplementary education.
- The provision of recreational and social services.
- The establishment of placement bureaux and labour exchanges.
- The development of a long-range policy on public works.
- The curtailment of women's services in industry and the question of equal pay for the sexes.
- The rationing of employment (that is, part time).
- The reduction of the hours of labour.
- The shortening of the working life by compelling the retirement at, say, 60 years of age.
- The development of systems of vocational guidance, pre-vocational training, vocational training, as part of the general educational methods.

Before any of these initiatives could be adopted, the arrival of World War 11 'solved' the youth unemployment crisis. After the War, the Commonwealth continued to sponsor the fitness movement. In 1950, when it introduced national service for males of 18 years of age, the Commonwealth justified its policy by arguing the need to improve the 'fitness' of Australian youth (Harold Holt CPD, 1950). It also trotted out the hoary old argument that military service was just education under a different name.

Conclusions

Like the compulsory military training scheme of 1911-29, the 'fitness' campaign prior to World War 11, and conscription in the 1960s, national service was intended to control and make use of young males. The Commonwealth was behind these policies and those hundreds of thousand affected by them must surely be amused at the current assertion that the young have only recently come under notice.

Although the 60s and 70s are fertile periods for Commonwealth youth policies (conscription, the railing against youth culture, the attack on young 'dole bludgers', the Fraser Government's training schemes, the establishment of a Commonwealth Office of Youth Affairs) I do not propose to discuss these times. I would hope that it is quite evident that the desire to govern the young is not a recent development in this country's history.

Industrial schooling, anti-larrikin laws, compulsory training schemes, restriction on youth employment, 'fitness' schemes that sought to ready the young for war service - these were policies *targeting* youth (especially but not exclusively working class males) but they were not *for* youth. They made use of the young, curbed their threat, made them productive. What of the Federal Government's youth policies? Do they fit this pattern, too?

In 1985, Prime Minister Hawke announced that he was taking direct responsibility for youth policy. How did he view youth and what logic would direct his actions? Young people, he said, were "a most important national resource" (1985). A resource and not a client population. A resource to be developed, to be trained perhaps in habits of virtue and industry.

Since 1985 we have been told that the young must be kept in schools longer 'in the national interest'. The whole thrust of youth policy is towards training the young and keeping them off the streets (and off the unemployment statistics). Is this innovative? And can the young really be positioned as the beneficiaries of intervention when they are treated as a resource of the state? And whose state is it, where the necessity is to control the young, to utilise them and to keep them in check?

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Youth Policy and the Federal Hawke Labor Government

Value Shifts, Selectivity and Economic Rationalism

Peter Miller

With Prime Minister Paul Keating's Youth Summit set to take place in July amid an air of crisis, now seems a prudent time to reflect on economic and social policy developments leading to this point.

Here Peter Miller analyses Federal Government youth policy under former Prime Minister Hawke and highlights the fundamental contradiction between strategies for social justice and policies based on the principles of economic rationalism.

While just over six months have passed since Paul Keating took up the position of Prime Minister on 29 December 1991, little seems to have altered in this regard with the change of leadership.

Introduction

Contemporary Australian social policy generally, and youth policy specifically can be assessed against the backdrop of an Australian tradition of incrementalism and selectivity. Incrementalism refers to a combination of small repetitive changes to existing policy and/or an occasional shift in policy direction. Selectivity refers to a residual conception of welfare services and relies heavily on the provision of cash benefits.

This paper asserts that patterns of incrementalism and selectivity significantly affected youth policy during the Hawke administration. This argument is derived from an analysis of the conceptional boundaries and central issues of youth policy and an overview of youth initiatives expressed in Labor budget statements.

Patterns in Federal Government Welfare Expenditure

Despite trends towards bipartisan convergence of Labor and the Liberal coalition, at the micro level of program initiatives, Labor has demonstrated its commitment to selective youth needs. However, the critical issue of labour market reform as it affects youth policy remains unresolved in terms of either structural change or initiatives to address youth 'thinking' on the employment issue. In an environment of marked economic constraint, the Hawke government sought a balance between economic growth and maintenance of a budget surplus for foreign debt repayment. Welfare and social security expenditure under Hawke accounted for between 25 and 30 per cent of annual Commonwealth budgets. However, in broader terms, Government expenditure was reduced from 30% to 23.5% of GDP between the 1983/84 Budget and the 1990/91 Budget. Between 1983 and 1987, sustained economic and employment growth complemented the Government priorities of fiscal constraint and a reduction in social welfare expenditure.

Due to the diverse nature of social policy, and the associated difficulties in determining specific social policy expenditure by the Commonwealth Government, a number of key functional outlays have been aggregated in an attempt to provide general trends in Australian social policy expenditure. For example, between 1973/74 and 1982/83, the mean Commonwealth Government budget outlays for combined functional areas of Education; Health; Social Security and Welfare; and Housing and Community Amenities was 45.2% of total budget outlays. Following the advent of the Hawke Federal Government, the mean combined

Commonwealth budget outlays for the same functions between 1983/84 and 1990/91 amounted to 49.1% of total budget outlays. At this general level, it appears that social policy outlays increased marginally from a low of 45.8% in 1983/84 to a high of 55.1% in 1990/91.

More specifically, annual percentage changes in Commonwealth budget outlays for the functions outlined above suggest a striking degree of continuity in functional outlays despite changes in government. For instance, between 1973 and 1990, the mean budget outlay for Education was 7.9% of total outlays with a mode of 7.0%.

Table 1 - Commonwealth Budget Outlays by Function - Mean Proportion of Total Budget Outlays (%)

	Whitlam	Fraser	Hawke	Aggregate
FUNCTION	1973-75	1975-83	1983-90	1973-90
Education	8.3	8.4	7.3	7.9
Health	9.5	9.2	11.0	10.1
S.S & W.	21.4	27.7	29.1	30.5
Housing	3.1	1.4	1.8	1.9

Source: Data calcultated from C'wealth Government Budget Statements 1983/94-1990/91.

The Rise of Economic Rationalism

The conservative nature of policy making and incremental social policy outlays provided an environment which was ripe for the subsequent shift to economic rationalism. Although economic growth slowed from 1987 and the nation experienced recessionary trends, the Hawke Government remained committed to principles of economic rationalism.

Grounded upon neo-classical economic theory, economic rationalism asserts that economic growth is most effectively and efficiently achieved through market forces, and not via the market distortions of government intervention. In political terms, these economic principles suggest a causal relationship between rising rates of social welfare expenditure and declining rates of economic growth and private sector investment. This particular argument forms the basis of a critique levelled at the Welfare State by neo-conservatives which led to the politicisation of economic rationalism by the emerging New Right.

Social Justice Versus Economic Growth

However, this politicisation was born during a time of significant and interrelated shifts in political ideology, economic thinking and value orientations. This amalgam of changes and the Hawke response supports Dye's comments (1978) that most policies are " a combination of rational planning, incrementalism, interest group activity, elite preferences, systemic forces competition, and institutional influences".

In effect, Australian youth policy has simultaneously attempted to reinforce the positive attributes of federalism, which include political pluralism, semi-market responsiveness and diversity, while responding to the neo-conservative call for an efficiency oriented small government and incremental policy making. At a global level, the Hawke Government's response to economic pressures stressed the need for private industry finance, privatisation and user-pays principles to alleviate what O'Connor (1990) has termed "the fiscal crisis of the state". He argues that many advanced capitalist states face a fiscal crisis due to contradictory functions of accumulation (private profitability) and legitimation (conditions for social harmony). Youth policy resides in the latter sphere of publicly financed goods. O'Connor suggests that contradictory processes of accumulation and legitimation create tendencies towards social, economic and political crises. He contends that in order to circumvent such crises, governments will attempt to increase the productivity of public and private sectors.

This issue is addressed by Johnson (1989) who argues that Labor policy will continue to generate inherent contradictions while the party attempts to resolve problems associated with operationalising social justice initiatives in a capitalist liberal democracy such as Australia. In assessing the Labor Governments of Curtin, Chifley and Whitlam, she concludes that all three governments underestimated the demands on the state to support private accumulation. Under Hawke, state support for private accumulation and social justice was channelled through the Accord framework. In attempting to support these dual objectives, tradeoffs occurred between private and public outcomes, which in turn created policy contradictions, in particular, the conflict between social justice and economic growth.

Similarly, Offe (1975) argues that in response to economic contraction, public sectors will come under increasing scrutiny, and this may result in a shift in the mode of control, from bureaucratic (intervention based legal rationality) to purposive action (intervention based on economic rationality). A review of shifting economic principles and their impact on Australian youth policy development suggests that much of the criticism levelled at the Hawke Government ignores pre-existing incrementalism. Youth policy under Hawke reflected the established incremental tradition, but also projected contradictory value shifts, selectivity and economic rationalism.

> " ... the general trend by government has been to support the whole (... the family as an institution) rather than parts of the whole (... young people). "

Conceptual Issues Affecting the Policy Response

In many ways, conceptual issues based on largely unfounded assumptions have dictated policy responses to youth issues in Australia. The diversity of unmet youth needs in Australia remains high on the contemporary social issue agenda, and is of central concern to social policy communities. Subsequent discussion of youth issues and policy will centre firstly, on the conceptualisation of the term 'youth' and secondly, on the development of direct links with policy sectors such as education, employment, training, and social security and indirect links with more generic 'family' policies. The third and final dimension to be considered is the nature of youth inequality and the unwillingness of successive federal governments to address youth labour market imperfections. Therefore, to effectively analyse Australian youth policy, direct as well as less direct policy determinants must be considered.

What does "Youth" mean?

Firstly, in operationalising the term 'youth', policy communities in both public and private sectors delineate boundaries which are either specific and selective or broad and universal. At a national level, the Commonwealth Office of Youth Affairs' (OYA) [*Editor's note: now the Youth Bureau*] definition of 15 - 24 years contrasts with the 12 - 25 years range stipulated by the Youth Affairs Council of Australia (YACA) [*Editors note: now the Australian Youth Policy and Action Coalition*].

Regardless of the contrasts in age spans, the lower end of both operational definitions usually relates to secondary school entry age, while the upper end of the range is invariably tied to eligibility requirements of post-secondary training programs or tertiary education allowances. At Commonwealth and State tiers, internal bureaucratic inconsistencies in age differentials affect the policy or program implementation stage where contradictory objectives and eligibility criteria lead to confused policy outcomes. For example, the objectives of increased participation in education and training fall short when inequalities in the labour market are not addressed. Despite these short falls the Hawke government has both integrated and rationalised youth provisions.

Policy Development across Bureaucratic Boundaries

Critical links with policy sectors of employment and training, education, health, social security and family create a complex environment and hence, the complexity of integrated youth policy development should not be underplayed. The development of a more integrated youth policy during the 1980's reflected the impact of increased rates of youth unemployment during the previous decade. The prolonged nature of youth unemployment effectively disrupted the traditional process of transition from school to work. Youth unemployment also compounded the tendency of labour markets to discriminate against those with limited skills, experience, education and training.

By the early 1980's, in varying degrees, the Fraser Liberal government, the Labor opposition, the ACTU (Australian Council of Trade Unions) and the AEC (Australian Education Council) were all endorsing, in principle, a 'comprehensive' national youth policy. The advent of the Hawke Labor government in 1983 brought with it a commitment to implement an integrated range of youth options crossing the education, training and employment sectors. Breakdowns of Hawke federal budget statements provide a means of highlighting programs in various domains of youth policy which project the selective, cross-sector and utilitarian approach to youth policy-making which ensued.

Expenditure on Youth under Hawke 1983 -84

Between 1983/84, a number of government reports were undertaken by the Office of Youth Affairs to examine the nature of youth problems in Australia. Firstly, a background paper reviewing existing policies, programs and issues was undertaken in preparation for the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) review of Australia's youth policies. In 1984, a discussion paper investigated strategies that would lead to a more effective integration of income support packages such as the Secondary Allowance Scheme (SAS), Tertiary Education Assistant Scheme (TEAS), and unemployment benefits for your people. As with the Fraser government, Hawke emphasised the link between education and training through the implementation of the Participation and Equity Program (PEP) and job creation through the Community Employment Program (CEP). In the 1982/83 budget, employment and training expenditure rose by 80%, while education attracted a marginal increase of 11% over 1982/83 outlays. Included were specific initiatives to increase youth participation in post-compulsory education, a move which simultaneously reduced youth unemployment. However, despite the total increase to unemployment beneficiaries ranging between 11-20%, single people under 18 years received a minimal increase.

1984 - 85

The 1984/85 Budget witnessed a decrease in income security funding of $430 million which resulted in marginal and selective increases. Although some groups benefited, such as lone parents who rented accommodation, young people continued to be disadvantaged. In particular, the conditional nature of an already inadequate under 18 unemployment benefit meant that benefits would not rise until a period of six months continuous unemployment. Other direct youth provisions included increases in CEP, and a very marginal increase in family allowances and accommodation assistance. Despite a 44% increase in CEP, job creation funds increased by only 7% over 1983/84. More specifically, job creation funding was dispersed according to industry type rather than groups most in need, such as youth. In addition, the Supported Accommodation Assistant Program

(SAAP) increased from $12.7 million to $29.2 million with one of the three sub-programs being the Youth Supported Accommodation Program (YSAAP).

1985 - 86

The 1985 Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Labour Market Programs, chaired by Peter Kirby, recommended that a commitment to full employment could only be achieved through macro-economic reform and labour market programs designed to assist disadvantaged groups through access to education, training and employment programs.

It is worth noting that the Kirby recommendations and the OECD Review of Youth Policies in Australia emphasised high rates of unemploy-ment, low levels of educational and skill attainment and unequal access to education and training opportunities as the principle problems confronting Australian youth.

In effect, both reports recommended a more integrated package of education programs, traineeships, apprenticeships and community based programs. However, it was also emphasised that such programs would remain limited unless a higher priority be given to young people in the allocation of existing jobs as well as the creation of new jobs.

The 1985/86 Budget reaffirmed the Labor commitment to economic growth with a heavy reliance on the private sector to maintain growth. The outcome of such economic growth was reflected in improved employment levels. While the move towards a rationalised system of youth allowances in education, training and employment permitted a more effective co-ordination of services, the freezing of under 18 unemployment benefits until late 1987 and the absence of indexation could not be justified within the more general context of provision rationalisation. Such a strategy was a direct cost-saving, but it further eroded this grossly inadequate youth benefit. While total social security and welfare payments increased by 6.9% in the 1985/86 Budget, inflation was running at 8%.

Despite a fall in employment and training programs by 15.6% in real terms, a number of Kirby Report recommend-ations found their way into 1985/86 outlays via a $30 million injection of funds. As well as general extensions to traineeship schemes, employers received subsidies of $2000 for employing young people disadvantaged in the labour market. More specifically, $4.3 million was allocated for a community based training program that incorporated the existing Volunteer Program (VP), Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS) and the Work Preparation Program (WPP).

1986 - 87

The 1986/87 Budget was based upon an inherently conservative assumption, that public sector growth was undermining private sector investment. A reduction in labour market programs was achieved by halving CEP expenditure. Cutbacks in CEP continued to be justified while unemployment continued to fall. Despite these cuts, the CYSS again realised an increase. In general terms, however, young people continued to be disadvantaged. The creation of job opportunities and access to higher education decreased for Australian young people. Employment and training gains through youth traineeship schemes were offset by a massive decrease in CEP.

Changes to youth unemployment benefits through the Priority One program highlighted greater selectivity by introducing a lower intermediate rate for 18 to 20 year olds. In effect, three

rates were made available according to age. The 1986 Young Homeless Allowance (YHA) was available to unemployed, under 18 youth with accommodation problems.

Such tight eligibility criteria meant that selectivity was assured. In the May 1987 Economic Statement, the under 18 unemployment allowance was replaced by the Job Search Allowance, which in effect tied unemployment to job hunting skills. Again, greater selectivity through strict eligibility criteria reflect the government's concern with cutting social welfare expenditure.

1987 - 88

The 1987/88 Budget continued to rely upon an upturn in private sector activity and investment. Youth unemployment fluctuated between 20 - 25% and no commitment was made to public or community job creation programs. The training package involved cuts to TAFE ($21m) and CYSS ($1m). These cuts were partially offset by an outlay of $30.7m on the new Youth Training Program for 15-20 year olds, which attempted to enhance short-term employment prospects. Increased government outlays in public housing were restricted to traditional institutions and ignored the needs of the young.

1988 - 89

Examining the 1988/89 Budget, it is clear that the 100,000 unemployed young people received little assistance from the benefits of the third successive Labor Budget surplus. Funding for successful labour market progress oriented to young people was further reduced from $86.7 million to $74 million. More significantly, replacement youth programs continued to be short-term, compulsory and non-accredited. Job creation failed to underpin youth training schemes.

1989 - 90

Responding to the Burdekin Report recommendations, the 1989/90 Budget announced a $100 million package of initiatives for disadvantaged youth over a four year period. This outlay covered accommodation, adolescent support, income security, labour market assistance, education and health. Increases in the Young Homeless Allowance rate, reduced waiting periods for benefits and a new independent rate for the Job Search Allowance were positive changes. However, a critical gap persisted in the Budget and that was the lack of job creation initiatives. The 1989/90 Budget papers indicated that youth unemployment was running at 13.8% more than twice the average rate of unemployment. Coupled with the Budget predictions of slowed economic growth during 1991 was the general feeling that Hawke youth policies would continue to have a minimal impact on youth job creation.

1990 - 91

The economic slowdown during 1990/91 further aggravated youth unemployment levels, while maintaining high interest rates and inflation. Compounding lost job opportunities for youth, the 1990/91 Budget delivered reductions in unemployment benefits for youth living at home and married people between 18-20 without children. Other cost saving exercises included an extension to the non-payment period, the replacement of unemployment benefits with a two tier job search and training allowance, increases to the HECS levy and tighter eligibility rules for AUSTUDY payments. The federal government in reducing benefits payable to young people under 21 assumed family support, thereby reducing the financial independence of both young people and the family.

The Family as Cost-Effective Provider

Not to be underestimated in any analysis of youth policy are attitudes towards the family as a welfare provider. In an examination of contemporary concepts in child welfare, Jamrozik (1983) has suggested that neither the Commonwealth nor the States have endorsed policy provisions that universally accept the need for child welfare. More specifically, Jamrozik has argued that this characteristic of federalism reflects an ambivalent and ambiguous attitude towards the family. Again, the underlying assumption is that youth needs are situational in nature and therefore better serviced by policies and programs that are selective and not required in the normal functioning of the family. However, it should be noted that such ambivalence towards the family fluctuates and the general trend by government has been to support the whole (for example, the family as an institution) rather than parts of the whole (for example, young people).

Traditionally, the family has been regarded as the key stabilising social institution by successive Australian governments. Despite policy contrasts between the major Australian political parties, the family is revered as a key agent of political socialisation and a cost-effective piece of policy infrastructure that continues to function as a vital social safety-net. However, while young people are an integral part of the family, it is not unusual for youth and family policies to conflict. For example, a youth policy aimed at enhancing the group's

"... the family is revered as a key agent of political socialisation and a cost-effective piece of policy infrastructure."

financial independence may contradict or counter a tradition of welfare legislation that upholds family cohesion and the responsibility of parents to manage family finances. Therefore, the achievement of these dual objectives poses a number of political problems to government. The critical task is the determination of a policy mix that seeks to optimise benefits to youth, especially those eligible to vote, while simultaneously maximising conventional family benefits.

The renaissance of family support by the Hawke Government attempted to simultaneously reduce welfare expenditure and promote greater selectivity in the provision of youth

services. The socio-economic concentration of youth unemployment means that the family is often multi-disadvantaged which undermines its capacity to assist family members. This highlights the central policy problem of finding a solution that presents an appropriate balance between the competing interests of the family and those of youth, in effect the achievement of dual but contradictory policy objectives.

Youth Policy and Social Inequality

The specific value orientations and assumptions that continue to dictate the direction of youth policy are grounded in the more general ideological debate concerning the best means of addressing social inequalities.

One perspective argues that the root of social inequality lies in the conflicting relationship between labour and the means of production and that a restructuring of productive processes, and not the Welfare State will ameliorate inequalities. The opposing perspective contends that social inequality is rooted in the distribution of wealth and income, and that through state intervention a more equitable redistribution will redress inequality.

In an attempt to clarify the relationship between values and youth policy responses, Drury and Jamrozik (1985) developed a typology that distinguished between two policy spheres. One sphere related to youth as an identifiable group with common interests requiring uniform youth services, while the other focused on youth as a victim and prescribed remedial policy responses.

Hawke's preference for the latter led to the proliferation of programs within the employment and education sectors. For example: CYSS, Commonwealth Rebate for Apprentice Full-time Training (CRAFT), School to Work Transition Program (SWTP) including the Educational Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY), PEP, Special Youth Employment Training Program (SYEPT), Volunteer Youth Program (VYP), Australian Traineeship scheme (ATS) and Skillshare. Graycar and Jamrozik (1989) contend that the selective and remedial youth policies of the Hawke Government continued to uphold the viewpoint that youth inequalities could be improved without disturbing the labour market status quo. In this case the policy response was guided by unfounded assumptions regarding the nature of youth 'problems' and political expediency.

The Future

According to Jamrozik (1988), a prerequisite for a more effective youth policy response is the need to reconceptualise youth needs in terms of structural inequalities. The current preoccupation with inter and intra group differences rather than class differences conceals the basic structure of social inequality. Despite some progress in the alleviation of youth problems by recent government policies, Jamrozik (1988) argues that conceptual flaws will continue to persist while 'new' middle class values underpin social research. In short, middle class values shape conceptual boundaries, problem identification, solutions and ultimately policy advice.

The cross-section nature of youth policy boundaries remains politically expedient within the irrational policy-making environment, where limited resources are aggregated to determine policy outcomes. Value contradictions in problem identification and the continuity of conservative economic principles continue to be a central determinant of the economic growth/social policy balance. The rationalist perspective of the Hawke Labor Government legitimated a conservative response to the fiscal crisis, but debunked the more welfare oriented dogma of Keynesian economics.

The preceding analysis of initiatives and issues in successive budget periods would suggest that a selective, cross-sector and utilitarian approach to policy-making will continue to impact on Australian youth policy development in line with established federal tradition.

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Repositories of Hope

Youth Policy and the Hawke Government 1983-1991

Judith Bessant

Young people in Australia have been the persistent object of widespread public and official concern for much of the post-war period. This concern has been heightened since the onset of youth unemployment in 1974-75. To unemployment has been added concern about homelessness, graffiti, vandalism, drug and alcohol abuse - all themes associated with the young either as 'victim' or as threat'. (Windshuttle, 1983; Burdekin, 1989; Presdee, 1989)

As Boland and Jamrozik point out, the public and media perceptions about the problems confronting young people go a long way to determining the policy response. Currently the victim image predominates with the young seen as marginalised and disadvantaged, unable to gain a stable place in the labour market. (Boland and Jamrozik, 1987).

There has been a continuing effort by governments to address these perceived problems. (White, 1990) From 1983, the Hawke Government pursued a number of policies in the industry, training, education and community services areas designed to achieve social justice, to make Australia into a 'clever country' or to create the 'active society'. With the demise of the Hawke Prime Ministership in 1992, now may be an opportune time to assess, albeit in a provisional way, the policy responses by the Federal Government to the issue of disadvantaged and marginalised young people.[1] Young people in particular have become the central focus in a number of policy discourses which in a quite traditional way have been identified as central to the economic and social future of the society. As 'repositories of hope' young people have become the unwitting object of a number of important policies which have arguably failed to address the underlying issues.

Current economic and social policy, to a large degree, rests on the generally unquestioned assumption that economic recovery, full employment and social justice are complementary objectives, and will be the final product of restructured national education, training and labour market policies.

Provision For Disadvantaged Youth In Education and Social Policies

Since 1975, as in previous periods of crisis, the instrumental value of education has been consistently emphasised by governments. 'Increased participation rates in education meant decreased unemployment' (DEET, 1988). The development of human capital by increasing retention rates in education would automatically result in national economic recovery. 'Education and re-training options could be pursued not only from the human capital viewpoint, but [also] in recognition of their potential to help ameliorate unemployment.' (DEET, 1988).

Yet as in so many other aspects of the Hawke Government policies and programs were asked to carry a larger than usual burden of objectives. Not only would youth policies ensure better education, more jobs, and personal

development but they would also deliver on the traditional Labor commitment to 'social justice'. In education policy specifically and in the general Labor policy framwork since 1983, all of the Government's policies seemed to cohere in a grand unity of intent to create a more equitable and fairer Australia. This was believed to be compatible with revitalising the economy through more efficient management linked with greater efficiency and rationalisation, leading to increased productivity. Releasing a report on social justice, Hawke, combined these two themes when he announced that:

...My Government's unswerving commitment to a fairer Australia is demonstrated by our commitments to date... We will not relent in our pursuit of social justice... We will improve equality of opportunity. And we will enhance the rights of people, especially the underprivileged. (Hawke, 1988).

A central goal of the Hawke Government's youth and education policies has been increasing the participation of young people in schooling and post-secondary education, thereby improving their access to the labour market.[2] As argued by Susan Ryan, the first Minister for Education and Youth Affairs in the Hawke Cabinet (1983-87), youth unemployment was young people's main concern and for the Labor Government to maintain its standing in the community an appropriate response was needed (Ryan, 1984).

Considering Australia's poor economic performance between 1974-1983 and the high levels of jobless young, a re-evaluation of the school system was thought to be vital. Australia was allegedly 'lagging behind' other developed countries in terms of competition in the international market place, standards of living and its 'low' education retention rates. (Hawke, 1984).

The Labor Government argued that:

...far too many young Australians leave school too early. This fact has significant implications for the national economy, for the wellbeing of our society, and for the young people for whom the only real alternative to a satisfactory education is months or years on a dole queue. The Government will continue to give priority to improving the retention rate. (Hawke, 1984; Dawkins, 1984)

Within that discourse were continual references to the dual functions of education. It was claimed that young people needed to be equipped with the expertise considered important for successful employment. Secondly, the nation needed to be lifted out of the economic doldrums. As a key player in education and youth policy in the Hawke Government, Ryan's comments reflected the more general expectation of the dual role assigned to education:

> "... the public and media perceptions about the problems confronting young people go a long way to determining the policy response."

The fact is that educational outcomes determine the intellectual resources available to the country. A well educated population is essential to a nation's success in international trade and commerce, defence and adoption to scientific and technological change. (Ryan, 1984).

A large part of the discourse pushed the notion that a restructured and extended education system had an important instrumental value to the nation as well as fostering individual development by exposing the individual to 'broader perspectives and interpersonal, social and cultural knowledge'. It was also strongly argued that the education system had such magical qualities that it could increase social equity. Links were clearly drawn and emphasised between the schooling system, participation in the labour market and the security of comfortable, life-time earnings. (Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1988).

Through the provision of greater access to education and training the Hawke Government claimed that it remained faithful to the 'social justice' principles of the Labor traditions. (Maddox, 1989). According to DEET:

Equal opportunity for all people to maximise their level of education and training ... is a fundamental principle of [the Hawke Government's commitment to social justice]. (Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1990).

It argued for example that:

...entry or return to education, training and employment [is] the most effective route out of poverty. [Furthermore], closer integration of the social security, education and labour market systems ... [will] provide opportunities for people to move out of poverty through access to the workforce. (Howe, 1988).

From 1983 a proliferation of programs and policies designed to meet a diverse range of objectives were put in place.

These included: the Participation and Equity Program (PEP), Priority One, Special Youth Employment Training Program (SYETP), Jobstart, the Community-Employment Program (CEP), Education Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY), and the Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS).

These programs, some of them (like CYSS) inherited from its predecessors, were ostensibly designed to improve young people's access to the labour market. One of the central goals of these programs was to improve the employability of those seen to be at risk in the labour market, including the long term young unemployed.

Many of these programs reflected the belief that education and training were vital factors in providing opportunites for disadvantaged young people. It was argued that:

...early school leavers are over represented among the long term unemployed. Those young people from groups whose life chances have always been poorest are over-represented amongst early school leavers. (DEET, 1990).

It was argued that keeping young people in school or tertiary institutions for a longer period of time provided a more equitable access to the labour market. With no significant shifts in other areas designed to create greater social equity such as income and resource redistribution, it was held that through the schooling system only greater social equity could immediately result via the improvement of the 'life chances' of 'disadvantaged youth'. There was no debate about whether or not putting the 'disadvantaged young' into schools would actually guarantee their employability, future income security and a more equitable society. This lack of debate has become increasingly problematic given the effective disappearance of full employment as a realistic goal of national Government, a point that emerges in the context of the move to an active employment policy.

The Active Society, Education and Other Policy Implications

Participation in the labour market of most OECD countries had become a problem during the 1970s. Concern over a 'shrinking active population' caused by major demographic developments, new technologies and mounting unemployment confronted policy makers with new issues. The result was a push in government policies towards the goal of getting as many people as possible to participate fully in economic and social life. (Cass, 1988; Howe, 1988). Policies relating to social protection in particular were geared towards interventions designed to maximise the number of people able to pursue 'active economic and social roles'.

Paid employment in the labour market place had traditionally been the principle form of such activity in the post war period. This was increasingly undermined from the 1970s on by an ageing population, by increasing numbers of people reliant on Social Security, and by high levels of unemployment. It was in the light of these changes that a major social security review was undertaken by Bettina Cass in 1988.

The Cass Review ultimately recommended a 'fundamental restructuring of income support of the unemployed in Australia'. It proposed that an active system of income support would incorporate a restructured income test that would encourage greater labour

force attachments. (ACOSS, 1989). In response both to Cass's recommendations and OECD policy guidelines, the Federal Government established the Active Employment Strategy (AES) or, as it became more popularly known, Newstart. From July 1991 it replaced the original Unemployment Benefit system established in 1944. The Newstart project, born out of the urge to create an 'active society' is, in part, an attempt to ensure that the jobless young remain in active pursuit of employment or in some form of training within a context where the actual prospects for employment recede (Cass, 1988). In this respect, training replaces employment as a primary activity for significant numbers of work age citizens.

Newstart consists of a three year program comprising a sequence of different systems and processes of benefits/eligibility. The Job Search Allowance involves an interview to assess 'labour market disadvantages' (for example, illiteracy). After three months further interviews are required. Those deemed to be disadvantaged will be referred to the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) for special assistance - that is, for enrolment into employment programs. At this point an 'Activity Test' is administered which means that recipients of Job Search 'benefits' have to accept any offers of training deemed necessary. This is in addition to the requirement of actively looking for work and accepting any job offers (Townsend, 1990).

An array of new procedures assist in the application of work tests.

In part they are designed to avoid ... entrenchment of unemployment ... A most concerning addition is a proposal to empower the Department to cancel and not regrant for 12 weeks where a client is deemed to have moved into an area which has less opportunities for work than their previous place of residence. (Townsend, 1990)

Behind the Cass Review and the ultimate acceptance by the Hawke Government of the thrust of its recommendations, is the central premise that 'the cycle' of dependency and low income which allegedly overtakes those on unemployment benefits needs to be broken. It is assumed that those who are on the dole, particularly those who are long term unemployed, are both passive and require compulsory invigoration.

Towards An Assessment of the Hawke Government and Education Policies

Any critical assessment of policies such as those outlined here should begin with two questions:

(1) Has the policy understood the underlying sources of the problem it aims to deal with?

(2) Is the envisaged outcome not only feasible, but also desirable?

Determining the links between education and the labour market has long been an issue. In a depressed economy with financial, social and political problems compounded by major and rapid structural changes, considerable weight has been attached to establishing links between work and school. The role of educational institutions has been officially prescribed by their capacity to bolster the national economy. (Bessant, (a), 1988).

In the 1980s education came to be seen as the instrument for pulling the nation out of financial mess. Public expectations were that more education was necessary for upgrading the proficiency of the workforce, a precondition for nation building within a modernising project. (Bessant, (b), 1988).

Education, particularly technical, scientific, technological and higher education, has come to be regarded as a necessary and continuing investment in human capital. The attacks on education served to conceal the far wider process of reorganising and restructuring schools, colleges and universities. The crises in the economy has been translated into a crisis in the education system so that preparations could go ahead to have education institutions restructured to parallel the changes that had already taken place and were continuing to take place in the 'productive' sectors, in industry and commerce. The 'poor' performance of education combined with the faltering economy created a sense of urgency, further legitimating the fast moving trend towards meeting the demands of the corporate sector. Against such popular prescriptions it becomes important, in a spirit almost of naivete or innocence, to remind ourselves of what unemployment is and how it arises.

The popular understanding of the reasons for youth unemployment - and, to a degree, the economic downturn itself - increasingly defined the individual jobless person and/or the schooling system as the source of problems (Bessant, (a), 1988). Young men and women allegedly could not, or would not get work because they had 'bad' attitudes towards work, lacked discipline, could not successfully present themselves at an interview, or at worst lacked the basic skills in literacy and numeracy. It was the individual's fault that they could not get a job. There was an alleged rapid decline in young people's attachment to the traditional work ethic; for the young the moral significance of hard work was supposedly absent. At the same time, the schooling system was seen to have failed in not providing students with a sound and rigorous grounding in 'the essentials' or 'the basics'. Consequently, in order to rectify the problem, the young had to be further schooled and trained, and it was argued that the education system urgently required dramatic restructuring.

Youth unemployment, like unemployment for any age group, is in the final instance a consequence of the power of decision residing with employers and/or managers to:

- not create new positions;
- retrench existing staff;
- downgrade full time work to part time work.

Unemployment is a political economic process reflecting actual and perceived problems of investment, profitability and price levels whether they be related to labour or commodities or both. To this extent there is not much point in looking to elaborate arguments about work shy young people or the inadequacy of the schooling system. Decisions taken by employers/managers reflect assessments about the number of factors which impinge on their sense of the demand for labour. (Only in the case of over/under supplies of certain kinds of

training-skill formation is there, in a limited sense, a relation between schooling and unemployment). Unemployment in the late twentieth century is the consequence of four factors:

(i) the continuing effect of labour displacement through redesigned work processes and the introduction of new technology into labour intensive productive processes (Jones, 1984);

(ii) the long term decline in labour demand in Australia's rural economy, amplified from time to time by (Freebairn et al, 1989);

(a) the effects of unseasonal climate;
(b) downturns in commodity prices (INDECS, 1990);
(c) declining demand for certain primary commodities like wool;
(d) the effect of global trade-wars waged by the USA and the EEC in particular;

(iii) the long term under-investment in secondary industry leading to major restructuring in the automobile, metals, textiles, footwear and clothing industries accompanied by major retrenchment (EPAC, 1986; Freebairn et al, 1989);

(iv) short-term recessionary factors.

It is an extremely difficult process to determine the precise interplay of these historical processes in producing the current levels of high unemployment (INDECS, 1990).

Arguments for increased schooling retention and post secondary participation rates as a response to youth unemployment appear to rest on several propositions.

1) More schooling is better for the individual, and for the nation because it:
(a) enhances personal growth, and
(b) enhances a person's vocational/socio-economic prospects.

2) Unemployment amongst school leavers and young adults is partially a consequence of inadequate and/or inappropriate schooling especially amongst disadvantaged groups.

Numerous reports have argued, as the Finn Committee Report indicated, that minimal education itself becomes the 'marker' of significant socio-economic disadvantage. It is claimed that 14% of 15-19 year olds are in the 'at risk ' category:

...all five areas of disadvantage correlate significantly with 'minimal education' defined as 'under achievement', low participation in post compulsory education, early school leaving and particular subject choice. (Australian Education Council Review Committee, 1991).

It therefore follows, as it has done in every major report on education, training, youth policy and unemployment in the 1980s, that more training and increased post-compulsory schooling for young people will play a major role in redressing inequity and solving the youth unemployment problem. This in turn, as writers like Windschuttle and Bessant have shown, has become a reflex action at times of crisis. (Windschuttle, 1983; Bessant, (a), 1988). In the 1890s, 1930s and now again it is easier to point the finger at education and its alleged insufficiencies or lack of vocationality rather than address the underlying source of unemployment.

An examination of the current labour market situation confronting young people suggests how largely irrelevant such diagnoses are, and how cautious we need to be in accepting an equation between increased schooling and increased employment.

An historical analysis of the youth labour market suggests that four basic dynamics have been at work between 1965-1991.

(1) There has been a major decline in the full-time youth labour market since the mid 1960s. As a percentage of the 15-19 year old population the numbers in full-time employment fell from 58% (August 1966) to 28% (August 1990). By May 1991, only 3 in 10 teenagers were in the full-time workforce.

(2) There has been a clear historical trend towards increasing teenage unemployment since the 1060s. As Sweet writes:

Among 15-19 year olds the rate of full-time job loss has been accelerating with each successive recession since the mid 1970s. In the 1974-5 recession it was around 5% over 12 months, rising to around 13% in the 1982-3 recession and doubling to 26% in 1991. (Sweet, 1991)

(3) In large measure, youth unemployment has occurred as a consequence of long term structural unemployment in those industries undergoing major structural renovations, especially in secondary industry, and in the service industry.

(4) The trend towards part-time employment in a few industries is of critical concern for any long term policy formation. In particular, the wholesale and retail trade sector stands out as the largest single employer of school leavers with 46% of teenage jobs. It is no accident that this industry:

(i) is poorly unionised;
(ii) makes few demands for high to medium skill levels;
(iii) can and does ruthlessly replace its teenage labour force on an ongoing basis;
(iv) shows a clear preference for part-time work - 64% of all part time jobs are in this industry.

As the tables opposite suggest, young people are concentrated in disproportionately few industries (see table 1) and are found overwhelmingly in a few occupations; notably sales workers, labourers, tradespersons and clerks.

In 1991 teenagers held down
- 21.8 % of sales workers jobs;
- 13.0 % of labouring positions;
- 11.5 % of tradespersons jobs;
- 7.5 % of clerks positions.

It is fairly clear that the outlook for school leavers is not good. The long term prognosis (which confronts historically high levels of private indebtedness, a mounting trade imbalance and poor rates of investment) is not good. In 1985-86, EPAC suggested that growth rates in GDP of between 3% to 5% would be needed to push back the then existing unemployment by the mid 1990s. With the added recession of 1990-91, it is now painfully clear that any return, even to a moderate level of employment growth before 2001 is highly unlikely.

The medium term prognosis for the youth labour market, which is heavily concentrated in the services/sales sector and in industries such as manufacturing (which itself faces an uncertain future), is most unclear.

Table 1 - February 1991: Employment by industry 15-19 year olds			
INDUSTRY	FULL-TIME	PART-TIME	TOTAL
Agriculture	5.5	5.2	5.3
Mining	1.2	0.0	0.7
Manufacturing	17.2	4.0	11.3
Electricity	0.7	0.0	0.4
Construction	10.2	1.4	6.3
Wholesale/Retail	31.7	64.0	45.9
Transport	2.8	0.9	1.9
Communication	0.7	0.1	0.4
Finance	12.5	3.7	8.6
Public Administration	2.3	0.6	1.6
Community Services	7.6	4.1	6.1
Recreation	7.5	16.2	11.4

(Source: Finn Committee 1991:30)

Table 2 - Employed 15-16 Year Olds By Occupation, May 1990		
OCCUPATION	'000	PERCENT
Managers	4.3	0.6
Professionals	10.6	1.5
Para professionals	12.7	1.8
Tradespersons	140.8	20.0
Clerks	100.3	14.2
Sales Workers	258.8	36.7
Machine operators	15.7	2.2
Labourers	161.7	22.9
TOTAL	704.4	100.0

(Source: ABS Workforce 2001, ABS Labour Force - Cat. No. 6203.0, 1991)

The government reaffirms its intention that an increasing share of total higher education resources should be 'directed to those fields of study of greater relevance to the national goals of industrial development and economic restructuring ... The Commonwealth identify national goals and priorities for the higher education system, and ensure that system-wide resources are allocated effectively in accordance with those priorities. (DEET, 1988).

The new dogma of an education system responding to economically rational and discernible national priorities may well receive popular support but any analysis of what happened in the 1980s tells a different story. The recession and indeed the whole economic crisis since 1975 was not the product of a poor education system. If there was a failure, then that failure lay in the intellectual, moral and managerial indulgence by the Australian corporate sector and its refusal to invest in long-term, value-added, export industrial capacity, and its refusal to act reponsibly in the national interest, especially in terms of overseas borrowings. The ultimate irony of the Hawke Government's tenure in office was the myth it sustained that the corporate sector and the 'free market' provided all of the models of rationality, accountability and successful management structure and processes which educaional institutions were enjoined to mirror. With a vast increase in the retention rates across all levels of Australian education, the economy will remain as terminally ill in the 1990s as it was in the 1980s and 1970s and for the same reasons. Tragically it may mean a further degradation of the education effort and further marginalisation of vulnerable young men and women.

Employment is not driven by the supply of labour whether it be skilled or unskilled. If there are arguments about the economic value of producing more skilled and better trained personnel, their validity will depend on the prior commitment of investors and managers to create the jobs which can absorb the extra output form our schools and universities.

There are no strong grounds for confidence that there will be an increasing demand for labour through the 1990s. As one major recent study suggests, we cannot assume that there will be adequate industry demand for highly educated and trained graduates. The study by Derody and Yueng (1990) addresses the large question of what kind of fit between education supply and industry-demand is likely by 2001. The most difficult problem facing any government at the end of the twentieth century will be that increased school retention rates and increased tertiary participation may well run up hard against a diminished industry-demand for skilled and highly educated labour through the 1990s and into the next century.

Working from highly optimistic premises about annual increases in Victoria's Gross Domistic product, this study predicts major over-supplies in most professional skilled occupations, including four major occupational groups: managers, administrators, professionals and tradespersons. Conversely, it is suggested that there will be a shortage in the supply of labour where labour is traditionally relatively unskilled (for example, clerks, sales-persons, labourers). Their projections are disturbing indeed for current government strategies.

In particular, by adopting the expectation that more young people will stay on to complete secondary and/or higher education programs, and that youth unemployment will be absorbed by more training programs of the Skillshare kind, Australia may well be

putting in place a labour market time bomb set to go off as we enter the next century. Given the general unwillingness of Australian Governments to invest in appropriate workforce research and planning or the integration of industry needs and education supply, the expectation that more education is automatically good for everyone may prove to be the most fateful legacy of the faith in and enthusiasm for education in the 1980s and early 1990s.

CONCLUSION

The official talk of 'equity', 'social justice', the 'active society' and the 'clever country' which has accompanied the youth policies of the Hawke Government has been in sharp conflict with its achievements. In practice the government's main concerns were to keep the unemployment figures down by increasing retention rates and at the same time fashioning the education system to meet the demands of the corporate sector and 'national priorities'.

Essentially there are two approaches to formulating policy. The first is based on the belief that changes now affecting young people, particularly in the labour market, are temporary, and that in the not too distant future, there will be a return to pre-recession conditions. If this approach is correct, then government policies need only be rejuvenating, ameliorative and fashioned to reduce the damaging effects of prevailing ill winds.

The second approach sees the changes which have taken place as fundamental and absolute. It is assumed that there will be no return to 'normal' conditions. For that reason policies are formulated with sights on the future rather than the past. Unfortunately, recent government policies have been founded on the first approach.

Since 1975 education and youth policies have been a response to a faltering economy and high levels of youth unemployment. Policies have been based on this belief in a return to the past, a past that will not return. Given that waged employment may well become a minority activity early in the next century and also that labour market forecasts predict an over-supply in the professional, semi-professional and skilled areas, there needs to be a comprehensive reassessment of the assumptions behind education and youth policies, free of immediate questions of political expediency, and taking full cognisance of the changes in employment patters, demographic shifts, structural changes in the economy, the workplace and society generally. That reassessment is beginning (Melbourne Economics Group, 1990) even as critical attention continues to clear the ground of old and nostalgic assumptions.

FOOTNOTES

(1) With some exceptions, both the general thrust of the Hawke Government's social and economic policies, and their focus on youth policies have not attracted the critical scrutiny they deserve (Maddox 1989, Watts, 1990, Johnson 1989, Beilharz 1987).

(2) Although this article focuses on the Hawke Government, it does need to be emphasised that these kinds of initiatives were emerging at both State and Commonwealth levels. For example, State initiatives included "Education 2000' (QLD), the Victorian Blackburn Report, and the Western Australia 'Better Schools Program".

(3) The 'disadvantaged groups' currently enumerated include women, Australian aboriginal, non-English speaking background, and those living in rural Australia.

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Have you or your organisation got something to say?

The Youth Affairs Network of Queensland Inc welcomes contributions to its bimonthly newsletter *Network Noise* and its journal *transitions*.

The purpose of the newsletter is to encourage the flow of information across the Queensland youth sector. It is ideal for communicating news on issues and events in an accessible, informal manner.

Is your agency:

- running workshops ?
- involved in youth programs ?
- organising youth interagency forums ?
- advertising positions vacant ?
- changing its address or phone number ?
- producing publications or videos ?
- keen to promote its service ?

If you answered yes to any of the above then write to YANQ today. Your notice will be placed in *Network Noise* free of charge !! The newsletter is distributed in January, March, May, July, September and November of each year so you have plenty of opportunity to promote your activities and services. Please send in items and information along with your phone number no later than the first week of the month prior to the distribution month.

transitions on the other hand is a vehicle for the publication of research material of relevance to youth affairs in Queensland. The journal is distributed three times a year in February, June and October to subscribers, YANQ members across the state, including government and non-government agencies, youth organisations and workers with young people.

Future issues: *Young People and Health* (October 1992) and *Aboriginal Issues* (1993).

Guidelines for submitting journal articles:

- The preferred length for articles is 2,000 - 3,000 words. (This is negotiable.)
- In preparing articles for publication please consider the wide range of readers - educators, policy makers, researchers, youth workers, professional and volunteer workers - and keep the writing style straight forward and accessible.
- Referencing should follow the Harvard system, citing the author's name, year of publication, title of publication, name of publisher and place of publication. (For journals, identify Volume and page numbers).
- Accompanying photographs should be sharp and clear (black and white preferred) and diagrams should clearly drawn or laser printed.

Technical requirements

- One typed hard copy - double line spacing printed on one side A4 paper.

If you have any queries or would like to make a contribution to *Network Noise* or *transitions* please contact Rita Riedel at the YANQ office on (07) 852 1800.

All contributions are welcome!

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FUTURE DIRECTIONS:

The Development of Youth Health Policy in Queensland

The beginning of 1991 witnessed a year of historic change and challenge for Queensland Health. On 1st July, 1991, the regionalisation of public sector health services became effective and since that time the rationalisation and restructuring of Queensland Health's Central Office has been occurring.

Long gone are the days when we considered health only in terms of broad diagnostic categories. Queensland Health has adopted the Definition of Health endorsed by the World Health Organisation:

...a state of optimal, physical, mental and social well being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

The Youth Health Policy Unit was created within Program Development Branch along with four other Policy Units. These are - the Women's Health Policy unit, the Migrant Health Policy Unit, the Rural Health Policy Unit and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Policy Unit.

The unit has been established to monitor emerging health trends and respond by developing strategies that will result in a more efficient, equitable and effective distribution of health services. The Youth Health Policy Unit will work in collaboration with the Regional health Authorities, other Government Departments, and the community.

The Youth Health Policy Unit has been established in recognition that young people are one of our most valuable resources. Young people are defined as those aged between 12-25 years.

THE YOUTH HEALTH POLICY UNIT DEFINES YOUNG PEOPLE'S HEALTH WITHIN A SOCIAL CONTEXT

Generally, young people are perceived as healthy, because they enjoy the lowest rate of illness of any section of the community. Young people, however, have unique health needs which are different to the rest of the community. A young person's health is affected by gender, class, sexual orientation, ethnic background, disability and geographical location.

The Youth Health Policy Unit acknowledges that the transition from childhood to adulthood is a very individual and can be a painful experience. A successful transition to adulthood means achieving a sense of self worth, economic independence, social responsibility and, therefore, by definition, good health. This transition is affected by the wider society, particularly structural, economic and technological changes. Of more direct significance however, is the role of families, friends, school, work, the media and the community.

Hence, for some young people homelessness, unemployment, cultural background, limited educational and social opportunities, geographical isolation and poor working conditions harm health and general well being. All of these factors are exacerbated when the young person has no one to advocate on their behalf, or lacks knowledge of how to access the health system.

SPECIAL HEALTH NEEDS OF YOUNG PEOPLE

The Youth Health Policy Unit has identified the following health areas as needing a youth specific focus:

- alcohol and drug use;
- mental health including coping with stress
- suicide and attempted suicide;
- the development of a healthy sexual identity and the prevention of sexual abuse;
- sexual health - including sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS and unplanned pregnancy;
- nutrition; and
- accident prevention especially on the roads and at work.

THE NEED FOR A YOUTH HEALTH POLICY FOR QUEENSLAND

A Queensland Youth Health Policy would aim to provide a clear analysis of the health issues confronting young people and would serve to guide the development of health and related services to young people in this State. Furthermore, the principles outlined in the Policy will serve to not only underpin program development, but also provide guidelines which will lead to a set of standards for practice in the youth health sector.

Within the process of the regionalisation of Queensland Health, there is potential for fragmentation of services. Development of a youth health policy ensures that there is a whole of state recognition of the health needs of young people.

Queensland Health is committed to remaining responsive to community health care needs, and strives to provide equity of resource access and developing affirmative action strategies to address the particular needs of youth. In accordance with government priorities, community needs and Queensland Health's Corporate Plan, the Youth Health Policy Unit aims to develop a statewide youth health policy which reflects the social health needs of young Queenslanders.

THE POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

The policy development process would include consultation and research to identify relevant social, political, economic, health and organisational trends. A review of current services would establish the existing strengths and weaknesses in current service provision, policy and program development. From there, it is a process of prioritising issues and developing goals enabling performance indicators and strategies to address the issues to be negotiated.

To ensure maximum community participation in policy formulation and input to decision making on policy implementation, broad and effective consultative processes identify community needs for intersectoral collaboration and help establishment of effective communication mechanisms aims to ensure both policy underpins program development and that program outcomes inform future policy development.

The existence of a youth health policy provides an environment where youth health issues can be raised and a basis for consultation and discussion of issues affecting young people's health. Further, it sets the context for future policy development and provides opportunities to implement constructive changes to benefit the health of young people.

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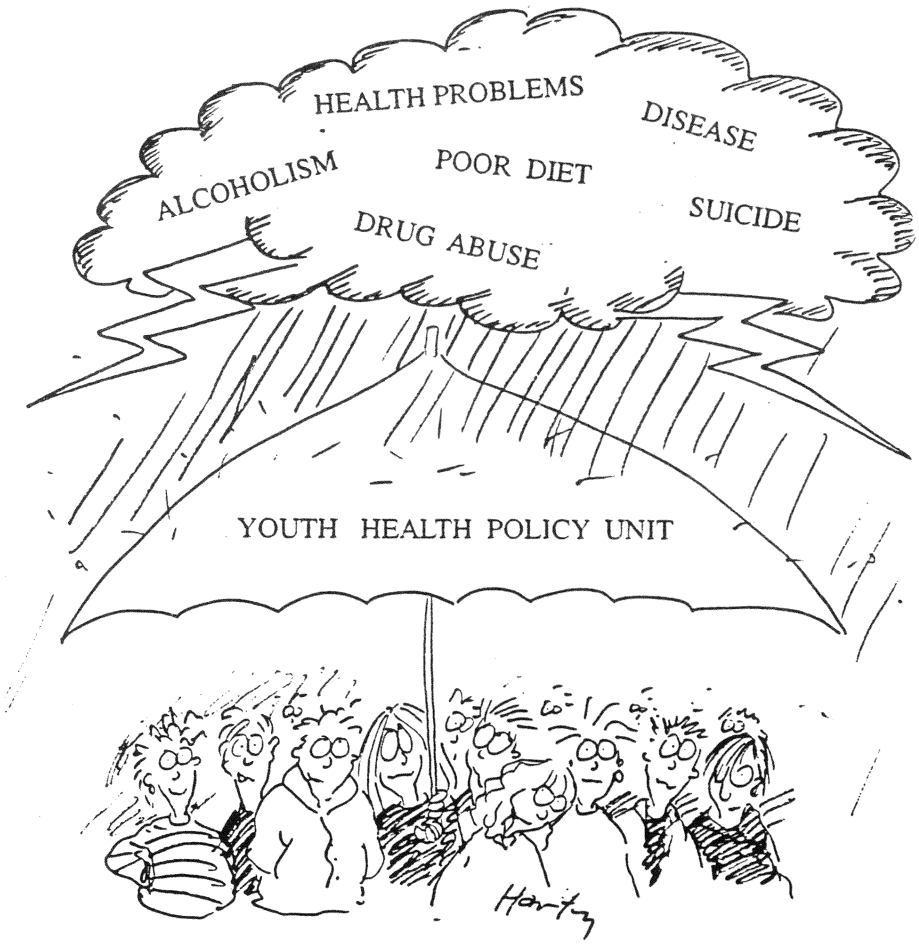

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The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs

A Youth Issues Paper

This paper has been prepared by officers in the Department's Youth Section of Community Services Development as a contribution to planning and priority setting within the youth area. It identifies some of the major social trends which affect young people in Queensland at the current time. It identifies specific trends that are affecting young people using services provided or funded by the Department. It also provides information about activities of the Department that relate to disadvantaged people.

MAJOR SOCIAL TRENDS

The Effect of Changes in Education and the Labour Market

Over the past twenty years, structural changes on a global scale have affected Australia's economy, with the result that young peoples' job opportunities and career paths have changed dramatically. The collapse of the youth labour market has resulted in the elimination of many entry level jobs, downward pressure on wage levels, and a decline in full time employment.

In response to these trends, the Commonwealth Government has introduced policies designed to encourage young people to stay at school longer. In order to achieve this, unemployment benefits have been abolished for under 18 year olds, student allowances increased, and training programs expanded. These polices have been further strengthened by the Commonwealth Government's 'One Nation' Statement which proposes to develop a new system of vocational education and training based on existing TAFE networks. Additional measures, designed to stimulate apprentice and trainee recruitment, are combined with alternative training opportunities and restructured training wages to reform entry level training arrangements.

These trends are delaying the economic and consumer independence of young people, thus forcing families to prolong financial and social responsibility for their children. Many families do not have the capacity to meet these extra demands. Those likely to suffer the greatest impact are identified as follows:

- Families on low incomes, particularly single parent families and those with a large number of dependents.

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families with large numbers of children dependent on single parents, low income levels, and experiencing higher rates of unemployment, inadequate housing and poor health.

- Families caring for young people with disabilities who have high support needs and limited access to both mainstream and specialist services.

- Families in rural and remote areas, particularly those on low incomes and those affected by the combined effects of the recession, and the downturn of commodity prices.

- Families living in areas experiencing rapid urban development and high residential mobility, including caravan parks, who are young and dependent on low income. These families are disadvantaged by the lack of basic infrastructure, poor community identity and social isolation.

An adverse effect of these trends is the increased marginalisation of those young people who leave school early and do not gain access to jobs. These include Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people, pregnant young women, young single parents, young people with disabilities, young people who are the victims of abuse and neglect, young people in conflict with the law, young people in rural and remote areas, young refugees and immigrants with special needs, young people in severe conflict with family, young people leaving statutory care, and the homeless.

The Changing Composition of the Youth Population

High levels of residential mobility, interstate and overseas migration, accelerated urbanisation, a higher birth rate among Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people, changing patterns of family formation, a delay in the age at which young people leave home, diminishing employment opportunities, and an increasing proportion of young people living with disabilities contribute to the diverse range of needs facing young people in Queensland today.

Changing Patterns of Family Formation

Current trends in family formation show a growing proportion of non traditional families, predominantly single mothers with dependent children and an increase in blended families. Single parents are more disadvantaged according to a number of indicators, with single mothers more so than their male counterparts. Fewer young women are marrying and births outside of marriage continue to rise.

These major trends impact unequally on young people due to differences of class, gender, ethnicity, ability and geography.

Queensland has passed the point where simple solutions will solve problems such as the highest levels of youth unemployment on record and increased family stress and breakdown in the relationships between young people and their parents. The empirical evidence suggests that the situation is deteriorating, particularly for the young unemployed and those not participating in post compulsory education and training. These trends have significant policy implications for all three levels of government, as well as serious long term social and financial cost implications for both government and the community as a whole.

TRENDS AFFECTING YOUNG PEOPLE USING THE SERVICES AND PROGRAMS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FAMILY SERVICES AND ABORIGINAL AND ISLANDER AFFAIRS

The Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs resources communities, families and individuals in Queensland's culturally diverse society in order to promote social justice and community well-being.

The Department is responsible for providing direct services to:

- young people with an intellectual disability and their families;
- young people who are victims of abuse and neglect and their families;
- young people in conflict with the law and their families; and
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people.

Community groups and organisations funded by the Department respond to a

range of social justice issues affecting young people including disability, child care, the prevention of abuse, and community problems including social isolation, homelessness and other forms of disadvantage.

The Department also provides a range of services to:

- assist in the recognition of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander rights, culture and heritage and the support of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities; and
- address the special needs of refugees, immigrants and ethnic communities in a multicultural society.

Juvenile Justice

Whilst appearances of children charged with offences before the Children's Court continue to increase, the majority of offences are both minor and transitory in nature. Increases in juvenile crime are apparent across a number of indicators chiefly, the number of appearances, the numbers of charges being heard and the rates of children appearing in Court per 1,000 population aged 10 - 16 years in Queensland.

Nearly 60% of all appearances for offences relate to theft or breaking and entering. Whilst these appearances have continued to rise steadily over the past few years, figures relating to property offences and assault are more volatile.

Factors that are of significant concern in juvenile crime records are the over representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people and the apparent link between crime and socio-economic disadvantage. As at 30 June, 1991, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people aged 10 - 16 years were sentenced to 33.1% of all orders for offences in that age group, while they constituted only 3.8% of the 10 - 16 year old population in 1986. The likelihood of an Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander child aged 10 - 16 years being sentenced is 8.7 times that of a non-indigenous child.

The Department provides services throughout the State, through 41 area offices and four detention centres, to children and young people under the age of 16 years in conflict with the criminal law. These include:

- services to young people and their families to assist them to negotiate and understand the court process;
- provision of submissions and reports to courts dealing with young people to assist in the Court's decision making;
- administration of supervision and care and control orders;
- services to young people held in detention, on remand or under sentence;
- monitoring and review of all young people charged with serious offences.

The government has considered matters relating to juvenile crime and its prevention, and announced its intention to reform the juvenile justice system and implement juvenile crime prevention programs. A task force has been established in the Office of the Cabinet to develop proposals relating to legislative reform and preventive responses to juvenile crime. The preparation of these proposals is proceeding.

Protective Services

In 1990/91, notifications for suspected child abuse and/or neglect increased by almost 4% over the previous year. Physical and sexual abuse continue to be the most common types of abuse substantiated for children aged 10 years and over. There has been a 99.9% increase in substantiated cases of physical abuse between 1985/86 and 1990/91, with substantiated sexual abuse cases increasing by 80.2% over the same period. Females continue to be the most common victims of sexual abuse. Public awareness campaigns and increased media coverage have contributed to these increases in abuse notifications.

Significant issues in this area reflect the importance of socio economic factors in the increasing incidence of child abuse. These are as follows:

- Children from socio-economically poorer families continue to be over-represented as victims of child abuse and/or neglect.
- The figure for substantiated abuse or neglect cases involving children from one parent families is considerably higher than the proportion of these families in the community (15.5%). In 1990/91, 42.2% of all substantiated cases involved one parent families. The higher proportion of neglect cases (42.9% of all cases) substantiated in sole parent families reflects to some extent their financial circumstances, social isolation and related stresses.
- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children continue to be over represented among all children admitted to protective orders. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children represent 28% of all children under protective orders, while they represent only 3.8% of the population in the 10 - 16 year age group.
- In a significant number of families where there are child protection concerns, there is also an element of domestic violence.

The Department provides services to protect children from abuse, neglect and exploitation. Where parents are unable or unwilling to care for their children, the Department ensures that they are cared for in a safe, secure environment. Families are provided with education, information and counselling about the appropriate care of their children.

Services are delivered by professional staff in 41 area offices across the State and by a statewide system of alternative care providers. Other specialised services include the Sexual Abuse Counselling and Support Service, the Transition from Care Program, the Community-Based Adolescent Support Scheme and Adoption Services.

Domestic Violence

Domestic Violence in some form is known to have occurred in the relationships of 1 in 3 couples. Economic difficulties and alcohol are not seen as the causal factors in this increased incidence. Children and young people exposed to domestic violence may be insecure and have low self esteem which, combined with inappropriate role socialisation in both the home and schools, puts them at greater risk of

perpetuating relationships of domestic violence in the future.

In 1990/91, the Domestic Violence Initiatives Program provided funding to 35 organisations for community awareness programs and/or direct services for affected individuals and families.

New initiatives for 1991/92 include a Statewide 24 hour domestic violence telephone service and the establishment of five regional domestic violence services. In addition, the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program provides transitional supported accommodation for women and women with children who are homeless and/or in crisis as a result of domestic violence.

Alternative Care and Child Abuse Prevention

Current trends in Alternative Care show a move away from institutionalised accommodation services towards more individualised care arrangements that support the child in the context of the family and community.

Child abuse prevention programs that are locally provided, culturally and linguistically appropriate and that educate a wide range of people in the community are recognised as being an important component of the government's response to family problems.

The Alternative Care and Intervention Services Program provides funds for 63 services to conduct a range of residential and related support services for children in care and their families. This includes 7 foster care services and 7 residential services for children with high support needs.

In 1990/91, the Child Abuse Prevention Program provided funding for 29 services, of which 5 have an information and education focus.

Homeless Youth

The Department provides support for homeless young people through the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) and the Youth Initiatives Program (YIP). In 1991/92, nearly 38% or $8.6 million of all available funds for homeless people under these programs were allocated to homeless youth.

The following trends were identified using SAAP data:

- The total number of bednights have increased by 70% between March, 1988 and June, 1990. (Monthly aggregate data collection)
- Most young people were accommodated at externally supported accommodation projects (50.9%) whilst the usage of crisis shelters dropped by 22.5% between 1989 and 1991. (National One Night Census)
- The proportion of usage by adult females compared to adult males has equalised over the past two years.
- Most young people who use SAAP services are aged between 16 and 18 years. The proportion of under 16 year olds and over 18 years age groups using SAAP services has remained fairly constant.

• Young people of non-English speaking backgrounds and Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders do not tend to use mainstream services. The Youth Initiatives Program is contributing to the development of culturally appropriate services, however the extent of need and the development of appropriate service responses requires further attention.

The Supported Accommodation Assistance Program is a joint State/Commonwealth program which provides financial assistance to approved non-government organisa-tions and local government authorities for the operation of supported accommodation and related support services for homeless people and women escaping domestic violence. In 1991/92, a total of 53 organisations were funded to provide services to young people.

The Youth Initiatives Program was developed in response to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's National Inquiry into Homeless Children (the Burdekin Report). This program seeks the establishment of innovative projects for homeless young people under 18 years of age. In 1990/91, the geographic areas of the Gold Coast and Central Queensland and the special needs of young homeless women were targeted by the program. A total of 18 projects are funded through this program.

Family and Individual Support

Current trends in family formation show a growing proportion of non traditional types of families, predominantly single mothers with dependent children and an increase in blended families.

Family stress is increasing, due partly to the breakdown of support from the extended family, high rates of separation and divorce, increased family mobility and isolation, combined with the prolonged non-contributory dependence of young people on their families.

Growing tensions give way to conflict and breakdown in the relations between young people and their families, often with destructive results such as truancy, homelessness, crime and suicide.

Three Youth/Family Work Projects are funded through the Family and Individual Services Program to enhance the quality of relationships and support provided to homeless young people, and those at risk of homelessness, and their children.

Young People with Disabilities

The major trend in the area of disability support services is the growing emphasis on normalisation, a philosophy which states that people with disabilities have the right to live in the community, to be regarded as valued citizens, and to enjoy access to services and supports which assist this integration and acceptance to occur.

In line with this trend, deinstitutionalisation, mainstreaming and the proposed Queensland Disability Services Bill have led, and will continue to contribute to, major changes in the nature of support services offered to people with disabilities. Up to the present time, there has been limited response to the needs of young people with disabilities.

The Disability Program aims to assist non-government organisations and local government authorities, through the provision of financial and developmental support, to deliver a range of human services and educational and preventive activities. Eligible service types include supported accommodation services, independent living training, information, print disability, recreation and respite care services.

Young people with intellectual disabilities are provided with a range of direct services through the Division of Intellectual Disability Services.

Young People from Non-English Speaking Backgrounds

Changing immigration patterns, such as those relating to Asian migrant groups and the growth in the numbers of refugees contribute to the increasing ethnic diversity of Queensland's population.

Economic hardship has contributed to the significant number of migrants and refugees settling in locationally disadvantaged and poorly serviced areas. The economic climate has not only contributed to the limited range of support services available to migrants and refugees, but also to the racist backlash against visible minorities. In addition, young people from ethnic

minority backgrounds who have left school early experience severe difficulties finding jobs.

Young people from ethnic minority backgrounds need to be able to see ethnically similar role models and to have value placed on their contribution in society. For young people from non English speaking backgrounds, the familiar life stage and intergenerational problems experienced by all young people may be exacerbated and compounded by intercultural issues. In addition, young people from non English speaking backgrounds need access to services that are culturally and linguistically appropriate, particularly in the areas of education, training, employment, housing, health and social support.

The Bureau of Ethnic Affairs develops programs and activities which address the special needs of refugees, immigrants and ethnic communities. It acts as a coordinating and advisory body on ethnic and multicultural activities in Queensland. It also contributes to policy development across government agencies from an ethnic affairs perspective.

The Bureau has identified a number of issues affecting young people from non English speaking backgrounds, including the need for ethnic specific and multilingual services for young people, and for an ethnic minority youth advocacy network in Queensland.

The Bureau is engaged in a joint project targeting young people which involves other State and Commonwealth Departments. The project is the Mobile Cross Cultural Awareness and Training Unit (MOCATU) which will undertake activities to promote multiculturalism in schools and across the community. It has been developed as a response to prejudice and discrimination in the community and is targeted at all young people.

Child Care

Increasing inter-generational isolation and the formation of diverse family structures, such as two-career and single parent families have combined to create greater demands for both child care and vacation care programs. The Vacation Care Program provides grants to community based services conducting supervised activity programs for children during school vacations.

The Outside School Hours Care Program is administered by the Commonwealth and is jointly funded by the State and Commonwealth Governments. The program provides grants to community-based services conducting supervised activity programs for children during school terms but outside normal school hours.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Young People

In recent years, the Department has sought to develop programs and practices, in consultation with representatives from Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities, which are culturally appropriate and which foster participation by Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders at a community management level.

The historical failure of institutions and welfare programs in relation to the unique cultures and lifestyles of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples has produced generations of disaffected young people unable to identify meaningfully with their traditional backgrounds and also marginalised from mainstream lifestyles and pursuits.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are the most disadvantaged in Australian society. They are disproportionately represented in all social indicators as measured by income, employment, housing, health, education, arrest rates, court appearances, custody rates, and child abuse. They also lack access to many essential services in their communities. These problems are exacerbated and compounded by the high incidence of alcoholism.

As a result, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander young people do not enjoy the same benefits of living in a contemporary Australian society as their non-Indigenous counterparts.

Departmental services include the identification of, and response to, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander interests in land, the promotion of Aboriginal heritage and culture, the provision of assistance for the physical, social and economic development of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in urban, rural and remote areas, and the coordination of government services for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

The development of policy options in relation to indigenous rights aim to empower Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to maintain their cultural, social and economic viability. This affects young people who are seeking to revitalise their traditional cultural practices and spirituality or to develop business and entrepreneurial skills. In addition, policies relating to discrimination, alcohol and drug related issues are being developed.

Schemes are being developed to assist Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander art and culture to gain recognition. These will assist young artists and performers.

Programs deriving from the implementation of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody aim to involve young people who are identified as being at risk. During 1990/91 and 1991/92, three programs were implemented, including the Community Awareness of Alcohol Abuse Scheme, the Watch House Cell Visitors Scheme and Diversionary Facilities.

CONCLUSION

This paper presents information on major social trends which are affecting Queensland young people. Specific information on trends that impact on young people using the services of the Department of Family Services and Aboriginal and Islander Affairs has also been included. Some preliminary analysis of this information has been provided. Detailed analysis will be the subject of future efforts.

The information contained in this paper will be utilised in the Department's ongoing planning and priority setting processes.

Correctional Shock:

An Insight into Prison Aversion Programs for Young People

Richard Hil and Robyn Keast

During June this year Queensland Liberal leader Joan Sheldon proposed the establishment of "A Day in Jail Scheme" for young offenders. In the Courier Mail (18 June 1992) Mrs Sheldon was reported to have said that "allowing judges and magistrates to sentence juvenile offenders to a day in prison would be a shock tactic to deter them from furthur crime".

Mrs Sheldon's suggestion provoked strong reactions in the legal community and the Labor Party. The Queensland Government has already considered a "Day in Jail" Scheme and discarded the notion because of doubts about its effectiveness.

Here Richard Hil and Robyn Keast consider international and interstate programs of this kind and assess their usefulness to young people and the community.

The idea of trying to shock or confront people into conformity or a law-abiding way of life has a long and often lurid history. Although torture, hanging, public floggings, beheadings and so forth have largely (though not totally) faded from the penological landscape, other less brutal forms of punishment and retribution continue to occupy a place in the management of young offenders.

The shock/aversion/day in prison/confrontation/delinquency prevention approach to dealing with young offenders, delinquents and an assortment of 'pre-delinquents' emerged in the 1960s in the United States. The most well known and publicised example of the shock approach emerged in the Scared Straight-Lifers' Awareness Program at Railway State Prison, New Jersey in 1978. This program involved a strategy of taking apparently 'hard core' offenders and delinquents on a 'tour' of prison facilities followed by a 'rap session' with inmates. The aim was to expose the young visitors to the various horrors and deprivations of prison life with a view to shocking them into a law-abiding or non-delinquent way of life. As Gary Cavender (1981) states:

The objective of the project was deterrence, that is, to scare juveniles away from criminal careers by explaining the consequences of a life of crime.

Although Scared Straight was introduced without reference to evidence on the efficacy of such an approach it non the less appeared to offer a common-sense, hard-hitting and intuitively radical response to the problem of increasing juvenile crime. Inevitable, perhaps, the lurid attention given to the program through the newspapers and a nationwide television documentary ensured that many other correctional departments in the United States soon implemented similar schemes (Blackmore, 1980). Indeed, by the end of 1981 more than 15,000 young people

had passed through the gates of Railway State prison alone and virtually every American state had several experimental programs in place (Cavender, 1981; Finckenauer, 1982).

Despite such developments the day in prison programs attracted much concern and criticism. Anthony Travistone, executive director of the American Correctional Association (quoted in Blackmore, 1980) expressed serious concern about the infringement of childrens' civil rights in programs similar

> "For some criminal justice practitioners aversion programs appeared a radical counter to the gloomy view that 'nothing works'."

to that in Railway State Prison: "No citizen of the United States has the right to intimidate children. Not ministers, not social workers, not even parents. Why should we make an exception?" Moreover, parents of children involved in the Railway State Prison program claimed that far from being the 'hard core' offenders depicted in the Scared Straight film many of the program participants were merely mildly troublesome youths who had little or no contact with the police let alone experience of institutional life (Cavender, 1981). Of even greater concern to many observers was the fact that the majority of day in prison programs had been implemented without recourse to evidence on their effectiveness. However, partly as a result of its high profile the Railway State Prison program was the subject of two evaluative studies within eighteen months of its opening.

Stanley Langer (1980) compared arrest rate data for an experimental group of juveniles (n=66) and a comparable control group of young offenders. Both groups were matched on the basis of age, sex, race, aggregate number of offences and experience of similar encounters with the police. The control group had not attended the Railway State program. The average follow-up for both groups was twenty two months. Langer found that the number of offences committed by both groups increased significantly during this period and that the mean score was slightly higher for the control group. During a shorter exposure period of ten months no significant differences were discernible.

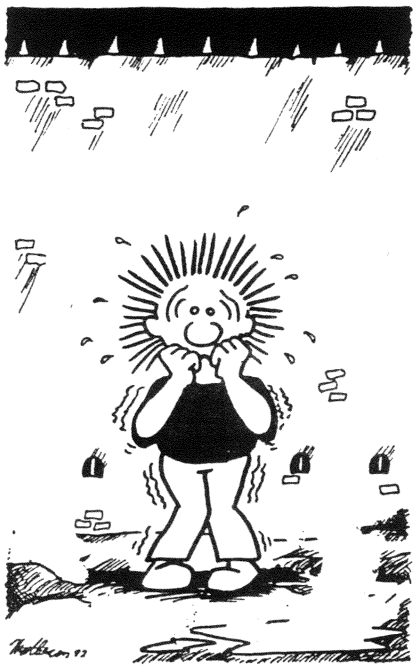
Another study of the Railway State prison program by Finckenauer (1982) compared the attitudes of 46 juveniles attending the project with a control group of 35 juveniles who had completed the program. Nine attitude tests were administered to both groups regarding their criminal or delinquent behaviour. Again, no significant differences could be detected. In general the research revealed no major significant or consistent differences between experimental or control groups in terms of their attitudes to deviant activity. In other words, although the 'tours' and 'rap sessions' may have had some immediate impact and may indeed have provided the intended element of shock, this did not translate into significant long term attitudinal or behavioural changes.

As we indicate below, such findings and conclusions have been repeatedly replicated in other studies on aversion programs. Before touching on these it is necessary at this point to outline the range and diversity of such programs in the United States and more recently in Australia.

Approaches to aversion

Although there are a number of different and often contradictory claims made in relation to aversion programs the raison d'etre of such initiatives is deterrence. Claims to 'educational', 'awareness' or preventative' orientations are linguistic devises aimed at obscuring the less publicly acceptable aspects of aversionary approaches such as shock, terror and fear.

In outlining the range of aversionary schemes it is useful to distinguish between 'soft' and 'hard' approaches. The 'hard' approach tends to emphasise the power of shock and confrontation in achieving the aim of challenging and changing the attitudes of offenders and



delinquents. 'Soft' aversion offers a more educational, awareness approach with the aim of persuading and influencing program participants away from criminal or delinquent careers.

It is also worth distinguishing between 'primary' and 'secondary' aversion. Primary aversion characterises those programs dealing with the attempted aversion of 'pre-delinquents', delinquents, 'potential offenders', and some first offenders (that is, those 'at risk' of drifting into a criminal career). Secondary aversion refers to those programs handling more serious offenders already enmeshed in the workings of the juvenile justice system (and therefore at the greatest risk of a prolonged life of crime and institutional experience).

In practice, primary and secondary forms of aversion are not mutually exclusive since many programs tend to include both groups of offenders. Moreover, it is inaccurate to equate hard with secondary aversion just as it is misleading to correlate soft too closely with primary aversion. The Railway State Prison program, Juvenile Offenders Learn Truth (JOLT) project at the state prison of Southern Michigan (Homant, 1981) and the Australian Parramatta Recidivist Group at Parramatta Prison are examples of the more hard-edged aversionary approach. The power of shock is emphasised as an appropriate strategy in averting young people from

criminal activity Softer forms of aversion such as the program at Menard Correctional Centre, Illinois (Greater Egypt RPDC, 1979) and the Inmates Support Group at Long Bay Prison, Sydney are promoted as educationally based approaches designed to heighten the awareness of program participants. Every effort is made to play down the element of shock and confrontation particularly in the light of widespread concern about the possible abuse of children's civil rights.

The Victorian Day in Prison program opened in 1989 and was based upon an unevaluated scheme at Parramatta Prison. The Victorian program dealt with young offenders aged 17-25 years who were at risk of imprisonment. According to the Victorian director of the Office of Corrections (quoted in Coventry and O'Malley, 1991):

The confrontation of the day in prison must be turned into a positive experience through the channelling of whatever motivation the offender demonstrates at the end of the day into short term and achievable goals.

The program itself included a busy timetable of events starting at 7.30 and ending at 4.30. Following a rigourous "assessment" during which participants were fully briefed on the nature and purpose of the program the day began

> "... at best, they have not been sucessful as a crime prevention strategy and, at worst, they have given rise to a number of unintended consequences."

with a body search by prison officers, allocation of work, observation of prisoners, and a brief spell locked up in a cell (during the lunchbreak). The afternoon session was made up of an encounter with a panel of prisoners, a "strip search" (during which personal documents were destroyed) and interviews with prison officers and the governor. In accordance with the procedural guidelines participants were closely observed by officers for any external signs of distress and support staff were on hand in the event of a problem occurring.

In a preliminary study of the program researchers from La Trobe University concluded that there was no evidence to suggest that a day in prison was effective in crime prevention. Moreover, concern was expressed about the "distinct possibility that opportunities will always exist for participants to be subject to violence administered either by prisoners or, which is more difficult to regulate, by prison officers. It must also be concluded that the programs retention of a philosophy of a 'short sharp shock' creates major problems with respect to

> "... the majority of day in prison programs had been implemented without recourse to evidence on their effectiveness."

the possibility of traumatising participants. There is no evidence to show that aversion elements such as violence or traumatising experience have positive effects on crime prevention" (Coventry and O'Malley, 1991). It is revealing to note that the program was suspended in February 1991 following an alleged assault on one of the program participants.

In common with many other studies of aversion programs in the United States and elsewhere (eg. Barry, 1985; Lewis, 1981; Berg, 1984; Buckner and Chesney-Lind, 1983; Lock, 1986) the Victorian Day in prison program did not succeed in its crime prevention aims and may in fact have served to give rise to the unintended consequence of brutalising young people. In the light of such concerns Sweden and Japan have opted not to implement such programs.

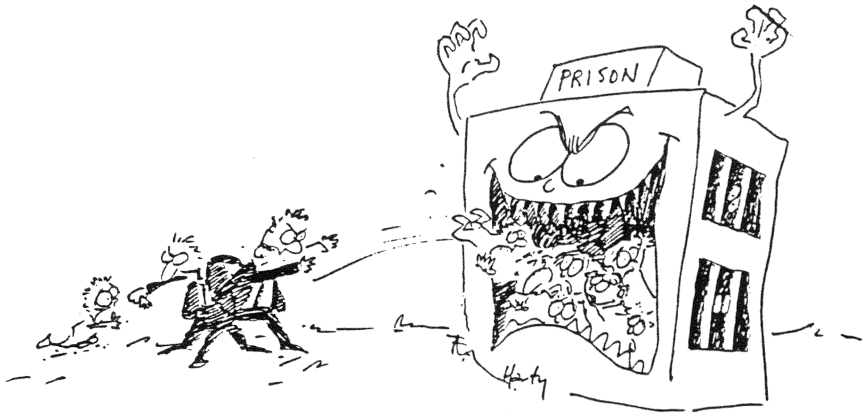
Motivations for program implementation

Given the history of discouraging results relating to aversion programs and other related concerns why do new variants of this approach keep emerging in the criminal justice system?

There are at least four contributory explanations. Firstly, aversionary approaches emerged in concert with a distinct ideological shift from the rehabilitationism of the 1970s to the 'back to justice' movement of 'justice model' of the late 70s and 1980s. Aversion fitted in well with the individualistic approach to justice in so far as deterrence was able to provide a hard-hitting response to the problem of rising crime without having to allude to wider social, economic and political considerations (Hudson, 1987). Given that the 'crime problem' was increasingly regarded by the state as the social problem of recessionary society and that youth crime was almost synonymous with crime itself, aversion and deterrence appeared to be an appropriate reactive response.

Secondly, Finckenauer (1982) describes aversion programs as one of the many "punctured panaceas" seized on by members of the criminal justice system. It is as if 'anything is better than nothing' and in the "frenzied drive" (Cohen, 1985) to discover new ways of attempting to reduce recidivism issues of efficacy and civil rights tend to become less pressing. For some criminal justice practitioners aversion programs appeared a radical counter to the gloomy view that 'nothing works'.

Thirdly, in contrast to detention centres and some community based programs



aversion is a relatively cheap option requiring a minimum of organisation and time. Fourthly, aversion programs provide a subtle way of increasing the management and control of prisoners in so far as they give inmates a sense of purposeful activity in an otherwise stifling environment. This has proved appealing to prison authorities.

Conclusion

In reviewing the evidence on prison aversion programs in the United States and Australia it is apparent that, at best, they have not been successful as a crime prevention strategy and at worst they have given rise to a number of unintended consequences. Despite such evidence new, seemingly more refined, sophisticated and attractive variants have appeared on the horizon to replace those programs which have floundered. Yet while the language of the 'softer' programs strenuously veers away from references to shock and fear it is evident that deterrence (as well as retribution) are central to the aversionist strategy. For proponents of this approach crime is reduced to questions of individual pathology or responsibility. As Cavender (1981) points out in relation to the Railway State prison program:

Criminals were presented in a one-dimensional manner with their criminality as the essence of their lives.

The correctional response to this abstraction is to focus on strategies aimed at altering the individual's patterns of thought and behaviour. Thus, if such an approach were to be implemented in contemporary Australia it would mean that the plight of many young people experiencing poverty and unemployment would be regarded as irrelevant and therefore ignored.

Despite the tendency of criminal justice practitioners to latch onto untested and ethically dubious forms of crime prevention there are instances in which warnings and concerns are heeded. It is therefore encouraging to learn that the proposed implementation of an aversion approach in Queensland has recently been shelved in the face of criticism and doubt expressed in many quarters.

While there is abundant evidence to justify this outcome it is also worth noting that "the corpus of criminological theory and research gives little or no support to the conception that short-term correctional experiences by themselves will overcome the continued effect of long term criminogenic life conditions and ongoing social environmental pressures" (Coventry and O'Malley, 1991). This consideration, however, does not appear to have prevented the introduction of day in prison programs in New South Wales or calls for similar initiatives in other states. Indeed, in quoting a local magistrate during the trial of a seventeen year old burglar a recent headline in a Townsville newspaper read: "Day in prison 'would deter' young offenders". (*Townsville Bulletin*, 1992).

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Townsville Bulletin (Wednesday, April 1, 1992) Day in Prison Would Deter Young Offenders.

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Interstate and International Innovations in Juvenile Crime Prevention

Professor Paul Wilson

JUVENILE CRIME

Of all crime problems juvenile crime is the one that probably should most concern us. With high youth unemployment and a continued recession we must attempt to implement constructive policies in this area otherwise a substantial proportion of young people under the age of 21 will be stigmatized by their involvement in the juvenile justice system.

However, before I proceed let me dispel some myths about juvenile offending:

- An overwhelming majority of violent crimes are committed by adults.
- Violent crime by juveniles is not increasing.
- Juveniles rarely engage in homicide, hardly ever use guns or knives and rather than select women and the elderly as targets, commit violence against other juveniles.
- Contrary to what some think, national surveys conducted by the Australian Institute of Criminology show overwhelmingly that the majority of the public **do not** favour a "get tough" policy for non-violent juvenile offenders. The public supports a juvenile justice system separate and less harsh than that for adults, will co-operate in community crime prevention schemes aimed at juveniles and feel that it is inappropriate to incarcerate the vast majority of youthful offenders.

WHY A HARSH "LAW AND ORDER" APPROACH WON'T WORK

Consider these figures compiled by Dr Satyanshu Mukherjee from the Criminal Justice Commission:

- Though major crimes over the last decade increased by 66%, expenditure on the police increased by almost 125%,.
- For every 100 unsolved crimes 10 years ago there are today 164 unsolved crimes.
- This year Australia will spend $4,000 million on justice (this figure does not include loss to victims, families of offenders etc). In spite of this figure the number of offenders processed by the criminal justice system continues to grow and our prisons continue to bulge.

"Law and order" responses to crime generally and juvenile crime specifically are inefficient, rarely cost-effective and have become a bottomless financial pit.

TOWARDS CRIME PREVENTION

We must move towards preventing crime before it occurs. Spending money on police, the courts, juvenile institutions and prisons to deal with offenders after the event may be necessary in terms of retribution but it will not deter the explosion in juvenile crime we can expect in the future.

A recent, published report that I and some former colleagues from the Institute of Criminology released estimated that Australia spends $1.35 billion on dealing with juvenile crime each year.

In this report we also conducted an evaluation of the published research literature dealing with what worked in preventing juvenile offending. Our evaluation showed categorically that the best strategies lay **outside** the criminal justice system. Specifically the strategies that appeared to be effective were:

(1) Pre-school and school-focussed programs that improved the quality of education offered to young persons in low income areas.

(2) Parent-effectiveness programs.

(3) Job training and placement schemes.

(4) Particular sporting and recreational initiatives.

(5) Schemes that "designed out crime" by better street lighting, redesigning shopping malls, carefully planned public transport areas and "vandal-proof" public facilities.

Now the best way to "package" these strategies is not to attempt to introduce them separately but to combine them together into a well thought out, carefully co-ordinated community crime prevention scheme.

CRIME PREVENTION MODELS

• Bonne Maison Scheme in France

Probably the world's best known scheme was introduced as a result of youth riots in France in the early 1980's. The scheme is presided over by the President of the country and a national council is established. Initiatives of local crime prevention councils focus directly on the root causes of crime - alienation and a lack of self-esteem and purpose.

Crime prevention councils, chaired by local mayors, facilitate information, communication and collaboration to find solutions to problems affecting young people. Initiatives include assisting young people to establish viable businesses, obtaining public housing and providing innovative employment and recreational schemes. In addition, the Bonne Maison scheme co-ordinates victim services, links together voluntary and government organisations in crime prevention initiatives and involves young people in planning youth policies.

It would be foolish to believe this scheme offers nothing new to Queenslanders. Unlike Australia, the French scheme carefully co-ordinates all agencies, invites the community to participate and delivers a range of activities to children and parents. The Bonne Maison scheme also enjoys bipartisan support.

• The South Australian Coalition Against Crime

In the next five years nearly $10 million will be directed by the South Australian Government for a South Australian version of the Bonne Maison scheme. It will see:

(1) government and non-government bodies actively participating in crime prevention;

(2) local communities applying for funding to a crime prevention co-ordinating unit for crime prevention initiatives;

(3) crime prevention courses run in schools, businesses and service groups;

(4) special victim programs initiated;

(5) city malls and transportation facilities systematically redesigned.

The South Australian scheme took the best of the French scheme and merged it with what the Dutch were doing and then adapted it for local conditions. The Dutch put great emphasis not only on co-ordinating youth services but also in improving the physical design of urban environments, increasing surveillance in public areas and public transport and finding ways to strengthen bonds between the younger generation and the rest of society.

• The New Zealand Experience

Across the Tasman one of the most innovative and exciting crime prevention programs in the world has been underway for at least 3 years. As a result, whole juvenile institutions have been closed down.

The basic mechanism in the scheme is the Family Group Conference (FGC). Where a child or young person is charged with an offence, no information may be laid until a FGC has been held. The exceptions are where the charge is a purely indictable offence. It is estimated that about 95% of all juvenile cases are presented to an FGC.

The FGC is authorised to find alternatives to prosecution in dealing with an offender who admits guilt.

Families are always involved in FGC's. The premise here is that the most families care about their children and young people and hold information that will help the authorities make rational decisions about dealing with youthful offenders. When the FGC reaches a decision (whether it be discharge, restitution, community service, suspension or whatever) that decision is given to the court. If the prosecutor has been presented a prosecution before a FGC, the court must order a FGC. The court then tries to persuade the presenting authority to accept that decision.

SUMMARY

Crime - especially juvenile crime - will continue unless proper community crime prevention schemes are introduced. Only South Australia has introduced a comprehensive well funded crime prevention scheme. The rest of the country is following the American "law and order" approach to crime control. This approach, exemplified by more police, more prisons and larger sentences has singularly failed in the United States (where crime rates have recently risen sharply) and will fail in Queensland unless a real attempt is made to base our approach to preventing crime on the European and South Australian model.

The more money we hurl at the criminal justice system, the more it fails. It is time that we stopped throwing money at the system and hold it as accountable as it holds those who are trapped inside it. Community services, innovative education programs and community crime prevention programs can be cost effective. But, if these programs lose out to a spending spree on more police, more courts and more prisons we are mortgaging our future in a misguided attempt to reduce crime.

Paul Wilson is the Dean, Faculty of Arts, Queensland University of Technology. This article is an extract from an address to the Queensland Council of Social Services, Brisbane, September 1992.

Homeless Young People:

Robyn

Increasing numbers of young people in Australia are finding their options for the future narrowed, and some may well find doors permanently closed to them.

Prospects for employment are grim indeed. Young people have been affected not only by the severe reduction of full-time jobs for teenagers during the 1980s, but also by the recent years of recession. Lacking work experience and some of the skills which are valued in the workplace, many of them find it difficult to get jobs in the future, if and when the general employment situation begins to pick up.

Young people and their families have seen staying on at school as the answer, as the increasing retention rates in education indicate. Greatly increased retention and participation rates in the post-compulsory years of education have been a very obvious characteristic of systems in all States and across all types of schools (government and non-government) in the past two decades.

It is clear that the general pattern for large groups of 15-19 year olds has changed from employment (or unemployment) to education or training. The Finn Report on post-compulsory education (Australian Education Council: 1991) envisages even higher participation rates for the age group in the future. It is suggested that by the year 2001, 95 per cent of 19 year olds should have completed Year 12 or an initial post-school qualification or be participating in education or training. So we are looking at something approaching a universal completion of 12 years of formal education and/or training.

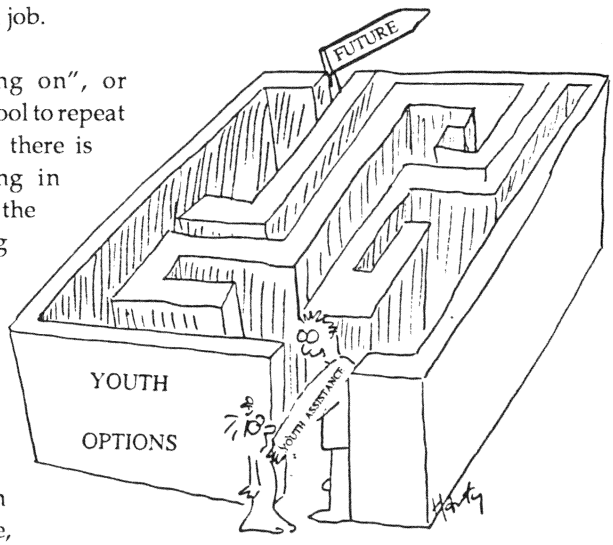
It is working class families and young people who have been most affected by changes in the youth labour market and educational participation rates. Most young men from families with high educational expectations and adequate financial resources have always stayed to complete secondary school, and more recently this has become the pattern for their sisters also. By the end of the 1980s, the traditional pathways to adulthood for 'early school leavers', that is, those who left at the end of compulsory schooling, had changed for good. Indeed, the very term 'early school leaver' only came into widespread use as more and more adolescents stayed to complete a further two years of schooling, realising that this may be their only hope of getting a job.

> "It is working class families and young people who have been most affected by changes in the youth labour market and educational participation rates."

While many are "staying on", or reluctantly returning to school to repeat a year already completed, there is another group, increasing in number, who are taking the education path and returning to school. They are the young people who are unsupported and/or home-less, who left school early and have frequently spent some years living very close to the edge of survival. I use what is happening in Victoria as an example here, but there is evidence that the trend is similar in other States.

In schools which have established specific programs for homeless and unsupported students, or are known to be sympathetic to their needs, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of older students enrolling and identifying themselves as unsupported. There is no doubt that once support is made available and gradually becomes known about, the true demand for such support becomes apparent.

The difficulties of continuing education when other basic needs such as accommodation and income are not being met, or are at best unstable and inadequate, have been documented (Maas and Hartley, (1988); Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1989). The problems of finding somewhere to live, and dealing with the day-to-day issues of survival come first; education very easily goes by the board. It takes a great deal of personal commitment and considerable support to keep going.



The Education Option

Hartley

The needs of unsupported students throw into sharp relief some questions about government policies on education, employment and income support for young people. Government policies are pointing young people very firmly in the direction of education and training. It is the only potentially productive option many of them have. For young people who are, or have been homeless, a decision to return to school, following sometimes years in unstable, unsafe and sometimes chaotic living situations, is not easy. Many show enormous resilience, determination and resourcefulness. Given the realities of the labour market, and the current emphasis on the importance of education and training, **not** to adequately support young people in their decision to return to school sells them short completely. However, in general, support is frequently not available or not adequate.

Despite changes in recent years to some of the stringent conditions for receipt of the independent rate of Austudy for homeless students, there are still young people who need income support who are not able to get it, and the allowance is well below the poverty line for single independent people. Austudy information and procedures have improved in recent years (an Austudy information van was sighted on a popular beach one weekend), but one doesn't have to go far to hear stories of unreasonable delay of payments.

The Four Schools Project (1990) outlines how some schools in Victoria are meeting the needs of their homeless students. Schools are having to provide emergency relief, books, food, food vouchers, assistance with Austudy claims, help with accommodation and basic necessities such as toiletries, as well as much needed emotional and psychological support. Going to secondary school can be a costly business at any time. But with more emphasis on individual work and a tendency for upper secondary courses to be more demanding and complex, the costs may well become higher. When parental and general family backing, support, encouragement, and of course financial assistance, are not there to call on, the task is made much more difficult.

There is a real concern that the needs of unsupported and homeless students are forgotten or overlooked when decisions about education and training policies and provision are being made. Or perhaps it is assumed that they will be part of the five per cent of 19 year olds who won't complete 12 years of schooling or an initial post-school qualification or be participating in education or training. The trend for some unsupported and homeless young people to return to school strongly suggests that this is a wrong assumption.

At present, there are wide-ranging reviews of post-secondary education, TAFE and the nature and structure of Entry Level Training in progress, as well as a review of Austudy. In addition, there are a range of initiatives already taken which could be expanded to assist unsupported and homeless students. They include cooperation between local governments and schools to help with accommodation, more flexible approaches to curriculum and to mixes of work, school and vocational training, and harnessing unused community resources.

More broadly, unless we establish some fairly clear and socially desirable goals regarding young people's place in society, unless we have a sense of where we want the current social and economic changes to lead and a conviction that outcomes for young people must enhance their transition to adulthood and their ability to lead productive lives, they will continue to lose out and many will be given the message that they have no valuable part to play. We cannot afford to have young people drop off the edge as some are doing now.

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COMMUNITY LIVING PROGRAM and the Developmental Model

Morrie O'Connor

The Disability Services Act (1986) has issued a challenge to services to empower consumers. Much of the emphasis of the Act is on structures which promote empowerment. These structures include grievance mechanisms and consumer representation on management committees. Sadly many of those structures have not brought change because 'the process' of work has not changed or is not clearly articulated. The following article is an attempt to document 'process' work in the developmental or 'empowerment' model.

Services can both benefit and harm their users. This benefit/harm paradox comes from the nature of services, where there is a giver and a receiver, a supplier and a consumer - one with power in the situation and one without.

Such an imbalance of power can lead to harm. A person's real needs are ignored, decisions are made for them and they lose control of their own life to others.

To address these paradoxes in the service context some services have moved to involve consumers in management and control, and to support client groups.

DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE		
Objective	Methods	Structures
Families to improve the social and economic conditions of their lives	(Power Over) Resources	Developmental Plan Resource Workers Income Supplement Skill Development Fund Housing Fund
	Relationships	Open Centre, Activities Choice of Worker
	Information	Research, Open Files Discussion Groups, Social Action
	Decision Making	Committee of Management Food Bulk buying committee Camp committee

The Developmental Model

An early example of this approach was the Brotherhood of St Lawrence Family Centre project in Melbourne in the early 70s. It was from this project that Concetta Benn formulated the 'developmental model' (1981).

In an examination of the developmental model Weeks (1988) noted that "the specific skills and knowledge and activities of the staff are not spelled out in the model. Nor are they spelled out in a way which students aspiring to its goals can clearly see what they should learn to do."

Weeks therefore encourages documentation by workers using the developmental approach, suggesting that "a further area of theory building about the developmental approach could be the identification of specific knowledge and skill components of its process." (1988).

A redrafted developmental model would then be			
Objective	Methods	Process	Structures
Families to improve the social and economic conditions of their lives	(Power Over) Resources	–	Developmental Plan Resource Workers
	Relationships	–	Open Centre
	Information	–	Research
	Decision Making	–	Committee of Management

The Community Living Program

As an outsider coming into contact with CLP some two years after its establishment I was struck by: (1) those structural elements that resembled the developmental model; and (2) the articulation, commitment and consistency of practice to the two stated practice methods or principles. It may be that these practice methods (principles) are worth exploring as a means of addressing Weeks' concern about identification of specific knowledge and skill components of its (the developmental model) process.

In its earliest formation the CLP framework would have been ...

Objective	Methods	Structures
To enable young people with developmental delays to achieve independence and adulthood	CLP doesn't do things for people	Housing that young people lived in and controlled House meetings
	CLP doesn't make decisions for people	Choice of who to live with Worker entrance to houses by invitation Choice of worker Open files

CLP and the Developmental Model

CLP's response to young adults seems to fit the developmental model. CLP offers to the young adults it works with an environmental context (structure) in which they can take control of their own lives. The major environmental context offered by CLP is 'your own place' where a young person is in control. Secondary environmental contexts are 'self help groups' and the 'wider community'. These structural elements are consistent with the structures outlined in Benn's developmental model.

CLP also offers 'ways of working' (process) which enable people to take control of their own lives. Traditionally CLP has named these processes as 'not making decisions for people' and 'not doing things for people'. The absoluteness of these principles has been an important touchstone for CLP in signalling that control needs to be in the hands of the young adult. However these principles are by themselves not an adequate description of the 'process'. They can give people a sense that our 'process' is passivity, which is not so, and they do not tell people what we actually do.

The next part of this paper seeks to flesh out the 'process' of these practice principles and at the same time provide some answer to Weeks' enquiry regarding 'process' in the developmental model.

'Not doing things for people'

'Not doing things for people' is consistent with Benn's 'power over resources and information' principles. One of the key things that young adults with an intellectual disability do not have power over is a whole range of skills. Skills are a resource. These skills can include handling your own money, using transport, cooking, going shopping, using household appliances.

At CLP we consider the best way for people to get control over this resource (skills) is by doing them. As long as other people do for you, you do not get to control the skill. We also consider that the best way to get skills, learn them, take control of them is through experiential learning. The learning, taking control of skills at CLP is done with particular workers called Skill Support Workers and is based on an experiential learning model.

Setting the learning agenda

In traditional teacher/learner models the teacher sets the agenda. In an experiential model the young adult is in control of the learning agenda. The skills support worker responds to the young adult's desire to learn a new skill by making themselves available at a time chosen by the young person. Skills are attempted as the young adult indicates they want support with them. Living independently in the community will also help to determine what a young person needs to learn. The natural stresses in this environment dictate what young people need to live independently. For instance if there is no food in the house a young person will see the need to learn how to shop and therefore to cook.

Real rather than contrived environments

Another important factor in the experiential model is the use of real

A diagrammatic presentation of CLP using the developmental model			
Objective	Methods	Specific Knowledge and skills component of process	Structures
To enable young people with developmental delays to gain control over their own lives, to achieve adult status and to take up valued social roles	(Power Over) Resources	CLP doesn't make decisions for people	Control over living space, over money Housing coop Open files
	Information		Choice of who to live with Choice of worker
	Relationships		House meetings Family worker
	Decision Making	CLP doesn't do things for people	House meetings Management Committee Housing Coop Incorporated Commitee of Management

rather than contrived environments. Learning to cook is done at the young person's house at the time they want the meal, negotiating with Social Security is at the time needed, washing clothes is a task done when the young person wants clean clothes. In this way the young person recognises the need to learn, wants to learn, and therefore takes responsibility for the task.

Assumption of prior knowledge

Experiential learning assumes that people will have existing knowledge. It encourages a person to draw on their knowledge and experiences and to problem solve other parts of the task. This places the learning more in their control than if a teacher teaches them as a blank slate.

When a young person says that they are ready to learn a new skill a style of questioning is used by the skill support worker that will

(i) Elicit information that the young adult already has

(ii) Assist the young adult to problem solve the unknown parts of a task

For example when a young adult is saying they would like to learn to cook, some questions that might be asked include:

"What would you like to cook? What do you think you would have to do to cook that? Is it something you have seen someone else cook before? Can you think of some of the things that they did?"

When a young person moves to engage in a task, skills support workers could be asking questions such as:

- How long do you think your meal will take to cook?
- How does your mother cook her potatoes?
- What do you think you will need to cook first?
- What sorts of things will you need to cook the meat in?
- How will you know when your meal is ready?
- What have you seen other people do?

Verbal encouragement and reinforcement

At all stages of learning verbal encouragement and reinforcement is given. The message to the young adult is 'you can do it' and 'it's great to see you give it a go'.

Observation and Reflection

After and whilst doing a task a person will make observations about the task.. Observation and reflection stages are important for it has been shown that we learn best when we successfully reflect on an experience and integrate that into our learning (Boud, Keogh, Walker 1985).

Skills support workers help young people to make observations and reflections about a task by asking questions such as:

- How do you think your meal went?
- Did it taste nice?
- Was it cooked how you liked it cooked?
- That's great you have cooked a whole meal by yourself!
- Would you do anything differently next time?
- What would you do differently?

Framed positively in this way young people are encouraged to look upon the results as a learning experience that will help them to decide what they will do in future attempts, they use this learning to make new plans.

'Not making decisions for people'

'Not making decisions for people' is consistent with Benn's 'power over decision making' principle. The process of enabling young people to take control who have not had much control over their own lives and whose lack of self-esteem may inhibit their taking control is complex.

The central component of the process is the 'working relationship' (Carter, 1991).

Carter characterises some of the behaviours engaged in by the worker in the 'working relationship' as:

First part - Eliciting young adult's view
• trust • openness • warmth
• unconditional positive regard

Second part - Information, feedback
• information • feedback • understanding • challenging • confronting

Third part - Re-focussing
• support and encouragement to look at where to now

She presents the process of enabling young people in making decisions as a three part process involving:

(i) Eliciting the young adult's view of the situation
(ii) Bringing to that view information or feedback
(iii) Refocussing on the decision

The following examples demonstrate this three part process.

(a) Two young people are sharing a house together. They have had previous discussions together and decided to split any bills between them and pay half each. When the first account (a telephone bill) arrives the young people decide that they have other commitments for their money and will not pay by the due date. A Skill Support worker would not tell the young people that they must pay the bill but would assist them to work out the consequences of non payment. If it is still decided not to pay, the Worker would assist and support the young people to explore what other options may be available and would support them in their final decision. The young people are then fully in control of their own decision (Andrews, 1991).

(b) A self help group of consumers have formed around a specific need. The group are set at the point of deciding whether they want to become their own legal entity or joining with another legal entity. Exploration of what this means for people, having their own group, prestige, feeling in control, being important occurs. Information is supplied and elicited on what might be the difficulties, tasks, how big the job might be. The group expresses a desire to talk to other groups who have done it. Eventually the group decide they want to be their own legal entity.

While the given situations are quite particular the two examples follow the suggested process, one that others wishing to work 'developmentally' may like to adapt to their own situations.

Conclusion

In taking up Weeks' challenge to flesh out the 'process' of Benn's developmental model I have become aware that what has been written here begs further questions. Some of these include:-

• What are the other 'power over' processes that CLP uses? For example, some of its community work processes? • What are the skill components of some of the 'worker behaviours'? • How is expressing warmth, for example, "done"? • What is happening when the 'working relationship' between worker and consumer is not happening? • What do workers do when consumers make decisions that seem risky, dangerous or unlawful, for example? • What are the range of 'power over' processes that services in a different context use? Are they the same, more, less, different?

Through reference to the 'process' used by a developmental program such as CLP some elements of 'process' in the developmental model have been documented. More remains to be done not only in further exploration of the work of CLP but of other programs which work developmentally.

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I'M NOT SURE IF I SHOULD BE HELPING YOU WITH THIS...

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Policy Options for Young People in the 1990s:

Can We Learn From Past Experience?

Adam Jamrozik

Young People: An Ever-Present Public Concern

The aim of the title given to this article is to turn our attention to the well established fact that in all societies, perhaps to a varied degree, there is a concern about young people as a 'problem group'. It is an issue which tends to renew itself, in one form or another, with each generation as well as with any fluctuation in social or economic conditions within a generation. It is certainly not confined to Australia. For example, two French social scientists have observed:

Society, as if compelled to obey a kind of cyclic ritual not devoid of fear, periodically rediscovers the existence of its young people, even if the latter do not vote, do not go on strike and are not engaged in any cultural and political expressions. This discovery or rediscovery of youth, however, is made each time as a 'problem'. (Lagree and Lew Fai, 1987).

In Australia, drawing on our studies extending over some years we have observed in one of our papers.

When the position of young people is examined over the past two decades the concerns have shifted, from the perceived dangers of rock 'n' roll in the 1950s, the permissiveness of the 1960s, the alternative life styles and 'dropping out' from the education system in the early 1970s, to be followed by concern about unemployment and now again about education but related to employment. (Boland and Jamrozik, 1987).

Now again, in the 1990s, it is once more unemployment among young people that is a cause of concern.

Analysing the perspectives on young people as reflected in various articles in the *Australian Journal of Social Issues* since the 1960s we identified three different groups of young people over that period: the 'idealistic' deviants of the heady days of the student movement who questioned many of the values of society and were attracted to the 'counter culture'; the more 'familiar' deviants referred to as 'juvenile delinquents' or 'young offenders'; and the 'disadvantaged' young people - the unemployed. The first two groups, especially the 'idealistic' deviants were perceived as a 'threat' to the established society and social order; the unemployed were seen as 'victims' of the system (Drury and Jamrozik, 1985).

The notion of young people as 'victims' tends to be presented by the people who argue that the society does not care about young people and who appeal for action- in young people's interest and in society's own interest. For example, Richard Eckersley, in a report titled *Casualties of Change: the Predicament of Youth in Australia*, written for the Commission for the Future, expressed this view as follows:

Australians are not facing up to the seriousness of the predicament confronting youth today. Because of our failure, more young people each year become casualties of the changes sweeping our society.

Suicide rates for males aged 15-24 have doubled over the past 20 years. Australians in this age group are now taking their own lives at a rate of one a day; suicide's toll of young lives is second only to road toll.

The use of illicit drugs and alcohol abuse by young people have increased to the point where they pose a major social problem...

More and more youth are being caught up in crime... (Eckersley, 1988)

Is this a situation facing all young people in Australia? Compare this with the evaluation of an ANOP survey of young people by Shoebridge, published in *Business Review Weekly*:

Confident, independent and determined, the 1986 teenager knows what he or she wants and how to get it. Conservatism reigns supreme; just as world politics have shifted to the right, so too teenagers of today are embracing traditional and conservative values. The work ethic is extremely strong, although a little different to the one adhered to by their parents. The attitude of teens, is no longer 'work hard and save for the future'. Now, it is 'work hard and get what you want today'. (Shoebridge, 1987)

Which of the two views reflects more truthfully the social reality? Probably both, because while each speaks about

'youth' as one social and by inference a homogeneous group, each looks at different segment, a different socio-economic stratum, a different social class of young people. Certainly, the common characteristic of young people, similar to the characteristic of each other age group, is their common age, although the tendency to extend the concept of 'youth' from late childhood to early adulthood (eg. from 11 years to 25 years) weakens considerably the nature of the concept. Beyond this one dimension, however - a common age, the same part of the life cycle - socio-economic and class divisions among young people are as strongly entrenched and distinctive as in any other age group. As stated by Roberts in his observation of young people in Britain, 'Classless youth is a popular, but patently absurd fiction... Laymen who believe youth cultures to be classless are very distant observers' (Roberts, 1983).

A few observations are appropriate here. At a certain level of generalisation it is possible to speak of young people as a homogeneous social and age group. However, more often than not, when people speak of 'youth' either as a 'threat' to society or as society's 'victims', they speak in generalisations but they have in mind the working-class young people: the early school leaver, the unemployed, the 'poor', the member or potential member of what is referred to as 'the new underclass'. Furthermore, while some of these people engage in the rhetoric of societal responsibility for the 'disadvantaged' position of young people, the remedies they suggest rarely go beyond measures aimed at the young people themselves. Suggestions for structural changes are rare, and if such suggestions are made they are likely to face criticism from certain quarters and accusations of irresponsibility or worse than that.

Over 20 years ago (May 1969, to be exact) I presented a paper at the National Conference of the Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) in Hobart, with a title *Youth - the Problem of Social Participation*. The argument I advanced in this paper was that

What is known as the 'youth problem' is inherent in our social system which, on the whole, is highly conservative and strongly resisting social change. The system functions well on the surface because it is restrictive and highly stratified; i.e. it can function only if a certain proportion of the population is excluded from participation in the social process.

The paper upset many people, especially some who were active in youth organisations because I pointed out that some of the establishment organisations had little to offer to young people, especially to those who were already in some way disadvantaged. I was at the time employed at the Department of Social Welfare in Adelaide (now FACS) and I was told by the Director that as a public servant I had no right to express such views and I could be dismissed. From then on I had to obtain a written permission from the Minister each time I had a public-speaking engagement. Later, when I published the results of a study of juvenile offences and the treatment of offenders in South Australia in *The Delinquent and the Law* (1973) I was threatened with a lawsuit for libel by one of the magistrates of the Adelaide Juvenile Court.

Ever since then, whether in my teaching or in research, whenever I turned attention to societal arrangements which were instrumental in maintaining social and economic inequalities, adverse reaction or even attempts at censorship would be predictably soon forthcoming. Why is this so? I do not see myself as any sort of 'defender of youth' and I hold a fairly critical view of 'youth culture' because I see this as exploitation of young people by commercial interests and by some 'do-gooders' as well.

Why, then, such strong reactions? The main reason seems to be the perspective with which I tend to look at issues concerning young people in a wider societal context, and especially at the sections of the society where power is held and exercised - be this economic power, legal power, political power, professional power, or power of social researchers like myself who play a role in defining the nature of social reality and thus influencing (or attempting to) public opinion and government policy.

Young People, Class Inequalities and Social Policy

As we proceed through the 1990s, unemployment, and especially youth unemployment has again become a 'problem' and we see another outburst of 'moral panic'. How serious is the problem? In February last year (1991) the overall unemployment rate was 9.5 per cent and for young persons it was 22.6 percent. This rate was the proportion of young people who were in the labour force. As a proportion of the total population in this age group (15-19 years) unemployed amounted to 13.4 per cent. Of the 183.3 thousand persons

in this age group recorded as seeking work, 70.8 thousand (38.6%) were attending school or a tertiary institution. The employed rate of those in the labour force within the whole group (15-19 years) varied from 34.2 % for the 15 year old to 17.6% for the 19 year old. Undoubtedly, there are considerable regional differences concealed in these average rates. It is clear, however, the unemployment among young people is the first to rise when a recession begins to set in. Then public concern is again raised and generalisations are made about young people as 'victims' of society.

Is this a 'new' problem? The issue always attracts public attention when it reaches 'threatening' numbers. However, the problem of unemployment among young people has always been and continues to be the problem not for **all** young people but of **working-class** young people who for one or another reason leave school early or do not proceed to post-school education. For example, in 1971 when the overall rate of unemployment in Australia was 1.7% and the rate for young people 15 to 19 years was 3.7%, the unemployment rate of young people who appeared in the Adelaide Juvenile Court was 38.7%. One half of these young people had already left school. (Jamrozik, 1973).

In 1983 when unemployment reached record levels, Barry Jones observed in one of his conference papers:

The collapse of employment in manufacturing is not causing great distress in Bellevue Hill, Toorak or St. Lucia. Students from Cranbrook or Scotch College feel no alarm if they can't get apprenticeships in sheet metal working or jobs on car assembly lines. Girls from PLC or Merton Hall don't lie awake at night fretting that they won't get jobs at Safeways or McDonalds. Whoever imagined they would? (Jones, 1983)

If the problem of unemployment among young people is the problem of class inequality, of premature school leaving, of seeking jobs which are not there, what have successive governments done to overcome, or alleviate the problem? We have done relatively little research on the politics of State Governments but in the Federal sphere the rhetoric of concern has been supported mainly by remedial measures.

School retention rates have increased, especially for girls, from 30.6% to Year 12 (both sexes) in 1971 to 57.6 % in 1988. However, the differences between public and private schools are as wide as ever. In 1988, the rates were 51.3% for public schools and 74.9% for private schools (Catholic schools 64.2%; other 98.5%). Further-more, these statistics conceal State, regional and suburban differences. Of all entrants to universities approximately 40 per cent come from private schools.

Federal governments' policies for young people have focused mainly on remedial programs. Rob White (1990) lists the following programs which came and went since the mid-1970s:

NEAT - National Employment and Training Scheme

REDS - Regional Employment Development Scheme

CYSS - Community Youth Support Scheme

EPUY - Education Program for Unemployed Youth

CRAFT- Rebate for Apprentice Full-Time training

SYETP - Special Youth Employment Training Program

WPP - Wage Pause Program

CEP - Commonwealth Employment Program

PEP - Participation and Equity Program

Jobstart Program

CVT - Community Volunteer Program

CTP - Community Training Program

BLIPS - Basic Learning in Schools Program

JSS - Job Search Scheme

ATS - Australian Training Scheme

YTP - Youth Training Program

AEDP - Aboriginal Employment Development Scheme

The list is not complete. There have been others, and State governments have had some of their own. However good the policy-makers' intentions might have been, most of these programs have shown only limited results. To a certain extent, all these programs indicate the failure of the education system itself. Or, perhaps they indicate how well the education system works as a 'sorting out' mechanism, ensuring a continuity of supply of young potential labourers, process workers and check-out persons, while at the same time relieving the pressure on the tertiary education system.

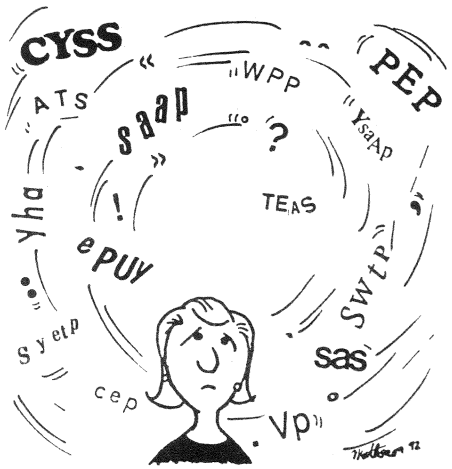
As we examined the policies aimed at young people over the past two decades, we came to ask whether these policies were based on social concern or on political expediency. We concluded,

It would be an overgeneralisation to claim that all policies introduced for the purpose to assist young people have been introduced for reasons of political expediency. Clearly, there has been concern, but none of these remedial policies and programs has disturbed the existing privileges and class divisions. (Boland and Jamrozik, 1987)

The 'vocationalism' of the multitude of remedial programs has been criticised by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. White (1990) sees it to 'lead to the creation of a permanent layer of "transitional labour' - an underclass of unpaid and underpaid workers who will be stuck on the edge of the labour market, living in deep poverty'.

Policy Options for the 1990s?

Can we learn from past experience? I have suggested in this article that perspectives, policies and, by implication, services which view young people as an identifiable social group with common interests and common needs will be flawed, for at least two reasons. First, to understand young people's needs and interests, young people need to be viewed in the societal context. Second, young people are not a homogeneous social group, socio-economic, class and cultural divisions being as strong among them as they are in the society as a whole. This is not, in any sense, a radical



view. A committee of the OECD which examined the position of young people in Australia in relation to education, employment and income support reported the following opinion:

... the examiners found that the struggle to make sense of the income support measure for young people is, in some respects, a misdirected search for technical solutions to political problems... Before the Australian authorities launch an ambitious income support scheme for young people, they need to consider whether there is a more general problem of poverty and inequality in Australia. ... The examiners found little evidence that the discussions of youth income support or proposals for changing the current arrangements were in any way taking account of the larger problem of socio-economic inequality and poverty. (OECD, 1986).

The piecemeal, ad hoc, approach in Federal Government's policy for young people is well illustrated by the multitude of remedial programs as well as by the frequently shifting responsibility for the policy from one ministerial portfolio to another (Maas, 1990-91). The policy has lacked coherence and direction. The rhetoric of concern continues but the remedial programs are of little value if there are no jobs and the places in tertiary education institutions are also limited. Employers, having a large pool of people seeking work can pick and choose. A recent survey of 2000 employers by the Confederation of Australia Industries (CAI) has shown that employers give a variety of reasons for not employing young people: lack of maturity (54.8%), skill level too low (45.2%), lack of relevant training (37.4%), cost of training (27.4%). Better prepared school leavers, greater government subsidy, improved training programs and lower wages were the expressed remedies (Youth Studies 1991).

The options of policy-makers and service providers, may be reduced to one of two directions. One option is to continue introducing more remedial programs, more training, more counselling; in sum, to concentrate efforts on the young 'human residue' of the education system and the market economy. Expressions of concern dressed up in emotive language appease public consciousness but the results are meagre. It is also an effective social control approach. The other option would be to examine more closely the operation of the education system and of the labour market so that the processes of discrimination and inequality can be identified and tackled. A reappraisal of family policies and a broader concern with the allocation of and access resources in the society would have to be a part of this approach. Going by the currently prevailing thinking in government spheres and in much of policy - relevant research, the second option is unlikely to be taken seriously in the foreseeable future but it is worthwhile, nevertheless, to consider such a possibility.

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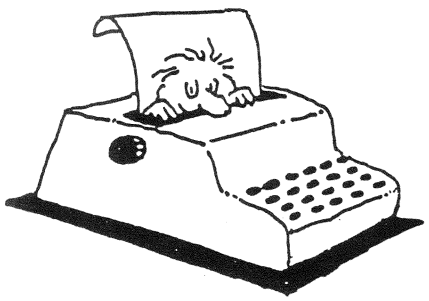
Adam Jamrozik currently works as a Lecturer in the School of Social Sciences at the University of South Australia. For the past eleven years he has been Senior Research Fellow at the Social Policy Research Centre, University of New South Wales. His research interests include young people, child and family welfare, employment and social policy issues in general.

research update research

YOUTH RESEARCH CENTRE Melbourne

Contexting STDs Services for Young Women

A major project on *Contexting STDs Services for Young Women* was commenced in February 1991 and continues in 1992. Funded by the Commonwealth Department of Housing, Community Services and Health, the first stage of the project involved interviews with a sample of young women, aged 16-18 years, to gather data on their knowledge of sexually transmitted diseases, aspects



of their social practices and their experiences with health services. The second stage focussed on health services for young women, with particular attention to gathering information on those strategies which appeared to be successful in altering sexual practices. The project, which will be completed midway through 1992, has generated considerable interest amongst policy makers and other researchers.

Youthworkers, Training and Award Restructuring

Over the last decade there has been considerable research on the aggregate changes in the youth labour market and on issues related to transition from school to work. Very little research has been undertaken, however, on the actual experience of young workers in full-time employment. Little is known about the kinds of education and training experiences which have been most useful in preparing them for their work, or the kinds of 'on-the-job' training which are most likely enhance their productivity.

A key assumption underlying this project is that young workers' perceptions of their own circumstances provide a most important source of data about the relationships between skills and tasks, and the value of different kinds of training arrangements.

The project has been funded by the Victorian Education Foundation. It has involved a series of case studies with young workers and their supervisors in selected metals and engineering companies in the north western suburbs of Melbourne. This project will be completed in mid-1992.

Young Workers and New Technologies

Funded by the Australian Research Council this project addresses a major issue which has emerged in the contemporary restructuring of Australian industries: the need for reform of education and training arrangements arising from the introduction of new technologies and workplace organisation reform. It is focussed on identifying the specific contributions expected of young workers in technologically sophisticated enterprises in different industries.

The outcomes of this project will contribute directly to the current debates about the relationship between education and the world of work, and to assisting management and trade unions to address the circumstances of young workers in award restructuring negotiations.

Early School Leavers in Small Rural Communities

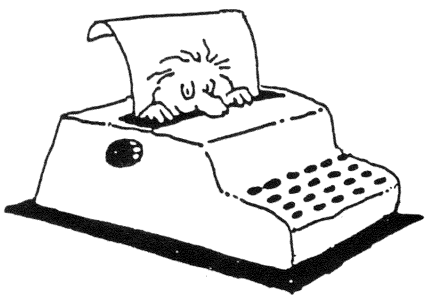
The Centre is undertaking a project for the Victorian Country Education project as a follow-up to their research on early school leavers in small rural communities. This project will compile a book of information, resources and case studies around current initiatives supporting such early school leavers.

For more information contact the Youth Research Centre on (03) 344 8251.

ROYAL MELBOURNE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Youth Policy in Post War Australia

Funded by the Australian Research Council the purpose of this three year project is to analyse the history of youth policy in southern and eastern Australia since 1945. The research will result in a book that takes a comprehensive look at Australian youth and youth policy (this will be published by Macmillan in 1993),



several articles, a comprehensive bibliography and conference papers. The research, which began in 1990, should provide an historical framework that can illuminate current debates around young people and state intervention.

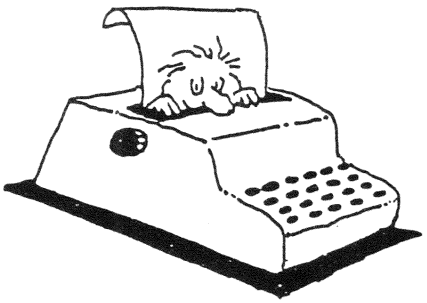
update research update

The purpose of this research is to analyse the representations and images of young people since 1945 and to examine how and why young people came to be constituted as a problem, in their varying forms, since then. The interactions between state agencies, the community sector and the voluntary sector will be examined. The politics, bureaucracies and administrative practices and arrangements and the role of professionals and the ideas that drove them are also some of the areas that the youth policy project is analysing. Finally, accessing the insiders' account is an important focus in this project. We will be asking how youth policies, state and professional interventions have been experienced by the young.

An Outbreak of Virtue: 'The Youth Problem', Professionals and State Intervention in the Mid-Twentieth Century

Although this research focuses on the 1950s, it has applicability and implications for the twentieth century generally. In an ethnographic study of youth culture (focussing on 'bodgies and widgies') in the 1950s, an attempt, amongst other things, is made to understand why young people did things that were disapproved of by adults, professionals and governments. It looks at how these young people constituted themselves, their inner-life and their social relations as moral beings.

Critical attention is also given to the ways in which juvenile delinquency has been interpreted in the mid-twentieth century. The limitations and problems with the structuralist-functionalist, neo-Marxist and symbolic-interactionist accounts have been systematically outlined. The theoretical approach of Jack Katz has been examined to suggest that the behaviour of young offenders can be better understood by looking beyond the background alleged causal factors and instead to look more at identifying the moral passions, the attractions and the seductions of doing things that are deemed to be deviant and/or illegal.



The research also examines the history and development of the discourses around childhood, adolescence, delinquency or maladjustment. This focuses on the role of the various professions within the dialectic of enlightenment. The project then turns to the 'forgotten history' of the role of eugenics and professionals in the increased state intervention into the lives of young people since the 1940s.

The research has been completed and a final draft of the manuscript is ready for submission to the publisher.

For more information contact Judith Bessant, Department of Youth and Community Affairs, School of Applied Social Sciences, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, on (03) 353 9338.

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF FAMILY STUDIES

Living Standards Study

Comprehensive information about young people's access and use of services will become available as results from the Institute's Australian *Living Standard's Study* are analysed. The Study is a major project, examining the living standards of families in different localities around Australia.

Living standards is very broadly defined to include access to a range of services. The study includes information concerning:

- employment and unemployment patterns of under 20 year olds living with their parents (and a smaller group living away from parents);
- access to leisure and recreational activities;
- health measures; and
- educational participation.

Family members in inner city, outer city and country areas are being interviewed and a comprehensive survey of services in each of the localities is being compiled.

Information from the Study will become progressively available towards the end of 1992.

Becoming Adult Study

In the *Becoming Adult Study*, 183 23 year olds were interviewed about their current lives and their experiences in assuming adult responsibilities. The young adults had previously taken part in an Institute study when they were in their mid-teens. A book based on the findings from the study is currently being prepared for publication. Findings of the Study have been reported in previous issues of *Family Matters*, the journal of the Australian Institute of Family Studies.

Youth Mediation Report

The Institute has almost completed collection of information for an evaluation of the Commonwealth Government funded Youth Mediation Centres. The report of the evaluation will be available in early 1993.

For more info contact the Family Information Centre at AIFS on (03) 608 6888.

book reviews book

ECONOMIC RATIONALISM IN CANBERRA

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT POLICY

Economic Rationalism in Canberra: A Nation Building State Changes Its Mind, Michael Pusey, Cambridge University Press, Sydney, 1991. 310pp. $25.00.

Economic rationalism, like social liberalism, is a mythology; a self-reproducing commonsense about the way the world works. As Michael Pusey has pointed out elsewhere, it always generates the following New Right prescriptions.

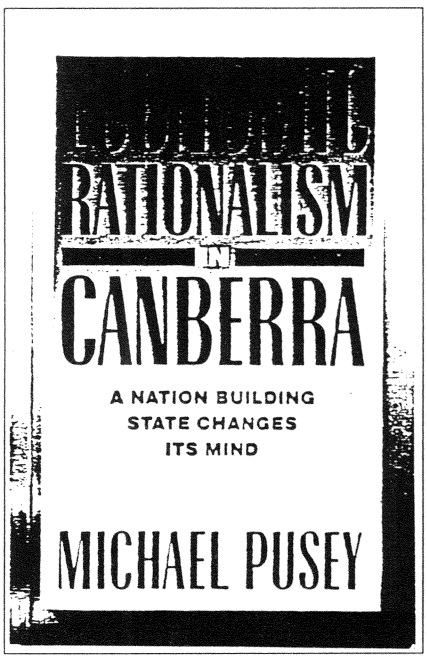
It is always necessary to cut public spending; wages and salaries are always too high; we must always redistribute the nation's wealth upwards away from wage and salary earners to the tiny fraction of already wealthy people who hold parcels of real money; welfare spending is always too high; it's always a good idea to move the burden of taxation away from inputs on business and onto consumers - the consumption tax - and wage and salary earners; we must always expect ever higher levels of unemployment; we must always deregulate the private sector, and particularly the labour market.

Pusey develops his discussion in two major sections. The first, based on a lengthy empirical study using surveys and interviews, looks to clarify who are the bureaucrats responsible for the formulation and implementation of public sector reform.

He presents data from over 200 interviewees, comprising over half of the Senior Executive Service personnel in what he calls key departments. His interest was in their backgrounds, and their assumptive worlds or casts of mind.

Those from a managerial/professional background (the top 5% of the population) held over 25% of the SES positions in the key departments with a disproportionate number from top private schools concentrated in, for instance, the Treasury.

Of course, these public servants were overwhelmingly men and such men were three times more likely to hold right-wing views than the rest of the



sample. The most privileged in background held the most anti- or a-social views and only one in six were characterised by Pusey as holding social democrat views.

Pusey isolates a second common thread among this elite - their disproportionate representation of a restricted, technically oriented, neoclassical economics training of the type that Pusey asserts swept Australia from 1947 onwards. One might argue that there was a significant range of economic approaches taught until much later than that. Pusey's argument, then, is that the early privileged background and narrow economic training of these key functionaries developed in them a trained incapacity to learn and change.

The rest of the first section looks at the Canberra bureaucracy as a federation of departments, and charts the pattern and impact of restructuring and selection policy as reflecting the formal organisation of State power.

The second section of the book comprises two theoretical chapters looking at the social significance of economic rationalism for public sector reform and, reaching for an understanding of modernisation and national identity, gives a social democratic warning about notions of rationality which can undermine the integrity of the Nation State and its capacities for coordination.

Pusey has done a great service in setting his empirical study against some rich social theory. One might argue that he has presented too monolithic a view of the State, and we can expect intermediate actors below the SES to be actively contesting and buffering out rationalising approaches.

This is an important book which is impressive in scope and provocative in tone. It is finding a wide audience, and so it should.

Gary Hough, Department of Social Work, Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

Adapted from a review which first appeared in "Impact" (June 1992) and is reprinted here with permission.

reviews book reviews

FILTHY RICH AND OTHER NONPROFIT FANTASIES and DOLLARS AND SENSE

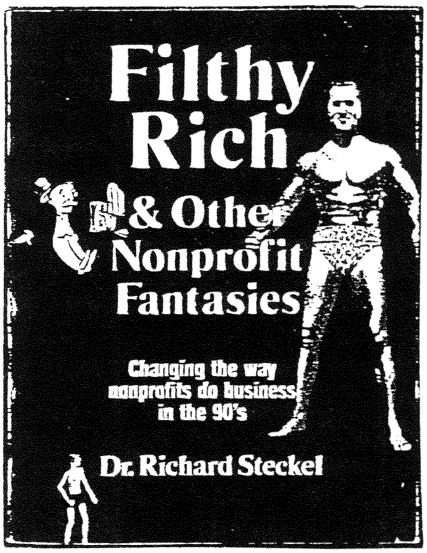
Filthy Rich and Other Nonprofit Fantasies - Changing the Way nonprofits do business in the 90's, Dr Richard Steckel with Robin Simons & Peter Lengsfelder, Ten Speed Press, 1989, 223 pp, $20..

Dollars and Sense - Finance for Community Organisations, Kelly Gardiner & Michele O'Neil for the Youth Accommodation Coalition of Victoria, 1991, 88 pp, $17.45. Available from YACVIC (03) 417 4099.

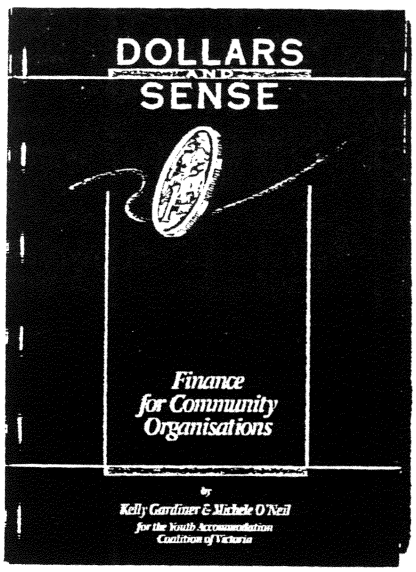
Government policy in Australia is leaning increasingly towards a "user pays" ideology which emphasises cost-effectiveness. Against this background, many social and community services are being forced to consider fundraising options in order to operate effectively (or at all). The books reviewed here tackle this issue from very different perspectives.

"Filthy Rich and Other Nonprofit Fantasies" is a U.S. publication written by Dr Richard Steckel, who may well be sufficiently popular there to inspire the rapturous testimonials included on the back cover, although no other details of the author are provided. A flick through his book, however, reveals that he writes from a New Managerialist-New Age perspective, where most things - including financial success - are possible, if only one has the right attitude.

Steckle chronicles the changes which are placing increased pressure on U.S nonprofits to become financially self-sufficient. Many of the trends he identifies can already be seen in Australia, while others perhaps await us. Australia has yet to see anything like the massive Reagan-initiated cutbacks in government human services programs and the corresponding



increase in privatised welfare which the U.S. has witnessed. However, we are already experiencing an increased emphasis by government on agency "accountability"; a shift to what Steckel calls "strategic philanthropy", where corporate donations are tied to marketing



strategies (eg the Coles "computers for schools" campaign); and the related trends of "compassion fatigue" and "competition of sorrows" - where potential contributors become overexposed and weary of a particular "issue" and different "causes" battle to prove themselves the most "worthy".

Most SACS workers find these developments fairly gloomy (with perhaps the somewhat mixed blessing of "accountability"). The perky Steckel, however, sees them as challenges to be welcomed! After all, "It's the truly hungry and enterprising nonprofits that make use of these trends. They don't fight them. They relish them."

Steckel's main argument is that "traditional" nonprofits need to become "entrepreneurial" nonprofits if they are to survive. Traditional nonprofits tend to distrust the profit motive, fear risk, be preoccupied with planning, have managers rather than leaders and are reactive rather than predictive. Entrepreneurial nonprofits, on the other hand, like money, are comfortable with risk, are action-oriented, have leaders rather than managers and anticipate change.

Many SACS workers would find Steckel's line politically objectionable. However, the book might be of use if its practical suggestions were useful. It is mostly taken up with strategies, case studies and workplans to transform an agency from "traditional" to "entrepreneurial". This includes techniques for fundraising ventures such as corporate sponsorship, sale of existing or new services or products, building an agency profile, increasing public donations, and organizational management.

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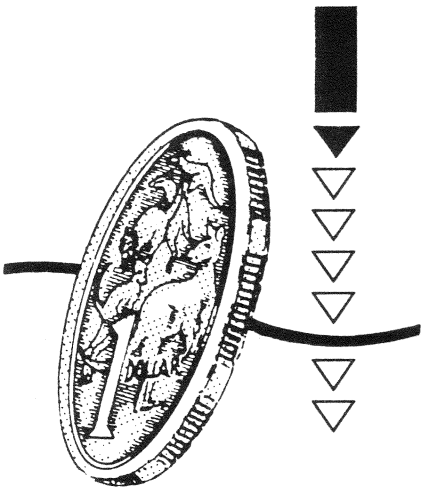


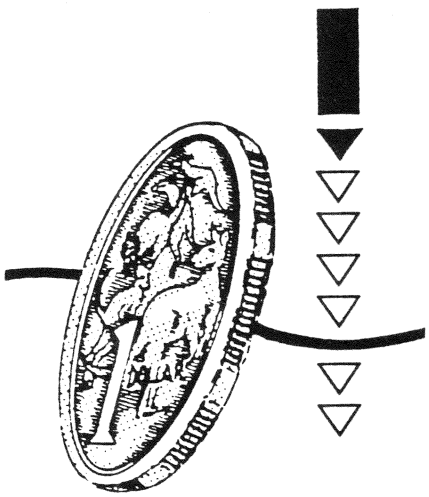
However, suggested strategies tend not to be appropriate to small welfare agencies, despite claims to the contrary. Most case-studies concern medium to very large organizations not necessarily engaged in the human services. Very few case studies refer to small welfare agencies. Those which do suggest that agencies find new buyers for services they already provide - for example, a counselling agency markets its services to a large corporation while continuing to provide free support to the community. However, this presupposes that agencies are not already overworked!

"Dollars and Sense", produced by Victoria's Youth Accommodation Coalition, takes quite a different approach. Its authors have worked in Australia's Social and Community Services sector and their experiences as staff and committee members are reflected in a book which provides basic and useful information for financial management of community based agencies.

"Dollars and Sense" is intended to guide an agency through its financial planning process. It provides tools such as sample balance sheets and a guide to tax exemptions, along with more sophisticated information on revenue raising ventures such as corporate sponsorship, fund-raising and investment options. Worksheets are provided which can be photocopied and used as pro-formas in the planning process for such ventures.

Australian case-studies are provided, mostly relating to small organizations although, once more, not many case-studies refer specifically to human-services agencies.

Unlike Steckel, the authors acknowledge the moral quandaries which may arise when community groups embark on profit-making ventures. In a section entitled "The Politics of Money", Gardiner and O'Neil consider some of the ethical issues agencies may face - for example, is it OK to invest our grant with a company which pollutes the environment? Obviously they cannot provide an answer to every dilemma, but the discussion will help groups to at least debate the moral merits of the decisions they make.



"Dollars and Sense" is clearly laid out and easy to read although not as expensively presented as "Filthy Rich and Other Nonprofit Fantasies". While Steckel's book perhaps encourages agencies to stretch their imaginations more about what they can do, for most SACS agencies "Dollars and Sense" is the more realistic and useful book.

Corrie Macdonald, Policy and Research Officer at YANQ.

SURPLUS TO REQUIREMENTS

and

ARE YOUTH WAGES TOO HIGH?

Surplus to Requirements, David Winderlich, Youth Affairs Council of South Australia, December 1991, 74 pp, $7. Available from YANQ (07)852 1800.

Are Youth Wages Too High?, David Winderlich, South Australian Ministry of Youth Affairs, 1992, 12 pp, Free. Available from State Youth Affairs (08)226 7929.

Mounting youth unemployment in Australia has led to calls from some quarters to lower youth wages in an effort to stimulate employment. In these two publications David Winderlich considers these issues and provides a refreshingly jargon-free analysis of the current state of affairs, plus recommendations for change.

"Surplus to Requirements" explore the causes and effects of youth unemployment in Australia. The reduction of full-time jobs for young people is not a sudden event, says Winderlich, but has occurred over the last 25 years. As structural change has affected the Australian economy and the labour market, jobs for teenagers

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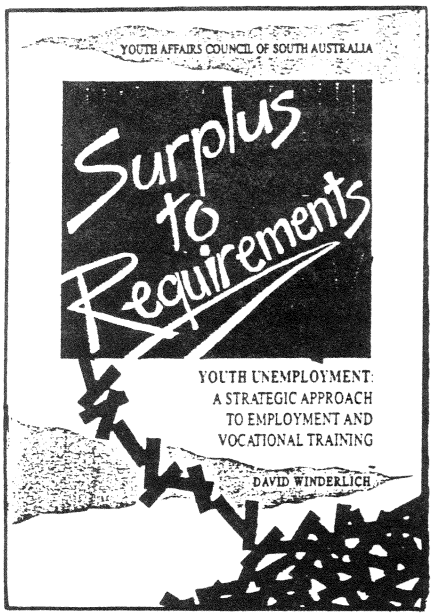


have disappeared. Technology is eliminating many traditional entry-level jobs, while changes in the organization of work are replacing full-time with part-time jobs. In addition, full employment is no longer a national policy goal.

Thus, says Winderlich, many young people will be in jobs where quality and security of work is poor. For the increasing number who cannot find work, poverty is rising, health may suffer, conflict with the law is more likely and vocational training is useless if the labour market does not expand.

Winderlich makes a series of recommendations for change. A number of these revolve around increasing income support for young people and improving understanding of the structural factors involved in youth unemployment. Others encourage government to once more adopt full employment as a policy goal and implement steps to encourage productive investment in enterprises such as Local Employment Initiatives.

Winderlich does *not* advocate a reduction in youth wages as an incentive to increase employment. In "Are Youth Wages Too High?", he challenges historical and contemporary arguments for youth wages.

Historically, awards were set by industrial tribunals using the "needs" principle. Under this principle, adult men were paid on the basis that they had a wife and three children to support, women on the basis that they supported only themselves, and young people on the basis that they were being supported by parents. Winderlich points to research which quite clearly shows that these assumptions are not valid, particularly in modern Australian society.

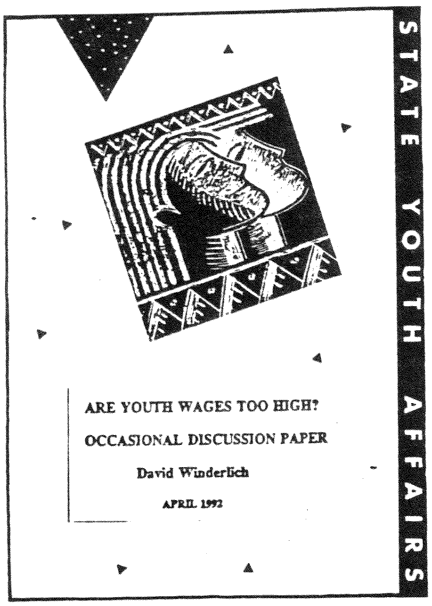
Current arguments for youth wages tend to be based on notions that young people are less productive than adults and that increasing youth wages increases youth unemployment.

As Winderlich notes, current reforms to the training agenda may soon see the end of arguments about the productivity levels of young workers, as training and accreditation are based on competency (rather than age).

However, the assertion that increasing wages increases youth unemployment remains. Winderlich discusses the conclusions of a major study of the relationship between youth wages and unemployment, a 1983 report by the Bureau of Labour Market Research, which have been used by some to support low wages for young people. He notes that not only has the methodology of the report been criticised in many quarters, but its quite cautious findings have been exaggerated by business, the media and politicians. He concludes that research to date does not support the view that youth wages and employment share an inverse relationship and in fact there is a wide divergence of views on the relationship between these two phenomena.

What is clear, however, says Winderlich, is that 20% of young workers who work full time already earn incomes below the poverty line and 90% of young fuli time workers are in the lowest quarter of income recipients. The one sure outcome of low youth wages is financial and social hardship for many young workers.

Winderlich's analysis is convincing and his explanation of often complicated economic trends is clear and easily understood. He cites a useful range of publications and considers most relevant research. The only exception to this is perhaps in "Surplus to Requirements" where it would have been interesting to see some discussion of more radical solutions to unemployment, such as the job-sharing strategies and shorter working days currently being explored by some Scandinavian nations. Nor does ecologically sustainable development receive much thought; if "full employment" is the goal, what kinds of



safeguards need to be considered to ensure that it does not become just another excuse for ad hoc exploitation of the environment? Conservation groups and union bodies have produced a number of useful publications discussing this matter.

Nevertheless, both publications are ideal for anyone wanting to quickly familiarize themselves with the issues surrounding youth wages and unemployment. Reasonably priced, they are a useful addition to any youth agency.

Corrie Macdonald with assistance from Tanya Shea. Tanya is a student on placement.

youth affairs peak bodies

GOVERNMENT

Commonwealth

Youth Bureau
DEET
Canberra ACT 2600
(06) 276 8462

ACT

Youth Affairs
ACT Housing and Community Services Bureau
3rd Floor, ACT Health Authority
Cnr Moore & Alinga Sts
Canberra ACT 2601
(06) 245 4607

News South Wales

Office of Youth Affairs
Ministry of Education, Youth and Women's Affairs
Level 2, 410 Campbell St
Sydney NSW 2000
(02) 561 8700

Northern Territory

Family, Youth and Children's Services Branch
Dept of Health & Community Services
87 Mitchell St
Darwin NT 0800
(089) 89 2727

Queensland

Youth Bureau
Dept of Tourism, Sport and Racing
Education House
30 Mary St
Brisbane QLD 4000
(07) 237 1293

South Australia

State Youth Affairs
Dept of Employment and TAFE
69 Hindmarsh Square
Adelaide SA 5000
(08) 226 1820

Tasmania

Office of Youth Affairs
Dept of the Premier and Cabinet
2nd Floor, Franklin Square
Hobart TAS 7000
(002) 303 893

Victoria

Office of Youth Affairs
Ministry of Ethnic, Municipal and Community Affairs
Level 4, 500 Burke St
Melbourne VIC 3000
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Western Australia

Office of the Family
Youth Policy Unit
3rd Floor, May Holman Centre
32 St George's Tce
Perth WA 6000
(09) 222 0333

Local Government

Youth Affairs Reference Group
Australian Local Government Assn
Muncipal Association of Victoria
468 St Kilda Rd
Melbourne VIC 3004
(03) 867 5266

NON-GOVERNMENT

National

Australian Youth Policy and Action Coalition (AYPAC)
PO Box 519
Dickson ACT 2602
(06) 241 8055

ACT

Youth Affairs Network of ACT (YANACT)
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(06) 247 3540

New South Wales

Youth Action and Policy Association (YAPA)
4th Floor
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Surry Hills NSW 2010
(02) 281 2344

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Darwin City Council
PO BOx 84
Darwin NT 0801
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Youth Affairs Network of Queensland
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